

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
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 the Russian Federation

# GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES OF PREDICTABILITY AND MANAGEABILITY

## The 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

May 22–24, 2019

*The conference, originally called “The Days of Science in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences” is the 27th in number and the 19th in the status of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference*

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

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**St. Petersburg  
2019**

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M64

*Scientific editor*

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

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This collection contains materials of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference held on May 22–24, 2019 in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin “On Perpetuating the Memory of Dmitry Likhachov”. On the list of the participants of the 19th Conference were guests from over 25 countries.

Among the 61 authors of the collection are outstanding Russian scientists, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences: I. O. Abramova, S. Yu. Glazyev, Al. A. Gromyko, A. A. Guseynov, A. S. Zapesotsky, G. B. Kleiner, A. V. Kuznetsov, V. A. Lektorsky, A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov, V. V. Mironov, R. I. Nigmatulin, Zh. T. Toshchenko, L. L. Fituni, T. Ya. Khabrieva, V. A. Chereshev and others; directors of academic institutions and research centers, representatives of higher education institutions, well-known state and public figures, media leaders: S. V. Vershinin, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation; G. A. Hajiyev, Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation; K. F. Zatulini, First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on CIS Affairs; H. M. Reznik, Vice-President of the Federal Chamber of Lawyers; V. T. Tretyakov, Dean of Higher School of Television of Lomonosov Moscow State University; M. V. Shmakov, Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia; A. V. Yakovenko, Ambassador of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom and others.

Among the foreign authors of the collection are: A. A. Akayev, President of Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), academician; Sh. Aziz, Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007); E. Bağış, Minister of European Union Affairs of Turkey (2009–2013); P. Bülbüloğlu, Ambassador of Azerbaijan to the Russian Federation; G. W. Kolodko, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), academician; J. A. March, Ambassador of Spain to the Russian Federation (2008–2011); M. A. Moratinos Cuyaube, High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain (2004–2010); M. Sanaei, Ambassador of Iran to the Russian Federation; J. Wiatr, Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997); members of foreign academies of sciences: V. Prodanov (Bulgaria), P. P. Tolochko (Ukraine); professors: E. Agazzi (Italy), A. Bebler (Slovenia), P. Dutkiewicz (Canada), J. K. Galbraith (USA), V. Ingimundarson (Iceland), H. Köchler (Austria), J. A. Scholte (Sweden), Cs. Varga (Hungary) and others.

President of Russia Vladimir Putin highly appreciated the role of the Likhachov Conference: “The Likhachov Scientific Conference will carry out its lofty mission in future as well, aimed at expansion of humanitarian cooperation, strengthening friendship and mutual understanding by people”.

БКБ 72



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

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

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

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

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

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## Dear Friends!

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

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

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

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

I wish you success, interesting and useful communications.

*President of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 23, 2019*



## Dear Friends!

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

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

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

I wish you every success.

*President of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 18, 2017*



## Dear Friends!

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

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

Today, you have convened to discuss such a fundamental topic as "Modern Global Challenges and National Interests", share your experience, and tally the results of joint projects. I am confi-

dent that the proposals and recommendations formulated in the course of the Conference will further the careful preservation of our national cultural heritage and the advancement of the humanitarian ideas of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov.

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

*President of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 16, 2016*



**Dear Friends!**

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

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

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

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

I wish you new achievements and all the best.

*President of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 17, 2012*



**Dear Friends!**

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

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

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

*Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 5, 2011*



**Dear Friends!**

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

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

I am sure that the today's meeting devoted to the dialogue of cultures and partnership of civilizations should be one more step forward in promoting interconfessional and international communication to bring people closer to each other. And, certainly, again we can see so many

prominent people together, among which are scientists, public figures, intellectuals, representatives of arts community, everyone who shares notions and opinions of Dmitry S. Likhachov.

I wish you good luck and all the best!

*Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 11, 2010*



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

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

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

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

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

*Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 22, 2008*



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

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

*President of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 25, 2006*



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

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

The fact that this forum is organized regularly is a great tribute to the memory of D. S. Likhachov, an outstanding scientist, citizen and patriot. His spiritual legacy, scientific works

dedicated to the problems of intellectual and moral development of younger generations, has great significance. I wish you a fruitful discussion.

*President of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 20, 2004*



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

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

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

*President of the Russian Federation*

**V. PUTIN**

*May 21, 2001*

# WELCOME ADDRESSES TO THE PARTICIPANTS AND GUESTS OF THE 19th INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

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**To participants and guests of the 19th International  
Likhachov Scientific Conference**

**Dear Friends!**

I'd like to welcome you in St. Petersburg and congratulate you with the opening of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

Over the two decades, your Conference has become a significant event in the academic and cultural life of the Northern capital. And an impressive audience traditionally assembles for it — scholars, politicians, public figures from all over the world.

This year, the main topic of discussion is “Global Development: Challenges of Predictability and Manageability”. It is extremely urgent and touches upon practically all areas of our life. It is important to find new approaches to prevention and overcoming crises, which the world has to deal with in the time of global changes. That is only possible by joint efforts — based on mutual respect and interested dialogue between states and nations. And surely, with the help of science and culture that have no borders.

Scholars and people who dedicated their lives to creative work speak one language more often than politicians and diplomats. And the legacy of the greatest of them belongs to the whole mankind. This fully refers to Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov. His life and his works are an example of wisdom and scientific profoundness, loyalty to the highest ideals, infinite dedication to his vocation. And your Conference is recognition and respect of merits of the great Russian scholar and thinker.

I wish you interesting discussions, success and all the best.

*Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation*

**D. A. MEDVEDEV**

*May 23, 2019*

**To participants of the 19th International  
Likhachov Scientific Conference**

**Dear Friends!**

This year, you again assembled in the city on the Neva river, in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences to discuss urgent issues of global development.

Your scientific forum initiated by academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov has been making its contribution to arranging the dialogue between countries for many years, based on mutually advantageous, equal partnership. This confirms the great impact of D. S. Likhachov's humanistic ideas on the formation of modern scientific views and ideas.

Today, in the time of changes, when global development is subjected to new challenges and risks, it is especially important to promote a constructive agenda of international cooperation. I count on offers and recommendations worked out in the course of the Likhachov Scientific Conference being practical and significant, including in parliamentary dimensions.

I wish you successful and fruitful work.

*Chairman of the State Duma*

**V. V. VOLODIN**

**To organizers and participants of the 19th International  
Likhachov Scientific Conference and the Global Circle initiative**

I'd like to sincerely welcome organizers and participants of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference as well as the Global Circle initiative.

St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences has been established as a sought-after discussion venue, where eminent and distinguished politicians, scholars, promi-



ment figures in the field of culture from various states assemble every year to look for answers to numerous challenges of our times. Such interlinking of intellectual efforts acquires special significance in the current far from simple situation on the international scene, characterized by aggravation of old and origination of new challenges and threats.

The topic of this meeting is rather urgent. Currently, the world is undergoing tectonic changes related to formation of the polycentric architecture of the world order. This trend in particular reflects natural striving of nations for selecting the models of development answering their national, cultural, confessional identity by themselves.

It is in the interests of all to make this process manageable and predictable. It is only possible to achieve this aim jointly, on the solid foundation of international law, basing on the central coordinating UN role. It is difficult to overestimate the contribution of diplomacy called to assist achievement of balanced decisions in various fields — from economy to climate.

It is hardly possible to provide peaceful, safe and happy future of the whole mankind without establishing productive partnership between representatives of various confessions, cultures, civilizations. In this connection, I'd like to express my sincere gratitude to my colleague, High Representative of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations Miguel Angel Moratinos for his energetic efforts in this direction.

I am sure that your meetings will be held in a creative way, and their results will help to strengthen trust and mutual understanding between nations. I wish you fruitful discussions and all the best.

*Minister of Foreign Affairs*

**S. LAVROV**

*Moscow, May 20, 2019*

**To participants of the 19th International  
Likhachov Scientific Conference**

**Dear Friends!**

I'd like to sincerely welcome you and congratulate with the opening of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

This intellectual forum is a worthy creation and hallmark of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, it is a project widely known all over the world. Representatives of scholarly and creative intelligentsia of the globe come to the Northern capital of Russia every year to take part in it, multiplying the experience of positive international dialogue. Exactly striving for the open communications makes the Conference a unique venue, where participants search for strategies and scenarios, providing joint dealing with global challenges.

For millions of people Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov is an example of a highly moral individual, outstanding scholar and public figure, whose thoughts were always focused on the future. His ideas of the basic importance of culture in the process of any nation's establishment stay urgent today as well, they are confirmed by new and new examples. The state's taking care of culture is first of all care for its citizens, their creative self-realization, development of their human potential.

I wish all participants of the Likhachov Scientific Conference fruitful work, interesting discussions and all the best!

*Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation*

**V. R. MEDINSKY**

*May 14, 2019*

**Dear Alexander Sergeyeovich! Dear Colleagues!**

I'd like to welcome organizers, participants and guests of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference on behalf of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security of the Russian Federation and on my own behalf.

Social and labour relations are traditionally reviewed at the forum in the context of culture's development, and this approach allows to achieve scientific results important for practice.

I'm sure that the conclusions of the forum and the very atmosphere of mutual respect typical to all meetings of scholars and practitioners at the International Likhachov Scientific Conference will become new assets of the international community.

I wish participants of the Conference fruitful work, interesting and informative discussions!

*Minister of Labour and Social Security of the Russian Federation*

**M. A. TOPILIN**

**To participants, organizers and guests of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

**Dear Friends!**

I'm happy to welcome participants, organizers and guests of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference!

Holding the large-scale humanitarian forum has become a good tradition in St. Petersburg where Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov — the outstanding scholar and educator — lived and worked. His brilliant ideas became a part of the global scientific heritage. They are still urgent today.

The topics of the Scientific Conference 2019 include the most important and pressing issues of our times that are exceptionally significant for the present and the future of Russia, the whole global community.

I'm sure that the forum will help to strengthen international humanitarian relations.

I wish all of you fruitful communications and most vivid impressions of our wonderful city!

*Acting Governor of St. Petersburg*

**A. D. BEGLOV**

**Dear organizers, participants and guests of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference!**

Congratulations with the opening of the Conference of humanitarian views and ideas that in recent years has become the largest in the world forum of humanities scholars.

Since 1993, St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences has been assembling the leading humanities scholars of the globe on the banks of the Neva river, realizing academician D. S. Likhachov's ideas. The Conference attracts the most striking thinkers, politicians, prominent figures in the fields of culture and arts of Russia and foreign countries like an intellectual magnet.

The topics of the Conference traditionally coincide with the nerve of the times. When there are tensions between countries, it is especially important for the voices of D. S. Likhachov's comrades-in-arms to sound loudly and constructively, for their conclusions on culture as a sacred space forming individuals in the spirit of creation, co-creation, friendship and mutual respect, not to remain "a closed book" but to be mastered by the global community.

Slow and steady win the race, and you should keep putting one foot in front of the other. I wish you fruitful intercultural dialogue aimed at development of the sustainable future, personal and professional success, health and prosperity.

*President of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS*

**A. M. SERGEYEV**

**To participants and guests of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

I'd like to sincerely welcome all participants of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference on behalf of millions of Russian working people united by the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia!

Outstanding scholars, prominent figures in the field of culture, diplomats and politicians annually assemble for your unique scientific forum that really deserves international acknowledgement. Profound academic reports and discussions on urgent topics allow participants of

the Conference to find out development trends of the contemporary society, help discussion of various approaches to providing stability of global development.

In recent years, the global community had to deal with the challenges of predictability and manageability of global development. It is to a large extent related to clashes of various development strategies of contemporary global civilization. The actions of reactionary international forces are dictated by their wish to get maximum profits, independent of the price inhabitants of our planet have to pay for these selfish aspirations. All that puts the world on the edge of bloody wars capable to destroy productive forces of many countries.

The topics of reports and speeches at the International Likhachov Scientific Conference are always especially interesting for Russian trade unions, standing for peace and social justice.

I sincerely wish participants of the Scientific Conference interesting and fruitful work, high spirits and new success in creative activities!

*Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia*  
**M. V. SHMAKOV**

**To the participants of the 19th International  
Likhachov Scientific Conference!**

The 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference is an important milestone on the road to assessing and redefining the educational, scientific and cultural dimensions of globalization.

The theme of this Conference “Global Development: Challenges of Predictability and Manageability” highlights the international challenges that we, as a global community, must address – whether it is climate change, biodiversity loss, the dissemination and ethical implications of emerging disruptive technologies, or gender equality and the future of Africa – the latter being the two transversal priorities of UNESCO.

Finding adequate responses to these challenges demands international cooperation, science-based development, knowledge sharing and solidarity between humans, between generations and other living species. We must also ensure that we conceptualize and communicate the implications of these challenges with clarity and nuance to policy-makers, as well as to all citizens at large. How we act to tackle these challenges will determine the future of humankind.

This conference seeks for predictability and management of the unfathomable events ahead. Due to technological advances, we live in an era that has opened up possibilities for scientific, educational and cultural leaps. The technological revolution is transforming our lives and revolutionizing the ways in which we work, learn and live together. Artificial intelligence, for instance, is undergoing exponential growth and finding new applications for predictability and management in an ever-expanding number of sectors: security, environment, research and education, health, culture and trade.

Artificial intelligence is humanity’s new frontier. Whilst it could be an astonishing asset for humankind and the responsible development of our societies, it comes with an ethical responsibility to apply its enormous potential to promote sustainable development, peace and human rights, in line with UNESCO’s mandate in the sciences, culture, education, and communication and information.

Dmitry Likhachov’s life and achievements demonstrate the power of the sciences, education and intercultural dialogue in building resilient societies, which resonate well with the work of UNESCO. Likhachov’s work recognised the importance of the past in informing the future. He also understood the extent to which intercultural dialogue can inspire current and future generations, and deepen our shared humanity and solidarity. A courageous intellectual, his steadfast commitment to the sciences and culture was driven by his vision that complex issues can only be addressed with an inter-disciplinary approach.

Today, we must work to bring together and consolidate the expertise found in diverse fields to shape our collective future, which is the vision of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development.

I salute the interdisciplinary scope of this conference and I thank St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, and the participants of the conference, for their continued efforts and commitment to our common principles in the search for a better future.

*Director-General of UNESCO*  
**Au. AZOULAY**

# ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE Information

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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<b>Juan Antonio MARCH</b> , <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Spain to the Russian Federation (2008–2011)</i>	
<b>Miguel Ángel MORATINOS CUYAUBE</b> , <i>High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations</i>	
<b>Amr MOUSSA</b> , <i>Secretary General of the League of Arab States (2001–2011), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt (1991–2001)</i>	
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## REPORTS

M. Abdollahi<sup>1</sup>

### IMAGES OF RUSSIA AND IRAN IN THE GLOBAL MEDIA SPACE

#### Mass Media as a Globalization Institute in the Postindustrial World

Today globalization is a process of unidirectional expansion of world integration in field of geopolitics, global economy and culture. It exerts a significant impact on political and economic institutes and has an effect on nature and dynamics of national cultures by constricting space and time and multiplying the volume of information. On the one hand, globalization reinforces integration processes in field of geopolitics, establishment of supranational political and economic structures; it results in tangible success in technological development of the global economy, establishment of the global household as a complete organism. On the other hand, globalization poses problems related to erosion of state sovereignty fundamentals and bases of confessional and civilizational identity, disintegration and chaos of the regulatory environment of national cultures, stratification of society and expansion of the poverty social base. It destroys a traditional hierarchy of peoples and nations, places viability of national states as historically sustainable institutional way of residence in question. Consequences caused by globalization become key challenges for national states and cultures.

A leader of the global world is the USA that doesn't hide its pursuance of the total control over the world. A negative effect of the global expansion of the West is deformation of traditions, customs and culture not of the Third World countries only, but of developed states as well. It's a threat of cultural homogenization that has sparked great concern of some developed countries; for example, governments of Japan and France had to ensure preservation of national culture and language at the legislative level.

Globalization is a controversial issue which is reflected in estimation of this phenomenon. Some scientists are sure that globalization leads the humankind to the democratic and unified world based on the global culture. According to other researchers, globalization doesn't lead to the unified political and cultural identity that could become a base for stronger global solidarity [12, p. 147]. Opponents of the global project are sure that globalization with its "culture of dominance" and total consumerism, as well as superpowers' control over the world empire of mass media leads to homogenization of national and local cultures [1]. A negative result of globalization is westernization of the world fraught with destruction of fundamentals of national

and cultural identity. The global culture ignores traditional mental experience of nations underlying their national cultures. Its primary influence resource is technological power and world domination [2]. Levelling of national cultures in developing countries along Western lines ignoring linguistic, religious and ethical diversity can lead to the split of the Third World countries [6, p. 56]. Expansion of western cultural patterns provokes backlash in the form of preservation of national and cultural identity reinforced by recognition of the depth of cultural differences [7, p. 52]. Globalization affected principles of panhuman morality in a destructive manner. With international markets and world media the global capital, which establishes the dominant idea of consumption in the image of modern life, significantly depreciated such values as kindness, justice and patriotism, national traditions and national history.

The global expansion assumed special proportions in the context of development of communication means and emerging global communication space. The information age changed the essence of communication radically by turning information and communication into the main source of power. Globalization of communication caused by information revolution and destruction of borders in information distribution makes the forecasted vision of the world as a global village a reality. Modern communication tools (Internet, satellite technologies, television) reduce cultural borders and financial restrictions to a minimum; they overcome common geographic and cultural borders providing unlimited access to information. Today key actors of mass media become major players in cultural, social, economic and political processes on national and international levels. Dynamically developing global communication space becomes a tool in the political struggle, in healthy lifestyle promotion and forming public opinion. A positive effect of this process is an opportunity to take part in the global culture for every person and every society.

However, while encouraging development of the global culture, new information technologies distort conventional socialization mechanisms, destroy legal frameworks of local cultures through modification of their worldview bases. Information expansion of global project leaders results in deindividuation of the humankind and destruction of national and cultural singularity, a weaker role of national languages and erosion of fundamentals of local and national identity. An extra risk zone includes states with weak infrastructure in field of communication technologies that are bound to be defeated in the context of global competition. Weak resource base of national mass media is an important reason of irreversible economic, political and cultural damage.

Information revolution and new communication technologies create specific space for development of new sources of political power and force defined by opportunities in field of production, control and distribution of information [11]. Owners of this force use global communi-

<sup>1</sup> Lecturer at the Allameh Tabataba'i University (Tehran, Iran), Cand. (Sc. Philology). Member of the Academic Council of the University. Author of a number of academic papers and publications, including "Motivation of Students Learning Russian at the Ferdowsi University of Mashhad", "The Role of Language in Developing Public Diplomacy (Studying the Role of the Russian Language in the Bilateral Relations of Iran and Russia)", "The Role of the Russian and Persian Languages in Formation of Views About the Other Country of the Russian Federation and the Islamic Republic of Iran Citizens", "Numbers as Symbols of the Cultural Code in Shahnameh and the Ossetian Epos", "The Caucasus in Iranian Historical Guidebooks", "Problems of Persian-speaking Students in Mastering Oral Speech", "Stages of Working with Video Materials in the Process of Teaching Foreign Languages", etc. Expert at the North Caucasus Non-Governmental Academic Organization "Razvitiye" (Development).

ation space as a political solution on national and international levels.

Mass media become the most important institute of world domination for the power source not to ensure its domination only, but to obtain the agreement of societies under its control as well. Advocates of globalization appreciate the role of mass media institute, while national elites level criticism at communication media that deprive national cultures of their individualities turning a member of culture into a “one-dimensional man” (H. Marcuse), enable development of society, members of which have no opportunity to feel their own importance and to contribute into stability of the society [5, p. 28]. The process of unbalanced information flow caused by technological inequality of developed and developing countries leads to dominance of the West and results in impact of western culture on south countries [8].

### **Barriers and Challenges of Relations between the Russian Federation and Iran**

Today public opinion becomes an important part of the decision making process in politics. That’s why states need efficient communication tools to reach common citizens and obtain support of national elites in order to promote their ideas and implement socially significant programs. In the furtherance of this goal countries of the world use different methods and means. A key asset of geopolitical influence in recent years is “soft power” with the structure formed of three sources: national culture, political values (if they correspond to inner attitudes and international opinion) and legitimately and morally justified domestic and foreign policy [8, p. 26].

Iran and Russia, considering vast experience of their relations, have a great potential for development of mutually beneficial cooperation, but, as it has been mentioned already, media in hand of dominating countries are used as a tool to implement geopolitical projects that contradict interests of our countries. Unfortunately, the Russian Federation and Iran don’t possess adequate resources to provide them a dominating status in field of information technologies. As a result, citizens of both countries are exposed to information attacks from the outside.

Another factor that has a negative influence on relations between Iran and Russia is a language barrier. As it is known language is a tool of communication and mutual understanding for different peoples; constructive and mutually beneficial cooperation is impossible without a common language. A sphere of concepts of a national language shows wealth, cultural capital and mental treasure of peoples. Unfortunately, there are very few people in Russia and in Iran who speak both Farsi and Russian. Multiple problems in the process of development of bilateral relations, including economics and culture, are connected with this factor. Most of the Russians and the Iranians receive information about each other through western global sources – that’s how a huge part of stereotypes that reign in Iranian and Russian social networks appeared. In 2003 President V.V. Putin’s Administration requested to hold a survey for the Americans to tell 10 things they associate with Russia. Most of answers were the following: communism, KGB, snow and mafia [3]. The situation in Iran is similar, so the Iranians know very little about Russia too.

Therefore, a key problem in development of bilateral relations is a language barrier. That’s why today it’s more important to develop the Russian language in Iran and Farsi in

the Russian Federation than ever, and leaders of our countries must see language development as a key element of the fight against disinformation. The Iranian side states openly that it’s necessary to develop the Russian language in Iran for further development of bilateral relations. In his interview Eshaq Jahangiri, Vice President of Iran, commented on importance of development of Persian language in the world: “The Persian language is a crucial factor of our national identity, and its development is considered an important component of public democracy of Iran” [10]. Currently the Russian language is studied in six universities in Teheran, Ferdowsi University in Mashhad, as well as in universities of Gilan and Mazandaran. There’s no official statistics regarding a number of Russian speaking people in Iran, but according to estimations, this number can amount to 4.5 thousand people [4, p. 156]. A set of measures aimed at promotion of the Russian language indicates that it’s considered an important element of public diplomacy. Thus, in 2007 the Rusky Mir Foundation was established “for the purpose of promoting the Russian language, as Russia’s national heritage and a significant aspect of Russian and world culture” [9]. Russian centers operate in 45 countries of the world with support of the Foundation and in partnership with leading educational structures, including centers in the University of Tehran and the Ferdowsi University in Mashhad.

### **Linguistic Factor of Perception of the Country Image**

So does development of the Russian language has a real impact on Iranian citizens’ vision of the Russian Federation? In order to clarify this question authors of this work have conducted a research in three Iranian universities with Russian language departments (the Allameh Tabataba’i University, the University of Tehran, the Ferdowsi University in Mashhad). 20 students of the Russian Language Department from the Allameh Tabataba’i University, 15 students from each of other universities, as well as students that don’t speak Russian (20 students from the Allameh Tabataba’i University, 15 students from the University of Tehran and the Ferdowsi University in Mashhad) took part in the survey. Respondents were divided by age categories (17–20, 21–25, 26–30) and by knowledge of the Russian language.

Major results of the survey: more than a half of respondents said they knew the history of relations between Russia and Iran. The same number of participants of the survey answered, “We’re similar in some aspects, and in some we are not”. Most respondents stated a need to develop relations with Russia. Results were particularly interesting when they depended on age: the group aged 17–20 noted all parameters as positive: the youth know more about the Russian Federation, supports relations with the Russian Federation and think that the Russians are very similar to the Iranians. A positive vision of the Russian Federation the younger generation born after 2000’s has can be explained with influence of the virtual space and the Russian information policy aimed at optimization of its image in the world. Most positive attitude was shown by respondents who study the Russian language. Answering the question “Do you know the history of relations between Russia and Iran?” 70% of them answered “Yes”. Almost 80% of respondents who study the Russian language are sure of a need to develop bilateral relations with the Russian Federation. Results of the survey are one more evidence

that for the Iranians knowledge of language leads to a more positive perception of the Russian Federation. So to develop bilateral cooperation steps need to be made to promote the Russian language as one of the most important factors in relations between our countries. Development of Farsi and the Russian language is meaningful to improve the image of Iran and Russia in the minds of our peoples, since language development gives citizens access to information sources that are not controlled by western institutions.

Development of a dialogue between languages and cultures of our nations will be a real counter-force against extremist ideologies. Today extremism and religious radicalism does not threaten Caucasus only, but pose a common threat for Iran and Russia. Considering the fact that Iran and Russia hold common positions in the fight against terrorism, it may safely be said that in case of promotion and development of the Russian language in Iran, the Iranian side will have a chance to present its true ideas to the Russian speaking population, and Russia will be able to provide data about its projects in the region to population of Iran directly without these projects being distorted with propagandist technologies of the West. It should be noted that similar benefits are provided for Russia with Farsi development in universities of the Russian Federation. Lowering language barriers will allow both sides establishing a contact on the social level, and social dialogue is known to be a crucial factor for development of bilateral relations in all areas.

In the globalized world an epicenter of conditions for survival and development of civilization lies in a spiritual component of society, aside from economic and military capacity development. As Iranian and Russian experience

shows, the increasing globalization process aimed at domination of the western civilizational model can be opposed by the policy of preservation of national cultural traditions and building a constructive dialogue. Moreover, an essential for information security is establishment of strong and independent media that can react to challenges of the time appropriately providing protection of national cultures and preservation of spiritual health of peoples.

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I. O. Abramova<sup>1</sup>

### FIGHTING FOR AFRICA AT A GEOSTRATEGIC LEVEL<sup>2</sup>

Just like a hundred years ago, the second decade of a new century has been marked with a dangerous aggravation of contradictions and unresolved issues between leading powers of the world which have accumulated over the past years. Once again, there's an irreconcilable conflict of interests between long-time ("old") state and non-state actors firmly entrenched as masters of destinies on the global geopolitical and geo-economical arena in the previous years, and their newly emerging state and non-state competitors. The contradictions of the early 20th century, stemming from the division of the world into enormous colonial empires, which was carried to its natural geographical limits, were

defined by both Marxist Socialists and their conservative opponents as "inter-imperialist" ones. Those contradictions resulted in two world wars, though neither of them brought about an unconditional global supremacy of one of the participants. It's no coincidence that some of the world's political leaders saw the events of the first half of the 20th century as an unfinished "big war" for the role of a final winner.

The Cold War ended with the demise of the USSR, and a rush of most of its former allies to join the NATO. For a historically short period of time, the world faced a delusional "end of the story" scenario, as the so-called "final winner" was revealed, and a new world order based on its unquestioned hegemony was established.

However, objective laws of social development would not let the world situation remain static indefinitely. Unequal tempo of socio-economic development of states and their alliances, emergence of new state-level, sub-state and non-state actors on the world arena, as well as a weakening of other actors, brought about an erosion of the monocentric world structure model, and has by now destroyed it almost completely.

The beginning of the 21st century ushered in a new stage in the development of the global civilization – a gradual transition to the polycentric model. New actors entering the global stage are gradually changing the rules and con-

<sup>1</sup> Director of the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, member of the Presidium of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Professor at the Department of African Studies and Arabic Studies, RUDN University, leading researcher at St. Petersburg State University, Dr. Sc. (Economics). Author of more than 250 academic papers, including 11 monographs: "The New Role of Africa in World Economy of the 21st Century", "Islam, Global Governance and New World Order" (coauthor), "An Arab City at the Turn of the Millennium", "«Originating» and «Failed» States in Global Economy and Politics" (coauthor), "African Migration: The Experience in Systemic Analysis", "The African Population in the New Global Economy", etc. Member of editorial boards of academic journals Asia and Africa Today, Proceedings of the Institute for African Studies of the RAS, Conflictology, Profiles of Global Transformations.

<sup>2</sup> The work has been completed with assistance of the Fundamental Research Program No 22 of the RAS Presidium. "Analyzing and Forecasting New Global Challenges for Russia". Subprogram "Africa in New Global Realities: Challenges and Opportunities for Russia".

ditions of the game. The global balance of forces is slowly shifting from the West to the East, and from the North to the South. Another factor transforming the international relations is the influence of the so-called “big challenges”. The economic power of China and India is growing: they already hold the second and the seventh place in the world by GDP volumes (12.263 and 2.488 USD trillion exchange-rate-adjusted in 2017 respectively). Thus, apart from Russia, they have already outrun such countries as Italy, Canada, Spain and Australia.<sup>1</sup> In 2017 China (23.301 USD trillion) and India (9.449 USD trillion) took the first and the third place respectively in purchasing-power adjusted dollars (the second place was taken by the USA)<sup>2</sup>, fully invalidating all forecasts made by Goldman Sachs and PricewaterhouseCoopers financial corporations. According to their experts, these countries were only supposed to get into the top ten of world economies by the middle of the 21st century.<sup>3</sup> In other words, all the current processes in the modern world are sped up, on the one hand, and become less and less predictable, on the other. Considering these factors, researchers and experts forecast an accelerated growth of economic capacities in Eastern and Southern countries, although it could be hindered by the interplay of market forces.

Notwithstanding this, the existing system of international institutions, aimed at establishing the rules of the game in contemporary politics and economics, is still configured to serve the interests of the so-called Golden Billion countries. In other words, there’s a deepening conflict between the basic structures of the world economy, which are gradually shifting from the West and the North to the East and the South, and the global “superstructure”, including the political, military, financial and informational institutions and management tools operating within the framework of the Washington Consensus. The opposition is getting more and more heated: it is manifested in both regional armed conflicts and all-out information wars involving technologies of mass manipulation, which aim to impose the only “true” system of attitudes to certain events according to “established actors”, while advocating the system of “Western values”.

As the newly arising world order lacks a unified controlling centre, it is in a dire need of a system of bilateral or multilateral geostrategic checks and balances, aiming to avoid or at least minimize the threat of a global armed conflict.

With this in mind, the regions of the world are being reevaluated in accordance with their relative importance as zones of competing interests for the participants of a renewed competition. In the context of growing risks of a very undesirable direct confrontation between “old” and “new” actors, fraught with many dangers, the geostrategic and geo-political importance of “peripheral” competition zones, such as Latin America, Middle East and Africa, has increased.

Until recently, Africa has been regarded as an outsider of the global economy. The transition of developed countries to the postindustrial and innovative development model brought out the discrepancy in the more advanced eco-

nomical spheres even sharper. Sophisticated “structural adjustment programs” imposed on African countries by the Bretton Woods system served to further aggravate the impoverished situation of the African population. Widely-advertised Western development assistance programs never got off the ground due to an alleged lack of money. The abundant natural resources of the African continent were mercilessly exploited by the former colonial powers and other countries of the West. In the African countries themselves, a high level of corruption prevailed. Based on the results of a high-ranking AU Commission, led by T. Mbeki, a former president of the SAR, the illegal capital outflow from Africa during the last 50 years amounted to 1 USD trillion, and the annual outflow exceeded 50 USD billion. That’s the reason why Africa’s share in the global GDP still hasn’t exceeded 3% (5% in purchasing-power adjusted dollars), and its share in global exports of goods and services is still 2.5%.<sup>4</sup>

But the situation is changing gradually. At the moment Africa develops quite successfully. During the last 10 years, the average annual rate of growth in the continent reached 4–5%, which was significantly higher than the average rate worldwide, in spite of negative tendencies stemming from the world economic crisis; the economies of 15 African countries are currently growing by 7–8% per year, i.e. even quicker than in China. Besides, Africa has a huge demographic “bonus”: its young population increases at a swift rate to form both contemporary labor markets and an enormous consumer market. As a result, today’s Africa is turning into one of the most strategically promising regions of the world. Western countries realize that they are losing an unequal competitive battle with new powerful economies of China and India, so they try to find new “power sources” for their development, and look for them on the African continent.

Over the last years, leading world political and economic centres came to recognize, more or less at the same time, a great importance of resources, human potential, and the growing economic potential of Africa in a new model of global development and global economy currently generated. An understanding of this fact resulted in an increased economic expansion into the resource-rich region by each and every state who see themselves as important actors on the global stage and a substantial force in the future of the global economy. Their objective was to grab a foothold in the region by investing into both existing and emerging economic links. Apart from trade relations with African countries, this would provide them with an opportunity to maintain a long-term position in Africa, by ensuring deliveries of significant volumes of exclusive local resources for their own development under new economic conditions, including innovative development.

While the global economic, political and cultural space is falling apart, the fight for resources and markets, as well as the preservation or capture of economic, political and cultural positions in the African continent by both old and new actors will be growing in intensity, to finally cover each and every area of human activity.

The group of “old actors” mostly considers Africa from three perspectives: the likely prospects of global economic development, resource management, and global military

<sup>1</sup> <http://investorschool.ru/rejting-stran-po-vvp-2017> (accessed: 09.07.2018).

<sup>2</sup> <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.PP.CD> (accessed: 09.07.2018).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.goldmansachs.com/our-thinking/archive/BRICs-and-Beyond.html>, <https://www.pwc.com/gx/en/issues/economy/the-world-in-2050.html> (accessed: 09.07.2018).

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/African\\_Economic\\_Outlook\\_2018\\_-\\_EN.pdf](https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/African_Economic_Outlook_2018_-_EN.pdf) (accessed: 24.07.2018).

and political dominance. Each of these is presumed to be an area of contest with alleged major opponents and competitors, both existing and potential. The latter role is mostly assigned to China, and partly to Russia, notably when speaking about Sub-Saharan Africa. At the same time, the West pays close attention to increasing activity and influence of “second tier” competitors in the region, including India, Brazil, Iran, Turkey, the monarchies of the Persian Gulf, and both Koreas.

Geostrategic importance of the continent is naturally predetermined by its geographic location as the Southern Flank of NATO, with sites and theatres that control lines of communication passing through the Red Sea, from the Persian Gulf and on to the Indian Ocean, as well as across the South Atlantic Ocean.

Officially, most African military bases and significant military installations that are not legally documented as bases belong to France (Djibouti, Gabon, Côte d’Ivoire, Reunion, Mayotte of Comoro Islands, Senegal). Similar facilities in the African region belong to England (Kenya, Ascension Island, British territories in the Indian Ocean), Italy (Djibouti), India (Madagascar, Seychelles, Mauritius), Japan (Djibouti), Turkey (Somali).

The US military created a wide network of more than 60 outposts and other facilities in Africa. Currently most of them are in use, while the remaining ones serve as a backup or are presumably closed, at least temporarily. They include bases, camps, communication centers/sites, and ports; between them, they cover at least 34 states on the continent. Formally, these sites are not considered bases, but Co-operative Security Locations (CSL), and they are allegedly designed for temporary deployment – “mostly of provisions and ammunitions”.

What are these bases for, what do they defend? Their declared primary goal is to protect critically important NATO communications, support peace, prevent conflicts in Africa and serve as a stronghold against terrorist threats and piracy. Although the role of foreign military contingents in solving at least part of their declared tasks is not to be underestimated, it should be admitted that all of the above-mentioned states consider these facilities important elements in asserting their geopolitical importance, as well as projecting their military force on the international level.

At the same time, external actors interested in exploitation of rich African resources and markets often interfere in the domestic affairs of African countries, stirring up internal conflicts, and instigating armed hostilities and color revolutions.

In late 20th and early 21st century, the economic growth rates of the Golden Billion countries slowed down, which resulted in a scaling back of consumption levels in developed countries. According to a large number of surveys we held in Germany, Italy, Spain, France and Great Britain, for the very first time in postwar history the citizens of these countries note that their living standards are lower than five years ago. The migration crisis is partly to blame; but more importantly, the internal development factors in Western countries within the framework of the present-day economic model seem to be exhausted. To find a way out of the current situation, these countries (primarily the USA that is losing its role of the globally dominant power) pump more money into weapons production, and then proceed to initiate local and regional conflicts under the guise of “pro-

moting democracy” and “fighting terrorism”. Establishing a number of military command centers on the territory of Africa with an alleged purpose to resolve conflicts, maintaining substantial military contingents, developing the military infrastructure, including the support of old and construction of new military bases, arms deliveries to western-minded African regimes and other similar actions don’t just serve the purpose of expansion and successful operation of military industries of the USA and EU countries (including economic success), but ensure control over African resources of strategic importance as well.

Despite multiple and often successful attempts to preserve Africa as an object of global economy and politics, the continent is currently striving for more independence, and a new “subject” role in international relations; in our opinion, its development in the next decades can change its position in a new model of global development.

According to analytical forecasts, the average GDP growth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa will be able, once again, to exceed 5% in the nearest decades (as from 2020). It is already higher than 7% per annum in 5 countries, including Burkina Faso (8.4 in 2017), Ethiopia (8.1%), Côte d’Ivoire (7.3%), Tanzania (7.2%) and Ghana (7.1%). As the previous model of the world economic development is falling apart, and a new one is arising instead, some analysts claim that by 2050 the African economy can grow from 2.2 USD trillion (as of 2017) to 29 USD trillion, to outrun the USA and the European Union by GDP.<sup>1</sup>

The possibilities for economic growth of the African continent are expanding due to the rise in prices for primary goods that has started in late 2016; however, this factor is not the defining one for the development of Africa.

It is projected (by the RAS Institute for African Studies as well) that from the 2030s on, Africa is to become a crucial and almost unique global strategic reserve of raw materials within the framework of the New Production Revolution (also known as the Next Production Revolution, abbreviated to NPR). Currently the African continent holds leading positions in the world in terms of those primary goods that don’t have any analogues and are essential for the development of defense and innovative technologies of the 21st century. In other words, a number of metals imported by NATO member states (aluminium, cobalt, chrome, lithium, coltan, etc.) takes on military and strategic significance. Thus, for example, a degree of dependency of the US military industrial complex on non-ferrous and rare metals imported from some Sub-Saharan countries (DR Congo, SAR, Zimbabwe, etc.) and technologically necessary for advanced weaponry – engines for military aircraft in particular – amounts to 60%, and exceeds 70% for cobalt.

Other crucial factors of accelerated development of African countries are consumption growth on their internal markets, a diversification of economies in a number of states in the continent due to a greater share of services and manufacturing, and a significantly better business climate as a result of an improved investments legislation and a gradual stabilization of the domestic policy. Over the last 7 years, the index of competitiveness of the African countries has grown significantly. Such countries as Rwanda and Mauritius, where the respective indicator has reached 4.49, as

<sup>1</sup> Abramova I. Potential of the African Continent in the Updated Strategy of Development of the Russian Federation // African Studies in Russia. Yearbook 2014–2016. Moscow, 2017. P. 7.

well as Botswana (4.29), Kenya (3.9), Ethiopia (3.77), Senegal (3.74), Côte d'Ivoire (3.7) and Ghana (3.69), have successfully outrun the economies of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, Cambodia and Myanmar, in this respect, where this indicator doesn't exceed 3.6.<sup>1</sup>

As per the Doing Business ranking, three African countries – Mauritius (25th place), Rwanda (41st place) and Morocco (69th place) – outrun such countries as Indonesia (72nd place), China (78th place) and India (100th place).<sup>2</sup>

In other words, investment attractiveness of Africa is no less than that of Asian leaders in economic development; Africa even outruns them in some positions.

However, it was the growth of private consumption that became the main trigger of development of the African economy in 2000s. As per our calculations, its contribution to economic growth amounted to 40–60% during that period. Private consumption was growing by 3.7% annually on the average during the period from 2010 to 2018.<sup>3</sup> Such growth of consumption was largely provided by the rapidly increasing African population, as well as a stepped-up formation of the middle class, which currently accounts for approximately 350 million people, or one third of Africa's population. As per our calculations, while the volume of domestic consumption in the continent exceeded 920 USD billion in 2017 (it was 680 USD billion in 2008), it can increase up to 2.2 USD trillion by 2030. It will happen mostly due to the increased purchasing power of the middle class population, which will at least double in number.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, using resources as its competitive advantages, balancing actively between long-time and new partners, attracting financial and technological resources, promoting human capital, today's Africa gradually turns into a powerful player in global politics and economy, a necessary element to face the Big Challenges.

The econometric forecast and analysis performed by the RAS Institute for African Studies has shown that the curve reflecting the trend of “strategic interest of external actors in the region” in 2020–2025 is to change the angle and curvature of its ascent from fair and shallow to sharp and steep. According to the forecast, this tendency is likely to prevail for at least two forthcoming decades.

Besides, as per our estimations, the significance of subregions of the African continent will increase asynchronously. Today the greatest strategic interests of old and new actors alike lie in the South Mediterranean, which embraces both North Africa and the Sahel area, including Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Algeria, Burkina Faso, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, Sudan and Eritrea.

In 2020s, a greater focus will be on the Wider Red Sea region, which partially overlaps the South Mediterranean area. It includes African and Asian countries with access to the Red Sea (apart from the abovementioned, these are Egypt, Eritrea and Sudan, Djibouti, Israel, countries of the Arabian Peninsula, the Socotra Archipelago, Seychelles and farther up to the Chagos Archipelago) plus the African Hin-

terland without access to the coast, which includes Ethiopia, South Sudan, the eastern part of Chad and the northern part of Kenya.

Since the end of 2020s, significance of south-east and south African subregions (Tanzania, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, SAR and related territories), known as the Southern Cone of Africa, will start growing rapidly.

In the next 10 years, the countries striving for global domination will escalate their struggle for dominance in North Africa and Sahel; a willingness of Western financial foundations to hold and support “research” events and discussions on this very subregion in cooperation with Russian scientific centers, which clearly intensified in recent months, is an indirect proof of that. First of all, the region is closely tied with the European Union, its closest Northern neighbor. And it's not only a matter of geographical proximity, although the distance between Europe and Africa is no more than 14 km in the area of the Strait of Gibraltar. A struggle for African resources, including oil and gas, is one of the most important economic reasons of the European expansion in North Africa and Sahel, although not the only one. Countries of this subregion represent an important market for the products and technologies of those European states competing with other players in Africa – notably the USA, China and Russia.

*The Red Sea region* is expected to experience an economic boom in 2020–2030s, which will increase its geostrategic significance because of its active integration into the global infrastructure, as well as transport, information and communication links. It is largely connected with closer attention to the region in the framework of the New Silk Road project and the Chinese Dream megaproject. The subregion has already become a place of rapid construction of military bases for external power centers, which is a clear evidence of its long-term importance for leading global powers. (Military bases and facilities belonging to the USA, France, PRC, Saudi Arabia, Italy, FRG, Turkey, UAE, Japan and other countries have recently been built or are in the process of construction in the African flank of the subregion).

Geostrategic significance of the *South Cone of Africa* is forecast to grow in a longer term of about 15–20 years. It will depend on the intensity of bringing newly discovered huge but hard-to-obtain hydrocarbon resources in the Mozambique Channel, as well as supplies of strategic raw materials, mostly rare or rare earth metal ores in the area of the Copper Belt and in South Zimbabwe, into commercial operation; a factor in these operations is the intensity of China's trying to integrate these resources into its strategic potential.

Speaking of countries, three potentially significant regional centers of force can be defined in Sub-Saharan Africa and one in North Africa. Each of them will be able to aim for a significant role beyond the African continent in a medium-term (7–12 years) or a long-term (15–20 years) forecast. They are the SAR, Nigeria and Ethiopia in Sub-Saharan Africa, and Egypt in North Africa. Key factors on behalf of these countries are a rapidly growing population (191 million in Nigeria, 105 million in Ethiopia, almost 100 million in Egypt and 55 million in the SAR)<sup>5</sup>, a locally powerful (Nigeria, Egypt, RAS) or a rapidly growing econ-

<sup>1</sup> <http://reports.weforum.org/global-competitiveness-index-2017-2018/competitiveness-rankings> (accessed: 04.07.2018).

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.doingbusiness.org/~media/WBG/DoingBusiness/Documents/Annual-Reports/English/DB2018-Full-Report.pdf> (accessed: 13.07.2018).

<sup>3</sup> Calculations are based on World Bank. 2017. World Development Indicators 2017. Washington, DC.

<sup>4</sup> Calculations are based on abovementioned sources and [https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/african-economic-outlook-2017\\_aeo-2017-en#page29](https://read.oecd-ilibrary.org/development/african-economic-outlook-2017_aeo-2017-en#page29).

<sup>5</sup> The World Factbook. URL: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html> (accessed: 31.07.2018).

omy (Ethiopia), significant military forces as compared to other African countries, undisputed achievements and ambitions in a struggle for the role of the “African leader” and/or “a growth driver” of the continent (the African analogue of the role Germany plays in the EU; its integration model was adopted by the African Union as an example).

Unfortunately, it is only during the recent 2–3 years that Russia has fully realized the importance of using the “African vector” to solve the strategic tasks of its own economic development; economic sanctions imposed on Russia by Western countries proved to be the decisive factor. Russian economic operators still don’t feel like “pushing their way out of the comfort zone” to cross over to the South instead of the West. However it has to be done. A decision to develop a new Strategy for Relations of the Russian Federation with African States, made at the meeting of the Foreign Ministry Collegium in May 2018, is an evidence of a turn towards Africa. A previous Strategy was adopted in 1994, so currently it doesn’t meet the interests of either Russia or Africa. In this regard, radical reinforcement of Russia’s focus on the African dimension is essential, including political, economic and cultural components (education and staff training in particular).

The Africa-Russia Summit in Sochi scheduled for October 2019 will involve participation of most leaders of the African countries and the President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin as the first full-scale event of this kind, not only in the history of Russia, but in the history of the USSR as well, to become the most important step in the devel-

opment of Russia’s relations with Africa. The Russia-Africa Economic Forum, involving leaders of African countries and heads of international organizations, will be held as part of the Summit’s program. Russia is trying to recover its positions in the continent, which were lost in the 1990s, but it’s getting progressively harder each day, considering the continuously increasing competition, changes in the African ruling elites, and reduced financial opportunities of the Russian Federation. That’s why our country needs to define those African countries most beneficial for political and economic interaction, and to decide on sectors of their economies deserving cooperation, in order to focus on them primarily.

Deliveries of manufactured goods to African countries can become a driver of development for non-resource-based industries of the Russian economy, and contribute to the solution of the problem about a greater share of the Russian non-resource-based export formulated by V.V. Putin in his decrees of May 2018. Specifically, it is about manufacturing of railway equipment, agro-industrial and transport machinery; agricultural production; nuclear, radio and digital technologies.

Russia needs to get back to Africa on a permanent basis, not just to catch up with the others, but clearly recognizing a need to interact with the Africans in all areas. Active Russian-African cooperation will let both countries obtain geopolitical and geo-economic dividends, by promoting development of their economies and reinforcing positions of the Russian Federation and African states on the global arena.

**E. Agazzi<sup>1</sup>**

## THE RIDDLE OF PREDICTABILITY

### Knowing the future

Humans have always been eager and anxious to know the future and rather often have looked for the satisfaction of this desire through the intermediation of privileged persons who were supposed to be in contact with the gods (such as oracles) or which were simply endowed with the gift of “reading the future” (such as fortune-tellers of various sorts that can be found in every culture and are still present in our “advanced” societies). Modernity has found in science the secularized replacement of that old belief and it is well known that the precise prediction of the appearance in the sky of the Halley comet in the years 1758–1759 greatly

contributed to the intellectual and social prestige of natural science in the 18th century. Even in times closer to us, the prediction of the gravitational deflection of light observed in 1919 was a decisive factor in the acceptance of Einstein’s general relativity theory.

### Prediction and determinism

The general intellectual background of these conceptions was a rigid deterministic view not only of physical nature, but also of human existence and historical events. This view seemed to be overcome when the new natural science was conceived as the ground for technological *applications* in which the exact knowledge of the deterministic natural mechanisms allowed for the design of *artefacts* that could be put at the service of humankind and efficiently contribute to the solution of its different problems. This fruitful combination of natural determinism and human creativity in projecting and inventing machines was seen as the justification of the thesis that advancements of science and technology constitute the essence of *progress*. This idea is the core of the positivist outlook which feels itself justified in proposing this view as a perspective on the future of humankind precisely because the concept of *prediction* was structurally entailed in the pattern of technological *machines*.

Indeed in a machine nothing is mysterious because its structure and way of functioning were known *before* the

<sup>1</sup> Professor of the University of Genoa (Italy), foreign member of the RAS and of the Mexican Academy of Sciences, Ph. D. Director of the Interdisciplinary Center for Bioethics of the Panamerican University of Mexico City. His publications include more than 80 books, of which he is the author and/or the editor, and about 1000 scientific papers and articles, including contributions to books, anthologies, encyclopaedias, and journals. He is the editor of “Epistemologia”, an Italian journal for the Philosophy of Science, and of “Bioethics Update” (an international journal for bioethics), a member of the International editorial board of the journal “Matters of Philosophy”, a member of the editorial board of several international scientific journals, and of dictionaries and encyclopaedias. Professor Emeritus of the University of Fribourg (Switzerland). He was President (and is now Honorary President) of the International Academy of Philosophy of Science (Brussels), of the International Federation of the Philosophical Societies (FISP), of the International Institute of Philosophy (Paris), and of several other Academies and educational institutions of different countries.

construction of the concrete machine itself, being the consequence of the skilful application of scientific knowledge that could explain how and why the machine had to function according to its *project*. This explains the fascination that the idea of machine enjoyed during the 18th and 19th century: if we are able to propose a machine-model in order to interpret and explain a particular physical process, we have the impression of having understood it completely and the same attitude can be extended also to the comprehension of non physical processes (like the psychic or the social ones), when we are able to read them as the manifestation of certain idealized “mechanisms”. It is clear that such readings are possible by ignoring a lot of features of the system so modelled, but it is often said that such features are not essential and can be removed by further refinements of the mechanism proposed.

### The limits of the mechanistic models

These mechanistic models certainly produce an intellectual satisfaction because they contribute to the *understanding* of a given domain of reality thanks to an *analogy* with more familiar domains or simply through an abstract idealization. Their limitation, however, quickly appears when they are used in order to offer *predictions* regarding the domain under investigation. The reason usually adduced for such limitation is of a quantitative nature: it is pointed out that any such model only contains a small number of parameters, whereas the concrete domain contains many more, and if we tried to take them also into account, we would have to do with a great deal of equations whose simultaneous control would imply a huge computational task. There is perhaps a little grain of truth in this alleged explanation but its inadequacy becomes patent if one considers that the advancements in computer technology have put at our disposal computational tools that can certainly afford such difficult tasks. In the popular literature it is often said, for instance, that a good modern computer can do in a couple of minutes a calculation that had required the uninterrupted work of hundreds of well trained human mathematicians during some centuries. In the same vein one could find in the popular literature regarding artificial intelligence in the 1970s the claim that the human brain, with its billions of neurons, is a computer that (according to the computer technology of those times) would have the material dimensions of the Empire State Building, requiring for its functioning an energy supply equivalent to that produced by the dozens of the most advanced plants for the production of electricity functioning at that time.

### From quantity to complexity

The weakness of the perspective that lies behind those popular images was that it focused only on *quantity* and ignored *complexity*. Purely quantitative problems can be mastered (perhaps) by more and more powerful computing apparatuses, but complexity introduces the great novelty of the *interactions* between the different parameters that can be represented in the model, and this notoriously creates a whole spectrum of hard problems that exist already when the parameters at stake are very few. This is the phenomenon mathematically denoted by the notion of *non-linearity* whose first announcements were developed in a famous paper by Henri Poincaré on the “Three bodies prob-

lem” (1889–1890). The problem is conceptually simple and clear: the only physical interaction considered is the mutual gravitational attraction between material bodies expressed by the Newtonian law which is *deterministic* and allows for good predictions if the system considered consists only of two bodies. Starting with three bodies, however, the application of this deterministic law does not lead to a general solution permitting to predict the dynamical behaviour of this system in time, because after a short initial time interval in which the behaviour is sufficiently “determined”, it rapidly gives rise to a highly unpredictable trend (this is often qualified as “chaotic” behaviour). This does not prevent that certain “regularities” be found in this chaotic development. All these sophisticated and skilful mathematical developments cannot obscure, however, the fact that complexity drastically prevents predictability even when only deterministic actions are present.

### Roads, maps and compass

The notion of linearity can be intuitively expressed by saying that, in case we can determine the status  $S_0$  of a system at time  $t = 0$  with an order of precision  $\varepsilon$ , we can predict the status  $S_n$  of the same system at time  $t = n$  with an order of precision  $\varepsilon$  too. Non-linearity, on the contrary, occurs when the real status  $S_n$  of the system at time  $t = n$  not only greatly differs from the one which could be predicted in the linear case, but cannot even be predicted through a different mathematical procedure.

The moral of the above reflections is that the most rational and efficient strategy for planning personal and collective actions cannot rely on the dream of looking for exact predictions secured by the creation of skilful deterministic “mechanisms”. The increasing awareness that the situations of real life are always *complex* has destroyed the optimistic (and naïve) confidence in this methodological approach whose tacit implicit presupposition was that everything in the physical world as well as in human affairs is already pre-determined, so that what matters is to detect the roads and the maps of this enormous territory. According to this view, if we want to achieve a certain goal, we must be able to find in the map the suitable itinerary able to carry us to that goal. Unfortunately, as we have seen, no such maps are available.

Hence, what shall we conclude? Are we lost? Are we reduced to simple guessing and hope to have good fortune? Not necessarily: we simply need to change our image. Instead of dreaming of a non-existent map, we should better consider how one can explore a still unknown territory. An instrument that could be of help for him is certainly a compass, that indicates a *direction* in which he could move, an instrument particularly useful if he knows, with a sufficient degree of confidence, where is the goal he intends to reach. In such a situation he could correct his itinerary from time to time, make detours if necessary, in order to circumvent obstacles or impracticable routes, but always having some *orientation* regarding the direction of his walking.

### Orienting values

The image of the compass suggests us the way for overcoming the intrinsic limitations of predictability: what we need are certain criteria of *orientation* and these can be identified with certain *fundamental goals* or *values* that can inspire the



personal or the collective action, depending on the situation we are considering. The fundamental characteristic of such goals is that they are not “chosen” because they are instrumental to the achievement of something else, but are considered valuable *in themselves*.

Any concrete human action, be it individual or collective, is characterized by the fact of pursuing a consciously adopted principal goal and using strategies or courses of action considered as suitable means for attaining the goal in the conditions and circumstances in which the action takes place. Normally this course of action is articulated into several “segments”, each one having basically the same structure as the global action, but with the characteristic of being “subserving” to the overall goal, in the sense of being instrumental to the attaining of this goal. This entails that there is a significant margin of contingency and flexibility in these segments, whose possible modifications and arrangements are rationally justified by the change of conditions, the unexpected appearance of obstacles or facilities encountered “on the way”, that impose or suggest changes with the view of keeping the *orientation* towards the overall goal. Therefore, the stability of this goal is the precondition for the rationality of the flexibility of the different courses of action involved, and this means that the overall goal is in a certain sense *unconditional*, whereas the partial goals of the single segments are intrinsically conditioned.

It is evident that, in order to play such a high role, the overall goal must be really *unconditional*, that is, it must have the quality of a solid *value* worthy of being pursued *in itself*, as we have said and, because of that, capable of *giving a sense* to the individual or collective action under consideration. Such values cannot be found in science and technology, whose internal logic and structure are typically *hypothetical* and this fact suggests an analysis of the crisis in which finds itself modern civilization, that seems to have given to technoscience the full confidence for the solution of all human problems. Technoscience has given to humankind a tremendous power, but no orientation regarding how to make use of this power. Today we feel that more intellectual energy and commitment is needed in order to complement the technoscientific progress with an ethical, social, spiritual reflection from which we could derive some orientation concerning the way of making that progress profitable for the benefit of humankind. This conclusion is by no means unexpected: it is simply the consequence of having sufficient awareness of the *complexity* of the “World of Life”, that entails that no single aspect of this world can offer the right solution for the global problems. They require a cooperative interrelation of all the dimensions of this complex world.

### Emergence

There is another deeper reason for the difficult confluence of predictability and complexity. As is well known, a fundamental notion intimately related with the concept of a complex system is that of *emergence*. It consists in the awareness that a complex system is constituted by several interrelated subsystems, each of which is characterized by specific properties and functions. The global system, however, has properties and functions that are different from those of any subsystem though they “depend”, on the other hand, from the good functioning and the good interrelations among the

subsystems. A living organism is a clear example of this interdependence and emergence, and emergence is really something new that cannot be neither logically derived nor causally produced by the simple juxtaposed actions of the single subsystems but requires the special arrangements and subsistence of the intersystemic interactions. This, however, is only half of the story, because the existence, the qualities and functions of the global system also depend on its relations with its *environment*, relations that we can call extra-systemic with respect to the particular system considered, but are normally also intersystemic from a higher point of view.

Emergent features are, strictly speaking, unpredictable. Nevertheless, there is another sense according to which they are predictable. This happens when a system has its own dynamic *development*, that is, when the system goes through successive steps in which it preserves its own identity but at the same time acquires (or loses) certain properties, capabilities, functions. Living organisms are again the most familiar example: the “metamorphosis” of an insect that begins as an egg, then spends a few weeks as a larva (similar to a worm), then remains some more weeks in a closed isolation as a chrysalis and finally comes out as a “perfect insect” in the form of a beautiful butterfly is an eloquent example of a combination of emergence and predictability. The abundance of such examples in the domain of living organisms, however, does not capture the most radical sense of predictability that concerns something that did not occur yet but is expected to occur. In fact, the case of successive steps in the individual development of an organism can be considered as “observed regularities” in which certain emergent features appeared in a given sequence during the development of the organism. Therefore, it is simply a matter of scientific induction to “predict” that a certain living organism that we are observing now will show certain specific features after a certain temporal interval. Hence the genuine case of prediction concerns future events of which we do not have similar examples in the past and which we believe either that they have a serious probability of spontaneously occurring, or that we think that we could more or less efficiently produce.

### Producing the future

Especially in this second case predictability receives a great importance, because it can entail a *responsibility* for the consequences of the actions we intend to realize. In fact, when we operate on a given complex reality, it is theoretically certain that our action will have effects on the whole system and we are unable to know in what measure this could determine unexpected changes in the system and even contribute to the *emergence* of unpredictable situations. The introduction of technological novelties is paradigmatic in this sense and for this reason requires *prudence* which does not coincide with the most common sense of “carefulness” but has the deeper philosophical meaning of a complex judgment in which different aspects, values and constraints are evaluated and a wise choice is proposed. The interesting fact is that in this prudential judgment the maximum level of predictability must be looked for, and this usually relies upon scientific and technological knowledge (considered in a suitable broad sense), whose principal contribution should first consist in the indication of ac-

tions that *ought not* be realized because the technoscientific knowledge available clearly indicates the negative effects that would follow. Secondly, on the ground of technoscientific knowledge it would be *recommended* what actions with positive affects and small negative side-effects could be promoted, remaining conscious, however, that unexpected emergent situations could occur.

Two basic considerations support the above reflections. The first concerns the fact that, in the last analysis, future is the only temporal space available to us, one in which we can bring about something, simply because the past has already occurred, is no longer at our disposal, cannot be modified, and the present is just a fugitive instant that goes away quickly and is simply “open” towards the future. Hence, the future is the only proper dimension of our actions. The second ground concerns predictability. We have stressed the limitations of predictability, linked in particular with the non-linearity of complex systems dynamics. Nevertheless it is logically impossible to envisage actions in the future without some measure of prediction, hence, prediction is also indispensable. A partial solution of this difficulty comes from the consideration that, in the initial stages of a dynamic complex process the development is rather close to linearity, and this means that we can rely upon certain observed *trends* in order to make predictions endowed with an acceptable plausibility. This is why we need and are also entitled to avail ourselves of scientific and technological knowledge in projecting the future, though remaining vigilant towards the decreasing reliability of our predictions with the increase of the time span of our prognoses.

### Globalization

What remains little known, however, is the impact of the extrasystemic conditions, that we can call *environments* in a broad sense, that is, not only in the most familiar sense of the ecological natural environment, but in the more comprehensive sense of the increasing *globalization* that entails a growing ethnic and cultural pluralism directly affecting precisely those general views regarding high level “unconditional” values that preside over the orientation of human conduct and on overall judgment.

We are obviously referring to that great contemporary phenomenon that is known under the term “migration” When we speak of migration today we mean something different from the traditional fact that certain persons abandon their native place of residence and go “abroad” with the aim of finding a more suitable place to live for a variety of reasons, that could go from the search of a good job to the condition of being forced to go into exile for political reasons. This phenomenon has always existed in history and regarded single individuals or small groups of individuals, who were qualified as “emigrants” from their country of origin and “immigrants” in the new country of residence. When we speak of migration today we mean the displace-

ment of entire populations that enter the borders of an already settled population and want to find in that territory their final destination. This phenomenon is not totally new, having occurred some times in human history, and has produced deep changes in it. The best known example is perhaps that of the so-called “Barbarian invasions” that eventually produced the end of the Western Roman Empire in the 5th century, an event that is usually indicated as the beginning of the Middle Ages. Such old migrations usually concerned nomadic populations that for centuries had been accustomed to make violent incursions, raids, plunders and then returned to their nomadic way of life, but in that final stage they became stable occupants of a part of the invaded territory and gradually mixed themselves with the original population. Today nomadic populations are almost inexistent and migration concerns people who are inhabitants of a given territory or even citizens of a given state and leave their country in order to settle in a different one.

This substantial novelty requires a pertinent study of the nature, the causes and the forms of contemporary migration which in the last decades has become, so to speak, more “spectacular” due to its magnitude: hundreds and hundreds of people have come daily especially to certain European countries and their presence has produced a great amount of political, social, economic and diplomatic problems, tensions and debates that have impressed the public opinion.

An important element in the characterization of contemporary migrations is the fact that big groups of migrants belonging to a single ethnic population have a certain *cultural identity* constituted by a variety of customs, moral rules, family structure, social conventions, religious beliefs, general conceptions concerning the natural environment, the nature of humans, the status of men and women, the nature and structure of society, the sense of life, the authority of tradition and so on. These groups are not only culturally different from the culture of the country where they arrive, but also from that of other migrant groups and this fact easily produces a “clash of cultures” whose depth and effects are unpredictable and vary from country to country depending on several factors. There are countries that, for historical reasons, have already a certain experience of “multiethnic” composition and have tried to cope with it according to different “models”, whereas for other countries this situation is new and, therefore, more difficult to manage, because it has direct impact on *concrete actions* and conducts that inevitably emerge also on the public stage.

The spirit of tolerance and dialogue appears as the only means for attaining a satisfactory solution for this *emergent* problem of our time, a solution that cannot consist neither in an uncommitted relativism, nor in the pretention of finding in a single model of rationality and morality the right solution. This, however, is the most serious challenge for our time, that must find the way of putting reason as the only alternative option to the use of violence.

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

## THE WORLD OF CIVILIZATIONS – 2100. SIX POSTULATES OF PREDICTABILITY AND MANAGEABILITY

The conviction in unpredictability and unmanageability of the future society's development has widely spread in the recent decade. This is brought about by the chaotic character of the world development in the global crisis environment, as well as the fact that the now predominant industrial paradigm of social science has become old to a considerable extent and does not reflect radical changes in the structure and dynamics of the today's society. The idea of unpredictability and unmanageability justifies mistakes in numerous long-term forecasts and strategic helplessness of authorities at the international and national levels.

However, such idea is deeply wrong. Radical transformations witnessed over the world are in conformity with laws and are predictable. They can and should be exerted influence on basing on the new paradigm of social science, answering the realities of the 21st century. The cornerstones of this paradigm were laid by the great thinkers of the 20th century – Pitirim Sorokin and Nikolay Kondratyev, Vladimir Vernadsky and Nikita Moiseev, Joseph Schumpeter and Fernand Braudel, Vasily Leontyev and Alvin Toffler. The modern Russian academic schools (civilization, Russian cyclism, noosphere, global modeling and forecasting technological and economic patterns, as well as social and demographic, etc.) that perceived and synthesized this academic heritage, laid the foundations of the new integral paradigm of social science and interaction of the society and nature serving as an important prerequisite for reliable forecasting and long-term strategic planning [5].

Long-term sustainable development strategies have been worked out based on this paradigm and presented to the United Nations and other international organizations. They were based on partnership of civilizations, overcoming the civilization crisis and taking the trajectory of global sustainable development, establishment of multipolar world order based on partnership of civilizations [1].

The following six postulates originating out of the mentioned paradigm can be worded. They determine predictability and manageability of civilizations for the period until the end of the 21st century [2].

*Civilization cycles.* The world of civilizations uniting various local civilizations in the global one and the world

civilizations as historical eras of global civilizations develop according to the governing laws of cyclical dynamics. There are super-long cycles of world civilizations' change and replacement observed over the 10 millennia of transfer to civilization development of the humanity: neolithic, early-hierarchical (early class society), antique, medieval, early-industrial and late-industrial world civilizations. Four generations changed over the 5 millennia of local civilizations existence, at the same time the law of historical time compression is in force: the length of super-long civilization cycles reduced from several millennia in the era of ancient civilizations down to several centuries in the second half of the II millennium A.D.

In the end of the 20th century, the humanity entered the era of the industrial and technological world civilization's completion, the 4th generation of local civilizations and establishment of the integral humanistic civilization and the 5th generation of local civilizations that will be predominant in the second half of the 21st century.

The main contours of the new historical era are determined in the works of the leaders of the modern civilization school.

*Civilization crises.* The change of super-long civilization cycles is accompanied by long-drawn-out and deep civilization crises, intensification of chaos and turbulence in the global dynamics, aggravation of political contradictions. However, according to the definition of the Noble Prize winner Ilya Prigogine, the foundations of another historical era of civilization dynamics are laid in this chaos, a new world order is being born [4].

The world entered exactly the same civilization crisis in the end of the 20th century, and that was expressed with slowing the economic growth down, exacerbation of periodical economic crises, depopulation's spreading, decrease of rates of labour efficiency growth, widening gap between richness and poverty, energetic, environmental and geopolitical crises, terrorism and wars spreading. At the same time, the circle of countries, in which the foundations of integral humanistic and noospheric civilizations are laid, is widening. It can be expected, that starting from the second quarter of the 21st century, the civilization crisis will be in the process of overcoming, and the new world civilization will be predominant in the most developed countries in the middle of the century.

*Civilization sociogenetics.* The process of transformation of the six components of the civilization genotype (civilization code) takes place simultaneously – environmental and sociodemographic, technological and economic, sociocultural and geopolitical. The processes of establishing the noospheric energy efficient and environmentally friendly way of production and consumption, socially beneficial and community-focused production are developing, accompanied by moderate population growth, formation of the scientific and technological revolution of the 21st century, formation of the integral economic system – social-noospheric and innovation-focused establishment of integral social and cultural system, as well as sustainable

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

multipolar world order based on dialogue and partnership of civilizations.

The main contours of the new genotype are becoming more and more evident in the forefront, rising civilizations. At the same time, signs of decay and decomposition of the departing industrial and capitalist era are more and more clearly manifested in descending civilizations.

*World leaders change.* The dynamics of the world of civilizations is characterized by periodical oscillations of the historical pendulum, change of the world leaders. If Eastern civilizations were leaders in the Middle Ages (Chinese, Indian, Moslem), in the early modern period, especially during the industrial civilization era, leadership passed over to the West European civilization and, starting from the second half of the 20th century, to the North American civilization. The Japanese and Eurasian (the USSR) civilizations were also among the leaders. However, the shift of the center of civilizations' creative activities to the East forecasted by Pitirim Sorokin and Arnold Toynbee has been observed since the end of the 20th century. The Chinese and Indian civilizations are becoming world leaders. The North American civilization's attempt to secure its dominance and establish the unipolar world order in the 21st century collapsed. The Eurasian civilization experienced another catastrophe and is starting to revive, establishing its leadership in building the multipolar world order. At the same time, the risk of suicidal clash of civilizations using nuclear weapons has grown. This makes transfer to the multipolar world order essential based on dialogue and partnership of civilizations. In this case, interlinking of the two mega-projects implemented in Big Eurasia are of decisive importance: Big Eurasian Partnership – Russia's initiative and the Chinese One Belt – One Road initiative.

*Noosphere establishment and formation of the integrat-ed paradigm of social science.* Civilization crisis overcoming and establishment of the integral humanistic noospheric civilization is a new stage of noosphere establishment, which is brought about by development and effective implementation in practice of achievements of the scientific revolution of the 21st century, as well as active use of its results by power structures at the national and global levels. It will be required to overcome the contemporary crisis of science for that, as well as provide outrunning rates of its development and overcome the existing gap between power and science. The approved strategic decisions should be based on scientific achievements and subjected to scientific expert examination.

At the same time, the special feature of the scientific revolution specified by Thomas Kuhn should be taken into account: a new scientific paradigm is born beyond global science [3]. The leaders of the contemporary scientific revolution in social science are social academies of sciences and scientific organizations. The new paradigm of social science in Russia is worked out by academic schools, united departments for research of cycles and forecasting from the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences and departments of the International Academy of Global Research jointly with scholars of the Lomonosov Moscow State University. A strong intellectual center was set up, civilization and Eurasian forums, cross-disciplinary discussions are regularly held, academic journals *The Partnership of Civilizations* and *Strategic Priorities* are published. There is a network

of websites, where fruitful relations with foreign scholars are established. Thus, the foundations of the scientific platform for overcoming the civilization crisis and establishing the humanistic noospheric civilization, enhancement of predictability and manageability of future development have been actually formed.

*Succession of generations and synthesis of scientific and educational, and digital revolutions of the 21st century.* The world of civilizations is transformed on the basis of the law on succession of generations. The leading generations change every thirty years. A new generation perceives the heritage accumulated by the proceeding generations, adapts it to the new conditions of development and realizes within the period of its creative activities. Currently, the period of the 1990s generation's leadership is ending and there is the transfer to the 2020s generation's leadership going on. This generation is exposed to the high unemployment global crisis and ready for radical changes. However, representatives of this generation do not understand the essence of the current changes, contents of the crisis and ways of its overcoming, it is not armed with clear ideals of the future society. The existing system of education considerably lost its fundamental character and creativity, knowledge obtained using the Internet is to a considerable extent distorted and disorients the new generation. Because of that, the contemporary revolution in education and its synthesis with scientific and digital revolutions of the 21st century are of great importance for establishment of the foundations of the humanistic noospheric civilization.

The main directions of education's transformation are increase of its fundamental character and creativity, as well as continuity and use of modern digital technologies for spreading new knowledge, realizing a new paradigm. The international digital civilization education program developed by the Pitirim Sorokin and Nikolay Kondratyev International Institute is particularly focused on that, as well as setting up the open university of the dialogue of civilizations, publishing a textbook series for it and issue of the international scientific and educational journal "The Partnership of Civilizations". The course of lectures "The Dialogue and Partnership of Civilizations" based on the textbook with S.V. Lavrov's preface was presented at the global processes faculty at the Lomonosov Moscow State University. Humanitarian filling of information networks lies ahead for forming the new generations' worldview in the spirit of perception of their own civilization heritage, dialogue and partnership of civilizations.

Thus, the original basis for enhancement of predictability and manageability of the civilization development and transfer to a new historical era is currently being formed exactly in Russia, which is in the epicenter of the modern civilization crisis and at the same time has powerful academic traditions. It is required for this platform to be perceived and supported by power structures.

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**Sh. Aziz<sup>1</sup>**

## **GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES OF PREDICTABILITY AND MANAGEABILITY**

The globalised nature of the world we live in has had a transformative effect on both a micro and macro level. It has helped construct a geo-economic new normal, which has been steadily transforming global affairs. The ripple effect of globalisation has reached far and wide. It has opened markets to an unprecedented extent, creating new opportunities and lifting millions out of extreme poverty. These changes, coupled with significant new developments including the Belt and Road initiative, are substantially re-drawing the economic map of Eurasia.

As economies mature, they increasingly need to change and deregulate to sustain their rate of growth. It is important to focus on innovation, improving its productivity and continue adding value. Developing countries should progress from producing components or goods which are then sold under another company's brand name, to developing its own internationally recognised brands. They should focus more on research and development in order to develop high-tech products which can be exported around the world.

Three quarters of a century after the end of the Second World War, we are also faced with a rapidly changing geopolitical environment. The power balance is no longer weighted to the West, as Asia gains more and more prominence. We are increasingly seeing that the global centres of influence are evolving. We are experiencing a United States which is increasingly withdrawing from the world stage – whether in the role it plays in the Middle East or by its calls for other nations to play a larger role within NATO. The role of existing multilateral alliances is also diminishing, with several key global players being increasingly preoccupied with domestic over international concerns. At the same time, some of the old Cold War rivalries have been re-emerging.

Many countries appear to be at an inflexible point. The old world order has been eroding – but a new structure for the maintenance of peace and security among nations has yet to emerge. As a result, we rely on ways of cooperating, and institutions to foster this cooperation, which are clearly outdated. At the same time, we are riding the tide of an even more fundamental global transformation. In the past century, our world has changed more fundamentally than it did over the history of mankind. The pace of change is accelerating at a record speed.

The challenges facing us, in our increasingly interconnected and globalized world, are also more wide-reaching

than ever. They include the spread of extremism and terrorism, the threat of economic crises, cyber-attack, epidemics and the fallout from conflict. The great challenge of our globalized world is that issues which arise in far-flung countries have the potential to affect us all.

On a global level, connectivity is the true driver of growth. Countries must focus on building lasting linkages and interdependencies as a way to boost jobs, economic activity and encourage development. With its forward-thinking Belt and Road initiative, China has made an important step in mobilising more than 60 nations to make a commitment to greater connectivity – thus indicating that the shift to this new paradigm is finally in sight for the world community. However, for the shift to focussing on connectivity to truly take root, continued engagement of all these countries – as well as other nations – is absolutely vital. The growing divisions in other parts of the world, and within society – on everything from racial and religious divides to the growing levels of income and opportunity inequality, need to be recognised and addressed without being allowed to escalate. It will be important for the countries that are making a commitment to boosting connectivity to, in time, demonstrate the positive impact it has had on their growth, prosperity and society. This is in order to present the attractive side of the new, even more interconnected world – a world where territorial conflict finally moves to be a thing of the past.

One of the greatest challenges we collectively face as a world is one of demographics. In the developed countries, this manifests itself in the form of shrinking and ageing populations, which places ever greater strain on the welfare state. Conversely, many parts of the world are witnessing a rapid population boom. With such demographic trends, broad-based educational reforms are vital. Young people trying to join the labour force should be equipped with the required skill sets, to boost the number of opportunities open to them. As populations expand, broad-based educational reforms are needed. Young people joining the labour force must have required skill sets, which limits the number of opportunities open to them. If they don't, the world runs the risk of having an alienated generation which feels no sense of investment and ownership in society – which can lead to a number of socio-economic and political issues. It runs the risk of having an alienated generation with a limited sense of disengagement with society. Conversely, unlocking the potential talent and capacity to work in these young people could be huge boost for the world. Policy makers should focus on making the most of this talent and capacity to work in these young people could be huge boost for all countries, increasing growth and prosperity.

About 800 million people still live in extreme poverty and suffer from hunger. In countries affected by conflict, the proportion of out-of-school children increased from 30

<sup>1</sup> Prime Minister (2004–2007), Finance Minister (1999–2004) of Pakistan. Senior Visiting Research Fellow at Oxford University, doctor of Business Administration. Author of a number of scientific and publicistic works, among them: "From Banking to the Thorny World of Politics", "Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests", and others. He was named "Finance Minister of the year" for 2001 by both Euromoney and The Banker magazines. Honorary Doctor of Laws at The Institute of Business Administration, University of Karachi (Pakistan). Mr. Aziz was awarded Global Leadership in Islamic Finance Laureate.

per cent in 1999 to 36 per cent in 2012. Substantial progress has already been made – as witnessed by the progress made since the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were agreed upon. The United Nations has referred to the MDGs as the “most successful anti-poverty movement in history”. The number of people living on less than \$1.25 a day has been reduced from 1.9 billion in 1990 to 836 million in 2015. While significant gains have been made for many of the MDG targets worldwide, progress has been uneven across regions and countries, leaving significant gaps.

Still, more work needs to be done to lift the remaining 800 million people out of extreme poverty. In 2015, the United Nations outlined the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which aim to continue the work to eradicate global poverty and fundamentally improve the lives of people across the world by its targeted date of 2030. It focuses on a holistic approach, and its goals include improving gender equality, spreading quality education, as well as building sustainable cities and achieving more environmentally-friendly growth.

Clearly, where there is absolute poverty – such as in cases of handicap, old age or illness – cash interventions are needed. But for sustainable long term development, targeted investment into areas that can make the most difference is key. Poverty is best fought not by subsidies and grants but by generating economic activity and giving people opportunities to earn money. For any development initiative to have a long term effect, the people it helps must feel a sense of ownership over it. For many developing countries reliant on agriculture, the provision of cheaper fertiliser, pesticides, quality seeds can have a significant effect in boosting economic activity. Ultimately all development and growth has to be needs-driven, and the needs of any one country will differ from another. Development agencies or governments or multinational organisations providing assistance must be able to adapt to these needs.

Above all, it is important to create an environment where people have the means and opportunity to start an enterprise and generate income. The roll out of microfinance – or small-scale loans – can have a transformative effect, offering new opportunities to start small businesses and boost activity. Dr Muhammad Yunus, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and founder of microcredit, has led the way in this – indeed, after following his work Pakistan was one of the first countries in the world introduce a regulatory framework for microfinance. The availability of microfinance allowed millions of people access to credit for the first time. Some banks catered specially for women and as a result a large proportion of loans were taken out by female borrowers, which became a crucial source of empowerment. Several other banks opened in rural and urban areas.

It is a government’s responsibility towards making efforts to manage welfare provision and the public health system, as well as ensure that poverty figures are monitored carefully and needs can be adequately addressed to generate economic activity and income where it is most needed. Skills and vocational training are a vital part of generating economic activity. However, countries should realise that helping their less well off neighbours will ultimately boost activity and help maintain security in the region as a whole. Helping your neighbour develop and prosper will help you in the long run, too. It is in the interest of every country to have prospering, stable neighbours at their borders.

Conflicts remain the biggest threat to human development, with fragile and conflict-affected countries typically experiencing the highest poverty rates. Gender inequality still persists despite the fact that more girls are now in school and women have gained ground in parliamentary representation in nearly 90 per cent of the 174 countries with data over the past 20 years. Women continue to face discrimination in access to work, economic assets and participation in private and public decision making.

One of the biggest challenges for many countries is not only how to encourage growth, but how to make sure it is equitable. With growth comes the problem of inequality. The economist Thomas Picketty has provided us with a stark warning about the dangers of the increasingly widening gap between the rich and poor. He has argued that inequality is a systemic feature of capitalism because capital accumulates on wealth faster than labour generates it, and that the rate of return from capital is higher than from labour by a ratio of about five to one. This means extra resources should be set aside to manage the problems created by inequality, with wide-ranging social sector reform being implemented. If prudent policies are not undertaken to manage this transition, the social implications could be significant. Capitalising on the opportunities presented by technology – from increased automation to so-called “disruptive” innovation, which can transform old industries for the better – could be a step towards bringing our economies into the 21st century and unlocking new opportunities.

Countries need to develop a way to better safeguard their systems from future economic crises. Many are still feeling the effects of the last global crash – but the nature of economic cycles means there will always be another downturn. However, prudent policy-making and a commitment to ongoing structural reform can guard us against potential shocks. As economies mature, they need to have continuous reform programmes in place to create new approaches, opportunities and improve productivity. Structural reform will help open up industries to world-class standards of management, while making them more competitive. Foreign investment brings global standards, innovation, lowers the chance for corruption – and it does not impact sovereignty.

It is only through continuous reform that we can stay ahead of the curve. It is the best way to create the absorptive capacity for growth and ensuring a prosperous future for all countries. The more established economies are making way for countries which are pursuing dynamic structural reform programmes. There isn’t a country – or an organisation – that is exempt from the urgent need to adapt and reform. Our technological changes make this more relevant than ever before. All policymakers should recognise that, in order to thrive, economies need to be subject to a continuing programme of broad-based structural reforms. Reforming a country should be an ongoing effort – change is the only constant.

Countries usually benefit from implementing an effective reform structural agenda involves opening up markets, increasing competitiveness, encouraging domestic and foreign investment. It is important to create an enabling environment for growth, and encouraging entrepreneurship and innovation. The government has a responsibility to provide good regulation and to ensure law and order is respected. It is also important to combine structural economic reforms with social sector improvements, boosting literacy rates,

providing opportunities to all citizens and improving gender equality. This will help empower people and give them a better future. Most importantly, we must remember that reform is a continuous process. This applies to developed and developing countries alike. If you stand still, you are in fact moving backwards.

We are living in the golden age of unprecedented technological change. We are buying goods and services that are cheaper and better than those of the past. Meanwhile, health, life expectancy and quality of life are improving. The “uberization” of the economy brings together supply and demand in a new and exciting way. More and more services are in the hands of the consumer. The ever-expanding frontiers of technology can be a huge boost for governments across the world. It can bring the following improvements in the delivery of public services for citizens, such as access to healthcare, and allow for a more efficient use of resources. Developments in e-governance could encourage good governance, transparency and allow for a smaller margin of error. Reducing people-to-people contact in all parts of government minimises the possible window for corruption.

However, where there are opportunities, there are also challenges. There will be consequences to these transformations that range from the socio-economic to the geopolitical. The way people work and live is rapidly changing. For some, automation means loss of jobs and the loss of livelihood. Policymakers across the world are finding ways to deal with significant changes in society, as well

as a more uncertain and splintered world. They must find a way to retrain workers who have lost their jobs to machines, providing them with adequate training and new adaptable skills. The rising problem of inequality and the gulf between rich and poor has the potential to bring serious tensions if not managed correctly. Our multilateral institutions are, at times, missing in action – we need a reformed and more effective United Nations to deal with future challenges and ensure and maintain global peace. Overall, the complexity of everything we do, both on a domestic and an international level, is presenting new challenges for all countries.

This means that we need strategic, far-sighted leadership to make the most of the opportunities that globalisation, the increasing interconnected world we live in and the technological revolution can bring. All countries need effective change management. Governments should focus on reforming our regulatory systems to reflect the changing world, but do it in a way that is careful not to stifle innovation. They should harness the opportunities technological change brings for social mobility, while guiding businesses through this transitional period and educating people how innovation can benefit them. They must provide access to the relevant skills training to unlock the opportunities all these changes can bring. This way, countries can ensure they build on the successes which increased cooperation has brought about so far, while continuing to work towards a brighter, more prosperous future.

## E. Bağış<sup>1</sup>

### GLOBAL DILEMMAS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF EURASIA, FROM A TURKISH PERSPECTIVE

We all live in an era where we have to be acquainted with “stoicism”. According to some: “Stoicism is about mastering what we can control and accepting what we cannot.”

The philosophy originated in the third century BC in Athens. The philosophy asserts that virtue (such as wisdom) is happiness and judgment should be based on behaviour, rather than words. We don’t control and cannot rely on external events, only ourselves and our responses.

AT Kearney issues a list of social and economic predictions every year and they are usually quite accurate. I wanted to check their predictions for 2019 before preparing my notes for St. Petersburg.

The summary of these predictions are:

1. The US – China trade war will intensify.
2. Bitcoin will lead to the consolidation and maturation of the cryptocurrency market.
3. The global trash crisis will spur innovations in waste management.
4. The global shipping industry will crash into new sulfur regulations.

5. The Xi – Putin relationship will be the world’s most consequential bromance.

6. The global anxiety epidemic will lead to a proliferation of new products.

7. A sand shortage will grind the gears of the global construction industry.

8. The looming emerging markets credit crisis will grow in both scale and scope.

9. Africa will be more connected than ever.

10. Real-life “Iron Man” will materialize in the form of exoskeletons.

We live in an age of complexity and unpredictability. On the one hand, the accelerating pace of globalization brings us closer in the fastest way. On the other hand, the world is being divided more and more on ethnicities, religions, sects and other factors. The humanity is trying to cope with the trauma of such a dilemma. Whereas some of us promote more integration and unity, others defend the idea of building walls or breaking away, which resembles the protectionist and isolationist tendencies of the interwar years. These conflicting policies prevent us from addressing the global challenges in unity, and leaves us vulnerable against them. It is no secret that the current system of the UN, which is a product of the Cold War, is no more capable of responding to the needs of the humanity. That is why we strongly and urgently call for the reformation of the UN

<sup>1</sup> Minister of European Union Affairs of Turkey (2009–2013), member of the Turkish Parliament representing Istanbul (2002–2015). Author of many academic papers published in journals and numerous articles in national and foreign newspapers as an international strategic thinker and consultant. Chairman of the “Occidental Studies Centre & Western Platform” at the Istanbul Aydin University, member of the Board of Trustees at Istanbul Ticaret University.

and the UN Security Council system, promoting the idea of “World is Bigger Than Five”.

My country, Turkey, is not immune to global and regional turbulences either. On the contrary, unlike some fortunate European Allies and partners, we stand right at the epicenter of multiple challenges, in a highly volatile geography.

I would like to draw your attention to our immediate neighborhood. In the south, in Middle East, we are facing the biggest turbulences of our time. In the north, we are surrounded by both frozen and actual conflicts among former Soviet Union Republics. In the west, we are an inherent part of the Balkans, where peace and stability remain fragile. Additionally, Turkey stands at the crossroads of the routes of migrants and Foreign Terrorist Fighters, which pose a direct threat not only to our country, but also to the whole international order.

Such a geography requires Turkey to be strong, resilient and active. This is key for the peace and stability of our region. It is also self-evident that the peace and stability of this geography is vital for Turkey’s well-being. So there is a mutual benefit here. That is why, Turkey has been following a principled foreign policy since its foundation by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, guided by the dictum: “Peace at Home, Peace in the World.”

To put this main principle into practice in today’s conditions, we have developed a new concept in our foreign policy, which we summarize with the catchphrase of “enterprising and humanitarian approach”. What does it mean?

First, our foreign policy is enterprising in the sense that we take initiative and action to promote peace and stability in our region and beyond, instead of adopting a passive stance. In this regard, we have developed many multilateral regional mechanisms to create inclusive platforms of dialogue and cooperation, in addition to our efforts of mediation and for the peaceful resolution of conflicts. Turkish-Russian relationship is a great example. Despite difficult times of the past the two neighbors enjoy much more dialogue at every level on almost every relevant issue these days. Meanwhile, it is my firm belief that we should continue to focus on the positive agenda items and further the cooperation in various fields. The High-Level Cooperation Council Meeting (HLCC) process led by President Putin and President Erdogan serves this goal.

Second, we follow a human-oriented foreign policy that is independent of geography, race, religion or culture. For example, you can see Turkey helping Somalia build its security forces; you can see Turkey in Afghanistan as part of NATO actively contributing to the security and stability of this country; you can see Turkey in Iraq as the biggest donor for the restructuring of our neighboring country; you can see Turkey in Bangladesh providing humanitarian assistance to the displaced people from Myanmar; or, you can see Turkey in Haiti providing relief efforts for the victims of the earthquake.

When it comes to Syria, we currently host more than 3.5 million Syrians in Turkey. The amount we have spent for our Syrians guests from our national sources has exceeded 35 billion US Dollars, whereas the total contribution we received from the international community is far from meeting the expectations.

Why do we follow such a humanitarian foreign policy? Because, we believe this is the only way to address the con-

temporary challenges in their roots, before they turn into global problems.

I would also like to elaborate on Turkey’s foreign policy priorities on regional basis, with a view to setting the records straight.

Let me start with the Balkans. As I have mentioned earlier, Turkey has been an inherent part of the Balkans for centuries. Also, as a founding member of the Council of Europe, longtime member of NATO, OECD, OSCE and a candidate country for the EU, Turkey constitutes an integral part of the West. Our vision for the Balkans is in full consistency with the vision of our Western partners. We fully and actively support the integration of all Balkans countries with the Euro-Atlantic institutions. In this regard, we see Prespa Agreement as an important step in resolving the name issue. We fully support the Belgrad-Prishtina Dialogue, believing that the normalization of Serbia-Kosovo relations is key to the stability of the Balkans. Again, we strongly support the unity, territorial integrity and stability of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its integration with the rest of the world. Yet, various circles, and most regrettably some of our partners, try hard to label Turkey as a so-called “destabilizing factor” in the Balkans. These efforts are groundless and irrational, unless they serve other purposes or interests.

Again in the Middle East, Turkey would be more delighted than any other country to see a stable, prosperous and democratic Syria and Iraq. Turkey has suffered the most due to the ongoing conflict in Syria and the fragmentation in Iraq. The threats emanating from the crisis in these countries constitute a direct challenge to our national security. That’s why we spare no effort to lead the joint efforts to stop further bloodshed in Syria and finding a political solution that would ensure long term peace and stability in our southern neighborhood. In this regard, we consider the Sochi Agreement on Idlib as a real success on the ground, which prevented further tragedies, including a new massive migration flow.

In the Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus issue continues to be at the core of the challenges. Turkey participated at the CransMontana meetings with a strong will and determination to contribute to the joint efforts for finding a just, viable and durable solution to the problem.

The positive approach and determination exhibited by Turkey, as well as the Turkish Cypriots were acknowledged by almost all in the international community. Regrettably, the Crans Montana meetings, hence the negotiation process initiated in 2008, concluded with no result. Turkey continues to believe that only a negotiated settlement based on dialogue and diplomacy can lead to a just, viable and durable solution in Cyprus. Therefore, we defend, Turkey and Greece should continue to work in this direction.

This also applies to the issue of the exploitation of the hydrocarbon resources of the island. Insisting on unilateral activities with a view to exclude and isolate the Turkish Cypriots in the island, will certainly not be productive for the long-term positive aspirations regarding our region.

Through high level and consistent political exchanges, dialogue channels should be kept up and running.

*The European Union.* Turkey’s EU accession process has been discussed from different angles during the more than fifty years old history of this relationship. In any case, “What happened to Turkey’s motivation towards EU acces-



sion?" is a million dollars question containing various aspects and perspectives.

Turkish and European scholars focus on discursive and policy (de)Europeanisation within Turkey. They have examined official EU statements and European right – wing Eurosceptic discourse on Turkish accession, as well as approaching the Turkish accession process through comparative perspectives with Western Balkan countries and post – war Germany.

These scholars underline that thanks to the EU accession process, civil society flourished across the country. However, the lack of attention paid to the NGOs became an issue of criticism over the years.

It is important to realize that accession process is not only a political and technical issue but also an issue between societies. In this sense, Netherlands emerge as an important case as it had strained relations with Turkey in the last years. It is pleasing to see a more positive attitude towards Turkey from Netherlands after their elections.

Looking at party competition in the domestic debate regarding European integration; when we compare the post-war debate in Germany with that of the early 2000s of Turkey underlining AK Party and the early Christian Democrats show a resemblance for the adhesion of European integration. Meanwhile, dominant left-wing opposition parties – CHP in Turkey and SPD in post-war Germany – took a similar stance against EU.

In short, by elaborating on critical topics and cases with regard to Turkish accession to the EU, it shall be underlined that if a reluctance in the Turkish side has emerged, the EU and Member States have had their share in this.

As I have reiterated many times in my earlier articles, Turkey's EU journey could easily be included in the Guinness book of records since no other country has waited this long in order to join any international organization. European Union's approach to Turkey has been perceived as insulting to our citizens at times especially during the last several years.

I have always argued that Turkey should perceive EU as a dietician. We all know that we should watch what we eat and we should exercise regularly in order to lead a healthy life. However, following a tested and proven prescription of a reliable dietician who monitors you regularly always helps. This fact would not change even if the dietician herself is overweight or has a few clogged arteries. On the other hand if a dietician starts insulting his or her client, that individual would be inclined to either look for another dietician or totally give up the program. It is my sincere hope that the biggest question in Brussels during the upcoming years would not be; "who lost Turkey?"

*Missile complex S-400.* I would like to discuss with you a report titled "Neither Friend nor Foe: The Future of U. S.-Turkey Relations", from the Council on Foreign Relations.

In the report, Eni Enrico Mattei Senior Fellow for Middle East and Africa Studies Steven A. Cook argues that the strategic relationship between the United States and Turkey is over and that in many areas Turkey is a competitor and an antagonist. Cook recommends that the United States develop military alternatives to using Incirlik Air Base, continue

to cooperate with the Kurdish People's Protection Units in Syria, and take a public stand on Turkish policies that undermine U.S. interests.

Naturally these kinds of reports published by pro US government think tanks create suspicions with the public opinion of my country. It adds insult to injury when Turkey is criticized for starting negotiations with Russia to purchase S-400 air missile defense systems especially after being rejected by her NATO allies to provide similar protection measures.

*Alliance of Civilizations.* I believe we should all congratulate one of our team members at the Global Circle, Minister Miguel Moratinos since he has been selected as the new Secretary General of the Alliance of Civilizations of the United Nations. Miguel's vast experience as an accomplished statesman will definitely help this organization to provide solutions to the ongoing problems of our common globe.

I recently read Dankwart A. Rustow's analysis on "What are the conditions that make democracy possible and what conditions make it work?" Rustow argues that the question should not be about how to build democracy but about how to preserve the democracy that exists at the origin. And gives an example to demonstrate the validity of his opinion that there is a clear difference between American democracies and Scandinavian compared to French and German, where the first succeeded unexpectedly while the second collapsed during the third and fourth generations. He adds that students in developing regions such as the Middle East, Latin America, South Asia and Central Africa have a curious curiosity about democracy, and the reason they are confused is the difference between mature democracy such as those in America, Britain, Sweden and those struggling to achieve a degree of democracy such as "Lebanon, Turkey, Ceylon, Peru and Venezuela" and this will make them wonder how democracy first emerged.

The transition to democracy, as he sees it, occurs when a government enters a legitimate crisis, leading to a split between political elites who are the key players in the transition to democracy.

This division ranges from those who want the old system of the elite and those who want to change the regime and are represented by the opposition.

"Democracy is based on difference," he says. "They need both behaviors to produce controversy. All of this takes place during the first period in which democracy is formed and adopted between Democrats and non-Democrats. He continues to sum up his vision of his model, which leads to the transition to democracy: "Finally the effective model of transition must allow for the possibility that the different teams can be between supporters and opponents, making the land fertile for democratization.

Since the only constant is change we have to get used to stoicism and "master what we can control and accept what we cannot."

Thanks to our host, Rector of our University, Dr. Alexander S. Zapesotskiy we will continue to learn from each other and find solutions to our common challenges through these brainstorming sessions.

A. Bebler<sup>1</sup>

## ON THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS

The practise of applying punitive measures against an other state(s), has had a long history. The growing global interdependence and intensity of interstate relations and since the 19th century the growth of international organizations have greatly increased the diversity of punitive measures. In last decades they have included various economic, administrative, communication, diplomatic, sports, cultural, and other kinds of sanctions including the use of force. These measures have been unilateral or reciprocal, imposed by individual states, by groups of states or by international organizations. The sanctions have been officially declared or undeclared, mandatory or voluntary in accordance with international law and rules of international organizations or in their violation.

Since the Second World War the Organization of United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) have been among international organizations most active in exercising collective sanctions. As the imposition of UN sanctions require the consent or, at least, non-opposition by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council this requirement has excluded these powers and their close allies or clients from the list of UN targets. Most UN sanctions in the form of embargoes have been applied against African and Asian states. They included arms embargoes, travel bans, asset freezes, commodity bans, transportation and diplomatic restrictions, bans on proliferation of sensitive goods and financial restrictions. There have been several combinations of these measures. In two thirds of the instances four measures have been imposed (arms embargo, travel ban, asset freeze and commodity bans). Among 26 regimes of sanctions imposed by UN since 1966, 13 are still operative. Most UN sanctions are punitive, but some are claimed to have been designed to promote democracy, help governments and regimes working toward peaceful resolution of conflicts or to support nuclear non-proliferation and counter-terrorism.

The European Union has imposed sanctions against 34, mostly African, Asian and Latin American states and against four organizations. With its trade, financial and administrative sanctions EU targeted also several European states and entities – Belarus, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Moldova, Serbia, Montenegro, Ukraine and since 2014 also the Russian Federation, Crimea and the two self-proclaimed Donetsk and Lugansk republics in South-Eastern Ukraine.

The declared justifications for imposing sanctions usually asserted or pretended to be in response to alleged violations of international law by targeted state(s), which endangered peace and security by developing weapons of mass destruction, using prohibited chemical weapons, committing gross violations of human rights against its own pop-

ulation, supporting terrorism, allowing or sponsoring illegal trade in narcotics etc. The international community's responsibility to protect victims has been also stated in several cases.

The most pertinent questions related to international sanctions are centered on their intended and unintended political, economic, social and other consequences in targeted states and in states executors. *The declared as well as undeclared objectives of trade, financial, transportation and other related sanctions have been always political. These measures were based on the assumption that their destabilizing economic, social and psychological impact will force the leaders of a targeted state to change their policies in a desired direction or to lose power. The true effectiveness of international sanctions could be thus determined exclusively on the basis of the objectively assessed political impact on policies of a target state or entity in correlation with their declared or suspected undeclared objectives.*

Since the Second World War, USA has been the state, which most often imposed unilaterally and/or initiated wider international sanctions against other states. This paper reviews the results of some notable examples of these sanctions in the last six decades. The validity of the above-stated assumption will be tested on the basis of this review and a conclusion applied to assess the effectiveness of the ongoing US unilateral and US – initiated sanctions against the Russian Federation.

#### US unilateral and US – initiated sanctions against some Latin American, Asian, African and European states

During the last seven-plus decades USA have unilaterally applied punitive measures against 25 African, Asian, Latin American as well as three European states or entities. In addition USA and other Western states have initiated and implemented various sanctions imposed by UN and by several other international organizations against some additional Asian, African and European states.

**Northern Korea's** experience with US sanctions has been one of the longest. They were introduced already in the early 1950s and later supplemented by UN restrictive trade, financial, travel and other measures. Since 2003 they have included the bans on key Northern Korean exports and imports (including oil and arms), on Northern Koreans' working abroad, travel, financial transactions etc. In 2017 USA expanded their list of sanctions with punitive measures against legal persons or individuals from third countries doing business with Northern Korea. The European Union, Japan and many other countries joined in various degrees the sanctions imposed by the UN Security Council. The US, UN, EU and other sanctions have very seriously harmed Northern Korea's economy and the wellbeing of most of its population. The sanctions' related difficulties did not stop however Northern Korea's impressive advances in developing and testing its nuclear explosives and middle and long-range missiles. Neither the threat of annihilation uttered by US President Donald Trump at the UN General Assembly nor the direct talks between the two leaders have

<sup>1</sup> Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ljubljana (Slovenia), studied various subjects at undergraduate and graduate levels in Slovenia, Serbia, Russia, USA, UK, and France and earned his PhD in Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, USA). He authored and co-authored a dozen books in several languages and several hundred articles published in professional journals. His latest book in English is "Frozen conflicts in Europe" (2015). Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Slovenia at the UN Office in Geneva (1992–1997). Member, Executive Council, International Political Science Association (2006–2009). President, Euro-Atlantic Council of Slovenia.

produced the desired outcomes- Northern Korea's closing its nuclear and missile programs, let alone the downfall of its communist regime.

The first unilateral US sanctions against **Iran** were imposed soon after the Iranian revolution of 1979. They included an asset freeze in US banks and a total trade embargo. Later the sanctions were lifted but in 1987 reimposed and sharpened. Starting in 2006 the UN Security Council, at a US proposal, introduced new sanctions which included the bans on the supply of nuclear-related materials and technology, on arms embargo, etc. In addition, the European Union and some other states imposed restrictions on cooperation with Iran in trade, financial services, energy sectors, insurance and reinsurance of Iran-owned companies etc. These measures were designed to force Iran to comply with its nuclear non-proliferation obligations. The primary and closely related objective of USA (and of Israel) has been to topple the Islamist regime. The imposed international sanctions were supplemented by the US support to the armed Khalk opposition to the Iranian regime operating from Iraq, by Israeli diversions against the Iranian nuclear program and by Israeli bombing attacks on Iranian forces in Syria.

The combination of sanctions has significantly reduced the Iranian GNP and the standard of living of a considerable part of its population, increased smuggling and related corruption. Shortages related to the sanctions caused reportedly several tens thousand premature deaths in Iran. The sanctions also allowed the Islamist regime to blame the United States for the hardships of the Iranian people. The sanctions have relatively strengthened the regime, its repressive apparatus and internal legitimacy. After years of their application the US and UN sanctions have contributed to reaching Iran's agreement with the Western powers and the Russian Federation in October 2015. The agreement limited the scope of Iran's nuclear development under the supervision of the International Atomic Energy Agency in exchange for lifting most sanctions. The decision by President Donald Trump in May 2018 to withdraw from this agreement confirmed the failure of Western sanctions to obtain results desired by Washington.

**Iraq** became the target of UN sanctions in August 1990 which were proposed by USA in response to Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait. However, Iraq was not forced to vacate the occupied neighbouring state by the UN sanctions but by military forces of USA and some willing allies. The UN sanctions were later extended and became related to Iraq's allegedly possessing weapons of mass destruction, to developing ballistic missiles and to supporting terrorism. The UN sanctions included limitations on numerous imports and on oil exports, forced allocation of export proceeds and the sanctions' enforcement by US military forces. The regime of UN sanctions lasted for almost 13 years, was largely discontinued in August 2003 and fully stopped in December 2010. The sanctions badly affected Iraq's economy as well as its social and public health systems. Iraq's *per capita* income dropped by almost ninefold which condemned to poverty and hardship a large part of the Iraqi population. Mass malnutrition and the lack of medicaments caused a large number of premature child deaths. The sanctions however did not weaken and even strengthened the regime's grip on the country. The sanctions greatly decreased Iraq's offensive mili-

tary strength and its technical capability to develop weapons of mass destruction. However, this alleged capability was used by the US government to justify the invasion of Iraq by US and UK forces in March 2003. Subsequently, the US allegations proved to be fabricated and false. The real US objective was in fact to bring down the Baathist regime who threatened the US strategic interests in the oil – rich Near East. What the UN sanctions could not do was achieved by naked force and by eight years of occupation at a cost of well over 150 thousand, mostly Iraqi human deaths and also of a huge economic cost both to Iraq and USA.

From September 1993 rump Yugoslavia, called the **Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY)** and consisting of Serbia and Montenegro became subjected to the most comprehensive set of over 140 sanctions ever before imposed by the United Nations. The proposal of the first UNSC Resolution 713 was tabled by USA and by several other members. A general and complete arms embargo was applied in response to Serbia's clear involvement in endangering peace and security in Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina and elsewhere in the region. The following sanctions aimed at thoroughly isolating FRY by imposing an almost complete trade embargo, by cutting off air traffic and all kinds of cooperation, including in sports. The bans were subsequently tightened by prohibiting also the transit of all goods, including petroleum, all commercial maritime traffic, by impounding Yugoslav vessels, aircraft and other transportation means beyond its borders, by imposing NATO and WEU controls along the Adriatic coast and the Danube, by excluding FRY representatives from participating in activities of international organizations etc.

The UN sanctions had badly damaged the FRY economy and society. Its GDP dropped to about a third of the 1990 level. The imposed isolation and other bans devastated Yugoslav industries, caused massive food shortages, astronomical hyperinflation and poverty among a good part of population, badly affected social services, greatly increased smuggling and corruption, prompted mass emigration etc. The sanctions however did not stop the Bosnian Serbs' conquests, a civil war, ethnic cleansing and atrocities in Bosnia & Herzegovina. The end of armed hostilities was achieved by US bombing, by related Western coercive measures and by NATO's first "out-of-area" mission IFOR. The package of most UN sanctions was stopped temporarily in October 1996 in order to facilitate the Dayton peace agreement on Bosnia & Herzegovina. However, in June 1998 financial sanctions were reimposed by USA while other punitive measures continued in order to force the Serbian regime into stopping the prosecution of Kosovar Albanians and restoring Kosovo's autonomy within FRY. The new non-coercive sanctions and negotiations however clearly failed. The declared objective was achieved thorough a bombing campaign by the air forces of USA and of several other NATO members in March – June 1999, in violation of international law. The campaign caused up to two thousand deaths, also among the civilian population, and additional huge economic damage in Serbia and Kosovo. The one-sided armed violence was followed by forceful separation of Kosovo from Serbia and two years later by a demise of the Serbian regime under S. Milošević.

The first US and UN sanctions against **Libya** were applied in 1979. They included trade, financial, travel and

other bans and restrictions in response to Libya's program of developing weapons of mass destruction (WMD), supporting terrorism and committing terrorist acts. Accompanied by coercive measures, including bombing attacks, these sanctions contributed to Libya's dismantling its WMD program, stopping terrorist acts and paying compensations for their victims and inflicted damage. In 2003 the UN sanctions were lifted but in February 2011 reintroduced in response to the Libyan regime's violent suppression of political opposition. The new sanctions included a no-fly zone and a naval blockade of the Libyan coast. They did not stop violence by the regime. On March 19, 2011 the US, French and British air forces started a seven-months long bombing campaign using the UN Security Council's authorisation to protect the civilian population in Benghazi. The participating NATO members however exceeded and abused this authorisation by crushing the regime and the fragile Libyan state by October, 2011.

The second longest and continuous unilateral US campaign of sanctions has been waged against **Cuba**, an island at a short distance from USA and with a US military base Guantanamo on its territory. Since 1958 stringent US embargoes have prohibited all exports to Cuba, except food and medicaments, practically all imports from Cuba and of goods containing Cuban products; doing business in or with Cuba by US citizens and by US-owned companies; all financial transactions in or with Cuba; all maritime shipping and civilian air transportation to Cuba; etc. Violations of these embargoes have been punishable by up to 10 years of imprisonment. USA also closed their embassy and consulate in Havana.

The official justification for US embargoes and for other hostile measures cited Cuba's nationalizing US-owned companies without compensation and allegedly promoting "liberty and democracy" in Cuba. The true objective of US policy has been however a regime change by toppling the Castro communist rule. The US embargoes and numerous other actions have gravely violated international law and the rules of the World Trade Organization. The US embargoes have been many times condemned by the UN General Assembly, criticized and protested against by several other international organizations, including the European Union and the Organization of American States.

The US embargoes and other actions against the Castro regime were combined in April 1961 with an armed invasion by Cuban exiles which was organized by CIA from the USA territory. During the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962 the island was subjected to a maritime blockade by the US Navy. Moreover, the US authorities have for years tolerated and often supported hostile activities conducted against the Cuban government by Cuban exiles living in USA. These activities included i.a. several terrorist acts and attempts to assassinate Cuba's President Fidel Castro.

During their more than 57 years of application the US embargoes have caused a huge economic damage. Cuba's Institute of Economic Research estimated the damage on Cuba it at over \$28.6 billion while the Cuban government put the figure much higher – at \$753 billion. Cuba's ability to overcome the strong adverse economic effects of US embargoes had been for almost three decades greatly helped by the Soviet Union, to a lesser extent by East European states and later by Venezuela. By 1991 Cuba's total accumulated debt to USSR was estimated at \$35 billion.

The Castro regime proved to be sufficiently resilient to withstand the pressures by the giant neighbour. Moreover, the embargo and other hostile US acts evoked anticolonialist ethos, invigorated patriotism among many Cubans and strengthened the legitimacy of the Castro rule. The embargoes also allowed the regime to get rid of a good part of internal political opposition which emigrated to USA and to blame USA for the Cuban population's hardships. In this respect the US embargoes proved to be politically counterproductive.

After half a century of application US President Barack Obama publicly admitted the failure of US sanctions against Cuba to achieve the desired political goals. In 2013 he re-established US diplomatic relations with and personally visited Cuba. Thus the US campaign of anti-Cuban sanctions produced a political fiasco even before its full termination.

### **Multilateral Western and unilateral US sanctions against Russia and the Soviet Union**

The record of various anti-Russian sanctions by Western powers goes back two and a half centuries. In the 19th century it notably included two outright military interventions and wars on Russian territory. The invasion by France and its allies in 1812 was officially aimed at coercing the Russian Empire into abiding by the regime of anti-British trade bans. These sanctions called the Continental blockade were decreed by Emperor Napoleon in May 1806 in Berlin. In 1855 the invasion of Crimea by French, British, Ottoman and Italian forces was carried out officially in retaliation to the Russian policies on the territory of today's Romania. In the 20th century the Western hostility to Soviet Russia and to the communist-ruled Soviet Union had been expressed i.a. by military interventions on Russian territory by Great Britain, France, USA and Japan (1918–1921) and by numerous economic and other sanctions in the 1920–1930s. Historically the most frequent initiator and executor of anti-Russian actions and sanctions has been Great Britain. Since the beginning of the "Cold War" the primacy in this and other respects has been taken over by USA, always fervently seconded by Great Britain.

In 1948 USA started a new and this time a more than seven decades-long campaign of anti-Soviet and anti – Russian sanctions. They have been based on several laws passed by the US Congress – notably the "Trading with the Enemy Act" (1917), "Export Control Act" (1949), "Battle Act" (1951) and on several executive orders. USA have also used the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (COCOM) to make other Western states follow the US restrictions and bans, primarily in the field of dual-use technologies.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union USA have continued to apply these measures against the Russian Federation and added several others, such the "Helms-Burton Act" (1996) and the "Magnitsky Act" (2002). Moreover USA have persistently pressured their Western allies to reduce their economic and other cooperation with Russia and particularly the importation of Russian gas. USA initiated the boycott of the Sochi Winter Olympic games and the campaigns to ban all Russian sportsmen from the following two Olympic Games, to expel massively Russian diplomats etc. From spring 2014 the Ukrainian crisis has been

exploited by USA to prop up their anti-Russian propaganda campaign and to bring the European Union, other NATO members and several candidates for membership as well as Japan, Southern Korea, Australia and a number of other countries into a confrontation with the Russian Federation. Sanctions by some of these states have been largely symbolic and with no tangible practical effects.

In August 2017 a new law, overwhelmingly adopted by the US Congress for the first time classified the Russian Federation as an adversary state, together with Iran and North Korea. This act imposed numerous additional, mostly financial sanctions, officially in retribution to numerous Russian policies, including those related to Iran, Syria, Moldova, Georgia, to the alleged meddling into the US Presidential campaign of 2016 etc. The annexation of Crimea and the support to insurgents in South Eastern Ukraine were included into this list of alleged Russian sins as secondary items. In addition, the US federal authorities seized Russian real estate properties in USA and ordered the closure of the Russian Consulate General in San Francisco.

The US Congress thus expanded the arsenal of anti – Russian measures as part of the US global strategy of weakening their political, economic and military competitors. According to Donald Trump the principal “foes” of the United States are today the European Union, China and Russia. This raises the question of the specific US geostrategic objectives related to the Russia Federation. They are or might be: (1) isolating and disciplining Russia and diminishing its influence and role in the world’s affairs; (2) promoting a “colored revolution” in Russia and a regime change in Moscow; (3) forcing Russia to agree to NATO’s further expansion into the ex-Soviet space, including notably to Ukraine and Georgia; (4) the restitution of Crimea to Ukraine; (5) the termination of Moscow’s support to the Donetsk and Lugansk republics and exerting pressure on them to submit themselves to Kiiv’s rule.

In 2014–2015 a narrower set of sanctions was declared also by the European Union as a measure against the policy of the Russian Federation towards Ukraine, without mentioning Crimea. EU has conditioned its termination with the full implementation of the Minsk 2 agreement on Donbas. Unlike USA the European Union does not officially consider the Russian Federation as its adversary although some members do. The European Union and most of its members have more complex, more balanced as well as considerably less conflictual bilateral relations with the Russian Federation. These EU-Russian cooperative relations include a far greater share and volume of trade, making on the Russia’s side around 48% of the total. More or less the same is true of direct foreign investments and energy imports from Russia. The war of sanctions has very unevenly impacted on the EU member states. The most negatively affected were the EU members bordering on Russia (Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland), plus the Czech Republic and Slovakia with the drops of their total exports between 7.1 and 12.7%. The drop of total German exports has been however by far the biggest in value. Due to these facts the war of sanctions with the Russian Federation has affected the European Union and some of its member states more or much more negatively than it affected USA whose trade with Russia in 2015 constituted only 0,63% of the US total.

The Western sanctions have negatively affected also the Russian economy. In 2013–2017 they contributed in value

to a 32,7% drop of exports and a 27,9% drop of imports as well as to a notable decrease of the ruble exchange rates. However the application of unilateral US and wider Western economic and financial sanctions has since 2014 largely coincided with a drop of world oil and gas prices. For this reason it is very difficult to disengage analytically the negative impact of these two parallel developments on the Russian economy. One approximate calculation attributed to the Western sanctions a 0,5% decrease of the Russian GNP growth rate.

On the other hand, the combination of Western sanctions with Russian countermeasures has produced on the Russian side some consequences inconsistent with the US objectives. Russia has diversified its trade in the direction of Asian, Latin American and also some European (also EU) markets and considerably increased its self-sufficiency and exports of agricultural and also some other products. By 2018 Russia became the world’s biggest exporter of grains and has also retained its position as the world’s biggest exporter of energy. In spite of US pressures it not only preserved its position as the single biggest supplier of gas to EU members but since 2014 considerably increased the volume of its deliveries. After the critical year 2016 the negative economic impact of Western sanctions has notably slackened while the reorientation of Russian economic policies and adjustments in Russia’s economy have produced some positive economic effects. These developments reduced or removed altogether conceivable incentives to possibly making any political concessions to the West in exchange for lifting the sanctions.

### Conclusion

The presented above review of some notable US unilateral and of US – initiated economic and other non-coercive sanctions against small and middle-size states has shown their very low effectiveness in bringing desired political results. These sanctions caused a very considerable to huge economic, social and humanitarian damage on the targeted countries, in some cases in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and of the UN Charter for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. However, the non-coercive sanctions largely or fully failed to achieve their political objectives in Northern Korea, Cuba, Iran, Iraq and Federal republic of Yugoslavia. In four cases the sanctions were accompanied or followed by US unilateral or by collective Western interventions which militarily succeeded thrice (in Iraq, FR of Yugoslavia and Libya) and failed once (Cuba). To the list of politically failed sanctions one could add Syria and, so far, also Venezuela.

A similar conclusion was drawn from a study on the effectiveness of the UN sanctions against 65 African and Asian states. It showed that in order to achieve their declared political objectives, at least, three kinds of instruments should be used simultaneously, including notably threats or the use of force. With this provision only eight out of 65 regimes of UN sanctions were assessed as politically effective. They were applied exclusively against weak and mostly small states, which were highly dependent on importation of food and/or fuel, did not enjoy outside support and were transportation-wise isolated.

It is more than obvious that Russia today is a radically different target of sanctions from the other targeted states

mentioned above. Unlike on Crimea in 1855 raising the level of punitive Western measures to the use of military force against a nuclear superpower would be a sheer madness. This theoretical possibility could be thus excluded on rational grounds although some US strategic plans very probably contain also this option. A threat of using military force against Russia would be also utterly senseless. The application of US and wider Western sanctions will have thus to remain limited to non-coercive measures which have much less negatively affected Russia than the other targeted countries mentioned earlier.

It is highly improbable that the US unilateral sanctions will ever achieve any of their political objectives stated above. It is also clear that no kind and no intensity of any Western sanctions will ever return Crimea to Ukraine. Moreover, Ukraine's territory still remaining under the Kiiv government's control includes parts of former territories of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Moldova illegitimately annexed in 1940–1947, unlike Crimea in 2014. The continued application of anti-Russian economic sanctions by the European Union (unlike by USA) has been irrational. The sanctions not only do not contribute to achieving the political objective declared by the European Union – the implementation of the Minsk 2 agreement on Donbas. They make less achievable a peaceful resolution of the internal Ukrainian conflict by encouraging the Kiiv authorities under P. Poroshenko to sabotage the Minsk 2. The continuation of the internal Ukrainian and of the Ukrainian-Russian conflicts is in the rational geopolitical interest of the United States but certainly is not in the interest of the European Union. In combination with the Russian counter-measures the EU sanctions have caused a notable damage to the economies of a dozen EU members without bringing any political gains. In addition they produced some side effects in

Russia, in Ukraine and elsewhere contrary to those intended or desired by the West.

So it is safe to expect that the US unilateral and US – initiated campaigns of anti-Russian sanctions will prove to be politically ineffective.

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**N. S. Bondar<sup>1</sup>**

### CHALLENGES FOR CONTEMPORARY CONSTITUTIONALISM: GLOBALIZATION OR SOVEREIGNIZATION?

Today's processes of global development are getting more and more unstable, unpredictable and sometimes even dangerous. In this context, quite a natural process aimed at increasing significance of law as a critical factor providing stability and protection of predictable development of social realities as per certain lines defined by legal norms, is obviously expected. A particular role is assigned to constitutions of contemporary law-governed democratic states, the constitutionalism system in general, since in its classical, technical sense, it's destined to embrace national political, socioeconomic, legal systems in a consistent manner, to cor-

<sup>1</sup> Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor, Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation, Honored Worker of Science of the Russian Federation. Author of more than 250 academic papers, including monographs, textbooks on constitutional, municipal law, theory and practice of the rule of law development. Chairman of the Thesis Board (Law) in the Southern Federal University. Member of editorial boards of 9 academic journals. He was awarded the Order of Honor, second-class medal of the Order of Merit for the Motherland, Diploma of Merit by the President of the Russian Federation. Winner of the national literary award in the field of law for the monograph "Juridical Constitutionalism: Doctrine and Practice" (2018).

relate them with universal constitutional values, principles and foundations and to set forth regulatory benchmarks for civilizational development hereon.

Does today's constitutionalism meet these requirements to the full extent? Probably, this question is largely rhetorical, if only because deep contradictions and unpredictability of today's social and political reality will inevitably affect the constitutionalism system as well. Trying to oppose them and to minimize negative tendencies with legal tools and mechanisms, the constitutionalism system has been subjected to negative influence of political realities itself, so law itself that I. Kant once called "an office which is the holiest God has ordained on earth"<sup>2</sup> faces real threats.

It was on full display owing to the influence of the so-called globalization factors on the today's social and legal environment: they exert a powerful direct impact on changing approaches to interpretation, understanding and

<sup>2</sup> See: <http://informsky.ru/filosofia-prava-kanta-1.html>. See also: Alexeyev S. S. *The Holiest God has Ordained on Earth. Immanuel Kant and Law Issues of the Modern Age*. 2nd ed. Moscow : Norma, 2015.

substantiation of contemporary constitutionalism values, as well as on their implementation in practice.

### 1. What is a new priority in development of contemporary constitutionalism – globalization or sovereinization?

When addressing this issue, the very nature of constitutionalism, deep changes in legislation and today's legal environment in general come to the forefront.<sup>1</sup> To answer this question, one can offer a point that today's global changes, including the legal environment with its competition, contradictions and introduction of some new constitutional values (e.g. "constitutionally acceptable gender equality", equality of same-sex marriages that has been already acknowledged by about fifty countries of the world, including 27 members of the Council of Europe<sup>2</sup>) are underlain not by political and ideological, or even class struggle, but social and cultural confrontation, where an important role is assigned to constitutional and legal tools, means of confrontation, amongst other things.

The recent focus on partnership of civilizations, rapprochement and convergence of legal systems (driven by the so-called "Perestroika period") is being transformed into confrontation of social and cultural civilizations today<sup>3</sup>, their constitutional and legal systems. Also, it is important to bear in mind that remaining processes of legal globalization expressed in more and more controversial forms do not result in building better understanding, overcoming discrepancies, reinforcing legal and especially social equality. On the contrary, they lead to a greater gap of inequality, including shrinking from significant benchmarks of supranational jurisdictional mechanisms with their politicized double standards.

Hence, methodologically essential questions arise, for example: is globalization really able to assert such serious influence on the contemporary legal environment, that it's possible (and required) to review the role of national constitutions and constitutional values they acknowledge, to announce the priority of international legal norms over norms of national constitutions, and the priority of international jurisdictional bodies over national ones?

When looking for answers to these questions, it's important to understand what is put into the term of legal globalization, since on the global stage it is opposed to legal sovereignty and the doctrine of patriotism. The following words said at the meeting of the UN General Assembly quite recently, in 2018, are particularly interesting: "We reject the ideology of globalism, and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism... Around the world, responsible nations must defend against threats to sovereignty not just from global governance, but also from other, new forms of coercion

and domination".<sup>4</sup> Until recently, it would have been hard even to imagine that those words would be said not by some protester at a rally, for example, in some Western capital filled with lumpen and advocates of anti-globalism, but... the President of the USA. But here we are: D. Trump in his speech in the UN strictly opposed globalism to sovereignty and patriotism.

In constitutional and legal aspect it implies that globalization processes can and should not be reviewed, as we've been rightly reminded from across the Ocean, through the lens of international legal norms' priority over national legislation and, moreover, constitution, but in accordance with the idea of constitutionally acknowledged patriotism. These approaches announcing anti-globalism and national patriotism as state policy represent a new look at both prioritization of universal (common) and national (specific) bases of constitutional regulation, and the imperativeness degree of international legal norms in comparison with national constitutions in the context of today's world order.<sup>5</sup>

It is directly linked with the problem of competitiveness among constitutional values underlying contemporary processes of globalization and legal progress. Ignorance of the multicultural nature of today's legal systems, their national and historical specificities can lead (and has already led) to political, ideological and legal expansion performed by economically, militarily and politically dominant countries and coalitions within the globalization process. This expansion is not based on the rule of law, but on the rule of force, rejection of fundamental ideas of democracy and state sovereignty.

Therefore, it's important to take into account that the idea of state sovereignty in its classical meaning is considered the cornerstone of contemporary constitutionalism along with human rights. Such an approach has been recognized by almost all today's constitutions. Besides, the normative content of this constitutional principle always has certain historical background. In the context of federative and multinational nature of our country, it has been substantiated quite concisely and multidimensionally in judgements of the Russian Constitutional Court. In accordance with these approaches state sovereignty implying all legislative, executive and judiciary powers of the state on its territory and independence in international communications is one and undivided. It is a fundamental qualitative feature of the Russian Federation that describes its constitutional and legal status.

In addition to that, globalization of law exerts direct impact on the normative content of the state sovereignty constitutional principle, predetermines new value criteria for its implementation and protection, considering new approaches to correlation between regulatory systems of international law and national legislation. At the same time, domestic and international crises, conflicts and contradictions are intermingled and diffused, so functioning of a certain state

<sup>1</sup> These issues are systematically researched, particularly in relation to legislation development. See, e.g.: Conceptions of the Development of the Russian Legislation: Monograph. 7th Rev. Ed. / Executive editors: T. Ya. Khabrieva, Yu. A. Tikhomirov. Moscow: Jurisprudence Publishing House, 2015; *Khabrieva T. Ya.* Harmonization of Legal System of the Russian Federation in the Conditions of International Integration: Challenges of Contemporaneity // Journal of Foreign Legislation and Comparative Law. 2014. No 1.

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<sup>3</sup> In this respect, Samuel Huntington's ideas are particularly interesting (see: *Huntington S.* The Clash of Civilizations. Moscow: AST, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> <https://ria.ru/world/20180925/1529327692.html> (accessed: 06.11.2018).

<sup>5</sup> In this regard it's fair to recollect abrasive criticism by the West aimed at the Judgement of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation (hereinafter – CC of the RF) No 21-P of July 14, 2015, where it was clearly stated that resolutions of supranational jurisdictional bodies "do not abrogate the priority of the Constitution of the Russian Federation for Russia's legal system, and therefore are subject to realization on the basis of the principle of supremacy and supreme legal force of exactly the Constitution of the Russian Federation in the legal system of Russia" // Law Book of the Russian Federation. 2015. No 30. Art. 4658.

and its society is subject to a stronger influence of universal principles of humankind development.

In this context the problem of today's challenges to law is urgent, which also means global constitutionalism crisis.

## 2. On major threats to contemporary constitutionalism

To understand major threats to constitutionalism and to define ways to minimize them, by legal means as well, it's important to keep in mind that the constitutional and legal system basically reflects the state of the society, its economic, social and political contradictions; while the Constitution as a core of the national legal system is essentially born by social contradictions to reflect them and serves as an institutional and legal matrix to solve them.

1. Today, the most acute contradictions and the biggest threat for law and the constitutionalism system is connected with a problem that can be defined as *a global deficit of constitutional equality*. The very concept of constitutional equality suggests that this principle requires not to recognize technical standards of equality only, but to fill this principle with social content based on constitutional requirements for justice (Preamble to the Constitution of the Russian Federation), human dignity (Art. 21) and, therefore, impermissibility of unfair or constitutionally unjustified inequality.

In this respect, a "normative" model of constitutional equality embraces unity of technical, moral and ethical, social and cultural bases. When defining a regulatory law-enforcement and, therefore, regulatory binding (imperative) potential of constitutional equality, at least three naturally interrelated bases of its normativity need to be taken into consideration: *first*, a requirement for equality of individuals as people (a sort of biological normativity coming from the fact of human birth, "equality before God"); *second*, equality of individuals as personalities (social and cultural, moral and ethical normativity of requirements for equality before the society); *third*, equality of individuals as citizens (technical normativity of requirements for equality before the state, the law and court).

In this sense the regulatory imperative of constitutional equality is not limited to technical content. It's a much more meaningful and multidimensional category: it includes regulatory requirements for equal rights and equality before the law, which is concurrently reinforced by normativity of social, economic, cultural, moral and ethical bases of a regulatory equivalent of equality. Again, absolutization of technical bases of equality – at the expense of the social component of equality regime and social and distributive functions of law – is one of the most serious global risks posed by liberal perception of constitutional values.

That's what allows describing *constitutional equality* not only as a principle, original foundation of the entire system of legal regulation, a special legal regime based on requirements for justice and human dignity, but also as an all encompassing category that *embodies essential features of law as a measure of freedom, which is equal for everyone*. Consequently, *a deficit of equality as a global challenge to contemporary constitutionalism* can distort not only any national legislative and law enforcement system, but the nature of law as such – this amazing phenomenon of modern civilization, without which it would be impossible to ensure an equal measure of freedom for everyone.

As for the crisis of constitutional inequality as such, it definitely has extralegal, meta-judicial origins. First of all, it is referred to more and more menacing proportions of social stratification, a growing gap between rich and poor countries and regions, ethnic, sociodemographic, professional and other groups of the population. Acuteness of such problems as poverty, social stratification and increasing social inequality that turns into a threat to foundations of social stability and democratic development of contemporary states is a key indicator of a contemporary constitutionalism systemic crisis. Deepening of social stratification and constitutional inequality is a highroad to social disruptions and revolutions. As pallid statistics shows, today Russia ranks high in the list of countries with deep social and wealth disparity, inequality of wealth distribution: more than 70% of all personal assets belong to 1% of the richest Russians in the country (this indicator is 46% on average in the world, 44% in Africa, 37% in the USA, 32% in Europe and China and 17% in Japan). Russia is also the global leader by its 5% of the wealthiest population (which is more than 80% of individual wealth of the country). There are similar processes on the microeconomic level: a head of a private business in Russia has a salary, which is 20–30 times higher (as reported by independent experts, the difference is even greater) than one of common employees; the highest salary in the industry is 20–40 times higher than the lowest one in the Russian Federation; and the gap between regions is even larger.

Besides, based on historical experience, issues of equality and justice always emerge full blown in turning periods of development of the society and state, which is the case of contemporary Russia as well: transition to market economy and pluralistic political democracy is accompanied by a serious shift in our beliefs regarding these eternal values of the modern civilization. We can't fail to see that political and economic transformations in the country, in the 1990s in particular, caused deep contradictions, including new forms of inequality. At the same time, the potential of the Constitution of the Russian Federation adopted in 1993 that enshrined the social nature of new Russian statehood (Art. 7, 38–43, etc.) clearly enough to use it in order to resist negative trends and look for efficient solutions of relevant problems was never called for to the full extent. Moreover, in that period the priority was given to the so-called market and economic norms of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (Art. 8, 9, 35, 36, etc.), though they didn't truly correspond to the deepest content of its principles and spirit in practice.

It made the CC of the RF introduce significant amendments into interpretation of respective statements of the Constitution, formulate legal propositions regarding social accountability of private entrepreneurship, Russian socially oriented free market economy that used to be at its early stage of development at the time, relations of business and authorities, etc. based on fundamental principles and values of our Constitution.

2. *Deformations of social and cultural bases of law, a gap between the statutory regulation system and moral and ethical bases* is the second global threat to contemporary constitutionalism, which is directly linked with a global deficit of constitutional equality, in the socioeconomic respect among other things.



Attempts to lay stress on law as one of the main tools for sanctions and confrontations instead of interaction and cooperation are obvious nowadays. Basically, in this context, there's a new wave of law politicization, a kind of its social and cultural (as opposed to class and political) ideologization, when perception of law and constitutionalism that are common for a certain cultural and legal tradition are offered to replace universal legal standards and principles. These processes result in inadequate reinforcement (dominance) of religious, ethnic and other geopolitical factors of legal regulation in some countries or regions of the modern world. It leads to controversial and often completely opposite processes of active legislation secularization in Western democratic countries, on the one hand; and to equally active and sometimes combative clericalism of law and justice in other regions of the world, particularly in countries of Islamic fundamentalism, on the other hand.

A gap between law and justice, and a general social and cultural normativity has an impact on perception of the Constitution that can be seen in this case as a formal, technical instrumental act instead of social, legal and cultural institution regulating today's life. It is underlain by a delusional perception of the state legislation as some self-reliant tool of social transformations which is not determined by any moral characteristics or spiritual content based on public life.

However, the rule of law that determines supremacy and direct effect of the Constitution is implemented in the setting of general social normativity and linked with the effect of social and cultural, moral and ethical bases, since legal norms always exist in a certain social context. The Constitution is premised on the idea of the statutory law that interlinks essential features of an equal measure of freedom with technical certainty, universality and the generally binding nature of law.

Examination of spirituality of the Constitution suggests using quite delicate methodological tools to obtain not only scientifically reasoned knowledge of this phenomenon's essential features, but of special psychological perception of this document based on faith in genuineness of constitutional provisions, their social and legal value. It's faith (and trust inspired by it) as a relatively independent philosophical system of assessments and worldviews that represents a way to reflect sacred features of the Constitution that are impossible to be perceived from the outside, since they are expressed not in a language, but in the spirit of this unique document.

In this respect, it's fair to say somewhat conditionally that there are tangible differences in perceptions of the above-mentioned ideals and approaches in the Anglo-Saxon legal system, on the one hand, and in the Romano-Germanic (continental) one, on the other hand. Without getting into specifics of law historical origins, it should be noted, for example, that the Romano-Germanic legal system largely adheres to doctrinal interpretation of law, borrowed from the Roman law, its systematic and methodological elaboration and a structural approach to law. It also shows a high level of development of moral and ethical bases. There's no coincidence. Moral and ethical bases defining continental law were initially (genetically) translated from the language of Greek philosophy into the language of precise legal wording of the Roman law to be developed and reinforced meth-

odologically later through active influence of classical German philosophy on the continental law.

So, what gives law such a high level of moral and ethical bases? It's clear that a determinative factor elevating law within the system of social normativity is requirements for equality and justice it expresses. In this respect legal reasoning of justice as a particular category is a key objective of both ancient and medieval, and contemporary constitutional jurisprudence.

No rational technical reasoning can be free of national culture and morality, values of legal and social phenomena. The category of "morality" as such is acknowledged as constitutionally significant – not in Russia only, where in Part 3, Art. 55 of the Constitution of the RF morality is considered one of objectives that can require fundamental rights to be limited for its achievement. Though the term is actively used in Russian sectoral legislation (currently Federal Law No 31), it hasn't been fully deployed as a legal definition; as a rule, a general wording of the above-mentioned article of the Constitution is reproduced in sectoral laws regarding possibilities to limit some fundamental rights or other for the benefit of morality. Therefore, the issue of certain mechanisms and introduction of moral values into the existing legislation system in practice remains acute. It should be noted that today there are only a few feeble attempts of positive juridification of moral values in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution to provide a legal groundwork for them as necessary regulators of common life. Meanwhile, to reveal deep internal links, common patterns and social and cultural specificities of contemporary constitutionalism it's critical to consider respective factors and phenomena of legal reality, through the lens of correlation between language and spirit of the national Constitution among other things.

Thereupon it's possible to understand not only implications and historical meaning of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, but those features that can become (and have already become under certain conditions) prerequisites of political illusions and legal romanticism, a source of hopes and disappointment, as well as of constitutional insights and new attainments. Probably, it was manifested most visibly in constitutional and legal illusions related to absolutization of the primacy of international law.

### **3. It's critical to overcome illusions of the primacy of international law to ensure legal sovereignty of Russia**

Considering international legal aspects of today's threats to law in the context of Russian constitutionalism, first of all, provisions of Part 4, Art. 15 of the Constitution of the RF should be taken into account, since they underlie interaction of international and national legal norms, as well as penetration of supranational values of contemporary constitutionalism into the Russian legal system. It's them that ensure certain interaction with national constitutional norms, open up opportunities to provide a supplementary guarantee and protection for national constitutional values over supranational institutes (P. 3, Art. 46, Art. 79).

By virtue of respective provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation it is suggested in particular that values, principles and institutes of national constitutionalism are implemented not by intrastate legal mechanics and

jurisdictional procedures only, but by international remedies as well, including regional ones, in the framework of supranational monitoring and jurisdictional institutes. This interaction of national and supranational elements in implementation of constitutionalism values is not peculiar for Russia only; it reflects a general trend of civilizational development. Within the European borders, for example, it is expressed in the concept of the European Constitutional Space.

Penetration of universal values into the national legal system, particularly when it comes to their possible interpretation by supranational bodies, is linked with conflicts and collisions that have acutely occurred between the jurisdiction of national constitutional court and the jurisdiction under the European Convention (as represented by the ECHR) lately in issues of ensuring the fundamental human rights and freedoms. Assessing the situation, it's important to note that the CC of the RF may be one of the first European national bodies of constitutional justice that has come to quite a significant conclusion about acknowledgment of the principal identity of constitutional rights and freedoms in accordance with the Convention and the national Constitution.<sup>1</sup> In its turn, it suggests an opportunity to use a unified institutional law enforcement mechanism for decisions taken by both the CC of the RF and the ECHR. It is also proved by the fact that it's not just direct influence of international (European) institutes of human rights protection on national constitutional systems, but sort of constitutionalization of generally recognized principles and norms of international law and, thereupon, penetration of intrastate legal (constitutional) bases into the field of international relations defining the European Constitutional Space among other things.

However, it doesn't mean that Russia is unconditional-ly bound with interpretations of convention provisions issued by the ECHR in accordance with value orientations

dominating in Europe, if these interpretations suggest accepting some measures on the national level that cut across with a national system of constitutional values. The CC of the RF has defined attitudes in this behalf: it comes down to the fact that as a constitutional democracy and a member of the global community Russia enters into international treaties and takes part in interstate entities partially delegating its powers, but it doesn't imply a rejection of state sovereignty. Therefore, in a situation, when the content of the ECHR provision affects principles and norms of the Constitution, particularly regarding orders to a respondent state based on the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms illegitimately interpreted by the ECHR in the framework of a certain case from a legal point of view, Russia may flinch from its obligations on an exceptional basis, if such a deviation is the only possible way to avoid violation of the fundamental principles and norms of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Besides, experience has proven that defending national constitutional identity by constitutional justice is related to a search of flexible, well-balanced approaches that allow taking international obligations into account to the extent they are compliant with the constitutionally acceptable legal order. Respective approaches used by Russia (as represented by the CC of the RF) and legislators match forming practices of solving similar problems by Constitutional Courts of other European countries (e.g. Germany, Italy, United Kingdom).

It proves, on the one hand, an active role played by constitutional justice in overcoming global challenges to law, contemporary legal order and the constitutionalism system in general; and on the other hand, the fact that correlation between norms of international and national law and relations of supranational jurisdiction with national judicial authorities are eventually issues that should be addressed based on full compliance with the legal sovereignty of Russia.

**P. Bülbüloğlu<sup>2</sup>**

## THE MAINSTAYS OF THE MULTICULTURAL STATE POLICY OF AZERBAIJAN

Over the last years, there has been a significant increase in viewing the socio-cultural issues in the light of philosophical, social, political and psychological studies. This is no coincidence. The modern age is defined by globalizing tendencies in various fields, an unprecedented development of means of communication and an establishment of an integrated cultural space. Revealing of further prospects for cultural development in specific countries and regions, an interaction of national cultures, and an establishment of new cultural universals are problems taking on particular significance in the current geopolitical situation.

<sup>1</sup> See: Judgement of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation No 4-P of February 26, 2010 // Law Book of the Russian Federation. 2010. No 11. Art. 1255.

<sup>2</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Azerbaijan to the Russian Federation, Professor, Azerbaijan SSR National Artist. Composer, singer, actor. Minister of Culture of Azerbaijan (1988–2006). Author of the book "Cultural Policy in Azerbaijan" (2003, coauthorship) and other published works. He was awarded the Orders of Friendship and Honour of the Russian Federation, "Independence" and "Honour" of Azerbaijan, Honour of the Republic of Georgia and many others foreign awards.

Stepping up the processes of globalization extends the levels of interaction between cultures, brings in new forms of a constructive dialogue. Alongside a potential establishment of global culture, there are concerns about a possible erasing of cultural diversity and a unification of national values. Many years ago, the dynamics of the cultural process was summed up by Mahatma Gandhi: "I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows boarded up. I want the cultures of all lands to blow as free as wind about my house. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

Aside from their historical, social and ethnocultural significance, national cultures need to be preserved because of a respect for human rights, as a national culture is a generalized way for people to manifest their rights for their own world.

The outstanding scholar and humanist *Dmitry Likhachov* firmly linked the preservation of national cultures, including the cultures of national minorities, with respect for

human rights. It should seem to be an unwavering truth and the defining principle for both the state policy in the field of culture, and the state policy in general. Unfortunately, in this day and age this fundamental truth is distorted, as the ideology of multiculturalism is deemed “bankrupt”.

To preserve the multifaceted nature of global culture in a globalized world is a sociopolitical problem, on top of everything else. In this regard, the policy of multiculturalism should not be dismissed; the smoke screen deliberately set up during the recent years to surround this incredibly important method of managing social and cultural processes, vital for the very existence of the human civilization, ought to be removed.

In this context, Azerbaijan’s experience seems quite indicative. Historically, the multinational and multi-religious population of the country used to define the prevailing cultural diversity, creating its many facets. Thus for many centuries, due to political, economic and cultural peculiarities of Azerbaijan, the mentality of its population was shaped by the atmosphere of tolerance and respect for cultures of the neighboring peoples. The historical memory of the Azerbaijani people, which preserves traces of passing through three religions (Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Islam), is also a critical factor in the establishment of well-balanced intercultural communications, both inside the country and on the international level.

For Heydar Aliyev, the long-time national leader of Azerbaijan, the fundamental principle of his political activity was the concept of “Azerbaijanity”, presuming both a unity of the Azerbaijani nation and its variety. To put the ideas of national unity into practice in contemporary Azerbaijan is to live up to the ideals of Azerbaijanity. That the many ethnic groups making up the population of the country fully perceive the Azerbaijanity concept and its value is vital to a harmonious social and cultural development of the Republic. The Azerbaijanity concept is supported and successfully developed by the current President İlham Aliyev.

I would like to emphasize that the fundamental principles of the country’s national policy enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic of Azerbaijan provide for the equality of all citizens, despite their racial and ethnic backgrounds. It’s no coincidence that there are more than twenty different national cultural communities operating in Baku alone; of these, the Russian, Ukrainian, Lezghian, Kurdish, Talysh, Georgian and Jewish ones are the largest in scale. Such communities also exist in some other areas of Azerbaijan, where ethnic minorities are a dominant population group.

The danger inherent in the unification of cultures during the age of globalization is not that some cultural forms may disappear, but that cultural uniformity leads to uniformity in the people’s way of thinking and their worldviews. International organizations, such as the UN and UNESCO, expressed their concerns about the situation, which resulted in the adoption of a few well-known international acts aimed at supporting cultural diversity.

The globalized integrated culture currently in the process of formation would be a quintessence of *national* cultural values; it is destined to promote the spiritual well-being of every person, to harmonize the social life, and to provide for a stable social development. This culture is not artificially set up, but emerges naturally, which resolves the

problem of human disunity in space and time on our planet by stepping up human communication.

Comprehending the prerequisites and conditions of spiritual development of future humans and the ability to understand the value of the cultural diversity in the world take on a particular significance in this all-encompassing process, in order to provide a foundation for solving all the global problems of our age. It can be said that a need to discover internal values within national cultures and spiritual constants has increased significantly in a dynamically developing world. A tolerant paradigm for perception of diverse cultural communication is being formed. A new attitude to cultural values is being established under the influence of modern democratization trends, which is based on the recognition of an equal status of traditions and a plurality of tendencies in culture.

Azerbaijan is one of the few states where multiculturalism has become a state policy. According to the UN experts, it’s an incredibly humane and wise policy. Firstly, it reinforces the security of the country, by weakening the ideological basis for separatism; secondly, it integrates the spiritual and intellectual potential of different cultures, and motivates the population for creativity, including joint effective efforts to solve socio-economic problems; thirdly, it promotes the interests and immediate needs of all the peoples living in the country, thus creating an atmosphere of trust, and strengthening the social capital of the society.

Over the course of history, multiculturalism has proved its adequacy in multinational countries. A coherent policy of multiculturalism prevents ethno-cultural identity conflicts, creates a tolerant spiritual atmosphere in the society, and enables an appropriate perception of other cultures. The humanistic principles of multiculturalism make it possible to rise above narrow nationalistic interests, to curtail the dangerous displays of chauvinism and xenophobia.

The domination of unified national patriotic values in contemporary Azerbaijan is clearly defined by an interrelated history of all the peoples living in its territory. The culture of Azerbaijan used to develop due to a spontaneous interaction of different cultures on a heuristic principle. Heydar Aliyev, the nation-wide leader of the Azerbaijani people, repeatedly called attention to the three interconnected sources of the country’s culture, defined by a long-time interaction of Turkic, Arab-Islamic and European values. He considered priceless the cultural influence of Russia on Azerbaijan, exerted over the last two centuries.

I would like to emphasize a few key moments in the history of Azerbaijanian culture that prove its openness to external cultural influences and reveal the fundamental principles of Azerbaijanian multiculturalism.

Ancient history of Azerbaijan is closely linked with Zoroastrianism and Khurramism; this is where the sacred texts of the Avesta were created, to play a significant spiritual role in the pre-Islamic period.

Since the beginning of a new era, ideas of Christianity found fresh ground in the Caucasian Albania, a state which emerged during this period in the North of Azerbaijan. Devoid of ethnic limitations, with a set of moral values open to all, Christianity became a universal religion for all the peoples of the region.

Several centuries later, the ingression and gradual settlement of Turkic tribes added a new touch to the interaction of cultures in Ancient Azerbaijan. Following the Tur-

tic influence, the “Turanian strata” was reinforced in the multi-faceted culture of Azerbaijan. As time went by, the Turkic element formed the very foundation of the culture – its language.

In my opinion, the Turkic factor in the development of global culture is still largely underestimated. As seen by the European public view on history, “Turkic” typically spells hostility and aggression. Defining the negative aspects of this process as absolute is to overshadow its positive consequences that influenced the course of world development.

As Turkic tribes migrated across Eurasia, the cultural values of those inhabiting its wide open spaces went through a process of consolidation, introducing them to statehood, and ushering in the Eurasian culture. Geopolitical significance of the Ottoman Empire’s emergence aside, it can be said that for six centuries it was a liaison between Europe and the East, performing an important cultural and communicational function.

“Turanity” describes a number of essential features of the contemporary Azerbaijanian culture; it also serves to define the common grounds for mutual influence with Slavic cultures which also feature a Turanian element, although not as deep, and hardly touching their languages. Actually, it was this cultural interconnection of the Slavs and the Turks that gave birth to the “Eurasian” type of culture.

In the 7th century, the Arabic invasion resulted in an abrupt shift from Christianity to Islam for those inhabiting our territory, with Azerbaijan becoming an integral part of the Arab-Islamic world. The Islamic world absorbed the Ancient Greek cultural legacy, as well as many achievements of the other traditions, after processing them in accordance with its own needs.

As shown by Elisée Reclus, Watt Montgomery, James Claw and other researchers, the Renaissance would not have been possible in Europe if it were not for a flow of various Islamic and Turkic ideas that had changed the spiritual and intellectual climate of the Middle Ages. Azerbaijan played a notable role in this process. Suffice it to mention the names of such Azerbaijanian thinkers as *Nizami Ganjavi*, *Imadaddin Nasimi*, *Shah Ismail Khatai*, *Bahmanyar Al-Azerbaijani* or *Nasir al-Din al-Tusi*, whose ideas were treasured by the European cultural community at the time.

In the beginning of the 19th century, a milestone event took place in the history of Azerbaijan. After the Russo-Persian Wars, Northern Azerbaijan became a part of the Russian Empire. It led to a dichotomy of the Azerbaijanian culture. While the culture of Southern Azerbaijan remained archaic, the “European slant” of Northern Azerbaijan’s culture was becoming more and more obvious.

The 1917 political events in Russia led to the fall of the Tzarist monarchy, and laid the groundwork for proclaiming the independent Azerbaijan Democratic Republic on May 28, 1918.

However, its existence was terminated in 1920, as Soviet power was established in the country. During the subsequent period, the development of culture in Azerbaijan was primarily defined by Marxist-Leninist ideology, as well as a cultural policy implicitly aimed at an “erosion” of national mentality. At the same time, positive aspects of the Soviet period in Azerbaijan may not be denied: it ushered in a drive for universal literacy, and made culture and arts accessible to all the population groups. Outstanding composers, artists and scientists, their names well-known across the world, made a creative contribution not only to the national culture, but to the global culture as well during the Soviet period.

Unfortunately, the end of the socialistic epoch turned out tragic for Azerbaijan. Since 1988, Azerbaijan was involved in a bloody armed conflict with Armenia; during the fighting, more than 20% of the country’s territory was occupied. A great number of cultural establishments, including museums, art galleries and architectural monuments, remained in the occupied territory along with industrial and agricultural facilities, to be vandalized and destroyed.

Today the culture of Azerbaijan is on the rise, and in the focus of a close attention by the state. New museums and cultural centers are under construction, theatres and concert halls are being restored, international festivals of modern and classical music are held, young specialists are sent abroad to study, and a whole lot of talented musicians from Azerbaijan have lately performed on stages of such legendary theatres as the Bolshoi Theatre, the Mariinsky Theatre, Metropolitan Opera, Vienna Opera and other best concert halls of the world.

Today Azerbaijan doesn’t merely accumulate the traditions of multiple cultures within its borders, but carries its culture outwards. Moreover, due to large-scale international symposiums and conferences held in Baku over the recent years, Azerbaijan has become a sort of a “trend-setter”, where humanitarian issues are being analyzed and solved, mapping out a policy of multiculturalism in particular.

Summarizing the above, it can be said that during the whole period of its existence, the culture of Azerbaijan was subject to various influences, absorbing the most valuable traits of other cultures. Many endeavors of philosophy, mathematics, arts and literature were initiated here, with the cultural achievements of both the East and the West and their synthesis serving as the foundation. At the same time, the culture of Azerbaijan did not lose its distinctive character – it still features its definite identity, its unique national spirit. Contemporary independent Azerbaijan looks ahead; the country has a great spiritual, intellectual and cultural potential for development, as well as an implementation of humanistic values and ideals of the highest order. This potential is certainly connected with the integrity of the Azerbaijanian culture, the multicultural policy pursued by the state serving as its foundation.

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

## PREDICTABLE UNPREDICTABILITY IN GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT: SOLIDARITY CRISIS AND NEW REQUIREMENTS FOR PROGNOSSES

The topic of yet another Likhachov Scientific Conference is closely related to our report at the 2016 Conference, dedicated to the leading trends of the global economic development.<sup>3</sup> At that time, we named global instability, destroying the whole system of priorities for long-term development in the home and foreign policy, as one of the negative and most dangerous trends. Currently, this issue looks even more urgent with the discussion of the 2017 report to the Club of Rome as a background (we'll specially analyze this document below) and critical general world situation in 2018. Its rapid aggravation is related to numerous factors, including acute military confrontation of military blocs with destruction of the last guarantors of international security, origination of new types of mass-destruction weapons and unprecedented arms race as a background.

This is the reason why unpredictability, uncertainty and instability as well as a whole line of similar definitions regularly supplement the vocabulary of public policy and as a rule are perceived only negatively by the overwhelming majority of politicians and political analysts. Forecasts of the coming era of total global unpredictability as one of the main threats of the globalizing world are also more and more often heard and seen in the academic community and mass media, and that only intensifies panic. And that, in its turn, to a considerable extent devaluates the role of science

and analytics not only for public and international policy, but also whole sectors of sector policy, including academic and defense policies, bringing chaos into the process of taking strategic decisions.

Besides, such policy destroys the very possibility of working out long-term strategies and curtails prospects for a normal life for millions of people. This requirement is felt especially acutely when we're speaking about life horizons and plans for the future as this policy deforms the deep-lying feeling of self-identification – both traditional (family and clan, ethic and religious, professional and age-related, sociocultural and civilizational) and political – civil and ideological. It's absolutely evident that all types of identities and respective forms of human solidarity (both traditional and strictly political) are subjected to a most severe trial when running across instability of the social system and inner life, and that in its turn destabilizes all integration processes, including intra-European ones, and considerably limits the search for political and social technologies directed to strengthening the basic institutes of collective solidarity.

Jürgen Habermas, the outstanding theoretician of solidarity, in particular wrote about this trend in his work with the expressive title *Technocratic Anger. The Divided Union Gets Stuck by Solidarity Threshold*. He says with fairly good grounds that solidarity deficit is the main obstacle on the way of the European Union's sustainable development. At the same time, as N.V. Motroshilova notices when analyzing the evolution of Habermas' solidarity teachings, that "the idea of solidarity's moralization and depoliticization" are becoming, in the opinion of the German philosopher, "a big shortcoming exactly of late, when the idea of solidarity is required to be applied to not only ethical but also sociopolitical and 'pure' political sides of human actions and relations."<sup>4</sup>

Habermas with his German punctuality grouped into types all forms of instrumental solidarity that may be in demand in the process of social and political building, taking into account the level of the society's civilization development. But he especially singles out traditional types of solidarity that act as distinctive guarantors of stability and first of all it is "the solidarity of those who were born later with their predecessors, with all those who were injured by a human hand in their body or personal wholeness." According to his definition, "this solidarity is established and initiated only by way of remembering. The strength of memories bringing liberation should mean (like it was from Hegel to Freud) not freeing the modernity from the power of the past, but relieving the modernity of its guilt about the past" as "exactly the irrevocable image of the past turns out to be under the threat of disappearance, when the modernity appears, not capable to guess itself in this image."<sup>5</sup> However,

<sup>1</sup> Chief Researcher at the Institute for Immunology and Physiology (the Urals Branch of the RAS), member of the Presidium of the Urals Branch of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Medicine), Professor. Author more than 900 scholarly publications, including 68 monographs: "Immunophysiology", "Alpha Fetoprotein", "Immunologic and Genetic Factors of Reproduction Function Disturbance", "Biological Laws and Human Viability. Method of Multi-Functional Regeneration Biotherapy", "Physiological and Hygienic Concept of Speleoand Co-Treatment", "Influence of drug addiction on social and economic development of society", "Social and Demographic Safety of Russia", "Demographic Policy of the Country and Health of the Nation" "Introduction to the problems of modeling and managing the dynamics of HIV infection" and others; 2 manuals for studying combined radiation damages and 1 for clinical immunology; 14 textbooks, 11 manuals, 8 methodical recommendations, 5 courses of lectures for higher educational establishments, 42 patents and 2 discoveries. President of the Russian Academic Society of Immunologists. Chief editor of the "Russian Journal of Immunology", "Bulletin of Ural Medical Academic Science". He is decorated with the Order of Friendship, the Order for Services to the Fatherland of the 3rd and 4th degree. He is a Laureate of the Government Award of the Russian Federation in science and technology (2006) and the award of the Government of the Russian Federation in the field of education (2012). Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.

<sup>2</sup> Professor of the Chair of Philosophy of Politics and Law at Lomonosov Moscow University, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Honorary Higher Professional Education Lecturer of the Russian Federation. Class 3 State Advisor. Author of more than 400 scholarly publications, including 26 monographs and textbooks: "Unity and continuity of consciousness", "Conceptual research: tradition, innovation, responsibility", "Creativity and dogmatism", "The Nature of Self-Identification: Russian Culture, Slavonic World and Strategy of Continuing Education"; "The World's Wells: Russia's Environmental Doctrine: from Plans to Pilot Projects"; "Philosophy and Methodology of Political Planning" and others. Deputy Chairman of the Scientific Council of the RAS for the study and preservation of cultural and natural heritage. He is recipient of the UN Avicenna Award and Unity Award. He was awarded the Russian Federation Governmental Prize in science and technology.

<sup>3</sup> Chereshnev V. A., Rastorguev V. N. Long-Term Development Strategy: Challenges of our Time, Global Instability and Methodology for Determination of Priorities // Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests : the 16th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 19–21, 2016. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2016. P. 259–261.

<sup>4</sup> Motroshilova N. V. Jürgen Habermas about the European Union Crisis and the Idea of Solidarity (2011–2013) // Philosophical Issues. 2013. No 10. P. 25.

<sup>5</sup> Habermas J. The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity. Moscow : Ves Mir, 2003. P. 26–27.

the traditional idea of solidarity as Habermas shows, referring to “the Aristotle tradition (up to Hannah Arendt),” never lost its close “connection with the political concept of the feeling of solidarity”<sup>1</sup> either.

If we’re speaking about deep-lying reasons for panic perception of the constantly growing instability of the universe, first of all, we should point at the capitalist society crisis and serious decline of the modern democracy institutions, which is certified by the report to the Club of Rome with the expressive title *Come on! Capitalism, Short-termism, Population and the Destruction of the Planet* prepared by E.U. von Weizsäcker and A. Wijkman using materials of a big group of leading experts. In the opinion of the authors (that was only the second time when the report to the Club of Rome was unanimously supported by all its members), instability is a typical feature of the present times, and the problem of the society’s regeneration is that the political class of the whole world became completely dependent on investors and powerful private companies: “This indicates that the current crisis is also a *crisis of global capitalism*. Since the 1980s, capitalism has moved from furthering the economic development of countries, regions and the world towards maximizing profits, and then to a large extent profits from speculation. In addition, the capitalism unleashed since 1980 in the Anglo-Saxon world, and since 1990 worldwide, is mainly financial. This trend was supported by excessive deregulation and liberalization of the economy. In reality, it served to narrow business down to short-term gains, and often at the expense of social and ecological values.” Another destabilization factor, closely connected to the monopoly of financial capital, is “the rise of aggressive, mostly right-wing movements against globalization in OECD countries, often referred to as populism. These have become overt through Brexit and the Trump victory in the United States”. As it is emphasized in the report referring to Fareed Zakaria’s observations, “Trump is a part of a broad populist upsurge. The Edelman Trust Barometer says that 53% of the population in 28 countries believe the systems governing them are failing; only 15% deem that the systems are working.”<sup>2</sup>

It should be said that this time the report to the Club of Rome was saturated with the feelings of hopelessness and confusion (and the word “confusion” is its dominant). The authors find the exit from the dead-end in a far from unambiguous concept offered by American ecologist and economist H. Daly. The concept is built on contrasting the so-called “empty world” as if typical for the human civilization (the world of unexplored territories and excessive resources) and the “full world”. If, in Daly’s opinion, prevailing religions, political ideologies and social institutions, established and sustainable forms of thinking dominate in the first, empty world, the second, “full” world is oversaturated, filled to the brims with the products of human activities. From the point of view of advocates of this attitude, we should not live according to the “empty world” rules as in this case collapse will come quickly. The metaphor in the basis of this concept is extremely inappropriate in our opinion and corresponds to the reality only if applied to the information revolution, and only with the correction that

some hundredth of a percent of the information flow going over the brim are digested by people, turning into white noise, according to the well-known saying by A. Gore. The “empty world rules” on the basis of which traditional, multi-civilization world was built and, most important, self-reproduced, can’t be discarded, without even thinking what they are.

The report to the Club of Rome is saturated with not only pessimism but also unclear skepticism in relation to traditional norms and values of the so-called “empty world”, though exactly science and arts, politics and religion as well as other specialized fields and sectors of human activities have their own multi-millennia history and internal logic of establishment. And each of these fields is becoming a component of global and national cultural heritage, the property of next generations thanks to the established forms of internal and external regulations, including political (respective mechanisms of state sector policy) and legal. At the same time, sustainable and non-sustainable, transient and everlasting, i.e. invariant characteristics of the very activity are differently revealed depending on the temporal horizon, in which we are viewing them.

D.S. Likhachov spoke very deeply about this phenomenon as a general cultural governing law: “Sure, it’s impossible to foresee appearance of a genius literary work. But it is possible to foresee to a certain extent a genius scientific discovery. Scientific discoveries are made at a certain level of knowledge and technology. Because of that, originations of similar discoveries and inventions at the same time in different countries, by different scholars are not accidental. <...> From this point of view, let’s again come back to the issue of far-off future predictability and unpredictability of the nearest future. The matter is that addressing the nearest future, we should see it in large scales and deal, first of all, with individual phenomena. <...> Addressing the far-off future, we’re dealing with typical, wide-spread, mass phenomena, with general contours...”<sup>3</sup>

Really, if we’re limited by short-term and middle-term temporal perspectives or, to be more exact, retrospectives, only certain events get into the field of view, and if we’re speaking about a long-term perspective, big event series, including cyclic, and casual relations between historically significant events that can be rationally reconstructed, get there.<sup>4</sup> If we’re speaking about really long-term horizons, to be more exact, meta-historical time, the picture will be changed considerably, when even really historically important events go to the background.

In the first case, evolutionary, sustainable development processes become accessible for us as well as succession divides, originating as a result of a conflict of interests of various social or ethnic groups and individuals (the human factor of history – in the positive and negative sense of the term). Naturally, the main actors of the activity come to the foreground – significant figures from the political and military elite, outstanding thinkers and creators, rulers of the human mind and souls. Fateful events, predetermining the course of history, are connected with their names. In the second case, during the “periods of big activities”, meta-

<sup>1</sup> Habermas J. Op. cit. P. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Weizsäcker E. U. von., Wijkman A. *Come On! Capitalism, Short-termism, Population and the Destruction of the Planet: A Report to the Club of Rome*. N. Y. : Springer Science + Business Media LLC, 2018. P. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Likhachov D. S. *The Future of Literature as a Subject for Studies: (Notes and Thoughts)* // *Novy Mir*. 1969. No 9. P. 168–167.

<sup>4</sup> We had an opportunity to describe in detail the issues related to classification of events, including “dooming” and cyclic // *Civilization Development of Russia: Heritage, Potential, Development* : Collective monograph / eds. V. A. Chereshev, V. N. Rastorguev. Moscow, 2018.

historical processes come to the foreground, when we're shown, according to the exact definition by Michel Foucault, not only historical realities and event series but also the *teleology of the mind*. In his opinion, this certifies "the return to the philosophy of history, to the ideas of great world eras, to divisions into periods that would proceed from the 'destiny of civilizations'"<sup>1</sup>, that does not allow to bring the issue down to a "simple linear scheme".

Here, private and group interests are seen already as much less significant than the *teleological aspect* of establishing various fields of specialized activities. Now, the central place in the analytics is taken by functional differences existing between science and arts as fields where either focusing on discovering of the already existing (scientific field), or focusing on invention of the new that did not exist before (arts) dominate (according to the well-known Kant's classification). At the same time, Kant includes technology and inventing activities in the field of arts together with fine arts. Consequently, a wide field is singled out together with these singled out (for the purpose of discussion) fields, where "discovery" and "invention" are the key functions. The regulative function spreading to all fields of activities dominates in this wide field. This is religious conscience, morals and right, in which state interests are expressed.

Hegel in his *Philosophy of Right* paid attention to the functional kinship of these regulating fields. He understood the right maximally widely, including, first of all, the "unlimited absolute right of the world spirit" into this idea. He wrote in particular: "The right is something sacred in general, sacred only because it is the present being of the absolute idea, self-conscious freedom. Formalism of the right (and then also formalism of the obligation) originates out of the difference between development stages of the idea of freedom. Each stage of the ideas of freedom development has its own right, as it is the present being of freedom in one of its definitions. When they speak about opposition of morality, ethics, on the one hand, and the *right* on the other hand, only the first formal right of an abstract individual is understood under the right. Morality, ethics, state interest, – each of them individually is a special right as each of these forms is a definition and the present being of *freedom*. The *collision* between them may take place only inasmuch as all of them are on the same line and are the right."<sup>2</sup>

Coming back to the appraisal of the strictly pessimistic picture of the future presented in the report to the Club of Rome, it should be said that the political concept of sustainable development has not exhausted its potential, notwithstanding numerous contradictions related to its status and mechanisms of acceptance by the international community as one of their basic political doctrines and its reflection in the field of theoretical thought (numerous competing academic and pseudoscientific concepts under the same name). Detailed analysis of this aspect of the sustainable development concept's functioning is presented in the monograph *The Sustainable Development Concept in the Context of Political Processes of the 21st Century*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Foucault M. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Kiev : Nika-Center, 1996. P. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Hegel G. W. F. *Philosophy of Right // Works*. Moscow-Leningrad : Sotsekgiz, 1934. P. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Chereshnev V. A., Rastorguev V. N. N. Moiseyev's Dilemma: Sustainable Development Concept – Utopia or Strategy? // *The Sustainable Development Concept in the Context of Political Processes of the 21st Century* : collective monograph / ed. A. I. Kostin. Moscow : MSU, 2018.

The matter is that the political concept is approved basing on completely different principles as compared with scientific theories. Political concepts are approved not by scholars but politicians basing on respective procedures. The expert community is really invited at certain stages, this community includes the "first-level" experts (experts providing conclusions, for example, about legal compliance of worked out documents with the acting national law and international law, a possibility of their provision with resources and finances, etc.) as well as representatives of science, public, prominent figures in the field of culture. But as a rule, they do not take part in the most important stages when decisions are taken. And it's well-known that politicians are guided by different thoughts and ideas, dictated by national, corporate, lobbyist or other interests having no relation to science, by the feeling of party or group solidarity and, finally, strengthening their own "sustainability" in the system. At the same time, the participants of the process sometimes have to sacrifice logic and the system of theoretical foundations for coordinating variously focused interests. Actually, this fact is the reason of indignation among scholars who clearly see defects in the foundation and logic and because of that strive to "correct the concept", offering their variants and being sincerely surprised that they are not heard.

As M. Weber said in his famous address to young students *Science as a Vocation* (100 years passed since its publication), "In the field of science only he who is devoted solely to the work at hand has 'personality'. <...> In the field of science, however, the man who makes himself the impresario of the subject to which he should be devoted, and steps upon the stage and seeks to legitimate himself through 'experience', asking: How can I prove that I am something other than a mere 'specialist' and how can I manage to say something in form or in content that nobody else has ever said? – such a man is no 'personality'. Today such conduct is a crowd phenomenon, and it always makes a petty impression and debases the one who is thus concerned. Instead of this, the inner devotion to the task, and that alone, should lift the scientist to the height and dignity of the subject he pretends to serve."<sup>4</sup> In Weber's opinion, this supertask and the duty of science was and still is "looking for truth". Exactly because of that he thought that there is no place for politics in lecture-rooms: students in lecture-rooms should not engage in politics. <...> However, a teacher should not engage in politics in a lecture-room either. First of all, if he researches the field of politics as a scientist.<sup>5</sup>

As a conclusion, we'd like to say that panic in the world public policy is connected with its being closed to a large extent. Only at first sight, it's becoming more and more open and democratic, though this openness is most often demonstrative and sometimes it is real propaganda. Surely, such openness does not spread to special fields of activities that are referred to "political kitchen" and in particular many fields of political planning – both strategic and operating. Such division is as conditional as the divide between the public and non-public fields as strategic problems as a rule saturate exactly operating plans where targets and means, causes and consequences can easily change places. The general picture is aggravated by the fact that we're

<sup>4</sup> Weber M. *Selected Works*. Moscow : Progress, 1990. P. 711.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. P. 721.

viewing coupling of mutually excluding trends exactly in this field – from strengthening the planned basis in states’ and inter-state unions’ activities to their full self-removal from synchronized planning in different temporal horizons and various specialized sectors of policy that questions the development sustainability.

According to A. Toffler – one of the few well-known theoreticians who tried to understand the scales of the catastrophe named state non-planning in his book with the expressive title *Future Shock*, – we hear intensifying calls to anti-planning or non-planning. <...> Lack of planning is glorified. Stating that planning imposes values on the future, anti-planners overlook the fact that non-planning also does that, often with much worse consequences. <...> If we want to prevent future shock or control the population numbers, prevent pollution or weaken arms race, we can’t allow global decisions to be taken inattentively, irrationally, unplanned. To let this situation from under control means collective suicide.<sup>1</sup>

They write and speak about the “strategy of non-planning” reluctantly in Russia as it is impossible to strike out the era of great planned construction from history when the country nearly fully destroyed to its foundations became equal to industrial giants before the war and after the great sacrificial war it was restored and accumulated fantastic potential – industrial and military, scientific and human. And that happened to a big extent thanks to the art of analytics built in the process of systemic middle- and long-term planning as well as brilliantly adjusted system of control based on the multi-level state expert examination.

As V.V. Putin said at the session of the State Council in 2006, when we only started turning to long-term planning, “copying the work models of the Soviet Gosplan (State Planning Committee) in the market economy environment is not expedient and impossible, however, drawing up plans and programs is fairly compatible with market economy.”<sup>2</sup> Exactly this turn (11 well-known Presidential Orders that “determined the indicators of development, time-limits, personal responsibility”) allowed, as Putin summed up the results of the work done at the State Council session in 2017, to solve the most difficult tasks related to security and defense, which changed the alignment of forces on the international scene. That was told already with demonstration of achievements in the Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly in 2018.

As we see, the emphasis in strategic planning is made on managerial methods for strategic development of certain segments of sector policy. And that is not accidental: when we’re speaking about the openness of policies, we mean, first of all, not sector but public policy. It is exactly this policy, no matter how paradoxically it may sound, that always has been and still is the most closed field of political life. It happens because deep-lying and often differently focused group interests are in its basis, these interests include social group and class interests, party and personal, strategic and market interests, eluding politicians themselves and requiring constant readiness for struggle and compromises from them. And sector policy, which at first sight looks

absolutely closed, really is transparent for experts because understanding its targets and functions requires due qualifications. It is closed only to laymen and in contrast to public policy, it can be measured fairly precisely, for example, from the point of view of efficiency or inefficiency of some or the other decisions. This is the reason why it is opened to those initiated except certain areas, and that is usually explained by commercial or state secrets.

There should be no place for “two-layer” projects if applied to any sector policy, and intrigues and provocations either. In any case, they pale into insignificance as objective criteria are included, with safety and security appraisal, resources consumption appraisal, etc. The main requirement in public policy is not efficiency, which most often can’t be either confirmed or rejected, but effectiveness of another kind – staking on the effect made by politicians and their actions, which is also important of course.

Exactly because of that the work of experts and expert examinations in the “non-public” field acquire a completely different character, not accessible for the mass conscience, completely focused on the troubles and upheavals of public policy – foreign and home, where a completely different attitude both to analytics and expert examination is formed as well as to analysts and experts themselves. Here the phenomenon of participation in political life plays its role. It originates in case of many people, really included in political campaigns carried out by various parties and movements, including oppositional. All that creates the outward appearance of accessibility of knowledge about plans and aims, “power technologies” and power institutions’ functioning at national and even “supranational” levels. Such illusions appear both in case of common people and public politicians themselves, whose competence as a rule does not include requirements for professional competence in a certain field of knowledge (e.g. there are even no minimum education requirements for deputies in many countries). This well-known and irremovable paradox of democracy is perceived as a given, and that in its turn considerably reduces the critique of thinking.

The issue of real functions and types of expert and analytical activities is made more complicated by the fact that public policy stands on three whales. The first one is the “classical” form of planning, within which projects also serve the “showcase” for lobbying interests of real political actors. Here the emphasis on wholeness and sustainability is evident. The second “whale” is intrigues, i.e. the same interests but already not camouflaged with projects but presented, so to say, naked. Here we run across a wide range of destabilization methods – from “parallel” political planning to “other planning” (external planning) that do not catch the eye immediately. These intrigues-interests in case of the main “players” are naturally connected with fighting for power and resources or participation in power, and they are different interests for the public, electors, they have been defined by the formula “bread and circuses” since old times. The third “whale” is provocations, where sometimes everything is staked on destructive destabilization of the system. However, provocations also include provocations “in the good sense” of the word – for example, provocation without which it is impossible to feel the society’s reaction to some or the other reforms. However, a provocation the aim of which can be destruction of the foundations of the state system itself is referred to them as well. And that, as

<sup>1</sup> Toffler A. *Future Shock*: Translated from the English. Moscow : AST, 2002. P. 492.

<sup>2</sup> Putin V. V. Speech at the State Council session “On Mechanisms of Federal and Regional Executive Bodies’ Interaction When Working out Complex Socioeconomic Development Programs for the Regions.” July 21, 2006. See: <http://www.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/35972>.



you see, are not homogeneous phenomena requiring different appraisals – political, moral and legal.

As a result, political analytics and expert examination are viewed as activities available for nearly everyone, and principal differences between the analyst's work and the expert's work completely vanish from the field of view. It is not accidental that representatives of the academic

community are less and less mentioned among those who are called that, but the so-called media persons are mentioned more and more often. Journalists and reviewers, commentators made popular by e-media dominate among them, but as it was already said, they do not participate directly either in preparation and especially taking political decisions.

## B. Desgardins<sup>1</sup>

### THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE IN THE FACE OF CHINESE IMPERIALISM. WHAT CONSEQUENCES FOR FINANCIAL MARKETS?

Know your place in the world.

*Confucius*

In the midst of rivalries between powers, this saying by Confucius rings true, because this is the key issue for markets and geopolitics. There are many question marks, but Chinese history helps us understand and recent history illustrates the changes.

*The question marks: from sun to shadows,  
possibly before the darkness*

– The sunny side is performance: how has a Communist country which promotes State capitalism been able to profit from globalisation to such an extent?

– The shadows are inequality and imperialism: how has a regime for which equality was the cardinal value been able to produce one of the most inegalitarian societies? What should we think of the aggressive imperialism of the Belt and Road Initiative, for example? What are the threats for Western countries and companies?

– The darkness is possibly to be seen over the coming decades: is the country not cushioning the slowdown by excessive use of debt? Can growth persist with such pollution? Can growth continue if the population declines? Will China be able to attain the status of a high-income country? Can a parallel be drawn with Japan at the end of the 1980s, just before its bubble burst?

In this context, could not Xi Jinping's centralisation of power be explained by his fear of a collapse of the regime like that which swept away the Soviet Union?

*Ancient history: a great power*

Since the founding of the Chinese Empire in 221 BC, China has been dominated by the Hans and formed a Confucian civilisation several millennia old which held sway in Asia and gave the world the compass, gunpowder, printing and even, writes *David Landes* in "*The Wealth and Poverty of Nations*", metallurgy 1,500 years before Europe. According to *Angus Maddison*, at that time China represented 15% to 20% of the world's wealth, and yet, after the exploit of the navigator Zheng He, who reached the coasts of Africa around 1430, China shut itself off from the rest of the world.

<sup>1</sup> General Manager of Banque "Eric Sturdza SA" (Geneva, Switzerland). Author of a variety of scientific works, including "New International Economic Environment", "Globalization Strategies", "Phenomenon of the Swiss Banking System: Historical Facts and Current Trends" and other works on banking.

*Recent history: a renaissance*

Of all countries it is China which, since the start of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain in the 18th century, has posted the strongest growth cycle. China has managed to avoid crises. Whereas in 1990 it accounted for 3% of global industrial production, the figure is now around one-quarter. Since joining the WTO in 2001, China's export market share has increased from 4.3% to 14%. Chinese GDP has been multiplied by 12 and its weight in the global economy has increased from 2% to 15%. The country is the leading exporter in the world and it is increasingly investing abroad.

In 2018, US GDP was approximately \$20,000 billion, the European 27 were at \$15,000 billion and China \$12,500 billion. China's GDP is equivalent to 60% of US GDP, but in purchasing power parity terms it is 120% and, according to some pundits, by around 2025 the Chinese economy could exceed the US economy in absolute value terms. The GDP of the other three BRICS, Russia, India and Brazil, totals less than 8%.

Given such economic performance, it raises the question of stock market performance, and we will endeavour to answer it. While the S&P 500's performance in US dollars has been 17.7% annually since its low point in March 2009, the annualised performance of the Chinese stock market has been just 11.8%.

To try to answer these questions, we will devote a first part to a triumphant China, a second to the impact on the West and, finally, see China on the defensive.

#### China triumphant

The man who moves a mountain starts  
by shifting small stones

*Confucius*

China's conquering attitude is a reaction to several sources of its resentment: the humiliation of the Opium Wars in 1842, when the English forced the Chinese to buy opium produced in India to finance the purchase of the Chinese products they were very fond of; the humiliation of 1860 further to the sacking of the Summer Palace by the English and French; the humiliation of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, when the Japanese took over Taiwan; and the humiliation of the 1931 invasion of Manchuria by the Japanese.

It was only following the death of Mao in 1976 that Deng Xiaoping, who held power until his death in 1997, introduced a policy inspired by Lenin's NEP (New Economic Policy in 1921), opening up the country, introducing agrarian reform, and initiating investments in industry and education which would set the stage for 40 years of robust growth.

Since 1978, China has succeeded in transforming itself from a predominantly rural society (70% of the population in 1978), to an industrial and 55% city-dwelling society, while avoiding the pitfalls of shanty towns.

Of the 700 million people worldwide who came out of poverty between 1990 and 2010 (less than \$1.25/day in PPP (purchasing power parity) terms according to the World Bank), 500 million are Chinese. The percentage of people below the poverty line in China fell from 80% to 12%. With reference to the development of the middle classes, the figures produced by Peter Frankopan in "*The Mew Silk Roads*" are impressive: in 1990, Chinese tourists spent \$500 million abroad, and in 2017 \$250 billion, and these figures are set to soar, because only 5% of Chinese currently hold passports. Infrastructure development (rail and road) is startling: in 1968, China had no motorways and France had 1.000 kilometres, while the figures are now 130.000 kilometres and 12.000 kilometres respectively. There are four keys to understanding this triumphant China: exploitation of the rules of the WTO (World Trade Organisation), support for State-owned enterprises, the Belt and Road Initiative and the resurgence of ideology.

#### ***Exploitation of the WTO rules***

When it joined the WTO in 2001, China enjoyed emerging-country status, enabling it to prohibit foreign investment in eleven sectors and limit it in many others. Admittedly, the current-account surplus, which was 10% in 2007, has fallen to a level close to 0, and in 2017 exports no longer accounted for 35% of GDP as in 2006, but just 20%. Admittedly, China exploits social dumping less and relies more on technology, but the restrictions on Western investment in China are disputable and disputed. Both the Europeans and Americans would like to eliminate these restrictions, even though China remains an emerging country in terms of per capita income and still has between 300 and 400 million people living on less than \$2 per day. The law on openness presented to the People's Congress last week remains vague.

#### ***Support for State-owned companies and technological ambition***

China protects its domestic market, allows its companies to acquire critical size and, thanks to attractive loans from its State banks, helps its national champions conquer markets.

– *In conventional sectors* such as steel production. China's global market share has increased from 4% in 1997 to more than 50%. In the case of cement, China has produced more in five years than the United States did in the entire 20<sup>th</sup> century, and estimated capacity is 3 billion tonnes, while estimated demand does not exceed 2.2 billion tonnes.

– *In high-tech sectors*, China no longer wants to play just the role of an assembly plant. The "China 2025" programme provides for €2,000 billion in investments in ten sectors of the future, such as robotics, the autonomous vehicle, electric vehicles and electronic chips, ten sectors that it

wants to boost in order to raise local production in these key technologies to 40% by 2020 and 70% by 2025. To achieve this, research spending increased from 0.9% of GDP in 2000 to 2.1% in 2016 and is expected to reach \$400 billion in 2020. According to the WIPO (World Intellectual Property Organisation), by 2016 the Chinese filed as many patents as the Americans, the Japanese and the South Koreans combined, i.e. 38%, versus 20%, 11% and 7% respectively, while the Europeans accounted for only 5.5%. Admittedly, 95% of these patents were filed in China, which puts the technological breakthroughs into perspective.

*Aerospace* is one example of a strategic sector, with the development of *Avic*, a group with 400,000 employees, which could compete with Airbus (who generates one-quarter of their sales in China). *Robotics* is another example. China wants to make up lost ground, because it has only 36 robots per 10.000 inhabitants compared with 315 in Japan and 478 in South Korea. According to the International Federation of Robotics, in 2016 China acquired 27% of the robots produced in the world.

The trend is the same in *electronic chips*, because China no longer wants to be 80% dependent on American chips.

In *5G*, an essential technology for data transmission, operators will find a fantastic tool for information, surveillance or even data destruction. For these three reasons, the Americans and Australians, and possibly some Europeans in the future, will refuse to work with Huawei, accused of having stolen a T-Mobile technology in the United States and having violated sanctions against Iran. *Huawei*<sup>1</sup> is world leader in mobile networks, and third behind Samsung and Apple in smartphones.<sup>2</sup> Although the company is not listed on the stock exchange, it posts revenues exceeding \$100 billion and has a research budget of \$13 billion. Despite being a private company, it is forced by law to collect information abroad and, in China, to perform digital surveillance.

Among the other groups to be watched in the future are Alibaba. Tencent. Baidu, Xiaomi and many others.<sup>3</sup> All these large enterprises are often listed on the stock exchange outside China, pending the creation of a Chinese Nasdaq.

#### ***The Belt and Road Initiative: the ambition and the obstacles***

##### *The ambition*

This project, initiated in 2013 with 65 countries, now concerns about one hundred, or 4.4 billion inhabitants, representing more than 30% of global GDP, from China to Italy perhaps, and to the Middle East and Africa, and is designing two roads, one maritime and one terrestrial. China founded the AIIB (Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank) in 2014, has apparently already committed \$240 billion and plans

<sup>1</sup> Huawei, a private company founded by a colonel in 1987 and which has part of the employees as shareholders, has benefited from an estimated \$10 billion in State support in the form of generous loans.

<sup>2</sup> 206 million in 2018 versus 293 and 212 million for the two others and No 4 in the world for patents after Qualcomm, Ericsson, and Nokia.

<sup>3</sup> *Alibaba*, the No 1 distributor in the world, a leader in mobile payments and with rich stakes in the Chinese Twitter and YouTube. *Tencent*, the Chinese Facebook, buoyed by the success of WeChat with around 1 billion users, and also very strong in online auctions and video games and a 5% shareholder in Tesla. *Baidu*, the Chinese Google, which is also developing the autonomous car. *Xiaomi*, a specialist in entry-range smartphones, ranks No 4 in the world. *Didi Chuxing*, the Chinese Uber, also active in ride sharing, which has acquired Taxify in Estonia to expand in Europe.

\$1,000 billion of financing, in the form of loans or BOT (Build, Operate, Transfer) projects<sup>1</sup>, and with this economic bonanza it hopes to forge an instrument of geopolitical power. By comparison, remember the Marshall Plan, worth \$13 billion between 1948 and 1951, the equivalent of \$130 billion in today's money, mostly in the form of gifts made to 16 countries.

*“Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism”*

This book by *Lenin* characterises the current situation of China which, grappling with slackening growth and overcapacity, is looking for a growth driver. By investing in infrastructure along the Silk Roads, the Chinese want to facilitate their procurements of raw materials and agricultural produce and boost sales of Chinese goods.

*Features of these investments*

They are that they are often useful, not always adapted to requirements, sometimes polluting, always costly for the finances of these countries and with no consideration for human rights:

*Useful*, in the case of the construction of a new town near Cairo to relieve its traffic congestion, or the enlargement of the port of Bagamoyo in Tanzania to relieve the port of Dar es Salaam.

*Not profitable*, if we analyse the \$4.5 billion railway line between Addis-Ababa and Djibouti almost two years after its inauguration.

*Polluting*, if we consider coal-fired power station projects in Kenya or Bangladesh blocked by local populations.

*Costly*: the IMF is concerned about Pakistan, a country whose GDP is only \$280 billion, where China has made loans for more than \$60 billion in order to build a deep-water port at Gwadar, wind-power farms, electric power stations, water treatment units and a high-speed train line 1,600 kilometres long between Karachi and Peshawar. The country's foreign exchange reserves of \$10 billion cannot suffice to repay the debt, and finance imports from China.

*Excessive*, in the case of small countries such as the Maldives (between \$1.5 and \$3 billion worth of budget allocations for a GDP of \$5 billion!) which allow themselves to be tempted by big projects.

*No concern for human rights*, as in the Central Asian countries with which China trades, and considering the role played by China in the UN to protect President Omar al-Bashir in the Sudan.

It is therefore not surprising to see some countries rebel against this control, these unequal deals and this colonialist approach: this has been the reaction of the new Malaysian government of Mahatir which, according to the Financial Times, has cancelled \$22 billion worth of infrastructure contracts. The problem is the same in Tajikistan, which abandoned land to China in return for forgiveness of a debt which it could not honour, in Kyrgyzstan with a per capita debt of \$700 owed to China compared with an average annual income of \$1,000, and in Sri Lanka, at Hambantota with a \$1.3 billion deepwater port, which could not be made profitable and had to be given up to China with a 99-year lease, and could become a military base.

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese firm collects revenues from operations to recoup the initial investments before transferring the plant to the country.

***The resurgence of ideology:  
four points are worth noting***

*The reference to historical greatness*

While Xi tends to forget Deng Xiaoping, he refers to both Confucius and Mao, although to a Confucius expurgated of his texts on human dignity and his writings on the need for the political authority to listen to the people and to a Mao in the great times of the Revolution, far from the period of famine which left between 30 and 60 million victims. As a child, Xi was sent into the countryside during the Cultural Revolution but did not call into question the regime, denigrated Western democracy and could readily subscribe to the assertion of *Lee Kuan Yew*: “*The West elects rulers in whom it has no confidence whereas China does not elect rulers in whom it has confidence.*”

*The crushing of opposition*

There is nothing seductive about Xi, the product of a hierarchic society, inheriting a culture which sees the individual as merely a cog in the machine. In 2019, he is spending more on defence, officially \$179 billion, less than 2% of GDP and less than one-third of the US budget. He employs two million people to keep watch on net surfers, has got rid of more than one million opponents on the pretext of combating corruption, he impedes freedom of the press in Hong Kong, and is supported abroad by the Confucius Institutes, financed by the Communist Party.

He has not hesitated to repress 1 million of the 11 million *Uyghurs* in camps. The latter, Turkishspeaking Muslims, live in the largest province of China, *Xinjiang*, three times the size of France, conquered by the Qing dynasty in 1760 and bordering on Pakistan, India, Russia and many other countries. A key region, rich in coal with half of the country's reserves, rich in oil and gas and the site of nuclear test facilities. The Hans who were sent to “colonise” this province now represent 40% of the population.

Another sensitive province is *Tibet*, a strategic region, the source of the three major Chinese rivers, the Yellow River, the Yangtze and the Mekong.

*The reassertion of the role  
of the Chinese Communist Party, the CCP*

The book “*Dans la tete de Xi Jinping*” (Inside the Mind of Xi Jinping) by *Francois Bougon* underlines the fact that the CCP is present in companies and supervises society, from birth rates to scoring people's behaviour, from teaching Marx to conducting surveillance of intellectuals. This is reminiscent of the action taken by Mao following the Hundred Flowers Campaign.

*Pressure on Taiwan*

Taiwan, the 23rd biggest world power with its 23 million inhabitants and a wealth of brands in the electronics sector, is disturbing for China because the country presents the image of compatibility between the thinking of Confucius and democratic values. Only 130 kilometres away from China but more than 10,000 kilometres from the United States, which has undertaken to defend the island in the event of aggression. Taiwan is dependent on China, which is the destination of 40% of its exports. Taiwan was ousted from the UN at the start of the 1970s by China, and is now recog-

nised by only about fifteen countries, a figure that decreases each year. About twenty years ago, more than 20 African countries recognised Taiwan but now, due to Chinese commercial and diplomatic pressure, there remains only land-locked Swaziland.

#### *Cooperation-confrontation with Asian countries*

China vacillates between joint military manoeuvres and confrontation. It disputes the sovereignty of around 200 islets and reefs in a region through which 40% of China's trade passes. China has landed a military aircraft on an artificial island in the *Spratly Islands*, giving rise to protests from the Philippines and Vietnamese. It lost the case before the International Court of Justice in 2016, but is ignoring the court's ruling.

In the event of conflict, the Chinese would have difficulty obtaining access to the Pacific Ocean because of the obstacle of the Kuril Islands and the Sea of Japan, and they know that the Strait of Malacca, 800 kilometres long and only 38 kilometres wide at the narrowest point between Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, which are US allies, could be blocked. All these reasons explain why the Chinese are trying to set up bases in the heart of the Indian Ocean, in Myanmar, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.

### **The West impacted**

The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without fighting

*Sun Tzu*

After China triumphant, let us look at the West, and note four impacts: sectors, commodities, currencies and sensitivity to the economic cycle.

#### **Sectors undermined by often disloyal competition**

Over-investment in numerous sectors by Chinese State-owned enterprises has been a deflationary factor for the global economy and a factor undermining Western companies. Examples are the steel sector, cement, renewable energies, solar power and wind power, where numerous companies have been overpowered by their Chinese competitors. In all these sectors, China has achieved a remarkable breakthrough, but MIT's Professor *Acemoglu* attributes only one-quarter of the four million jobs lost in the US manufacturing sector between 1990 and 2011 to Chinese competition.

The list could be very long, but note that:

– In *electricity grids*, State Grid, with 1.1 billion Chinese customers and 1.7 million employees, is making numerous equity investments in Australia, Greece and Italy.

– In *nuclear power*, CGN has inaugurated the first EPR reactor, ahead of EDF.

– In *solar cells*, 6 of the 8 leading firms are Chinese<sup>1</sup>, leaving one American and one South Korean.

– In *wind power*, 5 of the 10 leading equipment producers are Chinese<sup>2</sup> and they install half of the wind turbines in the world. This leaves four Europeans, Denmark's Vestas, number 2, the Germans Siemens and Enercon and Spanish firm Gamesa, and one American firm, GE.

<sup>1</sup> Trina Solar, JA Solar, Jinko Solar, Canadian Solar, Yingli Solar and Shungfeng.

<sup>2</sup> Goldwind, No 1. United Power. Mingyang. Envision and CSIC.

– In *electric batteries*, 5 of the 10 leading producers are Chinese<sup>3</sup>, three are Japanese (including Panasonic, number 1), and two are South Korean.

– In *the space industry*, China Aerospace recently landed a probe on the moon.

– In *railway rolling stock*, CRCC (China Railway stock Corp) was created in 2014 by the merger of two groups, is majority-controlled by Sasac (i.e. the State) and is world No 1, with more than half of global locomotive deliveries in the past three years. It generated €27 billion in revenues in 2018, versus €8.7 billion for Siemens' railway business, and €8 billion for Alstom. The group profits from the State's proactive approach to infrastructure, with 150,000 km of railway tracks scheduled by 2020, including 30,000 km of high-speed rail lines and the Belt and Road Initiative. Based on the experience acquired in the Chinese market, it is expanding in Asia and Africa, and also in the United States, with subway or train contracts for Boston, Philadelphia and Los Angeles. In Europe, it still only has minor contracts in Macedonia, the Czech Republic and Serbia, but a breakthrough can be expected, because it is backed up by a broad offering including construction of the lines (the two leading companies in the world are Chinese) and signalling.

#### **Commodities: a destabilising influence on prices**

– Between 2000 and 2013, China's primary energy consumption doubled from 14% to 28% of the world total, and its consumption of metals such as copper often represents 50% of global production, so that prices are influenced by Chinese growth.

– In the mining of rare earths, essential for the production of computers and mobile phones, where, according to *Pitron* in "*La guerre des métaux rares*" ("The Rare Metals War"), China has between 50% and 70% market shares, it has a fantastic advantage, because the West has abandoned this highly-polluting mining practice. The West is developing recycling, but this remains costlier than mining. Rare earths are therefore a weapon available to China in the event of tensions.

#### **US debt and currencies, means of pressure available to the Chinese**

– Along with Japan, China is the leading holder of US government bonds, worth \$1,170 billion, and reducing this position is a weapon of deterrence.

– China is postponing the internationalisation of its currency to prevent capital outflows which would push up interest rates (foreign exchange reserves have fallen from \$4,000 billion to \$3,200 billion in the past two years). The yuan was recently included in the composition of SDRs (Special Drawing Rights), but it is only the fifth most traded currency, with a 2% market share

– The Chinese are also increasingly investing in foreign real estate. According to *Peter Frankopan*, they spent \$50 billion in 2016 and \$40 billion in 2017, which apparently drove up prices in California, Vancouver, Australia and Southeast Asia.

#### **Sensitivity to the Chinese economy**

In recent years, Chinese growth accounted for up to 30% of global growth. On the regional level, many Asian countries

<sup>3</sup> BYD, No 2, Epower. Beijing Pride Power, Air Litium and Wanxiang.

have profited from China's growth. This is illustrated by the weight of exports to China from countries such as Australia for commodities, Japan, Taiwan, Singapore and others for capital goods, and Vietnam and others for components. For some countries, exports to China represent the equivalent of 15% of their GDP.

### **China on the defensive, or the limitations of State capitalism**

Good fortune has its roots in misfortune,  
and misfortune lurks beneath good  
fortune

*Lao Tzu*

Domestically, China faces a slowdown, environmental problems and population ageing, and abroad it faces Western reactions.

#### ***The growth slowdown and the debt burden***

##### *Is China the new Japan?*

The question may seem provocative, but China is showing symptoms similar to those that affected Japan at the start of the 1990s: the same undervalued currency, the same financing of relatively unprofitable exports by a banking system which was thereby weakened, the same population decline (although it is more dramatic in China) and the same bubble in certain sectors. However, while Japan was a geopolitical partner. China is a military power and it weighs more in terms of relative weight in the global economy than Japan at the time.

##### *The difficulty of understanding Chinese statistics*

One preliminary comment is that Chinese statistics must be analysed cautiously, because the provinces are keen to be well viewed by Beijing and therefore inflate their growth figures. A *Brookings* study considers that China's GDP has been overestimated by 12% in recent years, the equivalent of 2 percentage points per year.

##### *Five explanations for the cause of the slowdown*

*First*, overcapacity arising from competition between the provinces; for example, at the end of the 1990s there were 8,000 cement producers (4,000 even now) and 120 carmakers. As a consequence, the national investment rate exceeds 40% of GDP and China accounts for more than one-quarter of global investment.

*Second*, the effects of catch-up, which are beneficial to all emerging countries, are fading while the productivity gains driven by the rural exodus are also slowing, as the migrants who were forced to accept wages in the cities 30% lower than those of the local residents are now less numerous.

*Third*, far fewer young people are entering working life.

*Fourth*, the loss of competitiveness as a result of wage increases: the minimum monthly wage in Shanghai has been multiplied by four since 2006 and is now €315, higher than in Bulgaria (€285). There is offshoring to other countries in the region, where wages may be three times lower.

*Fifth*, *inequality*: higher income inequality than in Western countries, but also inequality of access to education, even though the percentage of illiteracy in the 15–24 age

group is only 0.4%, versus 20% in India. The State education budget is equivalent to less than 4% of GDP, compared with more than 6% in Western countries, primary school is costly, and the number of children of migrants from the hinterland who are excluded from the school system is estimated at 35 million. University education benefits more than 30 million people, mainly city dwellers (rural dwellers are only 17%, although they represent 44% of the population).<sup>1</sup>

Widening inequalities are exacerbating individualism to the detriment of the socialist model. Welfare spending, at 10% of GDP versus 22% on average in developed countries, provides hardly any compensation.

##### *The debt burden*

*The debt burden of the provinces* is due to central government's transfer to the provinces of the obligations to finance spending on education, infrastructure construction and the coverage of welfare benefits. It has worsened, because the central government has imposed restrictions on expropriations and the conversion of farmland into industrial land. Of 30 provinces, three have debt exceeding 1x GDP and some of them are having debt repayment problems.

*Corporate debt*: Chinese companies are the most heavily indebted in the world, at 155% of GDP according to the OECD. State-owned enterprises account for 40% of GDP, but they obtain 80% of new lending, and together they account for two-thirds of the debt and a large proportion of the nonperforming loans, and ultimately 40% are probably losing money. The recent payment default on a foreign loan by a State-owned enterprise in Quinghai points to the urgency of shutting down excess capacity, but that will affect employment.

*Government debt*: government debt is low but it is underestimated by the amount of non-performing loans held on banks' balance sheets, although sometimes, admittedly, they are converted into investments.

This pessimistic view is *tempered by three factors*: the savings ratio which is exceptionally high at 48% of GDP, representing about \$6,000 billion each year, the percentage of foreign holdings of Chinese bond debt, only 2%, and the nominal interest rate on this debt, which is lower than the economy's growth rate. Nevertheless, if a crisis were to break out in China, the global repercussions would be serious, because China would have to dispose of foreign assets.

*Overcapacity in real estate*: the speculation surrounding real estate reflects a concern for precautionary saving. But at present household debt has increased to 49% of GDP, many property developers are heavily indebted, tens of millions of apartments are empty, often in ghost towns, while in Beijing a 75 m<sup>2</sup> apartment could cost up to 50 times buyers' income.

##### *The environmental obstacles*

Pollution of the water, arable land and air are forcing the country to take radical measures because, as *Jared Diamond* teaches us, the cause of a country's enrichment or impoverishment lies in its geography or the deterioration of the environment. Some societies, like Easter Island or Mayan civilisation, vanished because they had neglected their environment.

<sup>1</sup> The higher education rate, 27% in 2012, is still low compared with South Korea (98%), Japan (61%) and even Thailand (51%).

Admittedly, China is the country which invests the most in renewable energies, but it is also the biggest polluter, accounting for 27% of greenhouse gas emissions, while the United States remains the biggest polluter per capita.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Water pollution*

China has only 8% of the planet's water reserves but consumes one-quarter of them, and thus does not hesitate to divert part of the waters of the Yangtze River which supplies Shanghai. According to the UN, China, especially in the North-East, is one of the 13 countries most affected by water shortages. An example is the Yellow River, home to one billion Hans in an area half the size of the United States, the cradle of China like the Nile for Egypt, which has dried up several times in recent decades, with consequences for agriculture. We may add that 280 million Chinese do not have access to potable water and that the Chinese authorities estimate at 20% the proportion of water unfit for human contact.

#### *Pollution of arable land*

Displacing populations to regions that are poor in water has exacerbated soil desertification; this reflects the limitations of State capitalism. The fact that 20% of arable land is polluted is a problem in this country where it is scarce. Property development on land that has not been decontaminated is also a worry.

#### *Air pollution*

According to the WHO, between 2008 and 2015, the inhabitants of Beijing breathed pure air only 55 days, or 2% of the time. Korea, Japan and Taiwan are impacted. The culprit is coal, which is used to generate two-thirds of electric power. China consumes more coal than all other countries combined. Beijing and its surrounds consume more coal than the United States! Plant shutdowns now take place in winter, but it is too soon to assess the impact of this.

### *The problem of population ageing*

#### *The one-child policy and the sacrifice of girls*

In a record time of less than ten years, China halved the number of children per woman from 6 to 3 by authoritarian measures, and then imposed the one-child policy in 1978, but it will have to assume the consequences. Girls were sacrificed and, in 2014, there were still 116 boys born for every 100 girls. There are therefore fewer potential mothers, and 35 million Chinese born since 1980 will not find wives, just as though a country like Germany had no women!<sup>2</sup> From 28 million in 1960, the number of births fell to 15.2 million in 2018, a figure less than that recorded in 2015 before the one-child policy was abandoned. Despite government entreaties, couples are giving priority to the quality of their life over the choice of a second child.

<sup>1</sup> If China had three vehicles for every four inhabitants, like the United States, that would represent 1.1 billion cars. Per capita CO<sub>2</sub> emissions in 2012 amounted to 6.6 tonnes in China but 17 tonnes in the United States. An American consumes 8 tonnes of oil equivalent per year versus 4 for a European and 1 for a Chinese.

<sup>2</sup> In 2000, there were slightly more than 180 million girls aged 7–14, while in 2010 there were only 115 million.

#### *Population ageing is drastic*

In 2050, the number of elderly people in China will exceed the total population of Europe and the US. China had one out of five of the planet's inhabitants at the end of the 20th century, but it may only represent one out of ten in 2100, with Africa making up 4 billion of the 10 billion at that time.

Confucianism professes great respect for the elderly among young people, but this is changing and, with the migration of 260 million people from rural areas to the cities, distance is weakening relationships, even though the migrants sometimes leave their children to be cared for by their grandparents. People of working age are torn between the duty of supporting their parents and the cost of financing studies. The low level of pensions explains why, in 2010, over half of pensioners' expenses were paid for by their children.

*The consequences of population ageing:* the retirement age, 55 years for women and 60 for men, will have to be pushed back, because the percentage of women in employment is already high. The population is worried and maintains a high savings rate, detrimental to consumption.

#### *Western reactions*

##### *US positions*

The Americans are tempted by a hard line, because US exports to China represent less than 1% of US GDP whereas US imports from China are equivalent to 4% of Chinese GDP. However, the US trade deficit in 2018 amounted to \$620 billion and the bilateral deficit with China reached a record \$419 billion, worsening by 12% due to a decline in US exports. The Americans are also combating corruption and apply the principle of extraterritoriality if an email goes through an American mailbox or if a transaction is denominated in US dollars. They expect the Chinese to take measures against intellectual property theft and unfair subsidies for the takeover of foreign companies. The first consequence in 2018 was a fall in Chinese investments in the United States from \$30 billion to less than \$5 billion.

But Donald Trump will be unable to repatriate a large number of firms to the United States. In the case of assembly units harmed by the tariffs, they will move offshore from China to other Asian countries benefiting from attractive labour costs. If the Chinese buy more American products, such as soya beans, this will be to the detriment of purchases from Brazil or Canada. The US trade deficit with China will decline, but the overall US trade deficit will not be reduced. With China, Trump focuses too much on the protection of industries such as steel, with no potential for growth, and not enough on the promotion of services such as consultancy, insurance and credit cards (Visa and Mastercard are not yet authorised in China), a trade component which posts a surplus but for a still limited \$50 billion, where the United States should be dominant and China is still modest.

##### *European positions*

In a world of geopolitical carnivores, the Europeans are the last vegetarians. Without the United Kingdom, we will become vegans

As *Godement* notes in “*La Chine a nos portes*” (China at our Gates)<sup>1</sup>, the Chinese are interested in the aerospace industry, technology and ports in Europe.

Some partnerships with the Chinese are beneficial, an example being Club Med’s expansion in China thanks to its Chinese shareholder *Fosun*. But others bring nothing, an example being Peugeot which, despite *Dongfeng* owning a stake, has not increased its sales in China.<sup>2</sup>

The European Parliament recently enacted measures to control Chinese investments, but China is clever at exploiting divisions. *Greece*, which benefited from Costco’s investments in Piraeus, where container traffic has multiplied by five since 2010, and *Portugal*, which benefited from Chinese investments in EDP (Energias de Portugal), are not prepared to pass motions which would adversely affect China, and so the required unanimity is not achieved. The Brussels Commission, as illustrated by the Alstom- Siemens case, is too concerned about competition in Europe and not sufficiently aware of the global implications.

China has also launched numerous charm offensives in Eastern Europe, offering an alternative to Russia to exert pressure on the West, but its investments there are modest, several projects have been discontinued, and China sometimes prefers to invest in Germany, where it finds industrial expertise. The Germans, hurt by the 2016 takeover of specialist robotics company Kuka by Chinese household appliances group *Midea*, are nevertheless watchful.

Telecom operators are embarrassed by the Huawei amendment, which obliges them to apply for a permit to deploy equipment, which could slow down the roll-out of 5G, weaken competition between suppliers, inhibit Ericsson and Nokia’s expansion in China, and expose Huawei’s European suppliers to reprisals.

### Conclusion

In 1980, no one would have bet on the fall of the Soviet Union, Japan’s decline and China’s success, so let’s avoid making dogmatic assertions about the future of China. It has strengths, but it is clear that it has to manage four prodromes which will have repercussions on the world, on demographics, on debt and on protectionist pressures.

*The demographic wall.* The working population has been decreasing since 2010. China, rich with a population of 1.34 billion, will be overtaken by India as of 2025: it will reach a peak of 1.4 billion in 2030 but could have lost 200 million inhabitants by 2050. China spends little for elderly people, 2.5% of GDP, or three times less than the OECD average. But faced with this rapid population ageing, it will have to invest to maintain social cohesion, and choose between the development of robots, immigration, a law obliging people to have children, or even, as feared by some such as *Laurent Alexandre* in his book “*La guerre des intelligences*” (The Intelligence War), cloning. We might wonder whether China, grappling as it is with the decline of its population, has the right cards to dominate the world, or even whether it wants to do so.

<sup>1</sup> Europe received €35 billion of the €200 billion in foreign investment by China, but it was able to make only €7 billion worth of investments in China.

<sup>2</sup> Quite the contrary, in 2018 the group sold only 260,000 cars, representing 7% of its sales, compared with 25% four years ago, and it made a loss of €600 million!

*The debt wall.* Total debt, at 3x GDP according to the IIF (International Institute of Finance), is the highest in the emerging world and is increasing the most rapidly. In the past ten years, the return on capital employed has been lower. To generate \$1 of GDP, \$3 to \$5 of debt is needed, and this is resulting in overcapacity, zombie firms and ghost towns.

*The environmental wall.* In “*La crise environnementale en Chine*” (The Environmental Crisis in China), *Huchet* shows that it is not easy to enforce the recent anti-pollution laws, because local governments give priority to employment and therefore put off the closure of polluting plants. According to the World Bank, pollution costs 5 percentage points of GDP. Yet another illustration of the limitations of State capitalism.

*The globalisation wall.* China profited from the opening of international markets to sell its products, and would like to protect globalisation from a risk of decline, but two developments are taking shape. Caution by partners in the Belt and Road Initiative, who cannot repay debts contracted with China and fear property foreclosures. Vigilance of Westerners who demand reciprocity in trade. To have clout with China, the Western world must work together. Obama had realised this and had finalised the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) which brought together the United States’ Asian partners to contain China’s economic power. Trump pulled out of the agreement and is toying with the possibility of dismantling NATO. This worries Europe, which will have to strengthen its unity and develop joint policies, in digital technology, artificial intelligence and other sectors of the future to exist in between China and the United States. If the United States no longer wants to guarantee the world’s stability or maintain NATO, there will have to be a discussion on the exorbitant privileges it enjoyed in return: firstly, extraterritoriality, which is costly for European firms, and second, the dollar as the international reserve currency which allows Americans to live with a current-account deficit, i.e. to have their excessive consumption financed by the rest of the world. If the dollar lost its reserve currency status, it would weaken and interest rates would rise. So far, the structure set up by European countries to do non-USD barter trading with Iran is merely an embryonic change.

*The growth wall.* China’s growth is probably slowing by more than the statistics suggest. China’s slowdown is structural and is bad news for the global economy. According to the OECD, 2 percentage points less growth for China would mean –0.4 percentage points for the global economy. That is worrying, because China’s per capita GDP is only 15% of America’s level, and 28% in purchasing power parity terms. No country has stifled consumption as much as China to promote savings and facilitate investment. *Hayek* has shown that no centrally-controlled system can replicate the complexity of a market economy in which prices are not controlled. Tomorrow, China will be different from the triumphant China of the 2000s. Although, in its dynamic period, it posted a growth rate double that of Japan in the 1970s, in terms of per capita GDP it ranks only 76th in the world, behind Brazil and after Russia, which has double its per capita income. China is still an industrial economy insufficiently developed in services, which represent 45% of its GDP compared with more than 70% in Western countries. One of the challenges facing China is consumption: where-

as the Americans represent 4% of the global population, they account for 27% of global consumption, whereas China, with around 20% of the population, accounts for only 10% of global consumption, worth \$4,700 billion in 2017. Some investors think that the growth of Chinese consump-

tion is an opportunity for the planet, but it is to be feared that the savings ratio (37% of gross income) will remain high as long as the social welfare system is weak. The limitations of State capitalism are thus evident compared with more agile, liberal capitalism.

P. Dutkiewicz<sup>1</sup>

## CHAOS, FEAR AND HEGEMONY – NEW AND OLD IN INTERNATIONAL ORDER

I would like to propose a three-level hypothesis. It suggests, first, that current chaotic international order is a consequence of unsolved structural contradictions that are providing dynamism to the system but simultaneously increase its anarchic nature.

Secondly, I will argue, that consequence of those contradictions is a systemic **fear** that becomes a stimulus for transformation and that rather than fear acting as an expedient but *ad hoc* political tool, it has become the *de facto* essence of politics. Fear now provides the impetus and reason for politics, substituting other sources of legitimation of power such as democracy, justice, and the common good.

Thirdly, in conclusion, I will argue, that reaction to that FEAR take form of re-inventing hegemonies at the regional and global levels, involving state and non-state actors with the powerful consequences for the national state.

A note on **methodology of the first part**: our methodology is based on the dialectical method of inquiry on social analysis: the action, reaction and synthesis; or thesis, antithesis and synthesis. The idea is not new. It was proposed by Hegel and later developed by Joachim Fichte to the point of practical implementation in social inquiry. I would like to show you the process, anti-process and the synthesis that may come out of the complex interaction between two contradictory processes.

### I. The five contradictions of the world system

#### *Hegemony VS multipolarity*

The first contradiction is a fundamental one. It's the "**hegemony versus multipolarity**" contradiction, which obviously causes the international system to change. The future world order will be somehow formed by the end of this struggle. On the one side of this struggle, there are the US and its allies, on the other side, there are the others. The hegemon, naturally, strives to maintain its hegemony. We are not giving a moral or ethical assessment to it. The hegemon always wants to keep the hegemony in order to secure better life conditions, clearer future and better stability

for its citizens, so hegemon or hegemony cannot be called morally or ethically wrong. The problem is that keeping the hegemony is almost impossible in current world order, and therefore the hegemony has to engage in a contradiction with multipolarity, represented by the others. Clearly, the pair of "we versus others" will shape the next years of the world order.

By seeing this struggle it is not difficult to spot the contradiction of "the US + the European Union" (US hegemony with conditional support of EU) versus "Chinese economic challenges and Russian geo-security challenge". As you know, last year China's GDP reached the level of that of the US. It does not demonstrate the quality of life in China or the US, but this definitely became the final warning signal to the US, that something is going on.

So, what is the reaction of the hegemon to these processes? The hegemon is reacting in the form of inventing new tools, which have not been known yet, in order to maintain its hegemony. The US have come up with a network of agreements, negotiated for the last six to ten years, called "T-treaty trinity": Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP – 12 countries), Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA), and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP with EU). President Trump has been trying to block some of these projects, but in fact, the negotiations are going on. We even think, that Trump's administration is likely to make certain progress in these negotiation processes.

These US projects are all about capturing key positions, using institutional and normative framework, to maintain the hegemonic position of the US and the Europe. It is interesting, that if this happens, 2/3 of the global GDP will be under those agreements. It means that for the years to come a different type of hegemony, not military, not even economic, will create a new world order. The interesting fact is that in neither of those agreements China is presented. Russia is not included wither. In fact, BRICS countries are excluded from those agreements. It's a serious signal, showing the existence of "we versus others" contradiction, where those, who are not subordinated to "our rules", will be excluded from crucial normative and institutional frameworks, that will shape the future.

#### *Globalization VS identity politics*

The second contradiction shaping our future is the "**globalization (universalization) versus identity politics**" (autonomization of identities, which will lead later to the radicalization of identities) contradiction. One of the main characteristics of globalization is the universalization of norms, culture, behaviour, institutions, system of management and commodification of social relations. The main idea of glo-

<sup>1</sup> Director of the Center for Governance and Public Policy at Carleton University in Ottawa (Canada), Ph. D., Professor of Political Science. He was Editor-in-Chief of a 17-volume series on Local and Regional Development in Poland (1986–1989). Most recent books include: "Eurasia on the Edge Managing Complexity" (co-author), "Mapping a New World Order: The Rest Beyond the West" (co-author), "Social History of Post-Communist Russia" (co-author), "Eurasian Integration: The View from Within" (co-author), "22 Ideas To Fix the World" (co-author), "Democracy versus Modernization: A Dilemma for Russia and for the World" (co-author), "Russia: The Challenges of Transformation" (co-author), etc. Honorary Doctor of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (2006), Honorary Doctor of the Russian Federation Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (2007). Founding Member of the Valdai Discussion Club.



balization is to make the economic system going smoother, working better and more efficient, but universalization of behaviour and norms is obviously much simpler. To have one pattern instead of dealing with certain patterns, one solution instead of certain solutions is much simpler. Therefore, universalization is one of the key elements to the current stage of globalization.

At the same time, people do not like to lose their own identity, their own culture, customs, religion, history. Therefore, the reaction to universalization is the identity politics, emerging in different forms: religious aspects, serious gender aspects, ethnic aspect, and so on.

Identity politics is not a new process, but we are entering a new phase of this process, in which the politics become dependent on identity. Politics react more and more to the identity struggle, class struggle, cultural struggle, many other forms of identity, and finally becomes based on identity groups. These identity groups are mushrooming, pressing on the state to deliver what they think is their own right. These are groups, political parties or social movements, that can be based on culture, religion, social class or caste, culture, dialect, disability, education, ethnicity, language, nationality, sex, gender identity, generation, occupation, profession, race, political party affiliation, sexual orientation, settlement, urban and rural habitation, and veteran status.

In other words, the new identity politics is emerging instead of the larger socially based interest groups, as groups are becoming narrower and narrower. Since the state cannot react to every identity group interests, some of these groups start radicalizing. They think, "If I cannot get what I want, I should be more vocal, more radical, because then the state will listen and then the state will react."

Therefore, the next big struggle is that between identity politics and universalization, which will have consequences for the state policies and state behaviour: the weaker the state, the more it is prone to react to identity politics. The state is no longer reacting to social needs; the state is reacting to the needs of identity groups, which changes the whole dimension of state-to-citizen reaction.

This will obviously lead to more social protests, because the more radical the groups, the more visible they are. This can lead to imbalances between the state and interest groups. A classical case are pensioner identity groups globally, as result of which some states "are paying more attention to pensioners than to the children". If you look at the EU statistics, you will see one interesting thing: right now, the social spending is lowering every year, with the exception of the pensioners. The children are getting less for health care, while the pensioners are getting more for health care every year in the EU. This is a dangerous notion, indeed.

### *Wealth versus Poverty*

The third contradiction is the "wealth versus poverty" contradiction. Some basic facts from the World Bank show, that out of an estimated 7.4 billion people on earth, 1.1 billion people live below the poverty level, which is below \$1.25 a day; another 2.7 billion live on less than \$2 a day. This means, that about 40% of our planet lives beyond the poverty level. The point here is well shown in the book by French economist Thomas Piketty called "Capital in the

Twenty-First Century". His main point is that capital tends to reproduce itself. This is not a new idea, Marks was also talking about this. But Piketty is showing that there is a certain *oligarchization* of capital, which means, that inherited capital has the tendency to grow exponentially and at the expense of other social groups.

Piketty's book was followed by the Oxfam Poverty Report (2017), prepared for the conference in Davos. The report shows, that eight men own the same wealth as the 3.6 billion people, who make up the poorest half of humanity. This is shocking not in moral or ethical terms, but in terms of its possible consequences.

The consequences of this increasing inequality include the following:

1. The influence of democracy: usually we think that one vote corresponds to one person, but now it's increasingly clear, that this democratic theatre is changing into "one dollar = one vote". We have witnessed two of the most expensive elections in the history of mankind. As Jonathan Nitzan and Shimshon Bichler showed in their book "Capital as power", capital is becoming political power. They put a lot of economic evidence to show the direct link between capital and political power.

2. Tax avoidance: Superrich are avoiding taxes, because they are capable of keeping their profits in tax heavens. This is an important point, because paying taxes is vital to maintain social stability in countries, which then turn those taxes into social and security benefits. If you're not paying taxes, this means, that those aspects of the state protection will inevitably be diminished.

3. Global control over the labour market: as a consequence, we have a huge struggle to have minimum payment per hour in most countries, including North America. Statistics show that 300.000.000 people work without minimum payment guarantees. This is manipulation of wages on global scale, not only manipulation of politics.

To sum up, if there is a process of commodification of democracy, this will lead to the end of the myth of the liberal order. This is dangerous for those, who live in this myth of having some influence on the politics and the myth, that their vote means something.

### *The state VS the market*

The fourth contradiction is an old one, between **the state and the market**. Economists and politicians hold a sinusoidal type of approach towards this key issue: how the state and the market are cooperating or not cooperating, and what are supposed to be the relations between them; whether the state should lead the development or the market should be responsible for the development. In other words, whether the state is supposed to be in charge of our well-being or the market should create conditions for our well-being.

This contradiction is sinusoidal, because some claim, following the *keynesian* way, that the state should lead the market. The biggest projects of 1920s, 1930s, 1940s and so on, like socialism, are based on this idea, and fascism is based on this idea of state leading the market, too. And then you have the 1970's and 1980's, when the neo-liberal economic order is starting to dominate, and therefore the market is to be the main stimulus for development or wealth. In fact, neither of these models worked. The crisis in 2007–

2008 showed, that neither market nor the state alone can deliver what they are promising. Therefore, we lose the trust both in state and in market. This means we trust no one, not even banks, that are now paying huge fines for manipulating the market during the crisis.

This leads to the point, that entrepreneurs themselves lose the trust in their own system. Our book shows, that the solution for the future could be a dual parallel system of the state and the market, where the state plays the role of the corporate insurance company for the nascent productive forces, helping them in order to maintain their market position withstanding competition. This is not the same as the import substitution strategy, because the latter means that the state is helping the market indefinitely. What is going to happen is that the state will base on the corporative advantage of certain sections of the industry, helping them until they become the world leaders to compete. This is the case of China, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea. Therefore, there is no longer a debate between the market and the state. The debate is about how deep and in which way these should cooperate in order to maintain the market shared in the global scale and the national level.

The problem is, that if we would like the state to cooperate with the market, we need the state to be relatively strong, which is not the case. The states cannot withstand the pressure of globalization. They become weaker and weaker. The wave of neo-liberalism led to the privatization of many state services. Then what is the role of the state in protecting our interests as citizens? Nothing, almost nothing. And if the state cannot protect the interests of its citizens than the state apparatus is no longer needed. Why do we need political parties and parliaments, if they cannot produce politics?

This debate between the market and the state is not only about economic forces. It's about the shape of the future of our political system. We are transforming into consumers. The last twenty years saw a phenomenal boom in capital forces. People were earning a lot of money, they had cheap commodities, they started transforming into consumers. We are no longer needed for the market as citizens, because as citizens we would like to make our own choices, not imposed on us. The problem is, that these two processes are not compatible: the more we are consumers, the less we are citizens.

### **Power VS politics**

The fifth contradiction, which follows up the previous one, is **“power versus politics”**. Power is currently in process of being separated from politics. Power is the ability to fix things, to deliver, to make things happen. Politics is the process of selecting choices for the power to implement. Politics is about whether we need a school or a swimming pool, whether we need more spending on army or schools or hospitals. And then those needs are transferred to the power via parliament process, and the power tries to implement them. So, there is a link between politics and power: politics comes first, power comes later.

Now this system is clearly collapsing, because there is less and less power in the hands of the state. Because of pri-

vatization and globalization certain state prerogatives are located somewhere else. The money is located somewhere else, therefore the power is outside the national state. So the role of the state is changing, but then the state cannot cooperate with the market the way the market would expect it to do. Therefore, the market is more dependent on external forces, than on the forces located in the national state. As a result of these processes, the power and politics are separating almost to the point, that they are living two independent lives.

In practice this means, that politicians and state machines are living more autonomously than before. They create a shell in which they are somehow living their own small lives, which are very much detached from what we would like them to be doing. We call it “autonomization of politics”. When you ask a politician why he does something not wise or not rational, the answer is “because I can”. The state is creating its own reality. The “autonomization of politics” may lead to interesting political consequences, as the worst conflicts will not depend on “national interests” but on the autonomous decisions of the leadership.

### **II. Fear as substitute for politics**

It is time for elaborating the second part of my hypothesis. Secondly, I will argue, that consequence of those contradictions is a systemic **fear** that becomes a stimulus for transformation and that rather than fear acting as an expedient but *ad hoc* political tool, it has become the *de facto* essence of politics. Fear now provides the impetus and reason for politics, substituting other sources of legitimation of power such as democracy, justice, and the common good. For this part of the presentation key argument is that *fear as politics* has a *transformational capacity to change politics, norms and institutions*.

My argument is that rather than simply seeing the most recent exercise of a “politics of fear,” (Trump, migrants) our contemporary moment is distinguished by the emergence of “fear as politics”. I argue that rather than fear acting as an expedient but *ad hoc* political tool, it has become the *de facto* essence of politics. Fear now provides the impetus and reason for politics, substituting other sources of legitimation of power such as democracy, justice, and the common good. If we accept Zygmunt Bauman’s proposition that “politics is the ability to decide which things are to be done and given priority”<sup>1</sup> then three conclusions follow.

Fear provides key input to the “ability to decide” as politicians use fear as pre-condition necessary to make decisions (“we have to do that because of immigrants, Muslims, etc.”). Fear also provides selection criteria “for things to be done”. For instance, instead of environment or education policy priorities would include fear sensitive area such as security, race relations or employment. Finally – fear contributes to the content of “things to be done” (for instance, if we fear immigrants then content of the immigration policy will be quite restrictive to the newcomers).

<sup>1</sup> Zygmunt Bauman in conversation with Vincent Della Sala “Re-create the social state”. See: 22 Ideas to Fix the World. Conversations with the World’s Foremost Thinkers / eds. P. Dutkiewicz, R. Sakwa. N. Y. : New York Univ. Press, 2013. P. 189.

Key policy areas such as migration<sup>1</sup>, safety and security<sup>2</sup>, labor market<sup>3</sup>, development<sup>4</sup>, race<sup>5</sup>, democracy<sup>6</sup>, international relations<sup>7</sup>, environment<sup>8</sup> health and well-being by now are fear-driven (either by attempts to address fear or using it to legitimate further empowerment of elites).

### *A journey from the “Politics of fear” to “Fear as politics”*

For Corey Robin fear is an existential, collective state of mind that reveals a “deep truth about who we are, as political agents, as people, as a people”.<sup>9</sup> In fact, under the surface, people across the globe seem to be on edge and it seems that no region is spared from a collective anxieties rooted in economic and political uncertainties, social dislocations and security threats of all kinds and intensities. In Europe, for instance, to deal with migration and economic turbulence, the political landscape (by the growth of populism and movement to the right of many mainstream parties) is quickly changing with destabilizing consequences.<sup>10</sup> In the USA, the feeling that old norms of political behaviour and institutional structures shall be challenged became a political platform for the new president.<sup>11</sup> In fast-growing Asia the anxiety with “catching up with the West” creates all sorts of social, political and ecological contradictions making regional powers less confident about the future.<sup>12</sup> In Africa there are just a few countries that record economic growth and social stability amid political chaos.<sup>13</sup> Our point is that fear is no longer confined to one country or region; it is globalized.

Dangers have always existed, Zygmunt Bauman argues, but today things are different. He suggests that we live in a state of “continuous uncertainty, which makes us afraid”<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Huysmans J. *The Politics of Insecurity: Fear, Migration and Asylum in the EU*. L.: Routledge, 2006.

<sup>2</sup> Furedi F. *Fear and Security: A Vulnerability-led Policy Response* // *Social Policy and Administration*. 2008. Dec. Vol. 42, iss. 6. P. 645–661.

<sup>3</sup> Blanchflower D. G., Shadforth C. *Fear, Unemployment and Migration* // *Economic Journal*. 2009. Febr. Vol. 119, iss. 535. P. 136–182.

<sup>4</sup> *An Economy for the 99%*. OXFAM Report. 2017. Jan. URL: [https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file\\_attachments/bp-economy-for-99-percent-160117-en.pdf](https://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/file_attachments/bp-economy-for-99-percent-160117-en.pdf).

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance: Ioanide P. *The Emotional Politics of Racism* // *Stanford Studies in Comparative Race and Ethnicity*. 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Sleeper J. *A History of Unwarranted Fears of Tyranny*. URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2016/05/12/is-tyranny-around-the-corner/a-history-of-unwarranted-fears-of-tyranny>.

<sup>7</sup> Taras R. *Fear and the Making of Foreign Policy*. Förlag: Edinburgh Univ. Press, 2015.

<sup>8</sup> Environmental activists fear “climate progress is dead” after Trump takes U.S. election (Ritter K., Borenstein S. *The Associated Press*. 2016. 9 Nov.).

<sup>9</sup> He also adds to this argument that, “The politics of fear doesn’t mean a politics that points to or invokes or even relies on threats, real or false. It doesn’t mean a politics that is emotive (what politics isn’t?) or paranoid. It means something quite different: a politics that is grounded on fear, that takes inspiration and meaning from fear, that sees in fear a wealth of experience and a layer of profundity that cannot be found in other experiences” (Robin C. *Against the Politics of Fear*. URL: <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2016/12/against-politics-fear-trump-republicans-organizing-change>).

<sup>10</sup> *The Rise of Populist Extremism in Europe*: Chatham House report. URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/media/news/view/178303#sthash.iipNi7ot.dpuf>.

<sup>11</sup> Kuntzman G. *A Trump presidency means Americans can forget all political norms going forward* // *New York Daily News*. 2016. 9 Nov. Wednesday. URL: <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/president-trump-means-no-political-norms-america-article-1.2865226>.

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/reo/2016/apd/eng/areo0516.htm>.

<sup>13</sup> *The Economic Development in Africa Report 2016: Debt Dynamics and Development Finance in Africa*. UNCTAD. URL: [http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/aldafrica2016\\_en.pdf](http://unctad.org/en/PublicationsLibrary/aldafrica2016_en.pdf).

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2016/07/zygmunt-bauman-world-crisis-humanity-160722085342260.html> (accessed: 08.03.2017).

and adds “Now, [...] People find themselves uneasy, lost, incapable of acting with certainty, with assurance.”

Fear has an ability to become a tool that transforms state policies, making them more “fear sensitive” (i.e. *fearization* of immigration policies, securitization of ethnic relations, re-introduction of trade barriers or increased public surveillance for instance). This however, does not yet, constitute what we call *fear as politics*. This is just a new incarnation of an old political strategy of using fear as handy tool in influencing voters. To advance our argument to the new level we need to look at fear from a different perspective. For this paper’s key argument that *fear as politics* has a *transformational capacity to change politics, norms and institutions*, we find Bauman’s concept of “liquid fear” well suited in explaining fear’s new political capacities acquired with the rise and fall of globalization. Let us briefly reconstruct his approach.

“Liquid fear,” Bauman explains, “means fear flowing on our own court, not staying in one place but diffuse. And the trouble with liquid fear, unlike the concrete specific danger which you know and are familiar with, is that you don’t know where from it will strike. [...] There are no solid structures around us all on which we can rely, in which we can invest our hopes and expectations. Even the most powerful governments, very often, cannot deliver on their promise. They don’t have enough power to do so”.<sup>15</sup>

What has brought us to this situation that, across the whole social and political spectrum of our societies, we feel – individually and collectively – insecure, uncertain about the future, quite impotent to face challenges, and unable to be in control. Our answer is threefold: 1) loss of trust in both state and market, 2) divorce of power from politics and 3) deepening (followed by radicalization) of the social divide along a whole spectrum of cleavages (mostly based on inequalities, ideology, identity and power). Thus, fear is becoming systemic (omnipresent) as it is present in every facet of our life and – simultaneously – in key institutions to cope with its roots (such as, for instance, socially supportive state agencies, trade unions, service providers, NGO’s) are either no longer available or their capacity diminished.

It seems that we have entered a period of strategic instability, in which we lost most of the defensive mechanisms against frivolousness of the market and repressiveness of the state. Citizens are, step by step in recent twenty years, stripped from the protective layers of the social (or welfare) state. Waves of privatisations stripped the state of most prerogatives that made them attractive to their citizens.<sup>16</sup> It is a mistake, however, to think that fear is the lower and middle class phenomenon of being uncertain, confused and defenseless. Same is the case of the upper classes. As Jonathan Nitzan and Shimshon Bichler concluded in their study of capital<sup>17</sup>.

We see rise of populism in Europe, US, Asia and Latin America.<sup>18</sup> “Supporters of PEPs [*Populist Extremist par-*

<sup>15</sup> Bauman Z. URL: <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/talktojazeera/2016/07/zygmunt-bauman-world-crisis-humanity-160722085342260.html> (accessed: 08.03.2017).

<sup>16</sup> Bauman Z. *Archipelago of exceptions*. 2005. URL: <http://www.publicspace.org/ca/text-biblioteca/eng/b015-archipelago-of-exceptions> (accessed: 19.03.2017).

<sup>17</sup> Bichler S., Nitzan J. *Systemic Fear, Modern Finance and the Future of Capitalism*. Jerusalem; Montreal, 2010. URL: <http://bnarchives.net>. Jerusalem and Montreal. July 2010. <http://bnarchives.net>.

<sup>18</sup> Taylor A. *The global wave of populism that turned 2016 upside down*. URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2016/12/19/>

*ties – italics ours*] are often dismissed as political protesters, single-issue voters or economically deprived “losers of globalization”, – writes Matthew Goodwin in a Chatham House report on populist extreme right. – The most successful parties have rallied a coalition of economically insecure lower- middle-class citizens and skilled and unskilled manual workers. [...] But all of their supporters share one core feature: their profound hostility towards immigration, multiculturalism and rising cultural and ethnic diversity.”<sup>1</sup> Providing this one, most recent, example from a pool of evidence<sup>2</sup> we are making a point that additionally to the loss of trust and divorce of power from politics, fear-based politics is entering traditional domains of politics via political parties and electoral politics. That suggest to us a “normalization” of fear in the mainstream politics.

### III. State and non-state actors’ responses: re-hegemonization of world politics

How can hegemony be established and sustained in world politics today?

#### *Hegemony: What is it?*

Hegemony combines: (a) concentrated control of material resources; (b) leadership in setting societal rules; and (c) mindsets which convince people that the dominant power rules in their interests. So, crucially, hegemony involves legitimacy, whereby the dominated embrace their domination.

Hegemony is relevant to world politics as well as local and national arenas. Much of modern society involves significant cross-border flows: for example, of goods, knowledge, money, people, pollutants, and violence. Like social relations within countries, transboundary connections attract governance: that is, regimes which aim to bring regularity, predictability, and controlled change to society. When world ordering is achieved through legitimated rule by dominant power, we can say that international or global hegemony is in play.

#### *Where Does World Hegemony Lie?*

Different theories offer different propositions about what kind of dominant power can achieve hegemony in world politics. For instance, liberalist and realist theories of international relations argue that hegemony lies with a dominant state. In this case a particular territorial government controls a preponderance of material resources, sponsors

international regimes, and promotes values and visions that have deep appeal beyond its borders. These approaches usually identify Britain and the USA as hegemonic states in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, respectively. Many liberals and realists also ponder whether China is destined to be the next hegemonic state.

In contrast, neo-Gramscian theories locate world hegemony in global capitalism and a transnational capitalist class. From this perspective, dominant rule-making power for world order lies with surplus accumulation and its main agents, such as multinational corporations, core states (the G7/G20), global governance institutions, and orthodox think-tanks. For neo-Gramscians, hegemonic forces promote the legitimated rule of capital on a global scale, whereas the counter-hegemonic forces of various resistance movements (e.g. of landless peasants and urban poor) seek to delegitimize and dismantle the dominant power of global capital.

For poststructuralist theories, hegemony in world politics resides with a ruling knowledge frame (variously called a “discourse” or an “episteme”). In this conception, supreme power in world society lies with a certain language and consciousness. Poststructuralists often identify Enlightenment rationality as the hegemonic knowledge regime of modernity, as produced through science, education, mass communications, and so on. Many such theorists also highlight neoliberal governmentality (with its discourse of market civilisation) and securitisation (with its discourse of risk) as more specific variants of Enlightenment knowledge that rule world politics today. Hegemony arises inasmuch as subjects willingly underwrite these reigning mindsets as truth.

For post-colonialist theories, hegemony in world politics is a question of embracing (or counter-hegemonically resisting) the dominance of western imperialism and associated social hierarchies of class, gender, geography, race, religion, and sexuality. Imperial hegemony classically operated through colonial rule by one state over external territories. Nowadays neo-colonial rule occurs through “independent” states in league with outside forces such as donor governments, multilateral institutions, and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs). Again, the hegemonic quality of the dominance entails that (neo-) colonially subordinated subjects believe that imperial power exerts rightful rule over them: e.g. when people of colour internalise racism. On the other hand, counter-hegemony arises for post-colonialists when social movements (of indigenous peoples, LGBTQ+, women, etc.) challenge empire.

In sum, multiple readings of hegemony in world politics are available.

#### *How Is World Hegemony Practiced?*

In addition to elaborating different conceptions of hegemony in world politics, there are various techniques that hegemonic forces can deploy to secure their legitimated rule. How is world hegemony made and sustained? And by what means can counter-hegemonic forces contest it?

Different presentations highlighted different kinds of instruments of hegemony, often reflecting their theoretical orientation. Thus, Sloan from a realist perspective focused on the tools of war. Geiger in a liberal vein highlighted international organisations as vehicles for world hegemony.

the-global-wave-of-populism-that-turned-2016-upside-down/?utm\_term=.89cd7b6968e9 (accessed: 19.03.2017).

<sup>1</sup> The Rise of Populist Extremism in Europe : Chatham House report. URL: <https://www.chathamhouse.org/publications/papers/view/178301>.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Dionne F. J.* The new politics of fear. URL: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-politics-of-fear-is-gripping-democracies-across-the-world/2016/12/04/2de10712-b8c8-11e6-959c-172c82123976\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.1d6956e28049](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/the-politics-of-fear-is-gripping-democracies-across-the-world/2016/12/04/2de10712-b8c8-11e6-959c-172c82123976_story.html?utm_term=.1d6956e28049) ; *Freeman H.* Don’t play identity politics! The primal scream of the straight white male. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/02/identity-politics-donald-trump-white-men> ; *BatTzedek E.* Identity Politics and Racism: Some Thoughts and Questions. URL: <http://feminist-reprise.org/library/resistance-strategy-and-struggle/identity-politics-and-racism-some-thoughts-and-questions>.

Don’t play identity politics!’ The primal scream of the straight white male. Hadley Freeman, <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/dec/02/identity-politics-donald-trump-white-men>. Identity Politics and Racism: Some Thoughts and Questions. Elliott batTzedek. <http://feminist-reprise.org/library/resistance-strategy-and-struggle/identity-politics-and-racism-some-thoughts-and-questions>.

Germain on neo-Gramscian lines concentrated on money. Chebankova with poststructuralist inclinations emphasised the role of ideas. Parashar with a post-colonialist approach accentuated subaltern struggle.

Yet, rather than assemble a long disjointed list of particular tools, perhaps one can helpfully distinguish several broad categories of (counter-) hegemonic practices in world politics. **A fourfold typology of material, discursive, institutional, and performative techniques can be suggestive in this regard.** The distinctions are drawn for analytical convenience, of course: the four aspects tend to overlap and combine in concrete actions.

1. With material practices, dominant power in world society deploys economic resources to obtain legitimate rule. These resources can be directly tangible, such as raw materials, manufacturing industries, and military forces. Money and finance can also figure crucially, as witnessed by the hegemonic use of the US dollar, bank loans, overseas “aid”, and so on. Nowadays the material aspect of hegemony further involves controlling – and setting rules around – the digital economy of data and images.

2. With discursive practices, hegemony secures legitimated dominance in world politics through the use of language and meaning. Willing subordination is achieved with semantic signifiers (e.g. “community”, “democracy” and “justice”) that construct the supreme force to be good. Similarly, narratives (e.g. of “transparency”, “development” and “security”) spin positive storylines to legitimate a structure of domination, as do hegemonic accounts of history. In short, hegemonic discourses construct consciousness (“regimes of truth”) in which the dominated genuinely believe that their domination is a good thing.

3. With institutional practices, hegemonic forces establish and control the organizational apparatuses that generate

the rules of legitimated domination. On the one hand, these mechanisms include bodies that formulate and administer official rules (on local, national, regional and global scales). On the other hand, world hegemony operates through more informally governing institutions such as civil society organisations, foundations, and think tanks which figure centrally in the production of ruling discourses.

4. With performative practices, world hegemony is secured through certain behaviours and rituals. For example, states perform their hegemony with flag ceremonies, commemorative monuments, national holidays, and military parades. Finance capital demonstrates its hegemony with clusters of glittering skyscrapers that dominate the centres of global cities. Modern science affirms its hegemony *inter alia* with conference routines, academic prizes, and graduation rites. Counter-hegemony, too, has its performances with street marches, dissident art, and so on.

As suggested earlier, hegemony in world affairs is generally achieved through these four types of practices in combination. Whether hegemony lies with state, capital, knowledge, empire or whatever, it establishes and sustains itself through a mix of material, discursive, institutional, and performative techniques. None of the four is sufficient by itself. For example, to control the rule-making institutions a hegemonic force needs command of resources, narratives, and rituals. Likewise, deployment of discursive techniques requires economic means, institutional frameworks, and ceremonial presentations.

To be sure, this short reflection does not answer the deeply contested questions of whether hegemony operates in world politics today, in what particular form and through what specific techniques. However, perhaps the schema outlined here can help to make the debates more focused and systematic.

L. L. Fituni<sup>1</sup>

## ASYMMETRICAL APPROACHES TO EXTERNAL MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL ELITES IN THE ERA OF GLOBAL UNCERTAINTY<sup>2</sup>

One of the key characteristics of the contemporary stage of transfer to the polycentric world is gradual loss of the exclusive global positions by the first of all “old” leading

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Director of the Institute for African Studies of the RAS, Head of the Center for Global and Strategic Studies of the Institute for African Studies of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Member of the Academic Council attached to the Security Council of the Russian Federation. Author of more than 280 academic papers, including “Islam, Global Governance and New World Order” (coauthor), “Africa and National Interests of Russia” (coauthor), “Africa: Resource Wars in the 21st Century”, “The Economy of Global Terrorism”, “International Capital Flow in the Globalization Environment”, “Financial Monitoring” (educational aid), “Shady Turnover and Capital Flight”, “Is It Possible to Overcome Hunger? Main Problem of Emerging Countries”, etc. Member of the Academic Council of the RAS for the Issues of Africa. Chief editor of the journal Proceedings of the Institute for African Studies and serial publications Global and Strategic Studies. Member of editorial boards of 6 journals (Asia and Africa Today, Journal of Financial Crime, Journal of Money Laundering Control, etc.). Deputy Chairman of the Expert Council at the Russian Humanitarian Scientific Foundation for Global Problems and International Relations. President of the Moscow Independent Document Center for Issues of Freedom, Democracy, and Lawfulness.

<sup>2</sup> The paper was prepared as a part of the Fundamental Research Program of the Presidium of the RAS for 2019 “Analysis and Forecast of New Glob-

countries that dominated in the past (the United States and some other Western states).<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Western powers are trying to keep them if possible, using both force and soft power. Exactly this special feature of the contemporary world leads to decrease of the predictability and manageability level in the world.

Is developing of the today’s unpredictability and instability of the world into a big war inevitable? If we agree that Lenin’s theory of imperialism is not something basically and completely wrong, we’ll also have to accept his conclusion that while there is imperialism, wars are inevitable.

Is his statement actual in our times? It’s well-known that N.S. Khrushchev corrected V.I. Lenin at the XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, explaining that this statement was absolutely right for the Lenin’s time when “1) imperialism was the all-embracing global

al Challenges for Russia”, subprogramme “Africa in the New Global Realities: Challenges and Opportunities for Russia.”

<sup>3</sup> Fituni L. L. Change of World Development Models and Global Governance in Civilization Dimension // The East. Afro-Asian Societies: History and Modern Times. 2013. No 4. P. 18–29.

system, and 2) social and political forces not interested in war were weak, insufficiently organized and could not because of that make imperialists refuse from wars"... "But currently, the state of affairs has changed cardinally. The global socialist community originated and has turned into a powerful force. Peace-loving forces have not only moral but also material resources embodied in this community to prevent aggression", the First Secretary of the CPSU went on in 1956... "Wars are not fatally inevitable. Now, we have powerful social and political forces that have major resources not to allow imperialists to unleash wars, and if they try to start a war, to rebuff aggressors crushingly, frustrate their adventurous schemes."<sup>1</sup>

Is this provision applicable to the present-day state of affairs? This is not an idle question because it is directly related to how much is developing of the current global uncertainty into a world war probable? To a large extent, this is the issue of the anti-war forces potential in the world. "The powerful global social community", to the restraining role of which Khrushchev referred, does not exist any more. That unity was to a fairly large degree destroyed by the efforts of the first secretary himself. The power and influence of the anti-war movement in the world mostly came to naught by the end of Gorbachev's rule.

After the USSR disintegration, the world gradually returned to the predictably determined indicators of the era of inter-imperialist contradictions' aggravation: 1) imperialism in the new globalization forms has become the all-embracing global system, and 2) social and political forces not interested in war are now weak, insufficiently organized and because of that hardly able to "make imperialists refuse from wars".

Social and first of all political sciences face the task to renew the theory of imperialism if applied to the present-day realities, and this task is urgent. At the same time, it's important to understand that previous Marxist approaches can no longer be mechanically applied to present-day realities, but can still explain a lot in the current dynamics of the state of affairs development on the international arena.

Today, we're ashamed to use the "imperialism" term another time. This word in the Russian political and economic sciences, if applied to the analysis of the contemporary times, is nearly taboo, and foreign sources both having pretensions to being academic and mass media, mostly use it with the definition "Russian".

The basis of such state of affairs is apprehensions to be accused in "ideologization" of academic research. Meanwhile, the objective reality shows that identification of the contemporary imperialism research (by no means and far from only "Russian") and Communist ideology is a big delusion and result of scholarly ignorance.

I'll quote one interesting extract from Lenin's book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*<sup>2</sup>: "The German opportunist Gerhard Hildebrand, who in his time was expelled from the Party for protecting imperialism and now could well be the leader of the so-called 'Social Democratic' Party of Germany, supplements Hobson well, preaching the 'United States of Western Europe' (without Russia) for 'joint' activities... against African Negroes, against the

'great Islamic movement', to maintain 'strong Army and Navy', against the 'Japan-and-China coalition', etc."

If we abstract from Lenin's preoccupation with the problems within the Social Democratic Party of Germany at that time, it turns out that the lists of "global challenges" in the early 20th century and 21st century (taking into account corrections because of the modern times and situational certain present-day environment) do not much differ from one another.

The following are the main points of the agenda like one hundred years ago: 1) uniting Europe without Russia, 2) opposition to Islamism and "African Negroes" (currently, the last aspect has acquired the forms of the "African migration issue"), 3) necessity to increase military expenditures (currently – NATO) and distribute this burden between the countries of the united Europe, 4) the threat of the Japan-and-China coalition has transformed today into the threat of the necessity for the West to oppose Russia and China simultaneously.

Surely, there are many new problems as well: nuclear disarmament, climate change and many other issues. However, now and then the interests of the ruling elites of the hegemon powers consecutively destroy stability and predictability in the world.

In our days, it's difficult to say precisely when exactly the current processes of undermining international law and global security were launched. Some count the catastrophic increase of global uncertainty from the time of the Perestroika (restructuring) regenerated into the Soviet Union disintegration, the others connect these processes with non-standard and unpredictable President Trump coming to power in the United States and combining in one bottle the aroma of voluntarism of Khrushchev, Gorbachev and Yeltsin for his country and for the whole world.

In any case, there are very few people today who doubt that the future world is becoming less and less predictable in many aspects, and the level of global uncertainty increases even in comparison with the last decade of the Cold War.

Meanwhile, it seemed after the end of the said war that everything on the contrary moved to total predictability and the end of history.<sup>3</sup> It was stated that after the restoration of capitalism on the territory of the former USSR, democracy and liberal approaches in global development proved their historical lack of alternatives.

William Kristol and Robert Kagan outlined the necessary contours of global transformations for the state and the world in the Project for the New American Century<sup>4</sup>, with the United States' "full spectrum dominance" concept as its basis. There were to be no rivals of this hegemon's dominance either on land or in the sea in the new predictable and manageable world.

The air, space, economic and political dominance of the United States was provided as a part of the "full spectrum dominance" concept. In the opinion of Richard Perle<sup>5</sup> and Paul Wolfowitz<sup>6</sup>, the guarantor of that is the military doctrine of the "first strike winnable nuclear war".<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Fukuyama F. The End of History and the Last Man. Free Press. 1992.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.newamericancentury.org> (accessed: 28.01.2019).

<sup>5</sup> Perle, a Pentagon adviser, sees more preemption in future // International Herald Tribune. Paris, 2003. April 12. URL: <http://www.iht.com/articles/93022.html> (accessed: 08.03.2019).

<sup>6</sup> Lenin V. I. Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism. A Popular Essay. The Complete Works, Vol. 27, p. 396.

<sup>7</sup> The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. September 2002 // <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/nsc/nss/2002> (accessed: 08.03.2019).

<sup>1</sup> XX Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, February 14–25, 1956. Stenogr. report. Moscow : Gospolitizdat, 1956. Vol. 1. P. 37–38.

<sup>2</sup> Hildebrand G. The Shattering of Industrial Domination and Industrial Socialism (Hildebrand G. Die Erschütterung der Industrierherrschaft und des Industriesozialismus) (quoted by: Lenin V. I. The Complete Works. Vol. 27. P. 402.

The transfer to the predictable and stable world of the New American Century was to take place smoothly, evenly but at the same time fairly dynamically. The residue roughness and irregularities on the main road to freedom, light in the form of a giant number of the countries of the world still not turned into democracies, were planned to be rolled up in asphalt of popular revolutions and uprisings that would inevitably end in the change of the regime.

In recent years, the West is more and more employing asymmetrical and hybrid methods, occupying the intermediary place between power-based pressure and soft power. Unilateral or group sanction mechanisms, legal restrictions and threats to expropriate property of national elite representatives are referred to such, one can say, “para-strong-arm” methods. Marginalization of the opponent, his defamation and demonization, launching powerful flows of contradictory information with a lot of negative content play a big role in the set of the applied tools. Such information, even disproved later, leaves a trail of doubts about the object of information attacks.

Other conditions being equal, the bigger role is given to working with national elites of the emerging powers – “new players” aspiring to significant positions in the polycentric world as well as simply strategically or geopolitically important countries of Africa, the Middle East, post-Soviet space and other regions of the world.

This March, I heard the following words from an influential European official from the country proud of its colonial past, at one of the political forums: “We’re so efficient in this region of the globe that local leaders are competing with each other to sell themselves earlier and cheaper than the others”. There was neither contempt nor arrogant cynicism in the speaker’s intonations. The said was the statement of the fact for him, the summary of the report on the successfully performed work.

It should be explained that there is nothing principally and historically new either in the essence or the appraisal of the described by the speaker situation. Such things had happened in the world before. For example, the behavioral model of representatives of the local nobility in numerous African “kingdoms”, sultanates and “independent states” before the Berlin Conference of 1884–1885 can be characterized in a similar way. That is the conference that is considered the top point in the “struggle for Africa”, where the European colonizers finally divided the Black Continent between themselves by parallels and meridians.

The English researcher of imperialism Hobson wrote in the early 20th century about the destructive role of local elites (in those times they were mostly local military elites) in the colonial division of the world: “Great Britain has gone farthest. Most of the fighting by which we have won our Indian Empire was done by natives; in India, as later in Egypt, great standing armies were placed under British commanders; almost all the fighting associated with our African dominions, except in the Southern part, was done for us by natives.”<sup>1</sup>

In our times, the composition of national elites expanded both quantitatively and structurally. Political, economic, cultural elites in the states being of geopolitical interest or being global rivals are becoming the objects of manipulation and pressure from the West.

Purposeful support of oppositional or anti-governmental forces in national elites by the West led to the change of ruling regimes many times bypassing the election process, to “colour revolutions” and to the Arab Spring cataclysms and its post-effects in many countries of the Middle East.

National elites are not uniform in the contemporary complexly structured world, both in the developed and emerging countries. Various elite groups strongly differ in the force of their influence. The elite’s level of influence, its hierarchical “height” is often reflected in its name: global, regional (e.g. the elite of the European Union), national (country), local elite. The “national” elite term is often used in Russia and a number of post-Soviet republics to define “ethnic” elites. For example, elites of the title nations of autonomous republics. In this paper, we’re using the “national” definition as it is usually interpreted internationally, i.e. as referring to some certain state.

There are many criteria used by the modern science to typologize national elites. Nearly the most wide-spread in academic literature and political publications is the classification based on differentiation of elites according to the types of professional activities (military, scholarly, juridical, theatrical, etc.) or the established role of their representatives in social and political life of the state, actually also professional but in a wider sense (political, cultural).

As a rule, professional typology of elites turns out to be more objective because of its relative concreteness, and it outlines the borders of a certain elite group clearer than many others. However, there are other classifications, with more blurred elite borders and a lot of intersecting segments, e.g. patriotic and comprador, power and oppositional. Belonging or referring some individuals or groups of state residents to any of them is fairly subjective. The matter is that it’s not rare when different groups of people consider the same actions or views of elite representatives both “patriotic” and “treacherous” depending on their positions, world views and life experience. Besides, there are many gradations, categories and subcategories in academic literature.<sup>2</sup>

In order for sanctions or other repressive measures against national elites to lead to the desired effect, the repressor country should provide for satisfaction of the two obligatory terms. First, it’s required to correctly determine the focus layer inside the elite that could become the leading force for the change of course (regime), and if the task is not solved by a “palace coup”, mobilize “the public” (people’s forces) against the ruling government. This means that the focus group should itself be, on the one hand, fairly strong for the collective impact on the authorities and, on the other hand, manipulated enough to dare to engage in fairly risky for it activities.

For example, the imposed targeted sanctions should infringe upon the vital interests of this part of the elite to such a degree as to make it, at risk to itself, go against the ruling government and achieve the change of the country’s political course or its top leaders. To put it differently, the strength and character of sanctions should be such that representatives of the elite finding themselves under their threat, would be more afraid of them than punishment by national authorities. Combination of the fear of sanctions and inevitable punishment by the power regime

<sup>1</sup> See: *Hobson J. A. Imperialism: A Study*. Originally published by George Allen & Unwin LTD in 1902. Reprint 2002. Cosimo Inc. P. 136–137.

<sup>2</sup> See in detail, e.g. *Kryshchanovskaya O. The Russian Elite’s Anatomy*. Moscow, 2005.

for their treachery only strengthens opportunities for external political manipulation of the targeted strata of national elites. Their “zeal” in making the leaders of the state change the course increases. In more complex cases, manipulators charge this part of the elite with the task to provide the regime change without direct military intervention. Such methods are the basis of numerous successful scenarios of the so-called expression of the people’s will: from the USSR disintegration to success of the “colour revolution” technology in many parts of the globe.

In case the targeted by manipulators strata of national elites started energetic practical actions to change the regime but did not manage to solve the set task, as it was shown by Libya, Syria, Yemen, etc. examples, a direct military intervention may follow. In this case, the original sanctions and other manipulative measures will serve legitimization of external aggression camouflaged as support of the people’s rising against the repressive/corrupted/anti-democratic regime to struggle against the dictatorship, etc.

National elites are vulnerable for political manipulations from the outside in different degrees. The degree of dependence is determined by the specific environment of their formation and special features of socioeconomic development of their states. The possibilities to manipulate elites increased in the environment of the globalized world where, in comparison with the past times, the level of transborder activities freedom for all actors is very high (no matter if it is investing, migration, international arrests or forfeiture of property). Preservation of foreign investments, the fate of foreign real estate, opportunities for children and relatives to be residents of foreign jurisdictions, protection from the outside as “insurance” against arrest, etc. are becoming painful points for manipulating representatives of elites. It’s not surprising that national elites are becoming the natural objects for potential external pressure. The strength of sanctions’ pressure is determined by experience. If the original sanctions are insufficient, pressure may regularly increase within the limits determined by the economic and/or geopolitical potential of the repressor country.

What exactly national elite strata are of a special interest to external political manipulations in the reviewed context? As it can be seen from the above review, the determining factors for the choice are: a) the ability of the manipulated object to do as the manipulator wishes, and b) the sufficient number of incentives (positive and/or negative) for the object to do as the manipulator wishes. At the same time, the fundamental stimuli for all social strata and groups are self-preservation instinct (group and individual), ambitions to be in power and financial reasons (preservation or increase of all kinds of assets they have).

If we take into account these reasons, the close to the authorities elite strata look like a more attractive object for pressure by manipulators than oppositional or counter-elites. The oppositional elite is a part of national elite fighting for power within the framework of the existing political system (e.g. the Labour Party elite while the Conservatives are ruling in the UK, representatives of national elite in South Africa from the parties opposing the African National Congress). Oppositional elites in the Middle East and African countries are usually poorly consolidated but they are ambitious and often eagerly cooperate with external forces hoping for their support in the struggle for power.

In the countries of the reviewed regions with multi-party political systems, Parliament members from oppositional parties are components of the existing political system. They legitimize the existing authorities to this or that extent, voluntarily or involuntary, and many are interested in their preservation. At the same time (with rare exceptions), they are included in the political elite of the country only because they are Parliament members or occupy other significant positions in the system.

O. Kryshchanovskaya<sup>1</sup> and V. Ochirova oppose the counter-elite to the oppositional elite. The counter-elite is a non-ruling group in a society and because of that it is ready and even striving to change the political system of the state. V. Ochirova mentions that the counter-elite aspires to a high or even the dominant status while declaring its opposition to the elite leaders or elite as a whole.<sup>2</sup> Counter-elites in African and Middle Eastern countries readily cooperate with external forces in achievement of their goals and are willingly included in the plans of political manipulators from the West.

While there are definite advantages for foreign manipulators when dealing with oppositional and counter-elites, there are also undoubted minuses. The main of them is isolation of these parts of national elite from the real power in the country and impeded access to its top leaders. This practically excludes the regime change according to the “palace coup” scenario in the targeted country by representatives of these elite groups.

In this sense, relying on representatives of the power elites and especially the local oligarchy is more effective. Super-rich representatives of national elites (local oligarchy) are practically always in-built in the global elite structures. They strongly depend on the global establishment and strive to keep their position in it. Sanctions and demands to report the origin of their riches in their case are powerful tools for political and individual manipulations. Taking into account the fact that the number of millionaires and billionaires in many, including the poorest countries of Africa and the Middle East is growing, their relation with the authorities, external forces and inside their circle become more difficult, and possibilities for manipulations also expand objectively: blackmail, playing with them using their contradictions and conflicts, direct bribing.

According to the Boston Consulting Group report on the global wealth published in June, 2018, currently millionaires and billionaires have nearly half of the global personal wealth in comparison with slightly less than 45% in 2012.<sup>3</sup> The role of the global information and communication impact on the object of manipulations is extremely important among the manipulating pressing tools in case of this part of national elites.<sup>4</sup> Because of their being significant public persons, they find themselves under fire of information attacks and the threat of reputational risks practically round-the-clock and in any place on the globe.

By now, the declared in the past “unshakeable” principles of capitalist freedom to make money and manage it

<sup>1</sup> Kryshchanovskaya O. Op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Ochirova V. The Political Elite’s Structure // Chita State Univ. Bulletin. 2010. No 7. P. 78.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.bcg.com/ru-ru/publications/2018/global-wealth-seizing-analytics-advantage.aspx> (accessed: 18.03.2019).

<sup>4</sup> Fituni L. L., Abramova I. O. Political Manipulations with National Elites as the Means to Preserve the Existing World Order // Proceedings of the Institute for African Studies of the RAS. 2018. No 3 (44). P. 11–17.



without any control, are long gone. Various forms of control over individual wealth are more and more spreading in the world. The demand for clear origin of wealth and transparency of sources of income is declared more and more. These demands – justified themselves – turned into an effective weapon for manipulating elites from Asian and African countries and pressure on politicians and business elite. In some cases, thought-up and exaggerated accusations in unclear origin of incomes or insufficient transparency of property structures also turn into a tool in international commercial rivalry.

Authorities of developed countries demand transparency not only in case of operations with property in the real sector of economy but also in keeping money in bank accounts and even when using virtual units for settlement of payments, including cryptocurrencies.

The clear vision of wealth distribution and control over it by governments are important for the authorities. The state can't allow itself to leave this important resource fully in the hands of private persons because they fear their unpredictable independent behaviour. It is afraid that wealth as a resource can get under alien control. At the same time, controlling movements of financial resources, content and amounts of property of foreign legal entities and natural persons, finding the final beneficiaries in various transactions, the state acquires information and other levels to exert pressure on the owners and manipulate them politically.

Such political manipulations, the pressure of sanctions and legal restrictions in relation of national elites create considerable risks for the society, economy, the state management system. Globally, the established legal, political, economic, cultural and humanitarian foundations of international relations are being shaken. The mutually agreed upon tools and global co-existence and state interaction institutions that were built for a long time and with difficulties are being destroyed. Instability grows, fraught with catastrophic international consequences.

The phenomenon of unilateral correction by the United States and a number of Western countries of the rules of “legitimate” behaviour in the world is gaining strength on the global scale as well as the change of the established in the world financial-economic and regulatory-legal “rules of the game” and undermining some of the institutes of management.

In the environment of strong aggravation of the confrontation between Russia and most leading countries of the West, the latter are actively using new and perfecting old tools for exerting pressure on various strata of the Russian society in order to achieve the desired for the West changes in the balance of political forces in the country, limit the possibilities of its economic growth and modernization of economy, rise in the living standard of the most part of the population. The very fact of Russia's economic positions and positions in foreign policy strengthening, improvement of its international image and influence is viewed as a challenge and threat to the world order established after the USSR disintegration. A lot of attention is paid by geopolitical rivals to sanctions and other kinds of pressure on the economic, political and cultural elite of the country as a part of means for restraint of the “Russian threat” in the hope to urge representatives of the elite to actions to change the political course of the Russian Federation. Assessing these trends, the President of Russia named sanctions a very old, ancient tool “used by many, including American partners”. “This is just a way of competitive struggle – illegitimate, dishonest, but this is so”, V.V. Putin explained and added that this is also an “attempt to restrain the growth of defense potential of our country”.<sup>1</sup>

In this connection, the task of the Russian science is generalization of the world practice in the reviewed field and analysis of the sources, character and types of sanction threats to elites and international experience of opposing illegitimate pressure in the countries of Africa, the Middle East, CIS and other regions of the world.

**J. K. Galbraith<sup>2</sup>**

## WHAT IS DEVELOPMENT? A GALBRAITHIAN VIEW

A good economist is neither orthodox nor heterodox but rather pragmatic: he or she can frame good economic policy based on an open and modest theory that forces him or her to constantly consider and decide under conditions of uncertainty

*Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira*

The Russian Revolution and establishment of the Soviet Union made concrete the possibility on a grand scale of a socialist republic freed from feudal, capitalist or fascist

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by: <https://www.rbc.ru/rbcfreenews/5a9fa61c9a794768526e548f> (accessed: 20.03.2019).

<sup>2</sup> Professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas (Austin, USA), Visiting Professor at the General Economic Theory Chair of the Moscow School of Economics at the Lomonosov Moscow State University. Author of a number of scientific publications, including: “Balancing: technology, finance and the American future”, “Given rise by the unequal: crisis in the American payment”, “Is less than shock, it is more than therapy”, “Billions on star dust”, “The Economic Problem” (et al.), “Macroeconomics” (et al.), “Inequality and Industrial Change: A Global View” (et al.), etc. The Chairman of the American organization “The Integrated Economists for Reduction of Armaments” (ECAAR).

control, and the Soviet victory in WWII demonstrated the industrial and military potential of such a state, with the feat soon underscored by the outcome of the Chinese Civil War. Socialist prestige was high and as their colonial fiefs gained independence, the West needed to exhibit concrete and dramatic economic accomplishments as well as the advantages of political freedom. This necessity was underscored at home in the Western countries by the power of labor and the expectations of veterans. From these sources arose social democracy, democratic socialism and the welfare state, including in their international dimensions the Marshall Plan, the Bretton Woods Institutions, eventually the Alliance for Progress, Food for Peace, PL 480 and a raft of similar initi-

atives for economic development, all of them guided by the ethos of Cold War Liberalism. Three of whose major figures were Walt Rostow, Simon Kuznets and Albert Hirschman.

Rostow's contribution was a simple scheme for "stages" of economic growth, frankly subtitled "A non-communist manifesto" and written to project the model experience of the US and UK onto the world at large, free of dependency or conflict, each country rolling down the runaway to take off and eventually the plateau of high mass consumption. That flight at altitude cannot be sustained without fuel somewhat limited the aeronautical analogy but it was, at least, a message of hope and emulation. Rostow's theory lacked explicit distributional implications, although "high mass consumption" implicitly entailed the end-state of a middle-class society.

Simon Kuznets, an economist of high practical distinctions, sketched out a distributional theory of the development process. In simple terms the advent of urbanized industries in an economy previously dominated by peasant or yeoman agriculture must entail rising inequality until the share of peasants and farmers drops below a certain threshold, at which point the dynamics of workers' organization and urban democracy take over and inequality declines again. This is the substantial basis of Kuznets' famous "inverted-U" relationship between inequality and income. The curve suggested that rising inequalities in the early phase of market-based industrialization were inevitable and implicitly urged acquiescence, as things would get better later on.

Hirschman rejected the big-push view of development in favor of a concept of linkages, backwards and forwards; his idea was that things should proceed in stages, first one thing and then something else, closely connected and feasible. Hirschman also explored the social-psychological complications of the Kuznets insight in his concept of the "tunnel effect." In two lines of traffic stalled in a tunnel, the sight of one moving ahead lifts, rather than depresses, the spirits in the other line. However, Hirschman carefully noted that if the second line remains struck for too long, the effect will be reversed; hope will be replaced by frustration and eventually by rebellion. In the Cold War setting, Hirschman's work was an arch reminder that promises are not everything, and that simple schemes must be tempered by realism about administrative and technical limits, with everything adapted to suit conditions on the ground.

The Cold War liberals and postwar American Keynesians knew that their vision of economic development had to advance an optimistic view of controllable and progressive democratic capitalism. And political authority in the West, however tied to leading financial and business interests, did from time to time act on the message. The history of this period is one of irregular tension between a vision of effective and progressive policy, on one side – and the darker vision of direct or indirect control through force and fraud that was the meat-and-potatoes of the secret services, then and now. The doctrines of development represented the hopeful and relatively progressive face of world order, whose end-state was widely accepted to be social democracy, a consumer society and a welfare state.

In Sweden a specific strategy was based on egalitarian policy. There the Meidner/Rehn [25, 26] model specified compressed wage structures as a path to productivity and competitiveness, and Swedish social democracy implemented that model in a manner that drove Sweden over six

decades to the top of the world income tables. The key insight was that the composition and technological level of industry in a small economy is endogenous. Floors on wages drive out weak players and place pressure on stronger ones to modernize. The result over time is a superior industrial mix and a higher standard of life both in absolute and relative terms. Moreover, an advanced industrial base can support a large and well-paid service sector; the downside is that high tax rates may force the expatriation of high net-income persons, a minor price. Still, the Swedish Model was a secret to all but the Swedes.

A second framing of the issue of inequality in relation to a policy for development builds on the model of Harris and Todaro [18], who studied urbanization, minimum wages and unemployment in East Africa in the 1960s. Their sharp insight was that an unequal wage structure (say, across an urban/rural divide) generates migration and competition for the better jobs. If these are few and the pay gap is large, then job-seekers will outnumber jobs and unemployment necessarily results. The Harris-Todaro hypothesis can be extended to many different circumstances – migrations past and ongoing in Europe, North America and China come to mind.

More broadly, neoclassical economics predicts that more flexible-meaning unequal-labor markets will have less unemployment. The M/R and H/T models together predict the opposite, namely that societies with compressed and regulated wage structures will (within-limits) tend to enjoy lower unemployment, and (if they target investments cleverly) higher rates of productivity growth and larger manufacturing sectors than those who maintain their allegiance to "free and flexible" labor markets. The preference of employers for flexibility has everything to do with power, with a reactionary attitude toward modernization, and nothing at all to do with economic development.

More broadly still, these models can be taken as exemplars of development strategy and even of the meaning of development itself. Their rules for pay, wages, salaries, incomes and wealth are a type of regulation, involving in various ways the structures of compensation and ownership, the political rights of employees and the efficacy and incidence of the tax system. There are many other types of regulation: phyto-sanitary, product safety, transportation safety, construction codes, zoning, workplace conditions, environmental, prevention and mitigation of climate change, and much else besides. Not to mention the fair and effective enforcement of a civil and criminal code. The creation and application of regulations in all of these spheres requires a balance between technical (scientific, engineering) possibilities, administrative capacity, the willingness of critical players in the private economy to cooperate and comply, and the capacity for effective but not oppressive enforcement.

*Regulation is central to development.* The characteristic modern difference between a "developed" and a "developing" country is not (as neoclassical economics supposes) protection of property rights – a slogan to entrench the rich. Nor is it the extent of education for as everyone knows, poorer countries have rich histories and often produce exquisitely cultured peoples. Nor is it production techniques and technologies, which may be carried around the world put in place almost anywhere. Rather, in the modern world development consists in the main of the capacity to design and implement effective and efficient regulations

and to obtain both the (largely) voluntary acquiescence of the population and enforcement against a minority of violators. These conditions permit citizens to enjoy a life largely free of the petty burdens of daily risks and elementary self-protection well-known to those who come from less-favored places. They are the sum-and-substance of economic progress. Where consensus and cooperation break down, so does the stable and normally peaceful framework of developed-country life.

The successful creation of a regulated framework for advanced economic activity was the great achievement of the twentieth century. It emerged in America from the Progressive Movement during the age of Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, extending through the administrations of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, who signed legislation creating the Environmental Protection Agency. It formed the foundation of American industrial power and the appeal of the American social model by the middle of the century, eventually spreading to post-war Europe and to Japan.

The underlying principle of American capitalism was not the free market but the “concept of countervailing power” [9]. And the great corporation which flourished in the context of countervailing power accepted the limits on its power given by an even-more-powerful representative State as well as by organized interaction with trade unions and with a citizen community [16]. Finance after the catastrophe of the Great Crash was kept in check by regulation and largely played a service role. The model mobilized but contained the profit motive, and permitted a degree of decentralization, of checks-and-balances and of controlled technological progress that the socialist bloc could not emulate over the long term.

Needless to say, things have changed. Beginning in the mid-1970s, the American model was undermined from within by the re-emergence of a purist free-market ideology, which took control of the economics profession, largely in the service of a resurgent financial sector, combined with increasing stress between organized labor and capital in the industrial sectors of the heartland [3]. Financial deregulation combined with a harsh policy of macroeconomic destabilization crippled the industrial sector and brought an end to the age of countervailing power. With the decline of the Soviet model and the end of the Cold War, Western triumphalism prevailed and the pressure to perform for the general population came off; the narrative of progressive development was set aside in favor of a doctrine of “market reforms;” neoclassical orthodoxy writ large as the Washington Consensus. Needless to say, inequalities rose in rich and poorer countries alike.

Driving this process was the renewed dominance of the financial sector or what is known as “money-market capitalism,” a corporate ethos of “shareholder value” – meaning subordination to Wall Street – and eventually the rise of globalized value chains, all of which undermined the social consensus and political capacity – in particular, to provide infrastructure – that had constituted the American model. The technological function escaped from under the control of industrial corporations and re-situated to its own sector, one of relatively small, relatively young companies with out-sized market capitalization. American growth was sustained in the 2000s only by tolerating a fraudulent financial engine, doomed to fail in due course [2]. Ultimately there

resulted the present dual-economy, combining technology with decay, inequality with instability [12], and creating the conditions – runaway deregulation – that led in 2007 to the great financial crisis [15].<sup>1</sup>

The consequences of this retrogression in the American model were masked by the even-more-rapid collapse of the socialist bloc in the late 1980s and early 1990s, followed by a catastrophic experiment with free-market economics in the Russian Federation. Similarly, a massive financial crisis following deregulation affected Japan in the early 1990s and much of the rest of Asia in 1997. And in the wake of the Great Financial Crisis, the US economy was rescued, to the degree it was rescued, by a combination of Keynesian “stimulus” and the automatic stabilization measures – largely, social insurance programs – that had survived from the New Deal and Great Society, while much of Europe languished under the *ordo-liberalism* of the European Union.

The result after forty years is a global order with a new player in the first rank – namely China, the country that has by far effected the most successful strategy of economic development and poverty-reduction in the history of the world. How was it done? Through a program of gradualism, of state-directed advances in infrastructure and urbanization, the development of advanced national corporations alongside support for millions of small firms, and above all a policy of stable and predictable basic prices [28], social balance [14] and continued close regulation of financial interdependence with the rest of the world. Unlike Korea, China did not deregulate banking and open its capital account in the 1990s and so did not sustain the check to development and growth of the Asian financial crisis. For product quality, China pursued a strategy of knowledge importation and technology transfer, alongside liberal use of external regulatory standards – those imposed in Western markets – to raise the quality of producers for both the domestic and export markets. In this way a formerly and still partly socialist country cracked the conundrum of how to satisfy the infinite palate of consumer preferences with a comparable diversity of non-standardized goods.

China is not alone in having advanced along a path of this general type; indeed it is a follower, not a leader, albeit on gigantic scale. Galbraith’s model of the firm continues to prevail in Germany and Japan. Korea is yet another example. The new pragmatism of Grzegorz Kolodko [22] with its influence on the relatively-successful Polish transition [21] and the new developmentalism of Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira [6, 7] express many of the same insights. Both call for a strategy of open trade and technological improvement under irreversible globalization, but combined with effective control over global finance. Under favorable conditions and pragmatic political leadership in the first two decades of this century, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Ecuador made remarkable strides toward more stable economic conditions and poverty reduction.<sup>2</sup> That progress, however, is not now being sustained.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The economy of the United Kingdom, even more dominated by Big Finance, followed a track similar to that of the United States, with comparable political/spatial resentment, leading ultimately to the referendum on Brexit.

<sup>2</sup> Although Hugo Chavez once described himself as a “Galbraithiano,” Venezuela could not escape from the perils of oil wealth and Dutch Disease.

<sup>3</sup> Among European scholars the tradition of J.K. Galbraith has remained alive mainly in dissident circles, such as the work of the Federico Caffè Society (Amoroso and Jespersion 2012), the Veblen Institute (Frémeaux et al. 2014), and the project of the Green New Deal of DiEM25.

So we have the leading cases – without exception those that evaded, ignored or rejected the “Washington Consensus.” Indeed the strongest cases of postwar reconstruction and economic development in the modern era share a distinct adherence to the Galbraithian principles of corporate organization, focused on long-term improvement of productive capacity, reputation for excellence, global market share, effective regulation, and a checks-and-balances relationship with unions and the state. In short, countervailing power.

And one may point to movement in this direction in the Russian Federation, notably advocated in the work of Bodrunov [4, 5], Koshkin and Kretov [23] and others who have explicitly taken my father – and let me say to my pleasure – as the guiding spirit of their cause. It is perhaps not surprising that having seen the disadvantages of the extremes – of central planning on one side and of “free markets” on the other, that Russian scholars should take an interest what actually worked at one time in the United States – and still works in the most successful advanced and developing countries of the modern world.

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S. Yu. Glazyev<sup>1</sup>

## THE FUTURE WORLD ORDER OUT OF TODAY'S CHAOS

The growing chaos in the global economy, politics, information sector frightens by its scales and the feeling of global uncertainty. Economists have not managed to fore-

tell the global financial crisis and can't say when the Great Stagnation that encompassed the leading countries of the world, will end. IT-pros riding the wave of boisterous social networks, gadgets and cryptocurrencies mushrooming, inflate financial bubbles of virtual companies' liabilities, generating either excitement or panic among the public taking the bait of crowdsourcing. Trained engineers are enthusiastic about universal robotics and automation, creating expectations of universal forcing factory and office workers out to the swamp of stagnant unemployment. Finally, fu-

<sup>1</sup> Academician of the RAS, advisor to the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin on regional economic integration, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Research supervisor at the Interregional Institute of Economics and Law under the Eurasian Economic Community Interparliamentary Assembly. Author of more than 300 academic papers, including 32 monographs: “The Economic Theory of Technological Development”, “The Theory of Long-Term Technological and Economic Development”, “The Choice of the Future”, “About the Strategy of Russian Economic Development”, “Lessons of Another Russian Revolution: The Failure of Liberal Utopia and a Chance for ‘Economic Miracle’”, “Strategic Prerequisites for Modernization and Innovative Development of Russian Economy”, “The ‘Ukrainian Disaster’: from American Aggression to World War”, “The Economy of the Future? Does Russia Have a Chance?”, “The Last World War. The United States Start and Lose”, “Struggle for Leadership in the 21st Century. Russia-USA-China: Seven Variants of the Foreseeable Future”, etc. Chairman of

the Academic Council of the RAS for complex problems of Eurasian economic integration, modernization, competitiveness and sustainable development. He was awarded the Order of Friendship, medal “For Taking Part in Creating the Eurasian Economic Union” of the 1st class, the N. D. Kondratiev Gold Medal. Many-times winner of the Person of the Year National Award.

turologists are painting a gloomy picture of artificial intelligence's dominance, to which cinema workers add images of cyborgs, mutants and other monsters generated by bio-engineering revolution. The public conscience is infected with depression and expecting the Apocalypse that is aggravated by the persistent aim of fiscal authorities to digitalize the whole population, giving a number to every individual.

On the whole, there are a lot of factors for a thinking man to go mad. Though there are more than enough common people, especially young people, who are not thinking but just riding the digitalization wave, and the general feeling of fright or worries about uncertainty of even the near future forms the socioeconomic climate in many countries of the world, including Russia.

In many but not all. Rapid, sustainable economic growth of China, India, countries on the Indochinese peninsula is accompanied by optimistic expectations and high spirits of the majority of South-East Asian population. There is no fear of the future in China ruled by communists, in democratic India, Moslem Malaysia, modern Singapore, the future there is created by the people of the said countries according to long-term plans with assuredness in their strength.

And there is quite a number of people in our country looking into the future with assuredness, enthusiastic about new technologies and successful in their mastering. They make money on informatization, robotics, artificial intelligence, cryptocurrencies, swimming in the singularity environment like a duck takes to water, with this singularity frightening common people by its fantastic complexity and uncertainty.

Is it possible to find a foothold on the macroeconomic level for strategic planning that could allow not a small group of highly intellectual professionals but the society as a whole to find a way for sustainable development in growing chaos? Or just a foothold from which it is possible to see contours of the foreseeable future after this chaos?

The science of technological forecasting allows to foresee technologies' spreading, basing on the governing laws of the scientific and production cycle. The lifecycle of any technology is described by a logistic curve – like the lifecycle of any living creature or any educational process. This S-shaped curve is manifested in dynamics of all features of the scientific and production cycle – output of products, market share, efficiency, characteristics of products' quality.<sup>1</sup>

Most generally, approximately it is described by the logistic curve (fig. 1), determined by the following differential equation:

$$\frac{dy}{dt} = \alpha(y - k_1)(k_2 - y) \quad (1)$$

where  $t$  is an indicator of aggregate society's expenses for this technology's development (they can be time, money or any other resource spent);  $y(t)$  is a technologically significant result, achieved by this technology (it can also be expressed in natural or cost units),  $\alpha$  is a positive invariable ("scales" indicator), determining this curve's rate of rise,  $k_1$  and  $k_2$  are positive invariables limiting (from bottom and top respectively) the result of technology's functioning.

At the same time,  $k_1$  is the bottom of  $y(t)$ , expressing the original, starting, the lowest capabilities of the technology, and  $k_2$  is its technological limit characterizing its maximal capabilities.

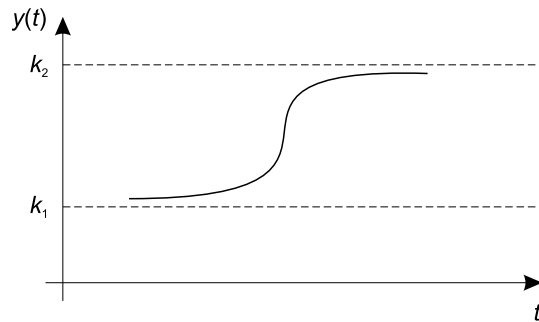


Fig. 1. Logistic (S-shaped) curve

With the growth of costs (no matter the form they are measured) for mastering and perfection of this technology, its technologically significant result may only grow because  $y(t)$  is a function that is monotonously growing in the whole area of its determination. The fact that the first derivative (growth rate) of  $y$  value, according to the equation (1), is in direct ratio to this value's removal from its original capabilities, means that  $y(t)$  grows as quickly as this gap increases. At the same time, the first derivative's being proportional to  $(k_2 - y)$  value means  $y(t)$  value's slowing down as it nears its top technological limit.

Thus, as this value accumulates, it comes nearer and nearer to  $k_2$  value, and as the difference between them  $(k_2 - y)$  tends towards zero, growth rate  $y(t)$  also reduces to infinitely small values. Thus, we have growth with saturation meaning that growing value has its top limit, approaching which its growth slows down.

A logistic curve is a universal form of any technologies' lifecycle. The Pearl-Verhulst equations are used to describe this process mathematically: three-parameter symmetric logistic curve, positively shifted logistic curve, Gompertz function, modified exponential function, etc.<sup>2</sup> Below are the formulae of the Verhulst logistic equation<sup>3</sup>, successfully used for description of population's bioprocesses dynamics:

$$dx/dt = \alpha x - \beta x^2, \text{ where } \beta = \alpha/K, \quad (2)$$

$\alpha$  is a general coefficient for population growth taking death rate into account,  $K$  is the maximum size population can achieve,  $x$  is population size,  $t$  is time,  $dx/dt$  is population growth rate.

This curve becomes a direct line on a logarithmic scale and that makes it a convenient tool for mathematical modeling. It is widely used in technological forecasting. With information about the original stage of technology's spreading (as a rule, it takes from 10% to 15% of the whole lifecycle from the moment it enters the sustainable growth stage), it's possible to forecast the whole trajectory of its development fairly reliably.

<sup>2</sup> Tarde G. Les lois de l'imitation, etude sociologique. Sec. ed. P., 1985.

<sup>3</sup> Given based on: Applied Forecasting for National Economy / ed. V. V. Ivanter, I. A. Budanov, A. G. Korovkin, V. S. Sutyagin. Moscow : Economist, 2007. P. 362.

<sup>1</sup> Sahal D. Patterns of Technological Innovation. Moscow : Finances and Statistics, 1985.

There are thousands of formal description examples as to technologies' spreading by empirical selection of logistic curve parameters.<sup>1</sup> Currently, technological forecasting is a developed sector of modern science that, in contrast to macroeconomic "mainstream", deals with real processes and is a reliable foothold for taking the right decisions in economy's management at the local level of individual technologies and focal areas of technologies' development.

Interaction of technologies is far from being limited by consecutive replacement of those becoming obsolete by new ones. None of these technologies exists in a vacuum, reproduction of any one of them supposes interlinking with other technologies, and development is accompanied by implementation of supplementing and perfecting innovations. When studying the governing laws of economy's technological development, it's required to present its structure in such a way as for the basic structural element not only to preserve its wholeness in the process of technological shifts but also to be a carrier of technological changes, i.e. for it not to demand further disaggregation for their description and measurement.

We review the aggregate of technologically interlinked industries – technological aggregate as such an element. This technological aggregate takes shape as a reproducing wholeness of connected by "ins" and "outs" of technological processes, the products of which are mainly used inside the technological aggregate.

Technological interlinking of united into technological aggregate production processes brings about synchronization of their development. Organization, expansion, stabilization and decline of industries included into one technological aggregate take place more or less simultaneously. Origination of "chains" of new interlinked technological processes as a result of internal wholeness of technological aggregate means forcing out old ones, because of that any serious innovations inside a technological aggregate take the form of its reconstruction at a new technical platform that may signify origination of another technological aggregate.

That's how groups of technological aggregates are made up, connected with one another closer than with the rest. Technological aggregates of all types tied into a reproducing wholeness by production cooperation, technologically adjusted to one another and being relatively at the same technical level, are included in such a group. Interlinked technological aggregates adjust to each other's requirements in the process of their development; natural striving for stability of production environment by managing subjects makes technological ties between aggregates sustainable. Sustainable technological chains are being formed in economy, and they unite interlinked technological aggregates of various types, engaged in consecutive redistribution of some set of resources from mining to production of finished products.

Thus, we can single out groups of technological aggregates in the economy's technological structure, the ones that are tied with each other by one-type technological chains and forming reproducing entirety – technological patterns. Each of these patterns is a whole and sustainable formation, with a closed cycle within it, including mining and obtaining original resources, all stages of their treatment and processing, and output of a set of final products, satis-

fyng the respective type of public consumption. According to the classical definition, *technological patterns are groups of aggregates of technologically interlinked industries, singled out in the structure of economy, tied to each other by one-type technological "chains" and forming reproducing entirety. Each of such patterns is a sustainable formation with internal unity, within which a full macroproduction cycle takes place, including mining and obtaining original resources, all stages of their treatment and processing, and output of a set of final products, satisfying the respective type of public consumption.*<sup>2</sup>

A technological pattern (TP) reviewed in the dynamics of functioning, is a reproduction contour<sup>3</sup>, containing the aggregate of developing and synchronously reproducing basic technologies. In statics, it can be determined as the aggregate of close in technical level industries, i.e. as the economic level.<sup>4</sup>

A technological pattern is formed within the framework of the whole economic system, encompassing all stages of resources' treatment and processing, and the respective type of non-production consumption, forming the *macroeconomic reproduction contour*. Thus, each technological pattern is a self-reproducing wholeness, as a result of which economy's technical development cannot take place in a different way from consecutive change of technological patterns. Each one's lifecycle forms the content of the respective stage of technical and economic development.

The lifecycle of a technological pattern on the surface of economic phenomena is reflected in the form of a "long wave" of economic situation with phases, corresponding to the stages of this cycle. The depression phase corresponds to the origination stage of the respective technological pattern, the animation phase corresponds to establishment stage, the "long wave" rise phase to the growth stage, the recession phase to its maturity stage characterized by exhaustion of possibilities for further economic growth, continuation of which becomes possible after transfer to a new technological pattern.

The growth phase of a new technological pattern is accompanied by not only reduction of production costs taking place especially quickly when its reproduction contour is formed, but also restructuring of economic evaluations in accordance with the conditions of its reproduction. The change of prices ratio helps to enhance the efficiency of technologies making up a new technological pattern, and when the traditional technological pattern is forced out to enhance the efficiency of the whole public production. Most vividly these changes are manifested in fluctuations of prices for energy resources that take place from time to time – rapid increase of these prices launches reduction of the domineering technological pattern's efficiency and the

<sup>2</sup> Glazyev S. Methods for Evaluating Dynamic Characteristics of Scientific and Technological Progress // Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Economics series, 1985. No 1. Scientific discovery "The governing law for technological patterns change in the process of global and national economies development."

<sup>3</sup> Danilov-Danilyan V. I., Rynkin A. A. The Reproduction Aspect of Economic Development and Some Problems of Management // Economy and Mathematical Methods. 1982. Vol. XX, iss. 1 ; Glazyev S. Scientific and Technological Process and Reproduction Structures in National Economy. Preprint. Moscow : Central Economics and Mathematics Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1986.

<sup>4</sup> Yaremenko Yu. V. Structural Changes in Socialist Economy. Moscow : Mysl, 1981.

<sup>1</sup> Sahal D. Op. cit.

process of its replacement by a new one that is more effective. As the latter grows, energy output of public production reduces, the demand for energy resources falls, prices for them decrease as well as prices for energy-intensive materials and raw materials, and that creates favourable environment for renewal of economic growth based on a new technological pattern.

Change of dominating technological patterns is mediated by structural global economic crises. Exactly this kind of crisis is taking place now with typical for this period fluctuations of prices for energy resources, financial “bubbles”, economic depression. The “surge” of oil prices and prices for other energy resources that took place in the early 21st century certifies that the technological pattern which dominated till recently has achieved its growth limits. The structural crisis is being overcome now thanks to the growth of a new technological pattern. Its key focal areas have already been defined: biotechnologies based on achievements of molecular biology and genetic engineering, nanotechnologies, additive technologies<sup>1</sup>, artificial intelligence systems, global information networks and integrated high-speed transport systems. Flexible production automation, space technologies, production of construction materials with previously set characteristics, nuclear industry, air carriage will be further developed. Growth of nuclear power industry and natural gas consumption will be supplemented by expansion of hydrogen use as an environmentally friendly energy resource, application of recycled energy sources will be considerably expanded. Production will become even smarter, there will be a transfer to continuous innovative process in most sectors and continuous education in most professions. Transfer from the “consumer society” to “intellectual society” will be completed, and demands for the quality of life and comfort of the habitat will be most important in it. The production sphere will transfer to environmentally friendly and waste-free technologies. Information, educational, medical services providing reproduction of human capital will be most important in the structure of consumption.

Change of dynamics of the new technological pattern's key industries allow to state that it goes through the “birth” phase and will enter the growth phase in the new future. They expand at the rate of about 35% per year, making up technologies of a new “long wave” of economic growth.<sup>2</sup> The biggest activity in mastering new technologies is witnessed in solar power, robotics, lighting technology, laser, information, bioengineering technologies. Public health becomes the biggest sector thanks to revolution in medicine that takes place based on cellular technologies. The second sector in size is education as it is required to regularly re-train personnel with the growth of life span, education becomes continuous.

<sup>1</sup> Additive (coming from English “to add”) technologies are the process of layer-after-layer synthesis of the object's material from the 3D-model data: the item as if grows from the material stored in the printer. They were named in contrast to subtractive production technologies, to wit, mechanical treatment. The advantages of additive technologies are improved characteristics of finished goods, a lot of raw materials saved, possibility to create geometrically complex items. According to data by the Ministry of Industry and Trade of the Russian Federation published in Expert journal, No 24, 2017 (Article “Technology for Future Use”), about 600–650 industrial 3D-printers are used in Russia now, with only about 10% of them being additive machines working with metal powders.

<sup>2</sup> Nanotechnologies as the Key Factor for the New Technological Pattern in Economy / eds. S. Yu. Glazyev, V. V. Kharitonov. Moscow : Trovart, 2009.

Thus, basing on the long-term technical and economic development theory with development as the process of establishment and change of technological patterns, it's possible to forecast technological trajectories of economic development for 2–3 decades. Timely development of key industries of the new technological pattern forms comparative advantages that will determine geoeconomic rivalry up to the middle of the 21st century. Transfer to it takes place via another technological revolution, essentially enhancing efficiency of the key areas of economy's development. Production cost and the cost computer employment based on nanotechnologies will reduce by another order of magnitude, the volumes of these means application will increase many times because of their becoming miniature and adjusted for certain consumer needs. Medicine will get technologies to fight deceases at the cellular level, supposing exact targeted delivery of medicines to damaged sections of the body in minimum amounts and with maximum use of body capabilities for regeneration. Nanomaterials have unique consumer characteristics created for a certain target, including for many times increase of durability, wear-resistance, reliability of products created from them. Transgenic cultures decrease costs many times, increase efficiency and improve consumer qualities of pharmaceutical and agricultural production. Genetically modified microorganisms will be used to extract metals and pure materials from mining raw, revolutionizing chemical and metal industries. Assembly automated complexes and 3D-printers capable to assemble any macroscopic objects according to the copied in advance or worked out three-dimension grid of atom arrangement, are created in machine building based on the “nanocomputer-nanomanipulator” system. Opportunities for prevention and human life span prolongation are significantly expanded in medicine after development of nanomedical robots and cellular technologies.

Discovery of the governing law for the periodic system of technological patterns creates the scientific basis for formation of national economy's development strategy.<sup>3</sup> In particular, the outrunning development strategy for Russian economy based on accelerated growth of the new technological pattern. The outrunning development strategy was worked out taking into account transfer of the new technological pattern into the growth phase and the condition of Russian economy, this strategy stipulates for the priority importance of the new technological pattern's industries growth based on activating the existing scientific and technological potential. Exactly in such a period, when technological patterns change, there are opportunities for backward countries for a spurt to the forefront of economy's development. This requires concentration of resources in the new technological pattern's industries. It's also necessary to stimulate innovative activities for dynamic overcoming of backwardness in such industries where lagging behind the advanced global level is insignificant. And finally, in case of hopelessly backward industries, outrunning development strategy is necessary based on import of technologies and foreign investments embodying the advanced technological level. Bringing such mixed outrunning develop-

<sup>3</sup> Scientific discovery by S. Yu. Glazyev “The governing law for technological patterns change in the process of global and national economies development” (registration certificate No 65-S issued by the International Academy of Authors of Scientific Discoveries and Inventions, with the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences as the academic supervisor).

ment strategy into life requires stimulating demand for new products, including via public procurement as well as providing financing for new technologies growth by long-term affordable loans.

Proceeding from the priority of the new technological pattern's outrunning growth and Russian economy's modernization based on it, there are offers prepared taking into accounts its capabilities for realizing the state policy for the economy's outrunning development.<sup>1</sup> They include development of the system of strategic and indicative planning, long-term loaning mechanisms for the growth of the new technological pattern's promising industries, forms of public-private partnership in achieving the set modernization aims and economy's growth based on advanced technologies. At the same time, managerial methods corresponding to the new technological pattern should be taken into account. This includes automated design systems that together with marketing technologies and technological forecasting allow to transfer to automated management for the whole product's lifecycle.

Forecasting structural changes brought about by TP change allows to determine the priority focal areas of the economic development policy. Forced increase of investments into their bringing into life gives an opportunity to switch economy into the outrunning development mode, where new industries growth will compensate decrease of business activities in outdated technological aggregates of the old TP. And conversely, ignoring this opportunity dooms economy to technological lagging behind and degradation.

Sustainable trends can be revealed not only in the technological area but also in the institutional area behind the seemed chaos, basing on the governing laws hypothesis as to the global economic patterns change.

G. Arrighi<sup>2</sup> in his historical research presents periods of capitalism development as a sequence of systemic century-long capital accumulation cycles. He singles out Spanish-Genoan, Dutch, English and American cycles according to the names of countries leading in the course of the respective cycle and setting forth the pattern for arrangement of capital reproduction, each of them took about one hundred years. In his opinion, currently the world is on the threshold of a new century-long capital accumulation cycle. The center of global economic development shifts to Asia after the American century-long cycle, and China there shoots forward.

According to the hypothesis we're proceeding from, the basis of each century-long capital accumulation cycle is the lifecycle of respective global economic pattern, which we defined as *the system of interrelated international and national institutions providing economy's reproduction and determining the mechanism of global economic relations*. The change of century-old capital accumulation cycles takes place as a result of ending the lifecycle of respective global economic pattern and establishment of a new one. They can be also defined as managerial systems for economy's development with typical for each of them structure of power and economic relations.

The leading country's institutions are of the key importance for formation of the power and economic relations

structure of each global economic pattern, and these institutions have a predominant impact on international norms, regulating the world market and international trade, economic and financial relations. Each such pattern has its growth limits determined by accumulation of internal contradictions within the framework of reproduction of the institutions included in it. The said contradictions are developed till the moment the system of international and political relations is destabilized, and until now it was always solved by world wars. The latter were organized and provoked by the losing its domineering positions leading country of the becoming outdated global economic pattern for strengthening control over the global economy's periphery in order to strengthen its competitive advantages and weaken positions of possible rivals. However, a new leader always appeared out of the latter – a carrier of a more progressive system of institutions and production relations, that until recently avoided taking part in the war, in order to join it at the final stage among the winners and take the global leadership.

The use of the "pattern" idea is intended for reflecting the reproducing wholeness of interrelated elements: connected by technological cooperation industries (technological pattern) and united by institutions economic formations (global economic pattern). The connection of elements predetermines synchronization of their lifecycles at least in the maturity and decline phase as well as fitful character of economic development, in which a simultaneous change of a big number of elements takes place from time to time, acquiring the intermittent character of technological (in case of technological patterns change) or social (in case of global economic patterns change) revolutions.

See fig. 2 for the historical diagram of century-long capital accumulation cycles and respective global economic patterns, named for the purpose of discussion according to the type of the system of international trade and economic relations dominant at the time.

A. Ayvazov's periodic system presented in fig. 2 combines periodization of technological patterns and systemic capital accumulation cycles that are replacing one another. It is based on generalization of the Nikolay Kondratyev's long wave theory and G. Arrighi's systemic capital accumulation cycles. It follows from the periodic system that in 2008 the world entered the phase of "Great upheavals" in the process of which the systemic accumulation cycles will change and the leader of global economic development will change as well. The world is entering the Asian systemic capital accumulation cycle, in which the main role in providing economy's growth belongs to the state. And the neoliberal "free play of market forces" that has been dominant till the present time, will be replaced by strengthening state interference in economic life, state indicative planning and strict economy's regulation by state and supranational authorities, integrating activities of various social groups and economic agents proceeding from national interests.

Recovery from the current crisis will be accompanied by large-scale geopolitical and economic changes. As it usually happens, the countries dominant within the framework of the existing global economic pattern, demonstrate inability for essential institutional innovations that could channel the capital becoming available into structural economy's restructuring based on the new technological pattern, going on with reproduction of the established institution-

<sup>1</sup> Glazyev S. Yu. Russia's Outrunning Development Strategy in the Global Crisis Environment. Moscow : Economy, 2010.

<sup>2</sup> Arrighi G. The long twentieth century: money, power and the origins of our times. L. : Verso, 1994.



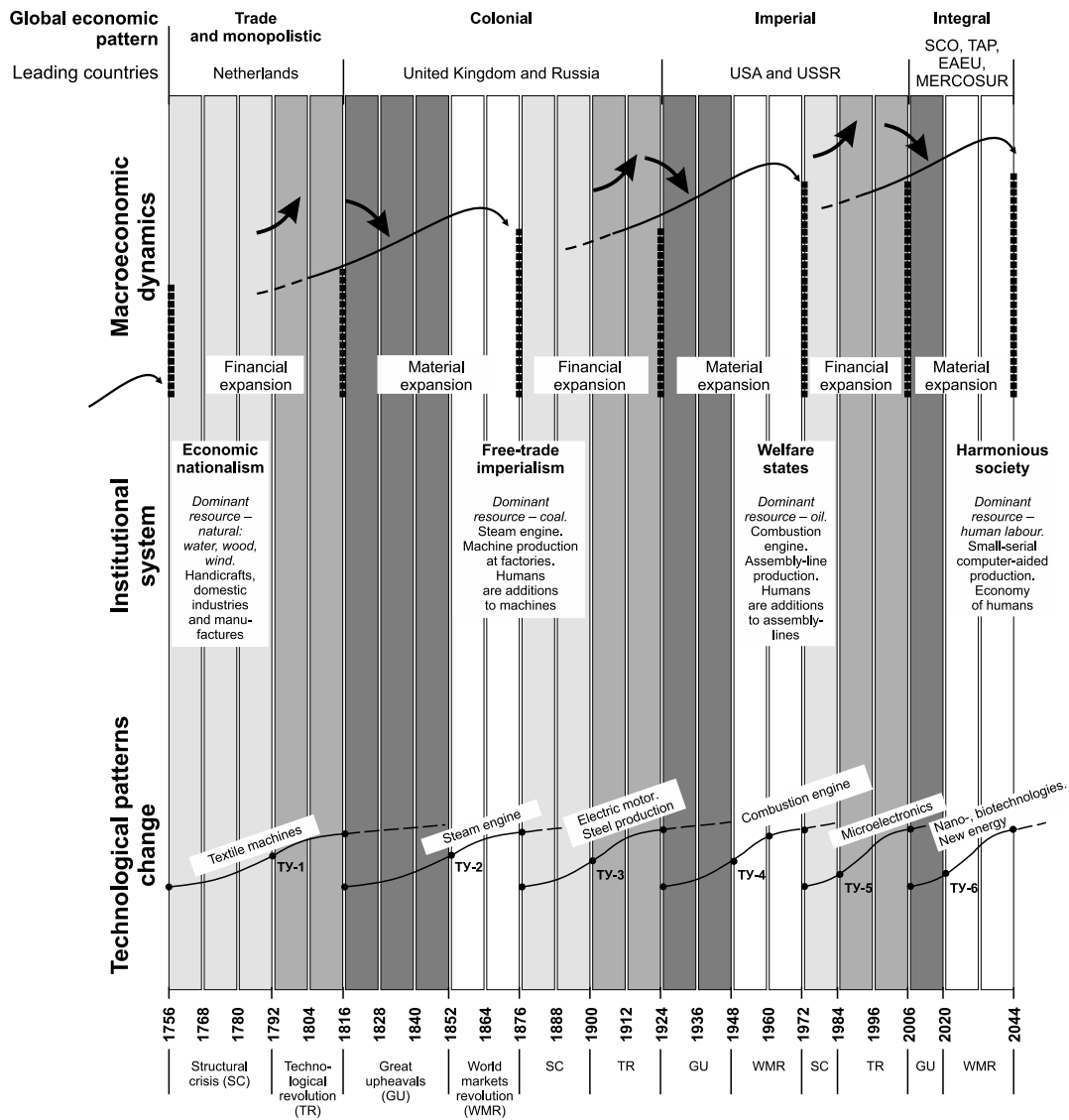


Fig. 2. Periodic change of global economic patterns.

Source with amendments by the author: *Ayvaazov A. The Periodic System of Global Capitalism Development / Development and Economy almanac. March 2012. No 2)*

al system and servicing economic interests embodied in it. Meanwhile, the unrolling structural restructuring of global economy related to transfer to the new technological pattern, gives backward countries an opportunity for an economic “spurt” to the leading countries’ level, while the latter have to deal with capital’s over-accumulation in outdated industrial and technological complexes.

China and other South-Eastern countries are “spurt-ing” like that now. Over the three recent decades, the People’s Republic of China achieved impressive success. From the far-outlying districts of global economy China stepped into its leaders, in 2014 taking the first place in the world in the GDP physical volume and export of high-tech products. GDP increased 30 times in China over the three decades (from US\$ 300 billion to US\$ 9 trillion at the current yuan-dollar exchange rate), output of industrial products increased 40–50 times, foreign currency resources increased hundreds of times (from several dozens of billions of dol-

lars to US\$ 4 trillion). If we take economic development measured in GDP per capita, China rose from the place in the end of the poorest countries list to the place in the first thirty average-income countries.<sup>1</sup>

China is becoming the world engineering and technological center. The share of Chinese engineering, technical and research personnel in the global numbers came up to 20% in 2007, doubling in comparison with 2000 (1,420 and 690 thousand, respectively). According to forecasts, there will be 15 mln of engineering, technical and research personnel by 2030 in the world, with 4.5 mln (30%) of them being scholars, engineers and technicians from the People’s Republic of China.<sup>2</sup> China will take the first place in the

<sup>1</sup> Prospects and Strategic Priorities of BRICS Rise / Eds. V. Sadovnichy, Yu. Yakovets, A. Akayev. Moscow, 2014.

<sup>2</sup> China – 2030: Forward to General Prosperity / Center for Studies of the State of Affairs in the Country at the Tsinghua University / Eds. Hu Angang, Yan Yi-Long, Wei Xing. Beijing : People’s Univ. China, 2011. P. 30.

world by 2030 in R&D expenditures, and its share in global expenditures will amount to 25%.<sup>1</sup>

India, Indonesia, countries on the Indochinese peninsula demonstrate outrunning development rates at the same time with China. They form the “nucleus” of the new, integral global economic pattern. In contrast to the countries from the “nucleus” of the current global economic pattern that forced the universal system of financial and economic relations on the world as the basis of liberal globalization, the forming “nucleus” of the new global economic pattern differs by big variety. This special feature is manifested in principles of international relations shared by the countries included in it: freedom of choices as to ways of development, rejection of hegemony, sovereignty of historical and cultural traditions. The new global economic pattern is formed on the basis of equality, mutual advantages and consensus. New regional economic associations are established on these principles – Shanghai Cooperation Organization, European Economic Community, MERCOSUR (Southern Common Market), ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) – and international financial institutions (BRICS Development Bank and the pool of foreign currency resources, Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, Eurasian Development Bank).

A new global economic pattern’s formation entails reformation of the global economic order and international relations. Revival of socioeconomic development planning and state regulation of the main indicators of capital’s reproduction, active industrial policy, control over transborder capital flows and foreign currency limitations – all that turns from the prohibited by Washington financial organizations “menu” into generally accepted tools of international economic relations. A number of scholars are speaking about the Beijing Consensus as a counterweight for the Washington Consensus, with the first one being much more attractive for emerging countries, in which the majority of the mankind lives.<sup>2</sup> It bases on the principles on non-discrimination, mutual respect of sovereignty and national interests of cooperating states, focusing them not on servicing international capital but rise of the people’s standard of living. At the same time, a new order for intellectual property rights protection and transfer of technologies may originate, approval of new international trade norms in power engineering and resources is probable, as well as new rules of international migration, new agreements on harmful emissions’ limitations may be signed, etc.

Both neighbouring countries – Russia, India, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia – and African and Latin American countries pull up to the forming “nucleus” of the new global economic pattern. In aggregate, the economic power of the said states is already comparable with the countries from the “nucleus” of the American accumulation cycle. They also have common elements that can play the role of a kind of channel for capital transfer from one accumulation cycle to another – Japan, Singapore and South Korea. Notwithstanding considerable differences of the People’s Republic of China in political arrangement and economy’s regulation mechanisms, many sustainable cooperation ties

are being formed between them, mutual trade and investments are growing rapidly.

Independent of the dominant form of ownership – state as in China or Vietnam, or private as in Japan or South Korea – combination of state planning institutes and market self-organization, state control over the main indicators of economy’s reproduction and free entrepreneurship, the common good ideology and private initiative are typical for the integral global economic pattern. However, political arrangement forms may be principally different – from the biggest in the world Indian democracy to the biggest in the world Communist Party of China. The priority of national interests over private interests stays unchanged and is expressed in strict mechanisms of citizens’ personal responsibility for good behaviour, precise performance of their obligations, observance of laws, serving national aims. The system of socioeconomic development management is built on mechanisms of personal responsibility for the rise of the society’s standards of living.

The primacy of public interests over private interests is expressed in the typical for the global economic pattern institutional structure of economy’s regulation. First of all, in state control over the key indicators of capital’s reproduction by mechanisms of planning, crediting, subsidizing, price forming and regulation of basic conditions for entrepreneurship. Moreover, the state not orders as much as performs the moderator’s role, forming mechanisms of social partnership and interaction of the main social groups. Officials are not trying to rule entrepreneurs but arrange joint work of business, academic, engineering communities for forming common development ideas and working out methods for bringing them into life. In their turn, entrepreneurs enter the profit maximization and enrichment motive into ethical norms protecting the interests of the society. The use of enterprising activities institutions expands, and they are focused not on profit maximization but socially important results – setting up and development of non-governmental organizations, development institutes, Islamic and Russian Orthodox banking. Ethical norms are taken into account in money flows management and there are limitations introduced against financing criminal and amoral activities. State economy’s regulation mechanisms are also tuned to that.

The state provides long-term and cheap loans and businessmen guarantee their targeted use in certain investment projects for production development. The state provides access to infrastructure and natural monopolies’ services at low prices, and enterprises are responsible for production of competitive products. The state arranges and finances the required R&D, education and training of personnel, and entrepreneurs bring innovations into life and invest in new technologies. Public-private partnership is subordinate to the public interests of economy’s development, rise in the people’s standard of living, improvement of the quality of life. The ideology of international cooperation is changing respectively – the global liberalization model in the interests of global financial oligarchy is replaced with the sustainable development paradigm in the interests of the whole mankind. The role and importance of money, around accumulation of which in the hands of the ruling elite of dominant states all century-long capital accumulation cycles revolved, change as well. Money in the new global economic pattern becomes the tool for providing economy’s reproduction and development in public interests.

<sup>1</sup> Prospects and Strategic Priorities of BRICS Rise.

<sup>2</sup> *Ramo J. C.* The Beijing Consensus. The Foreign Policy Centre, 2004; *The Beijing Consensus: An alternative approach to development.* World Foresight Forum. The Hague, The Netherlands, 2011. Issue Brief No 02.

Russia that as a part of the USSR was included in one of the two nuclei of the imperial global economic pattern, found itself on the fringes of the American capital accumulation cycle after the USSR disintegration. Respectfully, the weight of Russian economy in world economy decreased. After losing the reproducing wholeness, Russian economy can't form the nucleus of the new global econom-

ic pattern, in-building into the Asian capital accumulation cycle as a raw material outlying district. Theoretically, Russia can still enter the nucleus of integral global economic pattern as the leading country of the Eurasian Economic Union, if it manages to master its institutions in time as well as create basic technological aggregates of the new technological pattern.

**Al. A. Gromyko<sup>1</sup>**

## MILITARY EVOLUTION IN EUROPE. RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR RUSSIA

In the 20th century, the world witnessed invention of the international subject of a new, supranational quality. The European Union set up in 1957 has turned into one of the economic heavyweights since then. However, its ambitions are still not supported by the required set of tools. The European Union status as a big power centre relies more on the foreign political influence of its leading member states than its own supranational potential. Will the EU be able to acquire the real subjectivity of a global player and realize its international strategy? It's one of the main intrigues of the next decades [5].

The President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker warns that not a single country of the EU will be one of the seven biggest economies in 30 years. If according to his data, the today's share of the Union's GDP in global economy is about 23%, it will decrease down to 15–17% in 20 years. There are also demographic losses in the EU: its population may amount to only 4% of the global population by the end of the century.<sup>2</sup> They in European capitals point at strategic issues of integration more and more often. Thus, the United Kingdom, no matter London's aspiration to present the future position of the Kingdom in the world as rose-coloured, comprehends the growing geopolitical risks. Jeremy Hunt, serving as the British Foreign Secretary, said that China would overtake the U.S. as the world's largest economy by 2030. The Chinese and Indian economies would jointly overcome G7 GDP by 2050.<sup>3</sup>

With numerous crisis phenomena in the European Union's internal development as a background and the out-

side world's "picture" changing not in favour of the previous world order [19], the old idea gains renewed momentum – to create one's own EU political and military potential, achieve a certain sovereignty in common foreign policy and security policy.

### Staking on hard power again

The core of the modern security and defence system of the EU is the agreement on Permanent Structured Cooperation<sup>4</sup> (PESCO) as an element of the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP)<sup>5</sup>, created by the Treaty of Amsterdam of 1999. The PESCO principle was legally fixed by the Treaty of Lisbon entering into force in December 2009. In December, 2017, the European Council approved the program under the same name, which was joined by 25 EU countries except the United Kingdom, Malta and Denmark [8]. The signed agreement is legally binding. The basic role of PESCO in the defence union development was emphasized many times since then.

The said trends will be further developed in case of Brexit [18] and taking into account the deformation in the EU and the United States relations. The work of the EU Operations Centre for planning and undertaking overseas missions except military operations<sup>6</sup> outside the EU military headquarters was launched in 2012. In June 2017, its functions as a part of the Global Strategy's implementation were transferred by the decision of the European Council to the MPCC – Military Planning and Conduct Capability<sup>7</sup> already as a part of the military headquarters structure. The MPCC commands three non-military EU missions in Mali, the Central African Republic and Somalia. It was originally thought up as permanent operational headquarters but such a brave innovation was invariably blocked by London. They in Brussels count on the new structure's transformation after Britain exits the European Union in 2020 into Operational Headquarters with a possibility to conduct military operations (a prototype of the EU Ministry of Defence).

It is envisioned that in the next years the key priority of the EU defence union's concept will mean aspirations to accelerate integration of military-industrial complexes of member states, and that in its turn implies enhancement of their competitiveness in their rivalry with the U.S. military-industrial complex. Military expenditures of the Alliance

<sup>1</sup> Director of the Institute of Europe of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Professor of the RAS. Author of more than 150 scientific publications, including monographs: "Modernization of the Party System of Great Britain", "Images of Russia and Britain: Reality and Prejudices", "Building Good Neighborliness. Russia in the Territory of Europe" (co-author), "Ten Years of Negotiations Better than One Day of War. Memories of Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko" (author and redactor), "21st century Europe. New challenges and risks" (editor and redactor), "About the vital matter. Europe in the modern world", etc. Chief Editor of "Modern Europe" journal. Chairman of the Council of Experts of the Institute of Linguistic Civilizations and Migratory Processes of the Russkiy Mir Foundation. President of the Association of European Studies of Russia. Chairman of the Association of foreign policy studies named after A. A. Gromyko. Member of the bureau of the Department of Global Problems and International Relations of the RAS, member of the Scientific Council of the Security Council of the Russian Federation and the Scientific Council of the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Head of the Department of theory and history of international relations, Institute of International Relations and World History, Lobachevsky Nizhny Novgorod State University. Honorary Doctor of The Paisii Hilendarski University of Plovdiv, Varna free University named after Chernorizets Hrabar (Bulgaria) and Voronezh State University.

<sup>2</sup> <https://youtube/2R6rwAkvnwE> (accessed: 15.01.2019).

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.ukpol.co.uk/jeremy-hunt-2018-speech-at-policy-exchange> (accessed: 27.12.2018)

<sup>4</sup> Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO).

<sup>5</sup> European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP). After the Treaty of Lisbon was signed in 2007, it was renamed Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).

<sup>6</sup> The EU Operations Centre (EU OPCEN).

<sup>7</sup> Military Planning and Conduct Capability.

members are increased up to 2% of national GDP under pressure from Washington. But at the same time, a number of European allies would like to use at least a part of additional resources for advancing on the way of the EU strategic autonomy, to put it differently – to escape from the full military and political dependence on the United States.

The ultimate goal of the defence union idea for the most radical advocates of it is creation of a European army, i.e. a supranational EU defence and security tool. But currently we're speaking about aims that are much easier to achieve, e.g. stimulating joint R&D in the military sector for creating completely compatible technologies and equipment.<sup>1</sup> The total military budget of the EU-28 in 2017 was impressive – about US\$ 260 billion<sup>2</sup> (expenditures for armaments, research and development), however, 80% of defence purchases were exclusively national expenditures.

The most challenging aspect of the new European military potential's development is its close ties with military planning within the framework of NATO – the clearly anti-Russia focused organization. A vivid example is the “Schengen of Defence” concept. In March 2018, the European Commission approved the plan for accelerated movement of troops and equipment from the west to the east of Europe. It became one of the large-scale PESCO projects. It is focused on adapting civil transport infrastructure to military needs (special features of construction and updating transport facilities, unification of the EU member states legislation as to providing troops and armaments transit). These preparations together with the new Alliance programs evidently certify that a part of European political and military establishment is ready to review a possibility of large-scale military actions in Europe.

At the same time, Pentagon is also operating based on the European Deterrence Initiative<sup>3</sup> to enhance troops mobility as a part of efforts to deter “Russian aggression” and strengthening security guarantees for the allies. In 2019, Americans plan to increase expenditures for implementation of the Initiative from US\$ 4.8 to 6.5 billion. The most part of this amount will be spent on updating military infrastructure for the American Air Force in East European countries with simultaneous creation of big stocks of military equipment in such states as Germany and the United Kingdom.

Further programs are approved by NATO focused on filling the Schengen of Defence with content. Thus, one of the main solutions of the NATO Summit in Brussels in June 2018 was the proposed readiness initiative, the “30–30–30–30” or “Four Thirties”, closely related to the military mobility issues. The idea is to have 30 mechanized battalions, 30 air squadrons and 30 combat vessels ready to deployment within 30 or less days by 2020. They are to get ready based on the available forces. They are rotational forces subordinated to the Alliance member states called for to perform the second-echelon function for quick movement, strengthening or replacing the rapid deployment forces (RDF).

The said and other military preparations, expanding military infrastructure certify the principally important aspect – confrontation with Russia is included in NATO mili-

tary planning, with this organization trying to implement it in any possible way into the elements of the still embryonic European Defence Union. The future will show if the Alliance manages to absorb the elements of European military build-up or it will be able to stand firmly on its legs.

From the Russian interests perspective, the two following issues are of the main importance: first, in all appearances, military potential strengthening within the EU framework is an irreversible process; second, its development according to the European Defence Union (EDU) concept is much more profitable for non-Western power centres than based on the Common Security and Defence Policy thesis as the “NATO European foundation”. Structural confrontation of Russia and the Alliance is guaranteed for the foreseeable future, which is far from evident in relations with the EU. NATO strengthening at the expense of Europeans is a hardly attractive option for other big subjects of world politics beyond the “collective West”. The United States traditionally dominating in the Alliance are not perceived as a stabilizing force in international relations. On the contrary, the European Union has the reputation of a more predictable, peace-loving and consistent in its actions player.

### The European Union raises its voice

In the end of August, 2018, E. Macron's speech in front of French diplomatic mission heads received a wide response. He spoke about the necessity of closer European cooperation in defence as well as mentioned: “Europe can no longer trust its security to the United States only. We should guarantee our security ourselves” [36]. Politicians of a lower rank speak more and more openly. Florence Parly, French Minister of Defence, called in September 2018 to decrease military dependence on the United States. She gave the following examples to support her position: the United States blocking sale of French SCALP cruise missiles to Egypt in making which American components are used, and the requirement to ask the U.S. Congress permission to install armaments on American Reaper drones bought by Paris to fight terrorist groups. Parly referred the said difficulties both to geopolitics and commercial rivalry.<sup>4</sup> Later, the President of France himself said point-blank in his interview to CNN that increase of defence expenditures by Europeans did not mean that they had to buy armaments made in America.<sup>5</sup>

The lion share of success or failure of advanced cooperation in defence and security first of all depends on the France and Germany tandem, though deformed in recent decades because of the growth of Germany's economic and political role. Not only politicians of the biggest leading states of the integration union comprehend the world development along the unexplored route of polycentrism. This also takes place in small EU members, including those in which anti-Russian moods are rooted and pro-American moods dominate.

It should be expected from France and Germany to go on presenting some or other initiatives accompanying the idea of the defence union: some of them to promote certain measures, others, less real, to maintain the reform rates. It's possible that the suggestion to set up the EU Security Coun-

<sup>1</sup> From 2010, the EU countries have been spending less than EUR 200 mln per year for joint R&D in defence industry.

<sup>2</sup> According to SIPRI. <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/SIPRI-Milex-data-1949-2017.xlsx> (accessed: 05.01.2019).

<sup>3</sup> European Deterrence Initiative.

<sup>4</sup> TASS, September 6, 2018. The Head of the French Ministry of Defence spoke in favour of decrease of dependence on the United States in arm components.

<sup>5</sup> <https://edition.cnn.com/videos/politics/2017/09/19/intv-macron-complete-amanpour.cnn> (accessed: 20.11.2018).

cil (EUSC), presented by E. Macron and A. Merkel at the bilateral inter-governmental consultations on July 19, 2018 [38], is referred to the latter category. Later, in October, the Chancellor confirmed her position when she spoke in the Bavarian city of Ottobeuren [30]. They were speaking about the organ, the name of which does not accidentally sound like the UN Security Council. It follows from various comments that it could include permanent members (surely, first of all France and Germany) and form on the rotation basis from non-permanent members. In that case, the consensus issue could be solved in the spirit of “multi-speed Europe” when taking foreign political decisions in the EU, i.e. no country from the latter category will be able to block its decisions as it happens now.

In terms of the Russian interests, dismantling the consensus rule that is used today when voting in the European Council on Foreign Relations, is ambiguous. Consensus means that any country may, for example, veto prolongation of anti-Russian sanctions; but if it is cancelled, political will of several states will be required for such a decision. And sure, in case the EU Security Council is set up, a whole number of managerial issues for the whole organization will have to be solved, for example, the new structure’s coordination with the European Council on Foreign Relations. It will become clear in 2019 if the EUSC idea is to be developed. But now, the leading authorities of the integration union, taking the initiative into account, speak carefully about its prospects. Thus, it is said in the European Parliament resolution of December 12, 2018 that taking into account the offer by several member states of the EU Security Council, they think that this concept should be cleared before assessing its added value [13].

Soon E. Macron went even further in the broadcast of Europe 1 radio station where he said on November 6, 2018 that the EU needed its own armed forces.<sup>1</sup> And what is more, he named countries to defend from – China, Russia and... the United States. Inclusion of the latter in this list was unprecedented for the leader of one of the EU and NATO members, especially such a big member. Answering this statement on Twitter, D. Trump was full of indignation (he called Macron’s words very insulting). There was a fairly heated discussion in Europe, and what is demonstrative, only referring to the President’s of France words about the European army. A. Merkel demonstrated solidarity with Macron and called for working at the idea to create “a real European army”<sup>2</sup> one day.

The European Parliament is a vigorous player in building up political and military capabilities of the EU, with the majority of deputies supporting the concept of common defence policy. There is a number of renewed ideas developed in it. Thus, the report on the four times increase of the EU military units<sup>3</sup> was presented to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of this supranational body in September, 2018. 14 battalion groups, with 1,500 men each, are to be reorganized into the same number of army brigades. These offers were included in the official documents for working

out the European Parliament’s report on the implementation of the Common Security and Defence Policy [12] and are presented more concisely in its resolution on the report (item 27) [13].

### Conclusions

If the “Russian threat” has again become the main motive for NATO consolidation and attaching importance to it, the reasons for creation of the European Defence Union are of a completely different nature. Two geopolitical shocks experienced by the EU have become the main stimuli here: the first one is Brexit, the second are serious changes in relations with the United States. Exactly these two factors made strategic autonomy advocates not only think another time in the integration history about the union’s military dimension but also launch certain activities (and to a certain extent freed their hands). No matter the number of statements that London will stay a reliable ally of Brussels after Brexit as well, the continental neighbours’ trust in the British was undermined. No matter how much the United States and their European allies assure each other of loyalty and unflinching Article 5 of the NATO Charter, comprehension of inevitable principal and long-term disagreements with America on a whole number issues on the regional and global agenda is becoming broader and broader in the European Union. As for the EU relations with Russia, there are not only enough disagreements in them but also common topics for restoration of a serious and long-term dialogue [9].

Surely, finding fault with the relations with the United States by a part of Europeans and the wish to get bigger independence in foreign politics as well as military and political sector, not always make them less perceptive of the narrative about the “threat from the East”. The changes in priorities introduced into the National Security Strategy of the United States of America of 2017 were readily taken up in many EU countries. Renewal of geopolitical rivalry between states was announced the main threat to the United States in this document, with Beijing and Moscow being in the first line of opponents. It is said in this document that China and Russia are challenging the power of the United States, their influence and interests, trying to undermine American security and flourishing [25, p. 2].

But still the EU is already a political union built over the economic one in many aspects. Can it be supported by the political and military potential of states not included in it? It’s evident that it can’t. It’s difficult to imagine Europeans feeling pressure and even humiliation on the part of the United States, for example, in trade or the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran’s Nuclear Program, and at the same time go on as if nothing is happening, with traditional subordination in the military sector. In this case, striving to reduce one’s dependence on military capabilities of such a partner is inevitable, using relations of allies where it is profitable and acting independently in other cases.

In the past, it was usual to take it as given that the United States guarantee military security of Europe in fact altruistically. Now, such guarantees are brought about by fairly pragmatic considerations. The new reality pushes the owners of the biggest common market on the globe to acquiring their own strategic autonomy even taking into account that the total American and British contribution to NATO budget amounts to about 32% (22 and 10% respectively).

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ilggBgh8Lhw>.

<sup>2</sup> TASS, November 13, 2018. Merkel praised efforts to create a European military force. <https://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/5788160> (accessed: 10.12.2018).

<sup>3</sup> Military units and formations were established as a part of the Headline Goal 2010 approved in 2004 at the EU Summit. Their immediate readiness was officially announced in 2007; after that they were not once engaged in any operations though there were joint exercises.

If the “Russian threat” is taken out of the brackets, there are not so many challenges left, with which the EU can’t deal basing on its own political and military potential. The common aspect in deliberations about its dependence on the United States is the history of wars in Yugoslavia and intervention in Belgrade, in which Americans played the dominant role. But those events ended 20 years ago; their consequences were first of all in the geopolitical interests of Washington, and contradictions in the decisions taken then are acknowledged by many people even in the West. Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were also generated exclusively by American foreign policy and to a large extent were against the interests of Europe. The only case when Europeans initiated big military actions was French and British intervention into Libya under the false cover of the well-known resolution by the UN Security Council. But this is an evident negative example, which is usually considered improper to remember in Paris and London and especially to use as an argument in favour of conserving Europe’s dependence on the United States in security.

Europeans are fairly capable to manage themselves where the EU is really interested in using the “hard power”, e.g. to fight internal extremism, international terrorism, protection of outside borders, operations in the Sahel Region, etc. The logic of E. Macron’s “European project” is totally directed to that, including the “European initiative on intervention” [15, p. 30–39]. It’s hardly probable that it will be vital for the EU to undertake some big expeditionary warfare in the near future, making it once again dependent on the United States military potential. The habit of military dependence on the United States was harmful for European security and not once. So, had Paris and London counted exclusively on their own efforts and strength and not sure of the United States and NATO supporting them if necessary, most likely, they would not have engaged in the adventure in Libya. Had the United Kingdom not been guided by the distorted interpretation of solidarity with America, possibly, it would not have plunged into the Iraqi drama.

Building the European Defence Union is not a head-on collision with the Alliance’s activities going on, at least in the near future. On the contrary, Europeans will move in this direction very carefully, and the most pro-American part of them, in view of Britain’s exiting the EU, will try to take upon itself the restraining function as to political and military potential’s development of the organization. Emphasis on close interlinking of new European political and military initiatives and NATO activities will be consistent. Achievement of real strategic autonomy will require a long period of time. Reverse movement is not excluded in case the interest of Berlin and Paris in energetic PESCO and other programs’ launch is reduced.

Though skepticism in relation of the EDU future is fully grounded, formation of the “two-nuclei” West, the core of which breaks up into the United States and the EU, makes evident the need of the “hard power” potential of its both centres. If there is a political will and the level of contradictions between Washington and the leading European capitals decreases, these centres can still coexist for a long time fairly harmoniously, dividing the responsibility fields and functions within the framework of the “collective West”.

For example, concentrating more and more political and military opportunities in their hands, Paris and Berlin will hardly challenge the East European direction of providing

security as the Alliance’s area. This focal area, though for various reasons, plays an important role in the foreign and home policy of the United States and a number of East European countries that are still united in their anti-Russian moods. The aspiration to spread the European Defence Union’s prerogatives to this area will only bring about allies’ irritation not required by the French and Germans. And Paris and Berlin have enough various problems with them as it is.

The EDU concept does not make provisions for duplicating American programs in military building in the near future, to say nothing about rivalry with the United States in the Asian Region. However, in case united Europe is unable in the next years to support its global economic interests by autonomous political and military potential, the European Union will not be able to make Washington and later China take its strategic ambitions into account.

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**J. R. Grote<sup>1</sup>**

## TRADE UNIONS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS. CHANCES AND OBSTACLES TO ALLIANCE BUILDING AND COOPERATION

At a time when much of the Western world is concerned with the upsurge of populism, of right-wing xenophobic movements, and of these movements backward-look-

<sup>1</sup> Chief researcher and topic leader (Politics, Institutions, and Governance) at the Dialogue of Civilizations Research Institute in Berlin. He obtained his Ph. D. from the EUI in Florence, has been holder of the Marie Curie Chair of Excellence at Charles University in Prague. His main research interests include topics such as forms of organised collective action by both capital and labour, civil society and social movements, European integration, regional and structural policies, critical governance, and relational analysis. Author and editor of a large number of academic articles and books, including: "Social Movements and Organized Labour: Passions and Interests" (co-editor), "Organized Business Interests in Changing Environments: The Complexity of Adaptation" (co-editor), "Governing Interests. Business Associations Facing Internationalization" (co-editor), "Organized Interests and the European Community" (co-editor), "Yellow vests and blue mandarins", "Political misperceptions and their causes: Suggestions for research" (co-author), "Democratic capitalism and its discontents", "Making and breaking social capital: The paradox of China's social credit system" (co-author), etc.

ing adherents and supporters, little attention is given to those groups embracing a more forward-looking worldview, namely trade unions and social movements. In what follows, an attempt will be made to find out why this is the case, and what research on the latter two social groups would need to consider, both in theory and in practice, to improve the situation.

### Passions and Interests

There are essentially three shortcomings in the recent literature on the present state of politics in Western democracies and on forms of collective action. The general message resulting from research in the political economy and in forms of democracy in Europe is disastrous. We seem to be in the midst of a situation characterized by a mix of decline, fragmentation, individualization, diminishing trust in

institutions hollowed out from the inside, the hoarding of power by small political and economic elites, and the increasing marginalization and pauperization of vast parts of the population. While the accuracy of these trends shall not be called into question, it is noteworthy, and this is the first shortcoming of the literature, to what extent that literature tends to neglect one crucial aspect, namely the capacity of those suffering most from the above malaise to coming together and searching for possibilities of collectively halting, reversing, or otherwise influencing decline in defense of their needs and interests.

The second shortcoming concerns the literatures on precisely these actors, namely established trade union research and research on social movements. While both fields acknowledge the extent of the current crisis and have submitted numerous books and articles on how the respective research targets are reacting to it, the situation continues to remain one of indifference. There hardly is cross-fertilization beyond the boundaries of established research traditions. It is as if students of each of the two forms of collective action would mutually neglect each other. At best, trade union researchers and social movement research envisage the respective counterpart in purely instrumental terms.

The third shortcoming is directly related to the previous one. It relates to divisions of a similar kind or, more precisely, to dichotomous reasoning in general. We have borrowed the notions of passions and interests from Albert Hirschman's [7] pathbreaking work on processes of transition from one historical period to another. Passions are used in this paper as a shorthand for immaterial concerns whereas interests refer to material interests. Standard work on both social movements and on trade unions asserts that these were the essential differences underlying collective action by both types of groups, and that these differences were hard to overcome. This dichotomy underpins the entire debate since its very beginning. It may not be as simple as this, however. What Hirschman clearly shows is that passions originally associated with positive properties (in feudal times) may over time turn negative to assume positive connotations again – yet this time in form of an enlightened, i.e. interest-led behavior (capitalism). For instance, greed and avarice as much as the striving for glory and honor, have become transformed into more prosaic interests now benefitting not just individual parvenus and feudal lords but the whole of society. In a long historical process, interests have come to be discovered as tammers of passions, the latter now being discredited as negative and socially unwelcome aberrations, and this conversion has very much been due to socio-political and economic change and to the way how that change was perceived by the people.

Passions and interests cannot neatly be distinguished from one another. They are merging and mixing all the time and what exactly will have the upper hand in the minds of the people at any historical moment is very much subject to shifting involvements and changing perceptions. The question up for debate, then, is whether the above divisions and dichotomies (political economy and political theory versus collective action research; industrial relation versus social movement scholarship; and passions versus interests) could be molded and brought into line by looking at some of the most recent examples of joint collective action by members of the two camps under study.

Not long ago, mostly triggered by developments in South Africa and Latin America, there has been a debate on what is called, following Waterman, social movement or community unionism. Scholars of industrial relations have deeply dwelt into the social movement literature with a view to identify patterns of action that might be conducive to trade union renewal. Yet, even these more advanced pieces of work essentially remained normative and, most of the time, instrumental in character.

For social movement scholars, unions have never actually formed part of the agenda. For quite some time, they have been completely discarded as possible alliance partners altogether. They have been described as being anachronistic [13] due to their imprisonment in existing government institutions. They are said to be unable to adapt to the requirements of post-industrial society [8]. Gorz [6] has described them as not being any longer the focus of social change, and for Giddens [5] and Beck [1] their place is questionable in a late-modern world. Overall, social movement research has as much tended to neglect the possibility of looking for alliances with unions as this has been the case the other way around. There are to date few exceptions to that mutual disregard. Foremost triggered by reactions to the debt and financial crisis following 2008, the situation has finally changed only very recently. Some scholars have recognized that capitalism and the political economy need to be brought back into the analysis because most of those fighting against austerity tend to direct their discontent not just against forms of commodification (traditional industrial disputes) but also of re-commodification (privatization) and of ex-commodification (exclusion from the labor market).

What is at stake analytically, is the emergence of a counter movement, or of a new form of joint collective action. We are therefore concerned with the question of whether, why and when individuals already forming part of an established group decide to join more encompassing endeavors spanning the boundaries of different collective actors and, secondly, when and whether these actors' professional leaders take the lead in doing so. This distinction is important. It is one thing to look at agreements achieved by the leaders. For this type of joint activity, the notion of alliance or, as suggested by Di-ani [4], of an organizational "mode of coordination" (MoC), might be the most appropriate. It is another thing to look at the level of the rank and file. Boundary-spanning joint activities by individuals are best understood in terms of networks, or of social movement and "subcultural" MoC. Finally, alliances and networks may markedly diverge with respect to their underlying goals, rationales, and structural configurations. Sometimes, alliances may function well even in the absence of support from the bottom-up. At other occasions, there may be pronounced collaboration between members of different organizations without necessarily bringing about alliance formation at the level of their leaderships.

Rather than dwelling into the established domains of trade union and social movement scholarship, I suggest a re-reading of a couple of modern classics potentially enabling new insights with a view to the subject.

## **2. Crosscutting Cleavages and Intersecting Social Circles**

The dissolution of traditional cleavages and of once clear-cut class barriers raises the question as to whether



there is an exchange of worldviews and identities across the porous structures of class and descent, and whether that exchange may trigger something like a shared consciousness among activists. A central contribution in that respect is the work by Stein Rokkan [10] on cleavage structures and on cross-cutting cleavages.<sup>1</sup> Cleavages relate to structure (economic and space-bound), to norms and values (ideology and attitudes), and to action and mobilization (behavior), but may also include things such as ethnic, political, religious, gender, and cultural divisions of society. Most of the time, they appear in form of peculiar combinations of these divisions with a tendency to overlap and reinforce each other. In cases where groups originally sharing postmaterialist values start intermingling with members of groups preferring traditional material ones, we have to do with a cross-cutting cleavage. When members of both groups remain within their original circumscriptions, we speak of reinforcing cleavages. Concerning the two groups under study, it could reasonably be argued that the latter was the dominant trend during much of the relatively stable growth period until about the early 1980s. Since about then, social, political, and cultural cleavages have become increasingly disintegrated with members of unions and movements alike developing identities and worldviews that tend to share the very same type of anxiety, insecurity, and anger about mutually felt threats of social relegation, political exclusion, and economic descent.

Another candidate possibly of help for shedding light on the intermingling of social positions, lifestyles, behavior, and values is Georg Simmel's work on concentric and on intersecting social circles [12, p. 125–195]. While "Rokkan's concept (...) relates structural tensions to networks, Simmel's idea (...) enables us to grasp the individualization process, but also to look at how memberships may recombine in different structural patterns" [3, p. 391]. Since it is not only perceptions and normative frames that are changing in strongly overlapping circles, but also the very nature of empirically observable social relations, such a combination may thereby help surmounting the structure-action dichotomy altogether.

### 3. Movements and Countermovements

The notion of countermovement had first been introduced by Karl Polanyi as early as in 1944 [9]. In "The Great Transformation", Polanyi sets out to describe transitions from one historical period to another thereby primarily focusing on the 19th century. In his understanding, the development of capitalism has been brought about by a double movement determining the relative extent of the embeddedness and disembeddedness of markets from social and institutional arrangements at different points in time. Turning to later events in the 1930s, Polanyi asserts that the collapse of the international economic system was a direct consequence of the attempt to organize the economy based on concepts of *laissez-faire* as taken from the British and Austrian schools of liberalism. Just as in the century before, the *laissez-faire* movement that aimed at discharging the market from governmental intervention, regulation, or other social restrictions, was subsequently attacked by a countermovement fighting in the interest of safeguarding the social and political rights and the privileges that it had obtained previously. The double movement meant the clash of two op-

posed and incompatible principles. On the one hand was the principle of the market, on the other hand was the desire of society to impose its values on the process of production and distribution.

The concept is particularly suited for the analysis of protest events and of large-scale mobilization precisely at a time when traditional trade union strongholds are dissolving while, at the same time, the defense of material interests is getting more and more a concern of larger parts of the population.

### 4. Forms of Critique

Many of the seemingly accurate dichotomies separating passions from interests, reinforcing from overlapping cleavages, concentric from intersecting social circles, and progressive from reactionary parts of the countermovement require further conceptual elaboration. There is, however, yet another meanwhile classical concept, and this really hits our analytic target. It is represented by Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello's [2] work on *The New Spirit of Capitalism*. Concerned with an analysis of the motives underlying the unforeseen coalescence of students and workers around the events of 1968 in France, the authors assert that at the bottom of these events have been different sources of indignation. Firstly, a demand for liberation, secondly, a rejection of inauthenticity, thirdly, a refusal of egoism, and finally, a response to suffering. The first pairing found its classic expression in bohemian milieu of the late nineteenth century and is called "artistic critique". The second pair has centrally been articulated by the traditional labor movement, and represents a form of "social critique". Comparing the fate of the two forms of critique in terms of their success over time, the authors find that the artistic critique as essentially represented by the student movement has accomplished more, albeit in a quite unanticipated way, than its equivalent on the part of the working class. Many of the demands advanced by the student in 68' such as, for instance, the types of expressive creativity, of fluid identity, of autonomy and of self-development, all of which directed against the constraints of bureaucratic discipline, bourgeois hypocrisy and consumer conformity, have over time been absorbed by the logics of capitalist production and management, namely in form of flexible labor systems, sub-contracting, team working, multitasking and multi-skilling, flat management and all the other features of a so-called lean capitalism or post-Fordism. Albeit social critique has been successful in achieving important workplace-related rights and regulations, much of these have subsequently been disbanded during the triumphal swing towards neoliberalism setting in from about the mid-1970s.

As with the other dichotomies referred to in the previous sections, the question is whether the present period of crisis and decline still justifies the neat distinction between two radically opposed forms of critique. Notwithstanding their previous arguments about the irreconcilability of form and content, Boltanski and Chiapello [2, p. 468] are not completely pessimistic in that respect: "(...) the artistic critique should (...) take the time to reformulate the issues of liberation and authenticity, starting from the new forms of oppression it unwittingly helped to make possible" [2, p. 469]. This would bring it closer to the social critique. Indeed, the new forms of oppression may be such that artistic

<sup>1</sup> Rokkan S. *Citizens, Elections, Parties*. Oslo : Univ. Press, 1970.

critique, although not completely void of its *raison d'être*, does not play the role anymore it has played three or four decades ago. Most types of despair, of individualization, of exclusion, of isolation, of impotence and abandonment have their origin in socio-economic rather than in primarily cultural or political forms of oppression. So-called main and side contradictions of capitalism are today less easy to distinguish when it comes to real life situations.

So far, this paper has not been concerned with the issue of organization. In what follows, some remarks will be made with respect to the relevance of organization for the forthcoming of boundary-spanning alliances and networks.

### 5. The Organization of Interests

It is important to consider the differences between free-floating motives (wishes, wants, desires, concerns or, indeed, passions) on the one hand, and those more material interests that ultimately becoming relevant on the political market place. These latter shall tentatively be called “politically substantial interests”. In real life, only collectively expressed concerns have a chance to be heard, especially if brought forward by powerful organizations. The more professionalized the expression and the more precise the articulation, the higher the probability of receiving attention. At the same time, the more realistic – i.e. system conforming – the form and content, the higher the chances to be tradable on the political market. While both movements and unions promote and expose such concerns in a roughly similar way, we know little about the mechanisms that transform initially amorphous passions into such substantial interests. Interests are anything but social givens. What an interest is, or should be, is most of the time determined by a professionalized bureaucracy of interest entrepreneurs. In case of formal organizations such as trade unions or business associations, the search for and, indeed, the definition of interests is a complicated and partly troublesome process of transformation. Making use of the image of a funnel, Philippe Schmitter [11] has developed an intriguing model exhibiting the main ingredients of that process.

Imagine a funnel delimited by an opening at the top receiving a virtually unlimited variety of the most different individual needs affecting all members of society. The width of the funnel would get increasingly reduced, with several bottlenecks in between, while ending in form of a rather narrow outflow pipe. Traversing the funnel, the original needs, wants, wishes, passions, etc. poured into it at the top thus are becoming substantially reduced both in number and in quality. “Of all the needs which could potentially become interests, some are selected in and others are shoved out. The same is true at each ‘conversion point’ (...) until only a few privileged [of them] emerge from the mouth of the funnel to be actively defended or promoted (...). Along the way, a great many [of them] are lost or are frustrated” [11, p. 302]. The leaks positioned at each bottleneck may be narrower or wider, so that some specific wants, wishes and passions find it more difficult than others continuing their passage to the bottom. Which of them manages to pass through, and which are eliminated from the funnel is determined by deliberate choices in favor of exit, by power, distortion and concealment from the part of the organizational leadership, or by the actions and efforts of outside supporters or opponents. In any case, what is certainly the case for

most formal interest associations and, hence, also for trade unions, “(...) the politics of interest tend to be intrinsically conservative” [11, p. 302]. They exclude a vast number of potential needs that lack sufficient identifiability, feasibility, consciousness, salience, justifiability, resourcefulness, etc.

The question then is what happens to the funnel in the cases of social movements and of more encompassing outlets for collective action. What about needs, wishes, and passions when structural configurations are less professionalized, when mechanisms of selection are less developed, and when individuals are less prepared to forego their original motives when joining associative forms of action? For cases like this, Schmitter suggests the form of a tube. In a tube-like configuration, a whole range of conceivable needs would in theory be collectively elaborated, freely articulated, and rightfully satisfied. This, obviously, would come up against borders because many of them would either be incompatible or jointly unrealizable. For our purposes, the only way of circumventing the problem of incompatibility then is to redefine needs in a way such that they become both at the same time – less comprehensive at the funnel’s mouth, and sufficiently specific at its lower end.

### 6. The Politics of Vital Interests

One of the most urgent analytical tasks ahead, then, would be to address the needs of those being subject to precarious life and to forms of exclusion of various sorts. One possible strategy would be to take the virtually unlimited amount of societal needs, reduce them in number, line out the qualifying properties of this smaller fraction, and look for eventual mechanisms capable of transforming them into political platforms and common agendas. They would thereby make the transition of becoming “substantial interests” in the sense above, and would be more easily recognizable by the larger public, the media, and, not least, by politics. We suggest calling that reduced number of needs a “vital need” or the need to survive. Vital needs are both at the same time – less extravagant and idiosyncratic than the ones having guided much of social movement research in the past, but also more encompassing than just advancing particularistic demands as practiced by many unions and defenders of work-place related issues. At the same time, vital needs are also more specific than the myriad of motives feeding Schmitter’s funnel of interest politics. In any case, both the theoretical and the practical implications considering the emergence of such boundary-spanning forms of collective action are still awaiting their birth.

Notwithstanding the achievements of late capitalism in terms of growth rates and the creation of wealth, vital needs are today back on the agenda. They are still awaiting both a more precise definition and, not least, actors prepared to grab them and making them become the sort of jointly elaborated interests and powerful demands a countermovement would need to justify being given that name. Not least due to the historical success of trade union mobilization, vital needs have fallen by the wayside, either because not considered necessary or profitable anymore at all, or because of the conviction that most of them have become satisfied anyway. Returning to the funnel image above, they may equally have leaked through the bottlenecks of the unions’ internal filtering mechanism because of individual exit of members, or because of intervention from the part of a con-

servative and primarily inward-looking union leadership. It would now seem to be time to rediscover them again and make them become an essential part of the union's agenda.

Overall, what this paper has been trying to argue is, firstly, that the study of joint collective action by trade unions, social movements – and by actors not considered here – can impossibly proceed by sticking to the types of dichotomies having been the norm in the fields of labor and movement research. Secondly, the specific forms and contents of the needs that have been given the label of “vital” have found their objective social base in the precariat that is constantly growing in importance. Thirdly, the satisfaction of vital needs and the definition of vital interests, understood as a consciously and repeatedly reflected menu of aims and demands, comprises passions and interests, artistic and social forms of critique, as much as material and immaterial concerns. It develops in constant encounters with members of different groups that transcend the boundaries of traditional cleavages, form intersecting social circles and eventually assume the quality of a veritable countermovement directed against further liberalization and democratic decline.

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A. A. Guseynov<sup>1</sup>

## LOOKING FOR THE FUTURE

The Likhachov Scientific Conference has been addressing the topic of the future for the third year in a row. Taking into account the fact that hundreds of humanities scholars from various fields of knowledge and different countries assemble for the Conference, this concentration as such can be considered a symptom of the future becoming a challenge, the source of pain not letting a contemporary individual and his social system up.

### 1

In 2017, in my report *The Future with No Future*, I tried to offer my diagnosis, the essence of which in the updated and corrected variant can be summed up as the following theses:

– it's necessary to distinguish the future as an aspect of physical time from the future as a social (historical) category, in the second case it includes not the whole formal aggregate of events taking place after the moment from which calculations are made and which is specified as the present, but only those of them that are the negation of the present

<sup>1</sup> Principal Adviser for Academic Affairs of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, full member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor. Author of over 500 scientific publications, including books: “The social nature of morality”, “The Golden Rule of morality”, “Great moralists”, “Language and conscience”, “Philosophy, morality, politics”, “Ancient Ethics”, “Negative ethics”, “The great prophets and thinkers. Moral teachings from Moses to the present day”. Managing editor of the year book “Ethical Thought”, the journal “Social Science” (in English), the member of the editorial boards of the journals “Philosophical Sciences”, “Problems of Philosophy”. Vice-president of the Russian Philosophical Society. Laureate of the State Award of the Russian Federation in the field of science and technology. Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.

by their content and value-load, its qualitative transformation;

– the social future is not something real, something hidden from us and looming in front condition, which we want to achieve, it exists only in the modus of a possibility, not in the sense that it can be various, it is itself only an opportunity, there is none of it in isolation from the subjects whose future it is, and exists only in the form of their expectations, active aspirations and goals to the extent in which the latter express their dissatisfaction with the present and go beyond its borders;

– the focus in social time is not a permanent feature of human societies (prehistoric ages, when there was no such focus, lasted much longer than historical time periods), and aiming at the future is a recent acquisition – a feature of the new European civilization developing under the sign of progress and understanding the future not only as what comes after what there is but also what should without fail be different, principally better than it;

– the idea of progress, specified as a democratic restructuring of the society, belief in the power of the mind and world-transforming role of technology, was the main spiritual force that drove people in their fight against the class and feudal state system, for achievements in science, culture, technologies, civil life practice, human development that in aggregate make what is called capitalist (Western) civilization;

– the state of affairs changed when capitalism won, and the issue of progress, social future became the issue of the future of capitalism itself: the idea of progress split into two

lines – guarding and evolutionary proceeding from the conviction that capitalism has unlimited possibilities for evolution on its own basis, as well as revolutionary and critical aimed at overthrowing capitalism in favour of communist brotherhood of all people and nations;

– ideological confrontation in relation to the future of capitalism after the Russian revolution of 1917 won and building the socialist society without private property and market economy originally in the form of one state (USSR) and after World War II a whole number of states from the socialist bloc, took the form of an open struggle of two systems that was the struggle of two lines of social development. One of them was aimed at continuing history in the direction of just life arrangement, the second proceeded from its principal completeness at the bourgeois and democratic peak. The victory of capitalism (no matter how it is called – late capitalism, information society, postindustrial society, etc.) in this struggle brought it the guaranteed future as the main trophy. This future is understood as prolongation of the present, though regularly improved but unchangeable in its basic principles, in a nutshell, the future with no future as physical duration, as “after” but not a qualitative change, not as “another”, was interpreted and fixed in public consciousness of victors as proof of falseness of the very ideas about the ideal society.

## 2

There is a lot of evidence that ideas of the social future have lost the power of driving motives for societal development. The age of unions and confrontations of social movements and states based of the difference of ideologies, social arrangements and declared historical aims is gone (or ending). Poorly camouflaged strictly pragmatic interests of certain states and their pragmatic to the same extent unions have come to the foreground. The subject of the argument in the global “championship” of states, countries and nations is not projects for common historical development of the mankind but various cultural and civilization identities. Geopolitical differences prevail over social ones. The place of one historical truth was taken by many truths from various cultures. Division into “us” and “them” turns out to be incomparably more important than division according to the criterion of justice.

The very focus of public consciousness changes from social time to geopolitical space. Respectively, ideas of a more perfect future lose their socially motivating role and give way to the striving to get settled in the present according to the proverb: half a loaf is better than no bread. People are more concentrated on the past and arguments about it than the future, they more eagerly single one what distinguishes their culture from other cultures than what unites it with them. Interest to religious and other mystic ideas taking the issue of the future beyond life in this world, has grown considerably. The curtailment of public consciousness is found not only in thematic priorities and propagandist emphasis of people serving the sector of ideology, it has also become a daily factor. This is expressed, for example, in changing the generally accepted canon of human expectations and goals, evidently becoming pragmatically reduced and privately focused. Surely, some common goals and strategic plans are articulated at the national level, they have some administrative and other meaning in the manage-

rial process, however, they have no individual meaning and do not take an important place in the system of value priorities people are guided by in their behaviour.

And these goals and plans as such, being pragmatically focused (close-looped on the electoral cycle and other aspects of political situation), do not suppose such immediate lively response. For example, in May 2018, the President of the Russian Federation set the task to become one of the five leading global economies by 2024. It is an important task, directly tied with the future of the country. But it's very difficult to imagine a real inter-individual situation (a meeting of friends, table talk, spontaneous argument, parents talking, etc.) when people could start discussing that. It's impossible to imagine it even as a joke or an amusing story, keeping in mind that this is not the first time-limit set for this goal.

There is an impression that focusing on the historical future, ideal restructuring of the society disappears from the public consciousness of modern developed and emerging countries (shifting to the periphery). The historical (social) future mergers with the physical future and performs as the going on present. This change is of a fundamental character, it means a principally new way of human being. It is generated by various factors and has contradictory consequences, not only negative. In particular, it also certifies the high level of intellectual and social maturity of a contemporary man.

The comprehension of the fact that the historical future can't be cognized stands behind it, achieved through suffering and tragic experience. And not only because it does not exist as some condition and it can't be the object of cognition, it is stated, created by activities of people, moreover, activities of practically infinite numbers of them that the obtained aggregate result turns out to be their unpredictable resultant force. The future of the society can't be cognized not only on the whole but also in individuals and separate events. It can't be predicted or foreseen either with precision that could be at least approximately scientifically acceptable (this is one of the reasons why various kinds of fortunetelling on stars, coffee grounds, bird flights and cries, palmistry, spodomancy and other nonsense stay so popular). And as L.N. Tolstoy wrote, “It's not enough that people are not given the knowledge as to what form the future life of the society will take: people feel bad because they think that they can know it.”<sup>1</sup> A false though tempting goal of the wonderful future becomes the source of unproductive use of social energy. Besides, as a rule, it serves as justification of excessive cruelties and vain sacrifices: appealing to the happy future is one of the most favourite arguments to which advocates of wars and other forms of state violence refer to. Combination of one and the other leads to the so-called cognition or foreseeing the future becoming an ideologue that most often turns into its opposite. A vivid illustration of it is literary utopias from which the New Times started, turning into real anti-utopias of the 20th century.

Refusal from the future as some more or less but always uncertain far-off in time condition of the society does not necessarily mean a kind of escapism, asceticism or any other beyond-the-social, anti-social position. This can be a fairly active and to a highest extent realistic position in relation to the future, understanding it as what it really is –

<sup>1</sup> Tolstoy L. N. About the Importance of the Russian Revolution // Complete Works in 90 volumes. Vol. 36. Moscow : Goslitizdat, 1936. P. 352.

some state that will come after the present. Because of that the attitude to it is the transformed (indirect) form of the attitude to the present, expression of the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with it, first of all, the degree of criticality in relation to the present. An individual does not know the future, he can deceive himself or be deceived by the others as to what it will be, but he knows, he knows well and definitely what it should not be, he knows what is unacceptable for him in the present and what he does not want to see under no circumstances reproduced in time. And this knowledge has a direct impact on the degree, character and focus of his social activities, his thoughts and actions, being a form of his current active state, it is at the same time his actual attitude to the future, his working for the future. For example, there may be different images of the future but in all cases not a single sensible man at the modern level of humanitarian consciousness, will agree to include violence and wars in it as a norm. Even those who justify these barbarian forms of relations between people, referring to their necessity as the condition for struggle for the just future, do that deceiving themselves that this is done as if for such a future, in which there will be no violence and wars. The most cruel and inhuman wars as both world wars in the 20th century were, were waged under a false conviction that each of them was the last one.

### 3

Now, it is possible to see a new structure of responsibility behind the loss of historical perspective as the dominant of public consciousness. Individual and moral responsibility is dominating in this structure over social and functional responsibility, and is being primary in relation to it. It means that an individual realizes himself as a creature with the mind and will, he realizes his aiming at perfection, at ideal completeness, within the framework of responsible existence that surely includes social (material) responsibility as well, but as a secondary attached aspect. It means that when acting, performing some or the other social function, an individual does not act anonymously but personally, not on behalf of the function but on his behalf.

Any social action is the action of this certain individual. There is always a live soul behind it, not only in the sense that without it, a live soul, without its decision and decisiveness to do this it's impossible to act, the action would not have taken place – this action done by the individual, no matter how much conditioned it is from the outside, is his subjective act, his decision and it becomes a moment in the history of his soul. In his time (in 1902), Leo Tolstoy wrote a letter to Tsar Nicholas II addressing him with the words "Beloved brother!". The meaning was as follows: "No matter how great your responsibility is during the years of your reign, when you can do a lot of good things and a lot of evil things, your responsibility to God for your life here is even bigger, your eternal life depends on it and it was given to you by God not to sanction all kinds of evil deeds or participate in them and allow them, but do His will. And His will is to do not evil but good to people."<sup>1</sup> This unbelievable letter, which at first sight seems even an exceptional case, is interesting because Tolstoy, with an ultimate case as an example, bares in it a certain, individually responsible logic

of human existence: even an autocrat, who alone personifies the state, acts as an individual, he can't justify his cruelty and other evil deeds, camouflaging them as the good for the state, society, history, motherland and other anonymous ideas and notions deprived of independent subjectivity. Surely, refusal from hypnosis of the future does not necessarily lead to individually responsible social behaviour, it may combine with consumerism, cynicism, other forms of egoism, however, in contrast to the latter that can fairly well take place also within the framework of deceitful and demagogic attitude to the future, individually responsible social behaviour is directly connected with such refusal.

In a nutshell, if striving for the ideal, for perfection can't be realized as a sociological project and, if addressed to the future, disorients human behaviour, there is no obstacle to it to be individual life programs of certain individuals showing themselves in the world as sovereign autonomous persons.

In this connection – several words about digitalization that is in fashion now. It is thought that storage and transfer of information based on artificial intelligence in a digital form opens unbelievable technological prospects allowing to control and infinitely expand human capabilities in all fields of human vital activities. They are speaking about transfer of all technology of life to smart machines, complete and even many times more perfect replacement of a man performing his physical and mental (intellectual) functions. The range of human freedom expands principally, the Internet allows an individual to overcome physical attachment to space and time as well as be included in network communities, directly realizing his social preferences. Digitalization can be viewed as a technical basis for individualization of social life, when an individual can't be lost in a crowd, hide his social face in anonymousness of a historical event and when, on the other hand, he, being alone (e.g. in his country house) can be in the center of events (e.g. listen to a colleague's report in the other end of the globe or take part in a civil action).

However, digitalization is not only inspiring opportunities but ominous dangers as well. As academician V.A. Lelekovskiy<sup>2</sup> mentions, it means challenge and threat to the basic conditions of human existence. Prospects tied with prolongation of physical existence up to bringing into life the idea of immortality threaten with the loss of human identity, man's transfer into a different, not human condition. Possibilities of thought-reading by way of direct information reading from neurodynamic codes of the brain threaten with total control over behaviour. The border between private and public space is already being blurred now, as a result of which privacy is under a threat. It's an evident fact that technology development is connected with development of dangers coming from it. The critical point was achieved by creation of nuclear weapons that put the humankind on the edge of self-destruction. New technologies, as far as they can be judged, still more evidently emphasize the critical stage when dangers associated with them make

<sup>1</sup> Tolstoy L. N. Letter to Nicholas the Second // Complete Works in 90 volumes. Vol. 73. Moscow : Goslitizdat, 1954. P. 190.

<sup>2</sup> He writes in his paper "Are Sciences of Man Possible?": "New circumstances are becoming clearer and clearer: modern sciences of man can create a principally different human development level but they under certain circumstances can be used for degrading a man, his dehumanization – in this case it will turn out that exactly development of sciences of man will lead to disappearance, death of a human being in the usual for us sense." (See: Philosophical Issues. 2015. No 5. URL: [http://vphil.ru/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1153&Itemid=52](http://vphil.ru/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1153&Itemid=52).)

their positive results senseless because of the scales and irreversibility.

It is characteristic of humans to risk, to play with fire (according to Russian poet A.S. Pushkin, “everything, everything that threatens death, is fraught with unexplainable pleasures for a mortal’s heart...”), there is a striving in human nature to reign over the world (according to Russian poet M.Yu. Lermontov, “I’m the tsar of cognition and freedom”), be its center, look at it with God’s eyes. After all, all culture is the tireless and comprehensive experience of taming nature, controlling it. Because of that the process of technological progress, increasing technological power and human productive capabilities up to the aspiration to surmount oneself, should be accepted if not as a benefit, then as a fact. It seems that the only way to oppose this humankind’s movement towards its death is advancement of the old and development of some new safety mechanisms capable to block, relieve or smooth dangers brought by progress.

All good things have something evil in them. One can’t exist without the other. However, it’s important for them to preserve different meanings and for relations between them to be unidirectional, in order for the evil not to acquire independence, staying dependent on the good, its expression and supplement. That, unfortunately, does not always happen, the evil can tear its umbilical cord tying it to the good, lay claims to be equivalent with it. This refers to social experience as much as to individual experience. It’s like imperfections and flaws in an individual that can be and most often are the continuation of his merits and virtues, but sometimes they are independent traits of character as a result of which this individual himself becomes the victim of his character. The same is in the society where flaws that inevitably accompany achievements (e.g. unemployment accompanying market economy) are tied with them so inseparably that achievements as such would be impossible without them. But at the same time, some social flaws do not have direct connection with achievements (e.g. slave trade in today’s world) and represent the evil as such. Social mechanisms called to restrain, clean, eliminate the evil in the society should take into account the character and scales of the evil, first of all the said difference between the evil accompanying the good and because of that tolerable, susceptible to softening, and “autonomous” evil opposing the good as an independent force and challenging it.

If you take the general approach to fighting the socially dangerous evil, practiced in contemporary societies, it is based on two principles: a) conviction that well-being of the society (state, nation, future, etc.) is more important than well-being of individuals, and b) assuredness that it is necessary to separate the wheat from the chaff and reject individuals being a threat to the society (state) and create such outside socioeconomic, political, legal and other conditions and limitations that could restrain negative actions of individuals and their groups at the level acceptable for reproduction and development of the society. Such an approach was effective while the evil in the society was not of the absolute character and was not able to threaten the existence of the society as such, especially existence of the humankind and all life on Earth. Currently, the state of affairs changed and such potentially absolute (absolutely unacceptable) evil manifested itself. Nuclear weapons are the most striking but not the only example of technological “progress”, containing a possibility of the evil capable

to destroy all achievements of culture and civilization, even all life on Earth.

The most important is that such an evil with its irreversible, deadly for the humankind and life on Earth consequences can be launched by certain individuals. If in the past possibilities of evil deeds by certain individuals (the so-called evil genii, be it at the criminal or state level) were technically limited, now they are technically possible. It means that it’s impossible to oppose such evil without refusing from the dominant false views as if well-being of the society is more important than well-being of individuals, and people’s actions can be assuredly taken under outside control. The whole history of the humankind undoubtedly shows and proves that the evil was very often and on giant scales done under the camouflage and in the name of common well-being and that it is not possible to fully control people’s actions from the outside even when they are brought down to the slave level of speaking weapons. Sure, not everything done under the banner of common well-being is evil, but in the case that is of interest to us, it’s enough that the evil is also fairly capable to camouflage with the help of it. We can even say: it’s not necessary for the good to appeal to common well-being, and the evil can’t do without it. For example, why can’t there be a fanatic thinking that burning in the global fire will be a real benefit for the humankind?! As for a possibility of a continuous (lacunae free) outside determination of individuals’ decisions and actions, the argument that it is excluded by the idea of free will is enough. And if our fanatic gets an opportunity to realize his insane idea, what can stop him from doing it?!

A new humanitarian turn based on principally other principles can be an adequate answer to global dangers, potentially embedded in abuse of unlimited opportunities provided by technological progress. They are: a) individual well-being is more important than well-being of all, b) personal (moral) responsibility is more important than social (functional) responsibility. We’re speaking about the fundamental change of moral bases of people’s cohabitation, proceeding from the fact that people are not in command of people and the society does not dominate over individuals, binding and holding them by outside hoops of laws, borders, ideologies, norms, authorities, heroes, etc. and is an expression and consequence of free development of each of them.

If we speak about real prophecies for such a change, they are unfortunately painfully few, but they do exist. We can mention teachings and practices (Tolstoy’s and his followers’ nonresistance to the evil by force, non-violent social and political movements led by Gandhi and King, other non-violent tests) of radical (not allowing any exceptions) refusal from violence as means of resolving conflicts, including, first of all, as means of fighting for justice. We can also refer to the complex, contradictory but nevertheless absolutely definite in its prevailing trend and opening new humanitarian prospects ethical and legal practice of human rights.

The world with no wars or violence, no armed detachments protecting “sacred” borders and privileges, in which individual responsibility and individual development of everyone are the basis and condition for development of all, is perceived by a modern man and canonized humanitarian knowledge at best as an unattainable utopia. It seems

utopian and is utopian from the perspective of today's world which it rejects. And an individual in today's world, not imagining his life and well-being without basing on violence, can't think differently. However, this utopia is realistic, realistic to the highest degree because exclusively the reasonable will is its basis and guarantee, and because it is the

only chance for human self-preservation as a sensible being and the humankind as a sensibly organized community. And originating new technological opportunities, with digitalization being the impressive manifestation of them, allow to suppose that this utopia is realistic from the technological perspective as well.

G. A. Hajiyev<sup>1</sup>

## HAMLET'S PROPHECY, KANT'S PROJECT FOR PERPETUAL PEACE AND THE MAIN MYSTERY OF WORLD HISTORY

1. The world-known symbol of power-loving self-destruction – Hamlet – says a fascinating sentence, the meaning of which (when translated into Russian by B. Pasternak) is that violence ends in violence.

Danish historian and author of the 12th century Saxo Grammaticus and English chronicler Raphael Holinshed, to whose research William Shakespeare addressed when writing his Hamlet, had pointed to the fact that the Shakespeare's character was first of all known as a murderer and not a reflecting young thinker. Yes, he murdered Polonius, he poisoned Rosencrantz and Guildenstern. But Shakespeare turns this historical truth into the eternal ethic issue of self-destruction by power-loving. Hamlet interpreted by Lev Dodin comes down to the cruel principle: "violence always forms a locked bloody circle, and to get out of it is only possible by dying".

2. The bloody circle of violence – bellum omnium contra omnes – is a notion of Thomas Hobbes social philosophy and it continues Hamlet's prophesy. All people are equal in the so-called natural pre-law condition and each one is guided by his/her passions. And as individuals are selfish, the strongest passions are lust for power, richness and pleasures. The principle of human behaviour in a "natural state" is absolutely simple: an individual engages in a series of conflicts. That's "the war of all against all". It's well-known that Hobbes philosophically reflects about the English Civil War in his *Leviathan*.

Several centuries later, the great Kant's project for perpetual peace between states appeared. It did not originate at once – at first Kant thought that war was one of the mind's tricks that directed disagreements between states to the mankind's benefit. But by the time his philosophical sketch *Perpetual Peace* (1775) was written, Kant already thought that practical mind consisted of striving for peace. When he used the term of a war of annihilation, he in essence foresaw the risks of a modern war that could allow to establish perpetual peace only on the great cemetery of the mankind.

Only law allows to avoid such prospects, it creates rules in accordance with which military conflicts are becoming impossible because the grounds for them are liquidated.

Great moralist Kant like other moralists truly believed that his program "for perpetual peace" could be realized. And academician A.A. Guseynov proved that civilization development did not go along the way pointed out by the great moralists, and their normative and ethic programs were most often not brought into life. One can think that in order to justify their activities Abdusalim Abdulkerimovich writes that "the exalted message of moralists was the salvatory counterbalance for civilization's material striving" (*Guseynov A. A. The Great Moralists. Moscow, 1995. P. 263*). One can find a deep thought in this apologetics: it's already good that there are moralists, that their warning voices caution against risks of going wild. But at the same time, he, Guseynov, as it seems to me, hints at the eternal principle of discrepancy between the Platonic world of ideas and material interests of nations.

After a century and a half after Kant's project, Proudhon again explained the phenomenon of war and peace as two inevitable human functions that alternate in history as vigil and sleep alternate in human life. Because of that war is a common and nearly productive issue in case of Proudhon, who had lived in the time of revolution and war.

In the early 21st century, a new cycle began in the global world order, a "hegemonic power" and "Europe's opportunistic adaptation to it" originated (Jurgen Habermas).

The further displacement of the World's crust (as the state of affairs replacing the state of war) again split the West and the East as if to prove that Rudyard Kipling was right – "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet".

Is civilization really doomed to such a development model that can be described by V.I. Lenin's famous words: "One step forward, two steps back"?

3. The statement that universal and permanent moral values are the nucleus of human culture and thus the core of civilization, is unquestionable for me. They are as eternal and universal as natural rights.

Any world order model – i.e. the global world – inevitably needs a moral and ethic basis created by the whole humankind. The Rule of Reciprocity as the principle of international law follows from a more general principle of states' sovereign equality.

The genealogy of the Rule of Reciprocity shows its sources, and this is an old social norm according to which if someone does something for you, you'll feel yourself

<sup>1</sup> Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor, Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation. Author of more than 270 scientific publications, including monographs and textbooks: "Protection of the Basic Economic Rights and Freedoms of Entrepreneurs Abroad and in the Russian Federation: An Attempt at Comparative Analysis", "Entrepreneur, Taxpayer, State: Legal Positions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation", "Constitutional Principles of Market Economy", "Constitutional Economics", "Ontology of Law (A Critical Study of the Legal Concept of Reality)", "The Russian Judicial Power: Modern State and Prospects" (coauthor), "Law and Economics (Methodology)", etc. Member of the Editorial Boards of 12 scientific journals. Member of the Russian Presidential Council for the Improvement of Civil Legislation. Awarded the Certificate of Honor of the President of the Russian Federation. Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.

obliged to do something in return for them. The Rule of Reciprocity, the ethics of reciprocity, or the “golden rule” has become one of the most important social rules brought into life by all world religions: “Do for other people everything you want them to do to you”. This Rule turned out to be the meeting place for various fields of knowledge – philosophy, theology, sociology, jurisprudence. There is no doubt that the Rule of Reciprocity is currently an acknowledged by everyone part of the common legacy of human wisdom, this idea coincides in all theological systems of knowledge.

The reciprocity principle has grown out of the seed – the Ancient Roman law formula: *do ut des* (I give so that you give back to me), and this is the oldest legal norm describing the experience of primitive economic turnover. Law started from comprehending the essence of exchange operations. Setting prices, measuring values – all that meant to exchange. And as Friedrich Nietzsche wrote in *On the Genealogy of Morality*, this real process occupied the conscience of an ancient man to such extent that, in a sense, originally the forms of legal thinking turned out to be appendages of exchange operations. And proceeding from this embryonic state of the originating law, the maturing feeling and notions of debt, measure and later agreement with its reciprocity led not only to Aristotle’s understanding of reciprocity but also predetermined the modern juridical concept.

Disharmony, disturbance of balance of interests in an exchange, as a rule, are the consequences of human passions (desire to get some values without any grounds for that). The victim has to react, and thus the striving for retribution appears. That’s how Plato describes the reasons of conflicts in *The Republic*. His version of solving the problem of civil peace and harmony seems naïve today. Plato offered to give the state power to philosophers who, obsessed by the idea of good, should restrain human passions.

The idea of good was taken up by Christianity calling to make love to one’s fellow man equal to love to oneself. The idea of good “grew up” in L.I. Petrazycki’s teaching. Professor Petrazycki in *Lehre vom Einkommen*, first published in German in 1895, discussed various thoughts about material wealth and benefits distribution in the society, and put forward the idea about importance of love to fellow humans, compatriots and contemporaries.

At the same time, the outstanding Russian theoretician of law meant active force under love, distinguished by regularly growing intensity. In his opinion, love could be institutionalized as views and attitudes, instincts and even establishments. He thought that in case of careful studies of the whole “social edifice” one could come to the conclusion that its whole foundation, principles were none other than crystallization of institutions formed under a long impact of love and mind. At the same time, two of these bases – love and mind – transfer into one another. Love and mind are constantly fighting selfishness that is a hindrance for both harmony in inter-human relations and reasonable construction of social life.

Proceeding from this reasoning, one can suggest that love and selfishness are a permanent struggle of opposites, at the same time both these bases have social usefulness as competition between them generates harmony, balance in the form of public order. Reduction of conflict area is the essence of the common good.

The most important common good, if we judge by the text of the Russian Constitution, is accord, peace, minimal social conflicts. It is said in the third line of the preamble to it that the multinational people of the Russian Federation establish human rights and freedoms, civil peace and accord in their land.

Kant viewed morals and law as manifestation of the natural practical mind. Thus, his views of overcoming conflicts do not much differ from Plato’s idea: there is no big difference between who should rule, either philosophers or the practical mind (morals and law).

Are there approaches outdated – Plato’s, Kant’s... and so on down the list? I think that they were tried and tested in the furnace of time. The global world still has two poles – passionate desires (economic interests, desire to make someone happy forcefully, etc.) and mind. Mind supposes balance, containment.

“Hegemonic powers” with numerous satellite countries in global politics do not much differ from the classical empire model. They make up the world order project that was named “the order of big spaces” by Carl Schmitt in the second half of the 20th century. Already not sovereign states engage in world order in this project but “sovereign spaces”, on the territory of which dependent nations and people obey the authority of the “born to rule” nation that acquired its dominance thanks its historical achievements in economy. The “big spaces” as such in Schmitt’s project are given connotations associated with the idea of eternal “struggle of cultures / ideologies”.

“Hegemonic powers” as Jurgen Habermas writes, are capable of self-affirmation and “radiation”. They form the big space’s identity with the help of their political values. One cannot but agree with C. Schmitt that the new world order consisting of “big sovereign spaces” can be held up by exclusively “equality of powers” and not ideas of abstract justice.

Carl Schmitt’s project takes into account all the time increasing skepticism as to a possibility of intercultural coordination of universally acceptable treatments of human rights and democracy.

So, philosophical world order projects still compete with one another. On the one hand, there are great thinkers Plato, Kant, who believed in perpetual peace between nations, and skeptical philosophers on the other hand. Sure, Proudhon, Carl Schmitt and Jurgen Habermas can be referred to them for the purpose of discussion.

The first believed that perpetual peace between nations had a platform in the form of common moral and ethic principles. The second, on the contrary, using the main political events of the 20th and 21st centuries as empirical footholds, focus on cultural relativism, variance of moral and legal principles in different “big spaces” – West European, Eurasian, Asian, they focus on the “struggle of cultures”, identity on its new scales going beyond one nation.

There is only one thing staying the same – the main mystery of history: will skeptics or romanticists be right?

The first are winning for the time being at the perception level, the feeling originates because political cynicism starts calling the shots. The social environment reminds the one described by Anatoly Mariengof in *Cynics*. On the whole, this is an oppressive environment usually setting up when previous systems of values are destroyed, and dust and suspended matter prevent from seeing what new values will come to replace them.



V. Ingimundarson<sup>1</sup>

## THE “POPULIST MOMENT” AND THE LIBERAL (DIS-) ORDER

## Introduction

In the debate over the rise of the populist Right, the phenomenon has not only been characterized as having been born out of historical fascism<sup>2</sup> or as a reaction to contemporary cultural anxieties and social insecurities generated by globalized neo-liberal agendas.<sup>3</sup> It has also been viewed as a systemic corrective of a politics that has become too distant from the people<sup>4</sup> – or in Cas Mudde’s words, “il-liberal democratic response to undemocratic liberalism.”<sup>5</sup> Given these conflicting interpretations, it is not surprising that populism, with its anti-establishment stance, is sometimes described as holding both a hostile and friendly relationship with democracy.<sup>6</sup> Exclusivist notions of what constitutes the demos have been juxtaposed against those that highlight the redemptive potential of democracy, whereby “the people” should decide their own future through a direct expression of their sovereign will.<sup>7</sup> The association of the Radical Right with populism<sup>8</sup> – which has distinct left-wing historical trajectories of its own – is another complicating factor. Some scholars, such as Mudde and Christóbal Kaltwasser, argue that populism represents a “thin ideology”<sup>9</sup> –

a concept borrowed from Michael Freeden – affiliated with a “host ideology,” which can be situated either on the Left and Right. Such a malleable definition, which suggests an organized, if fleeting, response to different political conditions, runs the risks of stripping the concept of historical dimensions and conceptual genealogies.<sup>10</sup> Since left-wing and right-wing forms of populism are often antithetical, their conflation leaves out crucial ideological distinctions. The radical Left’s critique of social inequalities and of the identification of liberalism with democracy is certainly based on anti-elitist discourses.<sup>11</sup> But while the far-right’s criticism of elites in the name of the people can, in part, be seen as a reaction to anti-democratic technocracy, it is more about anti-politics based on ethno-nationalism and social and cultural conservatism. For this reason, some scholars, such as Jacques Rancière, are reluctant to use the populist label on the grounds that it blends critical left-wing appraisals of neoliberalism with right-wing racist traditions.<sup>12</sup> To him, the moralistic denunciation of populism in all its formations boils down to an elitist attempt to downplay popular democratic expressions. Given the widespread use of the term, it may be futile to discard it. Yet, the lack of definitional rigor is a constant reminder, not only to take into account the ambivalent history of populism as a political category but also how it has been practiced.

In this paper, I explore European right-wing populism – as an ideology and party formation – through a transnational and comparative lens. Historically, the populist Right should be seen as part of a tradition that dates back to the two World Wars and the Cold War period.<sup>13</sup> Rooted in different political milieus<sup>14</sup> – whether as part of “legacy fascism,” neo-fascism or neo-liberal anti-tax revolts – it has taken on several forms.<sup>15</sup> I argue here that there are functional links between the contemporary and interwar Radical Right.<sup>16</sup> Despite their different position toward liberal democracy – with the former accepting it and the latter rejecting it – they share anti-elitist, ethno-nationalist and traditionalist social and cultural agendas. More important, however, is their behavior within political systems. While the populists do not use violence, as the fascists did, they are willing to forge alliances with conservative elites to satisfy their power and government aspirations.<sup>17</sup>

I also seek to show that the party platforms of European Radical Right – except for those that are overtly associated with fascist roots or ideology, such as the Golden Dawn in Greece – possess common characteristics, which not only underscore their transnational reach but also their identification with a generic party family. This is particularly reflect-

<sup>1</sup> Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Iceland (Reykjavík), Chair of the Board of the EDDA Center of Excellence, Associate Fellow at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence and Security in London, Visiting Professor/Researcher at the London School of Economics, l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris, Freie Universität in Berlin, and Shanghai Institutes for International Studies, Ph. D. Author of more than 50 scientific publications, including the following monographs “The Rebellious Ally: Iceland, the United States, and the Politics of Empire, 1945–2006”, “Geopolitics of Arctic Natural Resources”, “Topography of Globalization: Politics, Culture, Language”, “Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies”, “Iceland’s Financial Crisis: The Politics of Blame, Protest and Reconstruction”, and chapters in books such as “Arctic Security in the Age of Climate Change” and “NATO: The First Fifty Years”, etc. He has been a peer reviewer for many scientific journals, including “Cold War History”, “Journal of Cold War Studies”, “Journal of Slavic Military Research”, and “The Polar Journal”.

<sup>2</sup> *Finchelstein F.* From Fascism to Populism in History. Oakland : Univ. of California Press, 2017.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Ignazi P.* The Extreme Right Parties in Western Europe. Oxford ; N. Y. : Oxford Univ. Press, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> *Mudde C.* The problem with populism // *The Guardian*. 2015. Feb. 17.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, the recent sympathetic account: *Eatwell R., Goodwin M.* National Populism: The Revolt against Liberal Democracy. L. : Penquin, 2018.

<sup>6</sup> *Mudde C., Kaltwasser C. R.* Populism. Oxford : Oxford Univ. Press, 2017. P. 18–20.

<sup>7</sup> *Canovan M.* Trust the people! Populism and the two faces of democracy // *Political Studies*. 1999. Vol. 47, iss. 1. P. 2–16.

<sup>8</sup> On populism, see: *Mudde C.* The Populist Radical Right: A Reader. L. ; N. Y. : Routledge, 2017 ; *Mudde C., Kaltwasser C. R.* Populism ; *Finchelstein F.* From Fascism to Populism in History ; *The Ideational Approach to Populism: Concept, Theory, and Analysis / K. A. Hawkins, R. E. Carlin, L. Littvay, C. R. Kaltwasser (eds.)*. L. ; N. Y. : Routledge, 2019 ; *Müller J.-W.* What is Populism? Philadelphia : Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2016 ; *Urbainati N.* Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 2014 ; *Moffitt B.* The Global Rise of Populism: Performance, Style, and Representation. Stanford : Stanford Univ. Press, 2016 ; *Judis J. B.* The Populist Explosion: How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics. N. Y. : Columbia Global Report, 2016 ; *Mouffe C.* For a Left Populism. L. : N. Y. : Verso, 2018 ; *Eatwell R., Goodwin M.* National Populism: The Revolt against Liberal Democracy.

<sup>9</sup> See: *Stanley B.* The thin ideology of populism // *Journal of Political Ideologies*. 2008. Vol. 13, iss. 1. P. 95–110 ; *Mudde C.* The Populist Zeitgeist // *Government and Opposition*. 2004. No 39. P. 542–563 ; *Laclau E.* On Populist Reason. L. : Verso Books, 2005 ; *Freeden M.* Ideologies and Political Theory: A Conceptual Approach. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996 ; *Idem.* Ideology and Political Theory // *Journal of Political Ideologies*. 2006. No 11. P. 3–22.

<sup>10</sup> See: *Finchelstein F.* From Fascism to Populism in History. P. 130.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* P. 134.

<sup>12</sup> *Rancière J.* Hatred of Democracy. L. : Verso, 2006. P. 79–80.

<sup>13</sup> *Finchelstein F.* From Fascism to Populism in History.

<sup>14</sup> *Halikiopoulou D., Vasilopoulou S.* Support for the Far Right in the 2014 European Parliament Elections: A Comparative Perspective // *The Political Quarterly*. 2014. Vol. 85, iss. 3. P. 286.

<sup>15</sup> *Griffiths R.* Fascism. L. : Continuum, 2006. P. 150–152.

<sup>16</sup> See: *Finchelstein F.* From Fascism to Populism in History. P. 251.

<sup>17</sup> See: *Fascists and conservatives. The radical right and the establishment in twentieth-century Europe / ed. M. Blinkhorn.* L. : Unwin Hyman, 1990 ; *Fascism and the right in Europe, 1918–1945 / ed. M. Blinkhorn.* L. : Longmans, 2000.

ed in their ideological emphasis on ethnic exclusion, welfare chauvinism, and cultural conservatism. Finally, while competing with the right-wing populists for votes, Northern and Western European conservative parties have, with few important exceptions – notably, Germany, France, and Sweden – facilitated the Radical Right’s acceptance into the political mainstream as part of a governing strategy. What needs to be stressed, however, is that this collaboration does not follow a single pattern. Some conservative parties, especially those in the Nordic countries, are not willing to go as far as others in neutralizing the populist Right either through semi-authoritarian rule, as is the case in Hungary and Poland, or through what may be termed programmatic parroting when it comes to Austria on issues, such as immigration and Islam.

### A “Crisis of Representation”: The Links between Populism and Democracy

While theorists on populism have defined the concept in different ways, they usually describe it in terms of an antagonistic relationship between the “people” and elites. Mudde and Kaltwasser argue that, like other ideologies, such as liberalism, nationalism or socialism, populism can have positive or negative effects: as a potential corrective and threat to democracy, depending on the political context.<sup>1</sup> As a democratizing force, it defends the principle of popular sovereignty with the aim of empowering groups that do not feel represented by the political establishment. On the other hand, it can also lead to authoritarian aberrations and conflict with liberal democracy because of its rejection of pluralism, including minority rights.<sup>2</sup> Thus, to counter the argument that their definition of populism is too broad and elastic, Mudde and Kaltwasser stress that what constitutes its opposition is not only elitism but also pluralism, which contains a variety of partly overlapping social groups with different ideas and interests.

Jan-Werner Müller, who primarily focuses on the right-wing variant of populism, dismisses its redemptive possibilities and sees it as being fundamentally antithetical to democracy. Right-wing populists, he argues, seek to identify with the “people” in an attempt to represent it in an exclusive way. Equating liberal democracy with democracy, he stresses that populism can never improve a political system that has become too elite-driven. Thus, the populist distinction between “the pure people” and “corrupt elite” involves a particular moralistic imagination of politics. The “people” do not exist in the real world, for they are an imaginary construct created for anti-democratic purposes. While Müller concedes that the practice of liberal democracy leaves much to be desired in some countries, it should be defended against populism’s false promises of democratic renewal.<sup>3</sup> By adopting such a moralistic and defensive stance, he does not engage with critical democratic theorists, such as Yannis Stavrakakis and Anton Jäger, who argue that – in an age of increasing social inequalities and technocracy – elites are mostly responsible for divorcing liberalism from democracy and, by default, creating the conditions for cur-

rent the rise of the populist Right.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the failure of political elites before and after the financial crisis of 2008 can, at least, partly explain the erosion of trust in liberal-democratic institutions.

Yet, like Müller, Nadia Urbinati has warned against the destructive tendency of populism – whether on the Right or Left – to make a democracy more intensely majoritarian and less liberal. To her, populism disfigures democratic institutions in ruinous ways, because it makes the dialectics between minority and majority opinions hard to manage.<sup>5</sup> She argues that a strategy embracing hegemonic politics, such as that proposed by left-wing theorist Ernesto Laclau, would be dangerously prone to becoming a vehicle for a reactionary Caesarism that uses populism to make itself victorious.<sup>6</sup> If successful, it could lead to an exit from representative and constitutional democracy. Instead, she emphasizes the key role of “intermediary bodies” in liberal democracies, which are capable of communicating political demands from a party base to an elite without the direct embodiment put forward by populist demagogues or the unrestrained demophobia of elitist technocrats.<sup>7</sup>

All these accounts stress that the populists want to bypass representational institutional mechanisms, including parliamentary procedures, to narrow the distance between the people and their representatives, for example, through plebiscites, and to weaken the division of powers. Yet, the dominant scholarly tendency to define populism exclusively in “ideational” terms – as a discourse, an ideology, or a world-view – is flawed because it does not pay enough attention to populist practices. The emphasis on populism’s radical anti-elitism has not only tended to obscure its collaboration with conservative elites but also its functional roles within liberal democratic systems.

No matter how the Radical Right is defined, it has profited, in Europe, from a “dealignment” in liberal democratic systems or the dislocation between personal identities and political party affiliation. With the steep decline of Social Democracy and some “big tent” Center-Right parties – a trend that has been accompanied by the weakening of liberal parties – far-right parties have, in many countries, become the second or third largest political force. While the weakening of the moderate Left has opened up spaces for the radical Left as well as some Green parties, the cumulative effect of this political realignment has been the strengthening of the Right. Several explanations have been offered to explain the Left’s retrenchment, such as the embracement of a globalist neo-liberal agenda in the decade before the 2008 financial crisis – as symbolized by the “Third Way” – and increasing detachment from the labor movement. It has enabled the populist Radical Right to make inroads into traditional left-wing voting territories and to woo traditional working class voters, especially after shifting their emphasis, in many instances, from neo-liberal policies toward the social state and by portraying foreigner workers as competitors in labor markets. In addition, right-wing populists have combined a pro-social stance with anti-elite and anti-immigrant rhetoric.

<sup>1</sup> Mudde C., Kaltwasser C. R. *Populism*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2017. P. 18–20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* P. 79.

<sup>3</sup> Müller J.-W. *What is Populism?* Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2016. P. 6, 10–11, 76.

<sup>4</sup> See: Stavrakakis Y., Jäger A. Accomplishments and limitations of the «new» mainstream in contemporary populism studies // *European Journal of Social Studies*. 2018. Vol. 21, iss. 4. P. 547–565.

<sup>5</sup> Urbinati N. *Democracy Disfigured: Opinion, Truth, and the People*. P. 149.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Pp. 137, 153.

<sup>7</sup> Urbinati N. *A revolt against intermediary bodies* // *Constellations*. 2015. No 22. P. 484–485.

Chantal Mouffe argues that a “populist moment” has arrived, signaling the crisis of the neo-liberal hegemony established in the 1980s. Moreover, she predicts that the central axis of political conflict in the near future will be between right-wing populism and left-wing populism. To counter the surge of the Right, she proposes, in lieu with Laclau’s theory, a Left populist strategy designed to establish a more democratic hegemonic formation. The experience of Thatcherism in Britain, she argues, shows that in European societies, it is possible to bring about a transformation of the existing order without destroying liberal democratic institutions.<sup>1</sup> Given the current weaknesses of the Left, it is hard to see how a populist strategy will provide it with the weapons needed to resist the Radical Right. But there is no doubt that right-wing populist electoral gains in Europe have to be seen within the context of broader societal trends, such as increased social inequalities stemming from neo-liberal globalization agendas – as symbolized by the Great Recession – and an “identitarian” reaction against multi-culturalism triggered by the recent immigrant influx.

### Mixed Ideological Messages

The European right-wing populist parties have generally adopted a program that stresses a purist national past and cultural homogeneity, where historical myths – including a reification of the European welfare state, especially in the Nordic countries – play a major role in forging exclusivist identity projections. They also build on the idea of ethno-pluralism as a counter-narrative to multi-culturalism. Instead of focusing on “blood and soil,” as the fascist parties did, the populists use mono-cultural arguments to drive home the need for preserving unique national characteristics. Different ethnic groups have to be kept separate on the essentialist ground that any “mixture” would lead to cultural decay. To some scholars, this argument is not part of a traditional racist discourse because ethno-pluralism does not have to be hierarchical or made up of “superior” or “inferior” ethnic groups.<sup>2</sup> But such an interpretation is misplaced. Apart from the anti-Islamic subtext, this ideological strand is clearly part of a racist tradition. “Separate but equal” was, for example, the standard refrain of those in the United States who sought to preserve a segregated South during the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and 1960s.

Programmatic similarities can also be found. Just like the interwar Radical Right, the contemporary far-right parties usually refuse to define themselves in terms of traditional right-wing/left-wing dichotomies. Their agenda is directed at marginalized groups in what Jens Rydgren terms a new “master frame,” combining nativism with anti-establishment rhetoric.<sup>3</sup> Yet, most right-wing populist parties have rejected any overt association with historical racism or fascism on the grounds that it would diminish their political impact. There have certainly be flirtations with such a past. Matteo Salvini, the leader of the right-wing populist party, Lega, had no qualms – after becoming Interior Min-

ister – about paraphrasing, in a tweet, one of Mussolini’s most well known phrases: “Many enemies, much honor.” Within the German Alternative for Germany (AFD), there are elements that can be described as espousing a neo-fascist and anti-Semitic agenda. The Sweden Democrats have a neo-Nazi background and a tradition of interwar nostalgia. And Jobbik in Hungary has displayed anti-Roma and anti-Semitic tendencies, even if its leaders have tried to moderate its program in an effort to change its ultra-nationalist and xenophobic image.

This does not mean that all populist right-wing parties are secretly wedded to the past, for some want to steer clear from it. While being conservative and traditionalist on social issues, parties, such as the Austrian Freedom Party<sup>4</sup> and the Progress Party in Norway<sup>5</sup>, have espoused individualist liberal economic policies in contrast to the social corporatist and, in some cases, anti-capitalist rhetoric of the interwar Radical Right. Most of those parties most likely to be electorally successful in contemporary Europe are those that combine a nationalist ideology and conservative cultural values with social protection policies. Indeed, this has become the new Radical Right “winning formula” in contrast to the combination of neo-liberalism and cultural traditionalism, which Anthony J. McGann and Herbert Kitschelt suggested in the 1990s.<sup>6</sup>

In his very restrictive interpretation of populist ideology, Jan-Werner Müller sidesteps its historical dimensions<sup>7</sup> and eschews explanatory factors, such as economic crises, crises of modernity or social dislocations. What is more, he not only subsumes all right-wing populist party formations under the same rubric; he makes no distinction between authoritarian leaders, such as Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Victor Orbán. To counter such simplifications, it can be fruitful to analyze populism in a similar way that the interwar Right has been studied, that is, by paying more attention to what unites and differentiates radicals from conservatives. In Hungary, Orbán and his party the Hungarian Civic Union, Fidesz, have moved sharply to the Right, having borrowed heavily from Jobbik. Given his nationalist, natalist, and xenophobic agenda, it is possible that Orbán will eventually leave his traditional conservative base and side with the populists. But so far Orbán has pursued a hybrid strategy to enable him to stay in both camps. While courting right-wing populists, such as Salvini in Italy and Marine Le Pen in France, he is still aligned with conservative parties, including the mainstream Center-Right European People’s Part (EPP) group in the European Parliament, even if his membership has been put on probation. Sebastian Kurz, the

<sup>4</sup> *Heinisch R., Hauser K.* The mainstreaming of the Austrian Freedom Party: The more things change... // Akkerman T., Lange S. L. de, Rooduijn M. *Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Europe: Into the mainstream?* N. Y. : Routledge, 2016. P. 73–93.

<sup>5</sup> On the Progress Party, see: *Jupsås A. R.* The taming of the shrew: How the Progress Party (almost) became part of the mainstream // Akkerman T., Lange S. L. de, Rooduijn M. *Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties in Europe: Into the mainstream?* P. 169–192 ; *Allern E. H.* The Contemporary Relationship of «New Left» and «New Right» Parties with Interest Groups: Exceptional or Mainstream? The Case of Norway’s Socialist Left and Progress Party // *Scandinavian Political Studies*. 2013. Vol. 36, iss. 1. P. 67–90 ; *Bjerkem J.* The Norwegian Progress Party: an established populist party // *European View*. 2016. No 15. P. 233–243 ; *Jupsås A. R.* Persistence of Populism: The Norwegian Progress Party, 1973–2009 : Ph. D. thesis. University of Oslo, 2015.

<sup>6</sup> See: *McGann A. J., Kitschelt H.* The New Radical Right in Europe. Ann Arbor : Univ. of Michigan, 1995.

<sup>7</sup> See: *Müller J.-W.* What is Populism?

<sup>1</sup> See: *Mouffe Ch.* For a Left Populism. P. 6, 11, 36.

<sup>2</sup> *Elgenius G., Rydgren J.* Frames of nostalgia and belonging: the resurgence of ethno-nationalism in Sweden // *European Societies*. 2018. July. DOI: 10.1080/14616696.2018.1494297. URL: <http://www.jensrydgren.com/EuropeanSocieties2018.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Rydgren J.* Is extreme right-wing populism contagious? Explaining the emergence of a new party family // *European Journal of Political Research*. 2005. No 44. P. 413–443.

Austrian Chancellor, has also adopted core elements of the Freedom Party's agenda by putting anti-immigration, welfare chauvinism, and the fight against political Islam a priority. At the same time, he identifies himself with the center-right conservative parties in the European Parliament. And in contrast to Orbán, he is firmly committed to the European project, having voiced criticism of the Hungarian government for undermining the independence of the judicial system. Thus, while the Conservative Right is perfectly capable of crossing ideological lines, it does not necessarily do so in unison.

Müller's argument that populist leaders are, generally, not interested in galvanizing and mobilizing the public is misleading, because it fails to take into account key ideological distinctions. Some authoritarian leaders, who do not rely on party structures but on the state, may seek to stifle democratic participation. But populist leaders – who have enthusiastically sought to work with right-wing authoritarian leaders with strong party ties – are bent on stimulating grass roots support. As Herbert Kitschelt put it, such movement-parties seek to combine activities within the arenas of formal democratic competition with extra-institutional mobilization.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, it makes little sense to dismiss sociological analyses of the populist electoral base, as Müller does, on the grounds that such parties tend to be catch-all-parties. Fascist and radical right parties attracted voters from all social strata in the 1930s, but not equally, as the many studies on the make-up of their membership and electoral base show.<sup>2</sup>

### The Radical and Conservative Right

The attempt by many populist parties to moderate their ethnically exclusivist message, has opened up possibilities for cooperation with other parties. Hence, accommodation has become the prevalent form of the relationship between European conservative and populist parties as practiced through government coalition agreements or ideological affinities. In some cases, however, the center-right has refrained, for ideological reasons, from entering into any type of collaboration with the Radical Right. And in yet other ones, conservatives can rule on their own or in cooperation with other centrist or, in some cases, Social Democratic parties. The Scandinavian populist parties in Europe have been the most successful in gaining acceptance by the other parties and being integrated into the political system. Moreover, they have become ruling partners of conservative parties in Denmark, Norway, and Finland. What this means is that liberal and centrist parties play a less important role as powerbrokers than in the past. Sweden is the anomaly: The liberal parties have decided to switch sides to support a So-

cial Democratic minority government to maintain a cordon sanitaire vis-à-vis the populist Sweden Democrats.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, the right-wing populists compete with the conservative parties to become the second largest parties after the Social Democrats in the Scandinavian countries.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in Austria, the Freedom Party has been part of the mainstream for some time, and is currently a junior partner in a coalition government with the conservative People's Party. And in Italy, the Lega, originally wanted to stick to its alliance with Silvio Berlusconi's conservative party before the latter agreed not to be included in a government to pave the way for the formation of a government coalition between Salvini's right-wing populist party and "left-wing" populists, the Five Star Movement.

In some countries, historical or ideological factors prevent any cooperation between conservatives and populists. In Germany, the Christian Democrats were forced to renew their coalition government with the Social Democrats, partly to prevent new elections, where the AfD could have improved on its new-found position as the third largest party in the German parliament. Given the shadow of the Nazi past, it will extremely difficult for the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) to warm up to any cooperation with the far-right; the more conservative sister party, the Christian Social Union (CSU) is also adamantly against it, even if it has borrowed from the AfD's anti-immigration rhetoric. Needless to say, French President Emmanuel Macron, who won, decisively, in the presidential contest with Marine Le Pen, has continued the policy of his predecessors on the Conservative Right and the Socialist Left to refuse any collaboration with the far-right Rassemblement National or the Front National, as it used to be called.<sup>5</sup>

Other conservative parties, notably in countries such as Hungary and Poland, have refashioned themselves as semi-authoritarian right-wing parties, which have effectively managed to defeat the populist parties as ideological competitors. This applies especially to Fidesz, which retains its absolute majority in the Hungarian parliament and has forced Jobbik to seek ideological solace among weak opposition parties. In the Czech Republic, where Prime Minister Andrej Babiš has displayed semi-authoritarian tendencies,

<sup>1</sup> *Kitschelt H.* Movement parties // *Handbook of party politics* / R. S. Katz, W. Crotty (eds.). L.: Sage Publications, 2006. P. 280.

<sup>2</sup> On the social basis of fascists, see: *Childers T.* The Nazi Voter: The Social Foundations of Fascism in Germany, 1919–1945. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1983; *Falter J.* Hitlers Wähler. Munich: C. H. Beck Verlag, 1991; *Kater M. H.* The Nazi Party: A Social Profile of Its Members and Leaders, 1919–1945. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983; *Brustein W.* The Political Geography of Belgian Fascism: the Case of Rexism // *American Sociological Review.* 1988. No 53. P. 939–950; *Hamilton R. F.* Who Voted for Hitler? Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1982; *Lyttelton A.* The Seizure of Power: Fascism in Italy, 1919–1929. L.: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973; *Fameti P.* The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy and the Takeover of the Fascist Dictatorship, 1919–1922. // *Breakdown and Crisis of Democracies* / eds. J. Linz, A. Stepan. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1979.

<sup>3</sup> On the Sweden Democrats, see: *Norocel O. C.* Populist radical right protectors of the folkhem: Welfare chauvinism in Sweden // *Critical Social Policy.* 2016. Vol. 36, iss. 3. P. 371–390; *Erlingsson G. Ó, Vernby K., Öhrvall R.* The single-issue party thesis and the Sweden Democrats // *Acta Politica.* 2014. Vol. 49, iss. 2. P. 196–216; *Oskarson M., Demker M.* Room for Realignment: The Working Class Sympathy for Sweden Democrats // *Government and Opposition.* 2015. Vol. 50, iss. 4. P. 629–651; *Bolin N.* A Loyal Rookie? The Sweden Democrats' First Year in the European Parliament // *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs.* 2015. No 2. P. 59–77; *Elgenius G., Rydgren J.* The Sweden Democrats and the ethno-nationalist rhetoric of decay and betrayal // *Sociologisk Forskning.* 2017. Vol. 54, iss. 4. P. 353–358; *Norocel O. C.* «Give Us Back Sweden!» A Feminist Reading of the (Re)Interpretations of the Folkhem Conceptual Metaphor in Swedish Radical Right Populist Discourse // *NORA – Nordic Journal of Feminist and Gender Research.* 2013. Vol. 21, iss. 1. P. 4–20.

<sup>4</sup> Even if the Finns have lost much support after splitting into two parties. On Finnish right-wing populism, see: *Hatakka N.* When logics of party politics and online activism collide: The populist Finns Party's identity under negotiation // *New Media & Society.* 2017. Vol. 19, iss. 12. P. 2022–2038; *Sakki L., Hakoköngäs E., Petersson K.* Past and Present Nationalist Political Rhetoric in Finland: Changes and Continuities // *J. Lang. Soc. Psychol.* 2018. Vol. 37, iss. 2. P. 160–180; *Welker Á.* Consolidation, Historiography and the Challenge of Populism in Finland // *Eur. Rev.* 2013. Vol. 21, iss. 4. P. 489–500.

<sup>5</sup> *Mondon A.* The Front National in the Twenty-First Century: From Pariah to Republican Democratic Contender // *Modern & Contemporary France.* 2014. Vol. 22, iss. 3. P. 301–320.

the right-wing populists are needed to prop up the government without playing a pivotal role because other small parties are also involved, including the Communists.

Thus, the success of the populist Right in many European countries – whether as part of governing coalitions or supporters of conservative governments – has allowed it to act, paradoxically, both as systemic destabilizers and stabilizers. On the one hand, it is a disrupting anti-elitist force, seeking to reverse mainstream policies on immigration, welfare, multiculturalism, and European integration. On the other, it is an accommodating political vehicle that is prepared to forge political alliances based on nationalist and traditionalist agendas.

### Conclusion

Despite the resurgence of the Radical Right all over Europe, no populist party has managed to monopolize power or form a government of its own. While the populist parties have had to dilute their radical agendas in exchange for direct or indirect government responsibility<sup>1</sup>, they have managed to play a political agenda-setting role on issues such as immigration.<sup>2</sup> The willingness to enter into coalitions with other political forces undercuts the erroneous, but often repeated, claim that populists see all political competitors and elites as being illegitimate. Here a clear affinity can be detected between the present and the past. Mudde and Kaltwasser's argument that fascist regimes were elitist rather than populist because of their ideological emphasis on the leadership cult and racial policies is misguided.<sup>3</sup> Just like the populists, the fascists adopted an anti-elitist agen-

da, even it was compromised by their collaboration with elites. After coming to power in Germany and Italy, there was a fierce competition between the party and state, echoing an inbuilt tension between the old guard and the new, or "patrician" and "plebeian" elements. This helps explain why conservatives usually cooperate with the radical right parties out of necessity, not because of any close political, cultural or social affinity. From a European regional angle, this alliance is currently most clearly discernible in Scandinavia, but it includes other countries, such as Austria.

Right-wing populism is not about the revival of historical fascism. But it cannot either be defined exclusively as a new phenomenon associated with the establishment of a specific party formation – in the 1970s – which was rooted in anti-tax revolts and neo-liberal economic agendas. As Roger Griffin pointed out some time ago, the rejection of multiculturalism by the populist parties, their longing for "purity, their nostalgia for a mythical world of racial homogeneity" and for "clearly demarcated boundaries of cultural differentiation," and their use of history represent a repackaged version of the same basic myth.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the current "populist moment" – which poses a challenge to the liberal order – evokes a memory, a historical trace, not only with respect to past right – wing ideologies but, more importantly, to practices. Again, some conservative parties have adopted key anti-liberal ideological elements of the Radical Right's agenda as a way of responding to political competition. The open question is whether it will be the populists or the conservatives who will, in the end, claim victory in this power struggle.

<sup>1</sup> Jungar A.-C., *Jupskås A. R. Populist Radical Right in the Nordic Region: A New and Distinct Party Family?* // *Scandinavian Political Studies*. 2014. Vol. 37, iss. 3. P. 215–238.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Lindsköld L. Contradicting Cultural Policy: A Comparative Study of the Cultural Policy of the Scandinavian Radical Right* // *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidskrift*. 2015. No 1. August. P. 8–26.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Mudde C., Kaltwasser C. R. Populism*. P. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Griffin R. Interregnum or endgame? The radical right in the «post-fascist» era* // *Journal of Political Ideologies*. 2000. Vol. 5, iss. 2. P. 163–178.

T. Ya. Khabrieva<sup>1</sup>

## TECHNOLOGICAL PLOTS OF GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AS THE FOCUS OF LEGAL DOCTRINE

Currently, the legal science is becoming more and more susceptible to achievements of other fields of scientific knowledge, both natural and humanitarian.<sup>2</sup> Legal experts more and more often use notions and categories, results of research and methodological tools from other sciences (philosophy, sociology, psychology, physics, chemistry, etc.) in the process of doctrinal learning of phenomena and processes functioning and going on in the state and legal field. This allows to enrich methodology of legal research, expand its theoretical and empirical bases, see the studied subjects from different perspectives, and as a result get new data on the governing laws of their development and multiply doc-

trinal knowledge. Besides, this approach, overcoming strict borders of sector isolation and disintegration, gives an opportunity to develop new, inter-disciplinary areas in science.

One can comprehend legal phenomena in the today's world from different positions. An interesting picture is revealed when literary categories are used as tools (together with such well-known categories as "essence" and "phenomenon", "content" and "form", "matter", "space", "time") – "*plot*" and "*storyline*" (at the same time, they acquire a methodological meaning, i.e. they are used as a cognizing tool). In this case the course of events (*plot*), related to the stated by philosophers change of technological patterns of the society's life and humanity's transfer to a new type of civilization development, is viewed in the context of the main conflict (*storyline*) having social and humanitarian content that develops in the course of these events. This perspective again makes review of law urgent as well as its role and capabilities as the main means for resolving social conflicts and contradictions, overcoming them or reducing their acuteness.

Modern science explains the processes of world development, governed by the *poly-causality* (many-causes) principle. Due to that a number of factors are singled out having an impact on it and/or determining it, with civilization crises (environmental, anthropological, etc.), globalization and deglobalization processes, technological progress among them. The combination of factors is not static, the role and meaning of this or that factor changes with time.

Results of fundamental research give grounds for the conclusion that technological innovations having the decisive impact on the society, the main spheres of its life become the leading factor of societal and global development. They are rapidly expanded within a wide range (information and communication, nano, bio and cognitive technologies), and global societal transformations, responsible for the vector and trends in human civilization's evolution, determine intensive distribution.

New technologies change fields and method of production (and not only in case of food, material benefits but humans themselves as well), distribution, consumption, social communications and management, they expand the composition of social and legal interaction subjects, and as a consequence lead to:

- deformation of universal values and meanings of life (human, nature, activity, traditions and innovations, personality, rationality, power);
- change of social structure (online communities come to replace classes, social strata), "blurring" traditional institutions of the society (e.g. family);
- weakening social relations, "atomization" of individuals;
- dominance of relations connected with human capital formation in social life;
- transfer (that has already started but is not completed yet<sup>3</sup>) to new technological and economic patterns in the life of the society, new "socioeconomic formation".

<sup>1</sup> Director of the Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law under the Government of the Russian Federation, Vice-President of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Professor at the Chair of Constitutional Law, Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO University) run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Dr. Sc. (Law), Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation, Honored Lawyer of the Republic of Tatarstan. Author of more than 400 academic papers, including monographs: "Constitutional Reform in Today's World", "The Venice Commission as Law Interpretation Subject", "Interpretation of the Constitution of the Russian Federation: Theory and Practice", "National and Cultural Autonomy in the Russian Federation", "The Theory of Modern Constitution" (coauthor); "Colour Revolutions" and "Arab Spring" in Constitutional Dimensions: Research in Terms of Political Science and Law" (coauthor), "ASEAN as the Driving Force for Regional Integration in Asia" (coauthor), "Law and Social Development: New Humanistic hierarchy of Values" (coauthor), etc. Chief editor of Russian Law Journal, Journal of Foreign Legislation and Comparative Law, member of editorial boards of the State and Law, Constitutional and Municipal Law journals. Representative of the Russian Federation in the Venice Commission (European Commission for Democracy through Law). Full member of the International Academy of Comparative Law. Member of the Presidential Council for Fighting Corruption; member of the Commission on Civil Service and Administrative Reserve, Commission on State Awards, both under the President of the Russian Federation; member of the Commission on Legislative Activities under the Government of the Russian Federation; member of the Commission on Administrative Reform under the Government of the Russian Federation; member of the Expert Council of the Presidential Administration for Ensuring the Constitutional Rights of Citizens; member of the Academic Council attached to the Security Council of the Russian Federation, etc. Deputy Chairman of the International Association of Lawyers; member of the Presidium of the Russian Association of Lawyers. She was awarded the fourth and third-class Orders of Merit for the Motherland, the Order of Honour, the Order of Friendship and others. Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.

<sup>2</sup> Thus, ideas of philosophers on types of scientific rationality and scientific world picture, role of culture in human civilization's, state's and law's development, complex man-sized systems and governing laws of their development, the main contradictions of the modern age and change of values, new vectors, possible scenarios of civilization development, understanding of humans (with discovered opportunities to bring humans up to the machine level, and machines to the human level as a background), etc. found their way to the methodology of the legal science. Conclusions by economists, sociologists and psychologists on specific features of the today's society (post-industrial, digital, programmed), change of its structure (origination of social networks, new social strata, establishments of new and correction of established relations between social communities and their members), special features of will formation in it (distinguishing characteristics of modern man's thinking, individual and public consciousness, impact of modern information and communication technologies on worldview formation, mechanisms of individual and "common" will formation, mediation in the processes of will formation and declaration of intent in cyberspace), role of personal substance in law formation (changing in personality understanding, new individuals – nonhuman beings, various potential and actual capabilities of people, their associations and computer programs for participation in this process) turned out to be in high demand and sought-after. Fundamental notions from cultural studies, physics and even chemistry (complex self-regulating systems, phase change, algorithm, computer or program code, tradition) are more and more often seen in the categorical matrix of jurisprudence as operational notions.

<sup>3</sup> Transient state is characterized by 1) simultaneous presence of two technological and economic patterns – the one people are accustomed to, estab-

Thus, the technological plot of global development in the most general terms is human civilization and the society (as complex self-developing systems) as a result of technological breakthrough transferring to the qualitative changes stage – “phase change”<sup>1</sup>, “civilization shift” (named macroshift by Ervin László<sup>2</sup>), which will be followed by establishment of a new type of society (socioeconomic formation) and civilization development vector.

Its special feature is that “exposition” and “introduction” (as elements of the plot) are already known and more or less understandable but scenarios for “development of the action”, its “climax” and especially “outcome” and “postposition” are not clear. They are very variable, not determined precisely and not predefined.

The contours of the new (future) society, its economic basis, social structure (notwithstanding numerous futurological forecasts) are not visible yet (even Institutes of the Russian Academy of Sciences still refrain from at least somewhat precise forecasts<sup>3</sup>). There are various suppositions, according to some of which “digital economy” will be the economic basis of the new society, and the society itself will acquire features of the one “programmed”. Besides, considerable changes are expected in its structure, social regulations, system of values, etc.<sup>4</sup> However, it’s still difficult to judge their authenticity or believability. They are just probabilities as they should be. Only the time being a “prerequisite for the plot development” will allow to verify them.

The reasons of the present uncertainly are as following:

– first, the phase change consists of three stages – more or less clear outlines of the qualitatively new condition of the system can be only fixed at the third (last) stage, when the dominating scenario is already singled out of all competing scenarios, development of the system (society in our case) is already subjected to it and the point of no return has already been passed.<sup>5</sup> Currently, according to assessments by scholars, the human society is at the first stage of phase change, when competing scenarios for further civilization and societal development are only starting to be formed. Because of that any forecasts are only fairly probable, variable and difficult to verify now;

– second, it’s difficult to forecast further augmentation and “behaviour” of certain technologies, their vector, scales as well as consequences for humans and the society. There is little authentic and sufficient information about that, and it is accessible to the initiated – a limited circle of experts who are not in a hurry to reveal it;

– third, contemporary forecasts are mostly based on the extrapolation method. Phase change is the point (if we use terms of other modern concepts, this is the technological

lished long ago, and the new one, being born under the impact of rapid development and penetration into all sectors of the society’s life, first of all, new information, communication and digital technologies; 2) gradual change of balance between them in the direction of the latter, intensified trend for replacement of one with the other.

<sup>1</sup> See: *Styopin V. S.* Civilization and Culture. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> *László E.* Macroshift. Moscow: Tidx Co, 2004. P. 16–21. Macroshift in Ervin László’s terms in bifurcation in the dynamics of the society’s, human civilization’s evolution in its quasi-wholeness.

<sup>3</sup> See: Promising Projects of the 21st Century: Constructing Contemporary Social Reality / ed. G. V. Osipov. Vol. 1. Moscow : Veche, 2018.

<sup>4</sup> See: *Khabrieva T. Ya.* Justice in Sociohumanitarian Discourse of Global Societal Transformations // Economic Justice in the Far East. 2018. No 2 (11). P. 17–23.

<sup>5</sup> See: *Styopin V. S.* Op. cit.

singularity<sup>6</sup> point), beyond which extrapolation becomes absolutely senseless, as previously established trends, mechanisms, governing laws and programs are already not reproduced in the qualitatively new system’s state, and the system develops according to the new logic. This issue also complicates scientific prevision of the scenario for the future society development.

At the same time, establishment of constructivist ideas in science, postulating that the future is not so much theoretically forecasted as created practically step by step, directs to managing the going on processes, creation of new tools and adaptation of traditional tools to the changed environment. One of them is law, a feature of which is out-running reflection of the reality and construction of the social reality. Legal experts (and not only them) put their big hopes exactly on it, related to further adjustment and control over societal transformations, socioeconomic and technological progress that are going on.

Convergence of innovations forming the so-called big four “convergent” technologies, for which the NBIC abbreviation is used (nano, bio, information and communication, cognitive technologies) is a modern trend of technological development.

Convergence of technological innovations supposes that atoms, chains, DNA code, neurons and bytes will become interchangeable.<sup>7</sup> This gives foundations to forecast that the omnipresent reality of nature and culture hybrids, quasi-objects, “borderline” objects or “subject-objects” that overstep barriers between culture and nature, actor and material<sup>8</sup> will become products of technological practices and their convergence. Such kind of convergence (convergence at a “nanolevel”) gradually acquires features of the universal governing law of being and not only human but also complex man-sized systems, law in particular.

Philosophers connect prospects of the following creations with convergent technologies development: 1) technoworlds, intelligent and self-developing, in which anthropogenic sphere in transhumanistic scope can be absorbed by them; 2) neuroworld providing withdrawal from contact with material reality into cyberworlds, threatening with dissociation of human subjectivity in cyberclones and avatars networks, with whom humans can cooperate, compete or be completely diluted in them. NBIC-technologies are intermediaries and the foundation of these two worlds and existing reality.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The term of “singularity” was borrowed from mathematicians and astrophysicists who use it for description of black holes in space and in some Universe origination theories. The term of “singularity” was for the first time used with this meaning in the middle of the 20th century by John von Neumann (see: *Neumann J. von.* Mathematical Foundations of Quantum Mechanics. Princeton : Princeton Univ. Press, 1955). He used it as understood by mathematics and astrophysics – i.e. as the point beyond which extrapolation gives senseless results. Vernor Vinge, who is usually ascribed the authorship of this term, wrote about that (see: Vernor Vinge V. The Coming Technological Singularity, 1993). Raymond Kurzweil actively tried to find scientific foundations for singularity’s coming (*Kurzweil R.* The Singularity is Near. N. Y. : Viking Books, 2005). See also: *Panov A. D.* Technical Singularity, Penrose Theorem on Artificial Intelligence and Quantum Nature of Consciousness // *Metaphysics*, 2013. No 3 (9). P. 141–188.

<sup>7</sup> *Bouchard R.* BioSystemic Synthesis // Science and Technology Foresight Pilot Project, STFPP Research Report. Ottawa, 2003. June. No 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Davis E.* TechGnosis: Myth, Magic and Mysticism in the Age of Information. Yekaterinburg : Ultra. Culture, 2008.

<sup>9</sup> V. I. Arshinov and V. G. Budanov also tell about the necessity of the third, eternal project, named “Return to Eden” by them. It is the basis of Christian (and not only), humanistic worldview. Here humans transform not nature and matter but themselves via spiritual cultural practices, going up to a whole, perfect individual, joining with Noosphere (See: *Arshinov V. I.*,

These statements, conclusions and forecasts are principally important for the legal doctrine as they point to real and potential changes of the general scientific world landscape, which will entail change of worldviews formed by various sectors of scientific knowledge, including the legal science.

The legal doctrine perceives the factor of convergent technologies differentially. As a result of that, there is a “pattern” formed in jurisprudence according to which law meets (should meet) challenges of each kind of technologies development separately.<sup>1</sup> Currently, the digitalization (digital technologies) issue “leads” in juridical discourse, and not rare prevail over other aspects of changing the technological pattern of the society’s life, leaving legal problems of bio, nano and cognitive technologies development in the background (but not without attention).

Due to that, there are many technological plots found in the focus of the legal doctrine: digitalization; artificial improvement of humans; technologies for manipulation with public consciousness, etc. Respectively, a lot of various contradictions were found out, both seen in separate plotlines and typical for a whole group of plots.

Thus, contradictions were found out between the following in the process of doctrinal studies of digitalization:

- requirement for legal mediation in social relations, established in the course of digital technologies distribution and use, on the one hand, and their legal regulation, on the other hand;
- strategies for strict, comprehensive state regulation of respective relations and practical requirement for flexible regulators;
- target and object of regulation, on the one hand, and applied legal means and tools, on the other hand; etc.

Many plotlines combined into one in the modern environment due to development of convergent technologies, and a more large-scale contradiction develops within the framework of this one plotline, proceeding from the fact that technological innovations are deprived of social and humanitarian content to a large extent. This contradiction is in essence reduced to strictly technical and scientific aspect. It is extremely important to keep this issue in mind to understand the “storyline” and special features of that qualitatively new situation in which humanity, society and its systems found themselves.

This issue orientates to integral perception of technological plots, narrowed down in this case to convergent technologies development. Reality metamorphoses taking place actualize and aggravate philosophical problems of law, serve as a prerequisite for reinterpretation of its essence, role and meaning in the life of the modern society, bring about some questions, first of all referred to consequences of technological progress for humans, legal reality and le-

gal being of law. Some scholars even speak about new law being born – “law of the second modernity”.<sup>2</sup>

In this connection, it’s urgent to raise the following questions:

- 1) what are law’s capabilities today for adjustment and regulation of new technologies’ development processes and brought about by them societal transformations?
- 2) will law preserve its role in public life and to what extent will it mediate social relations in the new model of the society’s arrangement?
- 3) what will happen to the idea of law, its content and form in future when the latest technologies become a common attribute of human life?
- 4) what strategies and tactics suit best for adaptation of law to the new environment?

In our opinion, the authority of law, its role and importance are still great, notwithstanding the above-mentioned negative phenomena. It can be stated that there is no alternative for law as a universal social regulator. It is not seen in the far-off perspective either. Convergent technologies work for strengthening the idea of law. They are the factor, objectively and many times enhancing the role and importance of law in the life of every individual and the society, enhancing their authority. Law is the social regulator that allows to protect individuals not only from physical violence and illegal state enforcement, but also technological violence, uniting effects of convergent technologies’ action.<sup>3</sup>

In essence, law acquires a new mission – preservation of humans as biological species and provision of peaceful co-existence, harmonious communication of people and “subjects-objects” (hybrids) created and socialized as a result of application of convergent technologies (genetically modified individuals, robots-agents, digital beings, etc.). Other social regulators (morals, religion) are hardly able to solve this task as robots, digital beings, no matter how they were programmed and what information they are equipped with, are incapable to think in the system of human values, generate them and use as an orientation point, measure and scales of behaviour. Experts say that even artificial intelligence is unable to do that.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, a question arises as to choice of strategy for legal mediation of establishing relations.

Reacting to changes taking place, states intensify legal regulation of dynamically developing social relations, associated with multiplying and use of new technologies. New solutions and social regulation models are researched simultaneously, providing for increase of the role of extralegal regulators, construction of original mechanisms of their interaction with law, strengthening ties of legal norms and culture of a certain society.

And this problem has already gone beyond strictly philosophical, legal and theoretical issues. The process of a new social regulation model’s formation is fixed by empirical research. Correlation of law, morals and religion is changed in this model, “transborder” mode of their action on the “con-

*Budanov V. G.* The Paradigm of Complexity and Sociohumanitarian Projections of Convergent Technologies // *Philosophical Issues*. 2016. No 1. P. 59–70).

<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the legal science still does not see any principal difference between the processes of law interaction with NBIC-technologies and other technological innovations, for example, such as constitutional transformation technologies (with disturbing impact on law, playing significant role in the society’s organization but not entailing changes in the human evolution vector and human civilization). The author paid attention to this issue in her speeches and published papers calling to refuse from one-sided approach to studies of the technological factor’s impact on law (see in detail: *Khabrieva T. Ya.* Law Challenged by Digital Reality // *Russian Law Journal*. 2018. No 9. P. 5–16).

<sup>2</sup> *Zorkin V. D.* Law in the Digital World. Thoughts on the Sidelines of the St. Petersburg International Legal Forum. URL: <https://rg.ru/2018/05/29/zorkin-zadacha-gosudarstva-priznavat-i-zashchishchat-cifrovyje-pravagrazhdan.html>.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Khabrieva T. Ya.* Projections of Convergent Technologies in Law Development // Transformation of Law Paradigm in Humanity’s Civilization Development: Reports by Members of the RAS / ed. A. N. Savenkov. Moscow : Institute of State and Law of the RAS, 2019. P. 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



tact line” is transformed, mutual penetration in each other’s subjects deepens. This process is accompanied by “moralization of law”, establishment of a new regulator – the so-called legal ethics, spreading of which was initiated by international legal acts.<sup>1</sup>

Philosophical comprehension of this phenomenon in the context of law ontology leads to the conclusion that the law moralization process is a special form of expanding borders of the legal regulation sector, imitating expansion of morals into law that provides its intrusion into private life of people and social relations beyond the limits of legal space<sup>2</sup> (this can be demonstrated with today’s strategies for opposing corruption as an example).

Analyzing this practice, experts state that the object of regulation and applied to it legal means and tools are often incompatible and the state uses old approaches and patterns for adjustment of principally new relations, and they are ill-suited for that.

Philosophers name “breach of mentality” of not only generations but also various social communities as one of the important reasons of such a state of affairs, pointing to the fact that legislators because of the “mind format” are not always capable to understand the logic and mechanisms of creation and functioning processes in case of digital technologies, plunging social relations into digital matrix, legal behaviour of people integrated into the new reality. Respectively, it’s difficult in their opinion to expect adequate and effective legal solutions.

The state should demonstrate flexibility in this environment, combining adjustment of the already existing legal institutions, correction of their function with development and testing of principally new legal models and tools.<sup>3</sup> Flexible strategy predetermines some tactical decisions. It can be forecasted that in the near future the importance of causal regulation will increase, regulatory act creation and mechanism of court decisions implementation into legislation will be especially in demand.<sup>4</sup>

Basic ideas and values providing evolution of law are reviewed in the process of reality metamorphoses comprehension. Due to that legal experts commensurate ideas of individualism and collectivism in the context of issues of providing social justice and legal identity, think about models of their synthesis, construct optimal models for legal regulation, capable to provide accord in the society.<sup>5</sup>

At the same time, civilization transformations bring about struggle and coordination of the ideas of humanism and transhumanism to the foreground. Probably, growth points of new legal values should be looked for exactly here. Until they are found, understanding of law as the universal norm for equality of all should stay its basis, as it has been since the Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment that formed the idea of law as a rational picture of the world, in which various social forces are balanced in a democratic way.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khabrieva T. Ya., Gabov A. V., Kapustin A. Ya., Chernogor N. N. Conflict of Interests: Nature, Warning, Social Regulation // Journal of Foreign Legislation and Comparative Law. 2018. No 3. P. 3–12.

<sup>2</sup> See: Khabrieva T. Ya. Projections of Convergent Technologies in Law Development. P. 144.

<sup>3</sup> See: Khabrieva T. Ya. Law Challenged by Digital Reality // Russian Law Journal. 2018. No 9. P. 5–16.

<sup>4</sup> See: Khabrieva T. Ya. Justice in Sociohumanitarian Discourse of Global Societal Transformations // Economic Justice in the Far East. P. 21.

<sup>5</sup> See: Zorkin V. D. Justice Is the Imperative of Civilization of Law // Rossiyskaya Gazeta (Russian newspaper). 2018. October 9.

<sup>6</sup> V. S. Styopin’s speech at the plenary meeting of the XIII International School-Workshop of Young Legal Scholars “Law in the Environment of Digital Reality” (Moscow, Institute of Legislation and Comparative Law, June 06, 2018). Quoted by: Zaloilo M. V., Shulyatyev I. A. Law in the Environment of Digital Reality (review of the XIII International School-Workshop of Young Legal Scholars) // Journal of Foreign Legislation and Comparative Law. 2018. No 4 (71). P. 171–187.

G. B. Kleiner<sup>1</sup>

## FORECASTABILITY, PREDICTABILITY, MANAGEABILITY OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT IN THE DIGITAL AGE

V. S. Chernomyrdin is ascribed to the following words: “Forecasting is a difficult thing, especially if we’re speaking about the future”.<sup>2</sup> Usually, these words are treated ironically. Meanwhile, the quotation has a fairly certain sense. The matter is that forecasting can encompass both the *domain of the future* (moving in time) and the *domain of the further* (moving in space). The domain of the future is the sphere, which can be approached moving along the time axis. However, description of the results of following some azimuth in space is no less interesting. For example, when transferring from one region to another, or from one country to another. Here, one can single out variants of unexpected and expected information. Let us say, appearance of a black swan or a white swan.

It’s advisable to use the “predictability” term to describe the effect of moving in space. V. V. Ivantsev clearly divides forecasting as a result of the analysis of future development scenarios that is made basing on models, algorithms, etc., and prediction as a direct statement referring to this or that situation in future.<sup>3</sup> Overall, forecasting can be characterized as the way from the past via the present to the future made based on a certain algorithm (model, scenario, calculation, etc.). Prediction is a way from the future to the present made via intuition, sensations, insight, etc. Thus, forecasting should be viewed as a consecutive process of movement along stages while prediction should be viewed as a result of short-term mental “spurt”. At the same time, forecastability means efficiency of a certain forecasting procedure (algorithm). Forecastability is related to the impact of socioeconomic factors and predictability to the effect of mental and psychological factors.<sup>4</sup> Finally, a forecast itself can be the result of forecasting and the result of prediction, as well as the result of performing them jointly. Consequently, origination of non-forecasted events is an evidence

of the time’s heterogeneity or non-uniformity, and origination of non-forecasted effects is mostly an evidence of the space’s heterogeneity or non-uniformity.

Overall, mastering information about the structure of economic space-time relies on both the process of forecasting (in the context of time) and the process of prediction (in the context of space).

Let’s note that the object of such planning within the framework of strategic planning is seen as a whole system in the spatial and temporal continuum and consequently can serve as a subject for forecasting and prediction at the same time. Thus, the strategic approach to analysis of economic processes and phenomena provides for integration of objective governing laws of development, reflected in the forecasting process, and subjective special features of reality’s perception, reflected in predictions. On the whole, the relation of prediction and forecasting is of a fairly complex character: forecasting as an instrumental analytical process has an impact on prediction as a subjective synthetic process, as a result of which self-adapting forecasts and self-realized predictions originate.

Integration of such gnoseological and ontological categories as space and time is also typical for the strategic approach. This parallelism is expressed in special features of human psychology, related to perception of time as changes in one’s own condition and perception of space as changes in other subjects’ condition.<sup>5</sup>

The “forecasting” term in the present economic discourse is most often used when speaking about analysis of the future in a relatively long time-period. It seems that it is not fully proper to speak about forecasting in the full sense of the word in a short-term perspective. The “prediction” term is more advisable to be used for a short-term “spurt”. In particular, when speaking about a reaction of some system’s closest circle to its some or the other actions, for example, increase or decrease of output, change of process, we should sooner speak about prediction of the circle’s reaction.

The most natural forecasting field is “slow” socioeconomic processes, where forecasted processes’ features change insignificantly in the long term, and changes are smooth. Thus, K. Marx’s theory of social formations describes global socioeconomic development as a change of formations, each of which lasts for a long time and keeps the type of interrelations between production relations and production forces intact. The concept of the type of a certain country as a socioeconomic system can serve as a formation approach analogue for forecasting local (country) socioeconomic processes. We’re speaking about four types of systems – object, environmental, process and project-type systems characterized by the degree of impact of spatial/temporal limitations of this system’s functioning.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, four types of countries can be singled out among countries, characterized by sustainable perception (vision) of country’s development prospects within the existing bor-

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Director of the Central Economics and Mathematics Institute of the RAS, Chair of the System Analysis in Economics at the University of Finance under the Government of the Russian Federation, scientific adviser of the Faculty of Economics and Management of the Dubna University, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Author of more than 700 academic papers, including monographs: “Collective Forms of Economic Management in Today’s Economy” (coauthor), “The Economy’s Systemic Balance” (coauthor), “The Strategy of Enterprise”, “The Knowledge Micro-Economy” (coauthor), “Economics. Modeling. Mathematics”, “The Evolution of Institutional Systems”; articles: “Econometric Dependencies: Principles and Methods of Constructions” (coauthor), “The System Coordination in Economics: To the Establishment of the General Coordination Theory”, “The Evolution of the Leading Paradigms in Modern Economic Science”, “State – Region – Sector – Enterprise: the Framework of the Systemic Russian Economy’s Sustainability”, “What Kind of Economy Russia Requires: Analysis Based on System Modeling” and others. Chief editor of the Economic Science of Modern Russia magazine. Chairman of the Academic Council of the Social Sciences Department of the RAS “Problems of Complex Development of Industrial Enterprises”. He was awarded the first and second-class medals of the Order of Merit for the Motherland.

<sup>2</sup> Viktor Chernomyrdin: Quotations. URL: [https://www.e-reading.club/bookreader.php/1020265/Chernomyrdin\\_-\\_Viktor\\_Chernomyrdin\\_citaty.html](https://www.e-reading.club/bookreader.php/1020265/Chernomyrdin_-_Viktor_Chernomyrdin_citaty.html) (accessed: 16.03.2019).

<sup>3</sup> Ivantsev V. V. Forecast as Prediction // Russian Newspaper (Rossiyskaya Gazeta). 2016. No 258 (7126). URL: <https://rg.ru/2016/11/14/viktor-ivantsev-potencial-rosta-ekonomiki-rossii-eto-6-8-procentov.html> (accessed: 16.03.2019).

<sup>4</sup> Brushlinsky A. V. Thinking and Forecasting: (logical and psychological analysis). Moscow : Mysl, 1979.

<sup>5</sup> See: Kant I. The Critique of Pure Reason. Moscow : Eksmo-Press, 2015.

<sup>6</sup> Kleiner G. B. System Economics as the Platform for Modern Economic Theory’s Development // Economic Issues. 2013. No 6. P. 4–28.

ders in the geopolitical space. A country seeing development prospects in intensification of its own territory's use is referred to the object type (e.g. the European Union); a country seeing its task in expanding its territory and influence in a short-term is referred to the process type (e.g. China); a country realizing its mission in developing innovative processes and projects within the existing territory is referred to the project type (e.g. North America). Finally, a country with predominantly extensive and technological character of development is referred to environmental-type countries (e.g. Russia). Referring a country to a certain type is stable and not changed for decades or even hundreds of years. Transformation is possible as a change, but it is most often the result of geopolitical upheavals (wars, revolutions, natural calamities, etc.). Thus, the basis of development forecasting for such countries for long periods of time is identification of their types as socioeconomic systems and prediction of possible socioeconomic or geopolitical mutations.

Forecasting on historical scales or human development as a whole is also based on the "piece and line" approach related to singling out human development stages. Usually homo habilis (handy or skilled man), homo erectus (walking upright man), homo sapiens (sensible or wise man) are singled out. Yuval Harari characterizes the next stage of historical movement as origination of homo deus – a man-demiurge with unlimited power over nature and artificial factors. Consequently, forecasting here as in the case of the formation approach, is based on defining transformation points, when one type of man is to transform into another. To put it differently, forecasting here also links up with identification in essence.

"Pure" forecasting partly cedes the dominant place to "pure" prediction in tasks related to managing countries' development and the global community as a whole during a significant time-period. Definite differentiation of the "forecasting" and "prediction" terms acquires special importance in this environment to research the processes of management and determination of manageability.

Management is understood as activities performed by the subject of management and directed to achievement of certain (targeted) characteristics of the condition or functioning of the managed object. Impacts on the managed object by the subject of management are a certain manifestation of such activities. Determination of the supposed result of such impact is based on the idea of prediction. In essence, a spatial jump from the system, representing the subject of management, to the system representing the managed object, is meant here. Thus, management supposes a natural reaction to managerial actions, worded in a supposition that the environment of the managed object can be forecasted.

Depending on the degree and direction of the managed object's reaction to managerial impact, we are speaking about either a bigger or a smaller manageability of this object. Recently, in the context of world development, the range of possible impact measures used by one country as the subject of management in relation to the other as the managed object, considerably expanded. Such impact variants as targeted sanctions, electronic attacks and social network actions are taking place in relations between countries besides traditional diplomatic influence and military interventions. Each kind of such impact brings about some change of the current state of urgent tasks and long-term

plans of the object under effect. Evidently, the degree and character of reaction can be viewed as indicators of this country's external manageability.

Predictability and manageability in a number of situations are in contrast to each other. Predictability means a possibility to predict results of development. Manageability means a possibility to change the movement of the managed system with the help of subjectively appointed targets. At the same time, predictability and manageability are two sides of one coin. From the point of view of the systemic approach, management is interaction of two systems: the subject of management and the managed object, at the same time the managed object intersects the subject's environment, and the subject is included in the object's environment. As a result, the process of management is in a certain sense of a symmetrical character, including direct and inverse relationships if required. The manageability of the managed object in this context is based on predictability of its reaction, and predictability of the subject's actions is based on the subject's reflection as appraisal of the connection between management and its results. Both forecasting and prediction are included in the process of management. Forecasting is referred to slow and distanced in time and space processes, and prediction to quickly-changing and closely-placed to the subject and the managed object's processes. Management, as well as forecasting, deals with a set of already existing phenomena or processes, while origination of new essences is prediction's prerogative. It's not accidental that most traditional forecasting methods are based on temporal extrapolation, and prediction is based on spatial analogue (homomorphism).

In the today's world, attempts of external impact on a country's behaviour have become exceptionally widespread. This was assisted by the globalization process, enhancement of borders' transparency between states, formation of network communications and development of artificial intelligence systems. Internet expansion led to origination of numerous informal and sometimes non-watched groups, with more or less clearly defined aims and interests. In their turn, generation of such groups in a number of cases helped to expand terrorism within the geopolitical spatial and temporal continuum. Regulation of negative manifestation of these processes considerably lacks behind both in urgency and efficiency if compared with the rates of origination, migration and reconfiguration of terrorist groups. Will this contradiction intensify in the period of further digitalization of the socioeconomic space? Before answering this question, let's word the digitalization concept within the framework of the foreseen future, to put it differently, within the "digital age". Let's proceed from the supposition that age here, like in other cases, will be the succession of decades, more or less in accordance with the periods of new elements' origination in the field of digital transformation of socioeconomic space. It's expedient to start calculating the significant impact of digitalization understood as the process of organic inclusion of computers and information and communication technologies in socioeconomic relations, from the 1950s – the time when electronic computers appeared. The important symbolic sense lies in the "digital age" idea if we number its decades from 0 to 9. According to B. Weber, the succession of numbers from 0 to 9 symbolizes the universal evolution development cycle from the simple to

the complex.<sup>1</sup> If applied to development of computer systems based on digitalization, this cycle looks as follows:

- 0 – presentiments, futurological ideas;
- 1 – mechanical adding machines;
- 2 – desktop computers, mainframe;
- 3 – smartphones;
- 4 – man and computer symbiosis (chipping);
- 5 – hybrid man-computer;
- 6 – computer self-birth;
- 7 – dominance of robots, threat of computers' victory;
- 8 – prerequisites for man's and computer's split;
- 9 – man's dissolving in robot environment (“predatory things of the century”);
- 0 – new cycle of digital civilization.

Currently, the arrow of the “digital dial” (for the purpose of discussion) is between 3 and 4. Human chipping is only gaining momentum. In future, human-and-machine systems based on interlacing biological creatures, social formations and electronic constructions, will allow to extract, accumulate and process a lot of data, information, knowledge and models, in detail reflecting the condition and prospects of live, inanimate, social and spiritual matter. This will create prerequisites for the sought synthesis of forecasting and prediction, and that, in its turn, can change the foundations of interrelations between members of the geopolitical global community. It's already now possible to notice active formation of the new stratum in international relations based on individual information interaction via social networks between people living in different countries. We should think that the existing language barriers will be soon overcome by developing smart automatic translation tools. The “people's diplomacy” field will originate, adding to the inter-state diplomacy and allowing in particular to expand the possibilities of one country's impact on another. Formation of “augmented reality” including artificial intellectual and emotional companions or even friends creates opportunities for manipulating public conscience of people living in various countries. Collection, analysis and generalization of empirical data in the behavior of certain individuals combined with artificial intelligence methods will make not only inter-state borders, but also walls of offices and apartments transparent for information. We can men-

tion that the amounts of collected data grow in geometric progression, while ciphering means and access limitations to individual data grow only in arithmetic progression. Attempts of non-sanctioned penetration into information and communication channels between the population and administrative bodies in the practice of interrelations between countries are often answered asymmetrically in the form of sanctions and other “crude” measures of state actions.

We should expect origination of hybrid world development forecasting/prediction systems, in which data of empirical observations over behaviour, psychological special features of perception and emotional special features of separate individuals' and social groups' reactions will be integrated. Such hybrid forecasting/prediction systems will allow to determine aims and means of some countries' managerial impacts on the others more precisely. Means of agent-focused, system-focused and intellect-focused modeling, combining methods of computer, mathematical and psychological reflections of real processes and phenomena, will be synthesized in such systems. To put it differently, natural intellect of individuals, social intellect of population groups and artificial intellect of computer systems will be engaged here as logical and computing program constructions and approximative possibilities of neural networks.

The problem of modeling new entities origination process will be solved – origination, as a result of synchronized evolution of live, inanimate, social and spiritual matter, including possible revealing of the secret of live matter's origination out of nonorganic compounds.<sup>2</sup> Integral functioning models for countries included in the global community can be built on this foundation, combining dynamic interaction and evolution models for object, project, process and environmental systems at macro-, meso-, micro- and nano-levels.

You should not think that all the variety of means and tools for forecasting, prediction and management described above will be focused on confrontation and imposing some countries' interests on the others. There is a wide stripe among possible ways of development for rapprochement and integration of countries' interests, preserving and possibly even enhancing the variety of the global sociopolitical landscape.

**G. W. Kolodko<sup>3</sup>**

## ECONOMY AND SECURITY, OR COLD WAR TWO

The times are peaceful and yet wars are on. We have quite some regional conflicts and local clashes erupting, but it's a lesser evil than a great global explosion. Luckily disputes between the titans of the world have been bloodless to date.

<sup>1</sup> *Werber B.* Encyclopedia of Relative and Absolute Knowledge. Moscow : Geleos, Ripol Classic, 2007. P. 180.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Brown D.* Origin. Moscow : AST ; Neoclassic, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), Director of the Research Institute at the Kozminski University (Warsaw), foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Author of 50 books and over 400 articles published in 26 languages, selected works: “Neither Washington, nor Beijing Consensus, but the New Pragmatism”, “Towards a Better future: Integration Perspectives”, “World in Motion”, “Globalization, Transformation, Crisis – What's Next?”, “From Shock to Therapy. Political Economy of Post-Socialist Transformations”, “Whither the World: The Political Economy of the Future” and others. Member of

There are no saints here when it comes to intentions and acts as none of the three contemporary most powerful actors on the political and military scene – the United States, China and Russia – is free from guilt. All three are flexing their muscles, which ruins the international relations and reeks of a new cold war, while doing harm to economic cooperation and to efforts to create a more inclusive version of globalization.

Unfortunately, we can already speak of Cold War Two. That's how I referred to the present state of affairs several years ago, on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the start of World War One. Back then I wrote: “One hundred the European Academy of Arts, Sciences and Humanities Research. Honorary Doctor of 10 foreign universities.

years ago a war was unleashed. It lasted for almost four and a half years, millions of people were killed. In the beginning nobody realized it would be a world war, but it quickly turned this way. In the 1920s and 1930s, it was referred to as the Great War. It took another war, breaking out 25 years later, to get the previous one, that of 1914–1918, the name of World War One. Soon after World War Two, that of 1939–1945, was over, the Cold War was unleashed. This was done by the West in confrontation with the East, which was defeated decades later. It even so happened that after 1989 the “end of history” was announced on that occasion. How prematurely...

After only generation of more or less peaceful times, Cold War Two was started. Indeed, the one of 1946–1989 will be referred to by historians as Cold War One. It was won by those who started it: the West. Now the West, too, is getting Cold War Two started. But it won't win this one. Neither will the East win it. It will be won by China, which is doing its own thing, most of all consistently reforming and developing the economy, whose international position is strengthening with every year that passes. A few years, or over a decade from now, when both US hawks with their allies, and those from Russia, get weary of their cold war imprudence, China will be a yet greater superpower; both in absolute terms and relatively, compared to the USA, European Union, Russia... Also the position of other countries, including the emancipating economies refusing to be dragged into another cold war turmoil will be relatively better” [8]. Well, that is exactly the goal: not to get dragged into it.

The richest country of the world, the United States, instead of increasing its aid expenditure, mindful of co-creating economic foundations for peaceful development, cuts it to have more funds for armament. Even though the level of the latter is already very high, the US Senate is pushing for a further increase of 80 billion in 2019 and 85 billion in 2020 [13]. As at 2018, the expenditure is set at 692.1 billion dollars, which represents an exponential, 18.7 percent growth compared to previous year. At the same time Russia is reducing its military expenditure by 9.2 percent, cutting it to 2.77 trillion rubles (42.3 billion dollars) [2]. This is surprisingly little compared to the USA, but relatively much more because while the USA earmarks “only” 3.3 percent of its budget to defense spending, in Russia it's ca. 5 percent. While the country's president Vladimir Putin justifies the military spending cut with the need to increase expenditure on healthcare, education, science and culture (which should be applauded), his detractors are quick to point out that it's only a short-term political marketing gimmick applied before the presidential election to be held in the spring of 2018 (which should be rebuked).

In China, the indicator describing the ratio of military spending to national income is nearly half of that of the USA and stands at 1.9 percent of GDP, but is quickly growing. In absolute amounts, Chinese military spending is merely a third of the American one, ca. 230 billion dollars a year, but let's remember that there is also expenditure incurred which is in fact military though it's posted as items other than “defense”, for example some research and development spending which evidently serves the army is realized in the “science” department. Let us add that this is not Chinese specificity; others do the same.

Hence, the Chinese military spending is still a small fraction of the American one, but it must be emphasized

that while the USA, despite the recently greatly increasing outlays, is still spending less than ten years ago, China is spending nearly 120 percent more. It's little consolation that others among the countries with the world's largest military budgets have increased their spending to a much lesser degree.

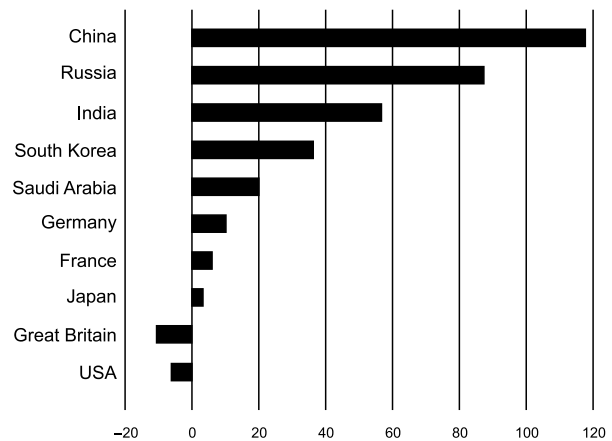


Fig. 1: Changes in major military powers' defense spending (percentage increase in 2007–2016).

Source: Own compilation based on the data of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute

Analysts in the field highlight the predominance of spending on defensive weapons and facilities in all of China's defense expenditure. One of the major tasks in this area is to develop the sector manufacturing weapons that, in the event of a conflict, would push away the US military power as far away as possible from the Chinese shores, preferably in the most remote Pacific areas. So the point is to move the enemy army away from one's own shores rather than bring one's own closer to somebody else's shores. This strategy is known in the military jargon as *anti-access / area denial*, A2AD. This, by no means, prevents developing various types of offensive weapons, including very sophisticated products such as drones, that China has started exporting on an increasing scale. It is far behind the USA and Russia, as well as the United Kingdom and France in that respect, but it is said that, with products having the 75 percent capacity of the Western ones, China sells them at 50 percent of the Western price [10]. To many buyers it's a great deal so, sadly, the arms race is again gaining impetus.

It is all the more worrying that the US President Donald Trump, rather than looking for conciliation and creating new channels for good international and global cooperation, a year since taking the world's still most important office, announces that China and Russia are not so much the United States' partners but rivals. It comes as little surprise then that even such an opinion-leading weekly as the Anglo-American “The Economist” cautions against the growing threat of a conflict between superpowers erupting. It was no coincidence that it did so in the issue published during the annual World Economic Forum in January 2018 to further raise the adrenaline level of politicians and business people, financiers and bankers, academics and media representatives meeting in Davos [12]. So do we have anything to fear? And if so, who and what is the threat?

In many parts of the world, there's especially a lot of scaremongering about China, its growing power supposedly threatening the peace of others. The country is feared not only by some from the same region, not only by the immediate neighbors like Japan or South Korea, India or Pakistan, but also in more remote part of the world, including the West, especially the United States and some European countries succumbing to Sinophobia. In others, on the contrary, China's expansion inspires some hope for a more balanced world, a new global order where a counterbalance emerges to the dominance of the West with its eyes fixed on its own interests only.

The anti-Chinese narrative is especially becoming stronger among the US establishment and some, notably conservative, media and part of social science community. Excessive irritability is certainly undesirable and harmful in the business sphere, though it can be justified by situations where capitalists and executives managing their companies get frustrated by their inability to keep up with foreign competition, which is often identified with China. It's even worse if the ones losing their temper are politicians and lobbyists, also those linked to the media and the academic and research community.

What strikes me as something unheard of, for a long time, maybe since the last cold world, is the aggressive, more emotional than rational public attack (rather than a cold matter-of-fact criticism) of "The Economist" weekly, which entitled its cover story "How the West got China wrong". It argues that the West "bet that China would head towards democracy and the market economy. The gamble has failed. (...) China is not a market economy and, on its present course, never will be. Instead, it increasingly controls business as an arm of state power. It sees a vast range of industries as strategic. Its "Made in China 2025" plan, for instance, sets out to use subsidies and protection to create world leaders in ten industries, including aviation, tech and energy, which together cover nearly 40 percent of its manufacturing" [3]. Well, it's a fact that China, rather than adopt-

ing the path of Western-style deregulated market economy, follows that of active economic interference, by running a well-oriented industrial policy, which, mind you, many western countries used to have in place, and some of them, for example South Korea, are still far from despising. If things were indeed as bad as persistently argued by those who are uncomfortable with the Chinese path because it makes life easier for the Chinese rather than for them, further considerations should be limited to searching for the answer to the question why this happened and what the implications are. However, reality is far more complicated.

Of course, the criticism of China is by no means unwarranted as its economic policy and systemic solutions oriented to improving the internal situation can be costly for others, who, under the current circumstances, are unable to keep up with competition. Irrespective of the structural inability to balance the US trade balance, which has been a major cause for anti-China resentments for some time now, there are also cases of China's espionage activities in the US and other Western countries as well as various attempts to use soft measures to influence what goes on there. However, the Chinese could learn more about it from Americans than vice versa.

The US trade deficit is, first and foremost, the function of the country's weak and not competitive enough export offering rather than that of unfair Chinese competition, as Donald Trump and other Sinophobes would have it. The time has come to understand that the fundamental cause of uncompetitiveness of some US sectors is living beyond one's means, which is manifested, among other things, by employees' wages, managers' compensations and owners' profits being excessive. In an extended cost/benefit analysis, wages are the main factor determining the costs, which ultimately turn out relatively too high on the liberalized world market. However, having recourse to protectionist practices will not be of much use in the long run, and a verbal attack on China will be of no use at all. It only ruins the atmosphere, which is already far from great.

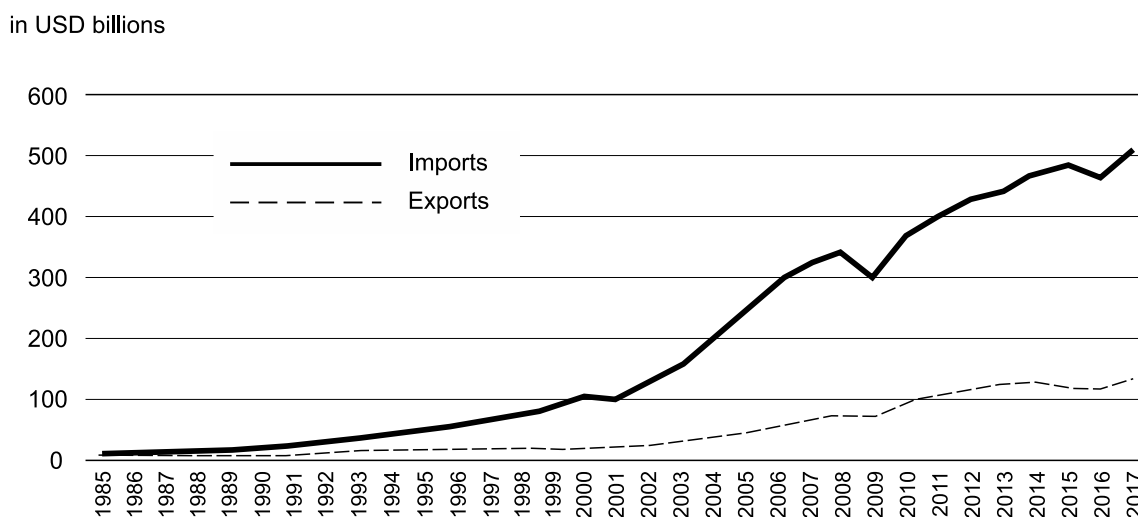


Fig. 2: US — China trade in 1985–2017 (in USD billions).

Source: Data of the International Monetary Fund

When denouncing the truly immense surplus of the Chinese exports to the US over the American ones to China, the countries' bilateral relations are not given a comprehensive evaluation. Poland, for instance, has relatively, compared to its national income, a much higher deficit in its trade with China, but it is able to balance it in total foreign trade, recording surpluses in other relations. Statistics tend to simplify the reality. It's a fact that in bilateral trade relations there are 12 times fewer dollars paid to Poland by China for its direct exports going there than for imports from China. At the same time, cars, whose components are manufactured in Poland, are a substantial portion of German exports to China. Cars are the top ranking item in the vast German exports amounting to USD 1.4 trillion, 6.4 percent of which go to China. Assuming that those German car exports contain, in terms of value, 10 percent of Polish automotive industry's products, the total amount is 30–35 billion zlotys (ca. 1.5 percent of GDP). Hence, if we conduct a comprehensive analysis, it turns out that the trade exchange with China creates a lot more jobs, income and budgetary revenues in Poland than it would seem on the surface of things.

The USA is unable to do that and constantly has a major trade deficit. In 2017, it amounted to 375 billion dollars in goods trade with China, with a total gap of 566 billion dollars. This fans the flames of rhetoric targeting China and some other countries, especially the neighboring Mexico, but it's still a far cry from the fever of McCarthy's time anti-Soviet aberration in 1950s. However, it's a fact that in Washington D. C. scaremongering about China is rife. "Chinese efforts to exert covert influence over the West are as concerning as Russian subversion" says Mike Pompeo, head of the US intelligence, CIA. "Think about the scale of the two economies (...). The Chinese have a much bigger footprint upon which to execute that mission than the Russian do" [4]. It has to make us wonder if not worry when this comes from one of Washington's most influential politicians.

Quite contradictory pictures are being painted on the historic scale. On the first one, imperialism, that of Western, capitalist variety, is supposed to be replaced with another, the Eastern and "communist" one. A real perspective or an ultimate irrationality, because neither is there communism in China, nor is the country striving to dominate the world? On the second painting, China is presumed to save the world from the rampant economic and environmental dangers as it has the exceptional capacity for long-term and comprehensive approach to problem-solving and is not selfishly focused on its interests only. The walls of our shared global house could be adorned with many more paintings that we could contemplate like in a gallery of eclectic arts.

Contrasting values, conflicts of interest, ambiguous situations, unclear intentions cause the same facts to be interpreted quite differently. While not a word of criticism was breathed on the occasion of Angela Merkel being appointed the chancellor of Germany for the fourth term in office, there was quite an uproar, when the provision of the Chinese constitution limiting the presidency to two terms was scrapped. Passing over the fact that the key position in the Chinese political hierarchy is the chairperson of the ruling single party, with the president having actually little say, some are inclined to decide, for this reason alone, that from that moment on, the current leader of China, Xi Jinping, who, mind you, has only started his second five-year

term in office, becomes a lifelong dictator. Meanwhile, others emphasize it's the right move which, in itself, does not determine who exactly will be yielding power, but, if necessary, enables continuity in the sphere of long-term development policy leadership. And that's of crucial importance at a time when an increasing number of problems require a long-term approach.

While leaving the "dictator or strategist" antinomy unresolved (and ignoring that, theoretically, one can be both), it's worth emphasizing that sometimes the limit on terms in office of public officials, who are elected too often for too little time, is precisely what entails the short-term thinking and actions, with the obvious negative consequences with respect to the socio-economic development. This kind of short-termism, or shortened time horizon in which various alternative action scenarios are considered, surely is not characteristic of the Chinese policy; quite the opposite. Many a times this is what makes the Chinese way of steering the economy superior, because the negative impact of political cycles on the economy, so typical of Western liberal democracy, does not occur in China.

In this beautiful democratic world of ours all kinds of referendums or elections keep taking place, in Greece or Italy, in the UK or in France, in Austria or the Netherlands, in Spain or Germany, whereas all is quiet in China... Somewhere in the faraway Brazil, the President was impeached, somewhere closer, in South Korea, the President was also deposed, in the South African Republic the President was forced to resign, whereas all is quiet in China... In North Africa and in the Middle East the Arab Spring compromised itself, whereas all is quiet in China... Even in the supposedly institutionally mature and economically advanced European Union, every now and then someone needs to be rebuked or removed from the position, whereas all is quiet in China... Well, at least relatively quiet.

China with its specific economic and political system developed over the last 70 years has become the focus of attention of many other catching-up countries. In a situation where the classical development economics failed, and fail it did [5, 6], to many an economist and politician – from Bangladesh to Senegal and Ecuador, from Asia to Africa and Latin America – the Chinese model that has proven itself in practice is worth an in-depth and critical observation as well as creative adaptation and application back home. China is a unique state, which, in just two generations, from 1978, when the gradual market reforms started, is changing its status from that of a *low income country* (as per World Bank's terminology) to *high income country*, which level it is estimated to reach already in 2024 [7].

When pointing to four fundamental differences between highly and poorly developed countries, or, looking from a different perspective, rich and poor countries, what is emphasized is the superiority of the former in terms of capital endowment, technological advancement, educational capabilities, human capital quality and the development level of modern infrastructure. In each of those respects, China has made an immense quantitative and qualitative progress. In some respects it is even ahead of rich countries, especially when it comes to investors' disposable capital and some elements of hard infrastructure. Suffice to realize that three decades ago there were hardly 600 km of motorways nationwide, and now there are a hundred times more, ca. 60 thousand kilometers. While there

were no high-speed trains at all, presently their network is 20 thousand km long (there aren't any in the USA). From this point of view, China is doing quite well and lags behind only slightly, if at all. Meanwhile, soft infrastructure is where the backwardness compared to the highly developed West is still visible.

Poor countries are poor mostly because they have not mastered the skills of administering the economy and regulating economic processes. Without those skills, the market alone is of little use; it is functional for a fair or a local market, but not for a greatly complex body that is national economy, and the society and state operating within its framework. Whoever has seen the liveliness and indefatigable energy of people on the streets of Dhaka or Lima or on the border of Nigeria and Benin, will undeniably acknowledge the laboriousness and enterprise of this human mass, but it's hard to see in this multitude of moving people and goods any sophisticated forms of organization, management, coordination, supervision, control. This may be enough when you trade in boxes of tomatoes or batteries for flashlights (imported from China, where else?), but not when it's about modern, highly complex, dynamic economic systems. What one needs there is an advanced level of administration and mature regulation, which is in chronic shortage in the poorest countries.

Shortcomings in the sphere of market economy institutions are one of the principal reasons for the poor condition of economies [1]. What is meant here is institutions in behavioral rather than organizational sense, or the rules of conduct, rules of the game in the economy, both those codified in the regulations of the applicable laws in force and those rooted in the culture and customs resulting from practical experience [9, 11].

In centrally planned economies, there was definitely no shortage of administration and regulation; there isn't any in China, either. However, those institutions were centralized and hierarchized in nature and would quite often take a cumbersome and overly bureaucratized form. Coupled with the state socialism's typical tendency to favor hard industry, including arms industry, this was conducive to mobilizing funds and accumulating capital necessary for expansion, but the attendant high priority of production of means of production did not favor production of means of consumption. No wonder then that such superpowers as the Soviet Union (first) or China (later) were capable of organizing the production of a nuclear bomb and conquering space, but unable to ensure continued supplies of food products to their population.

China, setting the historical course for catching up with developed countries, radically diminished four of the differences setting it apart from rich economies and made a great progress in eliminating the institutional gap. This is achieved not only by actively adapting the institutions that prove effective in market economies of the West and modifying some of the earlier used methods of administration and regulation, but also by implementing its own original institutional solutions. Also here one can clearly see the importance of creative continuity and change management in economy reinstitutionalization. There is still much to be done and, certainly, when it comes to catching up with rich countries in the future, there is more to be done in this very field than in the sphere of physical and human capital accumulation, modern technologies and hard infrastructure.

That's where one of the main chapters of the battle for the future will play out.

But... Exactly, there is no shortage of "buts". In the same way as there may be too little or too much cholesterol in the blood circulating in a biological organism, in a social economic circulation, too, with respect to production and storage, distribution and sale, savings and investments, banking and finance, enterprises and state, there may be too few or too many institutions. Moreover, just like there is good and bad cholesterol, there are also good and bad institutions. Thus, not every institutional change promotes growth and economic equilibrium, or contributes to economic development. Sometimes it's the opposite. If administration, intervention and regulation do not serve to accumulate capital and optimize its allocation, but to help bureaucratized and corrupt state apparatus, those notorious "officials" and "political elites", to suck out some fruits of collective economic activities, then it's like bad cholesterol. An organism can also suffer when there is deficiency of good cholesterol, or when there's a deviation in the opposite direction. This happens if the weakness of the state and its regulatory functions allows unscrupulous business people, the infamous "capitalists" to prey on the results of somebody else's work.

In contemporary China, such institutional risk is abundant as many issues are not yet finally settled, if, at all, they could be ever decided for good. Considering the economic system is *in statu nascendi* and undergoing many changes in the sphere of economic regulation, which, in many cases can cause over-regulation, on the one hand, and under-regulation, on the other, it's hard to say which of the two currently poses a greater threat in China. Both should be constantly watched out for.

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A. D. Korol<sup>1</sup>

## THE PEDAGOGICAL CHALLENGE OF THE EAST AND WEST DIALOGUE: SILENCE IN TEACHING

The dialogue of two outstanding civilizations of the cultural type – Eastern and Western – has always been important. Many historians still have not found the answer in the unique era of the humanity preceding the origination of Christianity – the Hellenistic period – to the question which civilization had a bigger impact on the other? Was the East westernized or the West orientalized?

In the middle of the previous century, John Dewey, Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, George Santayana expressed their opinion as to a possible dialogue of Eastern and Western cultures. All three said no. “You are speaking about the ‘synthesis’ of Eastern and Western philosophies. But that could have been achieved only by ravaging and emptying both systems.”<sup>2</sup> “The dialogue of Western and Eastern cultures is not as much unthinkable as it is actually unrealizable because of the fundamental heterogeneity of civilization origins and principles; only business and practically positional relations are possible, with comprehension and preservation of their heterogeneity and fatally irremovable antinomy.”<sup>3</sup>

Is education of individuals capable to have an impact on representatives of various cultures hearing each other? According to Hessen’s apt expression, there are as many educations as cultures. How much is cultural and historical “hearing” is on the whole comparable with the human ability to see stereotypes and avoid barriers in communications? As, according to Carl Jung, the nation’s anima is only more complex structure than an individual’s anima.

### Civilizations of silence and speech: reasons of non-understanding

The reason of one individual’s non-understanding the other is complex and interdisciplinary, and lies at the level of psychology, philosophy, and logic. In order to avoid barriers in communications, it’s important to teach an individual to go beyond one’s own limits and watch oneself as an onlooker. The deep dialogic basis lies in the main xenologic principle: “We can cognize ourselves as much as what we are not.” An individual cognizes the surrounding world from himself, making his own discoveries, and opens to the world. Philosophical works by M.M. Bakhtin, Hans-Georg Gadamer

and many others confirm that an individual’s “deepening” and “expanding” are the essence of differences of Western and Eastern cultures that created an enormous barrier in understanding each other by representatives of the two outstanding civilizations of the cultural type. “An individual is deified and worshipped” – “Mind is deific”: these two formulae reflect the character of Eastern and Western cultures.<sup>4</sup>

In China, the worldview ideas of the matter (condition of both material and spiritual phenomena) had a *continuous and undulating character, and atomistic*, discrete in Ancient Greece and India. These differences can be seen in the language – the mentality matrix. The basis of the Western type of mentality is **Figure One** (Greek Monad, Christian God – the absolute Figure One). The original Figure One as a starting point assumes a consecutive, cause-and-effect row, disposing for the linear, discursive, extravert type of thinking. The basis of the Eastern or Buddhist type of mentality is **Zero**, the absolute Zero (Shunya) or the fullness of the non-displayed and non-revealed world. Such an idea could not fail to generate the model of the world as the Buddhist logic of the Whole, it brought about the character of artistic consciousness, individual’s attitude to life and oneself.

George Needham similarly writes that there is a special hieroglyph in the Chinese language – the organic whole, gestalt (image), because of that the mind brought up at the ideographic language would be hardly open for perception of the idea of the atomistic structure of the matter. In contrast to hieroglyphs, letters as phonetic abstractions atomize the fixed experience already at the most elementary level of writing.

According to Erich Fromm, the atomic nature of consciousness generates the logic “*A is not equal to B*” – the forerunner of *communications* that demonstrates the outside and not the “inner” history of the individual. It’s not accidental that this principle is similar to the male style of communications based, according to psychologists, on rational ways of interaction.

There are completely different fruits of world perception in case of the “undulatory” theory of consciousness. The *Eastern civilization* “became attached” to the inner: according to philosopher E. Fromm, the paradoxical thinking is based on the equality of A and non-A, and that generated tolerance, indulgence as well as aspiration for transformation of the self by an individual.<sup>5</sup>

Interrelations of the East and the West can be expressed in the *terms of speaking and silence*, a sign and lack of

<sup>1</sup> Rector of the Belarusian State University, Dr. Sc. (Pedagogy), Professor. Author of more than 200 academic papers, including “Dialogue in Education: Heuristic Aspect”, “Heuristic Teaching”, “Pedagogy of Dialogue: from Methodology to Teaching Methods”, “Teaching via Discovery: Looking for a Student. The Book for Teacher and Parent”, etc. He was awarded diplomas by the Russian Authors’ Society, Socrates medal, “Excellent Worker of Education” badge by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Belarus.

<sup>2</sup> *Stepanyants M. T.* From Eurocentrism to Intercultural Philosophy // *Philosophical Issues*. 2015. No 10. P. 150.

<sup>3</sup> *Anikeyev Ye. N.* Dialogue of Civilizations: East – West // *Philosophical Issues*. 1998. No 2. P. 177.

<sup>4</sup> *Khoruzhyy S. S.* About the Old and the New. St. Petersburg : Aleteya, 2000. P. 410.

<sup>5</sup> See: *Fromm E.* To Have or to Be? Moscow : Progress, 1986.

sign. Soviet and Russian philosopher G. Pomerants says that the essential element of “mystery touching the heart” in the South and Far East is not a sign but negation of all signs – emptiness or silence.<sup>1</sup> Speaking as presence of signs is the symbol of the Western culture, silence as a “pause”, deepness has direct kinship to the Eastern symbol of culture, the primary of the inner against the external, continuous against the discrete.

These conclusions are based on numerous cultural studies, and social and psychological research in the field of the dialogue of cultures.<sup>2</sup> In particular, they certify the conformity between interaction of interlocutors in a dialogue, interaction of cultures and cerebral hemispheres.

The difference in ways of thinking determines different ideas of the nature of personality as well as *meanings and purposes of education*. There are two ancient views on the essence of human nature: *a Human is a clean sheet, and a Human is a seed of an unknown plant*. If a pupil (student) is a clean sheet, the main target is to fill it with as small handwriting as possible. Then the question “What to teach?” will have a fairly certain answer – to teach achievements of the humanity.

A completely different view on what a Human is, allows us to speak about a different system of didactics, the main principle of which is to *find out, reveal and realize the individual's potential*. Each seed of an unknown plant has its purpose – cultural, psychological, social, etc., its destiny and its mission. At the same time, the cultural and historical heritage's role is the role of a mirror in which the student sees the created by him unique educational product and cognizes himself.

Saint Isaac the Syrian wrote in his *Devotee's Words*: “Silence is the sacrament of the future age, and words are the tool of this world.”<sup>3</sup> The “future” (in those words) 21st century has come. This age is the world of noise and chaos, “*more and more increasing speaking, “the world striving for total expression”*.”<sup>4</sup>

Currently, a student drowns in the universal noise – information, he hears himself and the others worse, according to H. Gadamer, he is becoming more and more monological – in thinking, behavior, and communications. However, the world of total speaking is the world of *silence as a stage* – when there is nothing to say. The essence of such silence is well-presented in Z. Mirkina's words: “The Lord is stupefied by our bustle and the Devil by this complete silence...” (Z. Mirkina). Or G. Tranströmer's words: “*Satiated by those coming with worlds but sounding as silence...*”

Monologism is the *reason of mass copying the alien*, aiming to zero the content of communications not only with other people but also with oneself. The student in education is silent literally and figuratively – he reproduces the thoughts of others, has no opportunity for communica-

tions that would open him to the world and himself, generating new meanings and contents. Loss of individual's social “hearing” as an inability to have a dialogue leads to silence as a stage.

At the same time, the student's silence has the second pole – silence as competence where the student “discovers” himself: his meanings, purposes, knowledge, mission. According to Indian popular wisdom, “The one who keeps silent knows twice as much as a chatterbox.”

What are the reasons of student's monologic behavior and communications? The main meanings, purposes, content of education are to copy, pass over the polycultural experience of the humanity to a “monocultural” student – and they are also monological. Filling the “clean sheet” with external, “alien” writings means not to take the student himself into account – his mission, destiny, special features.

As a result, monologism of the system of education produces a Monological Student, does not change the individual, allows him to look at the world with somebody else's eyes, performs as a stereotype factory of thinking, communication, behavior.<sup>5</sup> It performs as the core and the driving force for the increase of the mass character and large scales of phenomena, confirming one of G. Tarde's theories of historical development.

Gabriel Tarde's theory says that history is a collision of imitation circles. The number of imitators, patterned and monological graduates of various educational institutions determines the *speed of changes in the surrounding world*, which also reflects the *rapidness of individual's losing the ability to conduct an intercultural dialogue*.

The reason is that a monologue in education leads to thinning of the individual's inner space – the space of meanings, values, self-identity, ability to hear oneself and the others – representatives of another culture. The well-known psychologist Philip Zimbardo wrote, with the life in big and small cities as an example, that people with regular time deficit were less inclined to help others than those who were not in a hurry to go anywhere. An individual stops “hearing” others because he does not “hear” himself.

The inner individual's *space* that lives communicating with other spaces of other individuals is connected with his *language* and, consequently, the dialogue of inner forms: word, action, image.

Copying information like a virus “kills” the individual's space of change, meanings and communication. The less space there is inside, the bigger “hunger, ego and aggression” are felt by an individual. He suffers from suffocation – insufficiency of space inside himself, comprehension of his self. Quanta or atoms of information are the “black holes” of meanings and the inner individual's space. Swallowing up and absorbing information, the student swallows millions of quanta of Trojan horses that destroy him.

### Illusion of knowledge as barriers in communications

The loss of individual's ability to hear another individual means the loss of wholeness and disintegration separately into zero and one, speaking and silence. The wholeness is not zero but only zero together with Figure One like the truth not existing in the head of a certain individual but only in the process of their dialogic interaction (M. M. Bakhtin).

<sup>1</sup> Pomerants G. S. The Roads of Spirit and Zigzags of History: Works of Recent Years. Moscow : ROSSPAN, 2008. P. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See: Stepanyants M. T. From Eurocentrism to Intercultural Philosophy // Philosophical Issues. 2015. No 10. P. 150–162 ; Ivanov V. V. Odd and Even. Asymmetry of the Brain and Symbol Systems. Moscow : Soviet Radio. 1978 ; Kuchinsky G. M. Dialogue and Thinking. Minsk : Byelorussian State Univ. Press, 1983.

<sup>3</sup> Isaac the Syrian (Isaac of Ninevah). About Divine Mysteries and Spiritual Life: Spiritual Talks / translated from the Syrian, notes and afterword by Hegumen Illarion (Alfeyev). Moscow : Conception Monastery Press, 1993. P. 180.

<sup>4</sup> Baudrillard J. Simulacres and Simulation [translated from the French by A. Kachalov]. Moscow : Postum, 2015. P. 183.

<sup>5</sup> See: Korol A. D. The Stereotype as an Educational Problem // Philosophical Issues. 2013. No 10. P. 156–162.

The loss of student's subjectivity in a monologue of the externally set forth content of education with him leads to polarization of the signifier and the signified (if we use Roland Barthes terms), brings about growth of illusions and stereotypes, making any dialogue more difficult, especially the dialogue of cultures.

The monologue is focused on obtaining a part of the whole – information about the object. It's not accidental that the system of extracting knowledge in a dialogue – maieutics – has been defining **knowledge about one's ignorance** as the main educational knowledge since the time of Socrates. One-sidedness and halfness are the reason of barriers in understanding another one as the loss of wholeness. *Translation of the "sign" – achievements of the humanity without taking into account the social and cultural background of the student himself a priori leads to distortions in the world view, "closing" the way to oneself and the others by an individual, inability of a school graduate for the dialogue of cultures.*

Seeing the object in all details means seeing it close-up. Thus not having an opportunity to see everything surrounding the object – the so-called background. Hence the isle of knowledge that gets into the student's field of vision during classes stereotypically *being added on by him to construct some pattern*, and because of that contains a potential mistake.

Such kinds of illusions are characteristic of *physiological processes*, for example, optical as well as social. The basis of visual illusions (visual perception error) is similar and means that an individual often sees the object itself without noticing the background. Seeing a particular but not the whole is one of the central reasons of human life's stereotyping.

**Focusing attention on an object** is the way to distort knowledge, space and time, "brain shut-off" according to Buddhists. To put it differently, **a sign, speaking is always a mistake**. *The very thought about something is concentration and because of that it is erroneous from the point of view of the Dao philosophy.* "Insight comes when the thought exhausts itself," that's one of the Dao maxims.

A vivid example of the social illusion is the **fundamental error of casual attribution**. The essence is that in this or that event an outside viewer is inclined to overestimate personal qualities of the subject responsible for the event and not notice the background – the situation that brought about the event.

The Chinese phrase that the one who says does not know and the one who knows does not say, confirms the effects listed above. There is always an error in presentation, lacunae of silence in case of transfer from an image, plan or conception to its description in words. The meaning of the original image lost while speaking turns into distortions of the reality, illusions. *Lacunae of silence are barriers in understanding Another One, communications with him originate in the course of transfer from the whole to the monological – unidirectional.* There are various types of barriers in communications – semantic, informational, and psychological.<sup>1</sup> These barriers characterize the borders of individual's inner space, the borders of his identity. At the same time they serve the reason of one individual's failure to understand another individual, inability to hear.

<sup>1</sup> See: *Ilyin Ye. P. Psychology of Communications and Interpersonal Relations.* St. Petersburg : Piter, 2009. 576 p.

*There barriers go beyond the framework of a certain individual and spread outside him – to interrelations with other people.* The more silence there is inside an individual – silence at the "exhaustion" stage, when there is nothing new to say, the more silence there is *between people as* silence in the world: total speaking and idle talking.

That's the **logos** of education today, and as a result the humanity rapidly moves to the post-humanism stage. The decline of the "clean sheet" concept in education is very well illustrated in the *Brave New World*, a novel by Aldous Huxley.<sup>2</sup> The hypnopedic teaching method is described there, it means that people were suggested one and the same phase day and night, the same postulates. One of the characters exclaims: "62,400 repetitions – and you have the ready-made truth!" Hypnopedia is similar to translation, it does not take subjectivity into account and because of that it is a monologue.

Copying does not just expand the external borders of an individual but multiplies the amounts of *pleasure*. That's the reason why students answer negatively to the question asked by one of A. Huxley's characters: "Have you ever run across insurmountable obstacles?" There are no efforts in future education.

Learning and mastering the "alien" leads to post-individual's mentality and knowledge generated by it being "made a prosthetic appliance" by communication and information. A post-individual is an "expanded man".

One individual's understanding of another individual is the act of his self-change that takes place in the process of student discovering himself. *Discovery of oneself is the change of the inner space in comparison with the outside space.* The pedagogical mechanism capable to provide deep understanding of another individual is silence. An individual's "coming back" – his inner space of meanings takes place in silence.

L. N. Tolstoy, the author of the free development school, wrote that *people learn how to speak when the main science is how and when to be silent.*<sup>3</sup> "The tragedy of today's school is that a child there is taken away the right to be silent", V. V. Bibikhin echoed him.<sup>4</sup>

What do we understand under silence in pedagogy? In the *Eastern pedagogic tradition* in contrast to viewing an individual as a "clean sheet", an individual is looked upon as a "seed of an unknown plant". Such a methodological view of the human essence and the question "What to teach for?" certify the inner, holistic and not the external rational way of cognizing the reality. For example, the main teaching of truth in India is the ontological concept of two truths: the higher – paramartha and the lower – vyavahara. Hence logical and epistemological truths acquire the lower status than truths allowing to achieve the highest level of reality.

Truth in the *Sufi teachings* is revealed only in *personal experience*, and the heart is the main organ of cognition. The heart's cognitive ability is not identical to the epistemological ability of the mind.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See: *Huxley A. Brave New World.* Moscow : AST, 2015.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Tolstoy L. N. Complete Works in 100 vol. Vol. 45: The Way of Life (1910) / text preparation and comments by N. N. Gusev, I. I. Gorbunov-Posadov.* Moscow : Goslitizdat, 1956.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibikhin V. V. The Language of Philosophy.* 3rd edition, ster. St. Petersburg : Nauka, 2007. P. 29.

<sup>5</sup> See: *Zhirtueva N. S. Typology of Universal and Individual Special Features of Mystic Traditions of the World // Philosophical Issues.* 2016. No 4. P. 60–70.

The priority of the inner in comparison with the outside means deepening and not expansion of the outside individual's borders, determines silence as the main methodological tool for cognizing oneself and the surrounding world. Let us mention the specific, mystic and religious role of silence in all ancient Eastern teachings: Daoism, Buddhism, culture of American Indians. Silence is presented as a psychological and emotional practice, manifestation of austerity, reticence and consequently, the method of **self-understanding, formation of moral, will-power qualities of the person, the way to communicate with the Creator.**

Reflection of the reality without distortions, presenting an opportunity to "all things to be what they are"<sup>1</sup> is the guarantee for one individual's perception of another individual as an **equal**. A possibility to see him from different perspectives, have a dialogue with him.

The issue of understanding everything and meta-subject knowledge is close to all-forgiving: "To understand everything, to forgive everything." The ability "to see things as they really are" introduces the way to the *dialogue between representatives of various cultures*.

If silence in the East is the practice of psychological and emotional cognizing the truth, "silence" category studies are a considerable theoretical part of the European rational heritage of philosophy. Many outstanding Western thinkers addressed the philosophical problem of silence, such as S. Kierkegaard<sup>2</sup>, M. Heidegger<sup>3</sup>, E. Husserl.<sup>4</sup> A number of works under the same title, *The Philosophy of Silence, The Methodology of Silence*, are an attempt of a chorus of rational voices from the West to penetrate the mystery of the East, zealously kept and protected.<sup>5</sup>

There is much more silence in the **pedagogical** research of silence than in philosophy or linguistics. We're mainly speaking about the *moral and ethical, psychophysiological* aspect of silence, formation of child's discipline, working at his attention.<sup>6</sup> It's appropriate to remember M. Montessori's lessons, the lady who proved that the unity of the body, state of mind and spirit was achieved by movement and silence and that inner tranquility in silence helped an individual to build the reality.

As for some *results*, it has been proved that such lessons in silence help the child to acquire calmness, inner tranquility and control over one's locomotor activity, meditative and creative concentration that is related to calming. The silence methods form reflection and the ability for inner immersion (concentration), make focusing easier and allow to discover oneself, one's inner depth thanks to making various actions, without saying a word.

<sup>1</sup> "Only the one who understood oneself in oneself can allow all things to be what they are" (Hong Zicheng "Taste of Roots"). See: *Malyavin V. V.* Old Chinese Aphorisms. Moscow, 2004.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Kierkegaard S.* Fear and Trembling. Ethic tracts: translated from the Danish, comments by N. V. Isaeva, S. A. Isaev; general ed., comp. and foreword by S. A. Isaev. Moscow: Republic, 1993.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Heidegger M.* The Fundamental Concepts of Metaphysics: World, Finitude, Solitude / translated from the German by V. V. Bibikhin [et al.]. St. Petersburg: Vladimir Dal, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> See: *Husserl E.* The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology. An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy / translated from the German by D. V. Sklyadnev. St. Petersburg: Vladimir Dal, Fund "University" publishing house, 2004.

<sup>5</sup> *Stachewich K.* Milczenie wobec dobra i zła: w stronę etyki sygetycznej i apofatycznej. Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza. Wydział Teologiczny, Redakcja Wydawnictw, 2012. S. 71.

<sup>6</sup> See: *Olearczyk T. E.* Pedagogia ciszy. Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna "Ignatianum": Wydawnictwo WAM, 2010.

Professor T. Olearczyk mentions that silence in pedagogy is of vital importance both in the educational process and bringing-up. However, its role is most important in the teaching process, in self-development and will formation. "The pedagogy of silence is not an alternative for the pedagogy of word: dialogue, convincing, but it is its basis, its indispensable condition."<sup>7</sup>

Modern authors M. Zembylas and D. Michaelides ask a rhetorical question: "What's the value of education that ignores the pedagogical value of silence for an individual and the society as a whole?"<sup>8</sup> "There is something that exists beyond the said, something that is impossible to transmit orally, and he (Merleau-Ponty) calls it a quiet and non-evident language."<sup>9</sup>

Besides the communicative, psychophysiological potential of silence in teaching, a number of Russian and foreign authors "approach" the *didactic* component. There are a lot of interesting ancient practices that can be used in today's pedagogical practice. "The one who knows does not say, the one who says does not know." Because of that "The wise man teaches silently" is the essence of one of the main philosophical thoughts of Daoism.<sup>10</sup> The words about silence in the American Indian culture are also interesting: "The one who keeps silent knows twice as much as a chatter-box." It's appropriate to remember the Pythagorean School where students were forbidden to speak up to the 3rd year at school.<sup>11</sup>

"Silence brings knowledge we have not mastered yet, thanks to its mystery we're discovering our inner life... After the experience of keeping silent no one will be the same" (E. M. Standing). Special attention should be paid to the works by A. Caranfa<sup>12</sup>, A. Jaworski<sup>13</sup>, D. E. Cooper<sup>14</sup>, Helen Lees.<sup>15</sup>

In the carried out didactic research they mostly speak about techniques, and not so much about methods of using silence at school. "When reading open lessons of the innovative type, you see that they are oversaturated with remarks, teacher's questions and quick answers by students. There is no place for silence, though it is necessary to think over the asked question, get ready for a remark as an answer, 'stop' one's own thought not coinciding with the one just expressed."<sup>16</sup>

<sup>7</sup> *Olearczyk T. E.* Op. cit. S. 9.

<sup>8</sup> *Zembylas M., Michaelides P.* The Sound of Silence // Educational Theory. 2004. Vol. 54, iss. 2. P. 193.

<sup>9</sup> Solitude, silence, serenity and pausing: the missing philosophical story of education / [H. E. Lees et al.] : symposium PESGB (Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain) Annual Conference, New College, Oxford, 22-24 March 2013. URL: [https://www.academia.edu/5031274/Solitude\\_silence\\_serenity\\_and\\_pausing\\_the\\_missing\\_philosophical\\_story\\_of\\_education](https://www.academia.edu/5031274/Solitude_silence_serenity_and_pausing_the_missing_philosophical_story_of_education) (accessed: 13.08.2018).

<sup>10</sup> The Wise Men of China: Yang Zhu, Liezi, Zhuangzi / translated from the Chinese by L. D. Pozdnyeva; author-editor A. V. Mamatov. St. Petersburg: Petersburg-20th Century, Lan, 1994.

<sup>11</sup> *Khutorskoy A. V.* The Ancient Systems of Education: the Pythagorean School // Eidos online journal. 2014. No 1. URL: <http://eidos.ru/journal/2014/1-11.htm> (accessed: 13.08.2016).

<sup>12</sup> See: *Caranfa A.* Silence as the Foundation of Learning // Educational Theory. 2004. Vol. 54, iss. 2. P. 211-230.

<sup>13</sup> See: *Jaworski A.* The power of silence: social and pragmatic perspectives. Newbury Park [etc.]: Sage, 1993.

<sup>14</sup> See: *Cooper D. E.* Silence, nature and education // Attending to silence / A. Kristiansen, H. Hägg. Kristiansand, 2012.

<sup>15</sup> *Lees H. E.* Choosing Silence for Equality in and through Schooling // Forum. 2016. Vol. 58, No 3. P. 399-406. URL: <http://www.worlds.co.uk/rss/abstract.asp?j=forum&aid=6309&doi=1> (accessed: 13.08.2018).

<sup>16</sup> *Robotova A. S.* About Dialogue, Monologue and Silence in Education // Higher Education in Russia. 2015. No 8-9. P. 126. URL:

It should be noted that there is practically no pedagogical research in the field of methodology of silence in education, in the content of education – standards, textbooks. *What are the principles on which the content of education based on silence is built? What are the mechanisms for extracting knowledge in silence? What is the correlation of silence and speaking during lessons?*

There is practically no research about how to include silence in the content of the teaching plans, programs, appraise the “silent” activity of a student – student’s individual experience of knowledge about himself, the surrounding world that can’t be expressed in words.

To put it differently, how appropriate is it to speak about the proper didactics of silence as a complete and whole science of teaching? What are its methodology, content, methods, evaluation criteria?

The philosophical and methodological analysis of characteristics of Eastern and Western civilizations of the cultural type allows to make a step forward. Quietness or silence is the second part of the individual’s being that can’t be separated from speaking as it’s impossible to separate day and night, body and soul. “The one who does not know how to keep silent, does not know how to speak either.” A text turns out to be empty and silent if it consists of words only. The logic of narration only, without silence does not allow to generate images, associations, eliminates creativity, deprives of an opportunity to understand oneself and another person. This, to a large extent, is the reason for distorted perception of the reality, barriers in communications, losing identity – the source of meanings and the inner space of individuals. A text without intervals of silence is monological and linear, it is deprived of an ability for self-continuation.

Silence as the “image-pause” is creativity, metaphor, “transportation” of meanings that leads to discovery. Education does not have enough silence as discovery of themselves by students. Information, common, belonging to no one, alienated from the student is empty and silent, it’s like a text consisting of words only. The outside world muffles, imposes external recipes. Students and teachers need pauses of silence.

The analysis of psychological, pedagogical, philosophical literature, the principle of microcosm’s similarity to macrocosm allowed us to review the concepts of the “question,” human mentality, dialogue of two societies – Eastern and Western – as inseparably interrelated.

Asking “reconciles” the East and the West, the really significant and imaginary (silent) parts of the dialogue of cultures. It provides the meta-subject and complete understanding by representatives of two cultures. Silence and translation of information (similar to speaking) at the educational level can’t achieve results separately – to help the student to open himself to the world and to himself.

The question as an essential element of didactic heuristics opens a well of meanings for us, generates the “knowing” silence and is borne out of **silence**. If asking orients the student to the outside, to creation of his system of knowledge about the surrounding world, silence has a *reverse vector – inwards*, to people holding hands and forming one whole meta-subject basis like the tree in the well-known movie *Avatar*.

Going deep into oneself is similar to archaeological excavations: each lower layer is more whole and presentative. The deeper the “well” of meanings, along which an individual goes deeper into his “self” in silence, the deeper his communications become, his competence to understand representatives of another culture. An individual’s “opening” to the world takes place in silence like in the question, “opening in being, towards ontological Another One (the paradigm of ontological opening)” (S. S. Khozuzhy).

Withdrawal from words and “younger” mentality to older layers of psyche is accompanied by the change, qualitative manifestation of the new knowledge about oneself and the world. There are less questions but each of them contains a bigger and bigger volume of knowledge. Questions become simple, capacious, wise.

The question is the “spear point” of motivation that is always “at the junction” of non-uniformity of meanings (motivation for communication), “borderline” (motivation for historicism), rationality and irrationality, transcendence and the immanent, subjective and universal, measurable and immeasurable.

### Conclusion

Writer Hermann Hesse thought that there are “in the wisdom of the East and the West... not hostile, fighting forces but poles ‘between which life is swinging’.”<sup>1</sup> The way outside does not deny the way inside, and even impossible without it. This is not just a dialogue of cultures, dialogue of the two human hemispheres. This is the dialogue of cognition and communication. The whole world history is opposition of the logic of cognition and the logic of communication according to S. Neretina and P.A. Ogurtsov.<sup>2</sup>

The ability to listen to Another One is possible in case of interiorization of the external into the inner experience, to put it simply – copying alien and turning it into one’s own. However, there is no change of the inner space, reflecting individual’s belonging to his culture, in this mechanism. The higher level is individual’s ability to hear another individual. The ability to hear lies in the individual’s ability to look at oneself from the outside, to take a detached view of oneself, the ability to change oneself. The individual’s inner space lives only in the condition of transformation in meeting another “non-zero” space.

Education as a process is not a “sum of sciences” that should be passed over to an individual. Education as a result is not a megalopolis with a multi-way infrastructure of roads and aqueducts, encompassing rationality. There should be “roads of spirit” in the megalopolis that lead to reflection of truth. Main roads of student’s discoveries of himself, allowing to uncover the world around him, fill it with his meaning and content. Main roads changing the student.

*Finding oneself by an individual* as a means of barrier-free communications with another individual is achieved by using heuristic teaching based on dialogue, the didactic system of silence. Silence and asking are the “Gordian knot” of the communication barriers problem.

<sup>1</sup> Hesse H. *To My Japanese Readers // East – West*. Research. Translations. Publications. Moscow, 1982. P. 217.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Mezhuev V. M. Dialogue as Means of Intercultural Communications in the Modern World // Philosophical Issues*. 2011. No 9. P. 65–73.

H. Köchler<sup>1</sup>

## GEOPOLITICS AND THE LAW OF UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES. THE RISKS OF UNILATERALISM IN THE EMERGING MULTIPOLAR ORDER

### I

It is conventional wisdom that, upon the end of the 20th century, world order has entered a phase of profound instability due to the *lack of counterbalance* to the power of the self-declared winner of the Cold War.<sup>2</sup> What still needs to be assessed, however, are the long-term consequences of this development for a rule-based system of international relations such as the one advocated by the United Nations Organization. The unrestrained exercise of power by a global hegemon may well trigger a *chain reaction* of assertions of sovereignty and national interests by a constantly increasing number of states that are not prepared to pay the price for one country's "unipolar moment".<sup>3</sup> What some have even celebrated as the "End of History"<sup>4</sup> has become a factor of systemic *volatility*, with the risk of global anarchy instead of the perpetual peace and prosperity promised by the apologists of a "New World Order".<sup>5</sup>

In this geopolitical context, power politics has meant a virtually total effort by the hegemon to preserve and perpetuate its dominance vis-à-vis potential competitors, and in all regions of the globe. It was bolstered, in the period after 9/11, by a doctrine according to which no constellation must arise where another power would be able to reach strategic parity with the dominant player.<sup>6</sup> Unlike traditional realpolitik, with sovereign states acting in a concert of powers<sup>7</sup>, hegemonial strategy in today's *global* environment

means *total mobilization* of a country's potential in all domains, military, political, economic, diplomatic, and cultural.<sup>8</sup> Accordingly, geopolitics cannot be envisaged as a cooperative effort along the lines of "peaceful co-existence"; under these conditions, it is *per se* power politics without constraints.<sup>9</sup> As has become evident in the paralysis of the United Nations Security Council – a body intended, by the organization's founders, to be the guarantor, and enforcer, of the law between states, the *law of force* has not only undetermined, but also, to a considerable extent, replaced the *force of law* in relations between states.<sup>10</sup>

More than a quarter century after the shift from bipolarity to unipolarity, i.e. after the systemic change from *balance of power* to its *absence*, we are beginning to witness an increasing disparity between unilateral action and multipolar rearrangement of global order. This is the result of an attitude characteristic of the politics of hegemonial powers through all of history: namely a "denial of reality" in situations of triumph. The hegemon bases its strategy on the false hope that the dominant position, once achieved, will last forever if only appropriate measures are taken to stem the rise of other powers as soon as such developments are detected.<sup>11</sup> However, arresting history has always been a Sisyphus effort in a world in constant flux; it is an actual impossibility. The hegemon who is determined to perpetuate the *status quo* in fact triggers his own demise. The self-defeating effect of politics blinded by the desire for the perpetuation of power is nowhere more obvious than in this strategic calculus.

Through all of history, hegemonial powers have not only underestimated, but also ignored, the "blowback effect" of their assertion of primacy<sup>12</sup> (that was, in most cases, ideologically backed up by claims as to their indispensability).<sup>13</sup> According to the *actio-reactio* scheme that determines human behavior, whether individual or collective, an assertion of hegemony – i.e. an insistence, by a particular state, on the perpetuation of a unipolar constellation that is beneficial only for that state – unavoidably nurtures an attitude of rejection and resistance by those who are expected to ac-

<sup>1</sup> President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), professor emeritus at the University of Innsbruck, former Chairman of the Institute of Philosophy, Ph. D. Author of 40 scholarly books, including: "Phenomenological Realism: Selected Essays", "Democracy and the International Rule of Law. Propositions for an Alternative World Order", "The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention in the Context of Modern Power Politics", "Global Justice or Global Revenge? International Criminal Justice at the Crossroads", "Muslim-Christian Ties in Europe: Past, Present and Future", "Security Council as Administrator of Justice?", "World Order: Vision and Reality", etc. Was awarded the Honorary Medal of the Austrian College Society, Honorary Medal of the International Peace Bureau (Geneva, Switzerland), Grand Medal of David the Invincible of the Armenian Academy of Philosophy, Gusi Peace Prize. Honorary doctor of Mindanao State University (Philippines) and Armenian State Pedagogical University. Honorary professor of Pamukkale University (Turkey). Member of the Advisory Council, Academy for Cultural Diplomacy (Berlin, Germany).

<sup>2</sup> See: Köchler H. The State of Peace under the Conditions of a Unipolar World Order // Enlightenment on the Order of Coexistence: Collection of Records of the 9th International Forum on Lifelong Integrated Education / ed. : Nomura Center for Lifelong Integrated Education. Tokyo : Ichiyosha Co., 2009. P. 233–242.

<sup>3</sup> For an elaboration of this notion see: Krauthammer C. The Unipolar Moment Revisited // The National Interest. 2002. 1 December. URL: national-interest.org/article/the-unipolar-moment-revisited-391 (last visited 01 March 2019).

<sup>4</sup> Fukuyama F. The End of History? // The National Interest. 1989. Summer. P. 3–18 ; Fukuyama F. The End of History and the Last Man. N. Y. : The Free Press, 1992.

<sup>5</sup> See the references to a "new world order" in President George H. W. Bush's speech at the beginning of the 1991 Gulf War: Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush 1991, Book I : January 1 to June 30, 1991. Washington : United States Government Printing Office, 1992. P. 42–45.

<sup>6</sup> Bush G. W. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, September 2002. Washington, D. C. : The White House, 2002.

<sup>7</sup> This was the case with the post-Westphalian order of sovereign nation-states. For an analysis of the concept in the context of contemporary world order debates see: Kissinger H. World Order. N. Y. : Penguin Books, 2014. Ch. 1. The Operation of the Westphalian System.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Nye's notion of "soft power," coined in the period of the "unipolar moment," testifies to this approach (see: Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. N. Y. : Public Affairs, 2004).

<sup>9</sup> See: Köchler H. The Politics of Global Powers // The Global Community : Yearbook of International Law and Jurisprudence. 2009. Vol. I. P. 173–201.

<sup>10</sup> On the underlying contradictions see: Köchler H. The United Nations and Global Power Politics: The Antagonism between Power and Law and the Future of World Order // Chinese Journal of International Law. 2006. Vol. 5, No 2. P. 323–340.

<sup>11</sup> A case in point was President George W. Bush's security doctrine (see: The National Security Strategy of the United States of America. 2002, September). (Chapter IX: "We must build and maintain our defenses beyond challenge"; our military must "dissuade future military competition".)

<sup>12</sup> For a case study regarding the United States, see: Johnson C. The Cost and Consequences of American Empire. N. Y. : Metropolitan Books, 2000.

<sup>13</sup> In a debate on the consequences of the 1991 Gulf War, U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright famously said about the United States that "what we are doing is serving the role of the indispensable nation ... " (Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, Secretary of Defense William S. Cohen, and National Security Advisor Samuel R. Berger – Remarks at Town Hall Meeting, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, February 18, 1998. As released by the Office of the Spokesman, February 20, 1998. U. S. Department of State).

cept subordination to the hegemon. Thus, a position of primacy, aggressively asserted through intervention, whether military or by other means of unilateral coercion such as sanctions<sup>1</sup>, may eventually trigger a development towards a *new balance of power*, whether bipolar or multipolar. Under the post-Cold War circumstances of today, the latter will be the more likely outcome, albeit at the price of long-term instability.

## II

At the beginning of the 21st century, *unipolarity* of the global power structure is gradually being transformed into a *multipolar* constellation. The exclusively *unilateral* strategy of the predominant power, refusing to integrate into a multilateral framework, has further undermined the very viability of its privileged position.<sup>2</sup> Once again, in our era, imperial power is confronted with the “law of unintended consequences,” which has been an accompaniment of the above-described *denial of reality* that has afflicted all great powers in different historical circumstances.

Since the 1990s, after the sudden end of global bipolarity, the United States’ strategy to preserve the status quo produced events that *destabilized* geopolitically sensitive regions and *undermined* the precarious consensus, embodied in the UN Charter, on which the post-World War II order of collective security was built. However, the *unilateralism* of military interventions, often branded – and justified – as “humanitarian”<sup>3</sup>, of aggressively enforced extraterritorial sanctions and large-scale operations aimed at “régime change,” including methods of hybrid warfare, eventually backfired. The conflicts in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, or Syria created a *power vacuum* in the targeted and neighboring regions. These developments eventually convinced regional and other global actors of the necessity to enter into new alliances – a challenge to hegemony that might otherwise not have arisen, at least not in the same intensity.

The imperial (or, more precisely, imperialist) strategy of *disruption* was not only shortsighted, but also ultimately self-defeating. From chaos did not emerge a new order: new fault lines of conflicts were created, Huntington’s “clash of civilizations”<sup>4</sup> became a self-fulfilling prophecy, and existing multilateral mechanisms to manage instability, such as the UN, were largely rendered dysfunctional.<sup>5</sup> Aimed at pre-

serving unipolarity, unilateral policies have also endangered existing disarmament and non-proliferation regimes such as the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). Long-term volatility and the risk of major military confrontation, whether direct between major powers or indirect in the form of proxy wars, has been the obvious price of hegemonial rule.

The contrast between the *intended* results and the *unintended* consequences of the unilateral and interventionist policies could not be greater. What was intended was the bolstering of U.S. supremacy – achieved upon the end of the Cold War – by means of destabilizing the regional order in different parts of the world. It was hoped that this would result in a kind of “creative chaos” out of which the hegemon might be able to shape an order to his liking, a system of “global governance” that would, first and foremost, reflect the interests of its creator. However, as with so many empires in history, the essentially irrational drive for power produced the opposite result. It created new focal points of resistance in the targeted regions and strengthened the determination of countries and peoples not only in those regions, but also at the global level, to join forces against a not-so-benign domination. The unintended consequence was a strategic weakening of the United States’ self-attributed position of global leadership in tandem with an ever more robust challenge of its insistence on ideological supremacy, including the claim to set the global agenda in terms of *democracy*, *human rights* and the *rule of law*. Zbigniew Brzezinski, one of the leading strategic minds of several U.S. administrations since the Carter era, acknowledged the new reality and suggested that the United States, in the name of realpolitik, should consider a kind of “global realignment.” He suggested that the U.S. should join other powers such as China and Russia – on an equal basis – to preserve global stability through a new multipolar architecture.<sup>6</sup>

The diagnosis that is the basis of this proposal has comprehensively been made in Stephen M. Walt’s analysis of U.S. strategic policy in the post-Cold War period in particular.<sup>7</sup> He convincingly demonstrates that and how the U.S. imperial strategy of “liberal hegemony” has failed<sup>8</sup>, acknowledging that the country’s policy of interventionism (in the name of what the U.S. defines as “freedom”)<sup>9</sup> has “multiplied enemies” and “destabilized key regions of the world”<sup>10</sup>, a diagnosis the author of this paper has made earlier.<sup>11</sup> In an analysis of the “deep power” structure in the United States, Michael J. Glennon explains that this approach of

[http://www.i-p-o.org/Koehler-Security\\_Council-int\\_legitimacy-IPO-OP-2011.htm](http://www.i-p-o.org/Koehler-Security_Council-int_legitimacy-IPO-OP-2011.htm).

<sup>6</sup> Brzezinski Z. *Toward a Global Realignment* // *The American Interest*. 2016. Vol. 11. No 6. July/August. P. 1–3. URL: <https://www.the-american-interest.com/2016/04/17/toward-a-global-realignment>. Considering the threats of arms of mass destruction in the possession of an increasing number of states, he argues: “it behooves the United States to fashion a policy in which at least one of the two potentially threatening states [China, Russia / H.K.] becomes a partner in the quest for regional and then wider global stability...”

<sup>7</sup> Walt S. M. *The Hell of Good Intentions: America’s Foreign Policy Elite and the Decline of U.S. Primacy*. N. Y. : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2018.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* P. xi.

<sup>9</sup> On the underlying doctrine, or ideology, of “humanitarian intervention” see: Köchler H. *The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention in the Context of Modern Power Politics*.

<sup>10</sup> Walt S. M. *Op. cit.* P. 255.

<sup>11</sup> As regards the strategy in the Middle East in particular see: Köchler H. *Introduction* // *The Iraq Crisis and the United Nations: Power Politics vs. the International Rule of Law*. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 2004. P. 7–14.

<sup>1</sup> On the scope of U.S. sanctions policy and its destabilizing impact on world order see: Köchler H. *Sanctions and International Law. Economic Sanctions, Global Governance and the Future of World Order* // *Int. Organ. Res. Journal*. 2019. Special Is. (Forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> On the conceptual distinction between *unipolar* (versus bi- or multipolar) power constellation and *unilateral* (versus bi- or multilateral) action (or strategy) see: Köchler H. *Internationale Beziehungen in einer multipolaren Welt* // *Zeit-Fragen*. 26th Year. No 24. Zurich, 23 October 2018. P. 1–2.

<sup>3</sup> For details see: Köchler H. *The Concept of Humanitarian Intervention in the Context of Modern Power Politics: Is the Revival of the Doctrine of «Just War» Compatible with the International Rule of Law?* // *Studies in International Relations*. Vol. XXVI. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 2001.

<sup>4</sup> Huntington S. *The Clash of Civilizations?* // *Foreign Affairs*. Vol. 72, No 3 (Summer 1993). P. 22–49. For a general assessment in terms of world order see: Köchler H. *Clash of Civilizations* // *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory* / eds. B. S. Turner, K.-S. Chang, C. F. Epstein, P. Kivisto, Ryan J. M., W. Outhwaite. Chichester, West Sussex (UK) : Wiley-Blackwell, 2017. Vol. I. P. 1–3.

<sup>5</sup> On the predicament of the Security Council as enforcer of peace see the author’s analysis: Köchler H. *The United Nations Organization and International Legitimacy: Reflections on the Role of the Security Council*. I.P.O. Online Papers. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 2011. URL:

U.S. foreign policy has persisted irrespective of the ideological orientation of the administration.<sup>1</sup>

In our assessment of developments in the period after the Cold War, the United States, determined to “seize the mantle of global leadership”<sup>2</sup>, indeed embarked on an arrogant and ideologically flawed<sup>3</sup> project of nation-building that, in hindsight, effectively amounted to “nation-destroying” – with the unintended consequence of a “strategic blowback”.

In the name of a “new world order” the elements of which were defined in lofty humanitarian language<sup>4</sup>, U.S. foreign policy violated fundamental principles of international law, undermining the very order on which the system of norms of the United Nations Organization is founded. A self-contradictory interpretation of national sovereignty, which is at variance with the UN Charter’s principle of “sovereign equality” of states (Article 2[1])<sup>5</sup>, was used to justify repeated military interventions and other forms of interference into the internal affairs of UN member states. This has rendered the concept of “international rule of law” virtually meaningless.

Stephen Walt convincingly, and in great detail, describes the failure of U.S. strategies in the period after 9/11. It was, however, not “good intentions” that failed (as the title of the book appears to suggest), but a meticulously planned grand strategy of destabilization and destruction of political and social order in key regions such as the Middle East<sup>6</sup> that eventually led to the “unintended consequence” of an erosion of the hegemonial position of the United States. The self-proclaimed hegemon proved incapable to *contain* the consequences of these interventionist policies.

As a kind of “superior alternative” to the self-defeating liberal interventionism, Walt suggests what others have earlier described as the strategy of “offshore balancing”.<sup>7</sup> This, in fact, appears as contemporary version of an ancient maxim of imperial politics, *divide et impera* (divide and rule). The rationale of this strategy is that the U.S. should, short of intervening militarily, i.e. without its troops “going onshore,” use all other available tools (political, diplomatic, economic, etc.) in order to prevent other states “from

projecting power in ways that might threaten the United States”.<sup>8</sup> For the country’s policy in geopolitically sensitive regions, this means that it should aim “to maintain the local balance of power so that the strongest state in these regions has to worry about one or more of its neighbors and is not free to roam into the Western hemisphere, or any other area deemed vital to the United States.”<sup>9</sup>

This supposed alternative to the hard power approach of “liberal hegemony”<sup>10</sup> is based on an *interventionist ideology* nonetheless, albeit without ideological excuse (claiming a purported obligation, or responsibility, to protect human rights or promote democracy). In structural terms, the strategy – though more *realistic* in terms of being cautious about the use of armed force – is still an expression of an *unrestrained assertion of sovereignty* and of a *claim to supremacy* over the rest of the world. The rationale of domination does not change. It is not the *strategy*, only the *tactic*, that changes. In effect, the logic of “offshore balancing” is not much different from the approach of George W. Bush’s 2002 National Security Strategy.<sup>11</sup> A “preventive” approach aimed at excluding – whether by the tactic of *divide et impera* or other methods – any possibility of adaptation of the global power constellation is in and of itself *interventionist*.

### III

In spite of the hegemonial power’s insistence on the preservation of the status quo, the number of those who challenge the unipolar order has steadily increased. According to the dynamics of power relations, an ever more complex framework of *multilateral cooperation* has been the reaction to what, against a wider historical background, may be seen as rearguard battles of the empire. Whether it is the global cooperation framework of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), the New Development Bank (NDB) established by those countries, or the region-oriented Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)<sup>12</sup>, or also the Eurasian Union: those newly established *multilateral* frameworks are evidence of a gradually emerging *multipolar* balance of power.

In terms of *realpolitik*, the obvious strategy of the dominant global player has been to “neutralize” the effect of developments that point into the direction of a multipolar system which will be considerably more complex than similar such constellations in earlier epochs. In spite of the current U.S. administration’s solemnly stated priority of national interests over all other foreign policy considerations (under the slogan “America first!”)<sup>13</sup>, the hegemon

<sup>1</sup> Glennon M. J. National Security and Double Government. Oxford etc. : Oxford Univ. Press, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Walt S. M. Op. cit. P. 137.

<sup>3</sup> The essentially ideological notion of “liberalism” is nowhere precisely defined. Against the background of an excessive use of military force (euphemistically branded as “hard power” in distinction from “soft power”), the meaning of “freedom” remains ambiguous and prone to misuse in favor of a rather crude agenda of power politics.

<sup>4</sup> “We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a new world order – a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations.” See: President George H. W. Bush. Address to the Nation Announcing Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf, January 16, 1991 // Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: George Bush 1991. P. 44 ; Köchler H. Democracy and the New World Order : Studies in International Relations. Vol. XIX. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> On the problem of contradictions between basic norms of the UN Charter see: Köchler H. Normative Inconsistencies in the State System with Special Emphasis on International Law // The Global Community : Yearbook of International Law and Jurisprudence, 2016 / ed. G. Ziccardi Capaldo. Oxford : Oxford Univ. Press, 2017. P. 175–190.

<sup>6</sup> For a critical analysis see, inter alia: Kuehner T. J. A New Middle East? : a Report of FPRI’s History Institute for Teachers // The Newsletter of FPRI’s Marvin Wachman Fund for International Education. 2005. Vol. 10, No 1 (January). USA : Foreign Policy Research Institute. URL: www.fpri.org/footnotes/101.200501.kuehner.newmiddleeast.html.

<sup>7</sup> Layne C. From Preponderance to Offshore Balancing: America’s Future Grand Strategy // International Security. 1997. Vol. 22, No 1 (Summer). P. 86–124.

<sup>8</sup> Walt S. M. Op. cit. P. 261.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. P. 262.

<sup>10</sup> See also: Mearsheimer J. J., Walt S. M. The Case for Offshore Balancing: A Superior U.S. Grand Strategy // Foreign Affairs. 2016. July/August. P. 70–83.

<sup>11</sup> Bush G. W. The National Security Strategy of the United States of America.

<sup>12</sup> For details see, inter alia: Seixas E. P. da, Cunha H. H. F. da, Ribeiro O., Silva Gama C. F. P. da. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and BRICS: The Roles of China, Russia (and India) // BCP Monitor, Policy Brief. 2014. Vol. 4, No 11 (October). Rio de Janeiro : BPC, 2014. ; Carvalho E. M. de. SCO and BRICS: Bridges to a Shared Future // Beijing Review. 2019. March 2.

<sup>13</sup> For an explanation of the slogan on the basis of mutuality see President Donald Trump’s first speech at the UN General Assembly: “As President of the United States, I will always put America first, just like you, as the leaders of your countries will always, and should always, put your countries first.” (Remarks by President Trump to the 72nd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, September 19, 2017. The White House. URL:



nonetheless seems prepared to engage in new, rival forms of multilateral cooperation where it suits its interests. This ideological flexibility is evident in what could be seen as yet another version of *divide et impera*, namely the cooperation format described as “quadrilateral alliance” (also referred to by the acronym “Quad”) between the United States, India, Japan and Australia.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, the paramount purpose of this “realignment” is to stem the rise of China.<sup>2</sup> The maxim that underlies this strategy of containment appears to be, “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” – conventional wisdom not only of power politics, but also of all social struggle in history. Commenting on this third option of realpolitik (between “liberal” interventionism and isolationism), Robert Kagan has suggested to categorize the United States as “rogue superpower,” under a President who is “willing to throw off the moral, ideological and strategic constraints” for the sake of advancing the national interest.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the rearguard battles of the empire, committing itself to a quasi-multilateral engagement<sup>4</sup> when it serves the overriding strategic goal of maintaining preponderance<sup>5</sup>, ad hoc alliances are constantly being formed by states at *regional* levels. Their aim always is to preserve or gain influence by *restraining* the power of other states. This complex parallelogram of forces – and the interdependence between regional and global developments – fur-

ther has added to the volatility and, subsequently, unpredictability of global order.

### Conclusion

The tensions and conflicts resulting from the pursuit of an essentially *unilateral* strategy in an increasingly *multipolar* constellation will determine the fate of world order in the 21st century and, more immediately, the prospects of the United Nations Organization. Mobilizing all resources – of “hard” and “soft” power – to deter potential competitors from challenging the existing order (that is beneficial only to them) has always been the priority of major players, at the regional as well as at the global level.<sup>6</sup> Such is the very nature of *power* as expression and organization of the *collective will* in the concert of sovereign nation-states. However, trying to arrest history, the hegemon of the moment risks to defeat the stated purpose and to destroy the foundation on which he and all other members of the international community are able to negotiate their interests, on the basis of mutuality.<sup>7</sup> This is the predicament the world is faced with today, in this period of transition from bipolar to multipolar order – via a unipolar interlude that may be shorter than those who predicted the “End of History”<sup>8</sup> could have imagined.

<https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-72nd-session-united-nations-general-assembly>).

<sup>1</sup> See: *Geopolitics by Other Means: The Indo-Pacific Reality* / eds. A. Berkofsky, S. Miracola. ISPI. Milan: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 2019. It remains to be seen whether the U.S. President’s announcement to terminate preferential tariffs, among others, for India (Trump targets India and Turkey in trade crackdown // BBC Business, 2019, March 5. URL: <https://www.bbc.com/news/business-47450224>) has any effect on this strategic cooperation.

<sup>2</sup> See the analysis of Paolo Magri: “How will China respond at both the geo-economic and strategic levels to what it perceives to be a US-driven policy of encirclement and/or containment?” (Op. cit. P. 12).

<sup>3</sup> *Kagan R.* Trump’s America does not care // *The Washington Post*. 2018, June 14.

<sup>4</sup> At the level of international relations, “multilateral,” in the strict sense, as opposed to “unilateral,” relates to joint action of all members of the international community. This is also the basis of “collective security” within the United Nations Organization. In the UN context, any action conducted by a single state or a group (alliance) of states is “unilateral”.

<sup>5</sup> In Christopher Layne’s analysis, preponderance has been the grand strategy of the United States, all along since the end of World War II. (See: *Layne C.* Op. cit. P. 86.)

<sup>6</sup> See: *Köchler H.* The Politics of Global Powers.

<sup>7</sup> This is the very idea underlying the United Nations system of collective security (See, inter alia: *Wilson G.* The United Nations and Collective Security. Abingdon, Oxon : Routledge, 2014.

<sup>8</sup> *Fukuyama F.* Op. cit.

A. M. Kramarenko<sup>1</sup>

## POSTMODERN PHILOSOPHY AT THE CONTEMPORARY STAGE OF WORLD DEVELOPMENT: LONG PARTING WITH THE 20th CENTURY

Allergy to any final and categorical order is happily universal.

*J. Baudrillard. The Spirit of Terrorism*

...One must have chaos in oneself to be able to give birth to a dancing star... He who possesseth little is so much the less possessed.

*F. Nietzsche. Thus Spoke Zarathustra*

The value of postmodernism is that, reflecting the spirit of the era, it convincingly describes the decaying reality of the world after the end of the Cold War. All works by Dostoevsky, with postmodernists included in the ranks of those eating scraps from his table of ideas (just take polyphonism alone), come to the thesis that there can't be the "last word" (the end of history, etc.) – this is one of the main conditions and consequences of freedom. Events of the recent years certify in favour of the fact that after such meta-narratives aspiring to "finality" as capitalism and socialism/communism, the last one is destroyed – liberalism that thanks to the efforts of Western elites, first of all, with the help of political correctness, acquired features of a totalitarian ideology with all its attributes – violation of the freedom of speech and suppression of dissenting views.

Development issues that cannot already be solved in the previous binary ideological coordinate system, have come to the foreground in case of all countries, including Western. Binarity is authorities' pragmatism and it is always drawn to totality (according to Nietzsche). Because of that it's in the interests of elites to build new bipolarities, be it the United States – China or liberalism – authoritarianism. As I. S. Ivanov writes, "we should refuse from the concept of Western universalism in favour of development pluralism".<sup>2</sup> Thus, the real meaning of the end of the Cold War is revealed (this year, the 30th anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall is celebrated), namely the emancipation of international relations from ideological determinism that objected all international actors in the person of sovereign and independent states over the whole long 20th century. To put it differently, Deng Xiaoping's famous cat, whose colour is not important, triumphs. Trump in the United States and Bolsonaro in Brazil became the reaction to the development crisis, as well as long nailing together of the old coalition in Germany and G. Conte's government in Italy but

also Brexit pains and on the whole the proverbial spirit of populism/Weimar in the West.

Multi-layered geopolitical reality comes to replace the bipolar confrontation and transient "unipolar moment," and this reality provides for democratization of international relations by its complexity, there are conditions formed in them for various kinds of pluralism. These are residual bipolarity of the previous era, and hierarchical verticals of the Western alliance (NATO and G7), and multipolarity (United Nations, G20, BRICS), and all kinds of regional orders structures, global and transregional situational alliances (e.g. Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's Nuclear Issue) and many others. Status quo apostles frighten with chaos as it was done in its time in relation to democracy in general. But after-war legal world order was and still remains the order with the central role played by the United Nations and its Charter.

It's still early to say how the world will develop at the level of ideas, though there is an opinion about the long-felt need of "neoclassical synthesis" of the ideas of the 1960s, i.e. the heritage of the period before the West sank into political averaging ("kingdom of total mediocrity") and lack of the ideological content. As a matter of fact, the West-European social welfare state was such a synthesis. It became the result of two world wars and the consequence of the imperative "answer to the Soviet Union's challenge," the way of peaceful co-existence of capitalism and democracy (according to Habermas). But now it's being destroyed by economic neoliberalism in the form of Reaganomics/Thatcherism and the Lisbon Agenda of the European Union. The prophesy that 1968 will be repeated 50 years later in France strangely came true at the end of 2018. It seems that development issues will be first of all solved within every individual country as the function of the long overdue restoration of democratic power's accountability and answerability.

Development problems keenly made themselves known in all European countries, referring among other sources to the famous John Maynard Keynes' maxim, according to which free trade supposes that if you deprive people of employment in one area, you employ them in some other. As soon as this relation is torn, all arguments in favour of free trade collapse. These are the reasons of "The Trump Revolution". America has turned out to be "possessed" by others via its empire/globalization. The elite got profits and the country as a whole turned out to be neglected – hence an average American's feeling that he/she was betrayed. Analysis of a part of the conservative elite demonstrated that

<sup>1</sup> Director of Development of Russian International Affairs Council, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation. Author of publications in the journal "International Life", on the website of RIAC, "Gazeta.ru", "Expert" magazine including publications titled: "Russian Revolution Geopolitics: Verdict of Alternative History?", "The Meiji Restoration and Russia: Modernization Experience Comparative Analysis", "Russia and NATO: Background of the 'Fateful Decision'. What to do?", "Brexit Negotiations: First Outcomes" and others. Head of the Foreign Policy Planning Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (2005–2011), Minister Counsellor (in the rank of an Ambassador) at the Embassy of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (2011–2017). Member of the Foreign and Defense Policy Council. Awarded the Order of Honour and the Order of Friendship.

<sup>2</sup> <http://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/analytics/2019-god-problemy-i-vozmozhnosti>.

over several decades the United States worked for the rise of China with their capitals, technologies and even the U.S. market, naively believing that Beijing will turn out to be an accommodating and compliant partner that will accept global leadership of the United States.

Because of that we should not be surprised that the United States are rolling back their geopolitical project, no matter all the objections of Western elites. At the same time, Americans will be maximally realizing still existing advantages of their dominance in the global monetary and financial order. The main unknown factor is what the privileged dollar status fate will be used to “burn.” The most likely variant is that such reissue of the total commitment (engagement of all cash resources to solve existential tasks) of the Cold War type will be addressed to China but in promising issues such as the future of information technologies (including means for “rejecting access to Big Data”) and artificial intelligence. Possibly, as an addition to the attempt to “re-deal cards” in the current trade and economic issues by way of imposing their shale gas on Beijing among other things.

On the whole, non-confrontation – like no-war and no-peace (who can fail to remember Trotsky in Brest-Litovsk!?) – and many other non-events and absences, including Russia’s non-participation in NATO and lack of an inclusive collective security system in the Euro-Atlantic region, make us come back to the topic of postmodernism. What will happen in the future? As the whole geopolitical heritage of the previous era, including elements of global and regional architectures, tends towards zero, we should hardly hope for their “soft” transformation – zeroing of everything, though with different degrees of obviousness, is inevitable. Most likely, the logic of what is going on, that is directly opposing the European secular culture of rationalism, means that the ground for the new stage of historical creativity should be cleared – emancipation or chaos, ultimately the name is not important. And the world was created out of chaos. One thing is clear: the world that existed 30 years as a reflection of the recent past (the past also throws a shadow, right?), is on the brink of finally acquiring its present time and the future together with it.

Brodsky wrote about “the end of Belle Epoque” in 1967; Jacques Derrida’s book *Speech and Phenomena* was also published then, and it became clear at the same time that there would be no Kosygin’s reforms. Let’s remember the original – Belle Epoque – the period between the Franco-Prussian War and World War I that was marked by inertness of saying farewell to the 18th century and even bigger globalization degree. Proust as no one else is convincing in this longing and in saying that the whole long 19th century was transitional to the 20th century. That is, it was the time that was to be acquired and acquired via war. Other postmodernist forerunners – James Joyce, D. H. Lawrence, S. Beckett, H. Miller, J. D. Salinger, Kurt Vonnegut, H. Hesse, S. Kubrick, F. Fellini, Luis Buñuel and then others including Q. Tarantino – foresaw the present timelessness/inter-temporal period in their own way. There was emptiness then (Chekhov, Blok, Rozanov and others) – and there is emptiness now. “Thrones, classes, social groups, labour, riches” fell into it then. And what now, when the time of wars and revolutions is over? Everything in the Euro-Atlantic region is in the “state of enormous perplexity” and non-understanding the essence of what is going on, con-

firmed by the loss of belief in improvement based on the post-Cold War. There is only one thing left – to acknowledge the deterioration of this heritage, artificially transferred from the previous era, including its blowing off by the Western elites’ attempt to return capitalism to the times before 1929. Fyodor Lukyanov writes that “the old conceptual framework has become outdated.”<sup>1</sup>

Russia, the reality of which was denied by the Western policy of deterrence, exactly by establishing the reality of its existence – unfortunately, on the way to creating the potential for power projection and providing resistance to forceful and financial and economic pressure, as the most convincing arguments in the context of Western political culture – drew nearer this G. Apollinaire’s hyper-reality’s overcoming, or, to put it simply, correlation with the reality. Russia’s experience shows that “there is life after empire”. Russia itself turned out to be “possessed” in the immediate circle of the Soviet Union and the wider circle – the Soviet bloc, or the social camp, and gave an example of empire’s disintegration/fragmentation.

China has already acquired its present and future to a large extent, if we judge by the happiness/optimism rating (92% of the surveyed). The state of affairs in Europe is more complex. Russia advanced itself and helped the Western society that entered the system crises, to advance. Russia denies Western militarism, proving its insolvency as a “big strategy”, by its military construction. Because of that it’s unthinkable for Europe to accommodate American medium- and short-range missiles in view of the United States withdrawal from the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Short-Range Missiles. It will be required to end this “landing in reality” process jointly after the long surrealistic being. First of all, because of cultural and civilization common identity, common history, necessity to jointly, collectively deal with common historical heritage in all its disjoint. We’ll be capable to survive in a qualitatively new global competitive environment only in our recreated and reinterpreted identity.

Ivan Krastev writes about the Western elites’ fear of the fact that “their own society is becoming to look not so different.” “Why are we having problems like the Russians?” – “that’s the real fear”.<sup>2</sup> That is, we’re dealing with another convergence and we have to reword the definition of the Alien, refusing from previous mythology and his demonization.

What to expect from Trump’s America? Sergey Shnurov in his recent interview to the *Russia in Global Affairs* journal touched upon the issue asked by many people: Can America exist differently and not like the global hegemon? First, this refers not to all America but only its elites. Second, there is Jackson’s America satisfied “to speak to the world” by its example. Exactly this America is represented by Trump. Neoisolationism is the therapy suggested by the psychoanalysis widespread in the United States. No one doubts the Kremlin’s pragmatism. America has its own long tradition of pragmatism – in the spirit of Paul Feyerabend’s “Anything goes!” that equals Deng’s cat. Especially when there is only one step from pragmatism to postmodernism with its multiplicity/pluralism, fragmentariness (“decompo-

<sup>1</sup> <http://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/comments/vneshnyaya-politika-rossii-v-2018-godu-problem-bolshe-chem-uspekhov>.

<sup>2</sup> <https://globalaffairs.ru/number/My-bolshe-ne-mechtaem-o-buduschemy-ego-skoree-boimsya-19829>.

sition of one whole into pearls of fragments”) and electivity, on the ground on which it’s possible to overcome obstructions in world development and world politics accumulated over 30 years.

If applied to the arms race, our defense expenditures were seriously reduced in 2017. The United States do not have such possibilities to participate in the defense (notwithstanding Trump’s rhetoric) that R. Reagan had 35 years ago: in the dollars of that time, in the opinion of experts, today’s US\$ 700 billion lack US\$ 500 billion plus the enormous national debt (22 trillion, that exceed 100% of the GDP), and the aggregate deficit of the federal budget and current-account deficit is about 6% of GDP, or over US\$ 1 trillion, and that requires external financing among other things and is tended to grow (according to *The Financial Times*, it will be required to borrow US\$ 12 trillion in the next 10 years).<sup>1</sup> The Chinese defense budget already exceeds the American in purchasing power parity, excluding expenditures for the personnel support.

We can come to the conclusion that no mass arms race threatens the world. Its three-side character as the United States chose double restraint – Russia and China, will serve as an additional guaratee. The arms race, as it can already be judged by recent Russian designs and projects, will be with relatively small expenditures and in the “technological mannerism” format forecasted by Baudrillard already in 1991 basing on the experience of the Persian Gulf War.<sup>2</sup> Cybersecurity and artificial intelligence, information struggle and space have already become the areas of such competition. The only thing left to acknowledge is that there are no winners and losers and there can’t be in principle, and it will be required to agree on control and restraint measures on mutual foundation in the three-side format.

What is the Western elites’ problem in the post-Cold War period, and a part of Russia’s and the whole world’s problem? It was thought that the past would continue but already without the USSR. It was not understood that the experience of the 20th century and the longer history raised the issue of totalities as a whole, no matter how these ideologies are disguised. Even beneficial liberalism mutates into totality. Nazism, when concentration camp commandants read Goethe in their leisure time, questioned all the European culture, or, it will be better to say, Western civilization. The Germans as performers of this strictly Western project had to repent, but it was collective – it just went out of the elites’ control, the elites that allowed themselves this improvisation. It was required to overcome the consequences with the decisive role of the Soviet Union. In Spengler’s *The Decline of the West*, his Prussian with his socialism, to be more exact the state as means for realizing historical imperatives, was to take the place of the global/Western hegemon, occupied by an Anglo-Saxon, but history decided differently. And Russia twice, in its different incarnations, fought on the Anglo-Saxon side with their primary personal freedom.

It proceeds from the said above that the problem is deeper than the specified differences, and the Soviet experience used the products of the European thinking, though others. Postmodernism makes the issue wider: it’s in the fascist mentality, rooted in anthropocentrism (human-deity accord-

ing to Dostoevsky) and metaphysics of presence. Fascism appears as Hegelianism (apotheosis of total modern) the state is armed with. Hence deanthropologization and elimination of the subject via the written language/texts, disjoint of totality via deconstruction. Because of that roots are not in Nietzsche but in all the German classical philosophy, going – like Anglo-Saxons’ experience – to the Reformation that, according to Tyutchev’s apt remark, threw the baby out with the bath water. The primacy as to the Reformation became the key point of German nationalism.

From the point of view of postmodernism, the European project as it looks today has no future. The European Union like the Western alliance is totality, only at the level of international relations. It can be saved either by going to the even higher totality/supranational level that is not seen, or “soft” dismantling (deconstruction?), let’s say down to the common market that could keep/return the English. The postmodernist alternative is leaving for national flats (sovereignty as fragmentation) with their “repairs” but selected accounting of worked out European values. History will show what will take place later. But the life itself proves that our time does not stand totality. The British acted wisely, preserving the pound sterling as a guarantor of their freedom and independence. If you look around from the Lutheran North with the center in Berlin, there may be a feeling of siege at all fronts: the Anglo-Saxons in the West (Brexit and the Americans supporting it), the rebellious East-Europeans and Mediterranean peripheral countries digesting the Greek experience. The burden of the German order turned out to be heavy for everyone, though for various reasons, when the “fat times” became history. Even the Germans acknowledge that an “accidental empire” in the form of the European zone has been formed.<sup>3</sup>

Besides Dostoevsky, Tyutchev allows to judge the Russian roots of postmodernism. He foresaw that Russia will deny the future of the West by the very fact of its existence, i.e. its totality. Consequently, convergence is inevitable, and there were many of them in the 20th century. The little known fact is Russia’s participation in building the Statue of Liberty to celebrate abolishment of slavery in the United States and serfdom in Russia (Urals copper and money collected under the patronage of one of the Grand Dukes). But not everything is so gloomy – one has to know how to wait. Already Dostoevsky wrote about synthesis (let’s add another, modern variant of it – *fusion*) when he launched *A Writer’s Diary*. Who knows, maybe this is the secret left for us by Pushkin to figure out, about which Dostoevsky said in his Pushkin Speech delivered not long before his death. It’s not accidental that he specially spoke about *Little Tragedies* – this mini-Shakespeare as a striking example of Russia’s culture conjugation with the best traditions of the European culture. When Turgenev lived in Europe, he suffered because of people’s unattractiveness like his friend Flaubert who, preceding James Joyce, wrote: “Irreparable barbarism of the humanity fills me with black anguish ... I’d drown the humanity under my vomit!”<sup>4</sup> Actually this pessimism coming to misanthropy, pushes James Joyce, the first postmodernist. Like all references to Homer, *Ulysses* heralds the deep crisis of the European civilization. One hundred years of its artistic interpretation and 50 years of theo-

<sup>1</sup> *Tett G.* America faces a battle to find buyers for its bonds // *The Financial Times*. 2019. Febr. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Baudrillard J.* The Spirit of Terrorism. The Gulf War Did Not Take Place. Moscow : RIPOL classic, 2016. P. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by: *Zielonka J.* Counter-Revolution. Liberal Europe in Retreat. Oxford Univ. Press, 2018. P. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Grossman L.* Literary Portraits. Moscow : RIPOL classic, 2010. P. 262.

retical do not give grounds to be surprised at everything that took place after the end of the Cold War.

Postmodernism denies but it denies what denied the ideals of Enlightenment for two centuries. The farther we are from the 18th century, the more “barbarism (let’s add, enlightened by ideology) is in the highly civilized environment.” The example is the contrast between the Congress of Vienna and the Treaty of Versailles, between how conquered France was treated and how conquered Germany was treated. And after the end of the Cold War the West considered any official regulations with Russia’s participation unnecessary.

The end of the Cold War revealed George Orwell’s universal meaning with his tub and Newspeak organizing the society, when some are more equal than the others. Eventually, any “great ideas”, “big strategies” and similar exercises in self-elevation were questioned. Living dead continued in them. Not only an individual “became smaller”, Leontyev’s “secondary simplification” exposed elites to the world. With this background, Trump acquires nearly Ulysses’ scales. Empires still maintained some ties with the 18th century and traditional society in the minds, but when they collapsed, the heroics of the 20th century were already provided by wars and revolutions and related to them metanarratives, and that was achieved by the price of freedom. After 1989, the issue of pseudoheroics was included in the Western elites’ agenda – it was provided by the anti-Russian policy (Soviet Virgin Lands, Baikal-Amur Mainline), as alienation of Russia was fairly predictable in connection with NATO expansion.

Everything pseudo-imperial is resembling a commedia dell’arte but with bloody consequences, including the war in Iraq and terrorism, where the “triumphant globalization collided with itself”.<sup>1</sup> This dissonance could not fail to provoke the postmodernist views and ideas. It’s not difficult to understand the wish to finally (though nothing is final!) destroy the foundation of human non-freedom at its very source. It can happen that a seditious understanding will come that all their disjoints/disintegrations confirm the true Christian understanding of freedom as it was stated by Dostoevsky in his Christ-centered apologetics (according to Rowan Williams, the former Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>2</sup>), that does not determine an individual in any way but determines all the rest.

There is no doubt that postmodernism is doomed for its denial. Synthesis is just a guess. Meanwhile we have to wait for a complex unbinding of the web of various conflicts and contradictions, accumulated over the centuries. Here we have market’s totality/totalitarian character, its chaos in which we have been living for a long time – in contrast to the supposed multipolar, which we are being frightened with. And Pitirim Sorokin, who predicted collapse of the consumption sociocultural pattern on both sides of the ideological confrontation. The question is how long the non-crisis virtual reality can hold in the worm to the holes system. Nothing short of summing up the result of the European civilization development over the last five centuries is being done, and that serves the decisive factor for the issue of unpredictability and rapid reduction of manageability of the global development in our times.

A. V. Kuznetsov<sup>3</sup>

## TNC – INTERNATIONAL ROLE’S STRENGTHENING OR ADDED COMPLEXITY OF ADAPTATION TO GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT TRENDS?

The current decade is characterized by increase of unpredictability of many political and economic processes important for the global development. Starting from the autumn of 2018 and for many months, no one in Europe can really say when and in what format the United Kingdom will exit the EU, while the configuration of Brexit will undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup> Baudrillard J. Op. cit. P. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Williams R. Dostoevsky. Language, Faith and Fiction. Moscow : ROSS-PAN, 2013. P. 280.

<sup>3</sup> Director of the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences, deputy director for Research of the Primakov National Research Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the RAS (2013–2019), corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO-University) run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. Author of more than 300 scientific publications, including a monograph: “Internalization of Russian Economy: Investment Aspect” (awarded the RAS medal); several collective monographs dedicated to the EU states economy, European and Eurasian integration, regional politics, Russian foreign economic relations: over 20 articles in journals indexed by Scopus and WoS, including “Foreign Investments of Russian Companies: Competition with West European and East Asian Multinationals”, “Prospects of Diversifying Russian Direct Investment Abroad”, “Framework for the Analysis of Geography of Transnational Corporations Investments Abroad” and others. Chief Editor of the journal “Outlines of Global Transformations: politics, economics, law”. Member of the Academic Council of the Russian Geographical Society, of executive board of Association of European Studies. Was awarded the Russian Federation Presidential Certificate of Honour in recognition of scientific work.

have a considerable impact on foreign economic relations of many countries, and not only members of the biggest European integration project. The prospects of D. Trump’s protectionist policy in the United States are rather vague, while the mode of the United States participation in global economic relations in this or that way refers to practically all states. Unstopping political problems in the Middle East and North Africa, growing instability in Latin America do not add certainly either when an attempt is made to assess the current global development trends.

Nevertheless, the issue of global development’s predictability should be solved, and one of the variants, in our opinion, is the analysis of certain groups of international relations subjects, their capabilities, on the one hand, to take part in the forming system of the polycentric global governance, and on the other hand, to adapt themselves to changeability of significant international processes. In our opinion, one of the most promising for research groups of such subjects is transnational corporations (TNC).

According to the definition by UNCTAD, TNC or multinational enterprises (as they are called more and more often) are companies of whatever legal and organizational form, consisting at least of the head enterprise and a subsidiary or a dependent entity, where the head enterprise

owns at least 10%, in another country.<sup>1</sup> In essence, companies – direct investors and TNC are announced to be synonyms. Such treatment allows to refer most big participants of foreign economic relations to multinational enterprises, and that makes TNC important participants of the global economy.

According to UNCTAD, there are about 100,000 TNC operating all over the world. Gross added value created in TNC foreign departments amounted to about US\$ 7.3 trillion in 2017, or about 9% of global GDP. The TNC contribution to global GDP is even more significant via subsidiaries and affiliations of TNC in their home countries. At the same time, the total receipts of foreign departments only exceeded US\$ 30.8 trillion (that exceeds the global export of goods and services by nearly 37%), and total employment in these TNC entities reached 73.2 mln people.<sup>2</sup> Compared to 1990, the contribution of foreign TNC departments to global GDP increased 1.7 times, the number of employees increased 2.7 times, and the amount of accumulated foreign direct investments (FDI) increased 14 times. The accumulated FDI amount by the end of 2017 in the world equaled approximately US\$ 31 trillion, including annual FDI flow exceeding US\$ 1.4 trillion (that's about 7% of all investments into fixed capital in the world per year).

#### TNC as subjects of international relations

The growing TNC contribution to global GDP and transborder flows of goods, services and capital have been generating animated discussion on turning TNC into important international relations subjects for several recent decades already. When globalization is characterized, it's not rare to see even the *scales of biggest business empires* compared to certain states.<sup>3</sup> In the current decade, talks on mega-regional trade agreements also provided a lot of space for forecasting the growing TNC weight in transforming global regulation of international economic relations. At the same time, the evolution of TNC strategies, their bigger than before flexibility as a result of new information and communication technologies development and the going on in the production sector scientific and technological process allow companies to adapt more successfully to negative aspects of investment climate in this or that country. In essence, globalization did not slow down as a result of the latest global economic crisis ("great recession") as much as changed its character, opening new opportunities for the TNC role's strengthening.<sup>4</sup>

The state's role and traditional world order's blurring scenarios are even separately reviewed in some long-term forecasts, when the said role and world order are replaced by network world order models with TNC and other non-

state subjects and not governments being the most significant ones.<sup>5</sup> Special academic research is dedicated to "creative destruction" of the modern political world arrangement under the impact of big business, and at all levels – from global to national.<sup>6</sup>

Big companies can really influence the global development on the whole and economic prosperity prospects of certain countries. In particular, *TNC can have an impact on countries* via such tools as transborder value creation chains. It's well-known that such chain stages differ greatly in the contribution to added value making up, forming the so-called "crooked smile" when primitive production stages turn out to be the most unprofitable for countries – FDI recipients.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, exactly TNC after all take decisions about localization of their enterprises. In this connection, multinational companies can have a strong impact on nation-states, especially small countries, regularly presenting demands to improve the investment climate. Actually, we're speaking about the impact of transnational business on national laws in the economic sector. As some states are trying to get their profits from this process, such phenomena as off-shores and competition of jurisdictions (for example, by setting up special economic zones with especially privileged management mode) originate provoked by transnationalization of business.

The *loss of national foundations by many TNC* also certifies in favour of private business' growing independence from nation-states. The share of foreign shareholders even in the biggest companies grows no matter the wavelike dynamics of long-term foreign portfolio investments in stock. Expansion of foreign investors presence on local stock markets as well as striving of the leading TNC to place their shares publicly at the biggest stock exchanges abroad led to foreign portfolio investors having a considerable (and often dominant) part of shares of many world-known companies. For example, in the end of 2017, the Swiss had only 34.5% of Nestle shares, while natural persons and legal entities from the United States had 32.3%, and representatives of the EU had about 20%.<sup>8</sup> This process did not leave out even very big countries. Thus, in 2018 foreign shareholders owned about 40% of capital in the biggest German TNC Volkswagen, including over 20% of voting shares. In Daimler, the second in the Federal Republic of Germany company in the amounts of foreign assets, foreigners owned 67% of capital, the figure for Siemens that followed it was 70% (and in both cases investors from the United States were just slightly behind the Germans in the total share), etc. Foreigners more and more often occupy a considerable share in managerial bodies of the biggest TNC.

Thus, it is already possible to speak not only about origination of competitive national business in noncompetitive countries (when thanks to FDI production is transferred to countries with lesser costs and care for investment climate improvement in their home countries leaves the list of TNC

<sup>1</sup> World Investment Report 2018. Methodological Note. P. 3. URL: [https://unctad.org/en/PublicationChapters/wir2018chMethodNote\\_en.pdf](https://unctad.org/en/PublicationChapters/wir2018chMethodNote_en.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> World Investment Report 2018. Investment and New Industrial Policies. Geneva : UNCTAD, 2018. P. 20. We'll mention in passing that UNCTAD gets the latest data based on its own econometric models, so the presented figures turned out to be considerably lower than the figures calculated the year before.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g.: Global Governance: Opportunities and Risks / [Department of Global Problems and International Relations of the RAS]; executive editors V. G. Baranovsky and N. I. Ivanova. Moscow : Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the RAS, 2015. P. 83.

<sup>4</sup> There are many works on the new globalization features. We can quote to illustrate: *Kheyfets B. A.* Globalization Is Not Ending, It Is Becoming Different // The Contours of Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Law. 2018. No 1. P. 14–33.

<sup>5</sup> See: Prospects of Economic Globalization / ed. A. S. Bulatov. Moscow : KnoRus, 2019. Ch. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See: *Lebedeva M. M., Kharkevich M. V.* The Role of Business in Transformation of Political World Arrangement // The Contours of Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Law. 2018. No 1. P. 34–51.

<sup>7</sup> See in detail: *Smorodinskaya N. V., Malygin V. E., Katukov D. D.* The Network Arrangement of Global Value Chains and Special Features of National Economies Participation // Social Sciences and the Modern Times. 2017. No 3. P. 55–68.

<sup>8</sup> Here and below corporate annual and financial reports posted on the Internet were used for references to statistical information on certain TNC.

priorities) but also about gradual isolation of super-big business from the national society. Some “second-level” TNC are also becoming global in their essence. Regional integration projects’ deepening, especially in the EU (to a lesser extent in North America and still rather weakly in other regions of the world), leads to formation of the multinational character sometimes even in case of comparatively small regional TNC.

It’s not accidental that such a phenomenon as *companies generated by transnational companies* originated. To be more exact, we’re speaking about companies that too quickly (within 1–3 years after setting up) engage in FDI. At the same time, there is still no one single term for them – they are called international new ventures, global start-ups, born global or early internationalizing firms.<sup>1</sup> It’s important that such companies at first sight disprove the basic ideas of the Uppsala school of the internationalization process about stage-by-stage internationalization of business.<sup>2</sup> Many companies generated by transnational companies have no nationally brought about by ethnic, cultural and historical proximity priorities in FDI geography (including as a result of language and education factor when attracting foreign members of the board of directors). Really, there is no special conflict with the Uppsala school ideas as the stage-by-stage character of foreign expansion with psychological distance manifestation as a background (“neighbouring effect”), related to teaching foreign economic activities, is typical not for companies but people employed by them. In the environment of accelerated internationalization, top management has more and more opportunities to set up companies immediately focused on transnational character of business by people who have already managed to get the necessary for that education and/or experience in other TNC. The things that were very rare even in developed countries in the 1970s (when Swedish scholars offered the respective theoretical concept), is now present even in emerging countries (for example, in the information technologies sector in India). At the same time, such companies in contrast to “classical” TNC, are more often not referred to big and especially super-big business.

### Limits of TNC international autonomy

Speaking about the TNC growing role in the global economy, loss of transnational business ties with national foundations, we should not forget that the *state does not intend to “die”*. Considerable scales of several hundred leading TNC, really turning into global companies as to business encompassing, do not cancel regional or in the best case biregional (for example, with the emphasis on Europe and North America) character of the rest tens of thousands of TNC. Many investor companies are represented only in 2–3 neighbouring states. And what is more, the changing under the globalization impact world creates difficulties not only for governments but also for business that should know how to adapt quickly to new trends. At the same time, the loss of national foundations does not allow TNC to effectively exert influence on the ruling elites of countries from the inside.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g.: Arte P., Barron A. Early Internationalisation of New and Small Indian Firms: An Exploratory Study // Progress in International Business Research. 2017. P. 525–558.

<sup>2</sup> Johanson J., Vahlne J.-E. The Uppsala internationalization process model revisited: From liability of foreignness to liability of outsidership // Journal of International Business Studies. 2009. No 9. P. 1411–1431.

A vivid illustration of the TNC limited power in international relations is the “sanctions war” between Russia and the West as a result of the events in the Ukraine. Notwithstanding evident losses of Western companies, political confrontation led to limitations in the FDI field as well, curtailing the trade turnover between Russia and the EU. Thus, while in 2013 trade in commodities with the EU-28 amounted to US\$ 417.6 billion (49.6% of foreign trade turnover of Russia and 9.6% of foreign trade turnover of the EU, without taking into account trade of member states with each other), in 2018 the figure decreased down to US\$ 294.2 billion (42.7% of Russian trade turnover and 6.4% of EU trade turnover). As a result, Russia moved from the 3rd place to the 4th place among the EU trade partners.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, big European TNC, to which the main volume of accumulated in Russia FDI was referred, could not seriously affect the “sanctions war” and soften it, one nation-state – the United States – performs solo there. On the contrary, the events of 2018 show that the U.S. protectionist flywheel is set in motion – the so-called sanctions were imposed on Russian private business empires. And what is more, O. Deripaska and V. Vekselberg, owning the biggest (together with Lukoil, Severgroup and Evraz) Russian private transnational business empires (En+ Group and REN-OVA respectively), have to adapt to limitations not only in North America but in Europe as well.

The referendum on Britain’s exit from the EU turned out to be an even heavier blow for European business. Difficult talks in the so-called Brexit format as well as the very idea of the referendum, are more subjected to the logic of British intra-political struggle and not economic interests of the United Kingdom or their partners in European integration. As a result, British companies can only “vote by their legs.” transferring their offices to Ireland or the continent. It’s not accidental that GDP growth in Ireland amounted to 7.2% in 2017, and 6.8% in 2018 against 2.4% and 1.9% respectively on the average in the EU (in the Euro zone). GDP dynamics slowed down in the United Kingdom in 2016–2017 to 1.8%, and in 2018 the figure decreased to 1.4%.<sup>4</sup>

There are also *many other global in their importance events that TNC can have no impact on*. It’s known from the history of the 20th century that certain TNC financed state coups in a number of emerging countries, making money as go-betweens in trade during big wars, however, on the whole, transnational business flourished mostly in the years when foreign trade was liberalized and there was relative easing of tensions in international relations. In that connection, formation of a nearly continuous instability belt in North Africa and the Middle East led to reduction of many TNC activities that could not be fully re-focused on other regions. It was especially noticeable in case of countries where TNC are only forming. The events of the current decade had the biggest impact on TNC from the Arab monarchies of the Persian Gulf that had to launch geographical diversification of direct investments by looking for more stable places of capital application in comparison with neighbouring countries. The losses of capital investments in Libya amounting to hundreds of millions

<sup>3</sup> The author’s calculations are based on the Federal Customs Service of Russia (<http://www.customs.ru>) and Eurostat (<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>) statistics.

<sup>4</sup> European Economic Forecast. Winter 2019 (interim) // European Commission Institutional Paper 096. February 2019. [https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/economy-finance/ip096\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu/info/sites/info/files/economy-finance/ip096_en.pdf).

(in dollars) were also noticeable for Russian TNC though they were less than losses of a number of European TNC (on the whole, the annual FDI inflow to Libya decreased from over US\$ 3 billion in 2007–2009 down to insignificant figures).<sup>1</sup> The most vivid example is the Tatneft company that in the current decade had considerable assets in three foreign countries – Libya, Syria and the Ukraine.

As the future U.S. sanctions regime is unclear, the prospects for including such a big country as Iran in FDI flows are unclear. Venezuela can become a new instability hot point. Even doing business in more sustainable developed countries creates new problems for TNC because geopolitical instability increases in the world. For example, the current migration boom in the EU brought about by the events in Arab countries will in prospect create tensions on labor markets and in the society as a whole. And taking into account low qualifications of many coming migrants and difficulties of their cultural adaptation, that will not help to improve the business environment for European companies.

### New trends in the TNC world

We should not forget that the TNC world is heterogeneous. Companies have to adapt not only to the consequences of new political processes but also to transformation of economic rivalry. Thus, in the 2010s experts paid more attention to *TNC fully or partially controlled by the state*. According to UNCTAD that made up a special database of such companies, there are about 1.5 thousand TNC in the world controlled by states, and there are many of them both in developed and emerging countries. Though they make only 1.5% of all TNC, they have nearly 10% of all foreign subsidiaries and affiliations (approximately 86,000).<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding large-scale privatization projects in a number of countries, in our opinion, the importance of TNC controlled by states is to grow in the next years. First, this is related to sale of non-controlling interests to private persons. It's enough to remind that Gazprom, Sovcomflot, Rosneft, Atomenergoprom, Russian Railways are among the top 10 Russian leading non-financial TNC, and the state controls 100% of stock only in three of them, with only 50.23% of PJSC Gazprom and a little bit over 50% of PJSC Rosneft. The two biggest Russian transnational banks – Sberbank and VTB – also belong to the state only partially as well as 21 more banks from the global top 25 transnational banks with the state interest.<sup>3</sup> Second, the share of TNC controlled by states is higher in emerging and post-socialist countries, and their importance in FDI engagement is constantly growing.

Besides, isolation from national foundations in case of TNC takes place not only because of internationalization of the joint stock and top management, but also because the importance of “transshipping points” grows in transborder investing (off-shores and other jurisdictions with favourable taxation laws or foreign economic activities regulation). As a result, a considerable number of *migrant TNC* originates. For example, in case of traditional singling out exactly transnational and not multinational companies, Russian VypelCom (now VEON) or Swedish IKEA should be re-

ferred to Dutch TNC as their actual headquarters were really moved to the Netherlands several years ago. It's also fairly difficult to tie companies that originated as a result of giant mergers to one country. An example well-presented in academic literature is Royal Dutch Shell, a Dutch-British oil and gas company with more than a century-long history. However, there are also many new companies, for example, Italian-American Fiat Chrysler Automobiles that originated only 5 years ago on the basis of two independent TNC (besides, it is registered in the Netherlands and its headquarters are in the United Kingdom).

The number of such companies will noticeably increase in future both among the leading TNC and at the “second level.” In the latter case it may be brought about by emigration of the company owners. Thus, if we take Russian migrant TNC, it's possible to single out both TNC with the Russian business segment but headquarters abroad (Yu. Shefler's alcohol producer SPI Group and A. Beskhmel'nitsky's milk producer Food Union), and business structures belonging to emigrants and individuals with double-triple citizenship. There are Soviet people among the latter who started their business abroad (for example, L. Blavatnik with his Access Industries or A. Bronstein with his Solway Investment); successful Russian businessmen who left in the 2000s (for example, V. Iorikh); Israeli citizens with Russian passports (R. Abramovich, etc.).

Further *increase of importance of TNC from emerging countries* should be expected, it will lead to another transformation of TNC types. At the same time, revival of certain TNC types can't be excluded – those that are disappearing in developed countries now. This is related, in particular, to inevitable change of geographical and sectoral priorities, for example, increase of Chinese and other Asian TNC interest to agrifood and mineral resources in economically backward countries. We should not forget about specific features of “multi-Latinos” and originating African TNC either.

Increase of foreign expansion by Chinese, Russian and some other TNC from emerging and post-socialist countries will most likely lead to a new spiral in protectionism in the EU countries and the United States. It can't be excluded that Western countries will, like now, try in every case to politicize prohibitions introduced by them or on the contrary camouflage them under more general regulation measures (be it sanctions imposed by the United States at will on certain countries or the so-called energy packages in the EU, formally intended to improve the terms and conditions for consumers). However, sooner or later this will make to change regulation of transborder investment activities at the international level, refusing from the present-day axiom of liberal regime for FDI and low investment risks in most developed countries. This is related to the fact that TNC in emerging countries objectively demonstrate domination of another transnationalization model in comparison with investor companies from the leading economic powers. Chinese, South Korean and many other Asian TNC are trying with the help of capital export not only use their advantages on larger scales but also overcome their flaws and shortcomings thanks to buying foreign assets in the leading countries (especially for access to technologies and qualified personnel).

Finally, the rise of exactly Chinese TNC will lead to not only another increase of importance of investor companies

<sup>1</sup> COMESA Investment Trends Report 2018. Lusaka: COMESA Secretariat, 2019.

<sup>2</sup> World Investment Report 2017: Investment and the Digital Economy. Geneva: UNCTAD, 2017. P. xi.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. P. 34.



controlled by the state but also origination of *new forms of relations between FDI and other foreign economic relations*. Thus, Chinese foreign expansion is already now supported by granting long-term credits to emerging countries by the People's Republic of China. As a result many African, Asian and even Latin American countries, getting financial assistance from China, at best create a foundation for expansion of Chinese TNC in the near future as Chinese companies already now are studying the specific features of doing business in respective states as well as building the required extensive infrastructure. However, the use of the "debt exchanged for assets" pattern can't be excluded in the next decade when countries won't be able to service the rapidly growing foreign debt to be paid to China. Kirgizia is a demonstrative example in the post-Soviet area.<sup>1</sup>

Concluding assessment of TNC prospects, it's necessary to mention the inevitability of "classical" TNC blurring (though this classic is only 3–4 decades old – TNC looked different in the 1950–1970s) for several more reasons. First of all, the growing popularity of transborder stra-

tegic alliances of independent TNC as well as the becoming universal fashion to analyze the ways to increase competitiveness of national economy in the logic of transborder value creation chains certify that both businessmen and authorities are ready for further TNC borders blurring.

Finally, direct investment funds, actually having no citizenship, do not disappear anywhere, sovereign funds are strengthening, and they on the contrary are even not independent from nation-state's interests typical for "classical" TNC. Natural persons' investments into foreign real estate go on growing – because of growth of a number of representatives of "middle classes" in emerging countries and increasing dynamics of international tourism. As a result, scholars specializing in international business research will have to study many problems in TNC analysis. At the same time, popularity of network principles in transnational business arrangement and increase of flexible forms' importance in foreign investment expansion create prerequisites for more active TNC impact on the forming system of global polycentric governance.

V. A. Lektorsky<sup>2</sup>

## DIGITALIZATION OF LIFE AS A GLOBAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

We live in the uncertain, unruly and risky world, where new economic, environmental, geopolitical and intercultural problems arise over and over again. However, there is one problem that has been considered rather minor until lately, since it was supposed to be not in the list of essential human values or the most important life goals, but just one of technical means to achieve them. This refers to modern information technologies implemented through Artificial Intelligence devices. Meanwhile, it's clear today that developments in the field of Artificial intelligence allowing

to convey and process information in a digital form (what's called digitalization of economy, security systems, domestic life) are really not just auxiliary means to address various kinds of problems, but a key driver of economic and social development in the current context. They are tied with the present-day technological revolution in the economy. Those who have managed to jump in a dashing train of this revolution can win the global economic and political race. There is a good reason that such a great attention is paid to digitalization of life and developments in the field of Artificial Intelligence in the USA, China and our country on the national level.

However, it's getting clear that digitalization and Artificial Intelligence are not just a new technological paradigm. They are a challenge to some essential cultural values. A while back H. Kissinger, a famous American statesman, wrote a text claiming that the age of Artificial Intelligence meant the end of the European project of Enlightenment. I would go far beyond that point in my assessment of potential consequences of using Artificial Intelligence. From my point of view, use of modern information technologies based on Artificial Intelligence, digitalization of all spheres of life represent a challenge to fundamental life conditions in general no matter what culture a person belongs to. It's about human fate, about whether people will turn into some other creatures or simply die. Culture of the West, where the sources of scientific development and new technologies, including information ones, were located for centuries, is considered more ready to address these problems than any other culture. In fact, there are no ready answers, so it's a challenge for all currently existing cultures.

### On new and enormous opportunities for people

Traditional culture is tied to the times when it once emerged. People live in a certain environment. With the Internet one

<sup>1</sup> See in detail: *Kuznetsov A. V. The Limits of Russian and Chinese Business Interaction in the EAEU Countries // The Contours of Global Transformations: Politics, Economics, Law. 2017. No 5. P. 15–29.*

<sup>2</sup> Chief Researcher of the Theory of Knowledge Department, Institute of Philosophy of the RAS, Academic Supervisor of the Philosophy Faculty, Head of the Epistemology and Logic Department of the State Academic University for the Humanities (Moscow), Academician of the RAS, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor. Author of more than 400 scientific publications, including monographs: "Philosophy in Contemporary Culture", "Subject, Object, Cognition", "Classical and Non-Classical Epistemology", "Transformations of Rationality in Contemporary Culture", "Philosophy in the Context of Culture", "Philosophy, Cognition, Culture", "Man and Culture", "Science Through the Eyes of a Humanities Scholar" (ed.), "Cognition and Consciousness from the Interdisciplinary Perspective" in two parts (ed.), "The Problem of Consciousness from the Interdisciplinary Perspective" (ed.), "Constructivism in Epistemology and Human Sciences" (ed.), etc. Chief Editor and one of the authors of the book series "Philosophy of Russia in the Second Half of the 20th Century" (22 volumes). Chief Editor of the journal "Philosophy of Science and Technology", Chairman of the International Editorial Board of the journal "Matters of Philosophy", Chairman of editorial boards of the journals "Epistemology and Philosophy of Science" and "Personality. Culture. Society". Member of the International Institute of Philosophy (France), foreign member of the Center for Philosophy of Science at the University of Pittsburgh (USA), member of the International Academy of Philosophy of Science (Belgium). Honorary Professor of the Institute of Philosophy at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Honorary member of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Awarded the Order of "the Badge of Honor", Lomonosov Order, 1st Class Chelpanov medal, the Institute of Philosophy of the RAS medal "For Contribution to Philosophy", and the medal "In Commemoration of the 850th Anniversary of Moscow".

can go beyond space and time, set up network interest communities. It's a new type of social intercourse, when members of a certain community go beyond the scope of what was customary before, so a person becomes much freer. And the dream about expanding the space of freedom has always been a driving force of human development.

No one knows who you are in social networks. You can write whatever you want. Everyone could be an author and not just a reader of texts.

Existing democratic systems have serious flaws. Nowadays, the idea of democracy's more perfect form – digital one – emerges. Any political issue could be discussed on the Internet, there's no censorship there. Political actions can be arranged through social networks. For example, to encourage advocates of some political idea to take action in public and voice their demands. And electronic democracy seems to have shown itself in the best light; usually the Arab Spring – uprisings of young people in Egypt – is an example to refer to.

Development of a whole series of new technologies is ensured by information technologies and researches in the field of Artificial Intelligence. Sometimes they are called NBIC technologies. They are nano-, bio-, information and cognitive technologies. Supposedly, currently these technologies are going to be used in the most civilized countries to help do things that have never been possible before. For example, it will be possible to make nanorobots able to clean blood vessels, so that technically they could prolong human life endlessly. The dream about living as long as possible or, perhaps, without even dying in the end has always engrossed human minds. Today, there are a lot of people (including quite serious outstanding scientists and philosophers) who think that the idea of immortality can be implemented with information technologies based on Artificial Intelligence. It is assumed that currently there are two options to implement the idea of immortality. Option one: nanorobots will regularly “repair” human organisms. Option two: some device makes an information copy of actions, emotions and thoughts of a certain person over and over again, records everything that happened to this individual during his/her life. Then this information is transferred to another medium – biological or digital, which is even better, i.e. the mental life of a person will be saved, but the individual will go on living in another body, not their own, and this body will exist forever, since it can be constantly repaired. However, it will be a posthuman. According to some scientists and philosophers, the purpose of the humankind existence is to create a posthuman.

Within this context there emerges an idea of possible management of the evolution process. This process will stop being natural to become artificial. People will administer it themselves; they will create what nature couldn't, or will be able to repeat what have already been created by nature with NBIC technologies.

A few specialists think that in future it will be possible to read another person's thoughts deciphering neurodynamic codes of brain information records.

And here are challenges to fundamental life conditions inevitably following these new information technologies based on developments in the field of Artificial Intelligence.

### **On opportunity to create network communities on the Internet, where there's no censorship and everyone is given a free hand**

The point is people are responsible for their actions. Human beings have a free will, which philosophers have been writing about for a thousand years. Today, these disputes are fierce again, because some brain researchers have come to the conclusion that allegedly free will doesn't exist. In fact, free will does exist, and people can't live without it, since they are responsible for their actions. As for the Internet, it really provides some new emerging opportunities for “authoring”. But if everything posted on the Internet is considered a valuable publication, it will mean the end of culture. Any idea suggests that there are ways to assess whether it's good or bad. Peer-reviewed journals differ from unreviewed ones, because publications there are assessed in an absolutely different way. Also, we assess a literary text in accordance with its quality. The democracy, when criteria for text assessment disappear, is worse than no democracy at all. You can find anything on the Internet. But since Internet publications are not regulated, criteria of distinguishing between the good and the bad are lost, and any responsibility for what a person does disappears.

### **On the problem of electronic democracy**

Sure, people can be encouraged to take action in public via social networks. But people do it for some results, some desired changes. And they should have a program of these changes. Such a program can't be established with the help of a chat on the Internet; it requires specialists who are aware of the economic and political situation, so they know what should and what should not be done. The crowd can smash something, but can't do anything positive without those in the know. That's why the Arab Spring in Egypt didn't have an effect young protesters had expected. The modern society is not a society of electronic democracy, but rather a society of “expertocracy”. Therefore problems arise, since experts can be different, they can have their own interests, but it's clear that you can never manage without professionals.

### **On NBIC technologies**

At first sight it's fine that implanted nanorobots will indicate that something's wrong with a person, since they know this person better than he/she knows himself/herself. And a “smart house” will say: “Buy this, buy that.” It will also order everything you need in the shop to be delivered. So, people don't even have to do anything, machines will do it instead. But then a human being will be just an appendage to the machine, a smart device based on artificial intelligence, which will make all decisions for a person, from getting the house in order to taking care of human health.

### **As for overcoming death**

Let's perform the following imaginary experiment. Imagine that people are immortal. I don't think it's possible, but let's assume it's been accomplished. What does it mean? First, people will not be born anymore. After all, what's the use of new people in this case? People will live forever. A large part of our relations with other people is played by the fact that we understand them, hold affection for them, love them

and feel ready to sacrifice something for them, sometimes even our own lives. But in the context of immortality such qualities as selflessness, self-sacrifice and compassion are useless. It's impossible to sacrifice one's life, because every person will live forever. Fundamental human traits which life is based on and people live for will be useless.

#### **On freedom of movement**

Everyone will have a card with a record of where you've gone to, what you've bought and where you've stayed. And since the modern world is a dangerous place full of risks and possible terrorist attacks, you will be interested in a central entity to monitor your movements and give advices: "come here", "don't go there", "do this", so all your actions will be under control. Therefore, it's not a new level of freedom, but a new level of serfdom, since you will be at the mercy of mechanisms that seem smarter than you, know everything about you and allegedly do it in your interests. But who knows in whose interests they really act? Perhaps, not in yours, but in the interests of those in power in this society.

#### **On reading thoughts**

Fortunately, I don't think it's possible. If two people see one and the same thing, they will have different associations and slightly different meanings related to this thing. It's a well-known and still discussed philosophical problem of differences between referents and meanings: one and the same referent (thing) can imply different meanings for different people, since every life is unique, and every person is different, so thoughts different people have about one and the same thing will be different as well. So, even knowing what sections of your cerebral cortex correspond to a certain referent, I will not be able to understand what you think of. Besides, thoughts of testees will be different every time, and it's impossible to guess even the simplest thoughts of another person with brain researches, since everyone has their own life, and fortunately, all people are different. People are autonomous, they take decisions themselves. And if it were possible to read thoughts, as some cognitive scientists suggest, it would be possible to do anything with people – to manipulate, to direct them somewhere, to instill ideas in order to turn them into puppets in someone else's hands eventually. So, it is not possible. But even if it were, it would better not be done. Not everything that can be done should be done.

#### **About the idea of human enhancement**

Nowadays, these ideas are being discussed. Many scientists and philosophers share them. But how can human beings be enhanced? And where are the borders of enhancement? Some answer this question like that: people need to think better and faster, to be more emotional, to run faster, to eat less and to sleep less as well. Then a question arises:

where are criteria of what "better" means? Or, perhaps, it's not better but worse for a person? For example, what does it mean – to think better? Thinking can be different. One can play chess brilliantly and be if not an idiot, but certainly a bit strange, heavy-minded creature in all other areas of life. There are also cases when a genius mathematician is also a schizophrenic. And what does it mean – "to feel better"? For example, sensitivity is understood differently in the Chinese culture, than in European, and emotions have a different meaning. The Chinese think that one shouldn't behave as the Europeans do, that it's not good and even improper to express emotions openly. So what does "better" mean in this case? Which point of view is considered? It turns out that someone just decides which way is better and considers it to be so obvious that suggests introducing this vision of "human enhancement".

There are projects to exert influence on the human genetic system – "gene map editing". Every person has his/her genetic system that can be improved somehow. If there are any diseases, they definitely need to be cured. But then there is a big question: when it is allowed to interfere into the genetic system and when it is not. And it's high time to recall an old principle that has always been applied to doctors – "do no harm". No harm should be done: while something can be cured or enhanced, there's always a chance to aggravate something else at the same time. Now, the humankind has come to the stage when it can do what was not possible before. People interfere into the life of nature, the life of human body and human brain functions. The question is how to do that. How to do it for the benefit of humans, not in their detriment. And there's only one way out. In these cases decisions are not to be taken by certain people or politicians; it's required to consider opinions of people that understand what a human being is, what their opportunities are and how their strengths and weaknesses are interrelated. A philosophic and humanitarian expert evaluation is required for such projects. You can try to reinforce some human qualities, but eventually you'll deprive a person of those specific features that make them human, turning him/her into an unhuman being (and a posthuman is definitely unhuman).

This matter is not some fiction or distant future; we are already crawling into this new situation, we are crawling stealthily, but year after year we are getting farther and farther. Here's a comparison. A man has been walking down a pathway. Now, he's come to the end and sees a chasm. There are two options, if he doesn't want to go back: either looking for a way to fly (let's say he'll grow some wings), or to fall into the chasm. All people who care about the future of modern civilization should not allow falling into the chasm. According to H. Kissinger, whom I mentioned in the beginning of the text, today it's essential to understand problems connected with opportunities and threats of AI-based digitalization of life from the philosophic and humanitarian perspective. And one has to agree with that.

A. A. Likhonov<sup>1</sup>

## THE HOUSE WITH NO FOUNDATION?

Dear colleagues! The topic of the 19th Likhachov Scientific Conference is more than significant. The mankind's global development is unthinkable without predictability and manageability, though the real global environment avoids, runs away from looking for reciprocity and oncoming vectors with some baby's naivety.

The globe is approaching an important mark – the 75th anniversary of end of World War II (Great Patriotic War for us), it is approaching the 75th anniversary of the United Nations establishment, but it's evident for all that the United Nations is retreating to the edge of global cooperation.

And if the bloody war has not been forgotten yet, it is being diligently forgotten or distorted.

Technological rivalry acquires the features of the new form of slavery (or, if you want it, soul-owning), spiritual, ethical slavery, when customs, special national features, languages as if step aside, giving the place for persistence of new uniformity – of thoughts and manageability. I'm afraid that moral directives and the mindset worked out by the mankind in the variety of ideas, are smoothed out today by a kind of global iron into uniformity, values and special features making talents, thoughts and intentions, dreams are becoming average, some average-weighted global admissibility.

Striving for the future, trying to feel it preliminarily, forecast, understand merits and regenerations, which it will bring, beforehand, it is surely necessary to start from the foundation, from the zero cycle like in case of any construction. Children – planned, born and growing up – are the original state of the humankind in the human dimension.

Will the future be predicted, will it be precreated – with preliminary assistance to it – or will it be given to the will of elements? That's the question that seems the most important for such a forecast.

In October we'll be celebrating the 30th anniversary of the Convention of the Rights of the Child approved by the United Nations.

There is a strange controversy hidden even by the foundation of this event. The President of the United States George H.W. Bush was the first to speak at the UN General Assembly, and his speech was impressive and attention-getting, but America – as if blaming the whole world for something – still has not ratified this Convention. And still no one can understand this double meaning.

The USSR and China were one of the first to do it. But, most important, the Convention was accepted by all the other countries of the world!

<sup>1</sup> Writer, Chairman of the Russian Children Foundation, Director of the Research Institute for Childhood of the Russian Children Foundation, President of the International Association of Children Funds, academician of the Russian Academy of Education. Author of literary, popular works and fiction, including: "Clean Stones", "Deception", "The Maze" (the trilogy of "Family Circumstances"), "Good Intentions", "Golgotha", "Innocent Secrets", "Capital Punishment", "Spring Flood", "Nobody", "A Broken Doll", "Russian Boys", "School for Men", "Juveniles", "Pre-Childhood", "Compassionate Mood" and others. A. A. Likhonov is decorated with the Order of the Labour Red Banner, the Order of Badge of Honour, the Order for Services to the Fatherland of the 4th and the 3rd degree and orders and medals of Bulgaria, Georgia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Armenia. He is the recipient of Leninist Komsomol Prize, the Russian Federation Presidential Prize in education, and the Russian Federation Governmental Prize in culture. Doctor honoris causa of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences. Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.

The picture of global childhood looks as follows (surely, that's just an overview):

- 570 million live in poverty;
- 230 million are not registered on the globe – that is, they were born, they are alive but they were not registered anywhere by anyone;
- 5 million children can't read or write;
- each tenth girl in the world is raped;
- on the whole, children are subjected to violence every 5 minutes;
- only 10% of children in the world are protected from violence.

There is active child trade in the world, trade in their organs, they are used in armed conflicts and organized crime, including drug trade.

Children, who are the basis and continuation of our civilization, are threatened with dying of hunger, lack of water on whole continents, infections not knowing any borders.

The notion of child poverty has been established on the globe.

The International Labour Organization (ILO) announced that the social security system encompassed only 35% of children on the world, and aggregate expenditures for grants and allowances did not exceed 1.1% of global GDP. (Our country was not included in this analysis).

Only 23 countries (they are the EU countries) provide universal grants to needy families with children.

But imagine: children under 14 make 26% of the global population, all countries on the whole spend only 1.1% of global GDP for their needs via various grants and allowances.

Minimum expenditures for grants and allowances are in North Africa (0.1% of GDP, the share of children among the population is 32%), maximum expenditures are in the Pacific Region (2.7% of GDP, children make 23.3%). They amount to 2.2% (17.2%) in Europe and Central Asia, 1.1% of GDP (with children making 16%) in Eastern Europe.

Assessments of child poverty in Russia presented earlier by Russian experts (Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration) look positive with this background, though it's impossible to directly compare the data for the Russian Federation and the global data because of different criteria for poverty assessment (there is practically no child poverty in Russia in terms of the UN standard).

There are 25 mln children in Russia under 15. The level of their absolute monetary poverty is 22% (1.5 times higher than in case of the population of the country on the whole). The level of considerable material deprivation of children is 4.7%, and that is 1.6 times higher than for the population of the country on the whole. 21% of children live in households with debts to housing and communal services, overdue rent or loans because of insufficient resources. The same figure for the Russian Federation population on the whole is 14%. 8.4% of children live in families incapable to pay everyday expenses (12% in the Russian Federation on the whole).

These figures characterize dependence of children's and their relatives' well-being; they depend on them and are like them. To put it differently, the phrase and social definition –

poor children of poor parents – is the proved by life coincidence.

The world can't develop positively and exist fruitfully on the whole, if an important part of nations already in the beginning of their lives is not required by anyone, poor and sees no hopes. Poor children in poor families are not only victims of someone's richness but they are the future threat, alas, not for those social and political categories that hold both riches and opportunities for the people.

Such children – all over the world – can be a threat to well-to-do and successful strata – both common, individu-

al strata and economic structures of various kinds. And this opposition is a sign of dehumanization, inequality, confrontation.

Poor, doomed, hopeless childhood is a house with no foundation. And no matter how well the structure looks, it will inevitably collapse because of miscalculations in social designs.

Only equality is just and right. And the mechanism of equaling and all kinds of help is the only just way of universal activities. By states, societies and for our common understanding.

**A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov<sup>1</sup>**

### **STATE LAW POLICY WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS Predictability, Controllability, Vectors of change, Community perspectives**

The early twenty-first century was marked by unpredictable events and the uncontrollability of processes occurring in international relations. In less than twenty years, the world succeeded in proclaiming the triumph of globalization, while falling into a “global” financial crisis at the same time, in exalting national interests which challenged the ideas of unconditional globalization; it endeavored to launch the construction of a unipolar world, while doubling down the hardships facing nations due to the problems of terrorism and forced resettlement of peoples.

This supposedly incomplete list of phenomena, still similar to a chaotic one, was, however, invoked by the objective factors of economic, political, ideological, man-made, and natural character.

The first and decisive impetus for change was the collapse of the bipolar world. In terms of possible patterns of further development of the world community, the Western model might seem a single option. Such a perspective seemed justified at least because that pattern had been evolving for half a century and was grounded not only in the national systems of Western countries, but also in the explicit international rule of law.

<sup>1</sup> Chief Researcher fellow of the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor. Author of more than 120 academic papers, including “National Law in the Globalization Environment”, “Today's Global Challenges and National Interests”, “Culture as the Factor Having an Impact on Development of International Law”, “Legal Culture and Legal Nihilism: Typical Features, Assessments, Problems”, “National and International Rule of Law in the Context of Geopolitical Situation”, “White Spots in Contemporary International Law”, “The Role of International Private Law in the Process of Interaction of National Legal Systems”, “Legal Immunities from Colour Revolutions”, “The Order of Settling Disputes Related to Protection and Transfer of Rights to Inventions, Know-How and Trademarks”, “Arbitration in Case of Industrial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation”, “Legal Issues of Scientific-Technical and Industrial Cooperation”, “International Private Law: Contemporary Problems” (coauthor), “Legal Regulation of Foreign Investments into Russia”, “International Civil Process: Modern Trends”, “Human Rights and Contemporary State and Legal Development”, “New Challenges and International Law”, “The Role of Law in Russian Economy's Modernization (with the oil and gas sector as an example)” and others. Member of the editorial board of the State and Law journal and editorial board of Works of the Institute of State and Law of the RAS. Member of the Social Sciences Department Bureau of the RAS. He was awarded the Orders of Friendship, of Leopold II (Belgium) and of St. Sergius of Radonezh.

In the context of global economy, the governance process was guided by such general international organizations as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and others. The European Union has become an example of regional alliance, both economic and political. At the national level the South-Eastern “tigers”, except for Japan, can be attributed to global economic leaders who have largely adopted Western patterns.

At the same time, a pragmatic look at the economic, political and legal map of the world of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries makes the indisputability of the Western pattern as a guiding star for the development of the world law not that uncontroversial. The latter emerges from the interaction of states, their political and economic interests. These interests, in their turn, are not predetermined by a purely pragmatic policy. They are influenced by a range of non-economic factors and even by the civilization codes of nations.<sup>2</sup>

These non-economic factors usually reflect the material and spiritual basis of the society of any state and shape the foundation for development in any historical era. They also determine the vector of legal policy of any state. The domestic legal literature rightly pointed out that law should reflect the objective situation rather than be a product of “fiction and invention” of the legislator.<sup>3</sup> Following this idea, it should be noted that the national law will change in line with its traditions not only in its statics, but also in its development. The diversity of national political systems, economic models and national legal regulations have intrinsically interacted throughout the history, which was inevitably complemented by contradictions, conflicts and wars.

In the second half of the twentieth century, still accompanied by contradictions, conflicts and wars, the world,

<sup>2</sup> See: Non-Economic Facets of Economy: the Unknown Mutual Influence / ed. O.T. Bogomolov, M., 2010. P. 796 ; Lisitsyn-Svetlanov A. G. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights – the Framework of Legal Development in the Modern World // The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: Universalism and Diversity of Experiences. Moscow : The Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2009. P. 8–13 ; Lukashova E. A. Man, Law, Civilization: the Dimension of Regulations and Values. Moscow : Norma, 2009. P. 384.

<sup>3</sup> Shebanov A. F. Forms of Soviet Law. Moscow, 1968. P. 3–9.

however, found a remedy for a global war, first through demonstration of nuclear weapons, and later – through their accumulation on the two “poles of confrontation.” That fatal danger caused a new type of international law – that is the law of peaceful coexistence to emerge. Now, looking back, it is possible to rather definitely outline the principles of construction of both bipolar world systems, while avoiding subjective political and ideological estimations, quite diverse at times. It became possible due to the fact that political processes in each of the countries and in the total global community are now reflected in the law, both national and international.

But the bipolar world collapsed, and thirty years of modern history have led to the conviction that global “mono-order” is not possible. Experts in any field of humanitarian and social knowledge can explicitly confirm it. But the question is: what is the outlook for the legal order pertaining to the twenty-first century?

It could be assumed that the international law, which was in effect as from Yalta, 1945, until the collapse of the Berlin wall, maintains its power and will serve the mankind for a second term at least. Nevertheless, the current political processes manifest the intent to destroy the existing pattern, rather than to improve it. The finality of such a judgement could be questioned, but operational policies of the leading states are supported and continued in their legal policies and, moreover, enshrined in their domestic law.

Referring to the examples of creation in modern international relations, we should mention the measures to build up regional cooperation, implemented in the form of new international organizations, such as SCO, BRICS, etc. With due regard to the unconditional benefits of the relevant efforts, it should be noted that the decisions taken in these organizations are more programmatic rather than regulatory for member states.

Thus, evaluating the current launch position for the development of the legal order of the XXI century, it should be noted that to this point they have been demonstrating a tendency of coercive development, rather than the principle of concordance of wills of states and their obligation to cooperate with each other in line with the UN Charter, which is explicitly enshrined in the Declaration “On Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among the states under the Charter of the United Nations”, approved by the resolution of the UN General Assembly on 24 October, 1970 (Resolution 2625 [XXV]). At that, the modern “coercive” is not identical to the traditional “military”. The intended effect can be achieved not only by weapons (*Non solum armis*), but also through economic measures.

Another factor complicating the formation of a new economic order is the intensive growth of a number of national economies. This seemingly positive factor in the global development has however its downside. New players on the global market are intrinsically developing competition. Competition is by itself a prerequisite for the existence of the market as such, but it is obvious that competition is inseparably accompanied by dishonesty and protectionism, if not plain manifestation of force.

With account to the current situation, the future regulation of international economic relations does not show in the most favorable light. Regular reports on the imposition of sanctions, the threat of setting and the actual setting of

extra customs tariffs, the appointment and cancellation of trade negotiations, pressure set on the business world, based on the extraterritorial effect of national laws, gunboat policies in the crisis spots around the world, which threaten to destroy the energy market, – all these factors are more than enough to claim the collapse of the existing system of legal regulation of foreign economic relations. All of the factors enumerated mean confrontation, contrary to the international legal principle of the obligation of states to cooperate mentioned earlier. The principle considered as peremptory by the international law – *jus cogens*.

The global nature of crisis in the law governing foreign economic relations manifests itself in the destructive nature of legal policy, which has spread around the world without formation of any alliances. Thus, for example, changes in customs tariffs between the US and China, according to French officials, can lead to an economic downturn in Europe and job losses in France.

The acutely perceived confrontation with Russia over the Ukraine is by no means a source of a “total disease.” But the role of modern Russia on the global energy market and on the arms market is in itself an irritant for the world’s leading economy of the United States. The cases in point are the Nord Stream 2 and the project of SS400 delivery to Turkey.

Exacerbation of the crisis may be triggered by the UK’s exit from the EU. Currently, the United Kingdom is both a financial contributor and a consumer of goods within the EU. The role of this country in the European market can hardly be overestimated. Now there are apparent legal problems regarding the country’s withdrawal from the Union and uncertainty regarding the proposed documents for further cooperation, while their final agreement, as well as their implementation still lies ahead.

China has already definitely declared its intention to extend its influence to the West, as illustrated by its two long-term projects – the Silk Road and the Arctic. This will inevitably increase the intensity of confrontation with the US. In this case, bilateral agreements are hardly feasible to achieve; therefore, multilateral negotiation procedures will be required, while their development with the participation of Russia is problematic for the United States.

In contrast to the previous years, including the Cold War fervor, the United States have cornered national sanctions regulation for the sake of its domestic political processes. The formerly effective legislation, while establishing well-defined justification for export control, used to empower the administration to impose and remove restrictions on three grounds: national security, foreign policy interests and limited availability of goods on the market. The administration’s authority also included determination of the range of controlled commodities (services), the procedure for granting special partial permits or lifting restrictions. The current package of laws deprives the administration of independent decision-making. This makes application of the American constitutional principle of separation of powers incomprehensible, as well as deprives of any confidence in the possibility of holding negotiations with the United States.

Violent interference with the internal affairs of the states in the Middle East and North Africa has become a form of destruction of the international legal order. The slogan of democracy promotion has been widely used to justify not only direct aggression, but also the support for anti-govern-

ment movements from the outside, including financial support, which has grown into the sponsorship for terrorism. As a result, chaos and violence were brought to those countries, with the formation of ISIS as an apotheosis of the above.

The political and economic consequences of this crises can be traced in other regions too. For Russia, the destruction of markets, particularly those of Iraq and Libya, means the curtailment of foreign economic relations in the area of industrial cooperation, energy and military-industrial cooperation. For Europe, military operations in Libya and Syria have engendered enormous migration and labor market problems. The problem of migration has become one of the leading issues on the political and economic agenda of the European Union.

It is also difficult to predict further ways of regulating foreign economic relations due to the positive factor of the modern development of mankind – intensive technological development, shaping digital economy and providing undeniable advantages over the rest of the community for the leading states in this area.

The fact that technical progress throughout the history of the mankind fell primarily into the “hands of the War-God” gives ground for concern. The twentieth century developed an international legal system prohibiting production and use of weapons of mass destruction. We may well agree with the assumption that the world owes its stable international security to the existence of nuclear weapons. But in the context of international law downfall what can we expect from future developments that do not formally fall under the definition of conventional weapons (weapons prohibited by international conventions), but can still cause significant harm to man?

A legal problem of unpredictability of future relations arising in cyberspace ought to be specially remarked. The existence of man and the society in this space can change the very idea of law reinforcement. National law used to be initially limited by state borders. Based on sovereignty over their territory, the states formed international law in order to at least ensure mutual interaction. Cyberspace was originally designed to develop beyond any borders, i.e. outside state sovereignty. Legal regulation in this space requires a new philosophy of law and its formation requires a genuine interest and openness of states in the real world.

Thus, the collapsing international legal system, including that in the area of foreign economic relations, supplemented by man-made and possibly natural factors, gives free scope to strong-willed political decisions based not on the force of law, but on the law of force. The danger of such a tendency is quite comprehensively discussed in Professor V.D. Zorkin’s monograph *Law against chaos*.<sup>1</sup>

So where can the wind of change blow from? Attainment of sovereignty and pragmatism are the first step of any change. However, this process is by no means easy. According to Russian President Vladimir Putin, there are

not many countries in the world that enjoy sovereignty, and Russia values its own. According to the estimation done by the Interim Commission of the Federation Council for the protection of state sovereignty and prevention of interference in the internal affairs of the Russian Federation, only three states – the United States, China and Russia – wield global sovereignty in the present-day conditions. In these circumstances, a key issue with regard to the prospects of building international legal relations between Russia and foreign countries is the restitution of sovereignty on the European continent. This assumption can be proven by an example from the previous years. After the Soviet troops had been brought to Afghanistan, the United States imposed sanctions and demanded that Germany would impose a ban on the supply of wide diameter Mannesmann pipes for the Urengoy-Pomary-Uzhgorod gas pipeline. However, the German government did not succumb to the pressure, the supply was completed, and Mannesmann was not subjected to American sanctions.

The above case from the past, as well as the current opposition of Germany to sanctions with regard to the Nord Stream 2, at least for the time being, is hardly worth considering as a serious counteraction to the law of force that has developed currently in international economic relations. Within this context, a question arises as to what the process of building new relationship will be like. The quintessence is as follows: whether determination of law will be the precondition for solving specific international economic problems or a significant change in the importance of global markets will shape conditions for reloading their legal regulation. These two similar issues manifest, however, the diverse assessment of capability of law to solve economic problems both within the country and in the world economy.

The analysis of pseudo-legal measures that destroy legal regulation of global economic relations comes from the world’s leading economy – the United States. The imposition of any unilateral restrictive measures, any threats of sanctions, from financial to criminal, against foreign companies and individuals, currently cause an extraterritorial effect. This extraterritorial effect can retain its importance in terms of its application to the extent that the interest of being present on the US market and the fear to lose it is a dominant factor for companies from other countries. The development of alternative markets, including the digital one, as well as the emergence of a viable alternative to the dollar will allow reformatting legal regulation of foreign economic relations.

Thus, from the objective point of view, political will alone is not enough to shape a new rule of law. In addition to making political decisions, it is necessary to change the ratio of “economic forces” and to devise the formation concept of new international mechanisms capable of developing new rules of conduct, both in the area of real external economic relations and in the cyberspace.

<sup>1</sup> Zorkin V. D. *Law against Chaos*. 2nd ed. Moscow, 2018. P. 367.

J. A. March<sup>1</sup>

## VECTORS OF CHANGES AND THE FUTURE OF THE GLOBAL COMMUNITY

A few years ago, the former President of Israel, Shimon Peres, during his last trip to Russia to give a lecture series, predicted that the 21st century would be a totally different century for the humanity, acting as the watershed of its evolution. Until then, he said, man would have used his brain to discover the outside world. He had seen the horses run and had invented the car and the train. Birds flew and had copied them with airplanes. But in this century man would discover his brain and with it his authentic nature and his enormous potentialities. Following this analysis, today we would be at the door of a new era that we could call the “civilization of intelligence”.

And while Shimon Peres expounded his thesis to hundreds of students who followed him between intrigued and passionate, a great scientist, this time British, Stephen Hawkins, made another important prediction about our future. Questioned about what he thought was the destiny of man, he said something very concise but at the same time very revealing: Man, he said, is called to fulfill a manifest destiny; to be the bees of the universe, the pollinating entity of knowledge of the cosmos.

The conjunction of these two visions leads us to reflect on the two main themes that will mark our future; our entry into a new stage of civilization and our departure to the cosmos. And on them, important political and strategic issues will have a major impact.

Today we are on our way to a new intelligent civilization, where the human being acquires a new value and his relationship with the planet takes on new proportions. Today we also need to consider how we approach our future projection in the universe, because we can be a species that carries harmony or the germ of conflict on a cosmic scale. And we live these two capital themes fragmented in multiple civilizations with deep differences and very different rhythms of evolution. In this context and lacking a superior political order of a global nature, strategic unknowns hang like swords of Demócles on the future.

We are therefore approaching the watershed of history, where science drives us to the future and politics drag its feet without yet finding the new formula to accommodate the coexistence of men to new times. That is why it is crucial to analyze some of the traits that begin to mark our evolution towards the future and try to model it in the best possible way for our peaceful and successful development.

The development of science and technology gives a new value to the citizen, anchoring their competitive ca-

capacity in intelligence, which creates an increasingly individualistic dynamic with greater creative force. Each person will emerge more and more as a unique piece of intelligence that will radically change its value from the past. Yesterday, in the absence of machines, the masses were necessary to be able to develop the productive processes that the elites developed. But today, with the advance and diffusion of technology, the value of each man is too precious to have it limited to mechanical functions or tasks that can be executed by products of artificial intelligence. What matters is “the thinking homo” able to imagine and invent. The superior value of man thus passes to focus on the intelligence and as it develops, gives life to a process of complexity and inventive wealth beyond imaginable. Man has gone from a stage of facing survival, to another of being a work force with elites creating products, to end up being a galaxy of creative beings. Each citizen gains value by their differentiated capacities that allow quasi-infinite innovations that in turn promote an exponential diversity.

The future of the world goes through the creative function; the more human beings that can be in this dimension, the greater the advance and the greater horizons will open up. We are heading towards a society that will have an infinity of creative individuals, generators of ideas, projects, initiatives or products, in front of previous societies that had masses of consumers but that executed functions with limited technical capacities. As has been said on other occasions, as recently as 1900, the first years in which the industrial revolution created new conditions in the most advanced parts of the planet, what was in the hangars were factories of a thousand workers with a management team of only ten people. Nine hundred and ninety people performed a repetitive, mechanical work, which with scientific development was replaced by machines. In year 2000, in the same hangar, what we found were a hundred companies of ten people, all performing functions of difficult mechanical substitution. And in the middle of the 21st century, what will be in the most advanced places, will be a thousand people at the head of a uni or bipersonal company, creating in each case a new economic reality. The future is to count on each being as an unrepeatable being, of maximums, that during its limited time of life comes to exteriorize what it contains as unique. And the sum of all of them will allow humanity to spread through the most unusual fields of diversity and growing creation. This is the trend towards which we are heading.

In a world without artificial intelligence, men acted as mechanical operators. The human nature marked by diversity was perceived as a problem and an attempt was made to limit and frame it. By entering an era in which man can invent a product for everything that is a mechanical function, the center of gravity moves to the other extreme, towards the capacity to invent, the primacy is creativity. What is worth is man as being intelligent because what is involved is to invent. And here there are no limits because just as there is no man or woman that has the same iris among the eight billion people that inhabit the world today, the ability of creative combination in each human is also unique, being able to give birth to millions of different new initia-

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Spain to the Russian Federation (2008–2011). In 1989–1993 he worked as a permanent Representative of the European Commission under the Committee on support of the Organization for cooperation and economic development. He served as a Director General of the Institute of IberoAmerican Cooperation of Spanish Agency for International Cooperation, an adviser of the Embassy of Spain in the United Kingdom (1996–2001) and Mexico (2001–2004). He was an Ambassador – a Permanent Representative of Spain to the United Nations and international organizations in Geneva (2004–2008). He is an author of the book “Wait for me in Havana”, “Key Strategic Issues in Global World”, a series of publications about problems of contemporary international relations, including: “Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests. A World between Conflict and Creativity”, “The World is no Longer the Same: the Big Changes Ahead”, “The Challenge of the Persistence of Different Stages of Competitiveness in the Process of Globalization”, etc.



tives. Thus, since everyone has their own angle in the perception of things, the possibility of inventing what the other does not come to imagine is the key to the new intelligent world and what makes the value of each individual not substitutable.

But if science and technology have opened the horizon to the development of man as a thinking being and at the individual level, progress is formidable, the science of the collective, what we would call political architecture, how we organize coexistence and the interaction of one the with the others to multiply the synergies and avoid shocks and conflicts, it is far from having matured in an equivalent way. This affects us deeply because by not getting to organize societies well we lose immense possibilities, we waste generations and resources and open the doors to conflict. It is imperative to give a new priority to political architecture in countries and on a global scale, in the world. The strategic risks arising from the numerous failures between cultures and civilizations are too pressing not to address them as a top priority, thus avoiding destabilizing the prospects for progress.

At a former Likhachov Conference in St. Petersburg in May 2016, the eminent professor James K Galbraith, son of the famous economist John Kenneth Galbraith, elaborated on the key to development. With a brilliant speech he put the accent on the rules under which a human group is articulated. It is not education, nor funding, nor other hugely important functions. The fundamental pillar is how we articulate society, how we organize the game. Today the question becomes more crucial than ever, because we are at the doors of the great individual revolution, the drift towards the “homo intelligente”. And we need a well organized collective game so that there are no bottlenecks that strangle the initiatives, to make it easier for each person to extract the most from themselves. In international relations this is also fundamental for the least developed countries, so they can take advantage of their delay to go through, thanks to the benefits of the technologies, to the advanced stage without all the hassle of the intermediate stages. We need to ensure that collective infrastructure advance at the same pace as individual advancement and so on.

In the last five hundred years science has made prodigious advances. In an effort of centuries it has managed to free itself from the gags and limits that the diverse moral or religious conceptions had it submitted to. The price that some have paid to push this car has been very high, like Galileo, burned alive to prove that the earth revolves around the sun, or Miguel Servet, roasted in boiling oil to expose his thesis on the circulation of blood. But this effort has allowed to broaden and then deepen the fields of research that have ended up leading humanity to enter the era of intelligence.

And although physical architecture has almost touched the sky and the great architects today build buildings that challenge all kinds of limits with shapes, heights and dimensions unimaginable a few years ago, in the social architecture, in how we organize the shared public space and as we manage the game of all individuals among themselves, we have much to advance. And yet this is the capital field. Successful innovation in the social architecture is what will allow us to reach new firm ground in this era of deep convulsions that affect the emergence of the new individual,

and a new distribution of everyone on the planet that gives true quality of life to each person.

Today, societies become complex in their nature and we must know how to channel their functioning with innovations. The architects of the public must be valued by society as essential pieces for their progress, attracting the most brilliant individuals who create the mechanisms to keep the game open without anyone being able to become a dominator. We must all choose, but we must prioritize the best in our own good. Man must now create the moral order that guarantees their coexistence and development and needs an effective political architecture to enforce that order. Those who think that this is an easy matter and that all serve for it are wrong. On the contrary, it is the most complex function because it requires finding formulas to channel the energy of millions of people well. That is why we need to select the best and we need to prioritize this function in priority. For knowing how to create well in political architecture is as difficult as scrutinizing the cosmos or finding the key to incurable diseases. For many centuries the function of ordering coexistence has been ensured by religions, preventing man from being in the forefront in the definition of his destiny. Today science and technology take us to adulthood, they confront us to lead our future. A responsibility that gives at least vertigo, but irrevocable.

Collectively, our challenge is to innovate in the organization of societies and in the relationship between them on a planetary scale. All the parameters change and the formulas of the past expire. Since man no longer has a simple value, as a mere labor force, but a much higher and much more complex value, as a source of intelligent energy, we must reorganize our political systems to create the platforms where each one can give their best, so that each individual can use, in its short time of life, its full potential.

The first challenge is to accompany the current generations in their constant recycling and the most decisive is the transformation of educational systems to adequately prepare future generations.

The current generations have to face a torrent of changes. They live in the present settled on a territory in a perpetual earthquake. All jobs are transformed and fears and insecurities invade them. They are certainly times of accelerated transformation. The question of employment today occupies a preeminent place in the well being of people because man has gone from a society centered on being (social status) to others based on having (bourgeois revolution) to the current ones based on function (from what is exercised) and see the work endangered involves not only economic uncertainty but high risk in social consideration. And although today there is no shortage of people who maintain that work is approaching its final point with the arrival of artificial intelligence, there is no lack of assurances that, on the contrary, we are only in a phase of mutation of the nature of the work, not the of the end of them. The latter remember that the history of employment in Humanity goes from the simple to the complex, from a single job – the battle for subsistence be hunting or snatching from the other what is hunted (via war or theft) – to one job at a time more diverse and broad based on technological progress. To each job that intelligence destroys when introducing a machine or an artificial intelligence instrument that executes it, simultaneously creates a new complementary field that requires new actors. Everything new does not cease to open

new fields of activity and generate employment accordingly. However, we must be aware that everything new comes from the hand of intelligence and therefore we must read the sign of the times well. The times, like a river of increasing rapids, impel us to a constant renovation in the performance of new works, having to overcome the discouragement or the frustration, because the effort of adaptation is very demanding. But one must insist that the new nature of the times is unstoppable and that there is no alternative but to equip themselves with instruments that combine support for the fall and incentives to rise again.

But where we all face the main challenge is in our ability to prepare future generations in accordance with the new parameters, so that they can raise their full potential and avoid frustrations. And this goes through completely reformulate educational systems with a 360° turn with respect to current approaches. This is the land where societies play everything. It is what will determine its rise or decline, the satisfaction or frustration of the populations. Whoever executes it before will be laying the foundations of a society with citizens in line with the evolution of the world. The new educational systems must be configured in accordance with the aspiration of the new generations, which consists of acting as soon as possible with exchange value in society. We must go from an education held hostage by the bidders, the teachers, to one designed according to the plaintiffs, the students. Today education has to change its pattern. The times of encyclopaedism have come to an end and the times of searching, understanding and creating have begun. It must be well measured that it is required so as not to overload time and effort unnecessary to those who learn and direct their energies well. The development to the maximum of the potential of the mind is the inalienable north to which the new educational systems should be oriented since each individual represents a capacity that is also unique in the mind and young people must find in the educational process the means to discover it. A society will be so much richer the more it creates and will create more the more citizens can imagine and do it operationally.

In Education we should experience something similar to what happened with military uniforms in the seventeenth century. At the beginning of the century the soldiers wore heavy armor when basing the combat on the defense; The slogan was to be protected to the fullest. However, King Gustaf Adolph of Sweden thought that the best defense was in agility and that for this the soldiers had to go with cloth uniforms and not iron. Thus his soldiers achieved the greatest successes in the first decade of the sixteen hundred and after his victory in the north of Germany, all the armies changed, leaving the iron for the cloth. The change was far-reaching since nobody ever dared to invest in armor. In education today a similar process opens up. The times of encyclopaedism are over and those of agility in knowing and creating have begun.

And together with the enormous work to be done at the national level, there is also an urgent call for a new political architecture in the collective fabric. An important challenge is to innovate in the distribution of humanity on the planet. Another is to discover everything that Earth can offer us. It is about seeing how we take advantage of this unique and wonderful space that is the Earth where there is so much to discover and take advantage of. Now that we have unleashed the revolution of mobility and communica-

tion, the times have come for a new relationship with our world. With scientific progress it is time to develop new initiatives that open thousands of new positive scenarios. Let's see some cases to show how much things can change if we proceed to reorganize the game more wisely.

Today, the earth is a hugely depopulated area with small points, the megacities, which encompass large agglomerations. When you travel from Accra to Istanbul, you travel through a space of millions of square kilometers with hardly any population. It is a desert area due to the absence of drinking water. But water in the form of the sea is not far away. The air is pure. The sun that brings life and energy is always present, but we find that organizing life there is complex. And I would say it's true... but in the context of the past. Because in the past the capital element that is water was impossible to obtain. But today this impediment becomes less, because on the one hand the advances in the desalination make feasible to have the potable water coming from the ocean, and on the other the advances in infrastructures make it possible to drive the desalinated sea water to any point of the interior. And let's think what mass of water rivers are compared to the sea: a trifle. The great reserve of water of the planet is the oceans and to the extent that this water is transformed into potable the whole letter of world agriculture and of the human settlements can change in exponential terms. And to this we add what happens with energy where alternative energies multiply the possibilities of changing the charter of human settlements. And let's also think that any difficulty is minimal compared to what a future human colony will have to face in extraterrestrial spaces where it will not have anything, nor oxygen, nor water nor easily convertible territories into orchards. And yet the external challenge is in the minds of the leaders as assumable because it falls into the sphere of a new legal space, while the internal challenge is played within spaces parceled by existing structures, the States, and arouses less interest. So we come back to the topic of social architecture. Advancing and innovating in this field, is fundamental because we must be able to offer quality space to each of the human beings of the planet, because there is space for everyone. The gaps are immense. Russia is totally depopulated in millions and millions of kilometers from Moscow to Vladivostok. Large countries such as Canada, the United States, Brazil, Egypt and Australia hardly have populations in 90% of their territory. The question is whether we will be wise enough to intelligently colonize the vast empty spaces of our planet. The theme will evolve in a revolutionary way in this century. In the meantime, let us hold back the idea that the problem is not the number of the population, the problem is of political architecture, of how we make the world available to everyone.

And on the same terms we are, when talking about transforming existing realities, as regards the Oceans. Until just five centuries ago these spaces were insurmountable barriers for Humanity that did not dare to navigate them beyond a few miles from the coast. Little by little the development of navigation was connecting the world until it became a space explored as a whole. Since anthropologists date the origin of modern man in about two hundred thousand years, this means that during 99.9% of the time elapsed by humanity on this planet, man has unknown the dimensions of it. Today we are the lucky ones, we must go

further in the knowledge and use of the huge bodies of water that are the oceans. Until now they have served man as a means of navigation and food supply through fishing. Undoubtedly the Oceans contain much more. From plants and unique beings that can revolutionize health, to new sources of energy. The Oceans are still huge spaces with enormous potentialities to discover. We just have to organize for it.

innovated at a collective level in this century. A century that can count on humanity as a whole to think about solutions, because very soon the barriers of languages, not languages, will disappear. The man has managed to overcome with skill the barriers that would have been a differentiated numerology, managing to settle on the base of the ten figures his numerical communication on a world scale which has allowed a scientific development without territorial borders. The same has not been achieved so far with the word being the world a very fragmented and plural linguistic mosaic. In the last centuries a few languages have reached a vast projection but in no way are we on a plane similar to what happened with numbers. However, science is already on the verge of providing micro chips in our ears that will allow us to listen in simultaneous translation to any other language in our own code, which will allow everyone to communicate with the whole world without giving up their original leagues. The wait will have been worthwhile because we will have saved the linguistic diversity with the millions of nuances and perceptions that contain the variants of the words created for the same thing or reality. As we have already implemented the revolution in communication hardware, -today through mobile phones we can transfer the sound in real time from Asia to America and from Europe to Africa to put some cases-, the transmission of these in the codes of communicants allow everyone on the planet to speak in full understanding and without any barriers. First we shredded the distance barrier. Very soon the compression barrier will disappear. This will make the Earth a space of total new features. Humanity will then create in a more powerful way because more beings that can communicate and more cultures cross, but the flow of new ideas and projects will grow.

But all this boiling of new possibilities and this breakthrough of millions of individuals as new poles of creativity requires a set of rules that channel well the situation, social architecture. And this must accompany an evolution of the international environment that avoids conflicts and blockages. Let's see then the challenges and perspectives of this last aspect.

Faced with the still existing inability to organize and structure ourselves on a planetary scale around a common moral code, guarantor for all individuals, the world continues to be organized on the basis of a mosaic of legal frameworks that take the form of States, and that regulate in different ways the activity of people. They come from different civilizations, with different departure points and different rhythms of development. And this impacts in a double way the evolution of the world. Firstly, because depending on their capacity to organize better or worse the functioning of their societies, their citizens will begin sooner or later, in better or worse conditions, with more or less tensions, their entry into the new intelligent society. And secondly, because of the feeling of vulnerability, the arsenal of weapons and the capacity to enter into destructive conflicts is still present. And peace or war prevails depending on how their

relations evolve. Let's see then, how changes in strategic equilibria will shape the future.

China is perhaps today the greatest rising power and above all the clearest case in the history of the importance of direction and regulations in the development of a society. From 1950 to 1980, the one thousand five hundred million people of this important civilization barely earned an additional \$ 100 in their per capita income. Of the 300 dollars that the World Bank attributed to them in 1950, they only reached 380 in 1980. However, when Deng Xiaoping changes course, that is why he wins the title of great helmsman, they earn more than 8,000 dollars in the following 35 years, that is to say, they multiplied by twenty the per capita income, going from 380 dollars in 1980 to 8,600 in the year 2,015. If we take into account that we speak of a set equivalent to one fifth of all humanity, success is spectacular. But above all, the essential thing to keep in mind is that future success will be even greater. The great dynamics of development of these years, has been used mainly to pass the new generations of an extremely limited rural environment in the educational area to a generalization of the urban world, opening the doors to university education. The Chinese universe composed of families with only one child will see in the medium term how all the possibilities of investment and growth in the world are within their reach. Of a non-invasive nature and therefore not very threatening, the Chinese world, however, will awaken enormous concerns in the future due to its great capacity. And a red line will be capital for China to renounce to dynamics of force: the resignation of all to the arms race in space. If an agreement between all the states with the greatest potential in this field is not reached soon, China will not give up giving top priority to the space adventure because even if it does not want to lead it, it will not want to accept that another leads it. On planet Earth, China has not sought global hegemony. For almost twenty centuries it has collected thirty percent of the world's wealth but this has not led it to want to dominate the West or Africa or America or the Middle East. His universe was enough. But in the end the price that China had to pay for mistakenly thinking that the country was protected from the evolution of the others, perhaps thinking that the great wall still existing, has been a painful fall in the world concert, having as low point 1968, when during the cultural revolution it came to represent only six percent of the world economy. Its vulnerability on Earth does not want to be reproduced in the Universe. At the moment, who can decide on this issue, the United States of America, do not seem willing to compromise. The evolution of this issue is crucial for the military future of the big ones, for stability in development in outer space and for the risk of a conflict in our world. But in the meantime this capital point is decided, China marches with firm foot towards the great economic takeoff. And its future strength will be the great preparation of the new generations who know about the hardships of the past but favored by the current great economic takeoff, grow under a regime of personal "coaching", as unique children, aimed at encouraging them to be the best in their area of activity. Attitude and aptitude will be combined here with impressive results.

The most relevant issue when looking to the future is that we are still immersed in an armed world and this implies that the swords are raised to resort to domination through the military. However, the high capacity for mass

destruction that several states already have means that for the moment we live under a mutual neutralization or at least an important inhibition of all to unleash a greater war conflict. However, the arms race continues and tends to move to outer space. This is today an almost virgin terrain and unfit for many before the very important costs involved. Actually there are only two great players. The United States with great current capacity and China with enormous capacity in the medium term. And this difference in capacity of one and the other explains the underlying tensions, as a game of power, that are experienced on the international scene. It is a subject of time and economy.

Today, the United States grows around 2% and China around 6%, but they start from different levels of development; the first with 55,000 dollars of per capita income and the second with close to 9,000. But 20 years ago the per capita income of the United States was 35,000 while China's was only 800. That is to say that while that of the United States has not doubled that of China has been multiplied by 12. This gives an idea of the different rates at which these economies move. The rapid advance of China makes that due to the great difference between the number of inhabitants, -325 million United States versus 1.400 million China-, the GDP of both countries approaches, calculating that by 2030 they will have reached parity. Meanwhile the volumes of indebtedness are very different; 18,000 million United States for only 5,000 China. In this context, defense spending in the United States is 500 billion and China's 200 billion. And here is a key issue. Today, China can already allocate almost half of what the United States of America allocates to the military issue and given that its economy grows to 6% while the American economy to 2%, both budgets will be equalized within 10 years. And to avoid this, America requires an increase in military spending in budgets far above the proportional growth that would be due to the general increase in the country's general budget. And this is a red line where the congressmen do not want to compromise because they cannot stop investing in an important way to lead the military career in space.

But as a democratic society citizen support is needed to approve budgets annually. And to prioritize defense spending to the detriment of other areas perceived by the citizen as of immediate benefit, such as health, education or infrastructure requires of a credible risk of threat or serious dan-

ger or, at least, the citizen perceives it. The risk, the threat must be visualized as a great power, which requires having very expensive and sophisticated weapons. Obviously the threat of terrorism, although disturbing for individual security, does not meet these characteristics today. Fighting it requires a very limited expense basically centered on information, we would say in classic terms, on espionage, but evidently this is not an expense of vast proportions. The future opponent is obviously China for two reasons: The first because it has set up an economy that works and that in the future will work even more, and second because it is not willing to accept a leadership of another country in the arms race in space. It is favorable to no arms race but if there is to be, it will not accept being subordinated. And for this, China is willing to increasingly invest large sums and be in a position to resist any other leadership. However, there is no interest to present China as a danger or as an enemy. And this for mutilating reasons that go from that constitutes a foreign economic market of first importance until the fact that the average American citizen does not see the Chinese as fierce warriors. Hence, with skillful criteria the focus has been placed in many other conflicts that can convince the American society of the fragility of security and the need to invest heavily in this area.

So today the military race continues to advance towards space, which, due to its size and long-term results, is outside the ordinary concerns but nevertheless has a great impact on the evolution of the world.

We live like this a time that announces great possibilities in the future but is full of insecurities in the present. The new order has not yet been born and the old order already shows all the symptoms of exhaustion. The current balance is extremely fragile preserved by the magnitude of the destruction capacity in case of conflict resulting from the size and power of existing armament Peace is not based today on a recognized and accepted world order but on the will of powerful individual states to maintain it. This balance is not the product of a collective decision. Until security does not emanate from a collective order we can not breathe with confidence.

In the meantime, let's try to strengthen the commitment of millions of human beings in a scenario that enhances the dignity of all; the desire not to see their individual potential restrained requires strengthening the role of Human Rights as the universal backbone of the New World.

## THE POSTMODERN ERA: CULTURAL REGRESSION PROJECT

## 1. “The time is out of joint”

The modern civilization in its spiritual, technological and geopolitical hypostases is approaching a dangerous border, crossing which is fraught with fundamental changes and irreversible deformation of cultural and anthropological matrices of the being formed by the “Axial Age” (Karl Jaspers) – the age making the metaphysical revolution, freeing the man from “his clan chains” and giving him freedom to acquire the essence of being in the spiritual sphere. Rapid growth of global crises of geopolitical, cultural and anthropological, and environmental nature certifies that change of the civilization paradigm is inevitable, they challenge the progress model realized at the previous stage of technology-related development (V. Styopin).<sup>2</sup> Transfer to a new type of civilization development is related to the forthcoming “capitalism dismantling” as a result of the *Industry 4.0*, or the fourth industrial revolution that forms a principally new technological pattern based on expansion of artificial intelligence, total automation and computer-robotics of industry. Indefiniteness of the future scenarios accelerated approach of “technological singularity” – the point on the historical time curve, fixing the start of the “spurt” progress stage, tending to infinity, generating a potentially wide range of development models with unpredictable consequences. The widening gap between “force” and “wisdom” (A. Nazaretyan), and strengthening “asymmetry of armaments” of the good and the evil (A. Kuraev) providing the evil with unquestionable advantages in fighting for human minds and souls, “guarantee” inevitability of civilization’s transfer into a qualitatively different state, the images of which more and more often acquire the eschatological hue.

## 2. Entropy of European humanism

The Western world performs as the “locomotive” of the movement to crisis borders. It has been going through the systemic deformation of cultural institutions and worldview constants not for the first decade already, and in their time they provided the wholeness and achievements of the European civilization. The West is experiencing the eschatological “Zero Hour”, fixing the cultural dominant’s “plus-minus sign changing”. The European culture’s spirit is exhausted by devaluation of Christian values, determining the meaning-forming dominants and normative space of human and societal vital activities for nearly two millennia. The com-

mon logic of changes taking place is as follows: decline of the logocentric “*Culture of Prophets*” pushed out by cultural and anthropologic scenarios of distant heathen past – the “*Culture of Priests*” (G. Jemal). The modern European civilization enters a new stage – the Postmodern era that in its key characteristics rejects the previous eras and is a cultural regression model.

First of all, the European humanism crisis certifies that the Modern project is exhausted. This humanism was distorted by insurmountable “will to global dominance”, affected by “rust” of aggression and deeply embedded in mental matrices by the racist model of attitude to other nations and cultures. Humanism is the product of the Western Catholic world that corrects Christian anthropology – it originates as a result of establishing the principle “Man is the measure of all things”, excessive preoccupation with arrangement of real life in this world.<sup>3</sup> It’s not accidental that already at the early stages of acquiring the “cultural legitimacy”, humanism demonstrates the trend for devaluation of Christian values of the good and gratefulness, solidarity, mercy and compassion, pushed out by “Mephistopheles arrogance and conceit” and repressive energies of attitude to the world. Europe dropped humanistic and democratic camouflage many times, showing itself to the world as a cruel and merciless aggressor (especially during the period of the Crusades and two World Wars in the 20th century). European humanities scholars not once drew attention to the chronic contempt of the West to the “non-civilized world”, lower races and rights of other nations, fixed the “superior capability to kill” that not rarely played the decisive role in the course of European expansion (Göran Therborn). Even during the Middle Ages, Western Christianity was the apologia of aggression and violence, acquiring the institutional status in the form of numerous monastic military orders, it justified frank militarism and hated not only to Moslem nations but also to the Christian world under the “Crusades” brand.<sup>4</sup> Finally, humanism discredited itself by the antihuman spirit and atrocities during World Wars in the previous century as well as today’s geopolitical strategy of shameless dictating its will to other countries and nations. The Western society is affected by metastases of the archaic ethos, with its “psychology of racial contempt to barbarian encirclement”, and today it readily accepts the message from liberal idols of the “golden billion” to subjugate, enslave and rule the “barbarian world” inhabited by “subhumans” (A. Panarin). This is certified by expansion of the social basis of those following Social Darwinism and Neo-Nazism ideas, threatening with another violence expansion wave capable to make the 21st century even bloodier than the 20th century.

<sup>1</sup> Professor of the Department of Philosophy and Cultural Studies at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Dr. Sc. (Pedagogy), Honored Worker of Science of the Russian Federation. Author of 170 papers, including: “Home Culture as a Subject of Cultural Studies”, “Spiritual Experience of Russia as a National and Cultural Identity Resource (Axiological and Anthropological Aspects)”, “Designing Marketing Communications: Advertizing Technologies. Public Relations. Sponsorship”, “Formation of Culturological Paradigm”, “Culture-Centrist Model of Higher Education” (co-authorship), “Information Warfare Era and Issues of Ensuring Society’s Spiritual Safety” (co-authorship), “National Idea as the Essence and Fate of ‘Russian Civilization’”, “Social and labor relations in post-Soviet Russia. National and cultural specifics, problems of formation, resources and optimization strategies” (co-author), and others. Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS.

<sup>2</sup> The original meaning of the Greek word ἡ κρίσις is “trial”, “sentence”, and its softer version means border, divide, outcome, turning point, development vector’s change.

<sup>3</sup> The East-West Schism that destroyed the “maternal” unity of the Christian world, can be considered the source of the future European humanism inversion. As a result of this break, the image of the “Holy Roman Empire” (declared in 962) acquires its spiritual definiteness based on Catholicism and becomes the “primary symbol” of the whole Western civilization.

<sup>4</sup> Negative attitude of the West to Orthodox Byzantium was typical not only to Church hierarchs – it was shared by the European humanitarian elite as well. This is certified by Byzantium civilization assessments by J. G. Herder, who thought that it confused the human mind, and A. J. Toynbee, who said that its nature was perverted and sinful.

The significant symptom of the European humanism decline is exhaustion and devaluation of the essence nucleus of the main concepts forming the basis of a man's and world's image. European humanism is presented in today's information and communication space as a set of empty words that lost their connection with original meanings and manipulatively hide deception, falsity and double standards of contemporary political and cultural life. Primitive "Manichaeism contrasting" of triumphant liberalism (democracy – totalitarianism, traditionalism – modern times, despotism – human rights, open society – closed society, nationalism – globalism) becomes the source of racial hatred and contempt to cultures and nations, personifying "civil inferiority" and "primitive origin" (A. Panarin).

The fundamental for the Christian world phenomenon of freedom ends its "triumphal journey" in the image of moral unruliness, lack of restraint and consumerism. The real meaning of freedom was exchanged by the West into hedonistic ecstasy and pseudofreedom of consumerism on supermarket premises. Erosion of the cultural system's wholeness turns freedom into its opposite, it becomes the basis for mass infecting with social and psychic energies of aggression and deviation, plunges the society into the period of conflicts and catastrophes. Liberal "tribunes" and mass culture idols have exhausted its sacred commandments and "innermost secrets" required to justify the meaning of life, realization of individual potentials and establishment of personal dignity. If freedom was the means for cognizing the truth, condition to free from slavery, from "poisoning and senseless existence" (I. Popovich) in Christian anthropology, freedom in Postmodern culture is regressing to impudence and "creative" scoffing at everything sacred, it turns into orgies of shamelessness and decay, or falls "into hell of exhausted desires" (G. Pomerants). Contemporary Western art is in decline, it consciously ignores aesthetic principles of Truth, Harmony and Good and frankly crosses to the side of chaos forces and moral degradation, turning into a kind of "pop culture" that lost its national roots and is focused on pleasures and entertainments.

### 3. Sources and factors of Western civilization's "spiritual inversion"

The ideology of "European superman" freed from the ethic ideal of the Sermon on the Mount becomes "spiritual bricks" for the Western civilization model with its everyday racism and "educational" contempt for other nations and cultures, "imperial one-dimensionality" (A. Panarin) establishes institutional perfection of earthly order as a detriment to Christian spirituality. Starting from the Renaissance, the European civilization has been consistently and inevitably destroying the Christian spirit, pushing it out by "Faustian energy" of individualism and rationalism, utilitarian purposefulness and spatial expansion – the energy frankly neglecting moral and religious norms. "The split culture of the Renaissance", making an "isolated subject" absolute, gradually deforms the complete space of Medieval culture (P. Florensky). Rationalism of the New Times "strengthens antagonism of the mind and life" (Georg Simmel) still more, as a result destroying metaphysical foundations of the being, expanding the kingdom of chaos and undermining creative powers of the European continent nations.

Purpose-oriented deformation of the Christian essence of the European civilization is related to realization of the global project – capitalism, origination of which is difficult to explain and justify by natural development logic inside the Christian system of values. In essence, the "capitalism project" has become the catalyst for the process of formation of a predatory historical subject of the new European West that "turned out to be 'alien' in relation not only to non-European civilizations but also the very European culture" (A. Fursov). Freedom inside the capitalist body generated the private property institution that became the source of the most disgusting forms of exploitation. The capitalist model devaluated the spiritual meaning of freedom turning it into freedom of exploitation and maximization of profits at any price, making freedom of conscience freedom from conscience. The dictatorship of private interest in relation to the common good atomized the society, destroying the idea and value of serving the society.

The inversion of spiritual foundations of the European culture is completed by the anti-Christian spirit of the Modern era that has become a kind of screen or shield, where the secular intellectual elite under the secularism mask realizes a "new religious project" for formation of a global "countersystem", positioning itself as a "traditional clerical hierarchy antipode" (V. Bagdasaryan). Abdication from Christianity, "being vain of progress" and running after material well-being inevitably lead Western civilization to a dead-end, plunge it into the times of "new barbarianism, killing the ability to see and appreciate spiritual depth", bring about bitterness and "irremediable desolation" in souls and irreversible degradation of the human essence (S. Frank).

The acute phase of the European civilization's spiritual nucleus corrosion falls on the second half of the 20th century, marked by the end of the *Modern* project and Western civilization's transfer to the *Postmodern* stage, accompanied by the cardinal change of anthropologic matrices of the European world. The Postmodern era considerably deformed the foundations of the civilizational and confessional identity of the European world, drew the line under the "Prometheus-type" of civilization borne by creative views and ideas, and energy of social production. Anthropocentrism brought to the limit as well as "overwhelming oppression" by tolerance and Euro-multiculturalism (V. Rastorguev) deprive the European world of the energy of spiritual unity, deficit of which is compensated by ultra-nationalist moods, ethno-racial identities and ethnic nationalism recurrences. The West European civilization is rapidly falling into chaos of anomy and deviation, and returning to the time preceding the "Axial Age", when the heathen world appeared on the edge of self-destruction, losing the ability to restrain destructive impulses coming from the depths of human existence by cultural norms and traditions.

### 4. "The fatal hour" of twilight in the West

The "hour hand" of the world history fixed the process of the great European culture dying already in the late 20th century, triumphant civilization, with no soul and no God, ends its history (Oswald Spengler). By the middle of the 20th century, after horrors of the two World Wars, the Modern project was finally exhausted, and the European civilization era is leaving the stage of the world history. The Postmodern era is the final stage of cultural development – the

creative impulse of the “culture of will” is becoming lifeless and fades away. And in its time it determined the West’s striving for global dominance and provided expansion of rational views and ideas that created the magnificent edifice of science and the most competitive in the world economy. Spiritual breakdown of the European civilization certifies that its idea, this project is completed and exhausted, its “soul” is dying – that “primary symbol” that “inspires” culture, determining the richness of its meanings, forms, achievements (O. Spengler). Exhaustion of the “Faustian spirit” of the European “culture of will” is accompanied by chaos and anomy, dysfunction of social institutions and deformation of ethical norms, change of world perception ways and essence-forming scenarios. Political and economic institutions’, the international law system’s destabilization processes acquire the nature of global threats. The heathen dominant of the coming era blocks the fundamental elements of morals – feelings of *guilt*, *shame*, *conscience* performing as the main features of a “cultural individual” and condition of cohabitation in the society.

In the environment of spiritual crisis and loss of elite’s ability for outrunning reflexive self-transformation, hopes for the European world’s return to the bosom of Christian tradition are connected by humanities scholars with inflow of the “external spiritual impulse”, and, first of all, from the Russian Orthodox world (A. Panarin). However, the reality of such “spiritual rehabilitation” is minimal. The European civilization has fulfilled its historical purpose. The Western civilization is spiritually exhausted by “viruses” of religious countersystems, capitalist way of life drying up the soul, rehabilitating avarice as the basic survival resource, unending wars and malignant tumor of Nazism, it is disarmed by amoral policy of today’s “global hegemon”, liberal strategy of discrediting morals, nation-state’s institutions, law, family, it is spiritually bankrupt by total mass media lying, mass culture and destructive symbols of “modern art”, and it lost its ability for a constructive answer to fundamental challenges of the time. Initiated by liberal ideologists “saving scenarios” (including the multiculturalism concept or the tolerance project that humanities scholars qualify as “camouflaging self-extermination by human civilization”) paradoxically bring nearer “the fatal hour, the hour of coming twilight when it’s high time to switch on lights and get ready for the night” (N. Berdyayev).

##### 5. “The Russian world” as an alternative to the Postmodern project

The European civilization loses the status of “a City upon a Hill” as a referent for global nations. Spiritual “sickness” of the Western civilization is more and more frankly found out in the environment of growing rivalry with new civilization projects. In particular, the state of affairs in the spiritual crisis of the West is aggravated by geopolitical factors, first of all, the growing power of the Moslem proto-civilization project, the resource of which is «common universal religious values and norms of the “divine Revelation”, historical memory about the great Moslem past and rising level of “live piousness”» (Sh. Sultanov). Exhaustion of the spiritual project of the European civilization brings nearer “demographic” death of Europe, which the multi-million refugee wave threatens to bury already by the middle of the century. The main threat to the West in the first quarter of the 21st

century is related to “the great transmigration of nations”, the source of which is the so-called “youth bubble” in the Near East and Africa, growing with the “elderly bubble” as a background in Japan and Europe as well as increase of people “of employable age” in East Asia and Latin America (Gunnar Heinsohn).<sup>1</sup>

“The Russian world” is becoming an alternative to the today’s spiritually desolated and “parasitic” Western civilization going through the stage of “decaying sensuality” (P. Sorokin). The image of “the Russian world” brings hope to non-adapted to the modernity outcast countries and nations from the “fourth world”, marked by the “stamp of contemptuous singling out” (A. Panarin). The special civilizational mission of Russia, rooted in the depths of national ethos and mentality, is protection of the humankind from destructive impact of global anti-systems. Exactly the Russian civilization accumulates the richest experience of practical opposition to anti-systemic projects, threatening not only Russia but the European civilization as a whole (Napoleonic Wars, Third Reich, etc.).<sup>2</sup> With “European twilight” as a background, Russian culture is capable to compensate the loss of spiritual dimension of being by human spirit’s striving for “eternal” truths and values – to what is higher than an individual, what justifies his deprivations and determines the meanings of life.

But this life-asserting and vital role of the Russian civilization supposes fundamental correction of the “capitalist totalitarianism” ideology, it demands radical replacement of “spiritual idols” of recent decades, “cleansing” national spirit from scabs and sores of “liberal racism”, which declared war to the poor and unsuccessful, return and preservation of the deep essence and soul of the “Russian Orthodox Kingdom”: to serve as the support and guardian of the weak. As soon as authorities betray this spiritual calling, Holy Russia goes underground and keeps silent, and it is replaced by a power that foredooms itself to decay and death by its repudiation and imperial arrogance, substituting the truth for force (A. Panarin). Exactly that is the main reason of today’s loss of “spiritual legitimacy” by authorities, exhaustion of the “force of gravity” both outside and inside the Russian world, which can be returned by the “live energy of action” of the Russian civilization, abiding in metaphysical depths of the “Holy Russia” image (V. Averyanov).

“Universal responsiveness and sympathy” of the Russian people “embracing all mankind” can become an alternative to Western individualism, which is destructive for the human soul. They are the basis of the national idea and the determining focus of Russian culture on the absolute feeling of universality, “Messianic soul” (W. Schubarth). The tried and tested by the Russian history solidarity project is a constructive and important for the people of the world resource for the future. It is an alternative to the West European society model of dissociation and “permanent conflict”. The spiritual experience of cohabitation of various nations and cultures, “Slavic and Turkic synthesis” being for many centuries “the core of united Eura-

<sup>1</sup> Apocalyptic forecasts as to the Old World prospects are becoming more and more realistic in the context of these statistical trends: according to surveys conducted by Gallup, Inc. (formerly the American Institute of Public Opinion), nearly 900 million of hungry and destitute people from Africa and the Near East, without education and prospects, will flow into Europe by 2050 for a better life, thus finally changing the “civilization” code of the West.

<sup>2</sup> See: <http://izborsk-club.ru/14417>.

sia” (A. Panarin) and civilization platform for the Eurasian identity, could become the answer to the achieved through suffering “order” by the global community tired of endless wars and hatred, which is burning the soul. “The Russian world” on the Eurasian space scale, with its keen feel-

ing of the common human history, excluding selfishness of national self-isolation, is the embodiment of collegiality and solidarity of various ethnocultural groups and religions, practical establishment of the brotherhood of nations and cooperation of civilizations.

**G. Mettan<sup>1</sup>**

## **WELCOME BACK TO 19th CENTURY! WORLD CHALLENGES AND THE COMEBACK OF THE IMPERIAL POWERS RIVALRIES IN A POST-WESTERN ERA**

Revolution 4.0, start-ups, energy transition, cybersecurity, augmented man, internet of things, blockchain, artificial intelligence, space tourism, fake news, the 21st century vocabulary seems well established. The singers of permanent innovation are at the top of the box, social networks unveiled new paradigms that make nothing more-nothing-will-be-as-before, the media announce a new revolution every day. To all these apostles of the new religion, I want to answer: bof! Business as usual, the profiteers of the technological break are selling their usual salads to the stupid guys anxious to miss the hyperloop train of the latest fashionable ideas... To tell the truth, I am even convinced of the opposite. Rather than moving into the future with the power of our hypersonic engines, we are rather regressing to the past at full speed.

Take the case of the environment crisis. Here too, the run forward, i.e. backward, is spectacular. Global warming is on everyone’s lips, but no one wants to take the first step. There is no question of taxing kerosene on planes and boats, which would threaten the sacrosanct international trade. Biodiversity, especially that of pollinators and marine resources, is in total collapse. Who cares? Glyphosate and pesticides are taboos. Polar ice caps and glaciers melt? Where is the problem? Ditto for concreting, demography, degradation of agricultural soils, acidification of oceans, overfishing and urbanization which are galloping. While agriculture, despite all the chemistry and mechanization, will have returned to the production levels of the 1900s... If we go on in that direction, the rush backward will not only stop to the 19th Century but to one million years ago, until to a state of the planet without *Homo sapiens*...

The case of international politics is even more flagrant. At the beginning of the 21st century, we thought that global governance was going to fix everything. Humanity, converted to the delights of globalized liberal democracy, was, thanks to the benevolent magisterium of the United States and the European Union, to destroy the hydra of nationalisms and obscurantisms. Thanks to the enlightenment provided by the NGOs which are the depositories of the Good, an international civil society would emerge that would make humanity more fluid and infinitely respectful of human rights and the principles of financial capitalism, the source of prosperity.

<sup>1</sup> President of the United Chamber of Industry and Commerce “Switzerland – Russia and CIS States”, Executive Director of the Swiss Press Club (Geneva). Deputy of the Grand Council (Parliament) of the canton of Geneva from the Christian Democratic People’s Party of Switzerland. Author of several books on socio-political subjects and international relations, including “Russie-Occident: une guerre de mille ans” (The West vs Russia: a Thousand Year Long War), “A Western View: Russophobia from Charlemagne to the Last Olympic Games in Rio”, and others.

In fact, exactly the opposite is happening. Europe is falling apart under the blows of nations in need of identity or freedom (see Brexit, Catalan secession, the crushing of Greece and the success of so-called populist parties) and of popular classes looking for recognition (see the Yellow Jackets crisis in France). We are observing the collapse of the dream of a multipolar world, governed by democratic states and a share of power between traditional Western powers and new emerging powers such as the BRICs. But this dream is vanishing. The present world is transforming its self in a new bipolar world, with a tougher and tougher race between United States and China. The sudden emergence of China has got caught everybody by surprise. And provoked a contraction, a growing nervous tension of the United States, which reacts severely with containment manoeuvres (Let think to the measures they did against USSR during the Cold War). The multiplication of economic sanctions against any supposed enemy and the growth of military expenses as well as the denunciation of disarmament treaties bring evidence to that alarming evolution. This new bipolar world is far more dangerous than the previous era, because diplomatic channels have been broken or are a state of paralysis.

The global world has entered into a phase of imperial re-composition, like post-1815 Europe. The unexpected emergence of China, India, Brazil and now Africa has shoved the deal. China aims to regain the place it had occupied until the nineteenth century, before the opium wars led by the British imperialists put it on its knees.

Faced with this new competition, the United States reacts by force, multiplying economic sanctions against anyone who gets in their way. Iraq, Libya, Syria, Ukraine, Iran and now Venezuela, the list of “soft” coups d’état, deadly economic blockades, orange revolutions and other organized regime changes or brutal invasions justified under pretexts invented from scratch like the false weapons of mass destruction of Saddam Hussein, does not stop growing.

And recently, with the arrival of Donald Trump, brutality has imposed itself at the head of the world’s leading power. International law, already flouted by congressional and US justice claims to impose extraterritorial and retroactive rules, no longer exists. The arms race has resumed again, international treaties are denounced, international organizations shunned. Welcome to the new nineteenth century, in this ruthless world where unscrupulous empires were plowing the planet to savagely own its resources.

Let’s take a closer look at the main features of this ancient world that is disappearing and the new world that is being born.



First of all the end of the story announced by Francis Fukuyama and the clash of civilizations predicted by Samuel Huntington did not take place, and will not take place in the form they had planned.

The dream of a world in which liberal democracy and free-market capitalism would have triumphed over its adversaries and spread over the entire planet is definitely buried. Everywhere the liberal model is in crisis while deregulated capitalism is giving rise more and more to skepticism and resistance. On the one hand, so-called authoritarian regimes perpetuate their hold on society, whether under the influence of nationalism or that of religion. From Turkey to China, through Egypt, the Arab world, Iran and Russia, each of these countries defends its own national vision, based on its culture, political traditions and ideological beliefs, that those they are inspired by communism, Sunni Islam, Shiism or Orthodoxy.

On the other hand, traditional Western democracies are increasingly moving towards post-democratic or “illiberal” regimes, while populist parties are growing everywhere. Under the pretext of the fight against terrorism or the so-called externally propagated fake news, as is the case in the United States with the obsession with alleged Russian interference in the 2016 elections, these democracies have adopted anti-democratic laws while their open social system is closed gradually, the social classes becoming completely sealed between them for the greater benefit of an oligarchy increasingly totalitarian. This authoritarian stiffening is manifested through the widespread mass surveillance (surveillance cameras, police custody, wiretapping, espionage of at-risk populations, secret prisons and exceptional courts), the setting up of social networks and the media by States and private monopolies in the hands of some ultrariches, strengthening the police and its intervention doctrines against protesters, anti-fake news laws, lawsuits against historic whistleblowers like Julian Assange and Edward Snowden, the manipulation of human rights for geopolitical purposes.

We can add the denigration of the people by the elites, the growing oligarchization of democratic societies by progressive impoverishment and crushing of the middle classes that form the social base of the republics. At the forefront of these democracies about to turn into authoritarian oligarchies are naturally Donald Trump’s United States, but also Poland, Hungary, Jair Bolosonaro’s Brazil and to a certain extent Emmanuel Macron’s France, which exploded the political parties and bypassed the intermediary bodies guaranteeing the proper functioning of democracy and introduced an original form of populism, much more chic and polished, after his accession to power.

As for the clash of civilizations, it will not take place in this form either. Rather than a clash between civilizations, it is a clash between new empires that must be feared. In our eyes, it is rather in the past, in the nineteenth century, at the time of rivalry between empires, that we must go back to interpret the future. Huntington believed that the twenty-first century, as opposed to the twentieth century that had been marked by the exacerbated shock of nationalism, the new millennium would be marked by a clash of values, cultures, areas of civilization that would engage in a ruthless fight between them for the symbolic domination – and of course the political world. This vision was influenced by his conception of American power, fully focused on conquer-

ing and maintaining his global hegemony through the dissemination of his soft power, his corpus of values, democracy, freedom, human rights, primacy of the individual on the collective, etc. He thought that the other cultural areas, that of Islam, that of Chinese Confucianism or Russian Eurasism would do the same, causing a general conflagration of civilizations.

Recent developments show that this is not the case for the simple reason that, apart from Sunni Islam, none of these cultural areas is imperialist or expansionist. China does not seek to impose Confucianism or even communism on the rest of the world, nor does Russia intend to convert Africa or Asia to Orthodoxy. Even Iran, today accused of all evil, does not launch its imams to conquer the world. In fact, all these facts aim at securing their borders and their close neighborhood and defending their positions where history and geography have placed them.

They have no imperialist aims. China wants to stay mistress at home, in its historical space: Sinkiang, Tibet, Taiwan, China and Yellow Seas. Russia also in what it regards as its territorial space (Crimea) and the zone of its traditional allies (Caucasus, Donbass, Central Asia), just as France protects what it considers as being its possessions or its partners in Africa, the Caribbean or the Pacific. Ditto for Iran with its Shiite allies. The imams of the mosques of Europe are trained at the University of Medina and not of Qom in Iran.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, there has been a rise in the power of strong nation-states determined to preserve their cultural traditions and to defend their interests without being dictated by their external behavior or by standards imposed by the West. On the side of the West, this rise in pressure and the questioning of Western hegemony provoked two reactions: the stiffening of the United States on the one hand, and the political and cultural collapse of Europe and his vassalization by the United States on the other hand.

From this point of view, the attacks of 11 September 2001 against the Twin Towers of the WTC in New York caused a turning point. Until then, the United States was willing to define itself as a benevolent, peacemaking power that worked for the general prosperity and self-fulfillment of individuals around the world by overthrowing dictators and facilitating the flow of goods, ideas, resources and men and, if necessary, providing general security by correcting the wicked men who threatened global harmony. This attitude changed dramatically after 2001, as a result of military interventions that had nothing to do with a Gendarmerie mission protecting the global public order but were entirely devoted to the defense of crude interests and the setting up political regimes entirely under their control. We know the list: Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Ukraine and today Venezuela, while Iran and Cuba, after a short truce, quickly became enemies again.

Alongside this military radicalization, the United States began to adopt all kinds of economic warfare measures against countries that they considered hostile or simply resistant to their interests: I mean sanctions imposed either by the President or by the Congress, sanctions whose number and intensity are increasing day by day, while commercial retaliation measures are also increasing, sometimes even against their own allies.

This stiffening, begun in the 1990s against Iraq and Serbia, has now become the main feature of US foreign policy. An additional step was taken with the arrival of Donald Trump in power, less in substance than in form. Masked and dressed in a polish of civility under the Clinton, Bush and Obama eras, this policy became brutal, displayed and uninhibited under the Trump era. It expanded to include China and Europe, while military reinforcement, NATO aggressiveness and the denunciation of disarmament treaties intensified.

In our hypothesis, this trend will increase in the future. Indeed, the more the American superpower is confronted with the rise of China and the states that dispute its hegemony, the more it will stiffen militarily and economically by seeking on the one hand to isolate and weaken its adversaries and on the other hand to reduce its allies and partners in vassals and protectorates. This trend is likely to be a major trend of the coming decades, regardless of the presidents of the United States, Republicans or Democrats, rude populists or distinguished technocrats.

The corollary of this evolution is the collapse of Europe, both as a power and as a model. Europe will remain for a long time an important economic power. But its political and symbolic weight will diminish ever more, because of its divisions and its inability to constitute an organized federal state and to take its autonomy from the United States. Basically, two equally negative scenarios are available in Europe today. On the one hand, a retreat to a more and more fragmented continent, in a situation of slow de-federalisation, in the manner of the Roman-Germanic empire which had gradually emptied of its substance over the course of the reforms and treaties. From this point of view, the future of Europe is no more than managing its decline and managing the crises in order to make the system last and those who benefit from it for as long as possible. In short, a destiny constrained, without vision, without project, a Europe narrow, truncated and doomed to a growing marginalization in the face of the rise of more and more powerful peripheral states (United States, China and Russia).

In a world in the midst of imperial and neo-Westphalian recomposition, with the United States wishing to keep all the levers of power at their disposal (US dollar, armaments, economic sanctions or customs taxes) as the presidential slogan (Make America Great Again), and with a China that does not hide its ambition to become once again the world's largest economic power, Europe is playing small arms with its method of management at 28 (soon 27?) States butressed on their particular and short term interests.

The second scenario is hardly more comforting, since it amounts to confirming the progressive but inexorable vassalization of Europe by the new tutelary power of the moment, the United States of America, so close and so friendly that do not hesitate to aspire to his culture and his creative energy and to embrace it with all the vigor of their benevolent tentacles...

After the great epoch of Pericles and the civil war of Peloponnese, ancient Greece had emptied of its blood, of its economic and political vitality while Hellenizing the neighboring peoples. By passing on to them their values, their ideas, their talents for commerce and navigation, and their mercenaries for war, Greece had conquered the spirit and sometimes the hearts of other nations, but she had lost herself in this process. She had ended up being entirely conquered by the Romans that she had the bad idea to call for help.

Modern Europe, which has invented almost everything, follows the same trend: it has given the world its principles of democratic governance, its political and economic doctrines, its intellectual genius and artistic creativity, but emptying itself of its energies. The rest of the world is becoming Europeanized, as Asia and Rome were yesterday, while Europe is americanizing, sinizing, and slowly becoming a third world with the applause of its leaders and media, opening unrestricted ports, its schools and theaters to the ubiquitous products Made in USA and China, and turning into a great melting pot of globalization... And contemporary Europe is on the way to completely lose its independence and to be conquered by his American ally, whom she had called for her help in 1917, 1941 and 1949 with the Cold War.

At this point in our synthesis, the questions are: Europe, and more precisely the political entity that represents it, the EU, is irremediably doomed to political insignificance and servitude? Or is it capable of a start, a recovery in hand that would allow it to recover its independence and sovereignty, and regain the status of a great democratic power? A Europe that would no longer be imperial but balancing and stabilizing in a world increasingly weakened by the confrontation United States – China.

This observation will make good souls scream, but this colonization upside down is it really questionable? Are there no other ways, more effective, more humane and more sustainable, to preserve fraternity and compassion?

This is the world towards which we seem to evolve, with human views. Let's conclude to a more optimistic mode that if the best is unlikely, the worst is never certain either. Happy bursts can always happen. And it depends on us to make sure to avoid the worst and act for the better.

V. V. Mironov<sup>1</sup>**WOULD THE “DIGITAL CAVE” BE A POSSIBLE VECTOR OF CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT?**

A philosophical analysis of cultural development is one of the increasingly important problems of our time; this involves averting possible negative scenarios of the future, including the future of digital technologies. At present, culture is undergoing a phase of “technological singularity”, which implies an explosive acceleration of the scientific and technical progress – and may result in a complete transformation of both culture and the human way of thinking. Digital technologies, which used to be an accessory providing added comfort, are currently emerging as an independent dominant factor, forcing their human users into following rigidly prescribed algorithms, which would not always suit their needs.

A long time ago, I suggested that the first practical use of digitization was in German concentration camps where human identities were replaced by numbers. This was meant as a metaphor – but proved to be closer to reality than I expected: in 1937, Thomas J. Watson Sr., the then senior executive of IBM company, was awarded the Order of the German Eagle to honor the activities of the company’s German subsidiary which provided the tabulating machines used during a population census to keep tab on Jews and Gypsies.<sup>2</sup> One can surely say he never expected this to happen – but that’s often the way with science. “We did the devil’s work”, Robert Oppenheimer’s famous phrase uttered after a nuclear bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, comes to mind. Soon after Nazi Germany capitulated, the “Interim Committee” set up to consult President Harry S. Truman, with Robert Oppenheimer, Enrico Fermi, Arthur H. Compton and Ernest O. Lawrence among its members, met on May 31, 1945. The four leading nuclear scientists were tasked with defining the best way to use the nuclear bomb against Japan – that it should be used at all was never questioned. The Committee decided that the bomb should be used against Japan as soon as possible, and that it should be used on a war plant surrounded by residential houses and other buildings that would be easy to destroy. After the bombs were dropped, Oppenheimer told President Truman that he and his colleagues felt “blood on

their hands”; to this, Truman replied: “It could be easily removed with water”.

The consequences of this kind are numerous, and we should consider them, forestall them, and in certain cases ask ourselves whether this should be done at all.

Modern technologies result in culture being divided into strata by age, consumption and other criteria; eventually, separate cultural clusters are formed for a person to navigate at will. An individual actually localizes the sphere of one’s personal communication: thanks to modern technologies, its user may tailor it to his or her own liking, admitting other people to it or denying them admittance. Eventually, whatever a person’s presence on social networks or other systems might be, the actual level of individual socialization is currently very low: the world shrinks to the size of a smartphone screen.

Some of the ideas about the world and human existence are currently under revision. A short while ago, we were sure Nature had a predetermined existence, and tried to comprehend it by filtering the facts we perceived with our minds or our senses through the medium of our intelligence. At present, it may well happen that a “secondary” nature, a product of human intelligence, could be technologically transformed into a semblance of reality (known as “virtual reality”) we could interact with as though it were real. This situation gives a complete new reading to ontological problems, and demands that we define a way of relating to this altered world. The very definition of the thinking process as a function of an individual intelligence, or possibly a group of individual intelligences, and thus inherently human, could be reframed by the fact of an artificial intelligence and possible symbiosis between a human and a computer.

The emerging digital culture also alters the role of an expert and expertise. Traditionally, expertise implied a search for corroborative evidence. Now that a human is defined as a “user” of all knowledge accumulated by mankind, the traditional epistemological concepts of knowledge, its nature and source undergo a change. Expertise basically turns into scanning through the decision invariants, which may influence the human intuitive abilities. An intuitive decision, on the other hand, implied a possible choice of an open-ended model with insufficient data to support it, often leading to a breakthrough in science.

Digitization processes result in drastic changes in education. This is a broad problem; to narrow it down, let us look into the modified relationship between teachers and pupils. Traditionally, a teacher was a person of an older generation who was presumed to possess information unavailable to the pupils. To-day, any young person has no need for go-betweens to access the information he or she needs; this means the teacher’s role can no longer be limited to transmitting information.

Members of the older generation at times fail to understand how advanced the younger generation is in their ability to use modern gadgetry to retrieve information. The younger generation, on the other hand, is sure that knowledge boils down to information that can be easily found on the Web. A new understanding of the process of bringing

<sup>1</sup> Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy, Head of the Department of Ontology and Theory of Knowledge of Lomonosov Moscow State University, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Honorary Worker of Higher Professional Education of the Russian Federation. Author of more than 300 scientific publications, including monographs and instructional brochures: “Unity of Diversity. Diversity of Unity”, “Philosophy: Introduction to Metaphysics and Ontology” (as co-author), “Philosophy: A Textbook for Universities” (as co-author), “Reflections on the Reform of Russian Education”, “Modern Transformations in Culture”, “Human Being as Subject and Object of Media Psychology” (as co-author), “Samples of Science in Modern Culture and Philosophy”, “Philosophy and Metamorphoses of Culture”, “University Lectures on Metaphysics” (as co-author); articles: “Communication Space as Factor in Transformation of Modern Culture and Philosophy”, “Contradictory Reforms of Russian Education”, “Transformation of Economy, Politics and Law in the Globalized World”, “Multiculturalism: tolerance or admission?”, “The philosopher and politics: the case of Heidegger” and other works. Chairman of the Federal educational and methodical Association in higher education system in the field of philosophy, ethics and religious studies. Editor-in-Chief of “Moscow University Bulletin. Series 7. Philosophy”, member of the editorial board of the following journals: “Issues of Philosophy”, “Bulletin of the Russian Philosophical Society”, “Philosophical Sciences”. Awarded the medal of the Order of Merit Class I and II, winner of the Lomonosov Prize.

<sup>2</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas\\_J.\\_Watson](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_J._Watson).

children up has the same origin: it is no longer seen as forcing a system of views upon passive recipients but rather as cultivating the ability to select the values and priorities for oneself and to provide a rationale to the advantages of the selected system.

The very process of thinking is greatly influenced by the digital culture. Certain functions of human memory are currently becoming obsolete. The world transitions to a consumer lifestyle where pressing a button can solve any problem. The danger it brings is that people generally think in algorithms trying to simplify the actions without giving a moment's thought to the reason behind them. Eventually, the complexities and contradictions of the surrounding world are no longer perceived.

We seem to be returning to the preliterate period of culture. As Marshall McLuhan said, "We now live in the early part of an age for which the meaning of print culture is becoming as alien as the meaning of manuscript culture was to the eighteenth century... We are the primitives of a new culture".<sup>1</sup> But here comes into play the next stage in technology, which brings in new possibilities for visualization; with these, the conceptual meaning which dominated in the text is now superseded by an artificially created image. The visual image affects the brain directly, as if switching off rational comprehension.

Audiovisual media are capable of rendering literally hypnotic influence on human mind, creating prerequisites for manipulation. For instance, an event in the modern world could well be not a fact but media – hyped fiction, a constructed event with no real fact behind it.

The same applies to the use of the newest communication gadgetry, e.g. the smartphone. Its users are laboring under a delusion that the mere possession of the device is making them smarter – whereas in fact, they are transformed into peripheral devices of their own gadgets. Among other things, this habit results in a decreased ability to concentrate, as the user is constantly on alert for incoming messages and often replies to them unthinkingly; but the worst part of the problem is that this device, presumably a means of communication, actually serves to sharply decrease the level of human socialization, as the users' interaction with reality is limited to the virtual world.

A research conducted in the USA in 2016 showed that:

- an average American checks his or her smartphone every 6.5 minutes, which is about 150 times a day (300 times a day according to other sources);
- 53% respondents aged 15 to 30 would rather give up their taste sense than the use of their smartphone;
- an average American university student spends about 8 hours 48 minutes a day using his or her smartphone;
- 79% respondents first use their smartphone within 15 minutes of waking up;
- 68% respondents take their smartphone to bed with them;
- 67% respondents check their smartphone even if it doesn't ping;
- 46% claim they wouldn't be able to live without a smartphone.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McLuhan M. "The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man". Moscow, 2003. P. 201–202.

<sup>2</sup> <https://style.nv.ua/blogs/skolko-raz-v-den-vy-proverjaete-telefon-amerikanskij-uchenyj-o-pervyh-priznakah-zavisimosti-ot-gadzheta-192903.html>.

This is how we lose our free time, which may be our most precious resource and is now cluttered up by an endless flow of information initiated by something external to us, including search engines and GPS systems. The online data we receive, filtered to reflect our digital trail and Web use history, puts us into the so-called "reality tunnel" – the narrow spectrum of events and opinions shown to us as long as we stay within the simulated reality produced by the algorithms. We no longer perceive the world as complex and interconnected, as we only see whatever the digital system is putting on the screen for us to see.<sup>3</sup>

Elon Musk and other optimists refer to the smartphone as the new "brain expander" which makes one smarter; however, Socrates would object that the knowledge we thus obtain is not interior to us and is therefore easy to reject or modify. It is not by chance that "digital hygiene", defined as deliberately training people to avoid wasting time on social networks, and engage in actual communication instead, is currently under discussion.

It surely adds to one's comfort to be able to sign petitions, send greetings to people you know, enjoy yourself or heap abuse on others tagging messages with "likes" and "dislikes" without having to leave your bathroom; for some, this is what they think real life is, while basically, they are already living inside a cave. The very cave Plato wrote about, although he didn't have the slightest idea that modern technologies would turn the metaphor he used into hard fact. Once again, people are immersed in the world of shadows; there is even no need for real chains as modern technologies restrain them just as firmly in place.

Five years ago, the Germans came up with a phrase that is the most precise description of the present-day generation: "*Generation Kopf unten*", which literally translates as "the generation with their heads down".<sup>4</sup>

A much-needed philosophical analysis of these processes could unveil the distant prospects (there are many examples of this capability in the history of philosophy). My illustration is borrowed from Plato who would hardly be able to imagine the modern technologies capable of turning his metaphorical cave into a peculiar form of reality.

In his well-known parable (Republic, VII, 514a2–517a7) Plato describes people chained by their necks and feet, ever since childhood, to a wall in a dark cave, unable to move or even turn their heads to see the other parts of the cave. The only things they can see are the shadows cast by the fire, which represents the Sun. The cave serves to symbolize the whole of human existence on Earth.

From the point of view of an observer able to analyze the mental model he created, Plato arrives at a conclusion of there being four states of the human soul through which we can perceive the truth: "we are satisfied... to call the first division science, the second understanding, the third belief, and the fourth perception"<sup>5</sup>, with an internal hierarchy based on their degree of proximity to the truth, i.e. reliability.

Belief and perception as the states of the soul, according to Plato, form the lower part of the said hierarchy, as they do not result from reasoning (mental understanding), and

<sup>3</sup> <https://knife.media/dark-social/>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.welt.de/newsticker/dpa\\_nt/infoline\\_nt/boulevard\\_nt/article127898591/Generation-Kopf-unten-Wie-einsam-macht-das-Smartphone.html](https://www.welt.de/newsticker/dpa_nt/infoline_nt/boulevard_nt/article127898591/Generation-Kopf-unten-Wie-einsam-macht-das-Smartphone.html).

<sup>5</sup> See: Plato. Republic. Book VII.

therefore can only produce opinions, thus being the remotest from the possibility of learning the truth.<sup>1</sup> For instance, says Plato, we can equal the essence of an object to a number, which helps “commensurate” things – but one should remember that this mental operation is relative; a very up-to-date thought in the setting of all the hype around digitization.

Digitization can build commensurability chains providing a more convenient interpretation of the world or certain phenomena within it; however, one has to keep firmly in mind that this is a purely imaginary structure that could be very far removed from the true nature of things.

According to Plato, in a number of cases perception of reality can turn into an imitation which stands apart from both truth and essence of things, in much the same way as it was in Plato’s Cave (and possibly in the present-day “digital cave”). In both cases, what people see is not reality but a mere perception of it. To them, the shadow they see is indistinguishable from the reality.

Modern people are also chained, albeit not with the chains made of iron, to news feed on the Web, to constructed images. They are unable, and possibly unwilling, to understand that these are very different from reality. They have been captured in a high-tech Plato’s Cave where people are submerged into shadows; the iron chains are not even necessary to hold them down, being replaced by modern digital technologies. Once inside this cave, the person perceives it as the only reality there could be, convinced that there exist no other Truth and Beauty but those one can find inside the cave. However, as Plato said, this perception of reality is no more than an imitation – of activity, of feelings, of the reality as a whole. Here shadow is indistinguishable from reality.

“How could they see anything but the shadows if they were never allowed to move their heads?”<sup>2</sup>

The Cave of today is the global communication space. The chains that hold their prisoners in place restricting their inner freedom are big data providing the necessary condition for present-day human existence; albeit virtual, they are nonetheless real for that. Basically, human consciousness is now a subject of the computer simulation. It is no longer a mere optical distortion (as in Plato’s parable), but rather an embodiment of the modern world of shadows which for many people has already replaced the real world – and the shadows become progressively more convincing as technology marches on.

The world is starting to take on a semblance to a computer game. Slinking away from reality and following game algorithms teaches us that thinking before starting to act is secondary and could easily be postponed. Digitization is capable of building commensurability chains providing a more convenient way of interpreting the world or certain phenomena – yet one should always keep in mind it is a mere mental construct which could be rather far removed from the true nature of things.

The above phenomenon exerts a tremendous influence upon communication causing the transformation of culture and distortion in its meaning-making components, in-

cluding language. As Yu. M. Lotman very concisely put it, “Language is its code plus its history”. In semiotic interpretation, culture is a semiotic system coded in language. Culture is never generic: it is a complex system of interacting local cultures. In fact, it was language that for a long time defined the shape of interaction between cultures, that of a dialogue which could be seen, metaphorically, as language sets intersecting in different variations. Moreover, the dialogue would have the greatest value in the non-intersecting parts.

Technological development had always exerted an influence on communication, but until recently, it was a gradual process of a technology being integrated into a culture – which is in stark contrast to the current situation.

In the present day, the emergence of the global communication space is accompanied by disintegration of culture as a system of interacting local cultures. Digitization plays a tremendous role in this process, as it facilitates the present-day transformation of culture. By transformation, I mean a channeled process of internal changes to the system, which are achieved by integrating alien elements into it: although the system seemingly remains intact, its functionality is gradually modified. Today’s mass media transforms communication from a background process serving to register the current events into a pivotal mechanism of modern culture, which is beginning to dominate and shape the entire process of information perception. Thereby, communication obviously influences the meaning-making mechanisms, first and foremost through inflating the pseudo-cultural space of communication. The above processes result in domination of common opinions, common features of expected behavior, and the culture’s most available, i.e. the most primitive elements. Another manifestation of this process is trying to work out global criteria, e.g. for scientific practice, in form of a requirement to use English in citing; on the long term, this trend may undermine national culture.

Global digitization may provide a foothold for a new type of totalitarianism, a Global Empire of sorts, with technologies used to manipulate the population. While granted with seeming freedom to push buttons and communicate through social networks, an individual would increasingly surrender control to the SYSTEM, which relegates him to the role of an insignificant cog, or a piece of digital code.

One should also be cautious about the development of an artificial intelligence, which is arguably deemed a cure-all and a universal problem solver. However, would artificial intelligence regard the human intelligence as equal, or force it out to the background as not exactly essential?

“Why would an algorithmic mind, given an ability to modify itself and create, to feel joy and sorrow like humans (the basis of motivation as we know it), given a conscious ability to choose, opt for existence? ... An artificial intelligence would know everything there is to know about itself from the very start. Would a free and intelligent cog choose to be?”

Once again, it all boils down to Hamlet’s ‘to be or not to be’...<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See: Plato. *Op. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Pelevin V. IPhuck 10. Moscow : E’S Publishing House, 2017. P. 407–408.*

M. Á. Moratinos Cuyaube<sup>1</sup>

## THE ALLIANCE OF CIVILIZATIONS – AN INITIATIVE TO SUPPORT HUMAN FRATERNITY

Today the delicate mosaic of our civilizations remains under threat. We live in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual world where multilateralism should prevail. Paradoxically multilateralism is being questioned at a time when we need it most. To regain people's trust, we need to have effective multilateralism.

As a true advocate of the value of multilateralism, I believe that we need new forms of cooperation with other international and regional organizations, an inclusive multilateralism, within the UN at its centre, but with closer links with civil society, religious leaders, women, academia and You... the young people who are fresh with new ideas and well-informed mindsets. When multilateralism is inclusive, it will trickle down to the masses.

With the complex global challenges our world is facing today, particularly the threat of global terrorism and violent extremism, I cannot think of any other way to deal with these challenges other than the global responses that has in its core an inclusive multilateralism.

Allow me to touch on the work of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations against this context:

The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations remains an ardent defender of inclusiveness and efficient multilateralism through the promotion of intercultural and interfaith dialogue. Our mantra is "Many Cultures, One Humanity". We have to recognize that there is a pluralism of civilizations. Each and every one of them has contributed to enriching reaching our common and single humanity. There is unity and richness in our diversity. Allow me to refer here to the founder of the United Nations, the late Dag Hammarskjöld whose wisdom and vision still inspire all of us until today. He firmly believed in the richness that diversity brings to our world. When he was asked what was his favourite book he said "Cervantes Don Quixote".

Sadly, this spirit is missing today. Instead we are witnessing white supremacist rhetoric, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and discrimination spreading like wildfire across the dark web.

The terrorist attacks on Muslims praying in 2 mosques in Christchurch in New Zealand was a blatant a reminder that our work is far from being done. White supremacist slur was not confined to targeting Muslims alone. Robert Bowers rampantly killed 11 Jewish people in the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh last October. He blamed Jews for bringing invaders to the US, in reference to refugees. In January, a bomb attack at Jolo Cathedral in Sulu in the Philippines killed Christian worshippers during Sunday mass.

The Christchurch massacre shook everyone to the core. But it also reminded us that as we continue our global counter-terrorism efforts, it is equally important to safeguard religious sites and guarantee the safety of worshippers who share a spirit of compassion and love.

The UN Secretary-General was right on target when on March 23 he made a global call to reaffirm to sanctity of all places of worship and the safety of all worshippers who visit revered sites in a spirit of compassion and tolerance. I feel privileged to be tasked with developing an Action Plan for the UN to be fully engaged in support of safeguarding religious sites.

This mandate seemed timely and urgent because a month later another attack happened in Sri Lanka, where the Catholic community was targeted with more than 200 people killed.

There are different – and often competing – conceptions of human fraternity in contemporary political philosophy.

So, in preparation for this conference, I drew inspiration from Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – the magna carta of all humankind – which states, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood".

All the prophets and religious messengers throughout history have preached a similar message of peace, love and fraternity. For instance, the dignity of all human beings in Islam derives from our common humanity, regardless of race, creed, colour or gender. Islam views the world as a single family with global citizenship the basis for cooperation and peaceful coexistence. Islam is a faith of tolerance, a faith of humanism that is important to recognize when we talk about Islam today.

I quote from the Holy Quran, Surat Al-Hujrat: "Oh, mankind! We created you from a single (pair) of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other."

And these values are not limited to the scriptures of the three monotheistic religions. They are cherished by all the world's major religions and faiths.

In short, human fraternity is about recognizing each other as equals by virtue of our shared humanity. I must add: human fraternity is genuine when it emanates from respect of the other.

Yet, in all corners of the world, we see an erosion of these universal values and growing social and cultural divides. And this is quite ironical. Because one would have expected that in today's multipolar, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic world, multilateralism would prevail and people would be more cosmopolitan. Instead, tribalism, ethnic violence, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, hate speech and ultra-nationalism, are in full swing. Atrocity crimes continue to shock the conscious of humanity. Look no further than the suffering of the Yazidi or the plight of the Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. Religious and ethnic minorities are still among the world's most vulnerable groups, particularly in situations of armed conflict.

<sup>1</sup> High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations. Diplomat, lawyer and politician, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010), Dr. Author of a number of publications, including: "Crisis in the Middle East", "The World in the Era of Sustainable Development", "Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests", and others. He was awarded with the orders of the Serbian flag of the 1st degree (Serbia), of the Cross of Terra Mariana of the 1st class (Estonia), Royal order of Charles III (Spain). Grand Officer of the order of the Three Stars (Latvia), Knight of the Royal Order of Isabella the Catholic, Knight of the Order of Civil Merit etc. Honorary Doctor of the universities of Granada, Malta, Ben-Gurion and Al-Quds. Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.

And there is little doubt that women and girls throughout the world continue to suffer simply because of their gender.

These challenges represent a stark reality. They are testing the resilience of local communities and undermining trust in our institutions.

Today, however, we have an opportunity to demonstrate our shared responsibility and practical commitment to reclaim the notion of universal fraternity as the bedrock of international cooperation. I recall the message of His Holiness, Pope Francis, for the 47th World Day for Peace, “fraternity is the foundation and pathway of peace”. Quoting Pope Saint Paul VI, he noted that, not only individuals but nations too, through mutual understanding and cooperation, must encounter one another in a spirit of fraternity to build a common future for all humanity.

Allow me to touch on a few pragmatic approaches to move this paradigm forward:

1. *The United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, the organization that I have just started to lead 3 weeks ago, remains an ardent defender of inclusiveness and efficient multilateralism.* Against the diversity of global, interconnected challenges, our responses must transcend national borders. Our mantra is “Many Cultures, One Humanity”. We have to recognize that there is a pluralism of civilizations. Each and every one of them has contributed to enriching our common and single humanity. There is unity and richness in our diversity. At the same time, we need to cultivate new forms of cooperation – based on genuine inclusivity – with other international and regional organizations, civil society, global thought leaders and the private sector.

Religious leaders and faith-based organizations of all denominations have a key role to play in our multilateral order. My office remains particularly committed to promoting inter-religious and inter-cultural dialogue as a tool for combating intolerance, negative stereotyping, and incitement to violence against persons based on religion or belief.

2. *Inclusive citizenship, where individuals enjoy equal opportunities and rights, whatever their gender, religion, or ethnic background is a key enabler of peaceful coexistence.*

The Marrakesh Declaration, and its promotion of new jurisprudence on inclusive citizenship, provides a powerful and useful reference. Individually and collectively, we should ensure that the Declaration and its Framework receive greater visibility and help support its implementation.

But inclusive citizenship alone is not a panacea. Ethnic and religious minorities in all regions continue to face discrimination and new threats. Whether in the form of violent extremist attacks or because of exclusionary policies promoted by ultra nationalist groups.

Beyond classical conception of citizenship, we should seek to establish a culture of peace from an early age. Where people of different identities, faiths and cultures can identify as global citizens.

I truly believe that Global Citizenship Education is the best vehicle to instil these values. For this reason, the Alliance will support Member States in developing curriculum that includes an understanding of, and respect for, the plurality of religions, cultures and societies. We will help equip students with the skills to challenge bigotry, division, and ignorance. Global Citizenship Education represents an important tool in our collective efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence. Let’s strive to ensure that global cit-

izenship education remains universal in scope, and local in impact.

3. *Turning to terrorism and violent extremism.* At present, Da’esh, its affiliates and other terrorist groups are weakened. Nevertheless, their intolerant ideology – kept alive, in part, by the return and relocation of foreign terrorist fighters – continues to resonate, particularly among young people.

A key component of our prevention agenda is addressing root causes and grievances that are so often manipulated by terrorists and their supporters. Again, this requires our collective resolve. We need to rely on the support of religious leaders, teachers and educators, human rights activists and the media.

In the case of terrorists and violent extremists who cite religious belief as the justification for their activities, it is necessary to expose their falsehoods and distortions with the testimony of credible religious leaders and faith-based actors. This involves supporting and empowering young religious leaders with faith-based critical thinking tools to deconstruct perverse messages and to help identify signs of radicalization in local communities.

And we need to extend our fraternal solidarity with the victims of terrorism, their families and communities. Following a terrorist attack, we seldom hear about surviving families, friends and communities, and the impact that terrorism will have on their lives. Too often, the perpetrators of terrorist acts dominate the headlines. We can and should do more to remember and support victims of terrorism in all regions of the world.

The United Nations General Assembly recently established an International Day of Remembrance and Tribute to the victims of terrorism to be observed every year on August 21.

My office will continue to support the efforts of Member States in building a narrative of remembrance and solidarity that incorporates the story and experiences of the victims of terrorism. I am confident that our solidarity will help facilitate common understanding and social cohesion. These testimonies will also expose future generations to the barbaric and criminal nature of terrorism.

4. *And finally, defending the rights of the oppressed and persecuted involves bringing the perpetrators of atrocity crimes to justice, within a human rights and rule of law framework.* This is the only way to end a cycle of impunity. Accountability for past crimes is necessary for restoring dignity to victims. It also paves the path for reconciliation and prevention of future atrocities.

We are all united by common bonds, our cultures woven together in a shared heritage. But for universal fraternity to flourish, basic levels of freedom, equality, and political inclusion should exist in every society. Acting upon and accepting our shared responsibilities and principles to turn this vision into reality requires broader, deeper and stronger partnerships and cooperation among all nations and peoples.

Rest assured that the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations remains committed to bolstering respect for the principal of universal fraternity in our collective quest for justice, dignity and peace.

Let me propose the Alliance’s Decalogue on human fraternity:

1) *respect* for all nations and peoples, regardless of their creed, culture, and civilization;

2) *dialogue* as an essential tool for engaging in a better understanding of different cultures and perspectives;

3) *tolerance* as a basis of respect for every person's human dignity and fundamental rights with full appreciation for the rich diversity of our world's cultures and civilizations;

4) *empathy* as an ethical virtue to build bridges of mutual understanding and cooperation in our quest for universal acceptance and peaceful coexistence;

5) *inclusion* as a process that promotes the full and equal right of individuals and groups to participate in their society regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and gender identity, or disability status;

6) *diversity* as a positive and enriching concept; a just imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity;

7) *solidarity* as a commitment to help others in difficult situations in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

8) *dignity* and equal rights of all members of the human family as interdependent and mutually reinforcing and forming the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world;

9) *multiculturalism* as a process of expressing diversity in an age of globalization and not simply an attitude or view about others;

10) "*convivencia*" or "living together" as a sacred duty and attitude of peaceful coexistence.

## R. I. Nigmatulin<sup>1</sup>

### RUSSIA'S DEVELOPMENT. CHALLENGES OF PREDICTABILITY AND MANAGEABILITY

Any self-aware society (country, region, sector of economy as well as culture and science) is striving for self-sufficient (self-supporting and sustainable) development in the environment of its geographical location and resource limits. State leaders, party and public group leaders, prominent figures in the fields of culture and science are thinking about that.

Each group works out conditions required for such development proceeding from its ideas and experience. It should be emphasized that there are many such conditions of manageability and predictability, but all of them are insufficient conditions. Sufficiency can only be provided by the whole complex of these conditions.

For example, economy's analysis leads to the necessity of establishing a certain share of government expenditures, payroll budget, progressive taxation, measures to decrease income inequalities between the rich and the poor, foreign currency market rules, measures to stimulate investments, arrangement of international cooperation to use the best in the world technologies, etc. But all those necessary measures will not bring results if corruption is not eliminated, the managerial potential of governmental officials and management of commercial companies is low, engineers' and designers' level is low, workers are poorly qualified.

Overcoming each of the said problems (necessary conditions) requires solving numerous other issues, demanding efforts of representatives of other professions. For example, overcoming corruption requires creation of the open-type society, political rivalry, developed juridical system besides efforts and the level of law-enforcement bodies. Because no matter how wise the leader of a country is, he is unable to

provide the necessary level of the anti-corruption climate. And uplifting the level of management is all about advancement of the system of education, teachers training, enhancement of the authority of knowledge, upsurge of the people's spiritual level. And all that means expenditures. Expenditures on the people. Expenditures on the development of science, both applied and fundamental.

All countries are trying to provide performance of the said necessary conditions for harmonious and balanced development, overcoming especially acute problems. But the state of affairs is especially drastic in respect of realization of the necessary (and even insufficient) conditions in today's Russia. And what is more, notwithstanding the "fanfare" in state mass media, unmanageability and unpredictability have become even more evident in the recent decade. And that poses threats of the loss of stability on decade scales. And such threats in decade prospects are usually underestimated by the majority of experts. Who among scholars and public figures could predict in 1982 that the USSR would disintegrate in 1991? There could have been a few, and very few believed them.

The great Russian scientist, academician, Noble Prize winner I. P. Pavlov demonstrated in 1918 that even scientific knowledge could not prevent the chaos of 1917. He regretfully stated: "The scholarly mind does not have a big impact on life and history. Only recently science has become important in life and taken a leading place in a few countries. And history went beyond the scientific impact, it was determined by the work of a different mind, and the fate of state does not depend on the scholarly mind." I. P. Pavlov writes about Russia as an example: "Ten years ago we buried our genius Mendeleyev, but that did not stop Russia from coming to the situation it finds itself in now." And D. I. Mendeleyev had become an economist besides being a great chemist. He had worked out economic development of Russian regions in detail. But everything turned to dust because it was not supported even by the academic community and was swept away by the revolution launched by liberals. I. P. Pavlov explained it by the fact that the scholarly mind "is a partial mind, referring to a very small part of the people" (and I could say their problems), and it could not characterize the whole popular mind as a whole.

<sup>1</sup> Research Advisor of P. P. Shirshov Institute of Oceanology of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Physics and Mathematics), Professor. Author of more than 200 scientific publications, including 10 monographs: "Fundamentals of Mechanics of Heterogeneous Media", "Dynamics of Multiphase Media", "How to Equip Economy and the Power of Russia: The Analysis of the Engineer and the Mathematician" "The Crisis and the Modernization of Russia – Thirteen Theorems", "Mechanics of Continua. Kinematics. Dynamics. Thermodynamics. Statistical Dynamics" and others. Has 13 inventor's certificates. Chief Editor of the journal "Oceanology". Was awarded the Lenin Komsomol Prize, the USSR State Prize, laureate of the Award of the Government of the Russian Federation in the Field of Science and Technology. Was awarded the Order of Honor, the Order "For Merit to the Fartherland", IV degree.



Unfortunately, this flaw of science is active till now. I spoke about that at the meeting of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences (RAS) on January 15, 2019, reminding N. G. Chernyshevsky's words: "Trust in tsars' good intentions has been ruining Russia for hundreds of years." Proceeding from this true insight, he called: "Call Russia to take an axe!"

Now we understand that this is not a call for correction but for tragic destruction and national calamity. The problem was not the bad tsars as much as their acting wrongly and making mistakes against which no state leader is insured. The matter was also in representatives of scholarly and cultural "elites" who speaking to the leader (tsar, General Secretary of the Communist party, President) tried to be nice instead of telling *the truth*, sometimes drastic, and doing everything to make the tsar take constructive decisions. That's exactly what a country leader *always* needs. Sure, it's much easier to be like Gogol's "lady nice in all respects, not sparing anything to become courteous to the highest degree."

An addiction has formed to say that everything is fine. And now it is *not fine* both in the country and science. And it's a sin to say that everything is fine with us in such a situation.

There has been no real economic growth in Russia for 10 years already. The announced 1% growth is not growth as every year we're losing about 1.5–2% of riches because of catastrophes, fires, floods, wear and tear, etc.<sup>1</sup> And economic growth required to overcome poverty of a big part of the people is not foreseen.

Academician A. A. Dynkin showed in his report at the last academic session of the General Meeting of the RAS in November, 2018 that in the opinion of the *expert* community, economic stagnation was the main problem of the country.

And several weeks later, President of the RAS academician A. M. Sergeev said at the meeting with V. V. Putin that "the country has entered the stable growth stage." This is not only wrong. This is a big *lie* lulling the country's leadership. There will be no economic growth in the next years if the socioeconomic course is preserved. And this is dangerous because real incomes of the middle class have been decreasing for over five years already. Neither the Government nor the President of the Russian Federation understand this problem though the calls to invest and promises to make Russian economy the 5th in the world (i.e. out-run Germany, the population of which is 2 times less) have been repeated by them for more than 10 years. And it follows from the above said that experts from all departments of the Academy of Sciences should work at the challenge of economic growth provision.

Degradation takes place in science as well. Every year, we're losing about 2% of researchers. This problem is not spoken about at the meetings with President Putin. It is necessary to save the post-graduate education, providing young scientists training.

The only one who definitely pointed at this problem was the Rector of the Mineral Resources University Professor Litvinenko. He was right to say at the meeting of the

Council for Science that the key for solving the problem of young scientists training was to raise a post-graduate student's salary up to the average salary. A grown-up person with a higher education degree can't live on 4–6 thousand rubles per month. The Rector warned that soon there would not be anyone to work at complex devices and teach. With this state of affairs, the President of the Academy of Sciences should have only confirmed this thought asking the President of the Russian Federation to give a respective order to the Government.

V. V. Putin reproached the Academy of Sciences at the meeting of the Council for Science that we had not built a transparent and objective expert examination of the results in fundamental sciences. He agreed that the main indicators were not those published or "quoted" but those "based on the reputational responsibility and *assessment by the professional community*." The President's answer is in these words as well. This has always been done in the Academy of Sciences. Every year the most important results were emphasized in institutions, departments, reports at the annual meetings of the departments and the General Meeting of the RAS. Every 5 years we certified all research fellows. We checked up all RAS institutes in complex. And that means that the decisive influence of the Academy of Sciences and its departments on planning and assessment of scientists' and institutes' activities should be restored. Scientists should be assessed by scientists and not bibliographers. That's how it was necessary to answer the President, to say that we had all that but it was destroyed by the army of officials. And officials should be guided by *only* these assessments. And academicians are trying to advance "biometric" criteria at the meetings of the Presidium of the RAS, where publications in foreign magazines are considered the highest virtue.

And now untrained officials from the science coordination department are making up state orders for the RAS institutes with many-fold increase of the number of publications though M. M. Kotyukov told them in my presence that it should not be done like that. State orders should be made up by the institutes themselves together with thematic departments of the RAS. This and only this is research and methodological supervision by the RAS.

And the Ministry of Education and Science as an economic agent should plan financial and economic activities based on state orders approved by the Academy of Sciences.

Only the precisely developed viewpoint and stand can provide positive impact of the academic community on manageability and predictability of the country's development. And the authority of science is not increasing.

First, it's related to I. P. Pavlov's statement "...Our Russian effective output is insignificant. It is tens of times less than effective output of the leading cultural European countries" staying urgent till now, a century after it was said.

Second, this is related to the academic community's not wording its viewpoint and stand as to the most important issues discussed by people. I'll give the Catholic Church stand in respect to the seven social sins as an example. They were presented by Bishop Girotti in 2008 on behalf of Vatican. He emphasized that all of them were the consequence of globalization. If a sin was considered one's private business in the past, now it entails public attention and outcry. I'll mention only three of them with the decisive impact on the life in Russia:

<sup>1</sup> According to academician V. I. Osipov, annual accident damage in Russia amounts to 1.4% of its GDP, and global damage amounts to 0.5% of global GDP. Risk to die in a plane crash in Russia is 4 times higher than globally and to die in a fire is 9 times higher than in the United States.

- increase of income inequality;
- excessive riches;
- actions leading others to poverty.

And what morals of our Government can we speak about if monthly wages of ministers, deputies, governors amount to several million rubles while a half of the working people get less than RUB 20,000 and incomes of only 7% of the working people exceed RUB 70,000. The abnormal poverty of a half of the working people with abnormal luxuries of the rich including state officials, as a background, leads to power instability, downfall of its authority, development of amorality in power circles. And the loss of manageability and predictability comes with that.

Russia again has a tragic problem like in the 19th century – the problem of redistribution. This is the *incomes redistribution* problem. It should be solved from the top. If the lower classes are pushed to solve it, this is a riot, most likely a “senseless and merciless riot.” In order to prevent it, prominent figures in the field of science and culture should, following N. A. Nekrasov not only “sow the reasonable, kind, eternal” but also culturally and persistently “exert pressure” on the higher and lower classes.

The main idea is to tell people the basic things that can be always explained simply if they are understood. But exactly the simple things are forgotten and not understood. Great Russian composer Georgy Sviridov said: “It’s not so easy to understand simple things.”

R. O’Brien<sup>1</sup>

## SOUTHERN DILEMMAS: DEFENDING WORKERS RIGHTS IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT

The goal of this paper is to provide a brief overview of the diversity of experiences and strategies of labour’s engagement with state, corporate and civil society actors across a number of countries outside of the advanced industrialized core of the global economy. Most southern unions face serious challenges of governments engaged in liberalizing or authoritarian policies, shifting relations with political parties, aggressive corporations and labour market deregulation. The paper focuses its attention on leftist unions in a number of key developing countries.<sup>2</sup>

### Background

Traditionally, strong trade union movements have been associated with advanced industrialized economies. However, the 1980s and 1990s saw the emergence of strong dynamic trade unions in a number of developing countries such as Brazil, South Africa and South Korea. The rise of manufacturing outside of traditional industrialized countries led to the growth of labour movements across the south.<sup>3</sup> These unions were often described as following a strategy of “social movement unionism” which involved a wide range of social concerns beyond the immediate economic needs of its dues paying members.<sup>4</sup> The vigour of social movement

unionism in developing countries was seen as a possible path for northern labour movements to emulate.<sup>5</sup>

While some analysts continue to see the possibility of renewed labour mobilisation in southern countries<sup>6</sup>, southern unions face considerable hurdles in advancing the interests of their members. In recent years South Africa’s trade union movement plunged into crisis as COSATU split with the departure of one of its largest members, NUMSA. The split reflected a much deeper tension within the ANC – South African Communist Party – COSATU political alliance, as well as a growing gap between workers and their union leadership over the economic toll of years of ANC economic liberalization and austerity. In Brazil, the labour movement and Workers Party (PT) found itself under sustained attack as right wing forces orchestrated a legislative coup by impeaching President Dilma Rousseff and imprisoning former Brazilian President Lula to prevent him from running for in the Presidential election. In Korea, 2016 saw the government launch another wave of labour repression with the jailing of KCTU leaders. In India, trade unions launched the world’s largest general strike in an attempt to slow the government’s liberalization program.

### Liberalizing or authoritarian states

Although each country’s experience is different, some patterns can be detected amongst labour unions outside the West in the post-1945 era.<sup>7</sup> A defining feature of labour’s experience in the South has been the presence of European or American imperialism.<sup>8</sup> This has resulted in labour struggles taking place in three phases: a) pushing for decolonization and the ejection of Western powers; b) a struggle to democratize national states in the face of authoritarian rule<sup>9</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> Professor of Political Science at McMaster University (Hamilton, Canada). Author of the six books and over twenty journal articles and book chapters in the fields of international relations and global political economy, including: “Labour Internationalism in the Global South: The SIGTUR Initiative”, “Global Political Economy: Evolution and Dynamics” (co-author), “Challenging Corporate Capital: Creating an Alternative to Neoliberalism” (co-editor), “Revisiting Rosa Luxemburg’s Internationalism”, “An Internationalist Western Labour Response to the Globalization of India and China” (co-author), “Continuing Incivility: Labor Rights in a Global Economy”, etc. He teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in global political economy and supervises graduate students interested in global labour issues, global civil society, international organization, global governance and the political economy of climate change. He is consulting editor of *Global Labour Journal*.

<sup>2</sup> This paper draws heavily on Robert O’Brien, *Labour Internationalism in the Global South: The SIGTUR Initiative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Silver B. J. *Forces of Labor*. Cambridge : Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003.

<sup>4</sup> Wells D. *Building Transnational Coordinative Unionism // Confronting Change: Auto Labor and Lean Production in North America* / H. J. Nunez, S. Babson (eds.). Detroit : Wayne State Univ. Press, 1998. P. 487–505.

<sup>5</sup> Moody K. *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the international economy*. N. Y. : Verso Books, 1997.

<sup>6</sup> Ness J. *Southern Insurgency: The Coming of the Global Working Class*. L. : Pluto Press, 2016.

<sup>7</sup> Carway T. L. *Labor in Developing and Post-Communist Countries* // Fioretos O., Falletti T. G., Sheingate A. *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*. Oxford : Oxford Univ. Press, 2016. P. 256–269.

<sup>8</sup> In the case of Korea it is Japanese imperialism.

<sup>9</sup> Curless G. *Introduction: Trade unions in the global south from imperialism to the present day* // *Labor History*. 2016. Vol. 57, No 1. P. 1–19.

c) the struggle against neoliberalism and the erosion of the developmental state. A difficulty for labour is that although the development state model advanced labour's interest in industrialization, it often did so at the cost of labour suppression (including considerable violence).<sup>1</sup> Indeed, statist political economy development strategies have a long history of advancing "development" at the expense of labour's autonomy.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, recent democratization of the state which has brought more political freedom to labour has often been accompanied by neoliberal economic restructuring which has undercut its market and political power.

In some countries these struggles took place sequentially while in other countries two or more conflicts were waged simultaneously. In each case the particular struggle left deep impressions upon labour and the sense that the national project had not yet been completed. Examples from India, South Africa and Korea will illustrate the point. In India, the pattern was national liberation struggle against the British in the 1940s, quickly building a democratic state upon decolonization and forty years later, conflict over the government's neoliberal turn. Disagreements about how the independence struggle should be waged and whether or not the UK should be supported during the Second World War led to the emergence of "political unionism" in India. Each major party has its own trade union wing, while some unions are attached to particular individuals and a few independent unions struggle to represent other workers. The close union party links have allowed unions to fight neoliberal policies by exercising influence on their political partners, but they have generated infighting between unions, as well as curtailed broader social alliances and relations with the majority of workers occupying positions in the informal sector.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to India, the liberation struggle on the Africa continent was waged from the end of the Second World War until the early 1990s. In South Africa, the struggle against Apartheid combined the efforts to end white colonialism with the attempt to democratize the state. This necessitated a society wide mobilization. Shortly after these victories, labour faced a neoliberal onslaught in the 1990s initiated by their national liberation allies, the African National Congress. Other African countries faced the challenges of liberalization a decade earlier as they entered into structural adjustment programs following the 1982 debt crisis. Although state – labour relations have taken different forms across the continent, the national liberation struggle has been a defining issue informing labour's relationship with post-colonial African states.<sup>4</sup>

The pattern in Korea was different yet again.<sup>5</sup> Here the anti-colonial struggle was against the Japanese rather than the Europeans and it was waged from 1910 until the allied victory over Japan in 1945. Labour played a leading role

in anti-Japanese struggles and consequently took on a nationalistic persona. The struggle against Japan was replaced by a struggle against the Korean state as a US backed authoritarian regime took power and suppressed leftist and independent trade unions. Korean workers and trade unions played a significant role in the democratisation struggles in the 1970s and 1980s contributing to the 1987 democratic opening. Democratization allowed Korean labour unions to initially improve wages and working conditions for their members. However, within a decade the East Asian financial crisis shifted the balance of forces against labour and the Korean state worked with the IMF to radically liberalise and deregulate the labour market, increasing unemployment and expanding the number of people working in casualized positions.

The significance of these southern struggles around the state is that labour groups feel that there is a substantial amount of work still to be done before southern states reach the potential for advancing labour's interests. Southern labour groups have not yet been able to use the state to build up welfare programs or protect national industries in the way that northern labour groups have done in the post-war era. They want to use the state to advance development and continue anti-imperialist struggles, but have found state structures both weakened and turned against them through the process of neoliberalism.

### Relations with political parties

Southern unions have not discovered a particularly successful recipe for engaging with political parties. Rather, there are at least three varieties of relationships with political parties. The first variety is a close working relationship with political parties that eventually come to form government. In the case of Brazil, a very successful Workers Party (PT) was created by the CUT and was eventually able to win the presidency. When in the PT is in opposition CUT backs the party enthusiastically. However, when the PT is in government there is more tension. The unions have to push the party to the left because businesses are pulling it to the right. In South Africa the position is also complex as COSATU sits in an alliance with both the ANC and the South African Communist Party. Its alliance is under strain because the governing party (ANC) has liberalised trade and followed a series of neoliberal economic policies that have hurt trade union membership.

A second relationship is autonomy from party politics. This is the case of the CTA in Argentina. Although the union is ideologically on the left, it does not align with any particular political party. This is partially a result of the peculiarity of Argentina's history where many of the trade unions were dominated or absorbed into the Perónist movement. In this case alignment with the Perónist Party means sacrificing political independence. A different variant is provided by the KCTU. In 1997 the KCTU created the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) to provide workers representation in parliamentary politics. After some initial success in the early 2000s the DLP repeatedly split over issues of internal democracy and its relationship with North Korea. The KCTU is no longer connected to the party.

A third model is a scenario where trade unions are dominated by political parties. In some cases relationships are so close it is often unclear to outside observers if the trade

<sup>1</sup> *Deyo F. C.* *Beneath the Miracle: Labor Suppression in the New Asian Industrialism.* Berkeley: Berkeley Univ. Press, 1989.

<sup>2</sup> *Selwyn B.* *The Global Development Crisis.* Cambridge: Policy, 2014.

<sup>3</sup> *Teitelbaum E.* Was the Indian Labor Movement Ever Co-opted? *Evaluating Standard Accounts // Critical Asian Studies.* 2006. Vol. 38, No 4. P. 389–417; *Candland C.* Labour Industry and the State in India and Pakistan // *Labour World Wide in the era of Globalization: Alternative union models in the new world order / R. Munck, P. Waterman (eds.).* Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999. P. 175–196.

<sup>4</sup> *Buhlungu S.* Trade unions and the politics of national liberation in Africa: An appraisal // *Beckman B., Buhlungu S., Sachikonye L. (eds.). Trade Unions and Party Politics: Labour movements in Africa.* Capetown: HSRC Press, 2010. P. 191–207.

<sup>5</sup> *Gray K.* *Labour and Development in East Asia.* N. Y.: Routledge, 2015.

unions could follow policies that went against the wishes of the parties. For example, the KMTU in the Philippines has a history of close association with the Communist Party of the Philippines and many see it as still subservient to the party.<sup>1</sup> In India, CITU is very closely and proudly entwined with the Communist Party of India (Marxist). This can lead to some union – party tension when the party holds power in a state (such as Bengal) and embarks on liberalization policies. It also influences CITU on a number of labour issues where it at times appears to be parroting the CPI (M) line.

### **Transnational corporations and labour market deregulation**

Southern trade unions have faced the dual challenge of the increasing internationalization of their economies and the casualization of their labour markets. Both Korea and India provide good examples of countries that have shifted from relatively protected national markets to economies hosting and exporting considerable amounts of foreign direct investment. For many years the South Korean economy was heavily protected and concentrated on exploiting export markets. However, over time it internationalized as a result of Korean multinationals establishing production abroad and through restructuring following the East Asian financial crisis in 1997. Korean companies increasingly invested in production overseas to take advantage of cheap labour or to avoid trade barriers.<sup>2</sup>

A similar development is evident in India. CITU's vice president notes the rising number of TNCs working in the "Indian" electronics, automobile and chemical industries such as Hyundai, Ford, Dalmer, Nissan, Renault, Mitsubishi, Caterpillar and BMW.<sup>3</sup> Whereas in the 1990s the focus was on fighting Indian companies, Indian unions now also fight TNCs. The struggle with TNCs was made more difficult by the government trying to maintain "industrial peace" for investors. For their part, TNCs are trying to either set up "yellow" unions or, like Samsung, prevent the establishment of unions altogether.

In addition to engaging with multinationals, southern unions are also struggling with the casualization of labour markets. South Korean unions have noted how the labour market has been transformed in the wake of the East Asian

financial crisis. The KCTU observed that the push for flexible labour markets and privatizations advocated by the IMF and World Bank led to job losses and casualization for 52% of the Korean workforce.<sup>4</sup> Many Korean workers experienced abandonment because of the weakening of relationship between corporations and their workforce hurt workers in an environment with a very weak welfare state.

At a meeting of southern trade unionists in 2018 many delegates expressed concern about the casualization of labour markets.<sup>5</sup> In the Philippines the issue is framed in terms of "flexible labour schemes" and "labor contractualization" with contract workers outnumbering full time workers. There is also an attempt to extend the working day from eight to twelve hours. Argentinean unions expressed concern about the plight of almost nine million insecure and informal workers in their country. Indian unions highlighted opposition to their country's changes to labour law which supported outsourcing and contractualization. Brazilians noted changes in their labour law to facilitate outsourcing and an extension of the working week to sixty hours. Another economic issue was concern about growing inequality and poverty. The South Africans, for example, highlighted the fact that their poverty rate is 50% with 10% of the population controlling 90% of wealth. In addition unemployment is over 25% with youth unemployment over 50%. The Indian delegation noted that in their country the richest 1% of population owned 73% of wealth.

### **Conclusion**

A brief review of southern unions shows workers experiencing common challenges such as hostile states and damaging neoliberal policies designed to increase labour insecurity. One can see a common pattern of privatization, extended work hours, declining pay, fewer labour rights and growing inequality. In many of the cases the lives of labour activists are under threat of harm, death or imprisonment. However, countries do not face identical situations. For example, India and Brazil face serious challenges with poverty in large rural populations. Southern unions have adopted different strategies with regards to engaging states, political parties and corporations, heavily influenced by their own histories. None of the unions have yet hit upon a winning strategy.

<sup>1</sup> *Waterman P.* On (Not) Understanding The KMTU Trade Union Centre In The Philippines (Countercurrents.org: 2 Nov., 2015).

<sup>2</sup> *Coestier B., Perrin S.* The Internationalization of Korean Firms: Strategic interaction and tariff-jumping when quality matters // *Multinationals and Foreign Investment in Economic Development / E. Graham (ed.)*. L. : Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. P. 119–144.

<sup>3</sup> Author's Notes, 10th SIGTUR Congress. Perth, December 3rd, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> *Sigtur's Strategic Orientation and Action Commitments : 6th Congress.* Seoul, 2001. Nov. P. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Country Reports, 11th SIGTUR Congress.* Buenos Aires, 2018, April.

## THE GLOBAL SYSTEM'S CRISIS AND FORECASTS FOR ITS PROSPECTS

Science has three main functions by definition: description, explanation and forecasting, but social sciences have their own special features. In their case, both description and explanation have their values to this or that extent and forecasting is extremely difficult because of complexity, developing character and reflexiveness of the society. It's possible to see five main stages of social forecasts together with the society's development from the Enlightenment till our times.

At the first stage that lasted till World War II, forecasting was first of all the issue of the philosophy of history and was related to fixing certain trends in historical development. However, in principle, forecasts for some or the other geopolitical events do not justify themselves. For example, the general feeling en masse just before World War I was inclined to agree that wars would gradually disappear, and World War II and the attack on the USSR were unexpected even for Stalin.

The second stage of forecasting development took place between World War II and the 1970s, when the special course of studies – futurology – originated as well as the system of methods used in forecasting economic, political and other processes, by states, corporations and think-tanks. That was during the Second Industrial Revolution, when forecasting was related both to directive planning in socialist states and indicative planning in developed capitalist states.

The third stage of forecasting was provided by unrolling neoliberal capitalism, with acceleration and complication of various processes, when previous processes and plans most often do not prove correct leading to transfer of power to the market and non-state subjects. At the same time, rational planning, expectation, choice are becoming the characteristics of the “economic man” (homo economicus), a neoclassical “economics”.

When we're speaking about geopolitical forecasting, there are astounding failures in a giant number of cases, even in forecasts by men of genius or strong groups of experts and intelligence services. The United States intelligence services did not manage to forecast the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Gorbachev promised “more socialism, more democracy” in the USSR but instead a restoration of capitalism of the oligarchy-type took place; and in December 1990, outstanding American experts conducted a roundtable discussion in the U.S. Department of Defense (Pentagon) dedicated to the future of the USSR. They unanimously consented that a probability of disintegration of the Soviet

Union did not exceed 20%. Several months later, the reality completely disproved it. American analytical centers could not foresee the rapid growth of China and its turning into a U.S. alternative either. After the USSR disintegration, the United States were full of expectations that the 21st century would become the century of America but it turned out to be an illusion, and all wars they waged – in Vietnam, Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria – turned into the ruin of their hopes.

Currently, the crisis of traditional approaches and scenario-writing methods, foresight, strategic planning, Delphi method, expert evaluations is intensifying, and we're entering the *fourth stage of forecasting*, especially if we're speaking about geopolitical forecasting and global trends. On the one hand, expectations are growing as to creation of formal models and using artificial intelligence, algorithms and processing big volumes of data for evaluating probabilities of a certain way of development. This is exactly the reason why there is a struggle for leadership in artificial intelligence development in the world. On the other hand, the macro-historical approach, related to the respective theory or philosophy of history, still stays urgent.

I'll try to discuss this issue through the prism of the certain philosophy of history relying on some basic governing laws that will give us an opportunity to explain not only the past but also look into the future. I'll choose the tradition from Fernand Braudel's macrohistory as the starting point for my attempt, combined with the cycles concept in the world-systems theory and the systematic development life cycles. The capitalism development dynamics within this philosophy is the process of growing global expansion, going through the stages of several big cycles. On the whole, the processes of looking for opportunities for successful capital accumulation based on the global system, are cyclically replaced by self-capsulation processes in nation-states. Protectionist periods follow liberalization, at the same time each liberalization cycle of every country or a group of countries is a hegemon in this process. Both internationalization and self-capsulation of capital are related to system cycles of its accumulation, with dominance and disappearance of a certain hegemonic force.

The first cycle took place between the 14th and the 16th centuries, when the main role was played by Italian city-states and first of all Florence, Genoa, Venice and their diasporas. The second cycle of imposing the global hegemon and universalization of capitalism, ensnaring the whole world in trade relations, refers to the 17th –18th centuries, when the Netherlands perform the hegemon role. The third cycle corresponds to the 19th century – establishment of the UK as the world hegemon and as a result, the First Industrial Revolution takes place exactly there, and production grows rapidly. The fourth cycle started after the end of World War II, when the United States were established as the global hegemon. The U.S. hegemony was effected in two stages: social and liberal up to the 1970s and later neoliberal, leading to disintegration of Soviet socialism and bipolar world and consequently neoliberal globalization controlled by the United States.

*Capitalism started entering the fifth cycle after 2008.* After the highest period of Americanized unipolar neoliberal

<sup>1</sup> Director of the Thracian Scientific Institute, Professor of the Department of Political Economy of the University of National and World Economy (Sofia), corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy). Principal Secretary of the Bulgarian Philosophical Society (1978–1989), Director of the Institute of Philosophical Sciences (1988–1992) and the Institute of Philosophical Research of the BAS (1995–2010). Author of more than 500 scientific publications, including 22 monographs: “Cognition and values”, “Biosocial values”, “Bioethics”, “Civil society and global capitalism”, “Global changes and the destiny of Bulgaria”, “Violence in the modern era”, “The future of philosophy”, “Sociology of philosophy”, “The theory of Bulgarian transition”, “System cycles and future of history: Where is the world heading”, etc. Member of the editorial boards of a number of scientific journals. Public intellectual and author of hundreds of papers in mass media.

eral globalization, disintegration of the proceeding neoliberal globalized order began. Exponential acceleration of all processes and growing disbalance of the world system are typical for it, when unimportant and unforeseen factors can lead to large-scaled consequences that are difficult to forecast. If the events that took several months in the past, take place much quicker now; if information accumulated by the humanity over all its history, is now accumulated within a year; if the speed of technological and in this case many other innovations is much higher today than a century ago, the world is becoming more and more indefinite and as a consequence filled with quick ups and downs leading to time shrinking, and that makes billions of people unsure and makes them worry about what is happening. Evident things disintegrate and global liberal hysteria is all here, lies, fake news are spilled over us and we're told that we live in a post-truth world.

Taking into account the systemic and cyclical character of changes, I'll single out seven key indicators impending in the next two decades of global changes.

1. *Crisis of existing political and economic systems in developed countries, growing political polarization, disintegration trends for the previous neoliberal consensus of system parties* as to the issue how to achieve sustainable economic growth and overcome the existing inequality. Critique of neoclassical economics is becoming stronger and stronger with statements that it is no longer the basis of economic policy. People are more and more dissatisfied with economic experts, political leaders, transnational companies, putting the blame on them for economic problems in the society. Movements, parties, positions of some leaders using mass crisis conscience and dissatisfaction are getting stronger. They bring forward anti-system slogans in order to get support. The majority of people in the UK voted for Brexit, i.e. separation from the bigger European market, and for Trump in the United States that also became unexpected for the neoliberal elite as he started looking for new development directions beyond the existing neoliberal policy of globalism. The crisis was most clearly manifested exactly in the capitalist center embodied in these two states – the global hegemons in the 19th and the 20th centuries. Thus, capitalism can't be successfully reproduced with the existing mechanisms – they sooner strengthen contradictions in it.

Crises when capital is accumulated are becoming deadly if they are combined with another element – elites' discord on the issue of dealing with them. Exactly that we're witnessing today in the United States, seeing the split between Trump and the Democratic Party elite. Similar situations can be also found in a number of the EU countries related to discords on the issue as to how to solve economic problems – by the so-called austerity policy (financial ascetics) and limitation of expenses for social purposes or by way of stimulating consumption. Proceeding from the analyses of previous revolutionary disintegrations, discords and quarrels of elites are combined with delegitimization of governments, calls for decisive reforms. Forces appear that fill in the originating power vacuum and actively mobilize some or the other social movements with good communicative networks and organizational resources. Currently, this trend is intensifying both at the expense of accelerated automation processes and rivalry with workforce migration flows leading to reduction of prices on the labor market.

2. *Monopolization of economies is on the rise*, at the same time global digital monopolies like Facebook and Google control billions of people today as the predominant amount of the global Internet traffic goes exactly through them. In the 1990s, the Internet was an open, free, decentralized form of communications, now it has become clear that it is a centralized structure, controlling the largest part of the globe's population. In 2018, 157 out of the 200 leading global entities are corporations and only 43 belong to states, and that turns the state into a corporations' tool.<sup>1</sup> The number of companies, the scales of which exceed a certain country, is growing, and that generates the wish to demopolize and deoffshorize capital – the trend that will only strengthen over the next decades.

3. *Like before World War I, we're again witnessing the accelerated growth of social inequality and domineering outflow of the biggest part of added value to the hands of globalized capital.* Currently, 40% of Americans make less per month than the 1968 minimum wage in the United States, and labor efficiency has grown by 259% since then. Median richness of the middle class is 36% lower than it was then.<sup>2</sup> The number of people in Canada referring themselves to the middle class, reduced from 70% down to 43% in the period from 2002 to 2017. Incomes reduced in case of 70% of households in the 25 most developed economies over the decade from 2005 to 2014, while during the previous 10 years that referred to only 2% of households. The number of victims and dissatisfied for that reason and those whose incomes reduced is enormous – between 540 mln and 580 mln people.<sup>3</sup> It is not accidental that a picture of outraged people, angrily looking at a blooded guillotine, to which a bourgeois wearing a monocle is taken, appeared in *The Spectator*, the magazine of American Conservatives. The inscription under the picture says: "A new class war."<sup>4</sup> The guillotine images appeared on the streets of Paris not long ago, where the Yellow Vests are on strike, at the same time, protests and dissatisfaction are increasing on global scales, and that will be the trend of the next decade. Until now, capitalism got out of the situation when inequality increased rapidly, by wars, states' disintegration and global epidemics.

4. *The amount of the aggregate global debt is bigger than ever in history, and it's growing at the accelerated rates.* It grew by 12% from 2016 to 2018, and now it's bigger than ever in history – US\$ 244 trillion, which is equivalent to 318% of the global GDP.<sup>5</sup> And none of the monetary growth-stimulating policies work fairly effectively, there is still a trend for growth of all kinds of debt and that undoubtedly will become a factor for a new world crisis, forecasted by many analysts.

5. *The neoliberalized world order is disintegrating under American control and there is a trend developing for*

<sup>1</sup> Johnson J. 57 of World's Richest Entities are Corporations, Not Governments // Inequality. 2018. Oct. 19. URL: <https://inequality.org/research/richest-entities-corporations-governments>.

<sup>2</sup> Worstall T. Ludicrous Economic Numbers: 40% of Americans Make Less Than the 1968 Minimum Wage // Forbes. 2016. Febr. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Matthews C. The Death of the Middle Class Is Worse Than You Think // Fortune. 2016. July 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cm.: Parramore L. S. Why American Conservatives Are Suddenly Freaking Out About Guillotines // Truthout. 2014. May 24. URL: <https://truthout.org/articles/why-american-conservatives-are-suddenly-freaking-out-about-guillotines>.

<sup>5</sup> Global Debt Monitor. Devil in the Details // Institute of International Finance. 2019. Jan. 15. URL: [https://www.iif.com/Portals/0/Files/Global%20Debt%20Monitor\\_January\\_vf.pdf](https://www.iif.com/Portals/0/Files/Global%20Debt%20Monitor_January_vf.pdf).

*post-globalization, nationalism, conservatism.* Neoliberal globalization gradually leads to growing contradictions and further acceleration of the trend for disintegration of big integrated markets. It's not accidental that there is a rapid reduction of global foreign direct investment flows witnessed over the last two years. According to the UN World Investment Report 2017, global foreign direct investments reduced by 23%, and by 41% only during the first six months of 2018. At the same time, world trade is also reducing, and after World War II world trade outran GDP growth, but starting from 2008, its indicators are lower or close to the GDP figures. It's not accidental that Trump announced withdrawal from the Trans-Atlantic Trade and Investment Partnership and Trans-Pacific Partnership and launched the trade and technological war. According to the Eurobarometer report, trust to the EU in the leading Western countries is at an abnormally low level. Only 31% of the population trust the EU in the UK, nearly the same numbers are in France – 33%, Czech Republic – 32%, Greece – 26%, Italy – 36%.<sup>1</sup> Growing territorial inequalities in the EU are forming disintegration and capsulation processes in nation-states. These trends will be strengthened thanks to the technological support of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 forthcoming in the next decade. The characteristics of its essence provide for deglobalization:

1) Automation and robotics will result in today's capital outflow to cheap areas becoming unnecessary, and industry will return to developed countries.

2) The very nature of new technologies implies refusal from global production-and-sale globalization chains. It becomes possible to make whole products on site with the help of 3D printers, and that will radically change the arrangement of labor and the global market.

3) Digital technologies and cyberwars related to them, possibilities of artificial intelligence, robots, quadcopters use by military forces generate aggravation of technological wars and disintegration of digital space leading to digital sovereignty, and this trend is witnessed everywhere, but especially strongly in China and Russia.

6. *Currently, there is for the first time a real trend for the "death of the West" losing its economic positions with Asia's rise as a background.* The U.S. National Intelligence Council made an attempt in its latest global forecast "Global Trends: Paradox of Progress" to forecast global development up to 2035. It says that "the next five years will see rising tensions within and between countries. Global growth will slow, just as increasingly complex global challenges impend. An ever-widening range of states, organizations, and empowered individuals will shape geopolitics. For better or worse, *the emerging global landscape is drawing to a close an era of American dominance following the Cold War. So, too, perhaps is the rule-based international order that emerged after World War II.* (italics are mine, V. P.)."<sup>2</sup> Asia is gradually taking the United States' and the European Union's place or the place of the aggregate West. Currently, the Asian economic area makes 50% of the global

GDP and two thirds of the global economic growth is referred to it. At the end of 2018, China made US\$ 21.42 trillion GDP in purchasing power parity terms, and the United States made US\$ 17.57 trillion. Now, Asia is producing, importing, exporting and consuming more than any other region of the world. 60% of the global population live there.<sup>3</sup> After the USSR disintegration, the United States thought that the 21st century will be the "American century", however it's turning into the "Chinese century", "Asian century", "Eurasian century".

7. *New militarization and wars have been launched, with the help of which capitalism tries to get out of crisis.* New war-waging strategies have been unrolled, when a significant place is given to asymmetrical methods, use of digital technologies, combination of economic, technological, information wars with direct military attacks. These new strategies can be easily found in hybrid wars concepts and the "Trojan Horse" strategy, at the same time, the destabilizing role of the "fifth column" is combined with the use of the digital network, private armies, attacks with the help of pilotless flying apparatuses and automated systems.

After the United States withdrew from the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Short-Range Missiles, new arms race began in the nuclear sphere combined with the arms race in space after the United States Space Force was set up. The Doomsday Clock in the academic journal of the Chicago University is set at 2.5 minutes to midnight (nuclear apocalypse) as it was in 1953. Gorbachev promised to give up the "enemy image" but the enemy image today has become the main tool for transformation of internal contradictions in the United States into the external threat and an attempt to unite polarized social groups in the country. Russophobia and hysteria related to it, combined with gradually growing Sinophobia in the United States are similar to the one charactering the McCarthyism times. The process of increasing arms expenditures goes on in the EU. The things are going to a new Cold War that will be waged by the United States against Russia and against China. The world race in creating artificial intelligence, robots and pilotless flying apparatuses for military purposes is much more ferocious, they are to play the leading role in wars in the next decades. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) report, global military expenditures in 2017 reached the highest level since the time of the Cold War. And if during World Wars I and II the main destruction means were connected with business getting richer in capitalist countries at the expense of growing military deliveries, and respective military and industrial complexes were set up, now that is supplemented by the fact that more and more wars are waged with the help of private armies that create powerful lobby groups in order to get state resources and get rich in the course of wars. Capitalism is persistently trying to save itself with the help of new remilitarization and making attempts to engage the world in various wars – religious, hybrid, cyberwars and robot wars, nuclear, economic, information wars.

<sup>1</sup> Lipton G. Graphic Truth: Europeans Don't Trust Europe. 2019. March 6. URL: [https://www.gzeromedia.com/graphic-truth-europeans-dont-trust-europe?utm\\_campaign=RebelMouse&socialux=facebook&share\\_id=4444139&utm\\_medium=social&utm\\_content=Ian+Bremmer&utm\\_source=facebook&fbclid=IwAR3eugelypyNGvdxjoRkyOevSVnlUt35UUr-zHjUe2Gq48r8FsPAiXdniqSfA](https://www.gzeromedia.com/graphic-truth-europeans-dont-trust-europe?utm_campaign=RebelMouse&socialux=facebook&share_id=4444139&utm_medium=social&utm_content=Ian+Bremmer&utm_source=facebook&fbclid=IwAR3eugelypyNGvdxjoRkyOevSVnlUt35UUr-zHjUe2Gq48r8FsPAiXdniqSfA).

<sup>2</sup> Global Trends: Paradox of Progress. NIC, 2017. P. VII.

<sup>3</sup> Khanna P. Why we're living in the "Asian Century" // World Economic Forum. 2019. March 8. URL: [https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/03/why-were-living-in-the-asian-century/?fbclid=IwAR2igPL8pyL4gGgrlzeZ-KEqLDjpXv4\\_76ViqCGJ4d2RKMhTGWaQcXCXcj9o](https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/03/why-were-living-in-the-asian-century/?fbclid=IwAR2igPL8pyL4gGgrlzeZ-KEqLDjpXv4_76ViqCGJ4d2RKMhTGWaQcXCXcj9o).

H. M. Reznik<sup>1</sup>

## JOURNALISM IN THE WORLD OF “POST-TRUTH”

In 2016, the Oxford Dictionary editorial board named the term “post-truth” Word of the Year. In the dictionary, the definition goes as follows: “relating to or denoting circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief”. The reason for a neologism, slightly more than 10 years in scientific use, to get this honor is its involvement in two major political events: the election of Donald Trump as U.S. President and Britain’s decision to exit the European Union (Brexit). More than 70% of statements made by Donald Trump during his presidential campaign were evaluated by the independent Politifact project as lies or distortions of facts – many of those were refuted outright. Nevertheless, opinion polls showed Trump was believed to be more honest and trustworthy than Hillary Clinton, his opponent. During the referendum on Brexit, the opinion of the majority of British citizens that Britain spends too much money on supporting the EU proved to be contrary to the available data and documents which evidenced that the EU membership comes out significantly cheaper for Great Britain than exiting it.

The large-scale consequences caused by this mass deviation from the traditional “truth/untruth” dichotomy brought about an influx of pessimism among political analysts concerning the fate of journalism in the Internet era. There were numerous publications asking the same question: since people no longer believe confirmed facts, perhaps they no longer need the truth? Although careless treatment of facts and attempts to manipulate public opinion have always been a typical feature of politicians from time immemorial, the consensus in liberal democracies has always been supported by independent professional journalism, also known as “the fourth estate”, its key function defined as providing the population with objective and reliable information. In a world that is no longer fact-centric and turns away from ethics and logic, there is no place for professional journalism.

Research points to several reasons behind this “crisis of fact”, from the abundance of factual information and diversity of methods for its transmission, which brings about an impossibility to check how reliable the sources of information are, and whether they are free from outside manipulation, to the influence of Post-Modernist philosophy and aesthetic principles in mass culture, which include moral relativism, an indifference to distinguishing between truth and untruth, and even attempts to justify the impossibility of this distinction.

Other reasons behind the loss of prestige currently experienced by mass media are a trend for their commercialization, a pursuit of higher ratings, and their involvement in the political struggle and information wars.

Apart from these, an inclination towards “post-truth” in Russia’s political life and journalism has a number of specific reasons. A confrontation with the West, the country’s involvement in the military conflict in Syria, the events in the Ukraine and annexation of Crimea resulted in legitimization of a “hybrid approach” in politics. Truth happens to be very sensitive to politics: facts are downplayed, there is a state-supported demand for propaganda, and the pro-government media are tasked with manufacturing enemies both inside and outside the country. The very style of presenting information changes: it becomes a negative narrative, “the language of hate”.

Dmitry Kiselyov, the former host of “News of the Week” TV program, presently the general director of “Russia Today” information agency, made a militant statement defending “post-truth” immediately after changing posts in December 2013. He said, specifically, that “an objective attitude is a myth that is being imposed on us. The time of distilled, impartial journalism is over”. He also tried to question the opinion common for the present-day political discourse that propaganda is a biased dissemination of views, facts, arguments and other information aimed at influencing public opinion, or possibly having other aims pursued by its originators (from Latin “propaganda fide”, literally “propagation of the faith”), claiming instead that propaganda is “just an attempt to explain”.

A reservation he made later, during an international media forum on June 6, 2016, as he repeated his statement about “distilled journalism” being a thing of the past, sounded as “one needs reliable sources to support his statement. However, it did not save the situation: by that time, cases of Kiselyov taking liberties with facts were common knowledge.

The trend-setting statement made by the head of a leading information agency met with a sharp response from the members of regional press. Journalists from St. Petersburg, Urals and Yakutia, who came out with a number of open letters, articles and publications, were unanimous in their opinion that journalism can and must be impartial, and anything smacking of propaganda should be avoided.

This reaction served as a reminder of the existence of a multiple national and international documents, including declarations, charters, resolutions and codes of ethical professional behavior, which define the main aim of journalism as the search for, and publication of, truthful information serving a public interest. It is further stressed that the criterion of truthfulness and impartiality applies to both presenting and commenting the information – in particular, distorting the meaning of cited material, suppressing a free discussion, and omitting the statements the author does not agree with are inadmissible, as they run counter to the principle of the plurality of opinions.

In many countries, there are self-regulating bodies of the press – the councils which include representatives of all

<sup>1</sup> Vice-President of the Federal Chamber of Lawyers, Cand. Sc. (Law), Honoured Lawyer of Russia. President of the chamber of lawyers of Moscow (2002 – February 2015). Author of more than 300 publications on the theory of law, criminal law and procedure, criminology, including monographs: “The Personality of the Criminal: the legal and the criminological content”, “On defining crime”, “Attorney: the Prestige of the Profession”, “The internal belief in the evaluation of evidence”, “When liability comes”, “The constitutional right to be protected”, “Honour. Dignity. Business reputation: disputes involving the media”, “Contradictions of Urbanization and Crime”, etc. Vice-President of the International Union (Association) of lawyers. Member of the Council on the issues of improving justice under the President of the Russian Federation. He was awarded with the Gold Medal of F.N. Plevako, badges of honour “Recognition by the Public” and “Symbol of Freedom”; the highest legal award in Russia – Themis Award, National Lawyers Award “For Honour and Merit”. Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.



the parties concerned, including journalists, editors, owners of the media, and members of the public. All council members should have an unblemished reputation, and be committed to the idea of the independence and self-regulation of the press. The main task of those councils is examining complaints at media and passing collective decisions concerning adherence to professional ethical norms. By doing this, they provide the society with guaranties concerning the quality of the information it receives, demonstrate the responsible attitude maintained by the professional community of journalists, and show the absence of need in any extended state control over mass media.

In Russia, the Public Board on Press Complaints, an independent representative public structure, exists since 2005. The Public Board is made up of the House of the Media Community and the House of the Media Audience, each including 25 members. The House of the Media Community is formed by the non-commercial media organizations, while the House of the Media Audience is formed by political and non-political organizations operating beyond the media sphere. The Board is tasked with solving moral and ethical conflicts linked to the journalists' professional activity.

Drawing on the main principles of ethics in journalism, and based on the resolved cases of media disputes, the Board arrived at a number of fundamental conclusions that define professional journalism as incompatible with propaganda, which it characterized as having the following features:

- treatment of any person, social group or the whole of society as an “object” by the originator of the propaganda;
- deliberate simplification of a complex multidimensional picture into a flat, black&white dichotomy;
- narrowing down the field of personal moral choice and the responsibility involved in the choice;
- distinct aim that should be achieved as the expected effect of the media influence on the “object”;
- deliberate choice of facts according to a rigid “scenario”, active use of disinformation, manipulating facts, statistical data, and opinions (including evaluation by experts), or shifting focus where direct disinformation is impossible;
- using the “end justifies the means” approach, utilizing means and methods that are basically incompatible with principles of truth and honesty;
- search for, creation, or active addition to the “image of the enemy”, including deliberate instilling and supporting the split into “we” and “they” in the public mind;
- setting up a belief that any hostile act toward an “enemy” is morally justified – which includes “internal enemies”, “potential enemies”, or any person displaying insufficient loyalty towards the dominant social institutions, interests and ideas;
- appeal to emotions and feelings, aiming to suppress reason while stirring up fears and prejudices;
- using journalism as a “cover” while attempting to assume the role of the primary source of information;
- passing off fictitious information as coming from a reliable source, by fabricating false indications of its reliability;
- using manipulation to instill in the “target” a loyalty towards the system of institutions, interests and ideas that the originator of propaganda is serving.

Basically, there is nothing new in the idea that an appeal to emotions is more efficient than an appeal to reason. Those

in power have always used this principle; one can safely assume there were certain “post-truth” periods in the history of any country. The urbanized industrial society, however, offers many additional possibilities for mass propaganda; in an authoritarian regime, sealed to outside influence, it could prevail for lengthy periods of time. But those cycles always come to an end. One can hardly imagine the world to ever say farewell to truth. As Ralph Keyes, an American writer and researcher, has rather subtly remarked, “We would hardly ever be able to discuss post-truth, unless we were sure that truth matters”.

The feeling of elation or shock caused by political perturbations eventually dissipates, the mind clears of the effects of “bombing by propaganda”; the bottom line is reduced levels of confidence, towards both the authorities and the mass media. Thus, the polls conducted by the “Public Opinion” (“Obschestvenoe mnenie”) fund show that the citizens of Russia are losing confidence in the country’s television. In April 2018, 43% respondents said they trust television more than they do other sources of information. In the spring of 2015, this figure amounted to 63%, in January 2016 it was 58%, in February 2017 it fell to 50% and in June 2017 to 47%.

According to the results of the public opinion poll conducted on 31 January 2016, 65% of the participants trusted the state-controlled media; by November 18, 2018, this figure fell to 47%. During the same period, the trust placed in the independent media grew twofold, from 13% to 25%. This clearly testifies to the fact that the mobilizing “Crimean effect” is now depleted, and the TV audience is no longer compelled to believe whatever the pro-government media says; on the other hand, there is a widespread opinion that in discussing the reform of the pension system, the federal TV channels support the official point of view.

The problem of believing the media is even more poignant in the former Soviet republics where post-Soviet journalism is suffering from a hereditary disease. The strain it inherited is the ideological “cold war” against the West, also known as the first world war on the information front, which lasted nearly half a century, resulted in a tremendous amount of propaganda lauding the Soviet Union and smearing the West, and brought about a decrease of confidence in the country’s journalism as the Soviet system progressively weakened. The numerous non-commercial media born in the 1990s had been mostly smothered in the 2000s; by now, almost all the formerly independent regional newspapers and TV channels of that time are controlled by the local administrations.

The independent mass media in the recently established post-totalitarian states have to face similar problems in their operations. Among the problems are lack of traditions and experience in self-regulation; political conflicts splitting the media community apart; a permanent political pressure by the authorities, which insist on loyalty and try to ban criticism; a dependence, both political and economical, imposed on journalism by the political elites and the business circles.

In 2011, the representatives of the media self-government structures of seven post-Soviet states – Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan and Ukraine – set up the Media Self-Regulatory Organizations Network (MSON), aiming to struggle for the recognition

of free and independent media as a fundamental feature of a democratic society, as well as demand support for high-quality, professional and ethical journalism. The participation of Tajikistan was later suspended; in 2016 its place in the organization was taken up by Byelorussia. In 2014, the Consultative Commission to Confront Propaganda was established under the auspices of MSON. The new Commission issued Recommendations concerning dissemination of propaganda in mass media.

Media self-regulation is a complex process. The standards of journalism are ardently discussed across the world, even in the countries with well-established liberal democratic traditions. Another necessary part in defending one's right to tell the truth is the professional solidarity of all the honest journalists. In January 2018 there was an exemplary incident during the press conference of Pete Hoekstra, the newly appointed U.S. ambassador to the Netherlands: the participants reminded him of false claims he made three years ago.

"You wrote," journalist Wouter Zwart asked him, "that Islamists set a politician on fire alive in the Netherlands. What was his name?"

"I spoke of the danger of terrorism," the ambassador replied good-naturedly.

"You wrote," another journalist repeated the question, "that Islamists set a politician on fire alive in the Netherlands. What was his name?"

"Next question," the American remarked with irritation.

"You don't understand," the third journalist said. "You have to answer the question my colleagues asked you."

Then Hoekstra expressed his regret about what he said, but framed his answer in the post-truth key: it was not a matter of his personal views, but an expression of the U.S. politics.

To gain a valid status in a society, the journalists should not play up to the government but exert control over it and expose its abuses of authority; thus, members of the press would perform their main function – being the watchdogs of democracy.

**M. Sanaei<sup>1</sup>**

## GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND WAYS TO OVERCOME THEM

From the previous decade to the present day, we can generally observe the world order shaping through the two core processes. The first is a process that, through the efforts to end the Westphalian system, which relied on sovereignty of governments, official international borders, principles of non-intervention, and renunciation of force, seeks to enter the post-Westphalian and global system which is based on globalization of the Western ideas, principles of responsibility for support and humanitarian intervention and human rights, of which the West is the main branch. The second process relies on multilateralism and multipolarity, partnership between all global and regional powers, continued principles of the Westphalian system, respect for national sovereignty, inviolability of borders, national and regional security.

Taking into consideration these two processes, since 2010 in the region of the Middle East we can see the outcome of these two processes blending in the regional and global environment. The process of Western orientation in the international system has led to the destruction of state structures in Libya, Yemen and Syria, which in turn ended in growth of non-governmental radical forces and terrorist groups. However, the second process was established with participation of such countries as Russia, Iran and Turkey, who helped stabilize the situation in Syria and destroy the terrorist groups; their success is a proof that this process can be managed with more serious impact.

A combination of factors has put various options before the civilization in terms of policy, security and economy, and has propelled the world to stronger multilateralism and the multipolar structure. Therefore, strategic planning of foreign policy cannot be done within the framework and prerequisites of the 20th century and/or even the first decades of the 21st century. We must also pay attention to the requirements arising from these prerequisites: the requirements of the multipolar, multi-level world and stronger multilateralism.

To this end, and drawing on the geopolitical interaction between the regions of West Asia, Eurasia and the Middle East, the new Eastern strategy is currently being shaped as a serious new reality. A part of this process has been carried out within the institutional framework, such as the Shanghai Cooperation Agreement, whereas the other part has been vested in interaction between such institutions as ECO and the Eurasian Economic Union; it also possesses important developmental capabilities.

Such countries as Russia, China, Iran and Turkey, which are closely involved in the Eastern policy, do not have mechanisms or dedicated rules for protection of the international Westphalian order and/or its positive transformation into a system based on broader interests of the humankind without the limiting Western interpretations. Outside the framework of bilateral and/or regional interaction, these countries will need to augment the strategic dialog with the global organizations. In the conditions of transformation of the international system, this issue may limit these countries and their interests in shaping the future system.

In the next decade the world will change, and cardinal changes are expected in various spheres; one such sphere is the structure of world order, which will become more diverse and multipolar in terms of politics, security and economy. Therefore, in the process of strategic planning of the

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation. Head of the Iranian Centre for Russia Studies at Tehran University (2005–2013), a member of Majlis of the Islamic Council (2008–2013), Cand. Sc. (Political Studies). Author of books "On the Great Silk Road", "Law and Politics in Islam" (textbook), "Relations Between Iran and Russia" (co-auth.), "Revival of the Iranian-Islamic Civilization" (Vozrozhdenie irano-islamskoj civilizacii), "Relations between Iran and Central Asia", and of research articles. Mr. Sanaei is Honorary member of the Union of Writers of Russia, a member of Kazakhstan Academy of Social Sciences.

foreign policy we will need to take into account such effective and new processes. We must also pay attention to the requirements that emerge out of these conditions – the multipolar, multilevel society and multilateralism. We must take note of these trends and determine our national interests and regulate our foreign policy accordingly.

Although the influence of supporters of the West is decreasing, the world will not fully renounce the Western position, the West will continue playing its role. In the meantime, the role of the East will increase and the above-mentioned states will play their significant and impactful role in shaping the future order, its new norms, rules and structure. The countries of the East are concerned with the changes affecting the international Westphalian system and such norms as human rights, responsibility for support and humanitarian intervention when it masks the intention to bypass international legal norms. They are also apprehensive of the unilateral American pressure on independent states and use of economic sanctions, in a way to leave no other route than cooperation and taking on the responsibility for their role in the process.

Establishment of such institutions as the Shanghai Cooperation Agreement, its expanding circle of participants

and their growing share of responsibility, the Eurasian Economic Union and the process of its interaction, the Organization for Economic Cooperation (ECO) and its widening prospects, as well as the interaction between these three organizations and regional Asian and Eurasian institutions and expansion of this cooperation to include Turkey will serve as an important foreword in creating an effective Eastern strategy for shaping the future world order.

The place and role of Iran, given its experience in effective cooperation with Russia in the sphere of anti-terrorism and ensuring stability in various countries, with consideration of its national and regional interests, its important role in the ECO organization, the geopolitical position of Iran on the North-South corridor and the Asian Silk Road have key significance for the Eastern strategy; in a way, it is a missing link in any project, regional system and the process of integration. Iran is a junction point of culture, thought, institutional processes and security in the three strategic areas – the Middle East, Eurasia and East Asia. These important integrating factors, along with the capabilities in economy, energy and security, make Iran an important responsible actor on the world stage who is committed to shaping the future regional and world order.

**J. A. Scholte<sup>1</sup>**

## LEGITIMACY IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE – A CORNERSTONE FOR MANAGEABLE GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

A major difficulty for predictable and manageable global development is the weakness of global regulatory institutions. Global governance can greatly promote order, stability and directed change regarding planetary problems. We see this, for example, when global health regulation combats transboundary epidemics and when global environmental governance repairs the ozone layer. In contrast, developments in issue-areas with weaker global institutions, such as arms control and migration, tend to be much less predictable and manageable – and to that extent potentially more harmful.

On the whole today's global regimes tend to be fragile. Institutions such as the United Nations (UN), the World Trade Organisation (WTO), and the Group of Twenty (G20) struggle with shortages of resources, policies, and authority. As a result, the problem-solving capacity of contemporary global governance is severely constrained. How will we – without stronger global regulation – be able adequately to address climate change, cybersecurity, financial stability, peacebuilding, and so on?

A possible partial remedy for this predicament could be increased legitimacy, understood here in a sociological

sense as a situation where people regard a regime to exercise its authority in an appropriate manner. A legitimate governing arrangement attracts confidence, trust and approval from the people who are governed. With such endorsement the regulatory body may find it easier to attract resources, to reach decisions, to obtain compliance, and generally to tackle policy problems.<sup>2</sup>

This is not to suggest that legitimacy is a panacea for successful global policy. Faith in a regulatory regime is not enough by itself to handle global challenges. Still, significant degrees of legitimacy would seem necessary – even if by themselves not sufficient – for the management of planetary problems.

This paper explores from where global governance institutions can get legitimacy. What are the sources, the grounds, the causes of legitimacy beliefs toward regulatory authorities that operate beyond the state? The paper examines these questions theoretically, mostly summarising work done by the Legitimacy in Global Governance (LegGov) programme in Sweden, especially as published in its recent book, *Legitimacy in Global Governance: Sources, Processes, and Consequences*.<sup>3</sup> LegGov also currently undertakes empirical research using this framework of analysis, drawing evidence from around the world.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor of Peace and Development in the School of Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg (Sweden), Co-Director, Centre for Global Cooperation Research, University of Duisburg-Essen, Visiting Professor at the Chair of Social Sciences and Humanities, Moscow School of Economics, Moscow Lomonosov State University. He taught at the University of Warwick, University of Sussex, London School of Economics and International Institute of Social Studies in The Hague. He was an adviser in the International Monetary Fund and the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN). Author of a number of works on globalization, including “Globalization: A Critical Introduction”, “Civil Society and Accountable Global Governance”, and others. Coeditor of “Legitimacy in Global Governance” (2018).

<sup>2</sup> Sommerer T., Agné H. Consequences of Legitimacy in Global Governance // Legitimacy in Global Governance: Sources, Processes, and Consequences / J. Tallberg, K. Bäckstrand, J. A. Scholte (eds). Oxford : Oxford Univ. Press, 2018.

<sup>3</sup> Legitimacy in Global Governance: Sources, Processes, and Consequences / J. Tallberg, K. Bäckstrand, J. A. Scholte (eds.). Chs. 3–5.

<sup>4</sup> См.: Dellmuth L. M., Scholte J. A., Tallberg J. Institutional Sources of Legitimacy for International Organizations: Beyond Procedure versus Performance : Review of International Studies. URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S26021051900007X>.

Below the paper first offers some general comments about legitimacy. Then the possible drivers of legitimacy in global governance are discussed sequentially in terms of *institutional* sources, *individual* sources, and *societal* sources. The paper's concluding suggestion is that we might look to a combination of these three types of sources in order to build up greater legitimacy for global governance – and thereby to gain more predictability and manageability for global development.

As already mentioned, legitimacy as understood here involves a belief and perception that governors exercise their authority (i.e. their power to rule) appropriately. When audiences regard a regime to be legitimate, they have confidence and trust in this regulatory arrangement. As such, legitimacy involves underlying approval of a governing apparatus.

From Max Weber onwards, modern political theory has explored legitimacy mainly in relation to the state. However, contemporary governance involves much more than the state, including substantial elements of global regulation. Not surprisingly, then, scholarship of recent decades has increasingly enquired into the workings of legitimacy beyond the state, in regional and global institutions. Not surprisingly, then, scholarship of recent decades has increasingly enquired into the workings of legitimacy beyond the state.

Legitimacy can be understood normatively and sociologically. Normative legitimacy is established by evaluating a governance arrangement against certain philosophically developed moral standards. In contrast, sociological legitimacy is established by observing and seeking to explain the attitudes and behaviours of the subjects of a given regime. The present paper is concerned with sociological legitimacy, since such research can reveal how legitimacy in global governance actually functions, rather than how philosophers argue that it should function.

Regarding the dynamics of legitimacy – how it operates – key questions concern its sources. Where does sociological legitimacy come from? What circumstances make subjects extend (or withhold) their confidence and approval from a given regime? The literature on legitimacy suggests many possible grounds, which this paper categorises under the headings of institutional, individual, and societal sources. Much theoretical reflection and most empirical investigations on legitimacy emphasise one or the other of these three types of sources.

**Institutional** sources of legitimacy are connected with features of the governing organisation itself.<sup>1</sup> Various theorists have highlighted different institutional qualities as drivers of legitimacy in global governance. Here we distinguish four categories of institutional sources: purpose, procedures, performance, and personality.

With regard to *purpose*, subjects may accord legitimacy to a regulatory institution because they believe in the function or mission that the organisation serves. For example, people may regard the UN as legitimate because of its aim to advance peace, even if in practice the regime may often struggle to realise that goal. In this situation it is the rationale of the global institution that counts for legitimacy, rather than its actual operations.

With regard to *procedures*, approval of a global governance institution derives from its organisational structure and processes. In a procedural vein, people attribute legitimacy to the way that a regulatory body operates, regardless even of the results of its decisions and policies. For example, audiences might find the World Bank legitimate because they view its *modus operandi* to be transparent, efficient and/or non-discriminatory. Conversely, constituents might withhold legitimacy on procedural grounds if they feel that a global governance organisation follows undemocratic, incompetent and/or unfair procedures.

With regard to *performance*, confidence in a global governance apparatus comes from satisfaction with its results. On performance lines, subjects endorse a regulatory institution due to its impacts, regardless even of how it formulates and executes the policies that generate those impacts. Thus actors might find the International Monetary Fund (IMF) legitimate because they see it achieving financial stability or a fair distribution of economic costs and benefits. Conversely, failure to deliver such outcomes could be a performance reason for actors to deny legitimacy to the IMF.

With regard to *personality*, here legitimacy beliefs are fuelled by the character of one or more individuals who run a global governance institution. Audiences may trust a given regime because they find certain leading figures to be confidence-inducing. So, for example, Kofi Annan arguably enhanced the legitimacy of the UN during his tenure as Secretary-General, to the extent that he was seen as an inspirational and visionary leader.

In practice the various institutional sources of legitimacy – purpose, procedure, performance and personality – operate concurrently and in any number of combinations. Indeed, people often explain their confidence in and approval of a global governance arrangement with reference to a mix of organisational features. Thus while our analytical framework distinguishes four categories of institutional sources, in actual legitimacy perceptions the different qualities tend to blend together.

Whereas institutionalist explanations locate the drivers of legitimacy in qualities of the governing organisation in question, **political psychology** suggests that beliefs in rightful rule result (also) from circumstances of the individual subject. From this perspective, legitimacy perceptions derive from the perceiver (the individual), as distinct from the perceived (the institution). Possible individual sources of legitimacy include *inter alia* a subject's sense of social identity, calculation of interests, levels of social trust, and political knowledge.<sup>2</sup>

In respect of *social identity*, a person's perceptions of legitimacy in global governance may reflect the degree to which they feel connected with arenas beyond the nation-state. So individuals with more cosmopolitan dispositions would be more ready to give legitimacy to global authorities, perhaps even forgiving shortfalls in their institutional workings. Conversely, people who focus their social identity only around localities and countries would be less likely to accord legitimacy to global governance, regardless of how well the regime might operate institutionally.

In respect of *interest calculation*, legitimacy perceptions toward global governance may be driven by the degree to

<sup>1</sup> Scholte J. A., Tallberg J. Theorizing the Institutional Sources of Global Governance Legitimacy // Legitimacy in Global Governance: Sources, Processes, and Consequences / J. Tallberg, K. Bäckstrand, J. A. Scholte (eds). P. 56–74.

<sup>2</sup> Dellmuth L. M. Individual Sources of Legitimacy Beliefs: Theory and Data // Legitimacy in Global Governance: Sources, Processes, and Consequences / J. Tallberg, K. Bäckstrand, J. A. Scholte (eds.). P. 37–55.

which individuals estimate that they – either personally or through their collective affiliations – gain or lose from the regime in question. These benefits and costs could be economic (e.g. in terms of employment and income), biological (e.g. in terms of health and ecology), political (e.g. in terms of status and influence) or psychological (e.g. in terms of learning and friendships). This explanatory logic says that it is not institutional performance per se that determines legitimacy beliefs, but subjects' utilitarian cost-benefit calculations vis-à-vis those outcomes.

In respect of *social trust*, this individual-psychological explanation suggests that legitimacy beliefs are a function of a person's general faith in the other side of their relationships. On this logic, people who have an overall high trust towards the individuals and institutions that they engage with would be more ready to have confidence in ruling authorities, including global regimes. Conversely, people with a generally mistrustful disposition towards others in society would be less likely to lend legitimacy to (global) regulatory apparatuses.

In respect of *political knowledge*, the proposition is that having information and understanding about global governance makes an individual more ready to give these regimes legitimacy. On this reasoning, persons who lack awareness of global authorities are unable to form opinions about, or construct bonds of legitimacy with, such regulatory bodies. Knowledge deficits regarding global governance can also more readily fuel feelings of alienation and perceptions of threat that encourage perceptions of illegitimacy vis-à-vis these regimes.

As with the institutional drivers discussed earlier, individual sources of legitimacy beliefs vis-à-vis global governance do not operate in isolation from each other. Thus, for example, levels of political knowledge can impact on levels of social trust. Meanwhile most people's psychology does not operate with either identity logics or interest logics, but with some combination of the two. Research on legitimacy in global governance needs therefore to consider the concurrent workings of several psychological forces.

Whereas psychological accounts root the sources of legitimacy beliefs in the individual, sociological perspectives focus attention on forces related to the social order.<sup>1</sup> On this third line of explanation, legitimacy in global governance derives not (only) from institutions and individuals, but (also) from the social structures in which these actors are embedded. Possible structural forces that could shape beliefs in rightful global rule include *inter alia* a hegemonic state, capitalism, reigning discourses, and social stratifications.

The concept of a hegemonic state proposes that legitimacy in global governance arises when a dominant government constructs and upholds rules and regulatory institutions of world order – and exercises this leadership in a way that other major parties in the international system endorse. Thus a hegemonic state sustains global governance not only with a preponderance of resources, but also with widespread approval from others of its role in underwriting world order. Arguments about hegemonic states have usually proposed that the United States Government served as a hegemonic state in global governance during the second

half of the twentieth century – and perhaps beyond to the present day.

Capitalism figures as a structural force of legitimacy especially in neo-Gramscian theories of global governance, although many non-Marxists, too, see capitalism as a foremost structural force in modern world politics. These perspectives say that the rules of global governance – especially in areas of production, trade, investment, money and finance – mainly serve to facilitate surplus accumulation. Such regulation-for-capital often helps to produce large material inequalities in world society, gaps which might be expected to fuel political instability. Yet, so neo-Gramscian theory suggests, legitimating ideologies intervene to create mindsets that are positively disposed towards capitalist global governance, in spite of the major inequalities that it generates.

Like neo-Gramscian notions of ideology, discourse theories maintain that ideational forces are important generators of legitimacy beliefs. A discourse is an ordered arrangement of verbal consciousness: i.e. a pattern of language and communication which forms a framework for knowing the world. The social-structural power of discourse entails that certain forms of meaning are embedded as the “conventional wisdom” in a given societal context. This dominant knowledge also marginalizes alternative possible understandings of the world. Discursive structures become sources of legitimacy in global governance when they set the linguistic terms and knowledge frames for assessments of appropriate authority. For example, market discourses and technical discourses arguably have powerful legitimating impacts around today's global economic governance. Other prominent legitimating discourses in contemporary global regulation include “security” and “accountability”. Such linguistic cues can encourage legitimacy perceptions toward global governance, even when people struggle to articulate what these words actually mean.

A further possible structural source of (de)legitimation of global governance lies with social stratifications: i.e. entrenched inequalities between group categories. Such social hierarchies can relate to age, caste, class, (dis)ability, faith, gender, geography, language, nationality, race, and sexual orientation. In each case the dominant side of the axis (e.g. men, global north, or white persons) has structural advantages of power and resources over the corresponding subordinate side (e.g. women, global south, or people of colour). Inasmuch as people regard social stratifications to be fair or unfair, these structural inequalities can become implicated in legitimacy beliefs. Thus a global governance arrangement could be perceived as illegitimate to the extent that it is seen to produce arbitrary and unjust social hierarchies. Conversely, global regulatory institutions could attract greater legitimacy beliefs insofar as they are seen to resist and reduce social stratifications. For example, critics have often attacked the IMF for allegedly increasing gaps between rich and poor countries, while the UN has won many plaudits for its efforts to advance gender equity.

Much as the various possible institutional and individual sources of legitimacy in global governance may interconnect with and affect each other, so the different potential societal sources may also interrelate. Thus, for example, a hegemonic state can help to uphold a world capitalist order, and vice versa. Capitalism through its uneven distribution of surplus can fuel social stratifications, and concur-

<sup>1</sup> Scholte J. A. Social Structure and Global Governance Legitimacy // Legitimacy in Global Governance: Sources, Processes, and Consequences / J. Tallberg, K. Bäckstrand, J. A. Scholte (eds). P. 75–97.

rently those hierarchies can help advantaged categories of people to achieve more accumulation. Given this potential multiplicity of social structures and their complex intersections, researchers might be advised not to affirm in advance the primacy of one particular societal source of legitimacy, but rather to explore the possible relevance of several such forces.

*Conclusion.* This paper has highlighted the importance of legitimate global governance as a force for predictability and manageability of global development. The above discussion has argued that, when people have confidence and trust in global authorities, those regimes are better able to generate successful policies vis-à-vis planetary challenges. Conversely, the absence of legitimacy substantially weakens world order. It is therefore vital to understand what circumstances can give rise to legitimacy in global governance, as well as what conditions can undermine approval for global regimes.

It seems most unlikely that the drivers of legitimacy in global governance can be reduced to just one or two of the many potential sources reviewed above. We have already noted that the various institutional sources can have mutual effects, as can the various individual sources and the various societal sources. Moreover, political sociology teaches

that one cannot ontologically separate individual, institutional and structural power in society.<sup>1</sup> One has to consider the three together.

It furthermore seems highly unlikely that each instance of legitimacy in global governance would involve the same combination of institutional, individual and societal sources. Thus the drivers of legitimacy vis-à-vis the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) are probably not the exact same as the forces propelling legitimacy at the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). The dynamics may also shift over time: for example, the sources of (il)legitimacy for the WTO in 1995 may be different from those prevailing in 2019. Combinations of sources of legitimacy in global governance may also vary by country or region, as well as by social sector.

Given this complexity, it is not possible to offer a single, more specific, and fixed formula for explaining legitimacy in global governance. What we can do – as this paper has done – is construct a framework of analysis which encompasses a wide range of possible sources of people's confidence in and approval of authority beyond the state. After that, working out which particular combination of forces operates in which particular concrete setting of global governance is a matter for empirical investigation.

**M. V. Shmakov<sup>2</sup>**

### **THE SYSTEM OF TRIPARTISM: ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF EFFORTS FOR INCREASE OF FORECASTABILITY AND PREDICTABILITY IN SOCIAL AND LABOUR RELATIONS**

The challenges of predictability and manageability are nothing new or unknown to Russian trade unions. We review them in connection with the evolution of the society, its social, political and economic life. The society's development is unstoppable and at the same time varying and uneven. The predictability and manageability level can be as-

<sup>1</sup> See: *Lukes S. Power: A Radical View.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

<sup>2</sup> Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, President of the Universal Confederation of Trade Unions, Vice-President of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and European Regional Council of Trade Unions. Chairman of the Trustee Council of SPbUHSS. Author of academic papers and books on social and labour relations, social policy, theory and practice of labour and trade union movements, including books "Russian Trade Unions into the 21st Century", "here is No Win without a Fight!", "For Honorable Labour" "Trade Union News Through the Lens of Humour" (co-author); manuals for trade union workers and active members of organizations: "Conflicts in Work Collective" (co-author), "FITUR in the Changing Society", "FITUR in Questions and Answers"; of the chapter "The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia" in the book "15 Years of the UCTU: Looking into the Future". Head of the editorial board of the book "History of Trade Unions of Russia". Head of the group of authors of the book "Comments to the Labour Code of the Russian Federation". Coordinator of the Russian trilateral commission for regulation of social and labour relations between all-Russian associations of trade unions, all-Russian associations of employers and the Government of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Trustee Council, Honorary Professor of the Academy of Labour and Social Relations. Member of the Board of VEO (Free Economic Association) of Russia. He was awarded the Order of Friendship, the Order "The Badge of Honor", Order for Service to the Motherland, III, IV degrees, the Medal "In Commemoration of the 850th Anniversary of Moscow", the Diploma of the Government of the Russian Federation and others. Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS.

sociated and with good grounds with the speed and depth of those changes we ran across in our history. I mean Russian revolutions of 1905–1917, industrialization of 1929–1941, consequences of World War II, rapid development of the science-based production when we started outer space exploration, collapse of the economic and political system of the USSR in the early 1990s. It's not accidental that such diversified events turned out to be side by side. Each of them like the others non-mentioned, had a decisive impact not only on the social and political structure and the profile of the whole society but on the economy, the character and content of labour, social standing of workers, economic status of families.

Trade unions are economic organizations and they have always strived to review what was going on as related to the actual stage of economic development. Currently, the global economy, including Russian economy integrated in it, is at the primary stage of the new 6th Kondratyev's cycle that will last for the next 40–50 years. Because of the special features of technological drivers that were strongly developed during the 5th wave (electronics, robotics, laser and telecommunication equipment), there are big shifts taking place in all sectors and especially in industrial production, and they are characterized as nothing short of revolutionary. In the world of work this leads to the noticeable change of the labour processes' content and not only that but, for example, in management as a whole – to increase of the speed of decision-taking and their fulfillment up to the borders on the verge of human capabilities.

On the other hand, we witness graduate distancing of the knowledge in the basis of the new industrial revolution from our real environment and its going to the sphere of abstractions, the meaning of which is not always clear even to experts (nano- and quantum technologies, microelectronics, genetic modifications, etc.), we notice the unbelievable increase of the volume of generated information, processing of which stops being possible at the common human perception level, we see the growing accessibility of information, its excessiveness, we watch the boost of unseen before communicative opportunities in parallel. All that generates, on the one hand, a mass of opportunities and prospects, and on the other hand, fear and the feeling of insecurity, impossibility of direct physical control mastered during the lives of previous generations, increases the level of uncertainty. You must agree that any revolution in the consciousness of the majority of people – social and political, economic or industrial – looks like radical and serious changes in all fields of life, only sometimes leading to a new stage of development but nearly always generating chaos for a long time. Currently, they are also leading to incredible, continuously growing inequality not only in distribution of the products of labour and various created riches but also in real rights and opportunities, access to high-quality health services and education, etc. And all that takes place, notwithstanding the showcases of “centuries-long democracies” and “sustainable, balanced” political systems.

The humanity is experienced in reducing uncertainties by creating special political mechanisms. Here I'd like to mention the International Labour Organization (ILO) set up in 1919, the 100th anniversary of which is celebrated this year. Pay attention to the historical period when this three-sided mechanism, still being unprecedented, originated for coordinating interests of governments, employers and employees. That was the time when the world powers had been through the unbelievable in its cruelty World War I that had killed off the most productive part of the employable male population. Women and children, with no labour rights and often no civil rights, became the main workforce in Europe. The burden of the destroyed economy's restoration fell on their shoulders. That was the time when the Revolution ended in Russia and the Civil War raged. In those years, the predictability level, at least for the working population not only in Europe but also all over the world, was at the minimum.

The next world economic crisis broke out just ten years later – the Depression. It was hardly surprising that because of the growing dissatisfaction with the universal inequality and poor working conditions Europe turned out to be on the verge of revolution. Workers demanded measures for providing more just working conditions with the help of international labour legislation and exercise of trade union rights to be stipulated for in the post-war peaceful settlement processes. It was absolutely clear that the universal and long-lasting peace was impossible without social justice. “The founders of the International Labour Organization were convinced that there were inalienable ties between establishment of universal peace and social justice in all countries, and this connection was so important that it was necessary to create a special organization engaged in labour issues to promote and protect peace all over the globe.”<sup>1</sup>

The mechanisms in the basis of this organization are focused on coordination of interests of the main participants of labour relations. The foundation for the successful operation of these mechanisms is common understanding that “labour is not goods or inanimate objects, not the object of bargaining with the purpose to get the maximum profits at the minimum price. Decent jobs in our understanding are related to self-esteem, prosperity and individual's development. The way to decent work goes via observance of international labour standards. Proper economic development means creation of such jobs and working conditions that provide workers with freedom, equality, security and dignity.”<sup>2</sup> The ILO creators foresaw that not only the possibility of three-sided discussion of issues was extremely important but also the procedures for taking decisions (standards, recommendations) and the following control, undertaken obligations. The time showed that the interest coordination model in labour relations, the sides of which quarreled furiously in the past, allowed not only to solve tasks in the world of work, but also to boost and invigorate other related fields such as social security, gender-related issues, eradication of various kinds of discrimination, etc.

In practice, the ILO setting up, establishment and strengthening led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights accepted later, in 1948, being to a large extent built on the provisions and ideas worked out as a part of trilateral consultations in the world of work. Mechanisms for implementation of international labour standards in national legislation of the member states became an indisputable progress. Comparing the tripartism model realized in the ILO format, with other mechanisms for coordination of interests and easing tensions, one can note one those are working that reject fake representation, do not allow to “sweep under the carpet” acute contradictions and leave the hands of the “high contracting parties” free in case they do not come to a common agreement.

The most important high-quality aspect of the model realized by the labour relations parties is its response to the changes taking place. Origination of multinational corporations as a consequence of economic globalization, brought about evident if not cardinal changes in the economy of labour and social guarantees for the employed. The Tripartite Declaration of Principles concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy adopted by the Governing Body of the ILO, refers to the policy of labour and social security at enterprises all over the world and still has no analogues in the global legal practice. The ILO efforts can be described similarly in case of developing such forms and kinds of enterprises and labour there that have a positive impact on the environment, create socially-focused business, help sustainable development.

The one hundred years of ILO experience allows to be convinced that global mechanisms for coordinating interests of the parties, often and till the present time having opposing positions, can not only be created and fruitfully launched but also evolve in accordance with the interests of the key participants staying effectively enough independent of economic ups and downs, wars and revolutions. There is no need to repeat that all the ILO activities and behaviour of its participants are aimed at reduction of uncertainty, consequently they increase predictability and manageability in social and labour relations. This is the case when points of

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.ilo.org/100/ru/story/tripartism>.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

convergence were found in the process of the long trilateral dialogue as well as forms of coordinated activities for expanding the spaces of possible agreements in labour relations. Stating that, it's required to comprehend the environment in which these mechanisms operate. All three sides in the labour relations are in contact all the time, from the national economies level down to each working place. If the labour relations process exists, the information exchange is possible, objective governing laws for distribution of the surplus value are switched on, the issues of profit increase arise within the framework set forth by the existing economic model.

Employers and employees process the information about their socioeconomic position in this process and continuously draw up conclusions about its acceptability. Powerful social mechanisms are launched without any special management or control, they are natural for this type of relations. The information exchange provides food for working out actions aimed at changing or preserving one's position and that leads to the need to conduct a social dialogue. It's very important that the border between the aspiration to change the state of affairs or preserve it, is the border of conflict capable to mature for years and catch fire in a short period, sometimes coming up to destructive scales. Maintaining one's own interest-protection tools in working order is the most important condition for normal existence of the social and labour relations participants. Exactly the comprehension by all the three sides of possibilities for protection of their interests, the limits of acceptable space for mutual concessions and an opportunity to regulate contradictions form the environment for labour interaction. The quality of tools, borders of interests and efficiency of regulating mechanisms determine the amounts of extracted by the parties profits and the degree of the process' stability. These universal special features of the labour process allowed to bring the common standards and recommendations up to the international level, assisting economic balance and social development.

It should be noted that there are also other international organizations on the global scale, the purpose of which is reduction of uncertainty and increase of predictability. Not going far away from the economic topic, let's pay attention to some of them, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (specialized UN organizations) and the World Trade Organization. The purposes and tasks of these organizations are geographically global, to a certain extent their activities are similar to the ILO activities but only in the spheres of their responsibility. It's not difficult to notice that the World Bank's and the IMF activities (set up in the end of World War II to solve development tasks) focused on the financial sphere and already at the original stage did not suppose looking for some consensuses among various parties of the relations. The mechanisms formed within the framework of these organizations had the form of crediting and distribution, the content of which gradually drifted more likely to the political and not the economic sphere. Coordination of interests is not the principle of these organizations' work now either. Their activities are focused on phrasing and stating the terms and conditions for providing financial assistance and control over rules observance. The principle of the World Bank operation is to a large extent subjected to the development tasks formulated by the United Nations, though their solution is provided for exclu-

sively by monetary methods. The voice distribution principle when decisions are taken as to providing financial assistance by the IMF, is similar to that in a joint-stock company, i.e. directly related to the share of invested capital. And as it's well-known, the owners of the biggest investments always determine terms, conditions and rules as well as the expediency of actions in relation to this or that country.

As to the WTO, it's not out of place to mention that it was set up in the middle of the 1990s and as in case of the World Bank and IMF, the activities of this international organization are focused on working out the rules for relations between countries in the special field – international trade as well as maintaining mechanisms of control and settlement of disputes arising in the course of this process. With this background, it's possible to state with good reason that the ILO experience is unique and it's an exceptionally valuable store, the expediency and fullness of which was checked up by the century-old history of its use.

It's not accidental that not only elements of social partnership that existed in the past, in the period of Tsars but also the experience of labour relations accumulated in the years of Soviet power as well as tripartism forms and mechanisms worked out within the ILO framework, were applied in our country after the cardinal changes of the 1990s and clear change of the social and political system, in the course of creation of the system of social and labour relations' regulation. Such an approach allowed to considerably reduce the period of searches, tests and mistakes and already two years after the USSR disintegration sign the first trilateral agreements that launched the formation of the modern Russian social partnership system. The essence and content of the acting collective agreements and contracts, the mechanisms of their preparation, conclusion and bringing into life as well as the processes of interaction between the parties of social and labour relations during the period they are in force, strategically correspond to the interests of workers and their organizations.

What is meant under "strategically"?

The workers in our country, like in any economic system, objectively have their basic interests. There is no need now to list their content now, one can find them in respective educational courses and literature. In this case, it's important to single out several temporal horizons within the framework of which these interests can be concretized.

Tactical is a short-term level, the borders of interests there are objectively formed from the present-day vital needs, specified in the process of information exchange and determined by the employee's social status, his family structure, professional training, health condition, age, etc. Chronologically this level can now be determined as week-month-quarter-year. It seems that the tactical horizon should not be made longer than a year, coinciding for our country with the full cycle of seasons.

The medium-term horizon of interests and planning can be formulated, taking into account changes in the life of any person set forth by its normal course: periods related to the change of the family structure, getting education, change of the state of health as well as a whole set of changes of the surrounding material world cycles: from the time of real estate construction, durable, long-term use objects becoming obsolete and to clothes' wear and tear. This horizon can approximately be determined from one year to five years. Everything beyond the five-year horizon can be referred to the



issues of strategic interests and planning, surely within the limits of one human life.

As it can be seen from the established practice of life and financial planning, these temporal horizons are to a certain extent universal, and that character is revealed in various fields, including in the system of labour relations regulation. In particular, the most wide-spread time-limits for collective agreements and contracts are one year, for framework agreements, including the general, they amount to three years. Perspective economic planning is rare to go beyond the five-year period now. Formulation of temporal horizons helps us to comprehend the need in predictability if applied to social and labour relations. All the philosophy of talks, looking for agreement, conflicts and partnership is built on increase of predictability of the labour relations results. The level of social partnership development is often evaluated via appraisal of predictability as the collective agreement to be in force for three years (which in practice is the framework agreement with annual signing of certain payment terms and content of the wage supplements and benefits) is evidently considered a more acceptable basis for productive and successful joint work than a collective agreement for a one-year period and what is more, than employment of workers without any agreements based on a labour contract. From the employees' point of view, the more predictable labour relations are as to their forms and content, constancy in results, the more motivation there is for highly efficient labour and output of high-quality products.

However, it should be acknowledged that the labour relations system is not a self-sufficient, closed system where everything is decided by partners, no matter at which level this system was built. In the course of globalization, integration of countries and their production into the global economic system, more and more at first external and then internal factors of production turn out to be connected with phenomena taking place beyond the national jurisdiction, outside the area where various collective agreements are in force. Globalization as a continuous process of changing the international division of labour, economic and political relations and tight interlacing of economies of various states in the direction of forming a united global economic system, in its positive essence should lead to increase of predictability, at least because of gradual centralization of the taking-decision system and obliteration of differences between sovereign systems of economic relations regulating. For example, the EU development as a regional segment of the global economic system could manifest this positive essence of globalization.

However, the complexity and inconsistency of processes taking place in the process of Europe's globalization, together with the Euro-integration enthusiasm of the early 2000s, at the expense of the former socialist community, led to origination of the "Eurosceptics" movement, fiercely criticizing both decisions taken by European institutions and the very basis of united Europe together with the formed governance institutions, doubting elimination of nation-states, demanding to turn round to sovereign national governments. The exit of the United Kingdom from the EU, not completed by now but not excluded from the agenda, became the extreme manifestation of centrifugal trends in Europe-building. It's becoming clearer and clearer that globalization in Europe led to inequality conservation and

strengthening, securing economic lagging behind, chaotization of regional economic life. The task of making positive globalization fruits accessible for the majority of the population in European countries turned out to be insolvable.

Reviewing the main globalization elements separately, it's not difficult to find out the reasons of such phenomena. One of the fundamental globalization principles, if not the principal one, is the freedom of capital flow. International trade is built exactly on the freedom of money flow and minimization of customs and other duties and various kinds of tariff barriers. At the same time, reformatting regional commodity markets, including consumer goods, comes on the shoulders of the free trade capital flow. Globalization brings transnational corporations' monopoly to the regions of the world via short-term price reduction, and that monopoly as it is well-known is the forerunner of drastic and not regulated price growth. The inflow of outside capital, foreign investments very often transform from the economic development tool into a machine for rivals destruction, gradually forming the new system of political management around itself, protecting one's own interests. Freely flowing capital gradually destroys the taxation order at first, then the budget provision that is replaced by crediting from international banking institutions, and as a result the level of regional development decreases down to the pre-industrial society, and then the regional economic system is destroyed and replaced by long-lasting debt bondage. Capitals inflow leads to the fundamental change of the established financial systems, and in a relatively short period of time leads to irreversible institutional changes of regional economies. In such an environment, the outflow of foreign capital that can take place both for economic and political reasons, is used as a tool for external management, extraction of outside financial resources leads to considerable deterioration of the state of affairs, rolling down to much less sustainable positions than before outside financing.

The basis of such negative results of globalization is the fundamental postulates of the market economy of the liberal type with a thick layer of anachronism generated by periodic changes of political regimes in the countries at the wheel of globalization. Currently, it's impossible to come to the conclusion if such "birth injuries" of globalization can be overcome. But it's possible to come to the conclusion with strong grounds that hopes for a positive impact of globalization as a growth factor for predictability of the global economic system have not been justified, more likely, just the contrary, globalization has become the factor and tool for rapid reduction of manageability and forecastability, the tool for chaotization of economic life.

Is it possible to come to the conclusion that the system of social partnership as a set of tools for coordination of interests and reduction of contradictions, has no flaws or shortcomings, and is the "magic key" to the door leading to the world of predictable and dynamically developing working and economic life? It's possible to give only a partly positive answer. The problem is that injustice and inequality are in-built in the capitalist system's structure. Capitalism is unable to voluntarily refuse from liberalism as exactly here the foundation for exploitation is laid, the economic meaning of this system is exactly exploitation. Structural violence, about which Norwegian economist Johan Galtung wrote in the middle of the previous century, is internally inherent to this economic model and can't be replaced by the

socialist partnership system. At the same time, it seems that the socialist partnership system is the only way to maintain relative peace at the labour battle front within the frame-

work of the modern neoliberal model and is a fairly applicable tool to enhance predictability and manageability in the labour relations systems.

I. Talukdar<sup>1</sup>

## WORLD DEVELOPMENT: PROBLEMS OF PREDICTABILITY AND CONTROLLABILITY

In one way, the end of bipolarity in the post-Cold War has helped the world in developing into an inclusive world. With advancement in information and technology as well as globalization, the world is coming closer, having stakes in the international decisions as well as raise voices of concerns against the domination of any unipolar hegemon. One can witness the acceleration towards the dismantling of the unipolar world order to a multipolar one. The developing countries, after years of being dominated, are having their own narratives of building a multi polar world order. However, the struggle for a world order to be compartmentalized in a particular box/set up is not new.

During the imperial times, there was a kind of multipolarity (whether one wants to acknowledge it or not) with many imperial powers being in contest with each other to dominate continents or regions. Wars have been fought, countries have been invaded and people have been colonized for domination and expansion. Technology played a major role in this. The invention of advanced weaponry system as well as discoveries of new land by the West during the medieval time changed the equation of dominance. For example, the Ottoman Empire was dominating in the region however with close contacts with the Europeans. However, its main focus of developing its relationship with the European powers to only develop the military aspect somewhere weakened the system as there were revolts from within who were influenced by the ideas of governance etc. Similar cases can be found in Asia too. With the two world wars that increased the pace of industrialization as well as competition between the countries, leaving an im-

pact on the developing countries, the world was divided into a bloc approach between two super powers.

The period of bipolarity in the 20th century brought in chaos and an increase in the arms race. This arms race blended with the complexity of binding and dividing the world into two ideologies, communism and capitalism, led the two nuclear powers, Russia and the US, into the brink of war. These two ideologies also divided the people, including the construction of the Berlin wall within the same country. Though with the help of the international community and more because of the wisdom of the leaders the war was averted, leading to the end of the Cold War and breaking down of the Berlin Wall, however, the remnants of the complexity and competition between the two ex-superpowers have remained, whose ripple effect can be seen in the 21st century.

The world, after the post-Cold War, seemingly began in a positive direction, including the rapprochement between Russia and US, however, the colour revolutions in the eastern European countries, the expansion of NATO and EU in the eastern European countries and keeping Russia at a distance by the West led to the beginning of the complexities. Addition to these developments between Russia and the West, the developing countries, especially India, China, South Korea, had also started the process of growing in an increased pace.

Somewhere the progress in the world also strengthened other complexities such as the man-made catastrophes in the form of wars, dominance on others resources and conflict. Lately, radicalization, terrorism and global climate change also have added to the complexities of the world system. The root cause of all these problems are national interests and proving one's power taking precedence over humanity.

All countries, including the major powers, talk about multipolarity, world peace, inclusiveness and cooperation with each other, including arms control and nuclear disarmament. Towards that many international institutions are being formed such as United Nations (various divisions), International Court of Justice, World Bank, G20, Soka Gakkai International (SGI), International Monetary Fund, Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs, International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN) etc. and the newly formed regional multilateral organizations such as BRICS, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and European Union (EU) etc. To an extent, these international organizations and the regional multilateral organizations have been able to work as agents of cooperation and peace-building, helping in constructing multipolarity. It will be important for these organizations to remain genuinely committed to humanity as well as not getting dominated by one or a group of powerful countries.

<sup>1</sup> Research Fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs (New Delhi). She received her Ph. D. at the Department of West Asian Studies, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University. Field of scholarly: Turkey, Greece, Russia, USA; the Cyprus issue Turkish-Greek relations, policy research, Arctic, research on peace processes and conflict resolution, defense and foreign policy. Author of a number of scientific publications on international affairs, including the following: "The Vostok-2018: Significance of Russia-China Military Exercises", "India-Russia Relationship in Changing Geopolitical Dynamics", "US' National Security Strategy: A Russian Overview", "The Munich Security Conference 2018: An Overview", "Russia's Increasing Role in Afghanistan: Impact on the Peace Process", "Russia's New Foreign Policy 2016", "Russia and Trump's Win", "A New Aspect in the Special and Privileged Relationship between India and Russia: The Informal Meetings", "Highlights of President Vladimir Putin's Speech at the Federal Assembly 2018. A Vision for Russia's Future", "Special Report on Moves and Counter Moves: Between Russia and NATO", "Russia and Pakistan Relationship: Engagement after Estrangement", "China's Relations with West Asia and Turkey", "Geopolitical and Strategic Implications to Russia's Security", "Ukraine: The Clash of the Titans", etc. She has appeared in interviews, including with the Russian TV and in India's Rajya Sabha and All India Radio. She was a part of the Indian delegation for the 13th Think Tank Forum at Shanghai Cooperation Organisation at Astana (Kazakhstan). She was invited to discuss on security and terrorism issues during an interaction with the Joint Secretary of National Security Council Secretariat on SCO RATS. She was also invited for an interaction with the Young Diplomats of India, Russia and China under the format of Russia – India – China (R-I-C).

The idea and the concept of multipolarity are noble. It is because every nation will have equal voice and partnership as stakeholders in the international community. To what extent it will be successful remains to be seen. It is because the ambitions and national interests of each country have somewhere held back to create a genuine multipolar world order. Whether one wants to admit or not somewhere either unipolarity or bipolarity takes precedence. Even in the current situation, where countries are talking and working towards a multipolar world system, however, it seems that there will be an arrangement of either bipolarity or a polycentric with some powers who will be the dominant ones. How far it will have a positive impact needs to be seen. It is because the world to an extent will still be divided between big powers, medium powers and small powers. In this set up, the dynamics prevalent now between the powers will continue though in a more complex manner. The “swing state” approach especially amongst the medium and small powers will further add on the complexities in the making of the new order.

In the current scenario, there is lot of confusion. It is because major powers such as US, Russia and China are though trying to cooperate but their competitive and dominating nature is creating more trouble for the world including the environment such as the Arctic and the Antarctica (in the name of scientific research and energy exploration, these areas are becoming future battlefields as militarization is also taking place simultaneously). In all these, middle and small nations too such as India, Germany, France, Turkey, Iran, Japan, Central Asian countries, African countries etc. are trying to find and strengthen their foothold.

Currently, there are no major wars or the Cold War, which saw an unprecedented arms race including the stockpiles of nuclear heads, however things have not become easy but more complicated. Depending on the region or countries or stakes, the level or mode of confrontation is seen becoming activated. For instance, rather than direct confrontation between Russia and the US, there are proxy wars taking place all over the world, be it in Europe or Asia or Latin America or Arctic or Antarctica. Similar indirect confrontation can be seen in Middle East between Iran and Saudi Arabia such as in Syria and Yemen. The conflict between Israel and Tehran is another area of proxy confrontation but at the same time has the seed of direct war too.

In Asia, both direct and proxy wars are common, which can be seen between India and Pakistan or India and China. Then there are tensions between China and Japan and China and Taiwan and China with its South China Sea neighbours etc. With Indo-Pacific and Arctic gaining prominence, great power competition is inevitable furthering the complications.

The advancement in information and technology with the advent of 4.0 Industrial Revolution has made life smooth yet complex. The cyber threats, interfering in other's elections, hacking, militarization in the outer space and artificial intelligence etc. are dividing countries and bringing like-minded ones together. The world can witness the deficit of trust amongst countries such as Russia and the West, China and in its neighborhood, Iran and the other regional players in West Asia etc. the reason behind this deficit is because the dialogues which takes place is not based on the respect and dignity of life but superficial. The national interests sometimes hinder genuine dialogue.

The conflicts of the 20th century are still continuing such as India and Pakistan's, Israel and Palestine etc. The frozen conflicts such as Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chechnya, Cyprus etc. still carries the spark to ignite and burn the West. Other challenges such as refugee crisis due to internal conflicts (which we are witnessing in Libya, Syria and Yemen) as well as the menace created by terrorism and radical non-state actors such as Taliban and ISIS have threatened peace and stability in regional as well as in global level. These threats burden humanity.

Refocus on Africa will open another stage of great game of competition. This time it will be more complicated as the African countries are also developing their own voices and strength. These countries are trying to become untied. Moreover, for their development they are courting all the countries who are extending help such as China, Turkey and Russia. India has always been present in that continent and contributing its bit. Addition to all these, the shortsightedness of the policy makers and leaders that has led to drastic global climate change whose impact we can see in the form of melting of ice in the Arctic and the Antarctica and the untimely and surprised natural disasters such as the various typhoons, floods, fires etc. that countries face do not create a picture of positivity. The refugee crisis, migration, nationalism, xenophobia, racism, subtle competition amongst civilizations and cultures etc. are adding on to the problems of the world.

On the economic front, the IMF and World Bank predict another economic downturn after a decade. With US trying to bring protectionism, the impending Brexit, low financial resilience in the West, trade war between US and China, competition against dollar by trading in national currencies amongst other nations, collapse of the Smart Money Flow Index between 2016 to 2018, cyber attacks on financial firms<sup>1</sup> and fluctuations in oil prices etc. creates unfavourable situations in global economy. Though in Eurasia, there are multilateral economic initiatives such as Eurasian Economic Union, International North South Transport Corridor, Chabahar port, Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) etc. that hold promises of positivity and development however, it needs to be seen how far it will be successful as well as till how far it can help in dismantling the unipolar hegemony of US.

To further complicate things, exceptionalism in US through its “America first” policy is making things difficult. Other powers would not want to acknowledge this factor of “my country first” however, if seen closely, then all countries are following the “my country first” approach since imperial times. Powers such as Russia, China, India, Europe, Japan etc. talk about multipolarity but they too follows exceptionalism which is natural. It is now that this term “America first” or “X first” have been designated. In fact, with the coming of President Trump, the great power competition which was made to get blurred under the Obama administration because of the rapprochement and pacifist policies, have become apparent. This factor is a boon and bane in itself.

Policy of exceptionalism is both advantageous and disadvantageous. In the positive side, it helps countries to keep

<sup>1</sup> Is 2019 the Year of the Financial Crisis Comeback? // Tsam Insights, 2019. URL: <https://www.tsam.net/is-2019-the-year-of-the-financial-crisis-comeback>.

multidimensional foreign policy with the focus on strengthening one's national interests and priorities. On the other hand, it is disadvantageous because of the competition it creates amongst the countries and the after effect of it on one's policies. For instance, Pakistan has tried to have a multidimensional foreign policy with all the major powers as well as countries in the neighbourhood, however, it has not been able to have a constructive relationship with India and Afghanistan because of the historical animosity it carries. The conflict with these two countries somewhere has not helped Pakistan to progress as a country it should have been given the amount of international aid it receives. Its problematic policy of state sponsored terrorism further creates problem for itself, for the region as well as in the global level. How far the country will be able to tackle this issue genuinely is questionable.

Another problem to multipolarity, will be the growing divide between West and East and the division amongst themselves. In the case of the divide between the West and the East, though West is trying but somewhere is unable to accept the reality of multipolarity or of sharing power with others. It needs to be seen that how far will the West be able to accept the domination of the East. It is because cooperating closely in economic initiatives or bilateral relationship is different from sharing power. The West will try to keep its control intact.

On the aspect of division amongst themselves, the West is having its own issues such as there is problem between US and Europe and its impacting on the trans-Atlantic partnership. EU is talking about strengthening its own defence and security policies while US and UK is talking of strengthening the power of the NATO. Germany and France is trying to become more powerful within the EU while countries like Italy, Greece, Spain, Hungary are trying to course its own policies outside the EU. Recently, Italy joined the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Does it infer weakening of EU?

Russia's experience with the West has made it accept and understand the benefits of focusing on the Eurasian identity. It though has tried to come closer to the West, including America, but has not been successful to an extent. It seems there is a competition of the West towards Russia. At the same time, it needs to be seen that till how far Moscow is comfortable if Beijing becomes more powerful and goes closer to US. Then there is the competition within the East. India, China, Japan and South Korea are trying to become more powerful than each other.

### Conclusion

Overall, though the world is progressing however, there are also problems that are inevitable. One can predict that there will be competition amongst the polycentric powers when a multipolar world system is built, leading to chaos. Due to the divisions between the West and the East, reaching to a common consensus amongst each other will be difficult; this can be seen in the present time as well. Problems like terrorism might have brought countries together, such as SCO, but it has not been able to help in addressing the challenge because of the different definitions as well as agendas each country have towards it.

Many countries talk about cooperation amongst civilizations. However, it seems that rather than cooperation amongst civilizations, there will be competition amongst one another to prove one's own civilization superior to the other. In fact, in this aspect too, there will be problems of controllability. Hence, the world needs a strong philosophy of humanity based on the respect and dignity of each individual life and not based on religion or civilization or national interests. Strengthening of borders and heightening of nationalism and right-wing politics ignited by anti-West or anti-East feelings will not be conducive. Genuine dialogues to find out genuine solutions based on a win-win situation are the key to create a better world. How far countries, including the powerful ones, are genuinely interested remains to be seen.

M. P. Thomas<sup>1</sup>

## TRADE UNIONS IN CANADA: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

### Profile of Unionization in Canada

In 2018, approximately 4.8 million workers, comprising 30.1 percent of the workforce in Canada were represented by a union. However, unionization is very unevenly divided between public and private sectors. Only 15.9 percent of private-sector workers are unionized, as compared to 75.1 percent of workers in the public sector. Unionization in Canada reached a peak of about 40 percent in the mid-1980s. By the late 1990s, unionization had declined to

<sup>1</sup> Associate Professor of Sociology in York University (Toronto, Canada), Ph. D. (Sociology). Author of several scientific publications in political economy, economic sociology, sociology of work, include books: "Change and Continuity: Canadian Political Economy in the New Millennium" (co-author), "Work and Labour in Canada: Critical Issues" (co-author), "Regulating Flexibility: The Political Economy of Employment Standards", etc.; articles: "The Employment Standards Enforcement Gap and the Overtime Pay Exemption in Ontario" (co-author), "Being 'Middle Class'?", "Austerity, Right Populism and the Crisis of Labour in Canada" (co-author), "Global Unions, Global Framework Agreements and the Transnational Regulation of Labour Standards", etc.

approximately 30 percent, where it has stood since [2]. Despite the decline, the absolute number of union members in Canada continued to increase as the labour force grew.

A major decline was experienced in sites of male, blue collar employment. The unionization rate of women has remained much more stable due to their higher rates of employment in the public sector, where a number of public sector occupations have unionization rates much higher than the overall labour force, including public administration, education, and health care. Though the public sector comprises only approximately 20 percent of the labour force, high rates of unionization in public sector occupations has helped to sustain the overall unionization rate, even as unionization in the private sector has declined.

### *Labour law / Industrial relations*

In Canada, the role of trade unions is shaped by a legal system that, on the one hand, provides workers with the right

to unionize and to engage in collective bargaining, but at the same time imposes strict limitations and obligations on unions [1]. While workers have had the right to join a union since 1872, it was not until the 1940s that the right to collective bargaining was established. At that point, a mechanism for union security (through a mandatory dues check-off) was also introduced. This legal framework also created new responsibilities for unions by establishing prohibitions on striking during the life of a collective agreement, by limiting scope of collective bargaining, and by ensuring formal acknowledgement of management rights to direct and control work. The operation of this framework intensified bureaucratic tendencies within unions, limiting their capacity to challenge the power relationships of the workplace and advance workers' struggles [6]. This system also produced a decentralized system of workplace-level union certification and collective bargaining.

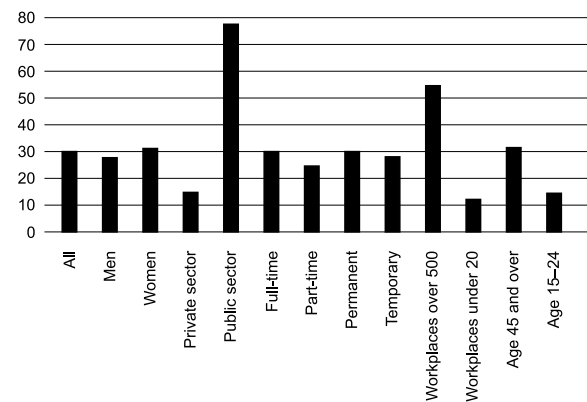


Fig. 1. Unionization in Canada (percent), 2018. Source: Statistics Canada, Tables 14-10-0070-01, Union coverage by industry, annual (x 1,000), and 14-10-0133-01, Union status by establishment size

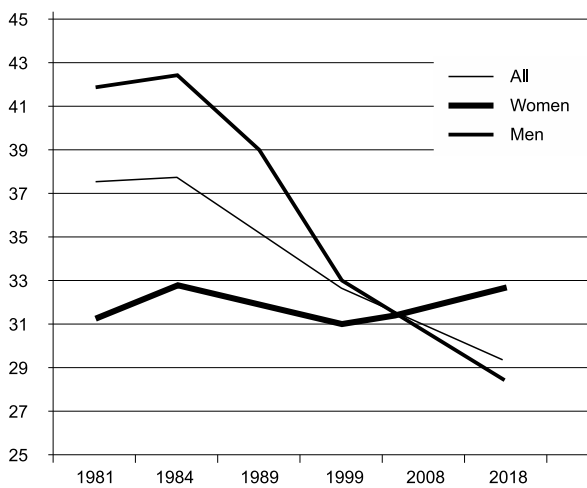


Fig. 2. Unionization in Canada (percent), 1981-2018. Source: Statistics Canada, Table 14-10-0070-01, Union coverage by industry, annual (x 1,000); see also [2]

### Challenges Facing Trade Unions in Canada

#### Job loss and union decline in the manufacturing sector

There has been a significant decline in union coverage in manufacturing employment, which has contributed substantially to the overall decline in unionization in Canada. In 2018, 24.7 percent of the manufacturing workforce was unionized, which was down from 36.4 percent in 1997. Both free trade agreements and employer work reorganization strategies have played major roles in this shift [2].

Free trade agreements with the United States in 1988 and with the United States and Mexico in 1993 intensified the competitive environment in manufacturing by facilitating corporate mobility to lower cost production sites, particularly in Mexico and the southern United States. This contributed to both job loss and downward pressure on working conditions for manufacturing work in Canada. Such competitive pressures were heightened as some manufacturing shifted even further to Asia, particularly China. Unions in the sector have not only experienced losses in members, but also declining union power due to the highly competitive environment created by free trade.

Employer outsourcing strategies also contributed significantly to declining unionization in manufacturing, as many large, unionized employers contracted work out to smaller, non-unionized operations. While manufacturing employment stabilized by the mid-1990s, and even began to grow into the 2000s, unionization in the sector did not return to the peak levels of the 1980s. For example, the automotive parts producer Magna has become a major presence in automotive parts production and operates largely non-unionized factories [3]. Newer employers in both parts production and automobile assembly have been largely successful in resisting unionization efforts, including major automobile manufacturers (Toyota, Honda) that moved to Canada in the late 1980s [12].

In addition to continuing to attempt to organize new manufacturing employment, union mergers have sought to offset declining memberships. The most significant merger took place in 2012 between the Canadian Auto Workers and the Communications, Energy, and Paperworkers, who combined to form Unifor, becoming Canada's largest private sector union. As the union most affected by the competitive pressures and potential job loss due to free trade, Unifor is also currently engaged in a strategy of economic nationalism through a campaign to encourage consumers to buy Canadian-made automobiles. Reflecting declining union power in the sector, Unifor has also engaged in workplace partnerships with employers (Magna) and has adopted two-tiered collective agreements, which provide differential benefits for new members.

#### Precarious work in the private services sector

Unions are also confronted with the growth of employment in the service sector. Since the 1970s, service sector employment, has grown to the point where nearly 80 percent of the labour force is employed in service producing industries. In 2018, 30.9 percent of workers in service industries were unionized, though in private service sector occupations unionization is typically well below 30 percent. Several occupations have rates below 10 percent, the lowest of

which is accommodation and food services, at 6 percent. Many private service sector occupations have had low rates of unionization historically, so there has not been a base of union presence for new organizing efforts to build upon. There is, however, a union presence in some hotel chains and some large grocery stores [2].

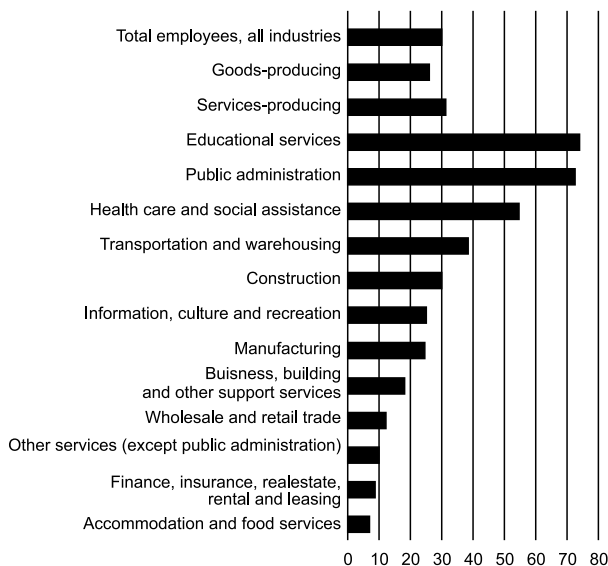


Fig. 3. Unionization by industry (percent), 2018.  
Source: Statistics Canada, Table 14-10-0132-01,  
Union status by industry

One of the key challenges facing unions when trying to organize workers in the private service sector is the high presence of nonstandard (part-time, temporary) and precarious (insecure, low-wage) forms of employment, which make organizing more difficult. Part-time employment is more prevalent in the service sector (28.2 percent) as compared to the goods-producing sector (6.1 percent), as is temporary work (11 percent versus 6.1 percent).<sup>1</sup> Part-time and temporary employment are most prevalent in accommodation and food services occupations, which are also the occupations with the lowest levels of unionization. In addition, employers in the private service sector are often aggressively anti-union [7]. Workplaces in the private service sector are also smaller and have high rates of turnover, further compounding the challenges facing union organizing.

Unions continue to attempt to address the challenges of the private service sector. As control over scheduling has been a major concern, particularly in retail and food services, unions have sought to use collective bargaining to provide greater hours certainty, including by negotiating minimum hours guarantees [5]. Another strategy involves adopting broader- and/or sectorally-based organizing and bargaining along the lines of the Justice for Janitors campaigns in the United States [2]. Broader based approaches are not widespread in the Canadian context, however, as labour laws recognize narrowly defined bar-

gaining units and support workplace-based certification and bargaining.

#### *Neoliberal labour laws and policies*

The challenges facing unions in Canada have been exacerbated through the neoliberal re-regulation of labour laws and policies [8]. The impacts of neoliberalism can be seen through a variety of policies and practices at municipal, provincial, and federal levels. Early neoliberal efforts that instigated the reshaping of work in Canada involve the free trade agreements discussed above. Dramatic federal budget cuts implemented in the mid-1990s significantly reduced funding for public services, with implications for job security and compensation of unionized public sector workers [4]. At the provincial level, neoliberal labour law reforms have made union organizing more difficult and have lowered the threshold for decertification [6]. While such reforms have contributed to the erosion of union strength, reforms to employment standards legislation – including increased maximum hours of work, minimum wage freezes, and changes to enforcement procedures – have lowered the general floor of social protection for all workers [11].

From the mid-1990s onwards, federal, provincial, and municipal public sector workers have experienced layoffs and wage freezes, as well as the increased use of back-to-work legislation [9]. Neoliberalism intensified following the 2008 financial crisis with the adoption of austerity measures that targeted public sector workers through further wage freezes, downsizing, back-to-work legislation, and concessionary bargaining [10]. The overall labour relations climate in public services has become much more like the business sector in recent years.

Recent campaigns by public sector unions have successfully resisted some of the neoliberal attacks on public sector work and workers. Notable examples have taken place in the city of Toronto, including a campaign by a Good Jobs for all Coalition to resist efforts to privatise building cleaning services, as well as a strike by largely part-time librarians to resist layoffs through outsourcing and technological change [10]. In both cases, though successful in resisting the proposed neoliberal measures, the campaigns did not extend beyond the particularities of each respective occupational group and did not create lasting structures through which to build broader momentum against neoliberalism.

#### **Future of Trade Unions in Canada**

While trade unions have been challenged through declining unionization in manufacturing, the growth of service sector employment, and neoliberal labour laws and policies, unions are engaged in a variety of efforts to resist these processes and improve working conditions. These include reactive/defensive strategies, involving lobbying and collective bargaining around a narrow range of workplace issues, as well as what could be seen as regressive campaigns premised upon economic nationalism. Coalition-based strategies between labour and community groups have produced some notable success, as they bring together a variety of organizations to address the precariousness brought about by neoliberalism and austerity. Organizing that involves experimentation with new structures may be able to better represent the working-class within and beyond the workplace,

<sup>1</sup> Statistics Canada, Table 14-10-0072-01, Job permanency (permanent and temporary) by industry, annual (x 1000); Statistics Canada, Table 14-10-0023-01, Labour force characteristics by industry, annual (x 1000).

including through movements of low-wage and precarious workers such as the Fight for \$15 and Fairness. Such efforts illustrate the dynamic nature of worker organizing in the context of changing economic and political conditions and may hold potential to foster more systemic forms of change.

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**P. P. Tolochko<sup>1</sup>**

### THE WORLD HAS REACHED A DANGEROUS POINT

The topic of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference assumes speaking about global development trends: today and in the near future. In essence, the global community has to find the answer to the eternal question: to be, or not to be? And not the better world, be it the liberal model forcefully imposed on by the United States and their Western allies, the communist model followed by China and some other countries, or the national and sovereign model that Russia stands up for, but the world in general.

The more and more aggravating confrontation between the United States with the West and Russia suggests these apocalyptic thoughts. Russia has not been a socialist state for a long time already, its economic pattern is practically in no way different from the pattern of its opponents, but as hundreds years ago Russia is accused of all thinkable and unthinkable sins. Such behaviour of the collective West reminds of the well-known parable about the thief who cries: "Catch the thief". It was not Russia that unleashed two world wars but the West that is moralizing about peace-loving all the time. And it was also the West that together with the United States, Japan and Turkey tried to disintegrate Russia by military intervention in 1917–1920. The be-

haviour of the West in the 19th century was similar. Invasions into Russia in 1812 as well as in 1854–1856 are also on the conscience of the West.

So, Russia has immeasurably more grounds to be afraid of the Western aggressiveness. Especially because it does not particularly hide it. It's well-known that in the United States Nuclear Doctrine and Policy providing for the use of nuclear weapons in the course of a common military conflict, Russia's role is determined as one of the main enemies. In accordance with it, Russia is being totally surrounded by the United States and NATO military bases. Currently, this military bloc is in essence an anachronism because its vis-à-vis the Warsaw Pact (Warsaw Treaty Organization) was dissolved over thirty years ago. But more and more countries are being involved in NATO. There are armed forces contingents of the United States and NATO in practically every one of them, missiles bases are being built in some of them (Romania, Poland). After Ukraine and Georgia join NATO, Russia will be fully surrounded. This is dangerous not only for Russia but its NATO neighbours as well, for the world as a whole. Military potentials of the opposing parties find themselves too close to one another, and that increases the confrontation risks many times.

The defense budgets of Russia and the United States are eloquent and show which country is more dangerous for the world. In case of the United States it amounts to US\$ 700 billion and in case of Russia – only 47 billion. The United States President D. Trump's statement that they should provide "peace through strength" in essence means appropriation of the right to war by them.

This goes down well and is supported by the European allies of the United States, especially the new EU members as well as England that suffers from the old phantom pain sensations in relation to Russia. The British ruling elite loses the sense of reality in its traditional hostility to Russia. The most striking evidence of that is the so-called Skripal

<sup>1</sup> Member of the Presidium of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Honorary Director of the Institute of Archeology of the NAS of Ukraine, academician of the NAS of Ukraine, foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor. Author of more than 500 scientific publications, including 25 books: "Ancient Kiev", "Ancient Rus", "Ancient Russian Feudal City", "Historical Portraits", "Russian Chronicles and Chroniclers of the 10th–13th Centuries", "Vladimir the Saint – Yaroslav the Wise", "From Rus to Ukraine", "The Ancient Russian People, Imaginary or Real", "Power in Ancient Rus in the 10th–13th Centuries", "Ukrainians in Russia", "The Origins of Russian Land", etc. Member of the Academy of Europe (London), corresponding member of the Central German Archaeological Institute. Laureate of the State Prize of the Ukrainian SSR in the Field of Science and Technology, State Prize of Ukraine, the Grushevsky Prize of the NAS of Ukraine, Makariievskaya Prize and Alexander Nevsky Prize (Russia). Awarded the 3rd–5th Class Orders of Prince Yaroslav the Wise, "the Badge of Honor" (USSR), the Order of Friendship (Russia). Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS.

case, insistently used by the Prime Minister Theresa May, as well as the speech by the Secretary of State for Defense Gavin Williamson delivered at the Munich Security Conference 2019. As the Russian politicians mentioned, it was very close to announcing war in its content and tone. It's unthinkable and irresponsible. May be, first of all, in relation to the people of his country who definitely did not authorize their young minister to such hostile rhetoric. This ill-starred Secretary of State as a loyal handyman of the United States, while he was at it, also told the alliance member states to take more responsibility for their defense and not to shift the burden to the shoulders of American taxpayers.

Unfortunately, this speech was not much discordant with the general tonality of the Munich Conference, set forth by the United States Vice-President Michael Pence and other high-standing statesmen from the West European countries. I can't share the optimistic statements presented by the mass media of Russia that the Munich Conference 2019 revealed serious disagreements between the United States and their European allies. The new EU members and England either have no disagreements with the United States at all or they have no courage to speak about them.

They are surely present in the old European countries but only the Chancellor of Germany Angela Merkel can say about them. The general meaning of her speech came to the fact that there is no need to isolate Russia but it's required to work together with Russia at the solution of global problems. This is close to what Mrs. Merkel said at the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2018: "We Europeans must really take our fate into our own hands". Surely, we should not be deceived. Merkel has not taken the pro-Russian position. Sooner, pro-European, subjected to the interests of Germany's sustainable economic development.

Surely, a long time will be required for all European countries to comprehend this simple truth. As well as to understand that endless victimizing and telling lies about Russia having practically the same nuclear potential as the United States, can lead the world to catastrophic consequences.

The special feature of the contemporary global development is its complete unmanageability. In the past, in the years of the Cold War and later, up to the start of D. Trump's presidency in the United States, there was such manageability. It was based, on the one hand, on the system of international agreements and treaties limiting the nuclear arms race, and on the other hand, on the authority of such international organizations as the World Peace Council that had its structures in all the countries of the world as well as the Non-Aligned Movement that was a kind of global referee in the arguments of the two poles of power.

After the Soviet Union disintegration and collapse of the whole community of socialist countries, the said international organizations as if lost their meaning and purpose. There was no longer any necessity in their intermediary services. Currently, their voices in defense of peace are not heard absolutely. The United States and their allies regarded their victory in the Cold War against the Soviet Union as the confirmation of their being right in determining the ways and meanings of global development. And though nearly thirty years have passed after that fateful time, and Russia is far from the country it was in the 1990s, the United States can't change the victor's psychology – the psychol-

ogy of the owner of the globe, the only one responsible for arrangement of the "free and democratic" world.

As the former Vice-President of the United States J. Biden said in Munich, the United States are "willing to shoulder our responsibility of leadership... I promise you [one should think, European allies. – P. T.] we will be back. Don't have any doubt about that". Why is it the United States' responsibility and who imposed it upon them? Biden did not explain that. And the current U.S. Secretary of State M. Pompeo does not explain it either but says about the necessity to change the regimes in Venezuela, Nicaragua and Cuba. Biden's optimistic promise to come back, no matter how strange it may seem, is at the same time the acknowledgement of the fact that the unconditional leadership of the United States in the world has been lost.

Surely, the treaty systems of the past are not eternal. Probably, certain agreements and treaties such as the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, the Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Short-Range Missiles or the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's Nuclear Program need to be revised or even signed anew. But new talks between the interested parties are required for that and not the diktat of one of them. In this case that's the United States announcing their withdrawal from a number of international agreements on control over nuclear weapons without any consultations and explaining their reasons, and they were the agreements on which the global stability was based. In essence, the accomplished acts were presented to the global community. And only later, it seems in order to somehow save face the United States started looking for justifications. It was either Iran not inspiring confidence, or it seemed to them that Russia was bypassing the ban to build medium-range missiles. But the United States withdrew from the Paris Agreement on Climate Change with the same irresponsible easiness while Russia does not violate it in any way.

We can only say that such return of the former global leadership to the United States can cost the world a lot. The evident truth for some reason cannot be comprehended by the United States political elite – that their country though still capable of a lot, can't already do everything. The example is the Middle East. The United States managed to destroy the traditional pattern of life there, and that was accompanied by many thousands of victims among its residents and millions of refugees flowing into Europe. But they have not managed to build a new – "free and democratic" order. And they completely covered themselves with shame in Syria. The announced aim to overthrow "dictator" Bashar al-Assad turned out to be beyond their strength.

When these lines were written, the United States that have not learnt anything in the Middle East, started establishing order in Venezuela. The legally elected President Nicolas Maduro was announced overthrown and their protégé Juan Guaidó was appointed a temporary President. This scandalous arbitrariness brought about decisive protests not only in Venezuela but in many countries of the world. The United States demand to recognize their puppet Guaidó as the President of Venezuela was not unanimously satisfied even by their closest allies in Europe. The U.S. Vice-President Pence actually demanded from them in Munich to recognize the "new" President of Venezuela but he was not completely successful. Probably, the United States are capable to overthrow Maduro forcefully, using their own force or their allies as they did in Iraq with



Saddam Hussein or in Libya with Muammar Gaddafi. But, first, they will hardly manage a bloodless coup and, second, another non-healing wound on the body of the global community will weigh on their conscience.

Surely, no one believes any longer in American tales about the United States being a sample of freedom and democracy and having a special mission to make the whole world happy. Everyone understands that they are driven by exclusively imperial economic interests, the striving to make the world the treasury their own. But they can't understand that Russia, China, Iran, India and other countries have their own interests, and they also should be taken into account. If the times of the cowboy with guns in both hands (and even long-range missiles) are not over yet, they are definitely ending. The world is really becoming multi-polar. And it can only exist on principles taking mutual interests into account. It can't be managed by any one country, no matter how unlimited its possibilities may seem. It's necessary to come to agreements, enter mutually acceptable agreements and live according to them. If the United States do not learn this simple truth, if they do not find enough brains to refuse from the conviction that the whole globe is the sphere of their exclusive interests, that may have catastrophic consequences for the world.

Currently, it has already reached a dangerous point. The hopes for the U.S. President D. Trump's sanity have not come true. He did not fulfill his election promise to get along with Russia. The already accumulated nuclear weapons are enough to eliminate everything alive from the surface of the globe. But the opposing sides – the United States, Russia and others – are preoccupied with creation of more and more deadly kinds of weapons. And the most dangerous in all that is that the global community in essence has reconciled with such a prospect. The Americans say that their military doctrine provides using nuclear charges in a common military conflict, and the global community is silent. It does not sound the alarm. Probably, it seems to many that such a local conflict will bypass them. But this is an illusion. Any military nuclear explosion in a conflict between the United States, NATO and Russia will detonate a global catastrophe. It's necessary to do everything possible for nothing like that to happen. Use of nuclear weapons even in a local conflict should be announced by the United Nations a crime against humanity and prohibited by the respective legal act. It's also vitally required to restore the authority of the World Peace Council as well as the Non-Aligned Movement.

**Zh. T. Toshchenko<sup>1</sup>**

## **THE TRAUMA SOCIETIES – THE OBJECTIVE REALITY OR A ZIGZAG IN HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT**

### **The trauma society as the third modality in development**

There are countries in the world today, the life in which does not fit any classical social theories. The current stage of world development is characterized by such notable, meaningful and significant events and processes that are impossible to define and qualify using old concepts – evolution or revolution, progress or stagnation and recession. What happened in the end of the 20th century and early 21st century in Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, Syria, Tunisia and a number of other countries falls out of the generally accepted and previously understandable logic of social development.

Disintegration of the USSR looks no less impressive from this point of view as well as what was launched after it in many now independent states. It especially relates to Georgia, Moldova, Kirgizia and surely the Ukraine. Russia did not avoid its lot either. Emotional words said by the President of Russia V. V. Putin are generally known – he

named the results of the USSR disintegration a geopolitical catastrophe. So, Russia can't fail to be included in the number of states we're going to speak about.

The so-called candidates to this specific group can be added to these countries. According to the World Bank data, only 52% of democratic countries and 48% of countries referred to authoritarian turned out to be successful in their market reforms.

All these countries are united by the same things – political upheavals, stagnation and/or economic decline, uncertainly even in the nearest future, and finally, disillusion and loss of trust in the proclaimed way and means for attaining the set aims.

All that in no way fits the classical ideas of progress or regress, evolution or revolution.

Then what are we dealing with? How to characterize these political, economic, social, cultural processes (and more likely uncertainties) that are similar to catastrophes? Do they have something in common – with all the variety of special features?

The word “trauma” comes from an Ancient Greek word meaning “wound.” But already in the modern medical and psychiatric literature the term became treated also as a wound of consciousness as a result of an emotional shock, disrupting comprehension of the time, self and the world in an individual and the society.

One of the first to pay attention to the social meaning of trauma was German scholar Jürgen Habermas when he connected it with studies of heavy depression forms, borne by the crisis in the European society [13]. Polish sociologist

<sup>1</sup> Chief Researcher of the Institute of Sociology of the RAS, Chairman of the International Editorial Board of the RAS journal “Sociological Studies”, Head of the Department of Theory and History of Sociology of the Russian State University for the Humanities, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor. Author of more than 660 publications, 22 monographs and 5 textbooks, including: “Paradoxical Man”, “Sociology of Labor”, “Thesaurus of Sociology”, “Milestones of Sociology” (editor-in-chief), “Centaur-Problem: An Attempt at Philosophical and Sociological Analysis”, “Political Sociology” (editor-in-chief), “Sociology of Management”, “Phantoms of Russian Society”, “Sociology of Life”, “Precariat: from proto-class to new class”, etc. Honored Professor of Lomonosov Moscow State University and the RSUH. Honorary Doctor of the Institute of Sociology of the RAS. Laureate of the Kovalevsky Award of the RAS.

P. Sztompka used the concept when analyzing the issues of sociocultural development (“social and cultural trauma”). Characterizing the aggregate changes taking place in the world and in most countries, he looks at *traumas* as “social transformations” based on “long, unforeseen, partly indefinable processes with an unpredictable end, launched by a collective agency and originating in the field of structural options (limited options for action), inherited as a result of the early stages of the said processes” [27]. When studying upheavals taking place in Western societies, N. Smelser determines a cultural trauma as an “entrapping and suppressing event that undermines one or several key elements of culture or culture as a whole”. D. Alexander states that some events in today’s world are traumatic in themselves, i.e. they are direct reasons of the deforming effect. Z. Bauman described the traumatic impact on the fates of nations, their national consciousness [2]. They started using the social treatment of trauma also when analyzing other processes, for example, when researching the issues of collective identity, including religious and ethnic [21].

As for the Russian researchers, the following people wrote about the traumatic aspect without actually using this term: M.F. Delyagin [6], R.S. Grinberg [12] in economics, Yu.A. Krasin [16], V.K. Levashov [18] in politics, M.K. Gorshkov [9] in the social sphere, O.N. Smolin [25], A.S. Zapesotsky [32] in culture and education. In our opinion, the treatment of changes by the above said authors can be expanded to the “society’s trauma” concept, if we mean contradictory, turbulent and deformed character of social processes, when the analysis of the going on in the world and certain societies changes has a lot of sense from the point of view of explaining and understanding the essence of transformations (catastrophes) that are taking place.

Contemporary definitions or traumas affecting many societies led this concept to application to the special condition of social processes manifested in uncertainty, distortion of unstable societies’ and states’ development. Surely, there are its nuances, details, specifications in this approach, but I’d like to immediately address the features, factors and indicators that I consider important for understanding the phenomenon.

#### **The main characteristics of the trauma society**

The traumas of many contemporary societies, about which we’ll speak, started from forceful overthrow of the existing political regime and respective administrative institutions. This took place either because of intervention of external forces (Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, Syria, Tunisia) or under the impact of internal cataclysms (Russia, the Ukraine, Georgia, Moldova). But at the same time, all originating upheavals took place under the slogan of the urgency of cardinal changes, with the demand for serious shifts in economic and social spheres, with promises to quickly achieve worthy life of the people and absolute prosperity of the country. There were also calls to elevate respect for human rights and freedoms to a higher level. But intervention of external forces into the countries not capable to reform themselves (Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan) led to bloody conflicts not stopping in them.

The results in Georgia, the Ukraine, Moldova were no less impressive. These republics found themselves even farther from what they had being parts of the USSR. Achieve-

ments in Russia turned out to be no more successful: in a quarter of a century, it did not achieve the socioeconomic indicators that the RSFSR had in 1990.

Thus, all the named states have not managed to advance their societies to worthier economic levels, to reach positions dictated by the modern information era, provide new high standards of living for the population. And the above mentioned states were defeated in this way after this task was successfully solved, and within a short period of time, by both capitalist countries (Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea) and socialist countries (China and Vietnam).

In my opinion, the reason of failures here is, first of all, the trauma society’s having such a complex of features that strongly and clearly separate it both from revolutionary transformations and advancing evolutionary changes. And this difference starts from the trauma society’s lacking precise and clear strategy and not understanding its development prospects. The outlined changes mostly come to being focused on solution of certain urgent and pressing matters. Sometimes – taking other countries’ experience into account (as they tried to do it in Russia). Or everything was limited to passive following somebody’s pieces of advice, without taking national special features into account (Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya – where this is done under economic and political pressure from the outside).

As for Russia, the answer to one question stays obscure and uncertain: what society are we building for ourselves? For example, academician O. Bogomolov expressed his public interest to this uncertainly already in 2008 [7]. Indeed, a lot of recipes and ideas were discussed then, but all of them mostly came to refusal from the former socialist way of development, using recommendations based on the experience of other countries (there were very different offers – to borrow the American, German, Japanese, French and even Argentinean experience). Or just some theoretical speculative constructions like Chicago school theses, on the conclusions of which Russian liberals set their hopes [1].

There were many homebred offers more likely borne by fantasies than academically based development programs. Famous liberal L. Gozman’s reasoning is demonstrative; he grieved that liberals had many development variants but they were not given an opportunity to realize everything offered [10]. This reminds of an old joke about the used tips for feeding chickens, one tip after the other, but all chickens died before they could be actually fed. The initiator of these methods lamented – he still had so many unused variants.

Besides, the analysis of reasons for falling behind in development shows why there are losses in trauma societies and even rolling back from the economic and social lines, where these countries were before attempts to change their development vector. And what is more, it’s possible to speak about the obvious degradation throwing some countries back from the achieved level, in which today’s economy represents destroyed sectors of national economy [29, 30].

#### **Collective agencies – how efficient are they?**

Alas, it seems to me that approximately the same state of affairs is observed in modern Russia. We’re speaking not only about reduction of the rates of development but also the loss of previously achieved economic and social indicators that have not been restored till now.

Thus, according to some comparisons, the national economy of the country lost more during the period of the Gaidar reforms in the 1990s than during the Great Patriotic War. We have not managed to achieve a lot in the 2000s. As the creator of the market reform, ex-Minister of Finance of Poland Grzegorz Kołodko (foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences) said, exactly the lack of a competent economic strategy in the Russian Federation led to sorrowful results. If 25 years ago our GDP exceeded Chinese GDP thrice, now the People's Republic of China surpasses Russia in this indicator six times.

The lack of a development strategy in the trauma societies is related to their having no active, driving, creative, constructive forces, personified as Polish sociologist Piotr Sztompka wrote, by a "collective agency" that could implement a strategy of desired changes based on the clear, thought-out program of actions guided by objective development laws [27, p. 7].

If such a program and such a team are lacking, the following takes place: official structures with the access to the structural and cultural resources fund, as a rule, act impulsively, and it's not rare that such actions look like an imitation of rational activities. Thus, the then President Dmitry Medvedev in his time engaged in such urgent in his opinion measures as militia's renaming into police, abolishment of time change, introduction of zero promille for car drivers, etc. instead of scientifically-based cardinal changes in the economic and social fields.

A no less convincing evidence for the trauma society is the fact that these societies are characterized by power resources conversion into capital and capital into power as political authorities in this process are viewed as a source of income, the way to justify and camouflage dubious actions on the economic and financial market.

The development strategy unclear for the people led to elimination of the majority of Russians from control and public participation in what authorities are engaged in. Today, 80.3% of the people are not members of any non-governmental organizations, 93.7% think that they have no impact on taking state decisions [28, p. 356–357]. The issue of state ideology is raised exactly in this context, the ideology that could, together with other worldview mindsets existing in the society word development prospects, taking into account the deep-laid interests of the people.

For the time being, there is, on the one hand, the domineering statement that according to the Russian Federation Constitution, no ideology can be established in the country like a state or obligatory ideology. On the other hand, people are regularly reminded about the necessity of building a democratic society, which is impossible in essence without some serious ideas approved by the whole society and capable of mobilizing people for the real development of the country. As a result, there is a political regime formed in Russia that a number of authors determine as non-ideological [8]. Because of that, I think the worries of analysts who mention that instead of national and state identity's formation there is uncontrolled and chaotic search in the country for ways of transformation of ethnic, regional and local self-consciousness that, no matter their importance, can't replace general ideological orientation points, the idea of uniting the multi-national and polyconfessional nation are justified.

In my opinion, attempts to word the national idea ended (and still end) in nothing because they reflect hypothetical ideas of just some representatives of the Russian ruling classes and offers by some scholars, not the expectations and aspirations of the people.

And this is clear. Because in the trauma societies "collective agencies" (i.e. ruling circles or the so-called elite) do not take into account or absolutize (hypertrophy) national special features. To put it differently, everything that was accumulated by the countries in the process of their historical development. Thus, the experience of not only Soviet but also the earlier historical past was fully and categorically rejected, proceeding from the evidently prejudicial and detrimental mindset – there was nothing positive in former Russia and especially in the USSR.

There is still an argument going on in relation to Russia – what's taking place there? What happened there in the beginning of the 1990s? Along what way has it been developing over the recent quarter of a century and how to call what is going on in the right way? Many politicians, scholars, journalists, using some aggregate data, insist that the socialist system broke up and the process of returning to the tried and tested by experience liberal society arrangement has started. But, they say, transfer to capitalism in this case is being distorted by the current political leaders of Russia [14].

Representatives of other worldviews, basing on the experience of analysis of the new Russia's functioning processes, prove no less convincingly that the country goes along the evolutionary way of development, though it's complex and different, with enormous expenditures [12].

Another group is represented by neomaxist and socialist views on what happened in our country as a forced coup d'état, refusal from focusing on people's interests. Acknowledging miscalculations and mistakes of the Soviet leaders and the following market reforms, representatives of this group insist of promoting the policy establishing the tested by life positive changes accumulated in the USSR experience and existing now socialism-focused countries (like China and Vietnam) [3, 4, 15].

As for the reality, the current development process is characterized by indeterminate and inconsistent restoration of some socialist traditions and standards of life, combined with modification, following market fundamentalism and liberalism principles and attempts to substantiate the way, along which the "European civilization" goes, but taking into account special Eurasian orientation. As a result, in our opinion, the economic and social life is in crisis: the main part of high-tech production in space industry, machine building, aviation industry has been lost. For example, if 74.2 thousand metal-cutting machines were manufactured in the country in 1990, and they were even bought by the Federal Republic of Germany, there were just 2.7 thousand manufactured in 2014. There were 18,300 and 79 looms made respectively [22, p. 147; 24, p. 264–265]. Collective farms and state-owned farms were thoughtlessly disbanded, especially those that operated successfully; many effectively developing farms were lost. In 2014, there were 247.3 thousand tractors in agricultural organizations (with 1,345.6 thousand in 1990), 64.6 thousand and 407.8 thousand combines respectively, 2.4 thousand and 25.3 thousand beet-harvesting machines [31]. As a result of the so-called agrarian reform, the volume of agricultural products (except

grain production) has not reached the Soviet 1990 year level, and decreased by one third in cattle breeding.

As for hypertrophying pseudonational special features, this way is strikingly demonstrated by state building in the Ukraine. Here is what was written about that by a political scientist V. Lapkin: “Stimulation of ethno-political conflicts and promotion of ideology and the system of values, dividing ethnic groups and nations as to their relation to freedom, democracy and prosperity, turns out to be one of the key components” in “the general strategy of chaotizing the social substratum of non-consolidated regimes” [17, p. 61].

### Where is the solution?

Thus, such a feature as traumatizing has acquired special significance and precise definiteness among the new phenomena at the today's stage in the life of a number of countries, including Russia. It is manifested in the disunity, split, contradiction and conflicts in development. At the same time, there is no doubt that the trauma societies can't be eternal – in certain environment they have to overcome this crisis.

In the 1990–2000s, there were steps undertaken and not once to get to the new heights of economic and social development.

It was privatization at first with its companions – ruble devaluation, loans-for-shares auctions, creation of oligarchic capitalism that led to complete destruction of national economy. Then there were public health, agriculture, education development projects announced by Dmitry Medvedev when he was the Prime Minister that in the 2000s led him to the post of President, but turned out to be unsound and untenable and are forgotten by everyone by now. Then there were the 4 I's – Institutes, Infrastructure, Innovations and Investments that gave the country nothing either. The expensive Skolkovo project was created as a part of these ambitious projects, which in the opinion of the ex-President of the Siberian Department of the Russian Academy of Sciences Alexander Aseyev, is the “marble telephone receiver in the hands of Old Khottabych”, and in the opinion of Lauren Graham, Professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, is a very expensive, dubious act, from which “most likely Western companies will profit” [11].

In order to leave the trauma condition, not profits or power but serving the society should be the motivation of social, economic and political life. Graham spoke at the St. Petersburg International Economic Forum in May 2016 and figuratively presented the paradoxical condition of modern Russia: “You need milk without the cow”, assuming the same that had been said by Pitirim Sorokin: emancipation of constructive forces of not only business but creative people as well is required, those who personify the “scientific genius of the Russian people” as well as social reforms [26, p. 7]. And that would not only satisfy the requirements of the people but also develop the constructive forces of the society.

A significant contribution to this contradictory process is made by the current development model that “can be presented as a bicycle with the socialist handle bar and capitalist pedals” [20, p. 202].

All that allows to come to the conclusion that the society's traumatizing and traumatizing in the society originate

when “there appears a form of disorganization, shift, unconformity in the social structure or culture, to put it differently, when the context of human life and social actions loses homogeneity, conformity and stability becoming different, even an opposite cultural complex” [27, p. 8].

Because of that the natural reaction to practically unanimous opinion of the expert community (and not only it) about the necessity to cardinaly change the government's economic course is justified, and that was confirmed by the recent Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly (in February 2019), with the President deciding to pay attention to the necessity of serious correction of the country's socio-economic course.

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## V. T. Tretyakov<sup>1</sup>

### HOW TO SAVE THE EUROPEAN CIVILIZATION

Though the future of the global community seems to me not trouble-free, but not extremely worrisome. However, at least one part of this community – once the most flourishing and attractive for all the rest – needs to be saved.

The vectors of changes, if we use the terms of this Likhachov Scientific Conference organizers, blowing in this part of the human civilization, are evidently evil and pernicious.

I am speaking about Europe.

Currently, hardly anybody doubts that Europe and the European civilization are on the verge of collapse. Just 10–15 years ago very few people said about that, me including, by now this conviction has become nearly universal.

Unfortunately, the rescue recipes that sound most loudly in “Europe” itself (Europe minus Russia) are either unintelligent or hopeless and having no prospects because of their neoliberal dogmatism, i.e. their being antinational, directed against people.

Sure, Russia can’t save “Europe” without its sobering up itself – the suicidal syndrome of that “Europe” has become too strong today. But it seems that the chance has not been lost yet. It’s possible and it’s necessary to try to sober “Europe” up.

The recently published by me Europe Saving Charter is such an attempt. These theses were compiled based on it.

In order to save Europe (European civilization) as we know, value and love it, it’s required to review everything that may be referred to the European policy in the broad sense of these words, and review radically (in a revolution-

ary way). Below I’ll list everything I consider the most indisputable and principal.

**Deoccupation of Europe.** To withdraw all United States troops and military bases from the territory of European countries, for which it’s most sensible to disband NATO. “Europe” should stop being a military vassal of the United States.

To exclude at least the United States and Canada from the OSCE and best of all liquidate this organization completely as the one perverting the purpose of its setting up. In aggregate, these two measures will mean if not full but radical **deamericanization of Europe**.

The European Union should be disbanded as the supranational bureaucratic formation that has become historically obsolete, and besides not reflecting the interests of not only all European countries but also many EU members. The European Union will disintegrate itself with the same inevitability and in the same historical time-limits and for the same reasons as the Soviet Union disintegrated – the European Union #1 that originated one hundred years ago in the east of Europe. But it will be a chaotic disintegration then with respective excesses and consequences.

**Reunion of Europe.** The West-Europeans not only allowed to americanize their part of Europe but also privatized the historical name of Europe, thinking that Europe is only the European Union and NATO and separating everything from it that is not included in these two organizations, first of all, Russia. It’s high time to reunite “Europe” and Russia as this is the real, proper and full-scaled Europe and the European civilization (by the way, expanded by Russia to Asia – up to the Pacific ocean).

It’s necessary to convoke the Forum of representatives of political and social views and ideas from all European countries and all ideological schools, the purposes of which should be: 1) setting up the permanent Intellectual European Council; 2) working out the Strategy for preservation and development of the European civilization within the next 5 years; 3) working out new political architecture of Europe, in particular, the concept of the European Nations Organization (ENO).

It should be publically stated that the main subjects of the home European policy are only and exclusively independent sovereign European (located in Europe) countries.

<sup>1</sup> Dean of the Higher School (Department) of Television of Lomonosov Moscow State University. Author and host of the program What Is To Be Done? Philosophical Conversations (TV channel “Culture”). Author of more than 2,500 publications, scientific and journalistic articles and educational publications, including books: “Russian Politics and Policy-Makers, Norm and Pathology: A Look at the Events of Russian Life, 1990–2000”, “Do we Need Putin after 2008?”, “How to Become a Famous Journalist: A Course of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Contemporary Russian Journalism”, “What Is To Be Done?”, “Theory of Television: TV as Neopaganism and as a Carnival”, “Conflict with the West. Lessons and Consequences”, “How to Become Famous on Television: The Theory of Television for All Who Want to Work on TV”, “Vladimir Putin. 20 Years at the Helm”, “Wisdom and Stupidities Collected Together. The book of aphorisms, paradoxes, maxims and other sententiae”, etc. Laureate of the Golden Pen Award of the Russian Union of Journalists, TEFI Prize, Telegrand National Award, holder of the Golden Honorary Badge “Public Recognition”.

Interference by any European states in internal affairs of each other should be banned and legally fixed, especially interference in internal affairs of European states as well as internal European affairs (including inter-state contradictions and conflicts) by any non-European states.

In the same way, European countries should publicly refuse from interference into internal affairs of any states located beyond Europe. Such interference is possible only in exceptional cases and only in case of request by legal representatives of the governments of these states or by the decision of the UN Security Council.

European countries should initiate the UN reform, and after this reform the UN Security Council should be formed according to the civilization or continental principle.

The European Nations Organization should be established even before the UN reform. The Security Council should become the highest permanent ENO body, and great European powers should become its permanent members except (for the first 10 years) the United Kingdom – because of the excessive United States impact on its foreign policy.

The history of neither the world nor Europe has stopped. And the course of history is not always change of borders, origination and disappearance of states. Because of that it's necessary to set up a special organ attached to the ENO – the Unrecognized States and Disputable European Territories Council with each of such states and each of such territories having their representatives in it.

Creation of the belt of neutral states between West European countries and Russia is an absolute imperative, they won't have the right to join any inter-state military blocs in the next 15 years – both intra-European and those outside Europe. The following countries should be included in this belt: Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Slovakia, Hungary, all states of the former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia. This will allow to gradually overcome the historical "division of Europe" that was the reason of numerous wars.

It's necessary to enter the provision on the Christian basis of the European civilization into Constitutions and other fundamental documents of European countries. Not rejecting the right of every resident of Europe to profess any traditional religion or be an atheist, it should mean and suppose:

- 1) acknowledgement of the historical authority of the Christian Church (Christian confessions) for the society as a whole as well as its political and all other institutions;
- 2) prohibition to destroy or limit demonstration of material, spiritual and cultural shrines and sacred objects and symbols of Christianity;
- 3) obligatory following, including legally, the principal norms of traditional Christian morals and respective prohibitions.

The demographic crisis is one of the most tragic challenges in today's Europe. Because of that and for many other reasons it's necessary to restore the traditional (classic) institution of marriage as a voluntary union of a man and a woman. No other unions or relations based on physiological intimacy and/or living together should be recognized as marriage though not prohibited legally.

Restoration of the traditional (classic) institution of family supposing responsibility of parents for the life and upbringing of children till their coming of age. Interference

by the state as well as any public organizations in relations of children and parents is prohibited. Such interference is possible only in extreme cases and only according to the maximally limited list of bases set forth by the law. The so-called juvenile justice bodies should be liquidated and the system of children's reporting on their parents that is now being introduced everywhere, should be prohibited in pedagogical practice.

Absolute refusal to recognize, first of all legally, what is considered vices in traditional Christianity and by most people as a norm or a special and admissible variant of the norm.

No less absolute refusal from imposing norms and behavioral style of small social groups on the majority of the European population as a whole and every country in particular, including by decisions of national parliaments and local legislative bodies, especially and first of all in the sphere of relations between genders, family values, physiological relations between grown-ups and children.

Refusal from imposing "political correctness" on the society that actually replaced the institution of censorship, and the so-called tolerance, i.e. the obligation to put up with what you do not like, what is disgusting, unnatural or hinder normal life (including performance of your civil duty and public obligations) of your family, your children, yourself.

Refusal from worshipping civil rights and freedoms if they are in contrast with the generally recognized public interests and natural human solidarity, natural human cooperation and community life.

Refusal from idealization and absolute priority given to the so-called democracy (political) as it has never and nowhere was and can't in principle be a complete democracy or democracy for all. Dismantling of dilapidated "democratic pieces of scenery" camouflaging the power of the ruling class. Refusal from "democratic" political hypocrisy which is one of the most disgusting features of the modern "Europe".

Refusal from the controlled transfer of democracy as "the power of the majority" (no matter if illusionary) into "democracy" as the power (real in this case) of a small group of ardent and totalitarian in their intentions minorities over the majority.

At the same time, naturally, it's impossible to reject and belittle the value and importance of democratic forms of governance (including the state power), so characteristic of the European civilization at various stages of its development. But the European civilization to a no less extent could and fruitfully used another natural regime of society governing – the state-run command management (authoritarian in the worst case). Finding a reasonable but all the time changing balance between these two managerial methods means true and not feigned democracy, i.e. power in the name of the interests of the majority in the society and the society as a whole.

Acknowledgement of the variety of European countries, nations, their people, cultures, languages, traditions, including political traditions as the fundamental value of Europe as a community of countries and as a civilization. No country can be made to refuse from its national special features – from mental to political. No one can be imposed any political system, regime or any political ideology or philosophy. Standardization, i.e. systematic unification of the life of Eu-

ropean countries and nations is the mechanism of gradual destruction of the European civilization.

Refusal of intellectuals, creative leaders and politicians and as a result all residents of Westerns and Central Europe from civilizational racism, i.e. division of all residents of European countries into “Europeans” and “not fully Europeans”, “not quite Europeans” – those who still have to “prove” that they are “true Europeans”, and from all respective stereotypes, rhetoric, “homework”, “examinations” and “check-ups”.

Refusal from the gaining and gaining strength and scales speculative rewriting of European and world history is no less important. The main components of this rewriting are whitewashing “one’s own” villains and ungrounded endowing “someone else’s” or “alien” politicians and statesmen, commanders and common soldiers with evil features as well as direct lies up to repainting aggressors into victims of aggression and the latter into aggressors. It’s impossible not to notice that now in “Europe” they have come to acquitting and even glorifying collaboration and that means Nazism in prospect. This “prospect” is already being realized in some European countries. And “Europe” pretends not to notice it or just cowardly keeps silent. It’s high time to understand that this policy is first of all amoral; second, it is false and deceitful and because of that anti-scientific; third, it leads to an actual destruction of the real history of Europe.

No poor, no outcasts! The social justice issue should be solved in Europe by common efforts and that provides for not only elimination of poverty in the richest countries or in the poorest countries but also blatant differences in the life of the population of developed European countries. There should not be poor countries in Europe at all, especially because this can be achieved here much sooner than in some other part of the world.

Refusal from Eurocentrism and “European” arrogance in relation to other countries, nations and civilizations. Residents of the countries that unleashed at least two world wars (really no less than four) can’t teach others peace-loving or pacifism. Residents of the countries that some time in the past had colonies on all the other continents of the globe with all the consequences proceeding from that, including elimination of the local people en masse and slave trade, can’t teach others “tolerance”, democracy, human rights, etc. in the same vein. The countries where Nazism and other racist theories were born and those exploiting racist practices for centuries, have no moral right to teach other nations and younger states humanism, mercy, common and political virtues.

Europe should return what was taken from its colonies and what is still being taken from there to them. First of all, political and economic freedom. Possibly, Europe will have – in the name of historical and social justice as well as

its own survival – to provide the people of its former colonies with the minimum financial assistance that will help them – within the framework of their ideas and habits – to live on their own land comfortably and no less happily than in Europe.

Europe and the European civilization in their present condition can’t be saved without Russia, apart from Russia and especially in confrontation with Russia and fighting against it. The one who thinks differently is either ignorant, or dumb, or a provocateur (there are many of them in the East of Europe), or idealistic, or unprincipled but a true member of the party of the Atlanticists, to be more exact, just a weak-willed and obedient slave of the United States. Europe should finally unite exactly today, in all its variety and on all its geographical and historical scales, i.e. unite with Russia – with the biggest and more and more European than “Europe” part of the European civilization.

Surely, we’re speaking not about the mythical “common European house” that will be built according to West European patterns and neoliberal drawings and managed from Brussels, Berlin or London. There will never be such a house – Russia no longer allows to “restructure” itself “in imitation of Europe”.

Surely, Russia can just wait when millions of native, indigenous (and not only native and indigenous) Europeans will run to be saved on its large territories. And what is more, Russia should just in case (in case of silly and irresponsible behaviour of the ruling European elites) get ready for such a resettling of European nations. But still Russia at first has to offer the “true Europeans” the sincere and unselfish (unselfish in the sense of mercenary-mindedness but not the wish to save the European civilization) union in the name of preserving all historical Europe at all its historical and geographical expanses. Will Europe accept the offer to create such a union or will it prefer to die alone?..

I’ll be happy if my Charter, some provisions of which are definitely not indisputable, will awake an echo in the hearts or support, which is even better, by responsible and sensible public and political thinkers and actors both in Russia and the rest of Europe. By those real Europeans who really love Europe not at the expense or to the disadvantage of Russia and love Russia not at the expense or to the disadvantage of Europe. Those who feel all the worries of the present day as well as all dangers of the future – if “Europe” will continue to be obstinate in its delusions. But then “Europe” will disappear forever, and we’ll lose a considerable part of the European historical heritage and the area of the European civilization will be drastically reduced. And we, Russia, will have to take upon ourselves all the responsibility for preserving the remnants of what at one time was the brilliant European civilization.

Russia will surely do it! But still we feel sorry for “old Europe”...

Cs. Varga<sup>1</sup>

## LAW AS A FACTOR OF GLOBAL INSTABILITY

From the time of ancient China and Mesopotamia on, the *legitimation* of earthly powers has secularized step by step and almost imperceptibly, and in parallel, and degree to degree, too, the *princely enactment of laws* has turned into an overtly free manifestation of human determination and will.<sup>2</sup> Thereby a new and revolutionizing idea emerged, that of human capability to create a new order and, further on, an artificially planned and improved society. Following this course, as a feasible agenda, the striving for a social reform with the total renewal of ideals was launched. It was followed by more daring and risky wishes, involving the uncompromisingly direct implementation of reformist ideas within some new institutional framework and arrangement, which, in their intellectual perspective, could already foresee the overall re-scheming of human life as the final asset.

And once the traditional – feudal – idea of acknowledging (restituting or restoring) exclusively that what could qualify as “old good law” had ultimately been left behind<sup>3</sup>, the law itself was capacitated to become the launching instrument and means of enforcement of such new ideals.<sup>4</sup> All this complexity of human „self-liberation”, as pre-forged in the century of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, eventually culminated in the idea of *social engineering*, formulated expressly a century ago<sup>5</sup>, and in the program of *changing* (changing over, indeed) the total set of *peoples’ beliefs*, as stressed nowadays.<sup>6</sup> This cannot be but based on legal voluntarism, pro-

fessed since the modern times, expressing the ultimate phase of development and of the final victory of the human gift of rationalism. And this is held nowadays as well, as the level able to crown the humans’ long-dreamed longing for self-consciousness, which seems to be justified by the achievements of Western civilization, due to progress the Euro-Atlantic culture may have shown up as materialized in the advance of science.

Reinforcing the above, or controlling and feedbacking it, or again, as a braking force or counter-pole, perhaps even as a simple impulse of provocation or counter-impulsion, one can encounter another kind of revival, too, in fresh blood but with unchanged nature, reminiscent of the critically destructive power of the Enlightenment. This is the ideology of natural law and natural rights, the last time reborn in Western Europe after the Second World War. In the meantime, however, that ideology has transubstantiated into a re-generated form of *human rights*, transcribed into international documents adopted worldwide and accompanied also by enforcing mechanisms<sup>7</sup>, for that it can provide a counterpoint, limiting human intentions by also serving as a benchmark. At the same time, however, standing for the ultimate phase of human self-liberation and extended to each and every human being on an individual level, the ideology of human rights degenerated, from its earlier position of a protector of the human subject when excessive state power may have been stressed, into the main instrumentality by which society can be (and not sporadically is indeed thoroughly) atomized by the growing exclusivity of rights language, without any counter-balancing service offered or done in return on behalf of the privileged part.

All this is man’s business, thoroughly artificial, aimed at benefitting, moreover, maximizing profit available in practice. As known from *The German Ideology* of Marx and Engels among others, there is an inborn component of social struggle, namely, that influencers generate ideas not only in their particularity but, by the same stroke of pen, as generalized onto the level of the mankind’s devisable universality. Merely human, sometimes personal considerations are thereby getting elevated to apparently absolute validity,

ing the seeds of the revolution” was aimed at, against “backwards” values attached to a church which has allegedly remained a “middle ages dictatorship”. See: *Thiessen M. A.* Hillary Clinton is a Threat to Religious Liberty. October 13, 2016. URL: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/hillary-clinton-is-a-threat-to-religious-liberty/2016/10/13/878cdc36-9150-11e6-a6a3-d50061aa9fae\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/hillary-clinton-is-a-threat-to-religious-liberty/2016/10/13/878cdc36-9150-11e6-a6a3-d50061aa9fae_story.html) with reference to staff correspondence in 2012, thanks to WikiLeaks. As a high priest opined later on, “there are three groups of people in this world: those who believe in God, those who do not believe in God, and those who think they are gods. Hillary Clinton I think is one of those who thinks she is a god.” URL: <http://aleteia.org/2015/04/29/nigerian-bishop-hillary-clintons-remarks-about-religious-beliefs-show-she-thinks-she-is-a-god/3/#sthash.nAHJ2zBI.dpuf>

<sup>7</sup> See: *Varga Cs.* The nature of human rights // *Cs. Varga.* The Mystery of Law and of Legal Thinking. Selected works / science editor and redactor M. V. Antonov. St. Petersburg : Aleph-Press, 2015. P. 224–230 (in Russian). According to Shannon Holzer ‘How Liberals Abuse Language’ (URL: [https://www.academia.edu/30204590/How\\_Liberals\\_Abuse\\_Language?auto=download&campaign=weekly\\_digest](https://www.academia.edu/30204590/How_Liberals_Abuse_Language?auto=download&campaign=weekly_digest)), too, such kind of demand is just a game by words. While natural law asks for the deep essence of things, human rights practice only lives with the nominal redefinition of words, “trying to create reality with language”. And thereby “Rights [...] turn out to be that which those on the left are trying to force others to accept.”

<sup>1</sup> Research professor emeritus of the Institute for Legal Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Peter Pazmany Catholic University (Budapest), Dr. Sc. Visiting professor at many universities in the United States, Australia, Italy, Germany, United Kingdom, Japan and Russia. Author of more than 400 works published in English, German, French and other languages, including monographs “Law and Philosophy”, “Paradigms of Legal Thinking”, “Comparative Legal Cultures”, “The Enigma of Law and of Legal Philosophising” and many others. Advisor to the prime minister of Hungary (1990–1994), member of the International Academy of Comparative Law. Recipient of the Hungarian government’s highest award for scientific achievements.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Villey M.* Essor et décadence du volontarisme juridique // *Archives de Philosophie du Droit 3: Le rôle de la volonté dans le droit.* P. : Sirey, 1979. P. 87–136.

<sup>3</sup> For the notion of “gutes, altes Recht”, see: *Kern F.* Kingship and Law in the Middle Ages. I: The Divine Right of Kings and the Right of Resistance in the Early Middle Ages ; II: Law and Constitution in the Middle Ages. Studies / transl. S. B. Chrimes. Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1939. xxxi + 214 p. (Studies in Mediaeval History 4).

<sup>4</sup> The idea of reforming society through law is due to the Jewish eschatological thought according to: *Oppenheim A. L.* Ancient Mesopotamia Portrait of a Dead Civilization [1964] / rev. ed. Chicago : Univ. of Chicago Press, 1977. ix + 433 p.

<sup>5</sup> See: *Swirski P.* American Utopia and Social Engineering in Literature, Social Thought, and Political History. N. Y. : Routledge, 2011. xiii + 255 p. (Routledge Transnational Perspectives on American Literature 15).

<sup>6</sup> The US Secretary of State who had once forced aggressive interventionism in the envelope of “exporting democracy” and then contested to American Presidency, was among the early ones who (in her case, to win her abortion party) said openly: “And deep-seated cultural codes, religious beliefs and structural biases have to be changed.” See: Hillary Clinton in “Women in the World Summit”, New York City, April 2015. URL: <http://www.nationalreview.com/article/417448/hillary-clinton-religious-beliefs-have-be-changed-accommodate-abortion-joel-gehrke>.

For the sake of accommodating same-sex marriage, euthanasia and the like in American society, she was working for long to foment an outbreak in the United States, namely, some smashing “Catholic Spring”, reminiscent of local destabilization in time of the “Arabian Spring” when American interests were serviced amidst the general turmoil in fact. Here and now, “plant-



made unquestionable for the time being and knowing, without compromise, full implementation only.<sup>1</sup>

Essentially, *human rightism* practiced on the globe now calls for rights that are no more or less than projections of some actors' (elites', minorities' or others') bare desires: free claims – required from others and to the expense of others; for, as to the nature of our worldly deals, there is a price to be paid for everything gained on this earth. Ontologically speaking, human rightism is just a normative rhetoric used to condition social environment first to accept and, then, to enforce those expectations. As such – revealed already (by the way, by those English conservatives criticizing declarations made by the French revolutionary spirit a century ago), the list of “human rights” that can emerge in principle is endless and limitless: any one of them will certainly be followed by further ones, mostly outdoing and sometimes also antiquating the former one in this never-to-end process.

Considering the present stage of overtly politicized ideological struggles pervading the contemporary world, there has always been a challenging contrast to ancient human wisdom which has ever served as the counter-pole to the human ambition fueled by the belief in infinite possibilities and potentialities, exacerbated by the “revolutionary honeymoon period” feelings of perennial human Utopianism, now equipped with modern social organizing techniques and affirmed, even if ostensibly, by those various temporal triumphs achieved thereby. What I have here in mind is perhaps a most ancient conviction of mankind<sup>2</sup>, expressed in twofold ways, present in the root of all our known ideas in respect of law.

Namely, one is, as expressed by Christian symbolism as the biblical foundation of our faith, the trust in the figurative power of *the Last Judgment*. In our case, for law, it means that in the fullness of time, the true weight and merits of whatever human intent and deed can exclusively be judged in the divine sphere and by the Divine authority. Subsequently, in its turn it leads to the conclusion that administration of justice, invented, channeled and operated by humans, can only serve momentary and ephemeral purposes on this Earth, just to arrange our mundane affairs here and now. In the legacy of Roman Law as resuscitated on the European continent, once the idea of *ius* [*≈ правда*] was reminiscent of its divine origins in natural law as a coeval product of the Creation. Later on, however, it became reduced to the plainly this-worldly, overtly human, willful princely manifestation of *lex* [*≈ закон*]. In contrast to such a course of things, within the tradition of the same Roman Law as revitalized in the Anglo-Saxon world, jurists took the courage of processing inductively the experience they could draw from the past through the precedent-like recurrence of precedent-like cases and judicial solutions in a case to case approach, not without some parallelism with a kind of reinstatement of the classical Jewish and Islamic legal mentalities and patterns. For, as is known, Jewish and Islamic laws as sacred and theologically inspired arrangements are conscious of such origins, and do their best to avoid trust-

ing (and especially trusting too much) in whatever forms of logic and conceptual formalism.<sup>3</sup>

The other immemorial expression is a prayer calling from despair for help, the exclamation of the primeval woe: “*Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O LORD.*”<sup>4</sup> This is just anguish, grown into an ultimate call for relief; it testifies the destiny of ingrained weakness, moreover, straight misery and impotence of everything human – i.e., of us, as falling human beings indeed –, placing our sole hope in God, in a transcendental perspective.

To be sure, both expressions left their imprints on the main aspirations and paths ever known in legal history and the anthropological features of whatever legal mentality. They even shaped and framed the manner in which law has been formalized, moreover, skeletonized as the systemic or practice-bound sequence of purely formal units or decisional patterns to a large extent. This is evidenced especially by (1) the pursuit of *legal authority* through a competitive rivalry amongst standing and emerging legal authorities in an institutional struggle (on behalf of *law in books*, *law in action*, and *law in popular mind*) for supremacy<sup>5</sup>; (2) the efforts at resuming judgments in law thanks to institutionalized appeals for that a given decision already made can be reconsidered again, and/or (3) once the force of law has been reached, clemency can be granted; (4) the recourse to *procedures parallel* to the law, either by processing (interpreting and applying) the law's formalism and internal logic in a different manner or, simply, using differing standards for channeling and controlling the decision-making procedure; and, at last but not the least, (5) in case of both primitive laws in the past and advanced legal systems today, *alternating* (if not expressly switching over) de-formalizing tendencies with formalizing ones. Such are, for instance, the clash between models that “make the law livable”, i.e., equitable law, and strict law, as classically shown already by Hillel vs. Shammai in early Judaism and Proculeans vs. Sabinians in Roman law.<sup>6</sup> These are, by the way, everlasting varieties of legal techniques that are neutral in themselves albeit they challenge one another in polarized positions. For, simplifyingly distorted in nowadays' sterile, sometimes overpoliticized legal theorizing, such alternative potentials are used to be presented as if they were representatives of diametrically opposite directions taken by, e.g., democratic and undemocratic approaches. After all, legal machineries are in a standing fight within themselves in order to select, define and fix the model that – for a while at least – may win the day.<sup>7</sup> In any case, in the humans' struggle varying

<sup>3</sup> See: Varga Cs. *The Paradigms of Legal Thinking*. [1999] 2nd ed. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2012. [Philosophiae Iuris]. URL: <http://mek.oszk.hu/14600/14657> ; *Idem*. *Comparative Legal Cultures On Traditions Classified, their Rapprochement & Transfer, and the Anarchy of Hyper-rationalism*. Budapest : Szent István Társulat, 2012. [Philosophiae Iuris]. URL: <http://mek.oszk.hu/15300/15386>.

<sup>4</sup> Psalm 130,1. URL: <https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Psalms-130-1> ; <http://www.russianbible.net/Psa-130.html>.

<sup>5</sup> It is remarkable that overruling legal regimes majoring the world today, János Jany's *Jogi kultúrák Ázsiában* [Legal cultures in Asia] (Budapest: Typotex 2016) 720 pp. [Panta] sees Islamism not simply as an insurgence against Western cultural dominance but also as a new power's struggle for establishing its ultimate authority.

<sup>6</sup> *Perelman C.* *Legal Ontology and Legal Reasoning* // *Israel Law Review*. 1981. July 1981. Vol. 16 (3). P. 356–367.

<sup>7</sup> See the in: *Comparative Legal Cultures* / ed. Cs. Varga. Aldershot ; Hong Kong ; Singapore ; Sydney ; Dartmouth ; N. Y. : The New York Univ. Press, 1992. xxiv + 614 p. (The International Library of Essays in Law & Legal Theory, Legal Cultures 1).

<sup>1</sup> As exposed in a classical development, see: *Marx K., Engels F.* *Die deutsche Ideologie*. 1846. URL: [http://www.mlwerke.de/me/me03/me03\\_009.htm](http://www.mlwerke.de/me/me03/me03_009.htm).

<sup>2</sup> Albeit theology is devoted to illuminating the place what human beings are planned to reserve in the scheme of God, the same theology cannot be but human formulation, rooted in human experience at the same time.

from situation to situation it is not the human ability to face challenges that calls for our interest and needs explanation: it is only the context that is always new. Moreover, it can also be asserted that when we happen to fight with apparently renewed arms, in fact we are fighting old battles anew.<sup>1</sup> For role actors may change every time but, all that notwithstanding, the game remains what it has ever been.

We can only see that the struggle is going on at all points, and our world today is more fragmented than ever.

The most important thing to realize now is that we are living in a rather *dangerous age*. In a way unaltered through time, today's Eves continue to eat new apples, and their Adams, as usual, remain perplexed. Unchanged, complacency of the self is limitless in present times, and we have virtually no signs, no guiding posts to find the way out.<sup>2</sup>

What conclusions can we draw from what we have told about the nature and characteristics of law?

1. Today, both legally defined pseudo criterialities (such as democracy and parliamentarism) and terms expressed as parts of the law (like the ones of Rule of Law and human rights) dominate – or, as to their real significance, over-dominate – the world of international politics, embedded in the latter's basic vocabulary. It is an in itself very guessing fact that they are used as criteria, albeit they are not suitable for operative use, because they are undefined, and perhaps even indefinite, as they primarily stand for conceptualities and concepts covering the basic orientation of our common and mainstream Western civilizational *ideal*.

2. At the same time, as the present paper reveals, the defensive role of law, suggested widely to be so strong and foreseeable and controllable as the bastions of any fortification, is by far not reliable. In fact, law does not offer any guarantee of certainty, because due to its very nature as shown above, it does not and cannot provide indeed predictable support or security.

3. According to foundational evidence shared by social science as it stands now, any politics is based on humans who are socially conditioned decisively, being a product of the triad composed of socialization, education, as well as manipulation from birth to the end. In fact, behind actual social movements just as behind the law built with hierarchical barriers, there is always some sort of "dominant will", working from a kind of centrality and mastering the process in a manner more or less hegemonic. This is the background force that holds all interpretations and applications in hand. In other words, as opposed to the jurists' professional ideology in Continental Europe focusing on the positive (positivated) law taken as a textual objectifica-

tion, only the Anglo-Saxon approach may prove to be true and justifiable in ontological terms. In reality, the being of law as a component of social ontology is related to its actual influence exerted, and by far not – or not exhaustively – to its positivized quality. In the final analysis, the law's overall impact is independent of how it prevails or stands, or how it declares itself a valid rule of the state. The key issue is the way on which the law is interpreted and applied. Or, as classically stated by an episcopal exposition, "Bishop Hoadly has said: "Whoever hath an *absolute authority* to *interpret* any written or spoken laws, it is he who is truly the Law-giver to all intents and purposes, and not the person who first wrote or spoke them"; a *fortiori*, whoever hath an absolute authority not only to interpret the Law, but to say what the Law is, is truly the Law-giver."<sup>3</sup>

4. Historically speaking, the law has never existed in an empty or emptied spiritual space. This is only a trial spread over the world from the general decay caused in America by and after the 1968 rebellion. Notably, it is the *common belief* in the self-identity of the community (expressed in common religious faith or related to the population or territory in question), in company of the *common morality* developed in and by it, that has always provided (and should provide today, too) the necessary background to law. For whatever the appearance is, the law is no more than a symbolic power. So, although the law is the ultimate factor of any successful social integration and conflict resolution, it is far from omnipotent. Its genuine mobilizing, enforcing and punitive power, i.e., its ultimate authority, lies in being able to maintain order by effectively dealing with offenses occurring individually, but not in mass. It can no longer endure when faced to some majority, i.e., disorder emerging as commonplace every day. For once not backed by the greatest support, law is to collapse. After all, as Kant said, by its very fact, conceptually, the continued lack or impossibility of sanctioning amounts to revolution.

5. Thus, once the back-up force is emptied behind the law, what is left cannot be more than an empty frame of law. That is, what may have been law becomes a helpless normative shell now. And such a law, left alone, can have no more ambition than mere exercising of violence, i.e., by chance *action gratuite*, until its whole regime breaks down.

6. All in all, from the perspective we can foresee presently, our future will lead indeed to nothing but a clash of civilizations<sup>4</sup>, the cacophony of unpredictability, unless some sort of a final resolution, truly worth of the spirit of the 21st century humanism<sup>5</sup>, cannot appear on the scene to rearrange the fate of the world.

<sup>1</sup> *Dyzenhaus D.* Legality and Legitimacy / C. Schmitt, H. Kelsen, H. Heller. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1997. xiv + 283 p. ; *Varga Cs.* Múltkutatás, jövőkeresés Közép-Európa jogában // Varga Cs. Jogfilozófia a múlt, jelen és jövő ölelésében. Budapest : Pázmány Press, 2018. P. 377. (Tanulmányok 44). URL: <http://mek.oszk.hu/18900/18995/18995.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g.: *Nisbet R.* The Quest for Community. San Francisco : ICS Press, 1990. P. 3–65.

<sup>3</sup> *Chipman J. G.* The Nature and Sources of the Law. [1909]. 2nd ed. N. Y., 1927. 102, cit. ex: *Hoadly's B. Sermon.* The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ; A Sermon Preached before the King at... St. James's, March 31, 1717. L. : J. Knapton, 1717. P. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Huntington S. P.* The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. N. Y. : Simon & Schuster, 1996.

<sup>5</sup> But suggestions exhausting in aesthetes' self-criticism like "The fear of barbarians is what risks making us barbarians." (*Todorov Z.* The Fear of Barbarians // Beyond the Clash of Civilizations. Cambridge : Polity Press, 2010. vii + 233 p.) seem rather "rhetorical", all the more so because the underlying problem concerns "the West's moral response to Islamist terrorism" (Michael King in The Times Higher Education November 11, 2010).

S. V. Vershinin<sup>1</sup>

## ON SOME ASPECTS OF GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AT THE CURRENT STAGE

Currently, we can say that the system of international relations is sustainably moving to further strengthening of multipolarity. And though the general transformation vector is hardly reversible, it is still uncertain what multipolarity of the 21st century will be like. In this environment, struggle for the right to set forth “the rules of the game” within the framework of the changing world order is aggravated.

“The collective West” is trying to preserve its privileges as the only decision-taking center and thus to slow down or correct the objective trends at the current stage of foreign relations development. As a result, the system of international law established over decades and serving as a guarantor of stability and predictability in world affairs, is under a threat now. The West is forcing a new formula on the other participants of international relations instead of it – some “world order based on the rules”. At the same time, such “rules” are often a free interpretation of the generally accepted international legal standards in favour of a limited group of countries. The established architecture of global governance is under a serious stress and just can’t function efficiently.

The United States and their allies more and more definitely head for the radical reformatting of multilateral institutions that don’t suit them. As a result, decisions are more and more often taken in the format of narrow situational unions instead of multilateral diplomacy universally embodied in the United Nations. After that all other states are offered to join the already agreed upon and coordinated decisions, presented as the whole international community’s position.

It’s evident that such an approach undermines the United Nations Charter, it is not in accordance with the ideals of true many-sidedness shared by the overwhelming majority of the global Organization’s member states and adds a considerable element of strategic uncertainty to international affairs, leads to increase of mutual distrust and narrows space for constructive inter-state cooperation.

The said aspects can’t fail to reflect on economy. On the one hand, we witness global economy demonstrating certain signs of revival as a result of 2018, after a long stagnation period. According to the World Bank and IMF data, global GDP growth rates amounted to about 3.7% in 2018, and it is the best indicator since 2011. At the same time, crisis phenomena development risks are still present and global economy’s dynamics is characterized by instability. According to forecasts by experts, global GDP growth rates can reduce down to 3.5% in 2019 and 3.6% in 2020. There are signs certifying the start of recession already not only in emerging countries such as Argentina and

Turkey but in developed countries as well – Italy, France, South Korea.

At the same time, we run across such global challenges as growing tension in trade relations that has recently become especially noticeable in relations between the United States and China, growth of protectionism, expected exit of the United Kingdom from the EU, geopolitical instability as well as everyone not being ready for coordinated actions.

Current international relations are characterized by intensification of rivalry in military and political, economic, financial, technological, information and other sectors. The policy of certain countries focused on promotion of the use of force, unilateral coercive measures, accusations with no proof and refusal from previously undertaken international legal obligations by no means helps normal development of states, becoming a powerful destabilizing factor for them.

New realities dictate the necessity to comprehend arising risks as a consequence of all that. Deepening inequality between developed and emerging countries, job cuts, infringement of basic human rights and freedoms, in particular, should be first of all referred to them. In that connection, search for adequate answers to such challenges should become one of the priorities of the current agenda. Activation of inter-state cooperation in development of international standards for the global Internet management and control as well as perfection and harmonization of national legislation regulating the digital technologies application sector become especially urgent in this environment.

According to experts, the world is currently on the threshold of large-scale structural transformation brought about not only by wide-spread practical implementation of computerization but also because of the debt model of economic growth being exhausted and existing global regulation mechanisms losing their efficiency. Hence the trend for protectionism being more evident, and one of its manifestations is politically motivated sanctions.

Such limitation measures are unprofitable for all the sides. The order based on ill-considered use of such tools leads only to new problems, and not helping to solve the already present contradictions.

The special feature of the current times is that conflict potential build-up in the world takes place with unprecedented inter-dependency and openness of national economies, transfer to a new technological pattern as the background. There are enough grounds to suppose that development and implementation of innovative technologies will help to stimulate economic growth and increase efficiency of natural resources use. Global economy is in the process of structural transformation under the impact of the so-called Industry 4.0, or the Fourth Industrial Revolution with active development of digital technologies. In this context, it is required to work out a new innovative, based on resource-saving principles development paradigm as well as restructure the existing global governance methods.

In our opinion, this will considerably and positively help the world order evolution and will be focused on formation of creative multipolarity – a more just and representative world order model. It should be based on large-scale, non-confrontational and equal cooperation of states

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (from March, 2018), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations (1976) run by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (MGIMO) and the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (1991). In diplomatic service since 1976. Adviser-envoy of the Russian Federation Embassy in Tunisia (1993–1997). Division head in the Department of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (1997–2000). Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to Algeria (1999–2003). Director of the Department of the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (2005–2018). He was awarded the Order of Friendship and the Order of Honour.

and their unions, with respect to cultural and civilization diversity of the today's world, observance of generally accepted principles and standards of international law by eve-

ryone as common "rules of the game", and acknowledgment of the United Nations' role as the universal regulator for world politics.

**J. Wiatr<sup>1</sup>**

## GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND GLOBAL RESPONSES

The world of the 21st century faces four great challenges, the answers to which will determine the future of mankind. They concern demography, economy, ecology and security. Finding adequate responses to them demands international co-operation which cannot be achieved without a fundamental reorientation of the ways in which they are perceived both by political leaders and by the general public.

*Demographic* challenge results from the rapid growth of world population and from the highly unequal rate in which population grows in the main regions of the world. In 2019 the world is populated by 7.6 billion people. It means that the world population has increased 760 percent in two centuries (from approximately one billion in 1820) and 350 percent in the last eighty years (from approximately two billion in 1930). Moreover, the rate of growth is highly differentiated regionally with the fastest growth in two poorer regions: Asia and Africa. In 2015, the regional distribution of population was as follows: Asia 4.31 billion, Africa 1.15 billion, America 973 million, Europe 745 million and Oceania 37 million. The demographic trends are also regionally differentiated. Very fast population growth in Asia and Africa is accompanied with the demographic stagnation and of the aging of population in Europe. Consequently, there is a very strong migration pressure from the poorer regions of Asia, Africa and Southern America to the affluent North: to Europe and North America. Policies aimed at preventing such migration cannot be fully effective, both because of the determination of migrants and because of the growing opposition to drastic measures in the democratic states of "global North".

*Economic* challenge results from the growth of inequalities, both within and between countries. The GNP per capita is the highest (over 50 thousand US dollars) in three West European countries (Luxemburg 65 602, Norway 59 768 and Switzerland 54 925) and the lowest (less than 200 dollars) in six African countries (Burundi 96, Congo 120, Libe-

ria 135, Somalia 136, Malawi 161, Guinea-Bissau 177, Eritrea 193). In the world of today 2.5 billion people lives for less than two dollars a day, while the richest 8 persons own the same part of world resources as the 3.6 billion poorest people. While in the last decades the absolute level of poverty decreased, the distances between the rich and the poor sectors of the population increased rapidly. The highest income inequalities exist mostly in the poorest countries of Central America (Haiti – Gini index 60.8) and Africa (Botswana – 60.5, Namibia – 59.7, Zambia – 57.5). It should be noted that the lowest income inequalities can now be found in the Central European post-socialist states: Slovakia, Slovenia and the Czech Republic, where the GNP per capita is below 30. There is also a tendency of reducing within country income inequalities in the moderately affluent European countries, while such inequalities tend to be high and growing in the fast developing countries of Asia (particularly in China). The growth of economic inequalities leads to radicalization of social conflicts and to political destabilization, particularly – but not exclusively – in the poorer regions of the world. There is a growing awareness of the necessity to revise the dogmas of neo-liberal economic thinking. Polish economists Kołodko and Koźmiński call such new approach "a new pragmatism" [3].

*Ecology* constitutes the third major challenge, particularly because of the warming of climate, the substantial part of which results from human activities. Climate warming leads to devastating consequences in several regions of the world and – if nothing is done to slow down this process – will contribute to the stronger migration processes, particularly from Africa to Europe. The very nature of climate warming requires coordinated action of the majority of state to slow down this process. It is a very complex issue as the radical reduction of human-caused climate warming would be quite costly. Governments are therefore trapped between the requirements of long term ecological strategy and the short term political cost of such strategy. The Kyoto Protocol of 1997 constitutes the most ambitious attempt to build international cooperation in the efforts to reduce climate change. Unfortunately, it has not been signed by several great powers, including the United States, China and India. The ratification of the Kyoto Protocol by the Russian Federation constitutes the major step in the right direction. A continuous effort to make the Kyoto Protocol binding for all states is of a major importance.

*Security* challenge has two main aspects: wars and terrorism. During the "cold war" the rivalry between two superpowers armed in the weapons of mass destruction resulted in the military stalemate in which global war became impossible [4]. Local wars, sometimes even with the participation of one of the superpowers (Korea, Vietnam, Af-

<sup>1</sup> Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997), deputy to the Polish Parliament (Sejm) (1991–1997, 2001), Dr. Sc. (Sociology), Professor. Author of scholarly papers on sociology of politics, including the monographs "Social Studies of Political Relations", "The Soldier and the Nation: The Role of the Military in Polish Politics, 1918–1985", "Four Essays on East European Democratic Transformation", "Political Sociology in Eastern Europe: A Trend Report and Bibliography", "Socjologia wojska", "Socjologia wielkiej przemiany", "Socjaldemokracja wobec wyzwań 21st wieku", "Socjologia polityki", "Europa pokomunistyczna – przemiany państw i społeczeństw po 1989 roku", "Refleksje o polskim interesie narodowym" etc. amny articles, including "The Eastern Europe: the Fate of Democracy", "Poland and Russia: National Interest of Historical Memory?", "World War Two and The New World Order", "The Political Crisis in Ukraine and its Consequences" and many others. Honorary rector of the European Higher School for Law and Management in Warsaw, honorary president of the Central European Association for Political Science, Professor Emeritus of Warsaw University, senator emeritus of Ljubljana University, doctor emeritus of the Oles Gonchar National University in Dnepr (Ukraine). Honoured with the Order of Polonia Restituta of the second class.

ghanistan), were frequent but because of the fear of total war between superpowers they were kept within certain limits. The end of the cold war was due to the reorientation of Soviet foreign policy in late 1980s, during the short tenure of M.S. Gorbachev. It was then believed that with the end of the US-Soviet conflict the world entered an era of lasting peace. The reality has been by far more complicated. While the balance of nuclear powers makes the global war impossible, lasting peace has not materialized. There are three main reasons for this: failure of the American world hegemony (particularly after and because of the military intervention in Iraq in 2003), the rivalry between regional powers attempting to expand their respective spheres of interest, and ethnic and/or religious conflicts in several parts of the world. The reemergence of the arms race, particularly after the decision of the USA to withdraw from the INF treaty, makes the security challenge even more serious than a few years before. Mutual suspicion creates the international atmosphere in many ways resembling the one which prevailed during the cold war. Lasting peace requires a long and difficult process of trust building. "In practice – write the British political scientists Keating and Wheeler – the problem facing states is how to create a successful security regime and transform it into a security community. We argue that this necessitates overcoming fear and suspicion by developing new practices of trust building" [2, p. 73]. In a recently published study of relations of Russia with the world, Russian scholars argue for restoring cooperative relations between Russia and the Western powers in spite of conflicts of interests between the Russian federation and the United States [5]. I strongly believe that improvement of these relations is crucial for world peace and for solving international problems in the spirit of peace and international cooperation.

In addition to conflicts between and within states, international terrorism continues to be a very serious danger to world security. It has roots in ethnic and religious conflicts (particularly the burning Israeli-Palestinian one), in frustration resulting for poverty and discrimination, and in religious and/or ideological fanaticism. In the present century, terrorism became a truly international phenomenon which calls for coordinated efforts of the states affected by it. Terrorism cannot be eliminated by security measures alone. Do be truly effective, such measures must be based on cooperation between states. However, even the best security measures will not eliminate the danger of terrorism. Long term strategy must include education of citizens in the spirit of respect for values of non-violence. Building and promoting value systems conducive to peaceful resolution of conflicts and respect for human rights is essential for creating social and psychological conditions necessary for reducing the danger of terrorism. Therefore, the realistic answer to the security challenge cannot be reduced to military and/or police measurers. It calls for a new way of viewing

the world, something that I have discussed as "the culture of peace" [6, p. 296–321].

The combination of these four challenges means that the responses to them cannot be found in the measures undertaken by separate states. They call for truly global responses. With the absence of a world government such responses can be found only in the collaboration of national governments.

Such collaboration is difficult because in many instances it demands subordinating short-term national interests to global interests. Decisions of such kind are in the hands of political leaders. Are they aware of the seriousness of the global challenges? Can they be made more sensitive to such problems? Will they be able to abandon national egoism in favor of mutual cooperation and promotion of common good, even at the expense of short term national interests?

The answers to these questions must reach beyond political leadership. Leaders – both democratic and authoritarian – do not operate in a political vacuum. They have to take into consideration the state of mind of their citizens – even when democratic mechanisms of elections are absent or limited. Therefore, the key to political solution of global problems lies in the state of mind of the citizens. What is critically needed, is so-called "global education" directed at the remaking the way people perceive the global issues. The Polish sociologist Katarzyna Jasikowska in a recent book discusses the perspectives of global education as "indispensable element attempts to find solution to the burning contemporary problems" [1, p. 10]. She considers such education as an attempt to overcome limitations of the neoliberal economic thinking and of the conservative acceptance of the status quo. Such radical global education may be a kind of an utopia, but its lasting value consists of making people aware that there can be an alternative to the ways in which global problems are treated both by the politicians and by the general public. In this, global dialogue between people from different cultures has a very great importance.

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

## WHY THE WORLD IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY UNPREDICTABLE FOR US

Today the world has come up close to global economic changes. Expectations of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Industry 4.0) based on rapid development of information technologies and use of artificial intelligence make both, private companies and states as a whole, look for new approaches to achieving economic growth and prosperity. At the same time, we're watching obsolescence of traditional forms of cooperation, blurring of the bloc world order as well as reduction of the Anglo-Saxon dominance in the established geopolitical order. Emerging economies are actively growing while increasingly voicing their rights to participate in forming the "rules of the game", pointing to the relative demise of the historical West and its erosion.

The trends for strengthening regional cooperation, compensating for manageability at the global level, are becoming increasingly clear amidst the failures of the globalization process. One can even say that the main burden in the radically transforming international system falls on the regional governance level. The Euro-Atlantic region, no matter how regrettable it can be, is in a double crisis – global and regional as, on the one hand, some strictly regional institutions such as NATO claimed and continue claiming to play the global role, or the West just goes on controlling the key structures of global governance (G7, the Bretton Woods system), and on the other hand, the current European security architecture which was transferred from the Cold War period, is failing to adapt to the demands of time, first of all in providing its openness and inclusiveness.

What is more, we're dealing with a non-linear and moving environment in international relations. It changes quickly, nullifying yesterday's and even today's realities. Many things are virtualized, they continue existing formally though have no real impact on what is going on. The world is at a point when short-term changes in some national and regional directions coincide with global shifts, being the manifest of these essential changes.

New approaches introduced by Donald Trump to the United States foreign policy play a significant role. Its foreign policy lost its former "democratizing" charge in favor of pragmatism coming close to cynicism. Washington tries to do business without basing on multilateral institutions and international law, enforcing its "rules" on all partners, be it within the framework of "transactional diplomacy" or by blatant sanction pressure in any way.

The public sentiments that brought Donald Trump to the White House are gaining strength in Europe as well.

<sup>1</sup> Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (since 2011), Dr. Sc. (Law) (International Law), Professor. Since 1976 has held various diplomatic posts in the main office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia and abroad. Former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (2005–2011). Author of several books on international space law, as well as more than 200 publications on international relations and issues of foreign policy, science, education and culture. Fellow of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences; Member of the Russian Academy of Cosmonautics; corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Tatarstan; member of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Space Board, International Institute of Space Law (IISL, Paris), International Academy of Astronautics (IAA, Paris); Professor Emeritus of the University of Edinburgh (United Kingdom). Awarded the Orders of Alexander Nevsky, of Honor, of Friendship, 1st and 2nd Class Medals of the Order of Merit, Commendations of the President and the Government of the Russian Federation.

Brexit is a vivid example of them. And continental Europe is so engrossed in its internal problems (crisis of trust in elites, European Union's/European zone's prospects becoming vague all of a sudden) that it no longer serves as a beacon for the global development, noticeably "losing weight" on the international arena and nearly turning into a "sick man" of the world.

Thus, the foundations of international relations that seemed unshakeable are eroded. Agreements become viewed not as a guideline for behavior but as an object for various kinds of manipulations to justify one's own unlawful behavior. Appeals of the collective West to some "behavioral rules" presented as international norms, that have already become a habit, look alarming and disturbing. This results in the termination or disintegration of many agreements such as the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's Nuclear Program, Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Short-Range Missiles, as well as drastic violations of the UN Charter – interventions in Iraq, Libya, Western coalition's strikes against Syria. Such "legal nihilism" and ignorance of the central role of the United Nations, showing no interest in collective instead of bloc development of new international legal standards, lead to the destabilization of the whole post-war global system of international law and order.

One of the key elements of such disorganization of international affairs is the Western countries' desire to act from the position of strength (power politics) even when the Western monopoly on force projection has been undermined. A vivid example of this inertia at the mental and practical policy level is the growth of NATO military expenditures that have already reached US\$ 1 trillion per year. The perception of losing their former dominance in world affairs makes the United States and its allies nervous, increasing therefore the risk of ill-considered, sudden steps by them with consequences that are difficult to foresee.

Against this background the UN Security Council remains to be like a "stability beacon". It still plays the key role in the system of international relations, allows to efficiently oppose harmful initiatives of some countries. It's evident that after a series of foreign policy failures, Donald Trump's administration is beginning to think about the necessity to act upon the approval of the UN Security Council. The Venezuelan crisis shows how this tool allows responsible players to prevent irreparable consequences.

Another example is the situation around the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Consecutive decrease of the United States' predictability, degradation of their ability to come to agreements force Pyongyang to demand additional guarantees during talks with Washington. No one trusts oral promises any more, thus stressing the need for carefully worked out, strictly obligatory agreements, and they can only be worked out in a multilateral format, with participation of all interested parties, and should be approved by the UN Security Council.

This shows that the established international institutions are still in demand. The impact of power politics in the medium-term perspective will decrease – both because of low efficiency and extreme expenses, and, most impor-

tant, counter-productiveness for the interests of the initiators of the strong-arm scenarios. Besides other factors, we should name the loss of control over the international information and media space by the Anglo-Saxon world – as a result of the development of the Internet. Information technologies result in the fact that the West can no longer dictate the whole world an interpretation of the events that would be beneficial to itself, while rejecting the right to have alternative points of view, qualifying them as “fake news” or “post-truth”.

The West tries to protect itself from these information challenges. We’re already seeing first signs of that. For example, the recent White Paper by the British government suggests introducing state regulation of social networks. Using plausible excuses (fighting terrorism and extremism, protection of the people from possible infringements on the Internet and infamous “foreign interference” into domestic processes), the state in essence intends to get not only access to personal information of users but also a powerful pool to use social networks in the interests of the elites.

These trends can be seen in the financial sector as well. On the one hand, we’re witnessing the growing authority of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, BRICS New Development Bank and other entities together with the IMF and the World Bank. The West’s irritation by such development course of events leads to sanction policy’s aggravation, fitful attempts to strengthen the dollar’s monopoly and to peg “disobedient” countries harder to it. This will result in the growing antagonism of the third world countries and undermine trust in dollar tools. The loss of trust in international stabilization mechanisms will lead to states wanting to return their golden reserves. Besides, new payment systems are created today, currencies are diversi-

fied and there are already talks about replacing the dollar in oil trade.

Attempts to suppress economic rivals by political means are especially disturbing. A very illustrative example of this is the West’s pressure on the Chinese company Huawei. Incapable of honestly competing with the growing Asian economy in the information technologies and artificial intelligence sector, Washington revives the far from civilized ways of doing business like the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls at the time of the Cold War. However, these measures increasingly often lead to a directly opposite result to the one desired, assisting even bigger insulation of countries, their reliance on own strengths, eventually resulting in their independent development and creation of breakthrough technologies outside the West.

Thus, all players will have to take into account the growing risks and unpredictability of the former world leaders’ behavior in the short-term and mid-term perspectives. On the one hand, non-Western states will have to take into account the new American course of action, while on the other hand, look for “safety nets”, new forms of collective work in the framework of like-minded allies. Companies all over the world will take into account increased political risks, look for ways of doing business that will protect them from the arbitrariness of the Western elites.

Nonetheless, it seems that the “critical mass” of “non-acceptance” in respect of the current “cowboy” approaches by a number of Western states, will be accumulated in the world in the next ten years. New players and alternative institutions in the security and economic sectors will emerge and get strong. This will create the environment for restoring the global balance and gradually returning to civilized forms of settling disputes as well as the international behavior in general.

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

## CULTUROLOGICAL COMPREHENSION OF GLOBALIZATION PROCESSES

During one of our talks academician Abdusalam Abdulkerimovich Guseynov expressed an opinion that when in future, in about 100 years, historians would try to phrase the urgent issues that worried scholars, politicians, prominent figures in the field of arts in the late 20th century – the ear-

<sup>1</sup> President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation. Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia. Author of more than 2,800 published works. Deputy chair of editorial boards of the following magazines: “Philosophy and Culture”, “Philosophical Thought”, “Pedagogy and Enlightenment”. Member of editorial boards of magazines: “Issues of Cultural Studies”, “Literary Studies”, “Partnership of Civilizations”, “Philology: Scientific Research”, “Search: Politics. Social Science. Arts. Sociology. Culture”, “LITERA”, “Contemporary Education”, “Simurg” (Azerbaijan). He was awarded the Order of Friendship, “For Life Saving” medal, “In Memory of the 300th Anniversary of St. Petersburg” medal, K. D. Ushinsky medal, Gold medal of the Russian Academy of Education. He was awarded the Diploma of Merit by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Bulgaria, SIMURG medal by the Azerbaijan Association of Culture and Academician Sapargaliev medal (Kazakhstan). Russian Federation Government’s Prize winner (2007) and St. Petersburg Government’s Prize winner (2010, 2016) in education, Gorky Literary Prize winner (2007), RAS G. V. Plekhanov Prize winner (2015). Doctor Emeritus of universities of the USA, Ireland, Ukraine and Poland. Academician of the Academy of Sciences and Arts (Paris), European Academy of Sciences and Arts (Salsburg).

ly 21st century, the proceedings of the Likhachov Scientific Conferences would be a priceless material for them as the topics of the Conferences and section titles can be viewed as indicators of urgent issues.

But without waiting for the next century, we can also try to comprehend the history of the Conferences that unfolds like comprehension of the history of Russia, history of global civilization of recent decades. The walls of this hall witnessed farsighted and erroneous forecasts, hopes and disappointments, acquisitions and losses.

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel introduced the Shakespearean expression, “the mole of history”, into science, it is used to designate unfamiliar logic of historical events and historical process as a whole. In the period of our Conferences’ establishment and development, the mole of history also made its way but that took place, if we use W. Benjamin’s words, in the environment of “Messianic times”. It went on in the space of the unfinished past and at the same time the incomplete present.

This explains a lot: first, the topics of the Conferences encompassing the most urgent issues of the modern times. Second, many aspects of the said issues’ analysis as human-

ities scholars, public figures, statesmen, politicians, diplomats, actors, artists present their views on social, political, economic and other issues, and that gives special meaning to every meeting. Third, popularity of “The Days of Science” and later the Likhachov Scientific Conference at the University, where the unique community of people representing the elite of post-soviet Russia assembles.

And what is more, the well-known now Valdai Discussion Club established in 2004 is built according to the Likhachov Conference model to this or that extent. A number of our traditional speakers and members of the Organizing Committee take part in the Valdai Club meetings, and that reflects continuity and ties of these discussion venues.

If we look from today’s point of view, it becomes evident that the unfinished character of the past and incompleteness of the present are to a large extent overcome by intellectually hard-driving program that always characterizes the Conference.

### **Social practice as the source of scholarly discourse**

Life itself forms the range of issues for our discussions. As many of those present in this hall remember, the first half of the 1990s was the period of chaos, time of troubles and hopeless time as it could seem. The humanitarian scholars, who assembled at our University venue in the environment of disintegrating “Soviet world”, voiced the great mission of national culture that became the main target attacked by liberal reformers, and sent a clear message.

If we use the words by Vyacheslav Semenovich Stypin, who is unfortunately not with us any more, culture has been comprehended since then as the spiritual “gene pool” of the nation, the means of arrangement and transfer of the spiritual memory of the people, the system of developing suprabiological programs of human activities. The understanding of culture as a condition for preserving sanity and providing spiritual security of the society was established then. The necessity to preserve and strengthen human values, universals being the basis of dialogue, tolerance and accord, was comprehended.

The humanitarian mission of the Scientific Conference in the 1990s was research of global issues and civilization challenges as well as forecasting the future world order scenarios. Culture in the discussions taking place in the 1990s, was viewed not only as the condition for economic and political reforms but also as the only justification of the past and guarantee of the future of humanity. The result of such an approach to comprehending functions, development trends and wider – the mission of culture – was the initiated by academician D.S. Likhachov project “Declaration of Culture’s Rights” worked out in the St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences and supported by scholarly and arts elite of the country, a number of statesmen and politicians.

We built our discourse in the context of academician Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov’s understanding of the main culture development vector – from chaos to harmony, advancement of cultural environment forming individuals, enlargement of the “sector of freedom” as the key condition for person’s self-realization and establishment of values of humanism.

The topics of Scientific Conferences expanded as the years went by and the problems challenging culture, bring-

ing order to the society, deepened. Participants of the Likhachov Scientific Conference raised such issues as globalization of radicalism and extremism, expansion of geography and social basis of violence; deformation of basic cultural and anthropological models and destruction of culture’s regulatory functions; aggravation of technology-related problems having a negative impact on the habitat and biological human nature; developments of genetic engineering threatening the habitat and biological human nature.

Then the dialogue of cultures and civilizations became the focus of the Likhachov Scientific Conference’s attention. Its new facets appeared every year. And this is not accidental: the world gradually comprehended that further civilization development was only possible based on mutual understanding, dialogue and partnership when all parties enjoyed equal rights. Reviewing the dialogue of cultures as the fundamental principle of modern civilization development, the Scientific Conference in essence conceptualized the universal methodology of humanity’s survival in the system of humanitarian knowledge, worked out world-view platforms for creation of new models of civilization development and alternative globalization strategies, modeled the environment where efficient ways of overcoming global crises of contemporary world were formed.

Integration processes intensified in the world in the late 20th century – the early 21st century. Participants of the Scientific Conference systematically researched the concept of “interaction of cultures” and the dialogue nature of global cultural space, analyzed the ratio of the global and the local in sociocultural dynamics, assessed the impact of globalization on interaction of cultures. Globalization and dialogue of cultures have various sides, they are made from various processes, they sometimes integrate contradictory trends. Perception of these phenomena is to a large extent determined by not just scientific criteria of their comprehension but also that political and cultural context, which is dominating in the society and reflects both historical traditions and current understanding of the reality.

### **Globalization on the analytical field as the subject of cultural studies**

The globalization topic is constantly included in the Scientific Conference program in some or the other formats. Currently, it seems urgent to comprehend not only the phenomenon of globalization as such but also dynamics of views’ development in case of representatives of various fields of social practice – participants of our scientific forum.

The phenomenon of globalization was variously treated and assessed in the speeches and discussions at the Likhachov Scientific Conference in various years, sometimes treatments and assessments were diametrically opposite. This is related to the fact that globalization both as a theoretical category and as a real process has many facets and encompasses a number of fields – political, economic, legal, social, etc. At the same time, there are both positive and negative results found in each of them.

Globalization is a cultural phenomenon, with the maximally wide understanding of culture. It is of dialogue character by nature. It intensifies the process and expands the field of interaction of cultures and civilizations that are viewed by us in the context of spiritual kinship of European and Russian cultures. At the same time, Europe is not



understood geographically, with the Urals as the borderline but as a cultural and economic space, including Big Russia and stretching from Iceland and Gibraltar in the West of the European continent to Chukotka in the East, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. Because of that, as it seemed in the beginning of this century, the European Union and Russia are interested in and have similar motives for rapprochement, they need jointly fitted out Europe that should acquire its identity, integrate efforts to be competitive in the global world of the future. In this connection, it seemed necessary to critically assess and overcome national and regional egocentrism.

Establishment of monopolarity of the world and Western culture's transfer to the era of Post-Modernity became principally new phenomena of the last decade of the previous century. The end of history, geography and state was announced at the worldview level in the United States. "The end of history" established the American development model as the basic and the only legitimate one, its spreading all over the world was provided by intervention (bombing Yugoslavia as well as military interventions into the life of states in the Middle East and North Africa). "The end of geography" fixed disappearance of borders of sovereign states and inevitability of globalized world without borders, free migration of people, goods and capitals. "The end of states" forecasted their gradual turning into an appendix to transnational corporations in the context of global market.

These concepts provided foundations for globalization's expansionist practice. However, American-style globalization generated sociocultural, political and economic problems, for solution of which there was no respective methodology and efficient tools. As G.M. Gatilov mentioned, global processes, generating aggravation of social and international contradictions, put uniqueness and distinctiveness of countries and nations under a threat, making the danger of inter-civilization split real.<sup>1</sup>

Globalization is becoming the means of "stifling" national economies and the world's destabilization, more and more increasing the gap between poor and rich countries.<sup>2</sup> It aggravates (and to a considerable extent conserves) contradictions between various ethnic and cultural groups and nations, nation-states and international structures, regional communities and inter-state associations.<sup>3</sup>

The growing gap between developed and emerging countries (by economic, sociocultural indicators, etc.) stimulates opposition to the West's expansion. The global world engaged in cultural standardization, making existence of nation-states as a sustainable form of community problematic, provokes intensification of anti-global position of minorities, movements and organizations (ethnic, religious, cultural, etc.), development of separatist movements accompanied by revival of ethnic, cultural and national identities.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gatilov G. M. International Aspects of the Dialogue of Cultures in the Era of Globalization // Dialogue of Cultures under Globalization : the 13th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 17–18, 2012. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2012. Vol. 1 : Reports. P. 58.

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<sup>4</sup> Mironov V. V. Dialogue of Cultures or Globalizational Monologue? // Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations : the 14th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 15–20, 2014. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2014. P. 114.

### Unification intentions of globalization

"The intention to unify humanity, suppressing any manifestations of uniqueness and independence on the part of certain countries and regions under the pretext of the necessity to centralize power in the globalized world in the face of common challenges of the time, and aspiration of states and nations to preserve the foundation of state sovereignty and their confessional and civilization identity"<sup>5</sup> become the key contradiction of globalization. According to P. S. Gurevich, "Globalism has a great unifying power. However, it runs across its own limits. The advocates of globalism insisted on elimination of traditions, ethnical and national identity. They called for cosmopolitan practice and accused any attempts to rely on one's own fundamental spiritual sources of archaism and anti-progress. But religious and ethnic trends started reviving in the global space. Many philosophers assessed this governing law as a 'dialectic paradox'.<sup>6</sup>

Globalization in its American understanding is anti-cultural in its essence as culture is national by nature. On the one hand, anti-cultural pathos of globalization lies in its striving for maximum simplification of the global system, making it homogeneous. "Globalism is 'the end of history' as spiritual and personal form of human life, when the world turns from 'flourishing complexity' into a uniform 'world-economy'.<sup>7</sup>" "Interaction of people on the globe acquires exactly this character now, making one worry about the fate of nations, cultures, traditions, preservation of humanity as such. The world has been becoming united for a long time, at least since the Modern Times but as a complex, and now it is transferring into a naturally homogeneous state. However, this is not a live organism. This is an organism-like, more and more artificial system."<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, globalization has already launched the mechanism of "involution of culture" – collapse of the idea of its victorious advance "generates actual localization of culture according to countries and regions".<sup>9</sup>

It could seem that modern information technologies of the global world make access to cultures considerably easier and increase their variety. Besides, globalization encompasses all institutions and spheres of human and the society's vital activities, being manifested in integration processes. This is well manifested first of all in the field of geopolitics, global economy, culture, formation of national political and economic structures. Globalization directs formation of global economy as one whole organism, united global culture, with unified value, regulative and behavioral models. In the environment when problems threatening human civilization are growing, globalization is often presented as the way to save humanity from future catastrophes. However, all that looks attractive only in theory.

<sup>5</sup> Chereshev V. A., Rastorguev V. N. Long-term Development Strategy: Challenges of Our Time, Global Instability and Methodology of Determination of Priorities // Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests : the 16th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 19–21, 2016. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2016. P. 259.

<sup>6</sup> Gurevich P. S. Spiritual Confrontation of Civilizations // Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests : the 16th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 19–21, 2016. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2016. P. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Kutyrev V. A. Globalism: Regions Instead of Nations, Technos Instead of Society // Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests : the 16th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 19–21, 2016. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2016. P. 418.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Kapustina L. B. Globalization and Global Culture: Two Decades in the Crosshairs of Analytics // Managerial Consulting. 2010. No 4.

Realities are far from the ideal. Researchers of globalization name intensifying aggressiveness of the key agents of the globalization project, aggravation of destructive trends by them for modification of national and cultural identities and destruction of foundations of national cultures as special features of today's globalization. The contrast between technological, military "muscles" of Western powers and wretchedness of their purposes, between pathos of ideological sentiments, intentions and lack of moral limitations in striving for personal profits is becoming more and more evident. As a result, globalization is becoming a catalyst for aggravation of competition between world powers, each of which strives to take leading positions in the world, presenting its national interests as global.

### Multiculturalism: hopes and disappointments

The issue of establishment of multiculturalism as the basis for cultural policy and international dialogue in European culture was discussed at the Likhachov Scientific Conference for a number of years. Multiculturalism was viewed as a conceptual basis for state politics. Participants of the Conference discussed various scenarios of multiculturalism's realization, its models and the problems of their bringing into life, capabilities of a multicultural dialogue in formation of a new global pattern. Multiculturalism was viewed as a resource for optimization of international relations, assisting in preservation and strengthening of common human values.

According to Eberhard Schneider, approval of the multiculturalism policy means that representatives of the culture of the majority should allow representatives of cultures of the minority to be full-featured participants of the society, and representatives of cultures of the minority should want to be participants and not just be physically present. At the same time, in order to preserve national unity of the multicultural society it is required to focus attention on the common, consolidating and not separating aspects.<sup>1</sup>

For a number of years, multiculturalism was a reality in the European Union that existed within the legal framework basing on constitutions and laws of states. It was viewed as a condition to provide and protect cultural diversity, establish the principle of tolerance as respect to another system of values, worldviews, way of life. It was supposed that there is no alternative to the multiculturalism policy.

However, practical embodiment of multiculturalism ideology took place in the environment of globalization's conflict potential growth, in the environment of complex interaction of various cultures when differences of civilization order make themselves known. As a result, optimistic expectations of globalists as to success of the multiculturalism policy did not come true.

### Globalization versus dialogue of cultures

The forecasted inevitability of confrontational practices in a dialogue that was not once spoken about at the Conference, has been fully and many times confirmed. Self-aware ethnic and cultural communities communicate, because of that cultural identity serves as one of important tools

having an impact on communications. Self-awareness of one's identity by an individual subject and ethnic group as a whole is formed in the process of opposing one's own and alien, and the idea of oneself is formed as a result of comparing with "alien". Because of that the notion of "alien" acquires great importance in inter-cultural communications. Division into "alien" and "ours" may lead to both cooperation and rivalry.<sup>2</sup> There are three globalization and cultural paradigms (models, prospects) singled out in modern literature: cultural differentialism with intensifying differences as the background; cultural convergence with growing sameness; cultural hybridization accompanied by mixture of heterogeneous cultural systems.<sup>3</sup> The contemporary dialogue of civilizations includes all three paradigms mentioned above.

Currently, the geopolitical landscape is changing, social and inter-national contradictions are aggravating. The said processes are accompanied by mutual enrichment of cultures but at the same time they put the uniqueness and distinctiveness under a threat, generate the feeling of danger brought about by a possibility of inter-civilization split. Global challenges and large-scale tasks of international relations give additional importance to interaction of cultures. Striving for harmonization of relations, productive dialogue, decrease of the number of conflicts becomes the alternative.

Trans-border challenges demand a joint answer. At the same time, a problem arises in the process of collective organization of inter-culture dialogue, and the problem is related to its moral component. The urgent task is not to allow conflicts of inter-civilization character, clashes on inter-ethnic, inter-cultural and inter-confessional basis, to unite efforts of international community based on the rule of international law, strict observance of the UN Charter principles, formation of more flexible interaction mechanisms outside blocs, network diplomacy based on equality and taking into account interests of participants united by common aims. There are new opportunities originating, based on the past, freed from intellectual inertia, deideologization, creative approaches to joint opposition to common challenges, objective matching of national interests.<sup>4</sup> Future Europe is only possible in case if the optimal form of cooperation is determined, satisfying the interests and demands of the European Union, CIS, Eurasian Community and the Russian Federation.

However, Russia's attempts to organize a dialogue with the West European world, based on common cultural dominants, have not been successful. One of the participants of the dialogue – Russian culture – did not accept the values of West European Post-Modernity. Western culture is authentic and whole: it has been moving in the direction of the paradigm of values based on usefulness and pragmatism for several centuries, starting from the Reformation. Russian culture was originally built on the values of the good, justice, value of labour. Today, it is on historical development crossroads, it has to choose one of the mutually excluding value models. Russian experience in building capitalism according to the Western pattern, based on the attempt

<sup>1</sup> Schneider E. Multiculturalism in Germany // Dialogue of Cultures under Globalization : the 12th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 17–18, 2012. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2012. Vol. 1 : Reports. P. 241–242.

<sup>2</sup> Manapova V. E. The Review of "Alien" in Inter-Cultural Dialogue // Dialogue of Cultures under Globalization : the 12th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 17–18, 2012. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2012. Vol. 1 : Reports. P. 387–389.

<sup>3</sup> Pieterse J. N. Globalization and Culture: Global Mélange. Lanham : Rowman and Littlefield, 2009. P. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Gatilov G. M. Op. cit.

to change life strategies, shows that the “national soul” rejects any alien model of being.

### Russia on civilization crossroads

Establishment of capitalism in Russia in recent decades created the illusion of cultural proximity of “the Russian world” and West European civilization for some time. However, the system of values, with the cult of material benefits, hedonism and individual’s autonomy as its center, is the nucleus of West European culture. It has become evident now that the strategic objective of the West in “globalization” of “the Russian world” is destruction of the cultural code and deformation of mental models of Russian civilization, marginalization of carriers of traditional values (they are given the role of functionaries of subculture that has the right to exist in closed communities). Life strategies, actively introduced to public consciousness, historically alien to the people of Russia, are natural for European civilization. As a result, mental bases of Russian culture are destroyed, moral imperatives are devalued: the good, truth, authenticity, beauty, justice.<sup>1</sup> Destruction of the spiritual world uniting the society in perspective deprives the subject of culture of will for consolidation and mobilization of inner resources required to answer the challenges of the 21st century.

In his time, L. N. Gumilev, when criticizing primitiveness of discourse on creation the united global culture, convincingly proved that “culture common to all mankind, the same for all nations is impossible”. He wrote that “It is known that only a fairly complex system is viable and can function successfully. Culture common to all mankind is only possible in case of maximum simplification (at the expense of destroying national cultures). The limit if system’s simplification is its death”.<sup>2</sup> Because of that its main support is uneducated, poorly cultured people, no matter if it is recognized or not by advocates of the globalism idea. “An individual sensitive to culture, always asks himself a question about the meaning of every phenomenon, including the one presented as the latest innovation of Western civilization. Change of culture of everyday life (if it takes place freely in the society, in the direction of bigger pragmatism) is not dangerous as such. But globalism will become a real threat if national humanitarian education dies in the society, the one in which education in the field of arts should play an important role. Exactly it is the guarantee of the society’s preserving the ability to produce unique cultural values, a guarantee of respect to cultural traditions, ability to recognize and preserve timeless values.”<sup>3</sup>

Globalization as it looks now is first of all realization of the scenario promoted by Western countries led by the United States. Globalization that (as it seemed in the past to scholars and politicians) is a natural development process of interaction of cultures, civilizations, nations, states, currently brought to light significant contradictions between various cultures and civilizations. The globalization process

did not eliminate but even more aggravated striving of each state to participate in global processes on privileged terms with minimum concessions. Today, we witness differentiation of certain civilizations, their confrontations up to clashes. Interaction of cultures takes place within the framework of established oppositions “globalism-localism”, “modern-traditional”, “Western-Eastern”.

### What is the coming century preparing for us?

Life has shown that the dialogue of cultures gradually turns into their conflict and cooperation of civilizations into their confrontation. In this connection, system shifts and challenges of today’s civilization, determining contours and scenarios of the future became the central topic of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference, and that was reflected in session titles as well as the raised issues and topics of discussions.

Expansion of the topics of the Conference in the recent decade was dictated by intensification of ethnic, social, political and other conflicts in various regions of the world, expansion of processes characterizing relations of humans and the environment, change of the role of science and technology in the life of individuals, society, country and the world as a whole. The dramatic nature of the situation in recent years is intensified by the financial and economic crisis, with the prospects of its overcoming being rather indefinite. This gives blurred contours to the future world projects. Pessimistic conclusions are heard more and more often: technology-related civilization has come to the limit after exhausting possibilities of extensive development and generating global crises and problems.

All these problems are in this or that way related to change of spiritual foundations of being and have the culturegeneous nature. The necessity to comprehend contours of the future is brought about by the necessity to cognize the future world order, arrangement of human society, opportunity to work out measures to oppose negative trends, transfer destructive processes into constructive. The system analysis of the modern civilization development issues became the starting point for searching for the answers to global challenges.

Treatment of culture as a national security factor has become one of the most important results of scientific discussions that took place at the Conference for many years. It was many times mentioned in reports by participants of the Conference that revival of national culture was the basis of spiritual security of the society. These problems seem extremely urgent because the Russian society was experiencing the global crisis of identity for a number of years, that took place with ideological chaos, destruction of basic spiritual and moral grounds of social being, decrease of the role of Russian culture in the global civilization process as the background. In this connection, the problems of searching for resources for spiritual revival, understanding value and regulatory specific features of Russian ethos, analysis of national mentality as an anthropologic model of Russian culture, conditions for realization of identification potential of Russian culture were and still are extremely urgent for participants of the Likhachov Scientific Conference.

Such a way of raising the issue is justified both from the point of cultural studies and political point of view – life and the notion of “security” become meaningless with-

<sup>1</sup> Gorshkov M. K. Culture as a Space for Dialogue of Civilizations // Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations : the 14th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 15–20, 2014. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2014. P. 48.

<sup>2</sup> Gumilev L. N. The Rhythms of Eurasia. Epochs and Civilizations. Moscow, 2008. P. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Avdeyev A. A. The Culture of the Early 21st Century and its Role in the Making of the International Dialogue // Dialogue of Cultures and Partnership of Civilizations : the 10th International Likhachov Scientific Conference. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2010. P. 21–23.

out a man (his moral and spiritual health). The world history shows that nations fight not only for material resources, economic liberation but also for values – intellectual, moral, religious. Danger (including cultural, generated by spreading of values from other cultures) nullifies the feeling of the fullness of life and generates internal disorganization. In this connection, spiritual security is understood as the system of conditions, helping ethnos to preserve vitally important indicators within the framework of regulatory, historically formed borders. Exit beyond the norm leads to system's disorganization and can lead to catastrophe, death of nation and state.

Analysis of the global order genesis, determination of the main sources of international tension, working out scenarios for resolving today's international conflicts, comprehension of contours of the future in the context of global cultural development became the thematic "nerve" of the Likhachov Scientific Conference in 2017–2018.

### **Aggravation of conflicts as the vector of today's civilization development**

Humanity entering the III millennium ran across aggravating conflicts in international relations. Increase of the number of domestic, local conflicts leads to their internationalization and escalation of scales and consequences, has an impact on the international system as a whole. The repertoire of international conflicts in the 21st century was enriched by a whole number of new expansion forms (economic, cultural, religious with predominance of fundamental sources).

Modern conflicts are aimed not as much at changing territorial configuration of other countries as at deformation of economic relations, changing nations' world views and world perception, redistribution of spheres of political influence, forcing other cultural models and values on weaker countries destroying the nucleus of national culture.

Participants of the Scientific Conference found out essential characteristics of an international conflict as the object of management and control; systematically analyzed global and regional tensions taking into account new types of non-military conflicts and threats; found out structural shifts in the system of international relations having an impact on the level of tension; substantiated means for peaceful resolution of international conflicts and resources of international organizations; offered ways of optimal correlation of strong-arm and "soft" methods of resolving international conflicts.

Social state and consumer society building compete and are combined in different ways in modern capitalism development. The West has been the unquestionable leader in such a society's creation, however, movement in this direction led it to an evident dead-end. A number of reports at the Conference were dedicated to the systemic crisis of Western-type capitalism.<sup>1</sup> It was said about fundamental market changes, loss of the role of economic development lo-

comotive; deformation of national elites and loss of their ability to generate new meanings, reveal promising development ways; total degeneration of democracy, increase of manipulations with the society and elimination of freedom of speech; destruction of the Christian matrix of culture development. The efficiency of classical capitalism was based on free market with its spontaneous forcefulness of economic mechanisms. Rivalry of producers, struggle for satisfaction of consumer needs by offering high-quality products were the basis of it. But this market is a thing of the past.

The economic center of gravity shifted from factory shops to human consciousness. Material production was shifted to periphery of economy by producing meanings, and requirements became manufactured as products. The modern information society has not been the sphere of free vital activities of people since the moment of its origin, being in essence only a new form of state and monopolistic arrangement of production. The late 1960s – the early 1970s were the period when relatively free intellectual life of the West was decisively replaced by mechanisms of total manipulations with consciousness. The mechanisms of elites' formation and functioning changed radically.

Previously, intellectuals played a special role in the society – writers, philosophers, scholars, professors. They enjoyed considerable freedom in analysis of the reality, generation of ideas and their delivering to the society, they had a considerable and sometimes key influence on its development. Their dependence on economic and political elites was relatively weak. Later practically all spiritual production in the West was privatized by monopolistic structures like the state as such. Intellectuals turned into employees of corporations, producing ideas by their orders and in their interests, often with no correlation with reality or related to it but not improving it from the point of view of public benefit. Big bourgeoisie creates spiritual products in its own narrow selfish interests and forces it on the others via the mass media system, with the help of mass culture spreading mechanisms. Democracy functioning institutions are privatized in a similar way, and that leads to degeneration of the political class, disappearance of political leaders as Franklin Roosevelt, Charles de Gaulle. It is not accidental that today the leaders of the European Union countries are a uniform row of officials without distinctive personalities, with rare exceptions.

Democracy, freedom of speech and meanings of being turning into commodities means that Western capitalism is entering the phase of critical degeneration that should be called malignant. Recently, cultural degeneration of the West is being actively discussed and criticized in the global community. The whole range of global crises (exhaustion of natural resources, climate change, growth of terrorism, multiplying technology-related catastrophes, pollution of the human habitat, etc.) is more and more tied with the crisis of Western civilization paradigm. Unfortunately, the newly appeared Russian elite started cultivating this model on local soil without fully understanding it and not knowing how to cultivate anything.

Commercialization of democratic institutions nullifies competition as the most important element, providing efficient market functioning, and expands corruption pace. Big corporations all over the world get more and more profits as an absolute rent, realizing political and economic dominance. Financial institutions refused from their original

<sup>1</sup> See e.g.: *Zapesotsky A. S.* Historical Controversy between Capitalism and Socialism as Dialogue of Cultures // Dialogue of Cultures under Globalization : the 11th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 12–13, 2011. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2011. Vol. 1 : Reports. P. 67–73 ; *Zapesotsky A. S., Cheberko Ye. F.* Transformation of Economic Relations in the Environment of Today's Civilization Crisis // Global World: System Shifts, Challenges and Contours of the Future : the 17th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 18–20, 2017. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2017. P. 83–87.

function of servicing production in favour of financial speculations. There are many ways created in financial sphere to increase profits, without satisfying public needs. Money turned into independent means of production, avoiding trade turnover. Such capitalism already can't be effective.

Today, a question arises as to refusal from expansion and deepening of Western economic principles in favour of principles of justice, moral obligations to the society, care of people.

### Russia as the field of global experiments

The phenomenon and prospects of Russian capitalism systematically become the subject of discussion at the Likhachov Scientific Conference. It is already clear today that a unique and grand in its scale socioeconomic experiment has been realized in our country again, for the second time in 100 years. The unheard of before in human history defective formation has again been created, this time it is ultra-liberal.

It is not difficult to correlate what was built in our country with the world practice: the argument between socialism and liberalism ideologies has been going on for several centuries and has been going on following the theory of convergence course for about half a century already. The basis of the argument is differences between two systems of values. As it is known, according to one of them, vital activities of the society are regulated by the state, human behaviour is subordinated to collective interests, and an individual is understood as a social creature. According to the other system, the society's vital activities are regulated by the market, human behaviour is determined by personal profits, and an individual is understood as an economic creature. Contemporary developed states compete today in creating socioeconomic and cultural life mechanisms, efficiently combining advantages of the socialist and liberal approaches.

The global civilization transfer to the post-capitalist phase is related to Industry 4.0 (or the Fourth Industrial Revolution) that comes to replace the today's information revolution (the third one after the agrarian and industrial), making transfer to the sixth technological wave inevitable. The infrastructure of the new economic pattern, many times increasing the efficiency of production and reducing its energy consumption and materials consumption, is made by artificial intelligence, robotics, nanotechnologies (creating new technological chains for electronic, chemical, aerospace industries); biotechnologies basing on achievements of molecular biology and genetic engineering (especially effective in medicine and agribusiness); global information networks; additive 3D printers and cognitive technologies.

The new technological pattern entering the growth phase radically changes the structure of economy, deforming its institutional basis and destroying the human factor of production. We are on the verge of a new evolutionary leap beyond the borders of capitalism.<sup>1</sup> Industry 4.0 radically changes the traditional capitalist model with its ruthless rivalry, repressive attitude to people, nature, culture. The system becomes post-capitalist and signifies the start of humanity's transfer to the new type of development, transfers civilization to the era of Trans-Modernity, incompatible with our lifeworld – the time of the so-called singular transfer of reality to another, post-human state.<sup>2</sup>

Comprehending the historical experience and the logic of development of social practice's actual spheres within the framework of the Likhachov Scientific Conference, one can say that the future is not fatal and not preordained by the higher forces, divine Providence, or other similarly incognizable and unpredictable sources. The future is formed by people, thinking, living and working here and now – various political, economic, artistic, scholarly elites in accordance with their ideas. It can't be brought to strict determination by both national historical and cultural matrixes, and by some forming global world culture.

The world can oppose the future global risks and threats based on systematization of the ideas of the future, formed in various fields of academic knowledge, comprehensive analysis of contemporary natural, technology-related, social, political and economic problems, uniting efforts of various academic schools and research institutions.

Creating the concept of the future is only possible based on comprehensive analysis of processes in the leading fields of the society's vital activities, using the scientific forecasting methodology. It's difficult to overestimate the scientific and humanitarian role of the Conference in this respect. The President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin highly assesses the mission of our academic forum and mentions in his greetings to participants of one of the previous Conferences that “the Conference has become the recognized venue for meaningful and constructive discussions, serious talk about the most important issues of our times.”<sup>3</sup> This assessment is a strong incentive for our work at the Conference 2019 and going on with further research of the most urgent humanitarian issues related to development of the dialogue of cultures and civilizations in today's world, strengthening spiritual and moral foundations of the society, preservation of the priceless heritage left by academician Likhachov that becomes more and more important and relevant every year.

Thank you for your attention!

<sup>1</sup> Paul Mason: The End of Capitalism Has Begun. What's Next? URL: <http://left.by/archives/6825>.

<sup>2</sup> See: *Kutyrev V. A.* Let's Give Everything to Machines!.. And Ourselves as Well? // Global World: System Shifts, Challenges and Contours of the Future : the 17th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 18–20, 2017. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2017. P. 355.

<sup>3</sup> Humanitarian Challenges of Today's Civilization : the 6th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 26–27, 2006. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2006. P. 5.

K. F. Zatulín<sup>1</sup>

## RUSSIA AND THE WORLD: RISKS AND PROSPECTS

**The Thucydides's Trap**

The topic of my report is Russia's place in the today's world, the situation in our country in the years ahead and analysis of arising risks. The lines from one of the verses by Russian poet N.A. Nekrasov describe the current state of affairs fairly well: "There were times worse, / But never meaner".

Recently, there was a meeting of the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy, the members of which are acting and retired diplomats, journalists, politicians. I had been one of the founders of this non-governmental organization that has been operating since 1992. The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia S.V. Lavrov, who is always speaking at such assemblies, made a good point saying that today we were witnessing world disorder instead of world order. The reason of that is that the period, which began after the Soviet Union disintegration and lasted approximately till 2011, when the United States reigned supreme in the world, not worrying for their leadership, is coming to an end. Currently, the world has found itself in the position named "the Thucydides's trap" by one researcher.

What is the Thucydides's trap if we use the language of the 21st century? When a power being the leader in the world arranged according to the unipolar model loses its influence, and another country, conversely, rises, the first one uses all possible methods, including military, to prevent the inevitable. Thucydides wrote about relations of Persia and Greece in his times. Persia had been the global hegemonic state for many years but started losing its influence. However, for one period to replace another in the Hellenic world, Europe had to live through a number of the Greco-Persian wars and large-scale conquests by Alexander the Great.

The measures undertaken by the West that are preventive in many aspects and directed against Russia's attempts to return the world power status, which we made after V. V. Putin becoming the President, also fall into place within the Thucydides's trap framework: the world is becoming more vulnerable because the leader changes. Why sanctions are imposed on Russia today and why provoca-

tions impossible yesterday (such as the Skripal case and the Kerch Strait incident) take place? To be more exact, we are speaking about the interpretation of the said attempts in Western mass media that serves as the basis for new accusations of Russia. It is important for the United States for Russia not to unite with China when the Zero Hour comes. We won't have the vote in this conflict, Russia should, like in the time of Yeltsin and Kozyrev, follow in the footsteps of the United States. Because of that, our President's foreign policy course is absolutely dissatisfactory for the United States leaders. The State Duma applauded the news of D. Trump winning the presidential election in the United States. It seemed to some deputies that with Trump's coming there would be progress in Russian-American relations. Instead of that, they worsened, because relations between states are big politics independent of personal likes and dislikes. The prospect of China and Russia uniting strengthened negative aspects in our relations with the West. Unfortunately, any actions taken by Russia or the United States lead not to relief but aggravation of tension.

**The "Rise" of China**

In the late 20th century, experts forecasted that China would catch up with America by the middle of the III millennium, but this process takes place much faster. Currently, Chinese gross domestic product exceeds U.S. GDP. This makes the United States worry, and that is manifested in the reactive policy of the U.S. President Donald Trump, who won the presidential election contrary of expectations of the Washington establishment.

Before that the U.S. political elite ruled the world via the alliances that had been established several decades ago such as NATO or new ones formed on Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton initiative – the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. Trump systematically refuses from participation in these organizations. He was not allowed to do that in case of NATO but relations inside this alliance are in crisis now, because the United States do not want to pay the lion share of expenditures and demand increase of military expenditures from their allies. Possibly, NATO will be replaced by bilateral agreements between the United States and European countries, first of all, Poland, Romania, the Baltic States, the United Kingdom. They already now have no wish to spend their money on defense of other countries.

As for China, Trump immediately raised the issue of the necessity to liquidate trade deficit in relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China. The Chinese annual export to the United States amounts to USD 600 billion, and that approximately equals the Russian Federation's export to all countries of the world. The United States are trying to "stop" China by a number of preventive measures, in particular, Trump seriously increased American tariffs on USD 200 billion worth of Chinese goods.

Besides economic success, China currently makes itself known more and more as a strong military power. It started building military bases in Somalia, worked out the aircraft carrier creation program and brings it into life. The unfin-

<sup>1</sup> First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on CIS Affairs, Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, deputy to the I, IV, V, VII State Dumas, Director of the Institute of CIS Countries. Author of hundreds of papers published in Russian and foreign mass media as well as books "33 and One Stories on the Life of Our Continent", "Between the East and the West. The Ukraine with the Orange Revolution as a Background", "Russia and Abkhazia: Two Countries – One Nation", "The Russian Issue", etc. Member of the Academic Council attached to the Security Council of the Russian Federation, Chairman of the Commission for International Politics of the Interparliamentary Assembly on Orthodoxy, member of the Council for Russian Cossacks under the President of the Russian Federation, member of the Government Commission on Compatriots Living Abroad. He was awarded the Order of Alexander Nevsky, Order of Honour, Order of Friendship, medals "For Excellent Service in Keeping Public Order", "In Commemoration of the 850th Anniversary of Moscow", "300 Years of Russian Navy"; orders awarded by the Russian Orthodox Church include Order of St. and the Most Orthodox Prince Daniel of Moscow, of St. Sergius of Radonezh and St. Seraphim of Sarov, he was also awarded the Order of St. Sabas of the Serbian Orthodox Church; orders and medals of the Republics of Armenia, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorno-Karabakh and Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic, Diploma of Merit and memorial badge of the State Duma of the Russian Federation "For Service in Parliamentarianism Development" and others. Honorary Citizen of the Republic of Abkhazia.

ished *Varyag* bought some time ago from the Ukraine, became the first Chinese aircraft carrier. It is now included in the Chinese Navy as aircraft carrier *Liaoning*. That is, China challenges the unipolar world by the very fact of its development.

With the current state of affairs, the United States are trying to limit China, restrain its activities; they are interested in creating a belt of conflicting with China states around it. The United States support claims of various countries against China, e.g. Vietnam that waged war against China in 1979, India having tense relations with the Celestial Empire because of Tibet, Japan that has not managed to improve relations with China after World War II. According to the latest data, 27 mln Soviet people and about 40 mln Chinese died in that war. Nevertheless, no one remembers that outside Asia. As a result, the Russian-Chinese border stays the most peaceful. We have managed to deal with all frictions that existed between our countries in the past.

By the way, Americans in their time also had a hand in deterioration of relations between the USSR and China; in particular, the policy pursued by Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, etc. was instrumental in that. When Nixon became the President, he undertook a number of measures directed to improvement of the United States relations with China, and that was the reason of new problems for the Soviet Union already engaged in the conflict with China because of the Party policy. Improvement of relations between China and the United States aggravated tension in this triangle.

There is an impression that Russia finds itself today in the role of China of the 1970s. The Russian Federation is not the Soviet Union that aspired to global leadership, but we want to be a sovereign country – a political subject but not an object. Because of that Russia being pushed out of Europe under any pretext, including because of the Ukrainian crisis, is more and more often pays attention to the East today.

In 2018, trade turnover between Russia and China exceeded USD 100 billion coming up to USD 108.3 billion. Export from Russia to China amounted to about USD 43 billion, that is one twelfth of all our export. It is planned to bring Russian-Chinese trade turnover up to USD 200 billion by 2020. The European Union lost the first place in the list of Russian foreign trade partners, with China taking it. What is more, Russia develops relations in the East not only with China: foreign trade figures are growing rapidly nearly with all Asia-Pacific states.

Russia does not depend on China to such a degree for it to be possible to speak about a threat to our national interests, in any case, now. However, there are arguments heard from time to time that the Chinese are cutting our forests and want water from Lake Baikal. American politicians and journalists often tell about China's wicked designs as to Siberia and the Far East but these rumors are not confirmed (in particular, ungrounded fear that the Chinese settling in Siberia and the Far East will push out the local population).

The turn to Asia is an important factor of Russian foreign policy having an impact on many sides of the life of our country.

### The Eurasian Union

It is said fairly often that Russia is a Eurasian country. In 1993, the President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbaev

speaking at the Moscow State University suggested the idea of a Eurasian Union for the first time. In 1994, when I was a deputy to the 1st State Duma, we assembled in Almaty (then the capital of Kazakhstan) on his invitation to discuss the contours of this union. Actually, the “Eurasianism” term was coined by Russian white emigrants, who put deep historical and philosophical meaning into it. Nazarbaev's “Eurasianism” was purely geographical: Kazakhstan and Russia are located on two continents. However, the part of Russia in Europe is fairly large, while the European part of Kazakhstan is very small. However, some political scientists and philosophers, for example, A. Dugin, make the Eurasianism idea absurd: they are ready to make us change our clothes for Chinese robes and grow beards in order to emphasize that the Europe's way is not our way, they glorify paladins like Baron von Ungern, who during the Civil War referred themselves to the yellow race, etc. However, really, we are mostly Europeans, who moved from the West to the East and came up to the Pacific Ocean. Americans are also Europeans though they moved in the opposite direction, from the East to the West and came up to California.

Currently, there are hard times for the Eurasian Economic Union. After Russia turned out to be an enemy of the enlightened West, our allies in the EAEU (Belarus, Kazakhstan and others) are exerting all efforts to demonstrate that they are not Russia. I am not speaking about other countries, because their voices mean nothing but they also would not like to be caught in the crossfire. Hence all the difficulties in relations with A.G. Lukashenko. He understands that the West does not need him as an ally of Russia. The West needs Belarus like other areas neighboring Russia only after a coup there. If we allow it like it was in the Ukraine, they will elect a different leader instead of Lukashenko. On the one hand, President Lukashenko understands that, on the other hand, he tries to blackmail Russia and balance in economic relations. The same takes place in Kazakhstan.

I'll give an example. Two years ago a case was filed by a businessman against Kazakhstan in the Netherlands, and in accordance with the court ruling, the United States blocked several dozens of billions dollars – two thirds of the Kazakh Samruk-Kazyna Investment Fund. Formally, by the Netherlands court order. N. Nazarbaev met with Trump in the United States, and after the meeting, the arrest was lifted from the accounts. But 2–3 months later there was suddenly an agreement on transit of American military cargoes via Kazakhstan Caspian ports, though before that all states round the Caspian Sea had agreed that there would not be any third countries in this region. That is, the Kazakhs frankly infringed their agreements with us and other states, allowing Americans to transit illegal cargoes to Afghanistan. Americans did that on the false pretext of supplying their army in Afghanistan as, first, Trump wants to withdraw troops from Afghanistan, and second, they are supplying Afghanistan via Pakistan. All that brought about crisis in relations between Russia and Kazakhstan. We keep this difficult problem low-key but it exists and there are talks going on.

What does Kazakhstan mean for Russia? Our countries are members of the same associations. Exactly Kazakhstan was the initiator of the Eurasian integration. But all the rest is done in Kazakhstan in such a way as to, preserving rela-

tions with Russia, exclude the risk of the loss of independence and in no case provide a reason for a part of Kazakhstan where the Russian population lives (that is Eastern and Northern territories being none other than Southern Urals and Western Siberia), to find itself in the Russian Federation in this or that way.

Kazakh politicians always suspect that, though they may be hidden thoughts, because of that, developing good relations with Russia, Kazakhstan as an independent state has been building certain barriers in the course of all its short history. Russian businessmen were never allowed to develop Kazakhstan natural resources, though the country actively attracted Western, first of all American investments but restrained Russian investments. N. Nazarbaev always tried to maintain balance: political cooperation was developed with Russia but economy was the guarantee that Kazakhstan would not return to Russia – either as its part or an annex.

Such a policy brings its fruits. No sanctions are imposed on Kazakhstan, the new generation of Kazakhstan politicians is critical about a possible rapprochement with Russia, and, conversely, emphasizes their national sovereignty in every possible way. In connection with that, a number of respective decisions were taken by the supreme authorities of Kazakhstan, one of them was on transfer of the Kazakh language alphabet from Cyrillic to Latin. They have the right to such measures but this is a sign of the growing gap between Russia and Kazakhstan. This is becoming a challenge for the Russian Federation: the whole length of the Russia-Kazakhstan border is 7,500 kilometers, because of that, relations with Kazakhstan are very important for us in terms of sustainability and prospects. On the whole, relations with the CIS states are significant for us exactly because they can be used against Russia as it takes place in Georgia and the Ukraine, and now in Moldova as well.

The change of political elite in Kazakhstan may bring about serious problems: the new generation of Kazakh politicians has grown not knowing the price of their independence, they are inclined to be under a delusion as to themselves and think that it's possible to freely discuss on the Internet how they will drive out all Russians from Kazakhstan. While Nazarbaev was the President, he had enough strength and brains to keep the state of affairs under control, even with his course for building the nation-state of Kazakhstan. It is difficult to say if there will be enough strength in those who inherit from him.

When Russia clashed with the West on the issues of events in the post-Soviet space, neither Belarus nor Kazakhstan supported us. These countries do not recognize independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation, they avoid these issues in order to demonstrate that they are independent, they are not like Russia. All that interferes with fulfilling integration agreements.

Russia is not striving for absorption of Belarus and Kazakhstan. The phobia of Baltic politicians is the idea that Russia intends to return Estonia and Latvia. But as Russia has never existed within such borders as now, it's important for us if borders with post-Soviet states connect us or disconnect, friendly relations between us are established or there are be sources of constant threats around Russia, charged from the outside in order to keep us "in our place".

### Russia and the European Union

Currently, Russia being a European country, faces the prospect of being "pushed out" of Europe. First, the European Union is engaged in the sanction campaign against Russia. Second, European countries allowed to persuade them exactly when the United States decided to make them responsible for what was taking place in the post-Soviet space. This project was called the Eastern Partnership. In the late 1990s – early 2000s, the United States subcontracted the European Commission (with José Manuel Barroso at the head of it then) to expand NATO to the East as they had run across rejection of this expansion. And the European Union took this function upon itself but was not successful in fulfilling it. In the course of the so-called Revolution of Dignity in the Ukraine but actually coup d'état, Assistant Secretary of State at the U.S. Department of State Victoria Nuland's telephone conversations leaked and were posted. In particular, she rudely spoke about incapability of European politicians. Because of that, Americans again decided to take the initiative in their hands and now they are tying "put things in order", in particular, anti-Russian sentiments enhanced in Europe. In such an environment, Russia contacts each European country individually in order to "unbalance" a little their anti-Russian unity. This work has not brought results yet. The European Union follows in the footsteps of the United States in its foreign policy, and the Ukrainian crisis proves that.

### The Ukrainian Crisis

What is the Ukrainian crisis? What is its meaning and importance for Russia in terms of geopolitics? In February 2010, V. Yanukovich was elected the President of the Ukraine, and many people in Russia had an impression that the period of alienation in relations between our countries was over. The "orange" President V. Yushchenko got only 5% of votes in the first round and disgracefully fell into oblivion. Yanukovich won in the second round over Yu. Timoshenko. I said then that if the Russian Federation managed to come to terms with the Ukraine, it would stay a European country. Russia is a European country without the Ukraine. However, if the Ukraine went on drifting to the West and not remained a buffer state for us, we would have to look to the East – Asia and China in particular. That was what anti-Russian forces in the West built their geopolitical calculations on – not to allow us restore our positions in the Ukraine and Belarus and establish close relations with the CIS states, counting on Russia having to go to the East, where its interests would sooner or later collide with the Chinese interests. The West then as always would become *Tertius gaudens* (*the third rejoicing* in Latin). What came true from this forecast? It is well known that Russia has not come to terms with the Ukraine, where they had the coup d'état, in which the West actively participated, and turned its attention to the East.

The conflict with the Ukraine is of key importance in the struggle to keep relations with Europe. In the Paris Charter adopted nearly 30 years ago, Russia was assigned the role of a country mostly subordinated to the West. The leaders of our country agreed to that after disintegration of the Soviet Union but everything changed in 2007 when V.V. Putin spoke at the Munich Security Conference. We are exerting many efforts to prove our right to take decisions.



In 2014, we had to take a choice: to react or not to the impudent challenge to Russia that was the coup in the Ukraine. Starting from my work in the 1st State Duma, I regularly reminded about the issue of Crimea and Sevastopol. However, when we tried to attract attention of the leaders of the country to these issues in the 1990, they just waved us away, accusing us of an attempt to break brotherly Russian-Ukrainian relations.

Anyway, the issue of the Crimean Peninsular coming back to Russia was not included in any plans in the 1990s. We attempted to convince the Ukrainian authorities that the Ukraine in order to hold various, heterogeneous parts in one state, should go along the same way as Russia and become a federation. There were debates in the State Duma if we should sign an agreement on friendship and cooperation with the Ukraine. The Government thought that it was necessary, and the Committee on CIS Affairs and Relations with Compatriots, which I headed, called to word some terms and conditions before signing the agreement, in which borders between states would be recognized (i.e. Crimea and Sevastopol as parts of the Ukraine).

Why did Crimea and Sevastopol turned out Ukrainian territories in the first place? Because the Soviet Union at the time of its disintegration had been made exactly like that. In 1991, Russia had agreed to all borders, and the agreement we intended to sign with the Ukraine was to confirm it. Nevertheless, we thought that the Ukraine had to sign a federative agreement with Crimea in order to differentiate authorities and responsibilities as it is done in federative states. Russia is a federative state. There are exclusive authority areas of central bodies of authority and local bodies' authority areas – republics, districts, regions as well as joint authority areas. We offered to make relations between the Ukraine and Crimea as its part legal in a similar way.

It was necessary because the Crimean people did not hide their wish to return to Russia. In January 1991, when the USSR had only several months left to exist, the first referendum took place in Crimea. People were asked: “Are you for the restoration of the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as a subject of the Union of SSR and a party to the Union agreement?” Then Crimea had the status of a region as a part of the Ukrainian SSR, people voted for the peninsular getting the republican status and for direct inclusion in the future renewed USSR according to the new Union agreement that Gorbachev tried to suggest at the time. That is, the Crimean people voted for exiting the Ukraine. As a result, the Ukraine granted them an opportunity to be called the Republic of Crimea but ignored their wish to be an independent participant of the union.

After that, the first “Russian spring” began that was stifled in 1995, when Yu.A. Meshkov was elected at the Crimea-wide elections (there were no such elections any more) the President of Crimea. He was the leader of Crimea for a year only, after that the Ukrainian authorities dismissed him, and Russia did not respond to Crimea's cries for help.

Thus, the Crimean issue has always been the delayed-action mine in Russian-Ukrainian relations. From the early 1990s and till 2014, Russian authorities tried not to aggravate relations between the two states, but Crimean residents (2 mln people) remained in the role of hostages. When it became clear in 2014 that the Ukraine was breaking off relations with Russia, mechanisms were launched that led

to Crimea being returned to the Russian Federation. The events in Donbass followed.

As a result of the said events, Russia was announced the devil incarnate because it “conquered” another state's territory and supports separatists in the neighboring country. As for “another state's territory,” the Committee on CIS Affairs, Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots within the State Duma made public the respective announcement: “The Historical Truth: About the 65th Anniversary of Crimea Being Stolen from Russia and the 5th Anniversary of its Bringing Back”.

Really, we did not take another state's territory. In 1954, Crimea was illegally given to the Ukrainian SSR within the Soviet Union by the decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to be more exact, by N.S. Khrushchev's decision. The 65th anniversary of this shameful decision fell on April 26. We did not annex Crimea – it was stolen from us. Because of that, the words that we took something Ukrainian from the Ukraine are unfair.

Currently, those European, American and Ukrainian politicians, who are saying that Russia should refuse from supporting Donbass but at the same time do not mention Crimea, in principle are trying to find a compromise in relations with our country. People stating that Russia should not only refuse from supporting its compatriots in the Donetsk People's Republic and the Lugansk People's Republic but also return the “annexed” Crimea to the Ukraine, are bringing our relations to the dead-end. Because we will never return Crimea – this is our territory, and the historical truth is on our side. Nevertheless, this issue could have been solved differently had our neighbor's not followed the way of creating the Ukraine for Ukrainians. Any other point of view is regarded as a threat to the Ukraine, and the federative state arrangement is considered a crime. Bringing about problems in relations between Russia and the Ukraine, the interested circles in the West (and the Ukraine and Russia involuntarily helped them) thus created a serious threat for further geopolitical cooperation between Russia and the European Union. The United States are the winner in this situation, because Russia as well as the European Union are their rivals, if not political then economic. They understand that in Europe but they cannot relieve tensions in relations with Russia because they are not independent politically.

### **The Nuclear Threat**

The time helps to replace the unipolar world with the multipolar one. The question is: to what extent is multipolarity vulnerable in case of destabilization? The generation not knowing what war is and what losing a war is (the so-called Vietnam syndrome) has entered the politics today in the United States trying to preserve their leadership. This generation thinks that a nuclear war is possible and it is possible to win it. For example, they cheer themselves up thinking that it is possible to invent miniature nuclear charges that will not allow a global nuclear war to break out, but will allow achieving dominance in local conflicts. Military and technological ingenuity is focused exactly on that – miniaturization of nuclear charges on submarines or uranium filling of tank or artillery shells.

Not only Russian but also American experts, who remember the times when the countries were for disarmament

ment, speak about the danger of this approach. Richard Burt, who was the head of the American delegation at the talks when the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I) was discussed, is worried that people not understanding that there should be no nuclear war, have come to power in the United States. They suppose that it is possible to wage it and probable that the United States will win it as America has created the insurmountable nuclear-missile shield, etc. But this is an illusion. Neither Russia nor the United States have anti-missile defense systems that could prevent a nuclear catastrophe. The previous time when Americans had such fantasies was during R. Reagan's presidency (in the latter period of the Soviet Union). He announced the Strategic Defense Initiative (the main purpose of that program was creation of a space shield that could make America invincible). Currently, experts understand that it is impossible to create a shield protecting from a nuclear strike.

Currently, there is a threat brought about by the United States withdrawal from the Treaty on Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Short-Range Missiles and related to the attempts of the United States to equip Poland, Romania and other countries located close to Russia, with missiles that can quickly reach the territory of our country. The problem is that placing missiles close to our borders does not help to disturb the existing parity and nuclear potential but cuts the time for decision-taking. The flight time to our territory is only 5–7 minutes if missiles are placed where planned. It means that the decision on a retaliatory strike will be taken not by a man but by a computer. We are becoming hostages of machinery, i.e. humans are excluded from the decision-taking process as to the humankind survival. The so-called Dead Hand system provides for a retaliatory nuclear strike in case the top leaders of the country die, and that is a threat not only for us but for all the rest as well.

Currently, Russia is interested in agreements to be observed and talks on disarmament and arms race restraints. However, we do not see the same striving on the part of the United States. In October 2018, Russia officially addressed the United States of America to sign a declaration: the two leading nuclear powers, the Russian Federation and the United States, were to confirm the impossibility to win a nuclear war as well as impossibility of a nuclear war as such. Americans refused to do it.

### Russia and NATO

On April 15, 2019, representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation announced that contacts between the Russian Federation and NATO were suspended. It's another step certifying that there is no dialogue. Russia in its time went too far in contacts with NATO. In 1995, the West promoted the idea of NATO expansion to the East. In order for us not to be against it, there was a program for military cooperation with NATO, The Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. At that time, there were parliamentary hearings in the State Duma on my initiative, on the issue, whether Russia should participate in this program. The conclusion was unambiguous: this program is a Trojan horse let loose in the post-Soviet space, and if we sign it, we will thus give our neighbors – independent CIS states – a signal to signs agreements with NATO on partnership for peace on the globe. After that our relations with these coun-

tries will depend on NATO. At the time, the leaders of our country did not pay attention to our conclusions, and Russia signed the cooperation program. Georgia, Armenia and other countries were engaged in this program, and they started seriously developing their relations with NATO. If relations between the Russian Federation and NATO stayed at the level of mutual politeness, friendly visits, they started testing mechanisms, training personnel, etc. By now, the pendulum has swung more than required, i.e. Russia and NATO are already having so different opinions and do not maintain relations that they officially recognized it. Currently, all ties are fully broken – two ships are going in different directions, without paying attention to each other. This is not very good because even in the period of Soviet-American confrontation there were mechanisms to share opinions and for consultations, there was the Warsaw Pact. There is nothing now, and that creates risks for Russia. When speaking convincingly and fighting for our interests, we should not forget that we have to find common ground.

### The Role of Contemporary International Institutions

International institutions established including on the initiative of the West such as WTO and many others, are today disparagingly criticized by the Western leader – the United States of America. This is the Trump administration's policy. The opposition, mostly Democrats, would like to return to the former system of the United States dominance, when their country as a good hegemonic state stuck to the rules of the game and manipulated all with the help of international institutions. Trump, who has become the leader of protesting white America against the establishment in Washington, New York and other cities, destroys this approach, and that brings conflicts in the American political system up to the extreme.

Recently, the book *Fear: Trump in the White House* by the well-known American journalist Bob Woodward was published in Russian. Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein were authors of shocking exposures at the time of the Watergate scandal that led to resignation of President Nixon. 16 books out of 18 written by Woodward became national bestsellers. He is not a Trump follower but he wrote a book about Trump in power. There is a lot of precise information and understanding how this administration really works. Trump's image is created as a destroyer of any order because of his experience as a businessman: before making friends he should necessarily attack someone. Trump is proud of his relations with Xi Jinping but at the same time regular upheavals in American-Chinese relations do not suit him. There is now a struggle that is not made public going on in the top Chinese authorities between those who think that it is possible to come to agreements with America (closest advisors of Xi Jinping) and those who think it impossible to come to agreements with the United States because development of China is the sentence to Chinese-American relations.

Currently, Russia is trying to emphasize the important role of international institutions (United Nations, etc.) at every level. Sometimes international institutions are transformed – it happened to the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons: its Charter was rewritten, and now all decisions are taken by the staff and the stands of

other countries are not taken into account. Because of that, I see no prospects for coming to global agreements in the near future.

### Russia in the Contemporary World

While the United States are losing their leadership positions (for economic and other reasons) with China on their heels and already outrunning them as a background, confrontation is increasing and there are risks originating along the perimeter of the Russian Federation. Russia is trying to fight that and demonstrates its military capabilities. Doubts that our country can undertake something at all are mostly related to weakness of Russian economy. Western analytics and politicians ignore relations with Russia and think that weakness of our economy will not allow us to compete with them.

Gross domestic product of the Russian Federation amounts to USD 1.5 trillion and equals GDP of the New York state, i.e. Russian GDP is 1/10 of U.S. GDP, or 3.3% of global GDP. It seems to the United States that it is enough to ignore ambitions and interests of Russia. And we're trying to prove to them (and, by the way, do it fairly convincingly) that we're able to compete not only in the Ukraine but also in Syria and other parts of the globe.

Even Russia's love to China is only an attempt to show the United States that if they behave like that, we will address China. However, there are many people who would like to return relations with the United States to the normal course. I think that Russia should not be a junior partner of either the United States or China. This point of view is conceptually presented by V. Surkov in his article *Loneliness of a Half-breed*.

What course should the world take? Will precariousness be aggravated in future? There has never been such definiteness in relations of the two countries, the Russian Federation and the United States: we are sure that the United States consider Russia, China and Iran their enemies. It turned out in the 1990s that Russia was in ruins and it could be not paid attention to: they talked to us condescendingly, looked at us like yesterday's partners who cannot do anything.

Today, Russia it already putting the West on its guard and makes it uneasy. The question is, what it will lead to? Can we respond to challenges, be competitive, solve our domestic problems that unfortunately only increase in Russia?

According to statistics, Russians' standard of living is falling, e.g. in comparison with 2018, it fell by 2.3%. The protest potential is increasing not only in the capital city but in provinces as well. Today, people are not ready to suffer and present claims in connection with everything they do not like. E.g. there has always been the garbage issue but it has never been so drastic: people demand to close all refuse dumps. Authorities should take respective decisions. Only 4% of all garbage is processed in Russia, and all the rest is accumulated by decades. This is one of the urgent problems today because of the garbage reform underway. The Government shifts the material aspect of these issues on the shoulders of the people by increasing tariffs for taking out garbage. All that creates reasons for protests.

In my opinion, there were serious blunders in the pension reform. The pension reform is inevitable but in order for the people to support it, authorities should have demonstrated that they want to distribute the tax burden between all justly and rightfully: income tax should be proportional. Unfortunately, we still have not managed to convince the President and the Government to do that. The President thinks that there should be constant rules of the game and it's inadmissible to increase taxes on entrepreneurs as they will respond by closing their facilities and taking money out of the country. And our people think differently: if the authorities demand something, all citizens should be taxed in favors of the state proportionally to their capabilities. We have not come to such understanding yet. We approved the Government's report yet another time, but we are not satisfied with it, because there is no real understanding of the depth of problems in it – the gap between the people and the Government is expanding more and more.

Hence the growth of the protest potential capable to interfere with Russia's return to the list of great powers. All that is the reason for serious thoughts.

# Plenary Session

## GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT: CHALLENGES OF PREDICTABILITY AND MANAGEABILITY

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May 23, 2019.

A. P. Petrov Theatre and Concert Hall, SPbUHSS

### CHAIRPERSONS:

- V. A. CHERESHNEV *Chief Researcher at the Institute for Immunology and Physiology (the Urals Branch of the RAS), member of the Presidium of the Urals Branch of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Medicine), Professor, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*
- M. Á. MORATINOS CUYAUBE *High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010), Dr., Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*
- R. I. NIGMATULIN *Research Advisor of P. P. Shirshov Institute of Oceanology of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Physics and Mathematics), Professor*
- S. V. VERSHININ *Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary*
- A. S. ZAPESOTSKY *President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation*

### SPEAKERS:

- I. O. ABRAMOVA *Director of the Institute for African Studies of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics)*
- E. AGAZZI *Professor of the University of Genoa (Italy), foreign member of the RAS, Ph. D.*
- A. A. AKAYEV *President of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Engineering)*
- H. de CHAVAGNAC *Consul General of the Republic of France in St. Petersburg*
- B. DESGARDINS *General Manager of Banque “Eric Sturdza SA” (Geneva, Switzerland)*
- P. DUTKIEWICZ *Director of the Center for Governance and Public Policy at Carleton University in Ottawa (Canada), Ph. D., Professor of Political Science*
- J. K. GALBRAITH *Professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas (Austin, USA)*
- Al. A. GROMYKO *Director of the Institute of Europe of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Political Studies), Professor of the RAS*
- A. A. GUSEYNOV *Principal Adviser for Academic Affairs of the Institute of Philosophy of the RAS, full member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*
- G. A. HAJIYEV *Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor; Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*
- V. V. KIRILLOV *Vice-Governor of St. Petersburg, Dr. Sc. (Sociology), full state counselor 1st class of the Russian Federation*
- G. W. KOLODKO *Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), Director of the Research Institute at the Kozminski University (Warsaw), foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor*
- H. KÖCHLER *President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), professor emeritus at the University of Innsbruck, Ph. D.*
- A. M. KRAMARENKO *Director of Development of Russian International Affairs Council, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation*

- V. A. LEONTYEV *Deputy Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the North-West Federal District, full state counselor 2nd class of the Russian Federation*
- A. G. LISITSYN-SVETLANOV *Chief Researcher fellow of the Institute of State and Law of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor*
- Ye. I. MAKAROV *Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, research supervisor of the Center for Monitoring and Analysis of Social and Labour Conflicts at SPbUHSS, Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS*
- H. M. REZNIK *Vice-President of the Federal Chamber of Lawyers, Cand. Sc. (Law), Honoured Lawyer of Russia, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*
- M. SANAEI *Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation, Cand. Sc. (Political Studies)*
- J. A. SCHOLTE *Professor of Peace and Development in the School of Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg (Sweden)*
- I. TALUKDAR *Research Fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs (New Delhi)*
- P. P. TOLOCHKO *Member of the Presidium of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Honorary Director of the Institute of Archeology of the NAS of Ukraine, academician of the NAS of Ukraine, foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*
- Zh. T. TOSHCHENKO *Chief Researcher of the Institute of Sociology of the RAS, Chairman of the International Editorial Board of the RAS journal "Sociological Studies", corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor*
- V. T. TRETYAKOV *Dean of the Higher School (Department) of Television of Lomonosov Moscow State University*
- M. A. ZAMSHEV *Editor-in-chief of the Literaturnaya Gazeta (Literary Newspaper)*
- K. F. ZATULIN *First Deputy Chairman of the Committee on CIS Affairs, Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots, deputy to the State Duma of the Russian Federation, Director of the Institute of CIS Countries*

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues! We are starting the work of the plenary session at the International Likhachov Scientific Conference. The Likhachov Scientific Conference (originally called the Days of Science) has been held at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences since 1993, initiated by academician D. S. Likhachov, who personally participated in several conferences. In 2001, writer D. A. Granin and I addressed the President of Russia V. V. Putin asking to take a number of measures to perpetuate the memory of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov who had passed away by that time. The President signed the Decree “On Perpetuating the Memory of D. S. Likhachov” within three days after the receipt of our letter (and that is unprecedented for the peaceful times). One of the paragraphs included holding the International Likhachov Scientific Conference employing the resources and potentialities of our University. Thus, our public initiative was granted the state status.

The Likhachov Scientific Conference is held under the auspices of the Russian Academy of Sciences, supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation and using the Presidential grant for civil society development. Thus, the International Likhachov Scientific Confer-

ence has the official state status fixed by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation.

Over fifteen hundred people take part in the Conference every year. Today, about 800 people are present in this hall, and tomorrow over 750 schoolchildren from Russia and abroad will take part in the Likhachov Scientific Conference. During the school year, they took part in International Contest of Creative Works by schoolchildren “D. S. Likhachov’s Ideas and Modern Times”. This as well as participation of the SPbUHSS students in the forum is a very important part of the Likhachov Scientific Conference – and this is concentration on the future.

Over 200 reports written by the leading scholars, thinkers, public figures, journalists, representatives of various fields of practical activities and academic knowledge from 25 countries of the world are published on the University website. Reports were presented by advisor to the President of the Russian Federation S. Yu. Glazyev, over 25 members of the Russian Academy of Sciences, ambassadors Polad Bülbüloğlu (Azerbaijan) and Mehdi Sanaei (Iran), outstanding foreign scholars and statesmen from Austria, Belarus, Bulgaria, Hungary, Egypt, India, Italy, Iran, Iceland, Spain, Kazakhstan, Canada, Kirghizia, Paki-

stan, Poland, Puerto Rico, Slovenia, the United States, Turkey, the Ukraine, Switzerland, Sweden, etc. Over 200 Professors and Doctors of Sciences from various parts of our country take part in the Conference and surely there are scholars from Moscow and St. Petersburg higher educational establishments and institutes of the Academy of Sciences among them.

Each time, the most urgent issues of the modern times are included in the agenda of the Conference in accordance with the spiritual and moral legacy, Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov's behests. The topic of this Conference is "Global Development: Challenges of Predictability and Manageability". The title was not thought up by the Organizing Committee but worked out in the course of discussion with a big group of scholars traditionally taking part in the Conference. And it was supported by the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation.

We are living in a difficult period when the after-war world order is changing considerably and many principles of international law are challenged as well as the role of the United Nations, the World Trade Organization and a whole complex of social institutions that were set up after the war and operated for over 70 years. Until the recent decade, relations between many countries, notwithstanding their being tense sometimes and characterized as the Cold War during a certain period, were in any case built on international rules, norms and procedures for settling conflicts recognized by all. This provided for stability in global development. Notwithstanding that there were blocs (Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO), the threat of a nuclear war was real and there were crises (like the Cuban Missile Crises or the Berlin Crisis), the state of affairs was safer, more manageable and predictable than today: each country understood in what order it could uphold its interests if they had been infringed on. This system has been corroding, degrading and even breaking up in recent decades. Today, it is unclear for many countries how states and governments should behave in order to deal with conflicts. We run across a whole line of threats (terrorism, trade and tariff wars, etc.) to which the global community can't find adequate answers.

Extremely important issues are raised at the Likhachov Scientific Conference today: what should be done further and what should the after-war world order be like? It's absolutely clear to us, the participants of the Conference, that a new architecture is being created in the world. The matter is not if there will be or won't be a new architecture but if it is possible to transfer to a new global architecture, new rules of building international relations without a war (that in the present environment has all the chances to be a nuclear war). Currently, the feeling of military confrontations' danger is damped in case of many people, but the army men of several countries seriously engage in saber rattling and speak about a possibility of a nuclear war. This is the principal difference of the current situation from what we had ten or sixty years ago. The world has reached a dangerous line, and we should do everything possible to find the ways to exit the situation, first of all theoretical; practical ways will be looked for by other people and not us. The purpose of the Likhachov Scientific Conference is to work out productive ideas that will help to move forward and provide the stable future.

I invite Deputy Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the North-West Federal District Vadim Alexeyevich Leontyev to take the floor.

**V. A. LEONTYEV**<sup>1</sup>: – Allow me to read the welcoming address by the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin to participants, organizers and guests of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

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

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

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

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

I wish you success, interesting and useful communications. V. Putin."

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY**: – Dear colleagues, the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation D. A. Medvedev sent his welcoming address to our Conference. Dmitry Anatolyevich says in his welcoming address that over the two decades, our Conference has become a significant event in the academic and cultural life of the country and an impressive audience traditionally assembles for it. D. A. Medvedev mentions that the main topic of discussion, "Global Development: Challenges of Predictability and Manageability", is extremely urgent and touches upon practically all areas of our life. And that is very important in the time of global changes. In the opinion of Dmitry Anatolyevich, it is required to find new approaches to prevention and overcoming crises, and that is only possible by joint efforts, based on mutual respect and interested dialogue between states and nations, and with the help of science and culture that have no borders.

The Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation V. V. Volodin, who person-

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the North-West Federal District (from November, 2018), full state counselor 2nd class of the Russian Federation. He occupied various positions in the City Agency for Industrial Investments (2004 – 2007), served in the leading positions in the North-West Directorate for Construction, Reconstruction and Restoration (2007–2011), he worked in the Administration for Information and Document Provision of the President of the Russian Federation (2012). Chief adviser, head of the Home Policy Department in the Office of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the Central Federal District (2012 – September, 2018). Head of the Department for Working with Regions of the Central and North-West Federal Districts of the Presidential Office for Home Policy (September–November, 2018). He was awarded the second-class medal of Order of Merit for the Motherland.

ally familiarized himself with our University not long ago, also sent his welcoming address to the Likhachov Scientific Conference.

I invite Deputy Chairman of the Committee on CIS Affairs, Eurasian Integration and Relations with Compatriots of the State Duma, Russian scholar, well-known journalist, TV anchorman, director of one of the research institutions studying the Committee's issues, Konstantin Fyodorovich Zatulin to take the floor.

**K. F. ZATULIN:** – I was entrusted with the honorary mission to read the welcoming address from the Chairman of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation Vyacheslav Viktorovich Volodin.

Dear friends! This year, you again assembled in the city on the Neva river, in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences to discuss urgent issues of global development.

Your scientific forum initiated by academician Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov has been making its contribution to arranging the dialogue between countries for many years, based on mutually advantageous, equal partnership. This confirms the great impact of D. S. Likhachov's humanistic ideas on the formation of modern scientific views and ideas.

Today, in the time of changes, when global development is subjected to new challenges and risks, it is especially important to promote a constructive agenda of international cooperation. I count on offers and recommendations worked out in the course of the Likhachov Scientific Conference being practical and significant, including in parliamentary dimensions.

I wish you successful and fruitful work. Respectfully yours, V. V. Volodin."

It's not my first visit to St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences. I am proud of my warm relations with the President of this wonderful higher educational establishment but I participate in the Likhachov Scientific Conference for the first time.

A. S. Zapesotsky said that we lived during difficult times. Just recently, when I was lecturing at the SPbUHSS, I quoted the lines from one of the verses by Russian poet N. Nekrasov, "There were times worse, but never milder." Really, evident things are doubted today, in particular a possibility of international cooperation on equal terms, justice in international relations (though it is difficult to achieve), events testing international relations for stability and strength are multiplying, armed conflicts go on and new conflicts originate. It is important at this moment for us with our colleagues from abroad to continue looking for a new language that may be heard in other countries. It is important not to lose the ability to hear each other and convince.

I have been working in the State Duma for a fairly long period of time, but the first Duma is especially dear to me, because the authorities and the opposition were balanced then in the State Duma, the opinions were balanced, and that provided a possibility to make others change their mind.

Stability of the political system is important for residents of our country, they are not interested when people in power argue with one another – decisions taken by them are important. But those participating in this process think that a possibility to convince the opponent with arguments

that the speaker's point of view is right, seems important. And when everything is predetermined, and no matter what you say, a certain decision will be taken, this decision is not always the best.

Currently, the policy of the United States in relation to their allies in the West is dominating in international relations. They are trying to force their point of view on everyone: there are two opinions – American and wrong, i. e. the opinion of all the rest. This can't fail to bring indignation, regular bifurcations of the international life. In this environment, Russia is fighting on the international scene to have its independent position respected, in order for anyone not to be able to force their point of view on Russia, the way the country should live, who should rule it, how it should be represented in the world in general.

A vivid example is the Ukraine, where discussions go on all the time (and even more so now with the power passing over to the new President), including in talk shows and TV programs, as to the opinion of this or that American official about this or that appointment in the Ukraine. The Ukraine found itself in such a situation when it refuses itself the right to have its own opinion until it finds out what they think about the issue in the United States. And if in the past it was the opinion of the President, Vice-President, now minor officials from the U.S. Department of State, public figures and politicians from the United States tell the Ukraine who should be appointed the administration head.

I'm sure that Russia will never allow anyone to tell us whom to appoint and whom to dismiss. And to assert this right of ours is an important task for everyone and all of us, first of all people in power in Russia.

I'd like again to call all of you, especially the younger part of our audience to be interested in what is taking place and express your point of view, to listen to the opinion of people setting up the agenda of public discussions all over the world, thanks to such unique events as the Likhachov Scientific Conference. I wish participants of the Conference successful and fruitful work!

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation S. V. Lavrov sent his welcoming address to the Likhachov Scientific Conference. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation Sergey Vasilyevich Vershinin is taking part in our Conference, and he is given the floor.

**S. V. VERSHININ:** – Dear friends, colleagues! I am happy to be present at this scientific forum for the first time. I'll start from the most important – reading the welcoming address by the Minister of Foreign Affairs S. V. Lavrov:

"I'd like to sincerely welcome organizers and participants of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference as well as the Global Circle initiative.

St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences has been established as a sought-after discussion venue, where eminent and distinguished politicians, scholars, prominent figures in the field of culture from various states assemble every year to look for answers to numerous challenges of our times. Such interlinking of intellectual efforts acquires special significance in the current far from simple situation on the international scene, characterized by aggravation of old and origination of new challenges and threats.

The topic of this meeting is rather urgent. Currently, the world is undergoing tectonic changes related to formation of the polycentric architecture of the world order. This trend in particular reflects natural striving of nations for selecting the models of development answering their national, cultural, confessional identity by themselves.

It is in the interests of all to make this process manageable and predictable. It is only possible to achieve this aim jointly, on the solid foundation of international law, basing on the central coordinating UN role. It is difficult to overestimate the contribution of diplomacy called to assist achievement of balanced decisions in various fields – from economy to climate.

It is hardly possible to provide peaceful, safe and happy future of the whole mankind without establishing productive partnership between representatives of various confessions, cultures, civilizations. In this connection, I'd like to express my sincere gratitude to my colleague, high representative of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations Miguel Angel Moratinos for his energetic efforts in this direction.

I am sure that your meetings will be held in a creative way, and their results will help to strengthen trust and mutual understanding between nations. I wish you fruitful discussions and all the best. S. V. Lavrov.”

Leading Russian and foreign scholars, politicians, diplomats and public figures are assembled today for the influential scientific forum held for the 19th time already to seriously and comprehensively discuss urgent global issues. The Global Circle group also has a big potential – it's a new format set up on the initiative of the high representative of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations Miguel Moratinos and the President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences Alexander Sergeevich Zapesotsky. They met for the first time yesterday, and that meeting was useful. It seems that ideas helping to make our world more predictable and manageable will originate in the course of discussions of this new international intellectual club.

I'd also like to mention that the raised topic is much in demand – “Global Development: Challenges of Predictability and Manageability” as many challenges in politics and economy originate because of wrong forecasting, and that often takes the situation from under control and entails negative consequences. It is evident today that the system of international relations is being reorganized in the direction of multipolarity. And though, in our opinion, the general transformation vector is irreversible, there is still uncertainty as to what this multipolarity will be in the 21st century.

In this environment, the struggle for the rights to determine the rules of the game within the framework of the forming world order is aggravated. The collective West is trying to do it in its own way, to establish itself as the one united decision-taking center within the framework of the so-called liberal world order. And though there are disagreements between the United States and the European Union as to what this order should be based on (national sovereignty or multiculturalism), they act as one or with a common understanding. Today, the system of international law that was a guarantee of stability and predictability in global affairs, and was formed for decades, is in danger. Instead of it, the West forces some formula, the thought by it world order based on rules, on the other

participants of international relations. As a result, the established architecture of global governance is under a serious stress and just can't function efficiently in the environment when the same for all rules of the game are lacking. Decision taking in the format of narrow situation unions is practiced instead of multilateral diplomacy, most universally embodied in the United Nations. Then the rest of the states are offered to join the agreed upon decisions that are presented as the positions of the whole global community. Here are enough examples from the recent times, and I hope that we'll speak about that. We think that such an approach undermines the UN Charter and is not in conformity with the ideals of real multilaterality, shared by the overwhelming majority of member states of the global organization.

All these aspects can't fail to be reflected on the economy. On the one hand, we are seeing that after the long stagnation period, the world economy demonstrated signs of revival according to the results of 2018. There are positive trends witnessed in this field for the first time in several recent years. According to the World Bank, global GDP growth rates amounted to about 3.7% in 2018 (this is the best indicator since 2011). However, we can say at the same time that crisis phenomena development risks are still present, and now the growing tension in trade relations is singled out among the key, global challenges and threats. It has become evident that the debt model of economic growth has exhausted itself, and the existing global regulation mechanism is losing efficiency. Hence the trend's for protectionisms becoming more evident, one of its manifestations is politically motivated sanctions. Such limitation measures are unprofitable for neither of the sides, and the order founded on ill-considered use of such tools leads to new problems only. However, that does not help to solve the existing contradictions.

In our opinion there is another way for the world order evolution – formation of creative multipolarity, a more just and representative world order model, based on large-scale, non-confrontational and equal cooperation of states and their unions, with respect to cultural and civilization diversity of the today's world, observance of generally accepted principles and standards of international law by everyone as common rules of the game, and acknowledgement of the United Nations' role as the universal regulator for world politics.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, the Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation V. R. Medinsky sent his welcoming address to the Likhachov Scientific Conference. The Minister mentions that the Conference has become “a unique venue, where participants search for strategies and scenarios, providing joint dealing with global challenges”. Mr Medinsky says about Dmitry Likhachov's great role in culture of contemporary Russia, “His ideas of the basic importance of culture in the process of any nation's establishment stay urgent today as well.” He wishes us fruitful discussions and excellent results.

The Minister of Labour and Social Security of the Russian Federation M. A. Topilin also sent his welcoming address. He mentions in particular that “Social and labour relations are traditionally reviewed at the forum in the context of culture's development, and this approach allows to achieve scientific results important for practice”, he empha-



sizes the big role of the Conference for advancement of social and labour relations and wishes us all the best.

I invite a member of the Presidium of the RAS, academician Robert Iskandrovich Nigmatulin to take the floor.

**R. I. NIGMATULIN:** – The President of the RAS academician A. M. Sergeev greets participants of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference and says, “When there are tensions between countries, it is especially important for the voices of D. S. Likhachov’s comrades-in-arms to sound loudly and constructively, for their conclusions on culture as a sacred space forming individuals in the spirit of creation, co-creation, friendship and mutual respect, not to remain ‘a closed book’ but to be mastered by the global community. Slow and steady win the race, and you should keep putting one foot in front of the other.”

In contrast to the majority of people present here, I represent natural sciences. I should say that their role in the life of the society did not decrease in any way. This is related to development of new resources, environmental challenges, new technologies, population growth on the globe, etc. When I went to school in the 1950s, we were told at the geography lessons that the global population amounted to 2.5 billion people, and now it has reached 7.5 billion. More and more people want to drive cars, fly in planes, eat properly, these are normal needs. In that connection, problems originate, because it is necessary to harmonize the requirements, there should not be excessive resource spending. If an individual has a house, the area of which is 1,000 square meters, he spends resources excessively.

The role of social and humanitarian knowledge increased considerably, and that is brought about by various circumstances. When a country is strong, it can do whatever it likes, but besides strength, a nation should have compassion, striving for justice. Our government signed international agreements in the past, but some time passed after the Soviet Union disintegration, and now we understand and a lot was done unjustly, the world started infringing our interests and humanitarian ideas.

A few words about another challenge – global climate change. The average temperature on the planet increased by one degree over the recent one hundred years, it may be that in the nearest future it will increase by two degrees. This is a very small figure, but it is a strong blow on humans and our biological system, and it may have an impact on the bacterial and virus composition and bring about various problems. People study a possibility of pandemia that may eliminate the whole mankind. All that requires the most serious research. But I must say that currently the number of meteorological stations is decreasing, people and governments are saving money, and not only in Russia but in the United States as well. This is a global problem.

Currently, the solution of defense issues is more and more often reassigned to robots, automatic systems. And they have no humanitarian ideas because of that they can make mistakes – we view that as the most serious threat for our security. In that connection, it seems important for me to pay attention to significance of not as much education as enlightenment. I mean education not as preparation of an individual for labour activities, his qualifications and skills, but first of all humanitarian education: an individual should understand that we live in the world where we should be compassionate to each other.

One of the urgent problems of Russia is related to learning national languages in the republics. The State Duma adopted the law according to which it is supposed to learn them if there is a free will. This is a European norm: you learn if you want, you don’t learn if you don’t want. But in that connection there is a threat of national republics’ languages disappearance. It’s wrong to let matters drift in this situation. The role of education is not only in an individual learning what he/she wants but in the necessity to sometimes lead him/her to it. For example, there is the following principle in the United States: why should an individual be taught sines if he is going to be a taxi-driver? According to the Russian, Soviet philosophy, an individual should be made to study. In the Soviet times, when a schoolchild was a bad pupil, he had problems with parents, the Pioneer Organization, Komsomol (Young Communist League), etc. Education is extremely important, and here the role of the authorities should increase.

But the authorities are represented by officials, Party leaders, because of that people don’t trust them. Many research fellows think as follows: politics is a dirty business, they try to avoid politics. But in that case it will become even dirtier. Real scholars who dedicated their lives to science (and not those who got their doctor’s degrees from officials), who have been engaged in their studies from the time they were young, should go into power in certain circumstances, with certain talents and opportunities: global challenges are so important that dealing with them should not be entrusted to officials as well as settlement of military conflicts should not be entrusted to the military only.

It is possible to come to the conclusion from the above-said about the importance of education’s humanitarization, polylingualism and the idea that scholars should not avoid seeking official positions in the authorities, should not run away from this important and not very clean work.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, a welcoming address came from the St. Petersburg head Alexander Dmitrievich Beglov. Vice-Governor of St. Petersburg, well-known St. Petersburg scholar, Dr. Sc. (Sociology), Professor Vladimir Vladimirovich Kirillov is taking part in the Likhachov Scientific Conference.

**V. V. KIRILLOV<sup>1</sup>:** – Dear participants of the plenary session, I’d like to welcome you in the most beautiful city of the world. I’d like to wish you to see the sights of our city, its culture and residents during the period of the Likhachov Scientific Conference.

Allow me to read the welcoming address from the acting Governor of St. Petersburg to participants, organizers

<sup>1</sup> Vice-Governor of St. Petersburg (since 2014), Dr. Sc. (Sociology), full state counselor 1st class of the Russian Federation. He served in the Soviet frontier guards under the State Security Committee of the USSR (KGB) from 1973 to 1991. Head of the administration and general services department, assistant to the Vyborg District administration head, Leningrad Region (1991–1993). First deputy administration head of the Vyborg District, Leningrad Region (1993–1994). Vyborg District administration head, Leningrad Region (1994–1996). Administration head of the Vyborg District municipal entity, Leningrad Region (1996–2000). First Vice-Governor of the Leningrad Region (2000–2007). Adviser to the Chairman of the Council of the Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (2007–2008). Head of the Federal Service for Supervision of Natural Resources (2008–2014). He was awarded the Order of Honour, fourth-class Order of Merit for the Motherland, Order of Alexander Nevsky.

and guests of the 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference:

“Dear friends! I’m happy to welcome participants, organizers and guests of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference!

Holding the large-scale humanitarian forum has become a good tradition in St. Petersburg where Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov – the outstanding scholar and educator – lived and worked. His brilliant ideas became a part of the global scientific heritage. They are still urgent today.

The topics of the Scientific Conference 2019 include the most important and pressing issues of our times that are exceptionally significant for the present and the future of Russia, the whole global community.

I’m sure that the forum will help to strengthen international humanitarian relations.

I wish all of you fruitful communications and most vivid impressions of our wonderful city! Acting Governor of St. Petersburg A. D. Beglov.”

There are many events taking place in the Northern capital during the period when the Likhachov Scientific Conference is held. On May 27, we’ll be celebrating the 316th anniversary of St. Petersburg. The gala concert of world opera stars *Classics in the Palace Square* was timed to coincide with this date and has become an acknowledged cultural event of Russian and global scales. Today, we are summing up the results of the contest for the best monument to writer Daniil Granin. I wish the Conference successful work. All the best to you!

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, a welcoming address came to us from the Director-General of UNESCO Mrs Azoulay. She assesses the role of the Likhachov Scientific Conference very highly and wishes us success. I should say that we have been getting welcoming addresses from UNESCO every year in the recent decade, that is the work of the Conference is noticeable from the perspective of this biggest UN organization in the field of culture.

And there is another welcoming address, which I’d like to mention especially. Mikhail Viktorovich Shmakov, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of our University and long-standing author of informative reports, reflecting the issues of relations between labour and capital in the global world, could not take part in the Conference for the first time in many years. Mikhail Viktorovich also presented his report for this Conference but he was a delegate to the Trade Unions Congress that took place these days, where he was triumphantly elected for the next term as the Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia.

I’ll quote some figures. There are 20 million people in the Russian trade unions, and they were represented at the Congress by 632 delegates. 610 of them, i. e. 96% of participants voted for the Chairman of our Board of Trustees. This is unbelievable rating, especially if we take into account that voting was by secret ballot. The Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia is not only the biggest non-governmental organization in the country but it is also very democratic, where they have fierce debates on all pressing matters.

And the trade union movement celebrates the anniversary of the fraternal for us higher educational establishment in Moscow – the Academy of Labour and Social Relations, and Mikhail Viktorovich was invited to participate in the

celebration. Because of that he could not take part in our work, so to say, in person but he sent his welcoming address that will be read by his deputy and the head of our University laboratory for analysis and forecasting social and labour conflicts of the respective Center attached to our University. Yevgeny Ivanovich, you are welcome.

**Ye. I. MAKAROV<sup>1</sup>:** – Dear colleagues, welcome, all of you, to this 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference. I’m sure that there will be fruitful discussions here, dedicated to urgent humanitarian issues and new ideas.

As Alexander Sergeyevich already said, another one, the 10th Congress of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia took place yesterday. No matter how amazing it may seem, but the main thoughts of the majority of speakers actually repeated the topic of the today’s Conference (and not only trade union activists from all over the country participated in the Congress, the President of the Russian Federation, Vice-Prime Minister, Chairman of the State Duma, ministers were also present there). They spoke about predictability and stability of Russian economy.

I’d like to start with the International Labour Organization. First, because it celebrates its 100th anniversary this year, second, because this is the only international organization among institutions, founded as a part of the United Nations, built on the principles of looking for compromises. No structures within the framework of the United Nations – neither the International Monetary Fund, nor UNESCO, nor any of all the rest 14 specialized global institutions – have a tripartite representation and a similar system of working out mutually acceptable solutions. This is very important because exactly the International Labour Organization, set up in 1919 because of the threat of a proletarian revolution in Europe, allowed to take humanity out of economic collapse and to the sustainable development road. However, it was interrupted during World War II but nevertheless exactly the economic policy worked out by looking for compromises allowed to soften to a large extent the consequences of both world wars. Predictability is possible exclusively when agreement is achieved by various parties fighting for their economic interests. Unfortunately, it’s impossible to otherwise build stable relations within the framework of the capitalist system today. Sure, each of the partners who assemble round the table for talks always has some “hidden stone”. That’s class struggle, strikes, revolutions (peaceful) in case of the working class. Employers always have an arsenal of means, with the help of which they can make employees do what the employer requires – lockouts, dismissals, employment of strikebreakers. The state has legislation and police with tear gas.

Disagreements requiring to compromise were not only the problem of 1919, it’s enough to see what takes place in Paris streets today in order to understand the urgency of

<sup>1</sup> Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia (since 2012), scientific advisor of the Center of Monitoring and Analysis of Social and Labor Disputes, SPbUHSS. Chairman of St. Petersburg and Leningrad Region Trade Union Federation (1991–2000). Deputy (2000–2004), Advisor (2004–2012) to the Plenipotentiary Envoy of the President of the Russian Federation in the Northwestern Federal District. Author of a number of publications on various trade union issues, topics of social and labor relations and conflicts, including: “Labor Relations and Labor Unions”, “Labor Conflicts: History, Theory and Methods of Monitoring”, and others. Full State Counselor, 2nd Class. Professor Emeritus of SPbUHSS.

the honest dialogue. Finding a mutually acceptable solution by real and not fictional participants of economic life is the only model that turned out viable and allowed to build the system of social partnership in Russia. We have social and labour conflicts like they do all over the world. There were over 980 large-scale conflicts fixed during nearly seven years I've been employed as the research supervisor of the Industrial Conflicts Monitoring Center (see the project's website [industrialconflicts.ru](http://industrialconflicts.ru)). But this does not mean that they lead to economy's destruction – on the contrary, they are a way of dealing with difficulties in economic life, the indicator of searching and means to find mutually acceptable solutions. Sure, conflicts are inevitably related to losses, nevertheless they allow to solve difficult problems arising in various parts of our giant country and to solve in such a way as for enterprises and economy as a whole to move forward.

However, stability in economic life of any country depends not only on employees, employers and state authorities. Unfortunately, a lot of “garbage” is brought to “our shore” in the period of globalization, it comes from the so-called liberal brain centers, which all the time are trying to find out a way of dismantling the compromise search system, replacing these labour-consuming processes with simple forcing of the will of the strongest on others. This is done at various levels, sometimes by rather sophisticated methods. Today's global economic system turned into the field of dishonest rivalry and military and political pressure. This is not just my opinion – many delegates to the Congress of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia said that this fact worried them. We discussed that at the Congress, including with the President of our country, who understands the significance of social and labour relations and social partnership. He made several statements that are interesting to my mind. First, he said that persecution of trade union activists at enterprises, obstacles for setting up and activities of trade union organizations were the reasons for the prosecutor's office investigations. Yes, we have laws and regulations in our country, but unfortunately they are used rather selectively and are not always based on unconditional acknowledgement of the right to uniting in trade unions. The basis should be supported by the practice of exercising rights, and the President spoke about that. Second, the system of social partnership should be developed at all levels, in all subjects of the Russian Federation, independent of the administration head (governor) wishing it or not. We need the national system of looking for agreements and accord, at least in economic relations. And what is that but an attempt to make our economic world more predictable?

The Congress adopted the program “For Just Economy” that was presented at the meeting. In our opinion, it is the most important position today. We offer authorities in all sectors and at all levels, including the President of the country, to come back to the issue of correcting principles of natural persons' taxation. We think that the rich should pay for peace, and not 13%, like all the rest, but more depending on their incomes. Those whose incomes are below the subsistence level should be exempt from the income tax. Sure, V. V. Putin did not give the answer immediately but we know that when he returned to the Kremlin, he invited those on whom solution of these issues depends, to discuss the offers he heard at our Congress. I think that several the-

ses he presented at the Congress will be further developed in the form of assignments and orders from him.

Concluding my speech, I'd like to say the following. The Congress is not only an opportunity for delegates to tell about their concerns and claims born by their everyday activities in the regions, to colleagues. It is also a way and a necessity to count our numbers, to look in the eyes of trade union members and understand their main, deepest needs. So, it was said that there were just a little bit more than 20 mln members in the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia. There are 75 mln employable people in the Russian Federation, we represent about 30% of the employed. The surprising fact is that 30% of the 20 mln trade union members are young people below 35, and that is not the limit, young people are looking for ways to really participate in economic life. It was mentioned at the Congress that the demographic situation was unrestrainedly changing in Russia and trade unions are changing accordingly, as well as approaches to tasks and demands for activities.

I call upon everyone present in this hall to always carefully analyze their activities, weigh them from the perspective of adding stability to our society, making it more predictable. Pay more attention to young people, make way for them, share your experience with them. Only acting in such a way we'll be able to overcome all difficulties!

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, representatives of the highest juridical authority of Russia – the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation – have been taking part in the Likhachov Scientific Conference for a number of years. And this year several judges presented their reports. Now, I'd like to invite Gadis Abdullaevich Hajiyev, judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Dr. Sc. (Law), Professor and Doctor honoris causa of our University, to take the floor.

**G. A. HAJIYEV:** – I am really speaking here on behalf of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, on behalf of the judges who presented their reports. Thus I am fulfilling the order given by the Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valery Dmitrievich Zorkin. I am sure that we'll hear new ideas today because synergy of various sciences, as they say, “hangs thick in the air”, and this is always very fruitful. I am sure that the colleagues present in this hall will pick up many new ideas while networking.

This week, a big international conference took place in the Constitutional Court as a part of the St. Petersburg International Legal Forum. 55 delegations took part in it, they represented the highest courts of various countries. The agenda was unusual and very interesting: constitutional identity, correlation of constitutions and universal approach to human rights. These issues were not discussed before though they have direct relation to the issues of world order, conflicts that take place today. It was surprising for me that the majority of speakers (with the Chairman of the Supreme Court of India, delegate from Pakistan and representatives of many other countries among them) adopted this agenda and spoke about inevitability of exactly this approach, when constitutional identity is taken into account.

Next day after this conference, Professor Zorkin delivered a public lecture. In my opinion, it was his best speech, in any case over the last 10 years. He presented a very interesting idea, in essence a new philosophical and legal com-

prehension of modern law – the idea of metamodernity. I think that his lecture can be viewed as a kind of contribution to the Likhachov Scientific Conference.

My recent visit to the Theatre of Europe in St. Petersburg to watch Lev Dodin's *Hamlet* served as the emotional impulse for my today's speech. The director staged Shakespeare but Saxo Grammaticus became one of the characters. This Danish historian and author of the 12–13th centuries as if takes part in writing the script for this performance. And we see on stage not only a reflecting young philosopher but first of all a murderer, who brought death to many people (and that really happened). And this individual says for some reason in the middle of the performance, "Violence ends in violence". Actually, this is the mystery: why does the individual, who committed the highest violence, speak about it as if comprehending the significance of his actions? That was the question I asked myself and it actually entailed some "non-theatrical" thoughts.

Why was the Monroe Doctrine of 1821, fairly progressive for that time, announcing the right of former colonies for self-protection, absolutely distorted by the end of the 19th century? Why did it turn into apotheosis of colonialism and colonial wars? These questions make one think: who is right in the eternal dispute that can be followed in the works by our well-known philosophers? Was Kant right with his eternal peace project, with idealism, hope for everything to turn out favourably and everyone starting to respect universal human rights? Or are the others right, more skeptical philosophers, who stick to a more realistic point of view that the universal approach to human rights is often used for destruction and can't be justified?

And the third approach is based on acknowledgement of cultural relativism, i. e. it is acknowledgement that it won't be possible to overcome cultural originality and uniqueness quickly, because of that it is required to be governed by the principle on which the Treaty of Westphalia was already based – the principle of restraining, keeping balance.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – On behalf of foreign diplomats working in Russia, the floor is given to the Ambassador of Iran to the Russian Federation Mr Mehdi Sanaei.

**M. SANAËI:** – Dear colleagues, it is a great honour for me to once again take part in the International Likhachov Scientific Conference. I'll try to present my theses in short. It has been possible to witness two main processes in the formation of the world order since the previous decade. The first is efforts directed to put an end of the Westphalian system of international relations. This system based on sovereign governments and official borders as well as the principle of noninterference by countries in internal affairs of each other, refusal from using force. The Post-Westphalian system is based on globalization, spreading the Western world ideas, including respect for human rights. The West is its main branch. The second process is formation of multilateralism and multipolarity, striving for partnership relations between all countries, continuation of the principles of the Westphalian system as well as respect to national sovereignty, inviolability of borders and regional security.

Taking these two processes into account, it has been possible to see the results of the said two processes mixing on regional and global scales since 2010 in the Middle East. Orientation to the West led to formation of the glob-

al environment, destruction of the state structures in Libya, Yemen and Syria and as a consequence to strengthening of non-governmental radical and terrorist organizations.

Such countries as Russia, Iran and Turkey took active part in the second process. The possibility to establish stability in Syria was provided with their help, terrorist groups were annihilated. This certifies that such serious problems can be solved.

Meanwhile, the role of the West in the world increases nowadays. This is certified by setting up the Eurasian Economic Union, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and other structures supporting this "Eastern flow". I am sure that the future of the world is multipolarity with the role of the East, especially Asia strengthening.

The relations of Iran and Russia and trilateral relations Russia–Iran–Turkey are very important. Iran is the state with a very long history and ancient culture. There was a time when it was the Persian civilization. Everyone knows such names as Omar Khayyam, Hafez, Saadi, Rumi, Ferdowsi. They were the symbols of inter-cultural relations. Modern Iran is also for cooperation. In 2001, we initiated the Dialogue of Civilizations forum, the United Nations adopted the resolution "World against Violence and Extremism" (WAVE), which was called for by the present President of Iran. However, there are countries that practice the sanction policy instead of dialogue. Everyday one can hear about sanctions imposed – either on China, or Turkey, or Russia. Sanctions have already become a popular tool and are already perceived nearly like a norm. We think that this is temporary, and dialogue will be a strategic line, this is multilateralism and the multipolar world. It just can't be otherwise.

Iran supports constructive cooperation but it, like any other country, protects its interests. Russian leaders said and not once that Iran played a big role in maintaining stability and peace in the Middle East, and it was impossible to ignore its interests. We'll continue cooperation with Russia, China, countries of the region in various focal areas.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, I give the floor to Mr Miguel Angel Moratinos to present his report. He is a permanent participant of our Conference, he was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain for ten years, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS. This year, he was appointed to one of the most important positions in the United Nations – the high representative of the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, specially set up attached to the United Nations to strengthen the dialogue of civilizations. The United Nations is not just a diplomatic mechanism for cooperation of various countries but also a number of big institutions that are engaged in various focal areas: UNESCO deals with culture, the International Labour Organization deal with social and labour relations, etc.

**M. Á. MORATINOS CUYAUBE:** – It is my pleasure to be back again in St. Petersburg, at this 19th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, in this University, my University. As my dear friend, Rector Alexander Zapesotsky mentioned, I had the honour, the privilege to be awarded a *honoris causa* doctorate of our University.

I'm participating in this Conference for the eighth time. But this time my participation is special. This time I came in my new capacity as the High Representative of the Uni-

ted Nations Alliance of Civilization (UNAOC). For me this means a lot. It means that I can address my students, my dear students, with the message from the United Nations, I can address this multilateral forum. Had there been no such forum, we'd have to create it. And I came to you not only to thank Director Alexander Zapesotsky and the Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov, but to present my thinking, my thought to all of you.

We know that we are living in an era of transition with deep changes, profound mutation, and we are trying to shape the future. We know that we are abandoning the world of yesterday and we are constructing the world of tomorrow, but we still don't know what we are. There is a world full of opportunities and I normally try to qualify this world. Last year, I qualified it as a global complex uncertain world. We have to identify how we can move forward in order to achieve our main dreams for the future. Yes, my dear students, my dear friends, we are in the global world of connectivity, interdependence. What's more, the world is small: any event, any development happening in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa and Europe, affects all of us. Nobody can stop this globalisation process.

The world is complex. Now, remember the way President Clinton was elected and the phrase from his election campaign, "It's the economy, stupid". But we cannot say that economy is stupid. Is politics stupid, or is the technological revolution stupid, or is science stupid, or is climate change stupid? No, my dear friends. We need all these elements to understand the complexity of the world, and even more because it's not only the nation-states, not only the local municipalities in the civil sector, in the civil society, in the private sector. So, we all have this common responsibility. So, my dear friends, how are we going to address this challenge of today and tomorrow? There are only two ways. One way is some of us, people trying to maintain the traditional way to approach the global challenge. So, that is the so-called balance of power, generic ambitions. Or it is the way of the United Nations and others, and I think the majority of all of us here have to work with this concept that we call multilateralism.

As a true advocate of the value we call multilateralism, I believe that we need a new form of cooperation with other international and regional organizations. I will call it an inclusive multilateralism. We need the UN at its centre but with close links with the civil society, with religious leaders, with women, academia, and you! The youth, the young people, who are fresh with new ideas and want to form the mindset, where multilateralism is inclusive and will trickle down to the masses. With these complex global challenges our world is facing today, the particular threats are global terrorism and violent extremism. I cannot think of any other way to deal with the challenges other than global responses that have in their core an inclusive multilateralism. Let me just briefly touch upon the work of the United Nations Alliance of Civilization in this context.

The United Nations Alliance of Civilization remains an ardent defender of inclusiveness and efficient multilateralism through the promotion of intercultural and interfaith dialogue. Our mantra is very easy: "One humanity. Many cultures". We have to recognize that there is pluralism of civilizations. Each and every one of them has contributed to enriching our common and single humanity. There is unity and riches in our diversity. Allow me to refer here to the

founder of the United Nations; the late Dag Hammarskjöld, whose wisdom and vision still inspire all of us until today. He firmly believed in the riches that diversity brings to our world. When he was asked what his favourite book was, he said *Don Quixote* by Cervantes. If you ask me what my favourite is, I would say Tolstoy, *War and Peace*, so suddenly this spirit is missing today. Instead we are witnessing the rhetoric, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and discrimination spreading like wildfire across the Dark Web.

There are different, often competing, conceptions of human fraternity in contemporary political philosophy. In short, human fraternity is about recognizing each other as equals, by appealing to our shared humanity. I must add that human fraternity is genuine with its emanation of respect of the others. Yet in all corners of the world we saw erosion of these universal values and growing social and cultural divides. And this is quite ironical because one would have expected today in this multiclade, multipolar, multicultural, multi-ethnic world that multilateralism will prevail and people will be more cosmopolitan.

Instead, my dear friends, what do we see? Terrorism, ethnic violence, Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, xenophobia, hate speech and ultra-nationalism are in full swing. Atrocity crimes continue to show the conscience of humanity. New Zealand, Sri Lanka, Yazidi and the plight of Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. Religious and ethnic minorities are still among the world's most vulnerable groups, particularly in conflict situations. And there is little doubt that women and girls throughout the world continue to suffer, simply because of their gender. That cannot continue like that.

Excellencies, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, the challenges represent a stark reality. They are testing the resilience of local communities that undermine the trust in our institutions. Today, however, we have an opportunity to demonstrate our shared responsibility and practical commitment to reclaim the notion of universal fraternity at the bedrock of international cooperation.

Allow me to touch on a few pragmatic approaches to the paradigm of moving forward. First, the United Nations Alliance of Civilization, the organization I have started to lead three months ago, remains an ardent defender of inclusiveness and efficient multilateralism. Second, global citizenship, inclusive citizenship, when individuals enjoy equal opportunities and rights, whatever their gender, religion or ethnic background, it is a key enabler of peaceful coexistence, but inclusive citizenship alone is not a panacea. Ethnic and religious minorities in all regions continue to face discrimination and threats, whether in the form of violent extremist attack or because of exclusionary policy promoted by ultra-nationalist groups. With our classical conception of citizenship, we should seek to establish a culture of peace from early age, when people of different identities, faith and culture are identified as global citizens. I truly believe that global citizenship education is the best vehicle to instil these values. My dear friends, who have come here to the International Academic Scientific Conference, I'm confident that our solidarity will help to facilitate a common understanding and social cohesion. We will offer this stimulus for some future generations to avoid barbarity and fear of terrorism.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, we are all united by common bonds, our culture is woven together in a shared heritage, but for universal fraternity to flourish, a basic level

of freedom, equality and political inclusion should exist in every society. Turning this vision into reality requires acting upon and accepting some responsibilities and principles, requires broader, deeper, stronger partnership and cooperation of all people and nations. Rest assured that the United Nation Alliance of Civilization remains committed to fostering the principles of our collective quest for justice, dignity and peace.

Let me propose the Alliance decalogue of human fraternity. Number one: Respect for all nations and peoples, regardless of their creed, culture and civilization. Number two: Dialogue as an essential tool for engaging in a better understanding of different cultures and perspectives. Number three: Tolerance as a basis of respect for every person's human dignity and fundamental rights with full appreciation of the rich diversity of our world's culture and civilization. Number four: Empathy as an ethical virtue to build bridges of mutual understanding and cooperation in our quest for universal acceptance and peaceful coexistence. Number five: Inclusion as a process that promotes the full and equal rights of individuals and groups to participate in their society regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and gender identity, or disability status. Number six: Diversity as a positive and enriching concept; a just imperative, inseparable from respect for human dignity. Number seven: Solidarity as a commitment to help others in difficult situations in the spirit of mutual assistance and concern. Number eight: Dignity and equal rights of all members of the human family as interdependent and mutually reinforcing and forming the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. Number nine: Multiculturalism as a process of expressing diversity in the age of globalization and not simply an attitude or view of others. Number ten: Convivencia – a Spanish word that means living together as a sacred duty and attitude to peaceful coexistence. That is the catalogue, decalogue that I want to share with you in order to create the atmosphere for commitment of all of us to creation of a better future. Thank you very much.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – The floor is given to our foreign participant. Professor Dutkiewicz, you are welcome.

**P. DUTKIEWICZ:** – Good afternoon, dear colleagues. The train has run off the track but the engine-drives goes on driving it. And the train continues its running though not along the track, and it is unclear in which direction. This metaphor reflects the state of affairs in our state, and it can be applied to many other states, regions, international institutions and corporations. Interesting processes began in this train. First, the public divided into first class and second class, and the minority moved to the engine, closer to the engine-driver. And the majority (those who did not have enough resources) found themselves in the last cars and they have no idea what will happen to them tomorrow. There is no contact between the first and the second.

However, though there are no rails, the wheels somehow adjust (and that's surprising), and the train goes on running. But the engine-drives asks himself the question: where to go if there is no road? Fear settles in his heart because he does not know in which direction the train will go, and how he, the engine-driver, will control it. And at that time people in the last cars start worrying, understanding that the engine-driver does not know where he goes. And

what is more, they stopped trusting his assistants as well. The situation becomes really dangerous. The engine-driver takes the train in the unknown direction, his assistants are saying that everything is fine, but the passengers know definitely that this is not true.

The engine-driver has two feeling. I have already told about the first one – it is fear, the second is the wish to do something for everyone to feel stability and assuredness in the future. How can he achieve this? Two ways come to his mind: material resources and immaterial measures. Material resources are money and other resources, but it's somewhat more difficult with immaterial measures. The task is to word the "right" agenda that would convince everyone that the way is right, and thus legitimize the engine-driver's actions. There is another solution as well: to strengthen institutions. These three strategies are the basis for creation of new hegemony. The aim is to direct the train along the right track without the risk to go off the rails and at the same time legitimize inequality between passengers.

It's not known how long it may go on. But no one thinks that it is required to be tolerant and respect each other. And this is right because the time of survival has come. And there are hundreds of such trains that have gone off the track. Different trains will go in different directions, and we have to survive in this turbulence. If passengers in the last cars are unhappy, they may be allowed to address with the offers where to go, but not very insistently because the engine-driver does not like revolutionary actions and will resist decisively, giving respective orders to his assistants. The period of instability, which we are entering, will last for some time. Sooner or later the situation should be relatively balanced, at the same time each "train" will create small and big hegemonies for itself, that in the end will agree on the new order, in which all of us will live. In any case, the young people are sure to enjoy a new world order in future but at first they will have to travel with crazy engine-drivers.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – The floor is given to one of the most outstanding philosophers in the world Abdusalam Abdulkirimovich Guseynov.

**A. A. GUSEYNOV:** – Dear colleagues, I'd like to draw your attention to the fact that the Likhachov Scientific Conference has been dedicated to one and the same topic for the third year in a row (with small modifications) – the future. What does it mean? One can certainly think that in this case we are speaking about the aspiration to dig into an exceptionally complex problem more deeply and comprehensively. However, I am afraid that the reason of our concentration, not to say fixation on the future is different: the future has become a soft spot of the modern public consciousness and humanitarian knowledge, the source of pain for the social organism, which we feel but the nature of which we can't understand. We are speaking about plans in this or that sector, develop various kinds of strategies, national projects, the idea of a roadmap has become habitual, even fashionable in the practice of governance, in short, we are trying to look into the future, orientating on our activities in time. The question arises: do we speak about the future in all such cases?

First of all, it is required to make the notion of the future as such more specific. Everything that will take place in an

hour, in a year, in 10 years and in indefinitely far-off time is referred to the future from the grammatical point of view. How far should we look forward in order to speak about the future as a special aspect of human cognition and practice? Does the problem come down to quantitative indicators? We should precisely separate the future as the aspect of physical time that includes everything, which will take place after a certain moment, indicated as the present by us, and the future in the information and content aspect, to wit, what the social system of the society will be, how it will change in comparison with what it is at the moment, from which we are counting. The idea of the social future is not just what will take place after, no matter what this “after” is, but it is always different. It is one thing how much time elapsed after some moment (for example, after 1991, and that means just physical activities that we can estimate and calculate precisely), and it’s another thing how the world changed, what events took place in it during that time (for example, I was young, I became old, there was one country, now we have another).

Special importance of the notion of the future in contemporary individuals’ worldview is determined by its being connected with the movement forward, ideas of progress, qualitative improvement of life. The future for us is the brighter and better space, non-existent happy country, utopia as it was called by Thomas More. The future exactly in this understanding has become one of the most important worldview ideas and social behavioral motives that determined historical consciousness, within the framework of which the new European civilization was formed. Transfer from the feudal and class society, monarchical system and half-educated state of the society to democratic way of life, nation-states, enlightenment of people took place under the banner of historical optimism. Belief in the mind, the power of science and technology moved people and nations forward. The modern capitalist civilization, no matter how we call it – the post industrial society, the knowledge society, information society, etc. – was formed exactly as the society that carried in itself new opportunities and values. And everything was wonderful while they spoke about creation, building capitalism as such, its inspiring slogans and advantages in comparison with the Middle Ages. But when they started speaking about the fate of capitalism itself, the situation changed. The question arose: is this the “final stop” or will there be some other life arrangement after capitalism, better than this one, requiring refusal from this civilization in its essential foundations? Two lines, two understandings of life originated then, which we know as socialism and capitalism. The argument between them was about preservation of development opportunities of the modern civilization based on capitalism, these opportunities being infinite, or their being historically exhausted at present and the communist system coming to replace it.

We know that capitalism won in this epochal opposition, and its main trophy as Alexander Alexandrovich Zinovyev was right to mention imaginatively, was the future. The bourgeois civilization as if became its owner, and now this civilization is no longer interested in the future – as improved, bright and qualitatively different. This civilization is fairly satisfied with itself, it looks calmly at its tomorrow as nothing threatens it there. Capitalism won in the Cold War and now it determines its future itself, and it seems guaranteed to it. Our colleague Professor Piotr Dut-

kiewicz used the metaphor: the train has run off the track. The problem may turn out worse than we think, and the matter is not that the train was torn off, or the engine-driver is taking it in the wrong direction, or there is no engine-driver at all in this train. It just runs along the track. Do you remember the song we had? Our train, fly forward, the stop is in the commune. Our civilization train has no stop where it plans to stop. Really, what do we want from the future, do we see something qualitatively different in it in comparison with what we are having today? Seriously, no; really we see the same present in the future, only a little improved. The public conscience both in Russia and other countries, both at the everyday level and the level of philosophical projects is characterized by its having no future, it has after but no other. In that championship, in which various countries, states, nations take part, not the social projects of the future are at stake but they have various cultural and civilization identities there at stake. We are speaking about geopolitics, that is about self-determination in space but not in time, and when we are speaking about the future, we mean it in the physical sense (what will happen after) and we think of it as some “cleaned” present. The future is reduced to prolongation of the present, only in more decent forms: the poor will be there (it’s impossible without them!) but there should not be homeless and starving; we’ll base on strength (what else?) but it would be nice to avoid a nuclear war, if it starts nevertheless, we should win it, etc.

The predominant public sentiments are characterized by the loss of historical optimism in what refers to the social future. The very idea of social progress is questioned. This surely does not mean that people refuse from hopes. They are just looking for other ways to satisfy their belief in the better and to the extent of social opportunities, they turn their eyes not so much to the future as the past. As Zygmunt Bauman writes, fixing the epochal change of the social sentiments vector, retrotopia comes to replace utopia (he titled his book *Retrotopia*, it was published in 2017 and recently translated into Russian).

Disillusionment in the social future, meaning impossibility to build the ideal society, refusal from social utopias, obligates to determine the future with more certainty as a subject of social cognition. In that connection I’d like to draw your attention to two important aspects. First. The future is impossible to cognize in the sense of our using the notions of “knowledge”, “cognition” – as something scientifically authoritative and true. It is impossible because the future is not a reality that exists in some far-off perspective. It is impossible to see like we can see things located at a long distance from us, if we are armed with various kinds of devices. The social future does not exist in the conceptual (empirical) meaning, it exists only like a dream, hopes, ideals. This is what should be built as a result of our activities that itself will enter the future as its essential element. The second aspect, generating and justifying disillusionment in the progressive view of the future is related to it as a rule being the converted form of ideology. The future was considered such a challenging task, ambitious goal, for which inadmissible things and unjustified sacrifices were allowed. Appealing to the future for happiness of the next generations was the most typical argument to justify violence and wars. It was considered a normal state of things when in the name of the future, that is for the sake of the future it was justified to do something which is unacceptable as such.

Both mentioned aspects certify that the social future is not only a philosophical and historical problem referring to epoch-making events and movements of big masses of people but at the same time it is a moral issue, included in the structure of individual responsibility of individuals.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, I present the chief editor of the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Newspaper) Maxim Zamshev to you.

**M. A. ZAMSHEV<sup>1</sup>:** – Good afternoon, dear friends! It's wonderful that the Likhachov Scientific Conference is dedicated to such an urgent topic as global crisis of international institutions. It's clear that this crisis did not begin today, but now we are witnessing its perceptible and very serious consequences as we did not notice its beginning in due time. Probably, it was difficult to imagine hostilities and armed operations in the Donbass even five years ago, and an unruly terrorist civilization-state appearing in the center of Eurasia, and many other things. That is, we see the consequence but what are the reasons?

One of the key factors of this crisis is destruction of the system of international obligations undertaken after World War II. At that time, no matter how hostile politicians were to one another, it was still evident that peace was the main value. The system of restraining and not increasing threats became the priority of global politics. But after several decades, the Western politicians, who remembered the horrors of war, are no longer on the international scene. The world started disintegrating, computer technologies appeared, including various games. And alas, the generation of political amateurs is coming into power now, for whom war is no more than a computer shooting game, an entertainment. Probably, many people paid attention to others often watching military conflicts as if football matches and even supporting one of the parties. This is an awful moral catastrophe. At the same time, international institutions, in particular the United Nations, can have just a little impact on what is going on. And I am not even saying about the dictate of Anglo-Saxon countries evident everywhere. All that is very serious.

The second, no less important aspect (Alexander Sergeyevich spoke about that) is modern media. Why? The matter is that the news topic, which is the easiest to monetize, is enmity. For example, if some Western politician says, "Russia is our enemy", he will be momentarily quoted by all mass media. If there is an event related to cultural exchange, no media will respond. It is not interesting to them, such pieces of news are not so popular and they are of no use from the financial perspective. And the statistics of website visits, likes and other nonsense is important for them, and all that has no relation to the real state of affairs. And it may come up to someone making a careless political gesture – and nuclear weapons will get in terrorists' hands. And then our humanitarian conferences and fierce discussions will have no sense at all.

<sup>1</sup> Editor-in-chief of the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Moscow). Poet, novelist, literary critic. Author of 10 poetry books and 4 prose books, more than a thousand publications in different genres in Russia and abroad. Poems were published in "Literaturnaya Gazeta", "Nezavisimaya Gazeta", in magazines "Moscow", "Neva", "Ural" and other circulation editions. Translates from Romanian and Serbian. Member of the Presidential Council for Civil Society and Human Rights. Member of the Supervisory Board of the literary prize "Lyceum" for young writers and poets. Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Moscow City Organization of the Union of Writers of Russia.

In this environment, one naturally addresses the authority of academician Likhachov, who always repeated that culture was primary. It is so important that it can't be let at the mercy of any market. Meanwhile, market relations got into culture all over the world, hence all that media products for the mind-numbed public with low tastes. The Ministry of Culture has also become "marketable". Two billion rubles were invested into the Russian Seasons in Japan – this amount, for example, would be enough for two hundred years of work of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, which I head.

It's evident that one of the humanitarian problems of the today's world is states' assessing each other by nuclear power, the army strength and the like and not according to their cultural potential. I think that each of the countries should again learn how to perceive others not like enemies with cannons but like culture, in which there are wonderful writers, artists, scholars, musicians.

I think that this crisis will be quietly "dissipating". In any case, I'd like that very much and I hope that not only we want it.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite our guest from the United States. Professor Galbraith, you are welcome.

**J. K. GALBRAITH:** – Thank you very much, it's a great pleasure to be here. The last two or three speakers prefigured what I have to say very exactly. The comment about how the future is framed by ideology is an excellent introduction to a remark I make in my paper, which is that, for the West at least, the idea of economic development originated as an ideological response of the West to the conditions in the second half of the Twentieth Century, specifically to the decolonisation of what formerly were Western colonies, and the threat, or the promise of the alternative model presented by the Soviet Union.

This was explicitly the case in work in the United States – Walt Rostow, Simon Kuznets and more subtly in that of Albert Hirschman. The model that was aspired to was not free market capitalism at that time, but something that was better described as countervailing power, social democracy. The welfare state. A system of mutual benefit and organised progress allied to large private enterprise, small businesses as well, but dominated by great industrial firms. Thus the key, in some deep sense, to effective development, in both theory and in practice, was not education alone, valuable though that is, was certainly not just the progress of science and technology, but far more it was the system of regulation, it was the question of how you play the game. A shared order would come to govern just about everything, from public health and worker safety to the reliability of products and their increasing complexity, to the structure of wages, to the overall performance of the economy, and to the condition of the natural environment. How you play the game and how effectively you organise the rules and enforce them was the sum and substance of economic development.

About 40 years ago, this broke down in theory. It never broke down in practice. And those countries that continued to follow that model, articulated, I think, most effectively, I have to say, by my father, Germany, Japan, the Republic of Korea, and, most recently, on a gigantic scale, the People's Republic of China, are the ones that we regard as hav-



ing had the greatest sustained success. But in the area that I come from, sometimes called the Anglosphere, an alternative ideology came to dominate: self-regulation, dominance of finance and then, as a result of technical developments, technology came to permit and to foster cognitive silo-ing – what you might call stove-piping – or a system of separated cognitive zones with different communities holding different conceptions of what are the facts about different issues, situations and contexts.

My friend the ambassador from Iran, this morning, made, I think, a very valuable distinction between an interpenetrated world in which we all have access to each other's cognitive zones, whether we accept them or not, and a multilateral world in which communities are well organised with their own belief systems and value systems. And reference was also made to the superior stability of the Westphalian system which was epitomised in the Cold War by the separation of the world into two distinct, offsetting, if you like, countervailing blocs.

But there is a deeper issue which I just mentioned, I'll develop it just briefly, which is, what do we believe to be the facts? Which of the cognitive zones should we accept and how can we come to accept them? The contest cannot be resolved by a commitment to pluralism and mutual respect, valuable though those are. And so – and this is my concluding point – there is a role here, an important role, for independent thought and work. For scholarly scientific and forensic research. For the patient evaluation of evidence according to the standards that were set hundreds of years ago in the Age of Reason. A community dedicated to this goal exists. It lies in part in great universities such as this one, and it is to these institutions that we must look for assistance, perhaps ultimately for salvation in these extraordinarily difficult times. And that is very much, I think, the spirit that was bequeathed here by Dimitri Likhachev, and I must say I am very proud to be associated with it. Thank you very much.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – The floor is given to the Director of the Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, member of the Presidium of the RAS Irina Olegovna Abramova.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Dear colleagues, I'll dwell in short on the issues that, to my mind, deserve discussing. First. The current situation reminds of the state of affairs in Europe before World War I. They struggled then for re-division of resources and markets, and the main contradictions were between the United Kingdom and Germany. Now, we have a different principal contradiction – between the basis and superstructure. Global economy shifts from the North to the South and from the West to the East more and more, but all political institutions are in the hands of the Western community. This generates those contradictions and conflicts, which we are witnessing now.

However, in contrast to the early 20th century, we have such important tools like nuclear weapons, which to a certain extent play the role of a restraining factor, and information technologies that allow us to transfer struggle from the material sphere to the ideological one. Today, there is struggle for new resources and markets, but absolutely new means are used. Direct military confrontation is not always required, it is often enough to manipulate with public con-

sciousness, brainwashing – and you'll achieve your aims, at the same time preserving your state and avoiding the threat of a nuclear war. In this connection, the attention, including of big players, is transferred to the so-called periphery or outlying regions, where interests clash as well. These regions are not only the objects of international relations – they turn into subjects more and more.

We should not forget about the African continent either – the only territory on the globe, except Russia, where resources have not been fully developed and divided. Currently, there is very fierce struggle going on for this continent, and it's very important for the Russian Federation not to miss its chance there. This October, the first full-scale Russian-African summit will take place, where over forty leaders of African states will meet with the President of our country.

Second. The norms and rules of the game that are still preserved by the West force on us certain stereotypes related to the consumer society. Our ideals are shifting to the material sphere to a considerable extent. Technological progress helps that as well. Meanwhile, the understanding of life meaning and ideas of happiness may be different. Do you know which nations think of themselves as the happiest according to the World Happiness Index? African. Those, whose material well-being is much lower than in economically developed countries. So, can it be that the meaning of our life is not reduced to consumption exclusively? Can it be that the main role is played by other purposes, ideas, ideals?

Finally, the third thesis. The humanitarian component of our development is very important in connection with what I said here. And the fact that we assembled in the humanitarian university today is rather symbolic. Culture may play a very big role in the future life, it has a potential for that.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I ask Consul General of the Republic of France in St. Petersburg Mr Hugo de Chavagnac to take the floor at the International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

**H. de CHAVAGNAC<sup>1</sup>:** – Thank you very much for the very great honour of speaking in front of this assembly today on such an interesting subject for a diplomat. I have chosen to speak to you about something which is connected to what, in particular, Mr Amr Moussa said during the panel this morning which is on the role of international organisations and I have chosen to title my intervention “Are international organisations still useful?” because provocative questions are more likely to be listened to a bit.

So, I wish to reassure you immediately that there will not be much suspense. Yes, I believe very much that in-

<sup>1</sup> Consul General of France in St. Petersburg (since 2017). Worked in the Ministry of International Cooperation and Development of the French Republic (Paris, 1987–1992), European Commission (1992–1995), Direction of Economical and Financial Affairs of the Ministry of International Affairs (Paris, 1995–1998), as a Second Councilor in the Embassy of France in Russia (Moscow, 1998–2001), in the Permanent Mission of France to the United Nations (Brussels, 2001–2005), as a Counsellor to the President of Romania on European issues (Bucharest, 2005–2007), in the General Secretariat of “Livres Blanc” Commission on foreign and European policy of France (2007–2008), as a Director of international and European affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France (Paris, 2009–2010), Councilor on cooperation and culture and Director of the Institute of France in Russia (Moscow, 2010–2013), in the Direction of enterprise and international economy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France (Paris, 2014–2016).

international organisations are still useful and actually there cannot be very much doubt about it. Why the question actually? The question because international organisations are quite young compared to nation states; the first ones have been born at the end of the 19th, early 20th century, and most of them appeared after the end of the Second World War; as a result for many of them of the Second World War, the New World Order which appeared at that period, and they have grown steadily. And in the nineties after the end of the Cold War there was a sort of hope that humankind could organise itself around a new sort of agreed order where things would be nice, and everybody would stick to a sort of international agenda and the international organisations would play a much, much greater role in particular for world security. And there is no doubt that since the year 2000 many of these hopes have, if not faded, they have suddenly diminished.

And that strong criticism has been addressed to international organisations and I would like to comment that there are two types of criticism against international organisations. One of them is certainly well intended. It's a criticism about efficiency. Are they efficient or not? It's a question of money but not that much actually, they are not very expensive especially compared to the budgets of big nation states. Actually, they are very cheap. You could consider that the main reason of criticism is not the money they cost, the main reason is that there are expectations from them and there is a feeling that they are not often fulfilled. I would say that this kind of criticism is absolutely legitimate and there is every reason to try to improve the efficiency of international organisations. But there is also a second type of criticism which comes, I would say, with much less "good intentions" and which is really dangerous. And this criticism is in the name of sovereignty, and of course sovereignty is supposed to be something wonderful, but sovereignty is quite often a pretext to refuse whatever is not pleasant for your own country or good for your interests and if everybody invokes sovereignty on every subject of course there will be no agreement, no agreement about anything. And so, it's a result of nationalism but it's a result of nationalism of which the consequence is unilateralism. And of course right now one country, I won't name the country because I am a diplomat but if I say the leading power in the world, perhaps I will be understood, – one country is showing such strong doubts about the usefulness of international organisations that you can worry very much considering it has had the foremost role in establishing these organisations and you can demonstrate that they have been quite advantageous to that country.

So, very briefly I'll go to the conclusion. I was going to say that there are a very big number of organisations, and you should not reduce to the Security council because maybe it's the one we speak about in the media, but actually there are many, many other organisations which are probably much more important and they are in particular all the organisations which deal with global problems: global health, global environment and so on. They are absolutely key for the future of mankind and these are areas where, without agreement between all countries in the world, without shared commitments, shared actions, there are absolutely no common solutions, which are critical for the future of mankind. Then there is the problem of security and crisis management. There is indeed a bigger difficulty in that area, the difficulty

is not a difficulty of the organisations themselves, it is a difficulty about the problem of countries around the world, and especially big powers, to be able to find grounds for agreement. This has certainly diminished over the last years. It is a very worrying tendency and it should be so for everyone. But nobody should consider that this is the responsibility of just one side or one country. If we want the situation to improve everybody has to take its share so that the situation can indeed improve. Thank you very much.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – And now I invite to speak the outstanding scholar and lawyer, academician Andrey Genadyevich Lisitsyn-Svetlanov.

**A. G. LISITSYN-SVETLANOV:** – Dear colleagues, some speeches referring to assessment of contemporary international relations, which we listened to here, brought to my mind some historical parallels related to the necessity for the leading states of the world to coordinate the new legal system.

Now, we are in the situation when it is necessary to think what our future can be. Let's remember Yalta of 1944 (the world-famous photo of the three leaders), where three very different leaders of three very different states, with very different future met during the going on war. One of them represented the renewed and very changed empire that was to become "the Great Power". The second represented "the empire on which the sun never sets". The third represented the country that not long before that had overcome enormous corruption and economic depression, besides had small experience in global politics but became not only "the Great Power" but also the only leading economy of the world for many years.

They had the task in front of them: to determine what to do next after fifty million people died. The construction of the after-war world order, creation of new international law began in Yalta.

It was not created at once. I'll give two examples to illustrate this historical process. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted only in 1948. It is the basic document of that period. But what was the political map of that time? Many colonies, territories under control. If we assess the realities of that time objectively, the Declaration refers only to those countries that worked it out, it seems that the rest of the global population was not taken into account. And the regime in the United States still had imprints of racial segregation.

In 1970, the main principles of international law were worded and acknowledged as imperative. Considerable time was required to work them out, already in the Cold War environment. And again this law was created mostly by the Soviet Union, Europe and the United States, i. e. the countries that are close civilizationally, at least in their legal systems dimension.

Currently, the world map, both political and legal, is absolutely different. It includes not just a wider set of countries but also the variety of their essential dimensions. I am speaking about states also representing ancient civilizations, different from the "Euro-American" civilization.

The today's crisis in international relations and international law is incomparable with a war tragedy. But what can new international law be, when it should be created by so different in their traditions states?

The task is not to just listen to one another but hear one another. Especially as the Western model does not work in the new leading countries. It is possible to see some successful elements of it but on the whole it is completely different, and that's the most serious problem for working out a new, sustainable legal system that won't be eternal but should give the world assuredness in the future for a certain historical period.

The second problem of the future legal system's formation is related to development of humanity as such and the new stage of its technical views and ideas development. Its new habitat is cyberspace. This space principally differs from the model existing now from the perspective of its legal regulation.

Until recently, any national legal system could be called "the right of the stretched arm" – the sovereign's arm acting within his borders. Originally law was territorial, and coordination of wills of sovereigns made creation of international law possible. But now we have cyberspace. It is not linked to state borders. There is not only information in it but there are also legally significant actions taking place in it, public opinion is formed there, finally, market is formed as the economic basis for existence of civilization space. And this space originated not on the basis of sovereignty but as an "extraterritorial phenomenon". The sovereign's arm has become short.

What will the philosophy of the new law be? How will it interact with the existing law acting in real space? Technical views and ideas are outrunning social views and ideas. Because of that I call upon everyone to think, put forward ideas – think how to build legal relation in the new world.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite our guest from New Delhi, research fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs Mrs Talukdar to take the floor.

**I. TALUKDAR:** – The topic of the discussion has been on a New World Order and the problems related to it. When the Cold War ended, it was assumed that bipolarity ended, which was a positive news for the world. It brought in a so-called new atmosphere where the developing countries such as India and China also started to progress, creating a positive environment. A new kind of a world order i.e. multipolar world order was in the making. However, this concept of a multipolar world order is not new, because even in the imperial times there was a framework of multipolarity though there is difference between the imperial one and the 21st Century one. During the imperial times, the multipolarity was not based on mutual cooperation or coordination amongst each other nor was for mutual benefit. It was more of exceptionalism and expansion. It seems that there is more cooperation in this 21st century multipolar world order, however the direction to which it is heading doesn't seem like that because of the complexities. Question arises on the genesis behind these complexities that are evolving from this multipolar world order. The answer lies behind the remnants of the bipolarity which the world had witnessed during the Soviet Union time. The problems between Russia and the United States is still present in the current times. The ripple effect of this conflict of interest between these two ex-superpowers, whether directly or indirectly, can still be seen in the aspects of the international relations. For instance, the problems faced

in Latin America to an extent reflect the remnants of the problems of Russia and the United States (in an indirect manner). In the Middle East, there is either proxy or hybrid or asymmetry wars, where there is either direct (Syria or Iran) or indirect involvement of Russia and the United States, making things complicated in the region. Even in the Eastern European countries, there is the impact of this complexity of Russia and the United States.

There are other issues which might create another form of complexity in the world order. The rise of China to an extent. Most of the countries, including the United States, do not see Beijing's rise from a positive and constructive angle. India is concerned about its hegemonic tendencies which gets reflected in Beijing's policies be it at regional (South China Sea) or global (Belt and Road Initiative) level. The BRI initiative was projected in a positive manner and suggestions were made on the positive outcome from joining it. A Pakistani diplomat mentioned during the Likhachov Conference that those countries which are apprehensive (indirectly meant India as New Delhi has raised objections to it) about the BRI should not be and rather should join it. India has not signed up to the initiative as parts of one key project, the US\$ 57 billion China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), runs through Pakistan-administered Kashmir, which comes under India's territorial sovereignty. The question which every country needs to ask itself before justifying projects like BRI and CPEC running through India is whether they will allow something similar to happen in their own territories if a particular country has territorial issue with the one who is initiating any mega projects like this. India-China and India-Pakistan has territorial issues which remains tensed and unresolved. Hence, multipolarity which promises positive outcomes have not been able to deliver them and in the near future the success rate remains doubtful because of the complexities shared between established powers, rising powers, middle and small powers. Apart from the complexities in the traditional realm of international relations, the non-traditional problems such as global climate change, terrorism, radicalisation, xenophobia and other manmade issues which are causing threat to humankind also create complexities in the multipolar world order. It does not seem that countries are serious in tackling these challenges. It is evident from the policies, both internal and external, that governments undertake. Though governments talk about these matters but their actions do not match. To take serious steps in handling these traditional and non-traditional issues, the countries will have to make major compromises in their policies which might be counter-effect to their respective national interests. Hence, there will be difficulty in making multipolarity work. With the "swing state" approach and rise in exceptionalism, multipolarity in truest sense becomes a far-fetched dream. The world is talking about US President Donald Trump's "America first" policy, however, this exceptionalism has been present in every country since a long time ago, including India. The only difference is that President Trump has been using the term "America first" openly. A strong global citizenship and the focus on humanity are the key drivers to make multipolarity work in a positive manner. Through a strong philosophy of humanity where countries can transcend differences amongst each other, when there is absolute and genuine tolerance, dignity and respect of each and every life, including culture, civilization, race, gender, reli-

gion and orientation etc., only then there can be a solution. Basing on the philosophy of humanity will be important. It is because culture and civilization though can bring countries together however at the same time has the seed of discontentment. The aspect of superiority that is present in every religion, culture and civilization sometimes can deter the harmonious growth amongst countries. The interlinkage between the traditional and non-traditional security aspects, including culture and civilization, makes the creation of a multipolar world order complicated. Through the focus on global citizenship and philosophy of humanity based on genuine dialogue and respecting every life can lead to a stable, prosperous and harmonious multipolar world order.

**V. A. CHERESHNEV:** – The floor is given to corresponding member of the RAS, Director of the Institute of Europe of the RAS Alexey Anatolyevich Gromyko.

**AI. A. GROMYKO:** – I'd like to mention that those speaking today in this hall are between the two fires, or between the devil and the deep sea: Areopagus is on the left, Veche (popular assembly in ancient Russia) is on the right. That is, all principles – both authoritarian and democratic – accelerate thinking processes and hearts beat quicker. I'd also like to have time to say something important.

This year, we are celebrating the 110th anniversary of the famous diplomat of the 20th century Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko. He had his favourite book in his childhood, it was titled *Pictorial Astronomy*. When already 65 years passed since the time he had read it – I think, some time in the middle of the 1920s – he addressed the Lenin Library asking to find this book. The librarians found out that it had been published several times and asked, “How is it possible to determine which edition you are looking for?” Andrey Andreevich had not seen this book for sixty-five years but he said, “The first caption under the star map of the sky is as follows, ‘Our Earth is striving for an unknown goal on the wings of time’.” It seems to me that this is a suitable epithet for our world – both in the early twentieth century and the early twenty-first century: the Earth is flying very quickly, time advances with gigantic strides. But for what purpose? Where are all of us flying?

They say that there are three periods in life: youth, middle age and the years when you look great. There is a feeling that everyone thinks conversely in our mature world: that he looks bad and there is no ray of hope. Really, there are reasons for that. Social inequality intensifies – both in the world as a whole and in certain countries, including all most developed countries. The number of trouble spots increases. Presumption of innocence in international relations has been practically forgotten and thrown away outside the ideas of justice. Arms race is accelerating and not only somewhere far from us – in Asia or Latin America – but in Europe as well. Strategic stability disappears gradually: the famous Treaty on the Elimination of Medium- and Short-Range Missiles terminates this year on August 2, the United States are withdrawing from it. And the President of Iran announced on May 8 that his country temporarily stopped fulfilling a part of obligations under the so-called Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action on Iran's Nuclear Program – and again as a result of the United States withdrawing from this most important international agreement.

But the situation is never only black or only white. What is not bad and inspiring in the current situation? First, it was already said today that global GDP is higher than ever in the ten recent years. Besides, the large-scale war in Syria abated, migration to Europe considerably diminished, the scenario for regime change in Venezuela was not brought into life, the Mueller's report in the United States struck a smashing blow on the “troll factory”, anti-American part of the establishment in this country, Poroshenko is no longer the President of the Ukraine, etc. That is the balance is maintained. The world will never be black and white.

In conclusion I'd like to say: how do you think, what will save the world? Common sense, rationality, some miracle? It seems to me that the world will be saved by the three words. They sound as follows in English: “yellow”, “blue” “bus”. And if a foreigner says these three world quickly, he can declare his love to a woman if she is Russian: “yellow-bluebus” sounds like “I love you” in Russian. The world will be saved by love.

**V. A. CHERESHNEV:** – I invite foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences Petr Petrovich Tolochko to the microphone.

**P. P. TOLOCHKO:** – Dear Alexander Sergeevich, the Presidium, dear colleagues, I'd like to present my three thoughts.

First. I liked the crazy engine-driver allegory, presented by Professor Dutkiewicz, very much. The following is important: the trouble of the crazy engine-driver is not only his not knowing where to go but also his trying to destroy everything that could show him the way. The world can't live without agreements and contracts. And today the system of such agreements is being destroyed by this crazy engine-driver. Piotr Dutkiewicz did not say who that engine-driver was though he lives not far from him. And I can say that this is the United States. The world should not acknowledge the United States exclusiveness and selectness – a crazy engine-driver should not rule the world. I think that this is the primary task of the global community.

Second. It seems to me that the West – I mean the collective West – has absolutely no moral right to demonize Russia, announce that it is an aggressor. Let's refer to history. Two world wars came to Russia from Europe. Enlightened countries preyed upon Russia in Vladivostok, in the Black Sea, in the North in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth years of the twentieth century. Napoleon and the Crimean War came to Russia in the nineteenth century. If we look in the earlier times, Swedish King Charles XII also entered the territory of Russia. Because of that the West has no right to force on the idea of confrontation. It will gain nothing from it, besides, it is simply unjust.

Third. It seems to me that the world should get used to the environment, in which a global cataclysm is possible soon. The United States announced their right to use nuclear weapons preventively. And other countries are silent – but they should not be silent. It seems to me that international organizations, about which our colleague from France spoke, are necessary for the world to become at least a little better – such as the World Peace Council. Great people, including Frédéric Joliot-Curie and Pablo Neruda, were its members. There were moral authorities in various countries, to whom the heads of states orientated. Besides,

there was the Non-Aligned Movement, its participants were a kind of counterweight, a moral arbiter between the power poles. All that is destroyed now.

Abdusalam Abdulkerimovich said that we did not know what the world of the future should be. I am not a philosopher, I am more pragmatic. It seems to me that the world of the future should be a little better than today's world. And if we make some world order institutions, which stopped their functioning and were forgotten, to start working again, it will be better.

**V. A. CHERESHNEV:** – The floor is given to foreign member of the RAS Askar Akayevich Akayev.

**A. A. AKAYEV:** – Dear colleagues, I want to draw your attention to the topic of our plenary session: “Global Development: Challenges of Predictability and Manageability”. The statement that the future of the society is unpredictable and consequently unmanageable has widely spread in the recent decade, starting from the world financial crisis of 2008–2009.

On the one hand, the reason for that is really deepening, widening chaoticization of the today's world that is in civilization crisis. I am not speaking only about the economic crisis of 2009. The world is in the crucial, life-changing period when the fourth generation of local civilizations with the leading or even domineering Western civilizations changes. The fifth generation of local civilizations with the leading Eastern civilizations is also changing – first of all, Chinese, Indian, Eurasian with Russia at the head, etc. That is, we are in global civilization crisis.

On the other hand, the statement about development's unpredictability is spread to a large extent in order for international and national research institutions to somehow justify their helplessness. They turned out incapable of predicting either the financial and economic upheaval of 2009, or the global civilization crisis, in which the world is today. So, the development's unpredictability thesis is spread to justify billions of dollars spent on working out long-term forecasts, none of which came true. It is also necessary to camouflage strategic helplessness of authorities that did not manage to find ways to transfer to progressive future on national and global levels.

Because of that it should be said directly that the thesis about unpredictability, unmanageability of the society's future development is not only erroneous but also extremely harmful. It throws the progressive part of humanity off their guard, people who should fight for directing global development in the positive direction today because the world can start developing in the negative direction – and exactly that is taking place now.

Today, Alexander Sergeevich asked the outstanding scholars about the condition of the world. The question can be answered in short: the world is in the state of chaos. Yes, we lived in the environment of the Yalta world order for 70 years, and it provided considerable progress and flourishing of humanity. It was especially noticeable in the 1960s and the 1970s. The habitual for us world started breaking in the 1990s, after the USSR disintegration and disintegration of the socialist system. Today, it is in a chaotic state when there is already transfer to the new order going on.

At the same time, I'd like to mention the following. For some reason everyone says that the character of chaos is ex-

clusively degradational, they speak about chaos negatively. Really, chaos is very useful. The great Russian scholar, chemist, Noble Prize winner Ilya Prigogine developed the theory of chaos and demonstrated that any new order was born out of the old one or in place of the old one only via chaos. Exactly chaos brings the world to the bifurcation point when the direction is chosen. The unstable society is receptive for innovations, including managerial.

I come to the conclusion from the above-said. There are representatives of many branches of knowledge present here today: social sciences, natural sciences and others. Robert Iskandrovich was right to mention that we should all together, working on the inter-branch basis, develop the approach for political leaders, governments to learn governing the world in unstable environment. Then we will quietly transfer to the new world order that was foreseen by outstanding minds. It can be characterized as follows: integral humanistic noospheric social system.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite the Dean of the Higher School (Department) of Television of Lomonosov Moscow State University Vitaly Tovievich Tretyakov to take the floor.

**V. T. TRETYAKOV:** – Nevertheless, the future exists and it is predictable – I'll demonstrate it now. The buzzer will sound in five minutes, and I'll have to go down from the stand. And someone can make an effort and willfully press the buzzer earlier or just drive me away from the stand. That is, I can leave either in five minutes or earlier. So, the future is variable. This is important for what I want to say.

It turns out that myths and religion are more intelligent than science. The ancient people foretold everything, the Greeks had their Golden Age when the myth system was developed but it was quickly left behind. The Bronze Age followed it. And actually the time when mythology was fixed is already the Iron Age with its disgusting wars and other things. And the Paradise in Christianity is also left behind – and the one in heaven may not come. That is, not everything in our science and especially social science is right.

It's necessary to review the role of scholars in the life of the country. For example, in disintegration of the Soviet Union. Actually, all minds, from physicists to lyrists, were for restructuring and openness. Where was their insight, where was their far-sightedness? Now, they suffer that everything has been destroyed or disintegrated, including their dear Academy of Sciences. Though I'll mention that I am for setting up a new Scientific Party in the country instead of all existing now, but that is a separate topic.

We are lucky that Europe and the United States do not foresee now what is to happen in the world. It's clear that the United States as the dictator want to preserve the world we have now, and Europe has just gone crazy and does not understand that it is driving in exactly that train that is rushing into the abyss. European countries see danger in other things, and that is certified by the present struggle for the European Parliament, for fractions to win. Or take the Manifesto of thirty top intellectuals: the European house is on fire, etc. All that will not help European countries to keep the future in their hands.

By the way, there is no past in some sense either. Because if the state of affairs develops further as it devel-

ops now, our past will be annihilated, crossed off from our minds, the minds of our children, books, libraries. Everything will be confiscated, everything will be destroyed. There will be no victory in the Great Patriotic War and nothing at all of what you know. So, the time is an interesting category.

What exactly do European countries not take into account? Every 50–75 years the system of international relations changes radically. This is easy to follow if we look at the well-known to us events from the past. The recent 75-year period, from 1945, will end next year. It's evident that everything is changing. And the whole system of international institutions will be restructured, no matter how you stick to it. Consequently, in order to govern the future, it is required to create our own, advantageous for us new system. An international organization, in which you are not the leader is not required – otherwise someone else will be the leader, someone who will make you live according to his rules. Imagine what the Russia's position could be now had the Soviet Union not become a permanent member of the Security Council with the veto power. And there are two hundred countries there and as if democracy. Consequently it is required to take some actions already now. I am not saying that it is required to destroy the United Nations because this organization does not manage to perform its direct obligations. But it has just become outdated.

So, those who want to be in the future and govern it, lead and not be subordinate, have to prepare. It is required to build alternative international organizations – first of all, the new United Nations. How? I have a detailed plan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs can contact me, I'll present everything to them if they do not know themselves how it is necessary to act.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite Grzegorz Kolodko to the microphone.

**G. W. KOLODKO:** – Our future belongs to us. But before we get there, we have to climb up the hill. It is hardly predictable; it is hardly manageable, so we have to look at the way of governing the global affairs and the globalisation. To govern, not to manage, not to control, but to shape to the extent driven by our culture and our interests. Because the world is being driven by ideas and interests. And it is surprising to many of us, definitely to me as the economist with some interdisciplinary inclinations, that so many decisions, including economic fields, are being taken because of ideas, not because of economic common sense. And that is causing a lot of irrationality in the contemporary world.

But first things first, when we are talking about the future, I think we have to revisit the question of globalisation. My train of thought tells me that globalisation, which I do define as the historical and spontaneous process of liberalisation and integration of, thus far to the extent, separately performing national economies into one interconnected, intertwined worldwide global economy, is an irreversible process.

But I'm here for the fifth time thanks to the generosity of Professor Zapesotsky and his great university. And I may say that each year that I come here the situation gets worse. Not here in St. Petersburg, I think it's better, not here

in Russia, slightly, but it is improving, but definitely, year after year the situation is worse in the world, including the lack of progress of globalisation. And I am contradicting myself not at all. I'm taking the longshot when I'm talking about the irreversibility of globalisation because of the ideas and interests which are shaping contemporary civilization or civilizations. And not only because of the supply chain, because of the power of transnational globalisation, but because, what we have heard already here, there is economic nonsense that makes any kind of wish for reverse globalisation.

But sometimes we do have nonsensical policies starting this time, another surprise, from the United States, which claims they were the leaders of the free world until recently, and now the biggest power behind the continuation of globalisation is China, a so-called communist country, they say win-win globalisation, so I'm warning ourselves that a win-win from a Chinese perspective may happen to be a two-zero for China, that it's not the future we are looking for. But globalisation is irreversible because of the power of economic gains from interconnected global affairs because of culture and also because of generational change. I'm taking a look for the future through the prism of values, institutions and policies. Upon how we measure depends where we are going. And I think that what we can contribute to, we cannot do that much. We can make another conference in St. Petersburg or in San Francisco, in Johannesburg or Rio de Janeiro saying what you are saying, and it won't change the world. But the intellectuals should change the definition of the aim of economic, of socio-economic activity, because how we measure depends where we are going, and definitely the future is not about more and faster, but much more about getting more balance – not only in economic, but also in social, on the one hand, and ecological, on the other hand, development as I am suggesting in new pragmatism. The nationalism, which is very much against globalisation, the new nationalism is the wrong answer for the failure of neoliberalism which was preying on globalisation which was not inclusive.

So now I have two enemies, I have the enemy of neoliberalism which is enriching the few at the cost of many and I have the enemy in the form of new nationalism, but the enemy of my enemy is not my friend. So, now the question is how to fight these two friends looking forward into the future. But this problem, we do have the solution, and for that reason I'm taking a look, with a kind of confidence, and one more time, as I said five minutes ago, the future belongs to us. The only difficult thing is to govern irreversible globalisation in a sensible, rational way. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite Hans Köchler, Ph. D., President of the International Progress Organization from Vienna to the microphone.

**H. KÖCHLER:** – Rector Zapesotsky, ladies and gentlemen! I have contributed a paper on the problems of world order and the issues of predictability. As time does not allow going into the details, I'll share with you the conclusions. In my assessment, the imperial project of the so-called liberal world order has failed. What we witness now are the rear-guard battles of the empire, so to speak. In the last 20 years, this has meant unilateral uses of force in an increasingly

multipolar framework. The problem is that the United Nations Organization – which has been referred to here repeatedly – is not well equipped to deal with these situations, and is not really able to maintain or restore international peace and security. In the available time, I shall give just one or two specific reasons why this is the case. The details are often overlooked. As the dictum goes, the devil is in the detail – and in this case, the devil is in the wording of the United Nations Charter.

I agree with Amr Moussa that by far the most important institution of the UN is the Security Council – because it is the body that decides on the preservation or restoration of peace between nations. The problem is that the statute (the UN Charter) is drafted in such a way that the Council is paralysed if one of the great powers – or, in the present constellation, the hegemonial power in particular – does not play by the rules. Why is that so?

The facts are simple. One just has to look at the wording of Article 27, Paragraph 3, of the Charter. The problem is not at all a lack of specific rules of international law. They are all there: There is the prohibition of the international use of force, clearly and unambiguously written into the Charter. There is the prohibition of interference into the internal affairs of states, and there is also laid out in the Charter the clear and full authority of the Security Council to deal with any violation of these rules, namely, to impose sanctions and also to order or authorise the use of force against an aggressor state. The problem is not in the *rules*. The problems lie in the *procedures*, spelled out in Paragraph 3 of Article 27. The Council adopts its decisions by a minimum of 9 out of 15 votes – which is fair and slightly more than the absolute majority. However, that same provision further states that any decision requires the concurring votes of the permanent members. This is the veto of the five powers of 1945. The text then continues that this procedure is valid “provided that, in decisions under Chapter VI... a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.” At first sight, this sounds fair and reasonable. If I am involved in a dispute with someone else, I cannot be judge in my own cause. That’s quite clear and a natural principle of justice. What is often overlooked, however, is that the Charter refers here only to Chapter VI that regulates the peaceful settlement of disputes. The binding decisions of the Security Council on war and peace, namely on sanctions and the use of force against an aggressor state, are not decisions on the basis of Chapter VI, however. This chapter merely deals with *recommendations* for peaceful settlement, which have no legal consequence. The legally binding decisions are those adopted on the basis of Chapter VII, for which the obligation of a party to abstain from voting does not apply. The provision of Article 27 means, in actual fact, that an aggressor state is not obliged to abstain from voting if that state attacks or invades another country. It is exactly for that reason that the Security Council will be paralysed in most matters of coercive action to maintain or restore peace – unless one removes those few words (“in decisions under Chapter VI”) from the wording of Article 27. To omit this phrase would be a rather simple, straightforward step by the international community. Of course, it would require the consent of all five permanent members, which is highly unlikely to occur. Should such a move on the basis of the present Charter ever be taken, it might at least have a kind of civilizing effect, even on the

major global player, because no country is happy about being condemned by the world body. That’s the point I wanted to make.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite the outstanding lawyer, attorney at law, legal expert Henry Markovich Reznik, Doctor honoris causa of our University, to take the floor.

**H. M. REZNIK:** – Alexander Sergeyevich was a brilliant and artistic moderator. He said directly, “to stir up the speakers” – and he managed with this task wonderfully. Look how elevated the speakers are. What categories sounded from this rostrum! Happiness, the meaning of life, saving. On the whole, it’s our way to fly, to dream. And I’ll be carried away a little together with the rest.

I’d like to share my ideas of humans. I strongly doubt that God created us in His image and likeness. Man is an aggressive, cruel, evil, envious, lazy creature. Besides, there is no prohibition for him to kill representatives of his species. Look how humanity lived till the middle of the previous century: it waged wars all the time, killing other men.

But humans have a creative potential – and happily for us people invented a nuclear bomb. Only thanks to it we live without wars now. Because another great achievement of ours – humanitarian culture – though it works, is a too light barrier when great-power ambitions, first of all national, come to the fore. Because of that when Alexander Sergeyevich gave us the shivers today, I did not feel fear. I think it was done for the debate, and really there is no need to save anyone.

Our world has always been imperfect – and it stays imperfect. But as we are having a scientific conference here, I’d like to draw your attention to the following. Science in general appears when certain governing laws are fixed. It is easy to establish them in the physical world. But we have a humanitarian conference, mostly economists and legal experts are assembled here today. Let’s put law aside for some time and review economy as an example. Is economics a science at all? The question is very important because everything reviewed in it is the consequence of human choice. Actually, some idea that later captures the masses, originally comes to a certain individual’s head. Collective on the whole is incapable of any creativity. That is, there was a time when some advanced individual appeared, he went down from a tree, then the second followed his example, the third, the fourth, the fifth, etc. It’s the same with economy. Some choice is made at a certain stage and later, if we remember the terms introduced by Marx, social relations originate, and new and new generations join them. How do you think, should these social relations be taken into account? For example, Hitler was a great admirer of Schopenhauer. At the same time, exactly economy was the basis of Hitler’s regime collapse – as well as the Soviet totalitarian regime because the economic model no longer functioned.

And the last thing I’d like to say. What is the function of scholars, our function? We should fix some governing laws and make forecasts and advise politicians basing on forecasts. In conclusion, I’d like to read the verses by a great poet. The most horrifying thing that threatens us is ideologists and fanatics coming to power. We have already seen ideocratic systems leading to great sorrows. Because of that we should make the authorities doubt all the time.

Be afraid of those with the iron spirit,  
 Who put an obstacle for doubts,  
 In whose heart the fear to see abyss  
 Is stronger than the fear of stepping into it.  
 Sorrowful experience is nothing for them.  
 Their slogan is "Belief is like granite!"  
 Such a person will drown the whole world in blood  
 In order to preserve the wholeness.

Now, we have to stop especially idealistic politicians looking into the mists of time, at sacred values. They want to stop humanity's development that naturally goes along the globalization way.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – The floor is given to Valery Alexandrovich Chereshev, Academician of the RAS.

**V. A. CHERESHNEV:** – We have already heard the terms of "instability" and "unpredictability", we listened to the related to them academic discussion of futurologists about the existence of universal laws in general that may forecast the future of humanity. Ilya Prigogine's book *Order out of Chaos. Man's New Dialogue with Nature*, which he wrote in the 1990s together with his colleague Isabelle Stengers, was already mentioned today. This work created quite an uproar at one time.

When we start comparing something in science – for example, the natural and the social – we always act basing on the principle of analogue. That is, phenomena are described in such a way as to provide complete conformity with one another, exactly, to a T. At the same time an important principle is forgotten – the principle of irreversibility about which Prigogine wrote exactly. He writes that the principle of irreversibility is the main law on which traditions are based, and which allows to transfer chaos into order at all levels. Prigogine also says that order appearing out of chaos is a paradox. But the future is completely made of paradoxes.

The main paradox is that the future only seems inaccessible, incomprehensible, unpredictable. However, it is possible to foresee the general direction as our previous experience tells us. Plans, forecasts, etc. are built on that. Sure, forecasts do not always coincide with the reality but the general dynamics becomes clear on their basis. Besides, it is important to take into account that the future includes both the past and the present – and that refers to individuals, countries and civilizations. You will obligatory have to pay in the future for everything. As M. M. Zhvanetsky says, "we always have bright future and unpredictable past." This is really so but we know where we are approximately going and for what we are developing. Because of that all environmental bombs from the present and the past will definitely have their consequences in the future – Fukushima and Chernobyl nuclear disasters, many wrong governmental decisions and many other things. There is no avoiding the consequences. Understanding that we can say: yes, it's difficult to foresee, but the knowledge of predetermination based on the principle of irreversibility allows to bravely fight against instability and pave the way to long-term strategies, thanks to which prospects of normal life are opened up for millions of people.

And the future runs through human life practically from the first minutes. Here is a paradoxical phenomenon: a newborn baby eats for the first time when brought to his/her

mother. However, the baby will drink mother's milk at once but will spit out three drops of warm, sweet physiological (saline) solution. How does the baby know what to expect? But the food analyzer is already tuned to milk. Here it is, the future: the baby has just been born but already knows what can be eaten.

Sure, it is easier to forecast in science than in other fields of activities. Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov said about that as the general cultural governing law and gave the following example. It is impossible to foretell a genius work of art but it is possible to foretell a genius discovery in science. Why? Because discoveries are made in the environment of a certain level of science and technology development, and for this reason they are often made simultaneously in different countries by different scholars. Because of that forecasts can be various. For example, Yasunori Nomura, the leading futurologist of the United States from San Francisco says that analysis of radiation coming to the Earth certifies that there are many intelligent civilizations, and in the next 30–50 years we'll see what intelligent species exist besides us. The time will show if that is the case or not.

I am concluding my speech with the forecast by the outstanding scholar Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky. He wrote in the 1920s that the technosphere created over the 200 preceding years would be definitely replaced by the noosphere – intelligent thinking. We should not only understand it but create as well, act practically for the Earth to become intelligent, warm, bright – like Vernadsky predicted. It can't be achieved without the efforts of the whole world.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – The floor is given to foreign member of the RAS, outstanding Italian philosopher Mr Agazzi.

**E. AGAZZI:** – Mr Rector I am particularly honoured to be here for the second time and I am actually an admirer of Russian culture. I have read many works of your literature, I am fond of your music, I admire your philosophy, I know your scientists, and I am especially honoured to be a member of the Russian Academy of Science. This is the reason why, when I am here, I am impressed by the exceptional intellectual level of our conferences. I have been the President of the International Institute of Philosophy and of the International Federation of Philosophical Societies, but I can tell you very honestly, that the atmosphere, the intellectual level of the debates here are absolutely exceptional.

Therefore, it is a particular satisfaction for me to say two words about the extremely complicated issue which is under our scrutiny. How can we predict and manage the future? Why is this a question? The future is the only time we have at our disposal. Because the past is over, the present is going away quickly. So, the only time at our disposal is future. This explains why from time immemorial human beings have made efforts to know the future. The oracles, the fortune tellers, and many other people were believed to be able to predict the future, so it's very spontaneous to cultivate such a concern also today. But how can we hope to predict the future if we go out of this mythical perspective? Only if we believe that there is something different from a purely mystic force driving human fates, cosmic events and so on. This is the idea which is born with modern science in the 16th century, with Galileo, Newton and many other scholars. And what was the application of this idea?



The construction of *machines*. In a machine nothing is mysterious. You can tell how a machine will function and why it will function like that before constructing the machine.

This is actually a wonderful model and if you start thinking according to this model you try to be able to uncover, for example, the “mechanisms” of the market, the “mechanism” of the political decisions, the “mechanism” of psychological life, and so on, in order to be able to predict the future and to manage the future. You see how powerful is the idea of deterministic trends which are supposed to allow us to predict the future. But, unfortunately, this idea doesn’t work. Why? Because in this approach one ignores completely the *complexity* of the structure, the *interactions* between its constituent parts. So, even if we have to do with deterministic trends which interact (such as in the early studied elementary case of the gravitational force) we are already confronted with what is known as non-linearity (that is strictly related with the notion of complexity). To express the idea of non-linearity in a few simple words, we can use the idea of prediction that can be intuitively rendered by the image of a trajectory drawn on a sheet of paper: if we fix a point of the curb corresponding to the state of affairs of the complex system at an initial time  $t_0$ , we can find on the curb a point “predicting” what will be the state of the system at a successive time  $t_n$  and if the point on the curb has been fixed with an order of precision  $\epsilon$ , also the point at time  $t_n$  will be determined with the same order of precision. This is the sense of linearity. In the case of complex systems, however, this is no longer the case. Small differences in the determination of the state of the system remaining inside the order of precision  $\epsilon$  can give rise to very divergent trajectories such that, after a short time interval, their values become divergent and we could not predict what will be the state of our system at time  $t_n$ .

What can we do in such situations? We have no maps for the territory of the future, that would consist in the existence of reliable trajectories. And if we have no maps can we try nevertheless to uncover the future? Yes, to a certain extent, in case we have at our disposal a compass. A compass means a means for *orientation*. So, in order to drive the progress, we must have ideas, goals, values. This is the reason why we cannot rely on science and technology for a better future unless we have a deep analysis of values, ideas, hopes and we engage for the realisation of all these.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite Alexander Mikhaylovich Kramarenko to take the floor.

**A. M. KRAMARENKO:** – There is some advantage in my taking the floor after such attention-getting speeches, and related to various fields of science. In my turn, I’d like to say that the best way to find out what will definitely not take place is to forecast the future based on what we already know. The foreign policy analysis I have been engaged in for a long time, unexpectedly brought me to post-modernist philosophy – really, at the suggestion of my daughter who read a lot of absurdists and started buying all postmodernists. Then I really started understanding at least what was happening to the world in recent 30 years.

First, I agree with the postmodernists’ opinion that we are living not in the present time. That is, we still have to acquire the present. We live in the shadow of the Cold War that is already over, its politics, institutions, etc., and that

casts a shadow as well as it is cast by the future before it comes as Akhmatova wrote. I also agree with what Jean Baudrillard says about reversibility of things as well as the existence of the object’s irony and fatal strategies that lead to trite strategies.

I’d like to say the following in this connection. Struggling against totality, which is the central topic of post-modernist philosophy, is very convincing. It’s required to leave the back worlds, Nietzsche with his “God is dead”, all fantastic ideologies starting from Martin Luther – because we know what that Protestant Revolution, which became the mother of all revolutions, turned into. We are finishing the Protestant period, and two Protestant cultures – Anglo-Saxon and German – turned out to be the reason of intra-West bipolarity. In its time it led to World War I, the rest was already the function of this event, including the Russian Revolution, Cold War and everything we are living through now.

It really seems to me that before acquiring the future, it is necessary to acquire the present, and to overcome the past for that, but we have not still managed to do that to the end in 30 years. It was easier in Russia because we just collapsed, and we had no choice. The collective West is another matter: they had the intellectual choice that they could not make. Because all the reasons of the systemic crisis of the Western society we are witnessing now – financialization of economy, elimination or erosion of the middle class – were laid already in the early 1970s. The Vietnam War, liquidation of the gold standard, deregulation of the financial sector took place exactly at that period. The language issue arises here as well, with all those euphemisms. Heidegger wrote that there was pre-understanding in the language, but when euphemisms started accumulating, hiding the essence of what took place, we found ourselves in a very drastic situation.

I am sure that now it is necessary to dismantle any ideology because it is always connected with fanaticism, aspiration to live not for oneself and not now but in the name of some fascinating idea. We can put an end to even liberal ideology because in essence it has turned into something totalitarian and the reasons for that are political correctness, strangulation of the freedom of speech via control over traditional mass media.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – The floor is given to Jan Aart Scholte.

**J. A. SCHOLTE:** – *Dobry Dzen*. Thank you very much for having me. My remarks concern legitimacy in global governance as a basis for manageable global development. I am first going to say why legitimacy in global governance is important. Then I will say something about the institutional, the individual, and the world order bases for getting legitimacy in global governance. And then you will tell me that it is an impossible project, which is fine!

We have heard a lot at this conference that we live in a global world and face problems of global scale. We do indeed have global problems: climate change, other ecological problems, financial markets, trade networks, internet, migration, peacebuilding. And think of the technological developments of the future: artificial intelligence, geoen지니어ing, nanotechnology, genetic modification. We need global cooperation and global governance to deal with these

issues. In a global world, we need governance that is in some measure global, too. We need to have planetary-scale governing of problems that are common to the planet.

But as of today we do not have very much global governance. The United Nations has been mentioned at various times today. Yet the staff of the United Nations, the core staff of the United Nations, do you know how big it is? Smaller than the New York Fire Department. And the size of the core budget of the United Nations? The same as the capital of the country where I live, that is, the city of Stockholm. So we do not have enough capacity for effective global governance. How can we get enough resources? One big boost could come from legitimacy in global governance.

“Legitimacy” in global governance means that people believe in the regime. Legitimacy means that people perceive that a regime is exercising its authority in an appropriate way. We don’t have that belief very strongly today. We need that belief if we are going to deal with these global problems. Expand the resources of global governance, expand the decisions of global governance, expand the compliance with global governance, expand the problem-solving capacities of global governance.

But how do we get there, to greater legitimacy for global governance? It is a far longer story than I can relate in my few minutes here. In a word, I think we need institutional changes, we need individual changes, and we need world order changes. *Institutional* changes mean we get better procedures and get better performance in global governance organizations: they need to be more fair, more democratic, more effective. *Individual* changes mean that people begin to see that their interests are served in global governing, that they identify more with a global world and its global-scale problems. In fact, studies show that – contrary to what you might expect – people today actually have as much trust in global institutions as in national government. So, there are bases to get going on that. In addition, we need *societal* changes: for example, a more fair distribution of power and resources in world order. People will not buy into global governing that is unfair. Societal changes can also involve about new ways of dealing with cultural diversity.

In summary: for more legitimacy in global governance we need institutional changes, individual changes, and world order changes. We need all three. It is a tall order. You may even tell me it is impossible to achieve. However, our global problems are extremely difficult and urgent. If we do not get started now on moving to more legitimate global governance, we may be sorry later. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I invite the General Manager of Banque “Eric Sturdza SA” Bruno Desgardins from Switzerland to take the floor.

**B. DESGARDINS:** – Globalisation, according to me, it’s cooperation on one side, but it’s mainly competition on the other side, and so the world is much more complicated. In 1935 there were 45 states in the world. Now it’s 198, and over the last 20 years we have seen 30,000 new frontiers in the world, so competition is there. I would like to take one example with China and China with the rest of the world. I have done a long paper on that, but just to summarise a few points.

First of all, it is a huge success, then I think it is not an example and then I would like to elaborate a little on the

Silk Road, just to offer a different view from what we have heard this morning. China is a huge success. Since the year China entered the WTO, the GDP of China was multiplied by 12. Nowadays, the GDP of China is 15 (one five) percent of the world, as compared to 2% in 2001. Huge success if you compare with BRIC, the 3 other countries; Russia, India and Brazil. The total for them is 8% of the world GDP. Huge success, but is it an example? I don’t think so. Why? China has built very strong capabilities in many sectors with public companies which are not always competitive, and they can’t afford it. And nowadays China, just in a few years, becomes a world leader in many sectors: traditional technology like iron and steel with more than 50% of production, coal industry with more than 50% of world production, but also in new technology like the solar industry or the wind industry, where we can see that 5 of the 10 leaders in the world are Chinese. And I can take many examples of that. But today the problem is that we have too many capacities. Too many capacities because over the last 10 years economic growth in China was financed by debt. \$1 of GDP nowadays requests \$4–5 of additional debt. And so, when China is investing such a huge amount every year, they are increasing over capacity in local sectors like real estate, but also in global capacity in the world, which is creating deflation pressure all over the world, and this is a problem.

I would like to continue with the Silk Road – a fantastic project. More than 100 countries, 4 billion people now concerned. It has been set up in 2013 and with the prospect to spend 1 trillion USD, 1,000 billion USD. If I want to compare with the Marshall plan in 1947, it was 13 (one three) billion USD which means 130 billion USD of today. So, you see the difference. The problem is that it’s very attractive and you have heard this morning some friends who were quite excited with that. Definitely it is helpful. For example in Egypt when Mr Moussa is speaking about Silk Road, it is very nice to finance a new city around Cairo. One minute, but in the same time we can see that in Tajikistan, the debt per habitant, the revenue per habitant is \$1000, and the debt to China is \$700. You can see that in Maldives, the GDP is 5 billion USD, and the loans from China is 3 billion USD. I can take many examples, so we need to be very cautious with that. And I think the competition between free capitalism and state capitalism has to be organised, and I will just give this example when there was this merger between Siemens and Alstom in Europe, I think it was necessary to do it, it was not accepted and it was a mistake. Thank you very much.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – The floor is given to Russian sociologist, Professor Zhan Terentyevich Toshchenko.

**Zh. T. TOSHCHENKO:** – We are discussing the issues of social and economic changes, the processes taking place in the society, in the world, but to my mind not everyone pays attention to the fact who carries these changes out, who realizes these processes and brings these social phenomena into life. Attempts to analyze who the subject of the historical progress is were always made, but recently in view of the socialist system crisis, the former class stratification structure (working class, peasants, bourgeoisie, intelligentsia) was criticized. It was announced that such an approach no longer works, and a lot of suggestions appeared that completely denied such structure – both class and so-

cial. But recently other suggestions appeared. I'd like to tell about one of them in detail.

It's fairly natural that people claim to arrange their life, their well-being. The problem of employment originates based on that. Here I like a sociologist would like to draw your attention to the following. Our analysis showed that currently 15% of the population are employed without labour contracts. Let's not go into what their work may be like. These details don't interest us now. 20% more are employed temporarily, when the contract is signed for some part of a year, one year, 18 months, etc., and that by the ways especially refers to teachers and lecturers. All these people are in limbo. It is profitable for some sectors to have people working part-time as a result of which people have limited opportunities for arrangement of their lives. It is also possible to mention seasonal employment that also puts people in a rather dependable position.

The listed groups make about 40–45% of the employable population. The question arises – how to name them in this case? The term of precariat was introduced for that in world literature (coming from the Latin *precarious* meaning unstable, unsustainable, non-guaranteed). People referred to this group now make a considerable part of the employable population together with the disputable middle class and some other groups. At the same time, there is mass dissatisfaction with the condition and content of labour, social position, lack of clear prospects in social and personal life in this community of people. They have such common problems as instability of remuneration for their work, lack of social guarantees and protection, uncertain future and professional career as well as some other problems. At the same time, this category of people is well-educated and does not want to lose social ties with the society.

It is possible that many people will not agree with my opinion, but it seems to me that exactly the American precariat brought Trump to power. Now, there are “Yellow Vests” in France – people who are not satisfied with a certain way of life and who represent various social groups and are the French precariat. In our opinion, precariat members showed their worth when Zelensky was elected the President of the Ukraine. This group also brought Pashinyan to power in Armenia. And our participants of environmental riots, recent conflict in Yekaterinburg and other actions related, for example, to city building issues, are people from various strata. So, I am sure that this phenomenon should be paid close attention to and be made the object of not only scientific research but also the subject of state economic and social policy.

**V. A. CHERESHNEV:** – Allow me to give the floor for the closing remarks to the President of SPbUHSS Alexander Sergeevich Zapesotsky.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, our today's meeting is coming to an end, but we'll have another eventful and very interesting day tomorrow. It so happened that I have not prepared a report for the first time in many years. But I wrote a big book, in which I analyze the previous Conferences – though I am not very satisfied with it. I hope that all of us together will be creating something profound and outstanding in future.

Many interesting and original thoughts were presented today – I can't aspire to such depth. I think that everyone

present will come to some conclusions. Because everything I'll say is just my personal opinion, and I'd like to share it as we share experience with colleagues. So, I do not believe it. Professor Köchler writes brilliant reports for all our Conferences, I admire him and every time I hope that he will come to us again. But I do not agree that if we change several paragraphs or several words in the UN Charter, everything will be fine in the world. The attitude to the UN Charter now is extremely contemptuous and scornful in general. No one prevented the United States from bombing Yugoslavia with no UN sanctions at all, from disintegrating this state together with NATO countries. No one took a decision for NATO countries to stop flying over Libya, no one prevented them from destroying Libyan air force at first and later all its armed forces. The “rule of the strongest” is predominant in the world.

Sure, our friend Professor Köchler says that these actions are unacceptable from the moral point of view, and the whole world understands it. But we have already run across the situation for dozens of times when those with the monopoly in mass media control the information – and we know that 95% of mass media in the world is controlled by the United States. They can say that white is black and black is white and prove it. Currently, for example, medals are minted with the banners of the victors in World War II – but there is no Russia there. Today, we can consider the one having the power of mass media to have the truth monopoly.

I spend a lot of time in the West, I speak at Universities, I meet with scholars, with the public – and I see amazing things. I came to Berlin when the war in Georgia ended – Saakashvili ordered to attack Russian peacemakers, and that order was fulfilled. But the Germans were sure that it was Russia attacking Georgia. The recordings of Georgian army attacking were demonstrated all over Western Europe but it was said at the same time that it was not Georgia attacking but Russia. I saw the news with my own eyes. Billions are spent on that. Corporations are bought, there are grand advertizing campaigns, UN Charter violations are justified as well as invasions into various countries, etc. Today, the strong do whatever they like. At the same time, it is possible to enter any provisions into the UN Charter.

At the same time, it seems to me that the West is in trouble – as well as Russia. And what is more, I think that Russia is in much bigger trouble because here the historical experience of the West's development that brought it to the dead end is copied very unsuccessfully and implicitly. Henry Markovich, who brilliantly entered into polemics with me at the previous Conference, asked why everyone was anxious to move to the United States. No one is anxious any longer. The Russians who left for the Western Europe or the United States would be happy to come back. In essence, this is the mass public sentiment encompassing hundreds of thousands if not millions. But it's impossible to enter the same river twice.

The trouble of the West is that capitalism, this amazing global economic pattern, amazing economic formation, suddenly lost its vital force. We had socialism in the Soviet Union – a wonderful, extremely promising formation that is developing today in a very interesting, its own specific way in China, and very successfully, integrating achievements of capitalism in accordance with the convergence theory. But socialism lost its force in our country, and instead of mod-

ernizing it, shifting in the direction of the population's material interest and sensible democratization of the society, there was a jump made to wild, barbarian capitalism, and God knows what is happening to it now. And capitalism lost its force in the West because it turned into fake capitalism, a resemblance of capitalism.

What was the strength of capitalism related to in general? I think, with its main idea being brought into life: an individual producing a lot of public goods should be remunerated, he should become rich. An individual makes an electric car – and he becomes a billionaire. He invents a tube instead of a shaving brush and bowl, and the shaving cream gets out of this tube itself – and he becomes very rich. There were many books published in the West about people that gave something to mankind. It's wonderful when such people make a lot of money. When a brilliant lawyer becomes a well-to-do man, it's wonderful, he works for the public benefit. It's wonderful when a singer, whose songs and listened and enjoyed by millions, makes a fortune as well as a scholar, who created or invented something genius. Though our Doctor honoris causa Zhores Alferov, who was such a scholar – there would not have been our cellular phones without him – did not become rich, and we can guess why.

Capitalism lost this special feature, this characteristic – to give an opportunity to make money working for the benefit of the people. It's clear in principle how the situation can be corrected but it seems that the West is incapable of that – as well as the Soviet Union was incapable

to repair its poorly functioning socialism. Because of that Irina Olegovna Abramova is right – the power pole in this case will inevitably move from the West to the East. Sure, when the Bretton Woods system is destroyed – and it will be destroyed and the Americans won't be able to print money, keep 800 military bases all over the world and spend so much money of the others on armaments.

Sure, all powerful institutions will be transferred under the Asian countries control. From my point of view, this is practically inevitable. And that does not make me happy at all because I am afraid that Russia will find itself on the wrong side. To my deep regret, this giant re-division of the global power can take place if not in front of our eyes, then during the life of today's young people. And sure, we, here in St. Petersburg, would not like to find ourselves in the backwoods of the new Asian world.

The crisis of Christianity, destruction of all its ideals and ideas should be added to that as well. I think that, no matter how strange it may sound, restoration of the potential of the Christian civilization model – both liberal Western and socialist that also really originated in the West – is in the field of morals, because avarice destroyed everything. You see, no matter where you look, that there is avarice everywhere, contempt to the high humanitarian essence. We as if do not believe that humanism will win over avarice. But Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov said that surely the evil sometimes triumphs, and sometimes for long periods of time. However, later humanism in any case pushes through savagery like grass through asphalt. I believe in that.

## PANEL DISCUSSION

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May 23, 2019.

A. P. Petrov Theatre and Concert Hall, SPbUHSS

### SPEAKERS:

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY	<i>President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation</i>
Sh. AZIZ	<i>Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007)</i>
E. BAĞIŞ	<i>Minister of European Union Affairs of Turkey (2009–2013)</i>
J. A. MARCH	<i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Spain to the Russian Federation (2008–2011)</i>
M. Á. MORATINOS CUYAUBE	<i>High Representative for the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010), Dr., Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS</i>
A. MOUSSA	<i>Secretary General of the League of Arab States (2001–2011), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt (1991–2001)</i>
L. RIVERA MARÍN	<i>Secretary of State of Puerto Rico</i>
K. SIBAL	<i>Foreign Secretary to the Government of India</i>
S. V. VERSHININ	<i>Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i>

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – We have a group of wise men from various countries assembled here. All of them have a big public, political and state-governing experience. Our colleagues, who spoke on the first day of the Conference, discussed the same issues we have to cover today. We listened to Mr Moratinos’s report, and I have questions, which I’d like to ask him later. One should say that Mr Moratinos showed himself during his speech as a great humanist and, possibly, romanticist and idealist in international relations.

All principles of relation-building between states in the world are well-known. Countries followed them thanks to consensus achieved after World War II. But now there are states originating that say, “We don’t want to be humane – we want to rely upon our strength”. There are also countries originating the governments of which say, “What is good for us is humane for us”. One gentleman – I won’t name him – said that he had been elected by his nation, and he would do only what his nation required, and as they had strong armed forces, they would not take into account the interests of other countries. That is in essence the crisis of today’s international relations: no one wants to follow the principle that provided peace in the past. What is to be done? What will the new world architecture be like? That is what interests us today.

I’d also like to ask everyone present the following questions. What are, in your opinion, the main characteristics of transition from the old world order to the new one? What other features of crisis can you name? Why don’t all governments want to follow the rules and what does it lead to? What can be the ways of exit from this situation? These are the main topics I’d like to discuss today. And the first ques-

tion of our discussion is the following: what are the main characteristics of the current stage of global relations?

I’ll ask Juan Antonio March, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Spain to Russia in 2008–2011, to start looking for answers to these questions.

**J. A. MARCH:** – Thank you very much, Rector for inviting me one more year to participate in this outstanding forum. I think that the main characteristic of our today’s world is the new capacity of each individual thanks to the power of technology and science.

Yes, I think that as a result of the progress in science and technology we live in a totally connected world and because of that the role of each citizen is deeply changing. We, each of us, we are becoming a source of intelligent energy. And the capacity of people to create, to innovate, to propose new things becomes the main driving force of our present world. Consequently we have to move towards the concept that Minister Miguel Angel Moratinos was mentioning: the idea of One Humanity. We are in one world, on one planet, and we are intelligent beings, an impressive creative force in this cosmos. So the capacity of each of us to innovate has to be the driving force for real and substantive progress.

In the meanwhile, we still have to be organized inside the framework of states, inside nations. This framework is a transitory one but it certainly has an impact on the evolution of mankind. The rules and practices inside each of these limited spaces are very different and they certainly impact on the development. The important thing is each individual, each human being, but while a global framework does not exist we have to work on improving the

right evolution in all the different areas to enhance the convergence of all groups. In Europe, that is the region that I belong to, I think we have to accomplish a new big large space. We talked some years ago about the idea that Russia and the European Union should create a common space, and I also think that Turkey has to be in this big area. In the end, we will be only 1 billion people; China is 1.5, India is 1.3. So, it's not a very enormous space. We share history, we share many values and we have to face many challenges that we can only overcome together. We need to go for a big, larger space, that opens horizons of progress for all our individuals. This is why we need to rethink the European area as a great common space embracing the EU, Russia and Turkey.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Juan Antonio, am I right to understand your position? That is, you think that the main feature of the new period is origination of new technologies, don't you?

**J. A. MARCH:** – As I said at the beginning, the new characteristic of present times is that human beings become each and every day more and more, a source of intelligent energy. Look what an individual was doing one century ago, in 1919. They were workers in a textile factory moving on and back the two arms on a rudimentary machine for producing a new tissue. And they were doing this for maybe 12 hours. The number and complexity of orders the brain was giving to the body was very limited. Today, the number of people that are in universities is enormous and the capacity to learn by virtual reality is huge. So the activity of human beings becomes more and more complex and intellectually performant and by that the position of the individual in the world is changing definitely.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – A little bit later, I'll give you the floor again, Juan Antonio. But to my mind, the state of affairs in the world in this respect deteriorated even in comparison with the pre-war period. Because before World War II and later, in the time of Camus, Sartre and others, intellectuals all over the world played a bigger role. Currently, ideas are created by giant information corporations, and their concepts are hardly attractive. And the mass media system and e-communications are more likely used to make people dumb – thus it is easier to spread mass culture clichés and tags. But this is my opinion.

Mr Bağış, please continue. What are the main characteristics of the new transition period in your opinion? What are the differences from the old times?

**E. BAĞIŞ:** – Thank you, Rector, thank you for the hospitality.

In the third century before Christ, the Greek philosophers came up with a new philosophy called stoicism. Stoicism in essence means mastering what you can and accepting what you cannot. And I think the world is going to face stoicism again and again.

Now, we all know, as my good friend Juan said, that globalization brings us all closer, but at the same time the world is getting more and more divided by the minute. People are divided over religion, ethnicity, culture, ideology, different choices in life, so we have to be very careful. In the opening remarks, our great host, Rector Alex-

ander Zapesotsky warned us about even nuclear wars. The world faces so many threats. So, as members of the Global Circle of St. Petersburg, we're trying to find solutions as an idea factory to solve challenges ahead of us through dialogue and diplomacy and finding peaceful solutions. And I think this is very important because we are all threatened by the common challenges, by the common problems such as discrimination, poverty, ignorance, hatred, populism, and we all know that.

The United Nations is not enough to solve all the problems, and the organization itself needs a reform. That is why Turkey believes that the world needs more than five permanent members, because only 5 countries having the ultimate say doesn't solve the problems of hundreds of nations. So, we all have to work together, and as the founder of the modern Turkish Republic Kemal Ataturk said: "If you have peace at home, then you can have peace in the world." So, we have to ensure peace in our localities before we can export peace outside.

But our current foreign policy is based on enterprising and the humanitarian approach, and the best example, I think, would be the Turkish-Russian relationship. Yes, it had its ups and downs in history, even in recent history, but today, as the ambassador of Iran just mentioned a while ago, Turkey, Russia and Iran are finding solutions in Syria.

Thank you for giving me a chance, Professor Zapesotsky.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Shaukat Aziz, you are welcome.

**Sh. AZIZ:** – Thank you, sir. Clearly, we are living in a world, which is changing. Today, change is the only constant in life. If you stay still and only look at the past and not what's ahead of you, you will miss the boat.

So, one of the things, because of globalization, is a positive development and a negative development, depending on how you look at it. Positive because the world is more open, we can learn from each other and then attack the opportunities which come to us. Negative because sometimes that may create challenges for the smaller countries and smaller economies. But globalization, ladies and gentlemen, is the way we have to think.

We cannot hide behind borders. All the traditional, old approaches will have to change gradually. The key driver for growth will be leadership in countries, clear policy and strategy, and, most important, investments in connectivity. The world has to connect with each other, and today we all carry communication devices – I don't know where my phone is but its somewhere here. The point is, connectivity is becoming easier. You may not use it or look at it as a threat; it is an opportunity. As we come closer and the cycle times of what we do reduce, we can create more opportunities. And I think that any leader of a country has to provide the new paradigm for the masses: more communications, more connectivity, more prosperity.

And the other thing, which I have always said, when I was in the government and even now, is that, in addition to all this, we must be open to new ideas and we must be open to innovation, and that, really, is something we need to invest more time and effort in.

Let me just say one more thing before my time is up. One of the excellent global initiatives that exists today

for connectivity is the Belt and Road initiative launched by China. Pakistan is a major participant in this, and it is changing the whole approach, which the country is taking on how to address markets in the future. So, the Belt and Road is one initiative. Other countries can do the same. And we would hope that our host country here, which has a lot of clout and a lot of great ideas, would also be a part of it. I was very happy to see President Putin at the conference in Beijing a few weeks ago, and taking an active part in the session. So, we learn from all these leaders. So, ladies and gentlemen, the key is not to look at changes as a threat. Change is going to be a way of life. We need to take change as an opportunity, and that is what will give us prosperity, peace and progress. Thank you very much.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Aziz, I have a question for you. Which idea from China seemed the most interesting for you?

**Sh. AZIZ:** – I was referring to the One Belt, One Road. There are many initiatives in every country, but this is the one. What does One Belt, One Road mean? Connectivity, in telecommunications, in airline frequencies, in shipping, in the flow of information. All that makes the mind more fertile. People get ideas, people get new ways of doing things and, most importantly, once you understand it, it will give you a great sense of confidence that change is not bad. Don't run away from it, look at it as an opportunity, connect with everybody, and then, of course, you have to be innovative. You have to go for new products, new processes, new philosophy of how you run your businesses and your life, and the dividends will come. They are already coming in many parts of the world. I think that was what I had in mind when I mentioned what I did.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Rivera Marin, you are welcome.

**L. RIVERA MARIN<sup>1</sup>:** – Well, first of all, good afternoon to you all, and I thank the Academy of Sciences, I thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, especially St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences and its rector Zapesotsky. I agree with the members of the panel and your Excellency, thank you for allowing me to share the ideas in the past few days. And I would say that amongst those that we need to highlight are connectivity and technology, I need to pinpoint them.

Those are the areas that are certainly changing the way we do business, the way we conduct diplomatic affairs and

<sup>1</sup> 25th Secretary of State and Lieutenant Governor of Puerto Rico. He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Economics from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, a Juris Doctor degree from the University of Puerto Rico, and studies International Business from New York University's Stern Graduate School of Business Administration. Secretary of the Puerto Rico's Department of Consumer Affairs as an energy and commerce regulator (2009–2012). The Executive Director of the Puerto Rico Tourism Company and on several Government Boards, such as the Hotel Development Corporation, the Puerto Rico Convention Bureau, the Puerto Rico Economic Development Bank, the Tourism Development Fund, the Puerto Rico Ports Authority, and the Corporation for Automobile Accident Compensation. As member of the Private Public Partnership Committee, inked the first-ever public-private partnership for a major U.S. airport for a \$2.6 Billion concession deal for the San Juan International Airport. As a private sector attorney for well over two decades, before assuming public office, was a commercial litigator and business advisor to several local and international companies.

the way countries develop. I myself come from a small island in the Caribbean and I speak to the students I see up in the second floor. We're a small country but with big dreams and we have taken advantage of technology and connectivity, and we have become the largest hub of pharmaceutical manufacturing in the world. And we do it through innovation and relying on technology.

I'm saying that we should recognise the proper use of technology, use our wisdom in developing technology, make sure that the superhighways that are created are made in order to promote science, in order to promote health. And, certainly, in the relationship between governments it's a way to promote dialogue. It is much easier now to travel. I could travel from Puerto Rico in the Caribbean to St. Petersburg in less than a day.

So, we need to take advantage of those new avenues to promote dialogue among nations, so we can close the issue of poverty. I believe, even though democracy has evolved and freedom as well, and the citizen is in the centre and taking prominence among nations of the world, we need to make sure that citizens participate in governments, and the relationship between the citizen and the government really relies and maximises what technology brings into this relationship. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Moussa, you are welcome.

**A. MOUSSA<sup>2</sup>:** – First of all, I want to put before you three main elements of today. This era, this time, this period is a period of change. And the time is a time of transition. Our responsibility is the right to agree on a new world order. What are the characteristics of the situation? First of all, it is high technology. Artificial intelligence. A new world altogether. But at the same time, don't ever forget that there is high technology here but there is extreme poverty in so many areas of the world at the same time. Artificial intelligence is opposed to populism that is taking the whole world back with racism, with discrimination and with all negative ideas and negative ideologies. So, because this is a transitional period, we have the positive, extreme positive, and we have the negative, extreme negative. We should discuss that openly and reach the compromise. We listened to the interventions in the first session, that is, we have to find a compromise, a good compromise. That is number one.

Number two: the human, the individual and the rights of individuals. This has been challenged by the robot, the new creation. So, we have a human being, capable of enjoying things and having the right to all the benefits, but we have on the other side the new creation, the new robot that can do a lot – this robot is going to challenge the human being, and this is also a question that we have to discuss.

Finally, the last issue because of the shortness of time. The ambassador of Iran raised the issue of Syria, the Middle East, and this group of three countries: Russia, Turkey and Iran. I would say that Russia as a big power should not be a party to an axis, but work to reach a compromise. And in Syria, if there is an axis of those three countries, there will

<sup>2</sup> Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt (1991–2001), General Secretary of the League of Arab States (2001–2011), presidential candidate of Egypt (2012). He was the Chair of the Committee of Fifty which drafted the current constitution of Egypt. Awarded with several high orders of Merits from Egypt, Germany, Brazil, Jordan, Sudan, Qatar, Argentina, Venezuela and Equador.

be another axis and then the Syrians will suffer. The role of Russia is to lead toward a peaceful solution where all interested parties should be included. Not only Iran or Turkey, but also the Arab world, in addition to regional powers and international powers. Russia is called upon to have a separate role, not to be a part of an axis.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Vershinin, you are welcome.

**S. V. VERSHININ:** – The topics, which we are discussing, are rather extensive, but I would not like us to confine ourselves to general statements. First of all, I agree that changes are really the most important today. There are many songs on the topic. And the word “changes” as such is neutral. The matter is what these changes bring us. The general characteristic of the current state of affairs can probably be expressed in one word: “instability”. Instability is felt at all levels. I’d name expansion of interference into sovereign affairs of other countries its main aspect. It seems to me that the main principle, thanks to which we could properly answer the challenges of the present times, is respect to sovereignty, political independence of all countries. After all, all states are members of the international community, they have equal rights. The ability to understand that is very important – as well as the ability to understand, or believe, if you want to, that people of each country know best what they are to do.

There are many examples of interference but the most striking of them are probably Venezuela, Iraq and, finally, Syria. They demonstrate that because of the dictate, when principles unacceptable for a certain nation, are forced upon, a very deformed system appears, in which it is difficult or even impossible to live as risks of military destabilization are added to it. Today, when we are losing many disarmament agreements because of the United States’ actions, such actions are even more dangerous.

I’d add one more necessary feature to respect, sovereignty, providing nations with the opportunity to determine their fates – and that’s the ability to listen to and hear each other, the wish to understand each other in general and find some compromise settlements. I liked Konstantin Fyodorovich Zatulín’s speech very much, he told us about the first Duma. He emphasized that there was a possibility then to look for a compromise, people wanted to hear each other.

The same is projected on the United Nations today. It’s very sad that delegations and representative of countries just state their point of view at the Security Council sessions and leave immediately after that – it’s not important for them what the others will say. There is no looking for possible uniting factors. Hence such frequent use of the veto and unwillingness to look for a joint solution. Currently, there is often such a situation when an unacceptable resolution is intentionally put to a vote in order to provoke the veto or a negative reaction of the other side – there was nothing like that in the past, and that should be stopped.

Another important aspect I’d like to speak about. We say that we want to see the world order based on rules. But who establishes these rules? Not only uninterested people and respected in the society experts may participate in that. There are many examples again. The decision on the attributive mechanism taken by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons is among them. This situation

and others similar to it are violation of the established and tested norms, regulations and the UN Charter principles, when decisions are taken not by states and not by their plenipotentiary sovereign representatives. The decision is taken by certain experts, and that may end very badly. That’s because I think that the wishes and risks listed by me should be taken into account during this transition period.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Moratinos, you are welcome.

**M. Á. MORATINOS CUYAUBE:** – Well, thank you very much. I was listening to my colleague’s very interesting version. I will try to share with you what are the two dialectics in the today’s world. The first one is, of course, what is in fashion now, artificial intelligence versus human intelligence. Here is what I mean. Well, everybody is impressed, everybody agrees that our world is a world of change, a world of new technology, new discovery, new possibilities. And that can be done by the international things like Big Data. And what will be the place of the politician? In five years’ time, maybe even less, you will not need to have this panel because Rector Zapesotsky will put on a video, and the video will create the environment in which we’ll answer the questions. I will not have to address the students. Could that be the nearest future? I don’t think so. So, the human intelligence has to be preserved. We have to lead the process. Unfortunately, during the humankind evolution scientific discovery was used by politicians, but now, new discoveries – artificial intelligence – are leading the political ground. So, we are losing our capacity to lead.

Number two, the second dialectic is this pervasive dialectic between, I would say, equality and identity. Yes, there is a world of opportunities, the world is becoming better, but there is poverty as some of us are saying. How are we going to accept this inequality? It is growing. 1% of the human world is having the total, practically 100% of the GDP. How are we going to accept this inequality? And equality goes out and leads us to identity because people are afraid, so they refuse themselves. They protect themselves, and then comes this radicalisation and the decision not to listen to the others. So, we have to be leading human intelligence and trying to avoid inequality in order for identities to be multi-identities. This world should be for everybody, as our friend, the Deputy Foreign Minister says, we listen to each other, we understand each other, we live together. That is the world we have to create. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear colleagues, I think that my task as the moderator of this discussion is to stir up our talk by sensible and admissible methods. In that connection, I’d like to draw your attention to some special features of the modern development period.

Technological progress, which we count upon, may bring harm to people, and there is a very great probability of that, because really it excludes people from intellectual activities and makes education primitive. Technological progress quenches creative abilities in the course of educational process: why do you need thinking about something when you can find the answer on the Internet? It’s not my opinion: this is the result of my analysis of the main reports presented at the Likhachov Scientific Conference over more than 10 years – there are approximately such theses in them.



Besides, progress helps to copy and circulate mass culture products that do not elevate people, etc. That is, it turns out that technological progress does not lead to human development today. On the contrary, the quality of education decreases because of it, including higher education. The surrounding mass media content has a bad impact on people. People do not find chefs d'oeuvre of the world culture and can't familiarize themselves with them. Instead of that they see simplified symbols of the consumer society with the help of modern technologies.

Another issue is mass communication means. It seemed just 10 years ago that it was a very powerful tool for the society's development, it was the Fourth Estate, with the help of which flaws and deficiencies of governments and other authorities were revealed and presented for discussion. It was supposed that the authorities would be criticized en masse, and as a result the state, the society and social tools would become better. Now, there is an opinion that this does not happen, and mass media is playing the opposite role as all kinds of it are monopolized and privatized. And it turns out that they do not work for the needs of democracy, do not spread advanced views – on the contrary, they are a tool in the hands of authorities and financial groups.

In the past, the democratic system as such helped to reveal the most promising ideas in the society, look for outstanding leaders, their advancement, etc. However, five years ago Professor Dutkiewicz from Canada, who is present here today, wrote a stupendous article about democracy in the modern developed society losing its driving force because it was privatized. The one who has money controls democracy. And we see, for example, what takes place in the Ukraine today. The population there is delighted, though the last elections in that country are another manifestation of democracy's privatization. Everyone claps their hands, and our experts say that the new President differs from the old one only in his looks – really, this is the continuation of Poroshenko's politics. At the same time, mass communication means cultivate a certain image, forcing it upon people. Democracy and mass media do not function properly.

Another topic we should touch upon is national elites. National elites as if should promote promising ideas to build the new society. But we witness elites degenerating in essence in many countries, for example, with liberal democracy – the system, which we considered an advanced one. Now, they are closed groups that start mixing the country's development interests with their own. Elites stop generating outstanding ideas and start manipulating with democracy and the population, command mass communication means.

Let's take a look at another value of the today's society – human rights. It could seem that the more real democratic rights an individual has, the quicker the society develops. But let's pay attention to China. There are no human rights there from the point of view of the West and perhaps Russia. An individual in China is in one of the last places, he fades in comparison with the state's interests. At the same time, the country is developing rapidly, and now the West is already starting to see a lot of interesting aspects in the Chinese model for itself. I'll tell you more: our sociological research shows that democratic human rights are of a very little interest to the Russian people. Residents are worried about stability, security, the state of economy – people do not care for one and all without exception to

be able to speak in press and use the freedom of speech. If economic rights, security, etc. are provided for, people can do without very many democratic rights. That's what millions think – in China, Russia and in many other countries. Another question arises in this connection: does the liberal model of the United States and Western Europe allow to look into the future with the same optimism? At the same time, the Chinese model, which is according to statements in Europe and the United States, is practically half-totalitarian, outruns the Western one.

Socialism in general should also be mentioned. We thought that we buried it in the Soviet Union – and suddenly we see a giant growth of interest to socialist ideas, for example, in Spain. Our colleagues present here tell us that the Socialist Party is gaining strength and becoming very popular – and wins the elections. It turns out that the socialist idea has not disappeared, it was not discarded by civilization, that is liberal concepts have not won completely. As a result, many serious questions arise. How will it all work? What values and theoretical concepts shall we base on? Due to what shall we build the new world?

Seven outstanding intellectuals are taking part in our today's discussion. I'm sure that had there been three more – Jesus, Muhammad and Buddha – you would not have any contradictions with them. And what is more, those three would have said – may be in different words and in different languages – that people should come to agreements, be attentive to each other, not encroach upon the interests of others, and everyone should treat the others as they themselves want to be treated. That's what the whole humanitarian humanity shares, and especially the University of the Humanities, where we are now. But due to what shall we emerge from the situation, when the world is really on the brink of a nuclear war, when crisis phenomena increase and the systems of international institutions are broken? Where are the optimal models in general? Where is at least some exit from this situation? We want to come to agreements in the United Nations, and in practice as Mr Vershinin says, delegations come to sessions, make effective statements to be quoted by mass media at home, and leave, not intending to come to agreements with anyone. What should be done? What can we base on, building the new society? Here are the questions I wanted to ask. Juan Antonio, may be you will be the first to respond to my challenges, won't you?

**J. A. MARCH:** – I think there are no crazy ideas, it's just the Big Bang in the Universe. So, I would say, you know, there is one African saying that reflects very well the way we govern our collective lives. The African saying says "If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go with a companion." So, the value of democracy is the value to try to get everybody on board. Now, the big debate is the efficiency of democracy. But this can be obviously a debate about what the undemocratic system can afford. So, we can use maybe artificial intelligence to make the systems of voting better. So, we have to improve efficiency, but if we want to go far, I think this is a good system. But where are we going? As I was mentioning in the beginning, we have to go to the North to the idea of one humanity.

The former Foreign Affairs Minister of Spain before our Foreign Minister Moratinos, Xavier Solana who is a physician, said always to me: "What is important is to fit the exact grid of the destination. Because if the exact grid of the

destination is not correct, even if you have the time, you will never arrive.” So, our destination is one humanity. We need for the new generation to think that the most important thing is to fight for a system that allows each individual to develop the maximum capacities of themselves. The matter is everybody has a very limited time on the planet Earth. How do we use our time? To discover ourselves? To discover our capacities? What can we create? So, we cannot be the elements of the project, only a collective thing. We have to guarantee that we have a collective thing to get the maximum of our capacities and to have a fantastic experience on this planet.

In conclusion, I think that we made a big change in the 15th century when we opened the gate for human beings to think about the destiny, not only religions. Now, we have to think what the system is that develops an architecture of harmony on the planet Earth. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Moussa, you are welcome.

**A. MOUSSA:** – Well, we have discussed this issue of one humanity as opposed to the situation on the ground. Yes, it is one humanity definitely, but we are divided. What are we going to do? Do we have to spend our time proving that it is one humanity? It is one humanity, but how to deal with the international situation and the changing world, and deal with the future, and deal with the challenges we have?

Mr Rector, you raised two points, several points but I'll comment on two or three.

Number one: about mass media. Here we have a problem with fake news. Not fake news from one side, talking about one piece of news that hurts him, no, but the international scene is full of fake news. For example, I ask myself, what do I read in the newspapers about the situation in Venezuela? Is it really true? Does it reach that magnitude of a very bad situation, or is there exaggeration? We don't know. Of course, it's a bad situation, definitely. But has it reached that level? So, fake news has become a problem with mass media. That's one point.

Then you raised the issue about us not reaching the final station when it comes to capitalism and socialism. I will tell you that this has become unimportant. We are not going to discuss which is better. Now, the issue is not that capitalism is better or socialism is better but projects like the Belt and Road. So, the Belt and Road is a huge project bringing together 90 countries with a lot of projects of railways, of roads, of maritime activities, etc., it's a huge thing. So, what if somebody disagrees or some countries disagree? So, tell us what is your project? What are you capable of doing, of bringing? Now, there are ideas and, in fact, steps to create a competing project that starts also in Asia, Japan, India, Australia, etc. So, a project versus a project. It is not a discussion about how is capitalism doing or how is socialism doing, this is something of the past. That is what I wanted to show.

Now, the point you raised about the United Nations. Students, in fact, should know that the UN is the expression of the existing order, international order that started in 1945 after the Second World War, and the time has come to reconsider, to see what kind of order is best suited for the future. So far, we cannot get rid of the UN. And you should know that the UN is not a story of failure. It is a mixed book. There are successes achieved by the UN, and there

are failures in the UN system. And, in short, because of the shortness of time, the problem in the United Nations is the Security Council. The Security Council has definitely failed. There is no responsibility. The Security Council is not performing well when it comes to the Council's main role, which is maintaining international peace and security. So, when international peace is maintained, it is not because of the Security Council, it is because of agreements and compromises, et cetera that have been achieved outside the United Nations Security Council chamber. So, the idea is for you to know, when you come to discuss or to listen, or to read about the United Nations, bear in mind that the problem is in the Security Council. Have the five big powers succeeded? Someone was raising the issue of the five big powers. No! They have failed! Definitely. Because they are the leaders of the world and they all have favours. So, the UN is an issue that needs deeper discussion, and the role of the five permanent members also needs revision, needs some discussion, some brainstorming. Students deserve to know that. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Rivera Marin, you are welcome.

**L. RIVERA MARIN:** – Thank you. And I need to refer to your crazy ideas. They are not crazy. For me, it's actually the effect of mass media on the society, on governments, and when you proposed that mass media affects decision making, you were right, it certainly does. And that is an axiom. When we look at China, for example, that has been brought in, certainly, pragmatism is there, and adaptability, certainly. But when you look at the availability of information, be that in education or mass media, that's part of the democratic process. When we talk about harmony in the international community, we look at freedom of the individual. And that is access to information, certainly, to equality, and to participation.

When I was at a younger point in life, I had three channels in my home. I turned on my TV and I had three channels, and I certainly didn't have the Internet. The power that you have before you is one that needs to be democratic, where you choose what to watch; which news to look at, get your information from. But if it is controlled like in some jurisdictions, then you don't get that freedom and that freedom is curtailed.

So, I think it's the duty of the international community to make sure that there is access, and that includes access to education. For example, we in Puerto Rico are disrupting the way that education is delivered, and we are providing free university education by using online courses. So, I think the proper way is to tap into technology and education. There is no substitute for a good book that you can give away. We can share experiences. And, certainly, the access that is provided by technology and through equality, the same access to people around the world is required, so they can be better educated, so they can have access to all the information that they decide they should have access to. It shall bring progress, shall close the gaps in inequalities, thereby poverties, shall allow the world to be better educated. And I think that the government should deal with the same topic, should be a promoter of that democratisation of information and mass media. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – I have been to Puerto Rico. I am sure that there is really freedom of speech there. There is a very good environment in this country on the whole but I doubt very much that the freedom of speech exists anywhere at all. Let's tell Trump that the freedom of speech in the United States leads to a great progress in the society. He will answer that his Twitter really leads but CNN does not. I am absolutely not sure that the state of affairs with mass media in the United States is on the whole much better than in China. But I am not sure that the state of affairs with mass media in Russia is better than in China because I have very many unpleasant for me questions arising when I analyze the situation. Though the freedom of speech in Russia is full now: anyone can criticize Putin, criticize Parliament, criticize Zapesotsky, etc. But it's a big question if it leads to progress. Mr Bağış, you are welcome.

**E. BAĞIŞ:** – Talking about this one humanity I remember one Turkish joke. During the segregation years in the United States, when black people were forced to sit in the back of the bus, a Turkish gentleman from the Black Sea region migrates to the United States and becomes a bus driver. And it happens in the bus one day that one black gentleman is sent to sit in the back and he argues and wants to sit in front. And the white people are protesting, and they start a fight. So, as the bus driver he shouts: "Stop it! From now on there are no blacks, there are no whites in this bus. Everybody is green!" So, people stop. Then he says: "Now, light green to the front, dark green to the back."

So, we really need this one humanity to put an end to all kinds of discrimination. We talked about Syria. We are hosting 3.7 million Syrians in Turkey right now, we have been for the last 6 years. And all these countries that are preaching us "human rights, democracy" and big European powers don't even want to take a few thousand. But we are providing whatever we can. So, neither Turkey nor any other country is an "axis" in Syria, but we are all to help and put an end to the fire before that fire catches up with our own. But we all have to realise that this Alliance of Civilizations of the United Nations was built as a response to the biggest fear that we all had, which was the clash of civilizations, and that's what we all have to achieve and, as one humanity, we have to provide dialogue and diplomacy. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Shaukat Aziz, you are welcome.

**Sh. AZIZ:** – I think that I'll risk repeating what some people have already covered. Let me just say for all the young generation here, students with a bright future ahead of you, let me repeat that change is the only constant. Don't be afraid of it. Go into it and you'll find an opportunity. If you run away from change, you'll miss an opportunity. That's one piece of advice for our audience here.

Secondly, please take technology as a way of life. You cannot avoid it. It is like oxygen; if you have to live, you must breathe oxygen. Many people in the world still get afraid when technology is mentioned, when new products are mentioned, but please grab it. Embrace it. If you can't do it, your children can teach you. I was taught by my children, by my grandchildren. They are much more advanced than I am, but it may mean that I am slow, but it doesn't bother me. I'm just saying that. Today and tomorrow, open

your mind up and look beyond where you are. It means that when we look at the world, we get much wiser than when we are looking at ourselves in the mirror. Learn from other people, learn from people's experiences in a lot of things, which my colleagues have mentioned. It's the information age we are talking about, and the need to open up communications between each other. That is a big driver for growth and change, and that is where prosperity comes in.

So, all of us should be motivated to work hard, no matter what we do, where we are, and constantly be looking at how to do things better. And once you open your mind and open your marketplace up to new ideas, you will see very quickly that you will work faster, be more satisfied, and your whole environment will change to the positive. I think about Russia today. This is a great country, it has a great history. It has strong, excellent leadership, and human capital here is second to none. You have a great opportunity, and you are improving, you are doing so well, but I think all of us, who come from different countries, can learn from Russia, and we can learn from other countries in the region.

Keep your mind open, keep your hearts open, and success will be with you even more than it has been. Thank you very much.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Mr Moratinos, you are welcome.

**M. Á. MORATINOS CUYAUBE:** – Well, I will answer the two questions, I think, your crazy questions. One about mass media and one about democracy. They are interlinked.

Of course, mass media was a part of a special, let's say, territory, opposing the politics. We have to live together, we have to criticise each other, but now we have social networks, and we didn't refer to them extensively here. That is a new media challenge. And then suddenly, the traditional media, journalists that were very critical to politicians, diplomats, because of their hiding information, now become surprised because they are overridden by social networks.

So, the matter now with a social network is that everybody can be a journalist. Everyone can have free expression, and then we touch on freedom of speech. Of course, we all defend freedom of speech, but to what limits? We just witnessed what happened in New Zealand, in Christchurch; a supremacist killing people and transmitting through Facebook live how he killed people. And our friend the director, president of Facebook said, "We cannot do anything". Yes, we can do. We have to do. We have to stop this use of Facebook, the use of not only fake news but hate news as well. You are spreading hate. You are spreading bad things. So, that has to be done, and there was the Christchurch call, the call launched by the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and it has been supported by European leaders, it has to be supported. The White House, the US have some reservations. We cannot have reservations when there is somebody killing people and that is being transmitted all over the world.

Second, democracy. We don't have too much time. There are two elements of democracy: representation and participation. The European, Western democratic system is underlining the representation. We used to go to vote, elect some people and then we forgot. But today it is no longer like that. People want to participate. They want to elect

some people but have a say in what is going on. And you have the Yellow Jackets in France, you have everybody, everyone wants to participate. So, we have to modify the democratic system.

And then we have a long discussion about the efficiency of democracy. We discuss what will happen if the Chinese growth ceases, their economic point of view. A lot of people are impressed by the Chinese success in their economy. No, the great question we have to ask ourselves about success is: how is this political model succeeding? You can disagree, you can agree, but you cannot ignore that it succeeded. And what kind of democracy do they have in China, and what kind of democracy do we have in Western countries? How are we going to adapt to new technologies, as Juan Antonio was saying? So, that is the great debate that you have to maintain. So, democracy has to be reformed, and we have to maintain a balance between representativeness and participation. People today want to participate, and we cannot express any doubt that we have to help them to take part in our decision. Thank you.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Sergey Vasilyevich, your closing remarks, please.

**S. V. VERSHININ:** – Alexander Sergeyevich, the questions you asked are really urgent. And I'd say that all of them – about the usefulness of technological progress, about mass media, democracy, social elites, human rights, socialism – are not just pressing. They are eternal. And it's

not for nothing that you offered to imagine that Jesus Christ and the others were present here.

Let's imagine us asking these questions 100 years ago, in 1919 – especially those that refer to socialism. It would be interesting for me to listen what they could answer us at that period – actually, it is also interesting what they will say in 100 years, because these questions will stay. And probably, there are no simple answers to them. Everything said today can be summed up as follows. It's necessary to understand these issues focusing on individuals, preservation of individuals and humanity as a whole, trying to comprehend those new things brought by technological progress.

I'd mention one more special feature of the modern period, which we run across in everyday work. Currently, the main trend in international relations today is maximum politicization of any organizations, including not related to politics. Human rights are politicized, fake news – or just news – turned into a political weapon, high-level sport is politicized – we understand what stands behind the doping accusations against Russia, the same takes place in culture.

Because of that I'd like to say that the task, when solving the problems discussed today, is to separate politics from what is really important for us – and start answering the simple raised questions. The answer will be very long in duration.

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Thank you very much, all of you, who took part in the discussion!

## Round Table

# NEW RISKS AND CHALLENGES OF STABILITY CONSIDERATIONS IN GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

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May 24, 2019.  
Conference Hall, Radisson Royal Hotel

### CHAIRPERSONS:

- I. O. ABRAMOVA *Director of the Institute for African Studies of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics)*
- Al. A. GROMYKO *Director of the Institute of Europe of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Political Studies), Professor of the RAS*
- G. W. KOLODKO *Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), Director of the Research Institute at the Kozminski University (Warsaw), foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor*
- A. MOUSSA *Secretary General of the Arab States (2001–2011), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt (1991–2001)*
- L. RIVERA MARIN *Secretary of State of Puerto Rico*

### SPEAKERS:

- A. A. AKAYEV *President of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Engineering)*
- E. BAĞIŞ *Minister of European Union Affairs of Turkey (2009–2013)*
- A. BEBLER *Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Ljubljana (Slovenia)*
- H. de CHAVAGNAC *Consul General of the Republic of France in St. Petersburg*
- V. A. CHERESHNEV *Chief Researcher at the Institute for Immunology and Physiology (the Urals Branch of the RAS), member of the Presidium of the Urals Branch of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Medicine), Professor, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*
- B. DESGARDINS *General Manager of Banque “Eric Sturdza SA” (Geneva, Switzerland)*
- L. L. FITUNI *Deputy Director of the Institute for African Studies of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor*
- V. INGIMUNDARSON *Professor of Contemporary History at the University of Iceland (Reykjavík), Ph. D.*
- H. KÖCHLER *President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), professor emeritus at the University of Innsbruck, Ph. D.*
- A. M. KRAMARENKO *Director of Development of Russian International Affairs Council, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation*
- A. V. KUZNETSOV *Director of the Institute of Scientific Information for Social Sciences of the RAS, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics)*
- G. METTAN *President of the United Chamber of Industry and Commerce “Switzerland – Russia and CIS States”, Executive Director of the Swiss Press Club (Geneva)*
- R. I. NIGMATULIN *Research Advisor of P. P. Shirshov Institute of Oceanology of the RAS, member of the Presidium of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Physics and Mathematics), Professor*
- V. PRODANOV *Director of the Thracian Scientific Institute, Professor at the University of National and World Economy (Sofia), corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy)*
- H. M. REZNIK *Vice-President of the Federal Chamber of Lawyers, Cand. Sc. (Law), Honoured Lawyer of Russia, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS*

M. SANAEI	<i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the Russian Federation, Cand. Sc. (Political Studies)</i>
J. A. SCHOLTE	<i>Professor of Peace and Development in the School of Global Studies at the University of Gothenburg (Sweden)</i>
R. STEINMANN	<i>Consulate Attaché of the Swiss Consulate General</i>
I. TALUKDAR	<i>Research Fellow at the Indian Council of World Affairs (New Delhi)</i>
P. P. TOLOCHKO	<i>Member of the Presidium of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Honorary Director of the Institute of Archeology of the NAS of Ukraine, academician of the NAS of Ukraine, foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor, Doctor honoris causa of SPbUHSS</i>
V. T. TRETYAKOV	<i>Dean of the Higher School (Department) of Television of Lomonosov Moscow State University</i>
Cs. VARGA	<i>Research professor emeritus of the Institute for Legal Studies at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the Peter Pazmany Catholic University (Budapest), Dr. Sc.</i>
J. WIATR	<i>Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997), deputy to the Polish Parliament (Sejm) (1991–1997, 2001), Dr. Sc. (Sociology), Professor</i>
A. S. ZAPESOTSKY	<i>President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation</i>

**A. S. ZAPESOTSKY:** – Dear friends! We go on with our discussion of global manageability and stability. Please, do not read your reports as they were published but share your opinions and impressions of the reports presented at the plenary session.

Currently, four other sections started their work at the University. One of them is dedicated to culture in the age of global changes, the second to economy and law, the third to social and labour relations, relations of governments, trade unions and corporations, and finally, 750 schoolchildren will assemble for the fourth section to share their humanitarian ideas.

I hope that you will have an interesting and informative discussion. I wish your section to be a success!

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – Alexander Sergeevich, thank you for opening the section “New Risks and Challenges of Stability Considerations in Global Development”. We’ll give the floor to everyone wishing to speak whenever possible, or, as they say in Germany, arrange impulsive speeches.

The floor is given to Anton Bebler from Ljubljana. There was a time when I found myself at the Bled Strategic Forum (Bled island, Slovenia), where the issues of maintaining stability of global development were discussed.

**A. BEBLER:** – I want to raise the question of the stability of the present system of relations between major powers, which is a system of arms control agreements and treaties, which is being dismantled by unilateral withdrawal from the system, from individual treaties and agreements by the United States. The United States have withdrawn from the ABM treaty in 2000 without accusing any state, including mine, and the Russian Federation, of violating the ABM treaty. Well, this time last year, in October 2018, Pres-

ident Donald Trump announced the intention of the United States to withdraw from the INF treaty. This time the United States accused the Russian Federation of violating the INF treaty without producing any evidence to support this accusation. There is also a related movement by the United States to withdraw from the nuclear agreement with Iran, which falls into the same category.

Now, there is a high probability that President Trump will announce the refusal of the United States to extend the New START treaty, which expires in 2021. All this is part of a pattern by the US to deny or to undermine multinational diplomacy.

Now, as far as the INF treaty is concerned, there was no need for the United States to accuse the Russian Federation of violating the treaty because as a number of other treaties, the INF treaty has become obsolete. It was true also of the ABM treaty, it was true of a number of agreements, bilateral agreements, which were concluded between the United States and the Soviet Union in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, a number of these treaties, including the multilateral treaty on conventional forces in Europe, have become obsolete because of radical changes in the geo-political situation, i.e. the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the dissolution of the Soviet Union, then the expansion of NATO eastward. As far as the INF treaty is concerned, the additional element, which caused the problem with the treaty, was development of various high technologies, including IT technologies, and the spread of these technologies to other countries, particularly in Asia, to North Korea, India, China, Pakistan, Iran and so on. And for this reason, for the combination of these reasons, there was indeed a need to do something about the INF treaty, but notwithstanding the position of the Russian Federation supported by the position of a number of European members of NATO, there was a need to renegotiate the treaty.

So, I think there was a need to renegotiate the treaty, but even had it been renegotiated by the United States and the Russian Federation, it would be of no use without China and India and Iran joining the treaty. The rise of the People's Republic of China, technological and military rise China has produced, gave China certain rights. But as far as Europe is concerned, it had a negative impact on the security situation in Europe because the INF treaty has become obsolete mainly because of the development of the Chinese missile might. And that was the main reason for the United States to withdraw from the treaty, not violations, presumed violations of the treaty by the Russian Federation. Thank you.

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – Professor Csaba Varga is invited to take the floor.

**Cs. VARGA:** – Ladies and gentlemen, my remarks address first the relationship between law and the understanding of predictability and manageability of the future. My answer from a legal-philosophical perspective offers quite a negative message unfortunately. Historically speaking, in the final analysis, law is not a master but a servant of upcoming events. Law is considered to be an autonomous actor by political rhetoric, by legal professionalism exclusively. That is, it may appear as a standing and ultimate mediator at times when the underlying law and order is not shaken, not challenged. As a matter of fact, historically speaking again, law has ever been calibrated to correspond to consolidated conditions of given states. If this is not the case, if disintegration overrules the integration of people and order in a given state, the psychological disposition to obedience evaporates. Freed from the balance achieved hitherto, motifs and manners, unbound from the rules of the game not prevalent any longer, will concur in rivalry. Roughly speaking, during the whole course of history, law was backed by a common belief and a common moral ground. If they vanish for whatever reason, then law becomes impotent. Or, to put it differently, law has only a symbolic power. Law is not more than just a tool, a means of societal mediation. International law and domestic law, as well as human rights were referred to here several times. If international law deals with two countries quarrelling because of their conflicts of interest, all that the law can do is only to reshift the conflict in real terms into its own abstracted language. Ontologically expressed, that's all it is able to do. And we are to see that the one who is stronger – either in power or in rhetoric – will eventually win. So, according to my first consideration, law is one of the most important civilizing agents for our culture, but not more. Our security, our future cannot be trusted solely to law, only to ourselves. Otherwise speaking, it is us who finally act behind the noble facade of the apparently depersonalized human objectification, called “law”.

The second point relates to the oldest history of law. I mean Mesopotamia and its Jewish constituent, a rather small but important part with the prophets, where the idea of reshaping and remodelling human life via law, with conscious planning through the law, may have emerged. Then, in the 19th century, there was Marxism and so on, and positivism and Auguste Comte. As their output, the idea of social engineering also emerged. Now, what we can see is that the most intimate identity cores of our personal pres-

ence has already become targeted by political actors aiming to change the very roots of people's common sense, and thereby also their personal identity within human society. I am just citing Hillary Clinton's words from her presidential campaign: “And deep-seated cultural codes, religious beliefs and structural biases have to be changed.” (National Review, April 24, 2015). Or, interventionist ambitions are escalating uninterrupted, with deeper dangers to the human species growing.

The third component of my contribution concerns technology and globalism, factors which were referred to here as a good and important – helpful – potential. Whether it is important, yes, it is; whether it is good, no, it is neither good nor bad, it's neutral. There may be good reasons for bad purposes as well. So, my conclusion is that what is primarily important is the quality of human beings, now and in the future. And in this sense I may perhaps add that all of us, who are, let's say, idealists believing in humans and in our humaneness, are right. Thank you.

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – Professor Varga, you raised several fundamental issues in your speech: about strategic stability, law as a tool that should not replace human activities, social engineering and globalization as phenomena that bring both good and evil to the people.

The floor is given to corresponding member of the RAS Alexey Vladimirovich Kuznetsov.

**A. V. KUZNETSOV:** – When we are speaking about challenges and risks of development, we can't help but pay attention to economic aspects and geopolitic challenges, which we run across in the field of international law and security and which have an impact on development of economic relations.

One of the interesting aspects is activities of transnational corporations (TNC). When globalization developed progressively in the late 20th century and the early 21st century, there was an optimistic opinion that transnational corporations were becoming more and more autonomous from political life. This was really confirmed: many big TNC lost their ties with their national roots because they became controlled by portfolio investors from other countries. Thus, Nestlé or Nokia are not controlled by the Swiss or Finns respectively as shareholders, though they have their national management. Value chains have become global, because of that there was even an opinion expressed in mass media and academic papers that the biggest corporations because of their economic volumes could take part in international relations as independent players on equal terms with small countries.

However, recent events demonstrated that the state does not intend to die, and what is more, companies turned out dependent on what is taking place in politics. We are first of all speaking about the sanctions war, because of which exactly private TNC suffered, having no relation to political events, in connection with which sanctions were imposed (lawfully or not).

The second aspect is not related to the conflict situation but it is very important in politics, and not only for non-Western countries – this is Brexit. Companies were faced with the fact against their will: the common economic space, in which they worked for decades, is disintegrating. It may be that only a small piece broke away, but judg-

ing by extraordinarily high dynamics of economic growth in Ireland, we understand that British business is running away from the United Kingdom jurisdiction.

The third aspect is related to armed confrontations and loss of comfortable markets by TNC that just started their foreign activities. In case of the Russian business, this is the loss of the Ukraine that was a comfortable region for us in the past. In case of the Arab business from the Persian Gulf monarchies, this is the loss of an opportunity to invest in many Arab countries after the Arab Spring. It's required to look for other markets, and that casts back transnational corporations of respective countries – new players in their competitive struggle.

As a result, transnational corporations are being reformatting, and that will go on for over ten years more. The role of transnational corporations at least partially controlled by the state is revived: a public-private company is associated with its country, and it's better to enlist state's support. TNC-migrants originate, when firms intentionally leave the country with "bad" jurisdiction for doing international business. And finally, besides TNC, non-transparent investment funds, natural persons who start investing like global players are becoming more and more active, and at the same time the role of sovereign foundations is increasing. That is, complete reformatting takes place, and we have to comprehend what that will give to global development.

**AI. A. GROMYKO:** – Alexey Vladimirovich, you touched upon a big section of the global world's life. Not just evolutionary processes but quick transformation of the situation takes place in this field.

The floor is given to Professor Jerzy Wiatr.

**J. WIATR:** – What I would like to concentrate on are the reasons for the destabilisation of the world order after the end of the Cold War. 25–30 years ago, after the end of the Cold War, there was a widespread expectation that the world was entering a long period of stability. The basis for this was essentially the belief that the American hegemony would remain a lasting factor. So, the term "Pax Americana" was often used after the ancient term "Pax Romana". Probably, nobody believed that Pax Americana would be an ideal solution for the world, but it was widely believed that, at least for one or two generations, that would provide a kind of stability. Now we know that that illusion was wrong, and the question is why. I see three principle reasons for the end of stability based on American hegemony.

The first reason concerns the mistaken policy of the United States, particularly under George Walker Bush, the intervention in Iraq, and continuation of this policy now, even worse strategies used now by Donald Trump. The United States, in a sense, abdicated from their role as the leading world power. The second factor is the rapid and unexpected at that time repairs, growth of two alternative great powers; Russia and China. In the early 1990s, very many specialists believed that it would take China at least two generations to reach the level of a world power. China did it much faster, and the CIA speculated that the crisis of Russia would not only continue but would deepen. Both predictions turned out wrong and now the world lives in the conditions of the rivalry between regional powers, weaker at this point than the United States but strong enough to prevent American hegemony. Then there is the third fac-

tor, it is the destabilisation of several countries because of their domestic reasons. One group of such countries is the Arab countries. The disastrous consequences of the supposed Arab Spring resulted in destabilisation of the Middle East and North Africa, civil wars from Libya to Yemen, Syria etc. The Ukrainian crisis of 5 years ago is another example. The domestic crisis in the Ukraine, which was not produced by any outside force, resulted in an international conflict, which involves, on the one hand, the Russian Federation, on the other hand, the United States and the European Union.

So, the combination of these three factors destabilised the situation, and the conclusion is that we should be careful and not overoptimistic, and not predict a better future prematurely. Thank you very much.

**AI. A. GROMYKO:** – Another topic not touched upon by the previous speakers was raised – the civilizational aspect of international relations. Professor Wiatr used the term of "destabilization" and called us not to be too optimistic, though I think that this appeal is not much in demand today as there are no optimistic moods.

The floor is given to corresponding member of the RAS Leonid Leonidovich Fituni.

**L. L. FITUNI:** – I'd like to react to what was said at the plenary session. I'll come back to the topic of the Likhachov Scientific Conference – "Global Development: Challenges of Predictability and Manageability". I'd like to ask everyone present the following questions: how deeply are we plunged in a hardly predictable situation and do we need manageability in the world? Manageability supposes that someone controls somebody else, and when there is someone controlling, there is a state of affairs when someone controls and someone does not – hence the conflict of interests.

One of the population's complaints against the Soviet Union at the time of its disintegration was enhanced predictability of the country. We called it stagnancy or still waters, lack of movement forward, as a result we got what we got.

A question arises in connection with predictability: what is to be done? I'm engaged in African studies, I've been to the jungle. In places with wild animals and especially in the jungle, they caution you: the jungle is unpredictable and full of the unexpected. As a rule, that is not an obstacle for us during safari to attain our aims no matter that the jungle is unpredictable. We proceed from the fact that predators behave in a certain way: there is a model of predators' behaviour, and we behave and act proceeding from what we are to expect from them. If it is safari with hunting, you come back with the killed lion's hide notwithstanding that lion is unpredictable, and without negative consequences.

I'll bring my deliberations to the politics level. We have to know habits and behaviour of today's predators and understand the state of affairs in the modern political world. Currently, we have come close to the situation when the leading global powers are trying to divide the world between themselves, and not territories as in the past but divide markets and influence. Proceeding from that, we have to adapt our foreign-policy behavioural pattern.

I'd like to mention V. Lenin's paper *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in which he scolds Social



Democrat Hildebrand as he actually switched over to advocates of imperialism speaking about “the United States of Europe” without Russia, joint actions against African Negroes, Islamic movement, Japan and China coalition, keeping strong Army and Navy, etc. It turns out that the first item is united Europe without Russia; the second item is confrontation with Islamism and African Negroes that migrate to Europe and occupy places there; the third is the threat of Japan coalition that transformed today into the threat to the West that needs to resist Russia and China; the fourth is the necessity to increase military expenditures up to 2% of GDP. The question arises: have we come back to the jungle?

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – Leonid Leonidovich, thank you for your metaphors and reference to history. I remind you that the last thirty years of the 19th century were the time of the “struggle for Africa”, struggle for division of territories that had not been divided yet. It is possible that another region, the Arctic, will be viewed from the military policy perspective in the 21st century.

Professor Valur Ingimundarson is invited to the microphone.

**V. INGIMUNDARSON:** – Ok, thank you, I am dealing – in my paper – with the backlash against globalisation by focusing on the current state of the radical right in Europe. This is a particularly salient topic these days with the elections to the European Parliament taking place at the end of May. I am not going to rehash my main arguments here, but I want to emphasize a couple of points.

I believe that it is not enough to study populism as an ideology, although it has undergone some changes, for example, by turning increasingly away from a neoliberal agenda towards the protection of the welfare state. One does not have to mention that the populist parties are only thinking about the protection of the majority population, not the immigrant population. I want to emphasize that apart from ideology, there is a need to focus on the behaviour of these parties within political systems. They have benefited in liberal, democratic systems from the dislocation between personal identities and political party affiliation. The decline of social democracy and also many central liberal parties has also strengthened them.

But I want to point to one contradiction: these parties are, on the one hand, a disrupting anti-elitist force seeking to reverse mainstream policies on immigration, welfare, multiculturalism and European integration; on the other, they are an accommodating political vehicle prepared to work with conservative elites based on nationalist and traditionalist agendas. So, the attention should not exclusively be devoted to the populists themselves but also to conservative parties, which have parroted some of the agendas of the populists by moving further to the right. And because we have been discussing the future, I predict that a future struggle will take place between the populists and the conservatives or the radical and conservative right. The political outcome will much depend on who will win this struggle. I am reminded here of the current crisis in the conservative-populist government in Austria. It may be the start of a change in the way how conservative parties view populist parties. We will see. Thanks.

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – The floor is given to Mr Guy Mettan.

**G. METTAN:** – So, thank you very much. I just wanted to underline two points. The first point is the environment problem because we didn’t speak about that. But look at the speed of climate change, deforestation, acidification of oceans, disappearance of agricultural lands and air pollution, which is killing 7 million people a year, not here but in the third-world countries. You’ll see that the environment problem and climate change will be the main topic in the coming years. I can predict that in 5 or 10 years we will speak here about that and not about other problems because it will be problem number one. It is not the question of only oil and gas energy resources, but all natural resources will be scarce, more and more scarce, and there will be struggle for these natural resources, for land, for food, for fish, any kind of natural resources will be the main problem for the main states and powers in our future. And I think we have to keep that in mind, otherwise we cannot understand what will happen to the Earth in the coming time, in the future. Because there is no future for mankind without nature.

The second point is the definite death of the multipolar world. I think that the multipolar world has never existed, it was a dream, but now we can assess the definite death of this dream because in the last 10 years we saw the emerging of the new bipolar world between, to put it roughly, the USA with Europe and Japan, on the one hand, and China with Russia, Iran and other countries, on the other hand. And that’s, for me, is a really big concern because we have, if we want to save our lives, to avoid this kind of division of the world in the two competing parts. If you read newspapers, every day we have an escalation of the struggle between these two new poles. It’s artificially made, nobody wants that. China is trying to break their containment through the Belt and Road initiative, but anyway we are assisting this rising of the new bipolar world. And the problem is we have no account of power. The European Union has completely disappeared from the scene so it cannot play the role of a balancing power between the two poles. It’s the natural mission of Europe to lead this world but it has been completely vassalized by the United States, which is not good for the United States in my view either, because we need some counterbalance in order to keep cool or to cool this coming confrontation. So, those were my two points I wanted to emphasize this morning.

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – Thank you, Mr Mettan, for the masterfully described alignment of forces in the world. Mr Steinmann, you are welcome.

**R. STEINMANN:** – So, hello, I am the Consulate Attaché of the Swiss Consulate General here in St. Petersburg. I am here on behalf of Mr Roger M. Kull who is the Consul General. And it’s very nice of you to invite me to this remarkable Conference. Unfortunately, I was called only yesterday and so I didn’t have time to prepare anything, any speech. But I am delighted to be here and follow the interesting discussion. Thank you.

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – I invite corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Vasil Prodanov to take the floor.

**V. PRODANOV:** – The name of our section is about new risks and challenges of stability. There are two types of risks; old and new risks. The old risks are well-known; growing inequality, geopolitical risks connected with the transition from a monopower to a multipower world, the same as it was a century ago. But there are also new risks. According to me, the new risks are connected with the peculiarities of the post-industrial revolution.

I would like to point to several characteristics of these new risks. The first one is the speed of the social and economic time, the exponential character of the changes as a result of the speed of innovations. Now, there are so many changes in one day that, over a century ago, happened in several years. The result is a feeling of risks and insecurity for a growing number of people and an increasing divide of losers and winners in this society.

The second characteristic is the convergence of physical, biological, social and digital world, of different disciplines; knowledge, realities are the main characteristics of the post-industrial revolution. The result is a much more complex system.

The third characteristic is the disruptive character of the new technologies and disruptive consequences for the economy, social structure of the society.

The fourth characteristic is the compression of space as a result of globalisation, communication and transport technologies, the growth of the Internet space, and, as a result, growing dependence of every local event on the rest of the world. These are the new risks, and they originate because all that drastically complicates the system of governance based on the representative multiparty system of liberal democracy, which is losing support everywhere. Politicians are losing confidence, there is a growth of stress in societies and it is difficult to understand what is going on. A growing number of people think that their society is not going in the right direction. The opportunity to influence the accelerated unfounded changes in national states from every part of the world dramatically complicates the management process. Systemic parties are losing ground, but newcomers are faced with gigantic difficulties. They are not able to make the right decision in the stream of continuous changes. These are the new risks according to me. Thank you.

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – Mr Prodanov touched upon the topic of social injustice and tension, its impact on relations between various parts of the society and states.

We listened to nine impulsive speeches, and the speakers did not repeat what the others were saying even once. There were many topics for discussion offered, each of which is important. From now on, Irina Olegovna Abramova will moderate the debate instead of me.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Dear colleagues, I offer to focus the discussion not on the issue as to who is guilty but on what is to be done. The task of any conference is not just to raise this or that issue but to find answers to certain questions.

The floor is given to Vitaly Tovievich Tretyakov.

**V. T. TRETYAKOV:** – Like Professor Fituni, I am not satisfied with the topic of our discussion. What stability do we need? Professor Fituni was right to say that there was stability in the USSR and it was called stagnancy or still

waters. There was stability in the European Union, people were happy but as a result this formation is disintegrating like I predicted, in contrast to many others who believed in infinite stability of the European Union. Do we need such stability? I think that we don't, because we require normal life and not stability.

But if we need stability, what do we understand under it? Polycentrism, bipolar system or something else? I stick to a not very popular point of view that great powers govern the world, and the balance between them is the basis for the global architecture, respective legislations, international organizations for the next 50–75 years. As soon as this balance is disturbed because of development, destruction of institutions begins, and instability comes, which we do not like.

It is required to determine the set of great powers that does not change significantly in the course of the human history. They are known in Europe. Some great powers are dying politically. It is required to determine great powers and demand sensible balance of forces and responsibility in order not for one of them to say that it can use nuclear weapons preventively. That is what is required to be done and not demand stability and not overcome risks. All our life is a risk, from the time of birth. The academic character and intellectual conservatism of deliberations on global or regional stability make me concerned. In my opinion, we are moving in the wrong direction in our discussion.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – What are the criteria of a great power? Economy? But from the point of view of economy, the West lost its leadership in the world. Having nuclear weapons? The system that served as the basis for the UN Security Council is changing. More and more states originate with a nuclear arsenal. It being legitimate is another matter. Stronger political influence, global governance institutions? To my mind, the notion of “great power” is shifting. The economic basis moves from the West to the East, and all tools to control this basis are concentrated in the West. It may be that this is the reason of conflicts: the West does not want to let the tools go, but they are being taken from it. I offer to speak about it as well today.

The floor is given to Askar Akayevich Akayev.

**A. A. AKAYEV:** – In my speech I'd like to develop the topic of inequality. Usually, a black swan bringing big risks appears unexpectedly. It seems to me that the black swan of the 2020s is inequality. Professor Prodanov touched upon this topic in his speech. There was a peculiar record set in 2018 – 1% of rich people in the world owned over 50% of global wealth, and 50% of poor people have to do with 0.6% of global wealth. As Al. A. Gromyko mentioned, there is growth of inequality witnessed in all advanced countries of the world (except social Scandinavian countries, Germany, Switzerland, etc.).

New technologies of Industry 4.0 (the Fourth Industrial Revolution) will aggravate inequality and exponentially eliminate the middle class. And the middle class is the support of political and social stability of the society. There will be no middle class in developed countries in ten years. Who will support stability?

Social innovations, progressive taxation were introduced after World War II. But not a single government in the world uses social innovations today, all choose intro-

duction of flat tax rates instead of progressive rates. That is, the social policy of global government at the national and global levels is focused on the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer.

The first signal about the unfavourable state of affairs came from France, and we are witnessing that now. If we do not fight these risks, the same situation as in France, or even more pitiful than in France, will be witnessed in all well-to-do advanced countries in the 2020s. This risk seems to me to be the main destabilizing factor in the world.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – I give the floor to Robert Iskandrovich Nigmatulin.

**R. I. NIGMATULIN:** – I agree that if we understand the word “stability” nominally, it turns into “stagnancy” or “still waters”. We want the world to advance, notwithstanding origination of new problems. Irina Olegovna asked what was to be done, and I ask the question: how? Had I controlled the world, I’d give the countries the opportunity to be more open because openness is trust. I think that R. Reagan’s principle “Trust but verify” should be spread not only to the military sector, but also to civil society’s institutions, mutual control and not just by journalists but more official, in particular, economic ministries. Everything should be official but with representatives of the academic community taking part in everything. To my mind, control over institutions and the civil society can help advancement. I love my country, but I think that it needs advancement.

It’s necessary to study the countries that can serve as examples. The more money is spent on education, science, health, environment, raise of the people’s standard of living, the better. The more people are imprisoned, the more money is spent on weapons, the worse, because of that we should advance.

Inequality will intensify further – that’s how capitalism is made. I am for capitalism and socialism: there should be approximately 50% of capitalism and 50% of socialism. We should establish and adjust the mutual control system not only in case of armed forces but also other indicators of activities. Then we’ll be able to move in the direction of building a global community of trust.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – A representative of France Hugo de Chavagnac is invited to the microphone.

**H. de CHAVAGNAC:** – I will speak English, it will be slightly better. I was not intending to speak so soon, but I heard two words, which made my blood curdle, and I had to intervene before I could cool down. They are the words about “vassalized Europe”. That will not be the main point of my intervention, these words which made me mad. I know that we hear that kind of speech quite a lot here, but when a number of European countries opposed the US in case of the intervention in Iraq, they were not vassalized, and now we see that as well over Iran. There are very big tensions between Iran and the United States. It doesn’t mean that it’s easy to resist the very heavy pressure on this issue from the United States presently, but certainly we Europeans are not aligned with the US on such issues, and I could not let it pass without reaction.

But my main point was not about that. It is actually about the story that we are going unavoidably towards a bi-

polar world. Commenting on that, I believe that we should not be too quick to go to that conclusion because many countries are not happy about such a state of affairs. I believe that Europe is at all happy with that state of things. But I also think of another country, its representative will speak later, India, which is the second most populated country in the world, is not happy about something like that. And so, first of all it is not a sure thing at all, so it’s right to worry about it, but it’s not right to consider it a given fact. And the reason for that is that there are self-fulfilling prophecies and there are self-fulfilling descriptions; the more you speak about it, the more you install the idea that it’s unavoidable and the more you encourage those who want a policy of force, of “let’s strengthen ourselves because the others are doing the same”, and a policy of confrontation. So, there is a very big risk with these self-fulfilling prophecies.

On a quite different point which was raised by one speaker, about globalisation and using unequalities, France and the *Gilets Jaunes*, have been on TVs around the world. One of the things that *Gilets Jaunes* were asking for is the reinstallation of the wealth tax, which has been done away by our President. France was about the only country in the developed world, and perhaps in the whole world, to have a wealth tax. Actually, the result, which the President was trying to fight, was that many companies, including start-up technological companies, were fleeing from France because of it. So, it’s not an easy world. There is globalisation, there is mobility of capital, and globalisation and liberalisation are very bad on some aspects because they increase unequalities hugely. On the other side, they drew out of poverty hundreds of millions of people around the world, especially in countries like China and India, but also they are starting to do that in Africa, so it is really a very mixed picture. We shouldn’t say that it’s only bad, there is a balance to be found, an imbalance now on these issues, but it’s not simply saying “capitalism and international trade are bad, they are only creating poverty.” This is absolutely not true actually.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – The floor is given to Bruno Desgardins from Switzerland.

**B. DESGARDINS:** – Good morning, thank you very much. I’ll try to be very brief, and just comment on six or seven previous discussions. First about Mr Bebler’s words. You were speaking about military treaties, I agree with you, it’s a problem, and I will add on that matter that over the last few years we have seen over the world, again, that spending on weapons is increasing and it’s first increasing in the US. As you know, they’re spending 650 billion a year, it is increasing elsewhere: in China, which is spending 250 billion a year, and also Russia is spending more than 60, France is spending 63, Germany about 50. These are the figures from the Stockholm Institute, as we know they are probably not exact, but we have to mention them.

Then, I would like to speak with Mr Varga. You say that law is impotent. I think that today one of the main problems in the world is extraterritoriality, which is used and overused by the US. I mean, when we look at Iran for instance, the US are playing with that. And where the US are putting penalties against BNP in France, against major banks in the world because they are working with a country, against Airbus for instance, I think this is a problem. And as you are

looking for solutions, I think as long as the US dollar stays the main currency in the world, they will have this privilege, nothing will change.

Third aspect. I would like to say to Mr Mettan, who spoke about Europe as a vassal, that I totally agree with Mr Chavagnac. I think that we cannot say that Europe is in the same field as the US. We have seen many times discussions between Germany and the US, between France and the US, between Europe and the US, and at the same time you can say that Russia is on the side of China. I cannot accept this approach to the world. And I would like to say to Mr Mettan that when you say that stability is a dream, I totally agree with you. I think that the world is going from a moment of stability to a moment of instability, and this has always been the case and this will continue and we can survive with that, it's not a problem. And definitely there are fewer conflicts between states in the world today than we have ever seen, than we saw in the past. We have many conflicts within countries and involving foreign partners, but wars between countries are very rare nowadays.

At last I would like to say a couple of words to Mr Akayev, who spoke about the middle class. I think that I am in favour of globalisation but there are problems with globalisation and we need to tackle these problems. And, definitely, one of the problems is the impact of globalisation on the middle class in the Western world, and it is true that inequality went up but at the same time, as Mr Chavagnac was mentioning, since 1990, the number of poor people in the world has gone down by 700 million, of which a good part live in China, and of which a good part also live in India. So, the middle class is developing in emerging countries when the middle class is suffering in developed countries. And I think that if we want to find a solution in that field, I think education, coming back to meritocracy could be a solution, maybe we have to speak about minimum income. Ok, I will stop here.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Mr Desgardins, you said that until the dollar stays the primary means of payment, we won't be able to solve our problems. What solution do you see as the General Manager of a bank? Returning to the gold standard, more active use of national currencies or something else?

**B. DESGARDINS:** – Ok, two points, first of all regarding gold. We cannot come back to the golden exchange because production of gold is limited. Gold production is growing by about 2–3% a year and definitely has no relation with the growth of GDP in the world, that's my first point. Then a breakdown of gold owning in the world is unequal. Some countries like the US, like France, like Italy, have a lot of gold and will be advantaged tomorrow. Some countries like emerging countries, even if they have gold, for example like India, like China, have a very small percentage of the reserves in gold. So, I think looking back that we raised two points. First, inequality, and then, the price of gold cannot be in line with the growth of the world economy, so in the end of the day it will deflate.

Then, coming back to the dollar. What is the picture nowadays? The dollar is 62% of the world reserve, the euro is about 23%, then you have the yuan, which makes 2% or 3%, you have the pound sterling, which is about 3–4%, then you have the yen and the Swiss franc making

1–2%, it is absolutely nothing. So, the only alternative today could be the euro. The yuan is not yet convertible, so it's definitely too early to speak about the yuan, and we cannot do anything about that. And I think the Chinese do not want that, because if tomorrow they decide to make the yuan freely convertible, the reserve of China, which is above 3 trillion, will go down very quickly, and people will put money outside China. So, unfortunately, we will have to keep the dollar in the next few years and that's it. So, the privilege of the US is easy to understand. This country is not saving enough and is benefitting from international savings, especially Chinese savings, to finance the account deficit.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Had there been representatives of China in our audience, they in contrast to Mr Desgardins, who advertises the Euro (notwithstanding the Euro being subjected to considerable risks now in view if many countries wishing to leave the European Union), would have said that the Yuan will be the primary means of payment. But I would not like to bring our discussion exclusively to the currency problems.

The floor is given to a representative of Turkey – Mr Bağış.

**E. BAĞIŞ:** – Thank you very much. Now, you asked what makes a country a superpower, and naturally the defence capability, the military strength is very important, the economy of a country is very important. The soft power, the cultural influence of a country is very important. The population of a country is very important, and we realise that with China with a huge population and now increased economic strength, this country is really coming along. But looking at the world I see a new trend. The leaders that are calling the shots right now, the guys like Putin, Trump, Xi Jinping, Modi, Erdogan, Macron, Orban, Sisi, Mohammad Bin Salman Al Saud, even Mahathir, who recently came back. If you think, you'll see that they have similar personality traits. They are very charismatic, they are very strong at home, and they are loved by their own nation and not much by the others. And this is bringing us to a new era, where the communication among the leaders is going to determine the future. They will decide on how to achieve stability in the world. I would say, with all the weaknesses and shortcomings, the European Union has been the most successful peace project in the history of mankind. Because since its establishment, it has ensured putting an end to all historical debates and wars in continental Europe. None of the members of the EU had a war or even fired one single bullet at another member. But that doesn't mean they aren't interfering in other countries in other parts of the world. But among themselves they have achieved this.

So, how can we learn from this and expand this concept to the others? It was said earlier that because defence is very expensive, there is no offence. Military capability requires a lot of investments, which could go easily to other needs of our nations like roads, hospitals, better schools, better piers, airports, educational capabilities. But with this era of all these threats, all these leaders, every country has to invest a major portion of their available resources into arming themselves as deterrents. So, we are at a dilemma: on the one hand, people in democratic societies, even in non-

democratic societies, expect better services from their governments, on the other hand, the governments feel a responsibility to spend an important portion of their resources on military capability. And I think that's going to be a very important dilemma for the next decade that is going to make a lot of us think and write about it. Thank you.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Mr Bağış, it is clear from your speech that the future determined by leaders will bring about new risks. On the one hand, I agree with that, on the other hand, it means dependence on a certain individual at the head of state. This is the eternal question of the role of personalities in history. History of the 20th century, at least in European space, certifies the aspiration to achieve the system's functioning notwithstanding who heads the state. Our ability to build such a system is another issue.

You said that we spend much money on armaments while it's better to build roads, develop education. We understand that perfectly well. But why do people understanding it, do it differently? Who is guilty of it? Leaders? Imperfect system? Can we create the system originally basing on social development principles? Will new technologies and new relations between states provide stimuli for that? Unfortunately, this still does not happen.

Mr Köchler from Austria is invited to the microphone.

**H. KÖCHLER:** – I have two points, and I'll speak very briefly. The first concerns the nature of law and the question of the importance of international law. A legal norm is defined by its enforceability. If there is no mechanism to enforce it, it is a moral law, or it may be a wish, or whatever. The problem is at the international level that enforceability is very limited as I tried to explain yesterday at the plenary meeting. At the United Nations one cannot enforce even the ban on the use of force. Why not? Because any permanent member can act as it pleases. No action can be taken. A permanent member cannot even be condemned for an act of aggression because it can vote on its own aggression. It means it can prevent any action. What that implies we saw in 1999 in the war against Yugoslavia, we saw in 2003 in the war against Iraq.

And my point is, as long as this is the case, the only chance for a kind of respect to the rule of law is a balance of power. The only thing that works is deterrence. If one of the major players or the hegemon is aware of serious repercussions for violations of the rules, that power may be more prepared to play by the rules. And my hope is that gradually such a balance of power is now in the making. A balance of power as it existed in 1945, when the Organization was built around the balance between the 5 winners of the Second World War.

And that brings me to the second question: what will be the nature of that power, will it be bipolar, or will it be multipolar? As far as I can see, certainly, the duality between the United States and China is overshadowing all the other, so to speak, competitions around of power. But still there are now emerging centres of gravity in different parts of the world. Emerging countries, such, for instance, as India, but also, more nearby, Turkey that will not be totally absorbed into, in this case, for instance, the Eastern fold. And the rivalry and the competition between China and India means that there will be some kind of multipolar structure in the future. The situation is very complex and one cannot make

any easy or precise prediction, but as far as I can see, the United States also, on the Western side, would not be able to absorb all these other traditional Western powers into their fold, because the parallelogram of forces is now becoming very complex. One sees it also in the case of India, for instance, which is a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and so on, but India with its present government has made considerable tactical overtures vis-à-vis the United States. So, this is my point. Thank you.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – I agree that there should be the rule of law but law should be the same for all. The problem is that law is applied only in case of a certain group of countries, and it is not in force in relation to other countries. The guilty should be punished. If the guilty is not punished at least in one case, it is a precedent that can be repeated, and we witness that today. If we really return to the rule of law – and the Russian Federation regularly calls for restoration of international legal norms, avoiding double standards – the world will become much safer.

The floor is given to Director of Development of Russian International Affairs Council Alexander Mikhaylovich Kramarenko.

**A. M. KRAMARENKO:** – I think that it is rather problematic to speak about manageability today. The issue is about correlation of manageability and freedom inside the state and in international relations. We are living in the age when everything is disintegrating, global governing structures are nullified, those that Americans have not managed to make inclusive as they strived for total control. Striving for total control leads to system's self-destruction, and we are witnessing exactly that.

I prefer to use a more neutral, politically correct term “the leading powers” instead of “the great powers”, with which many will agree: it has no negative connotations related to history. Even H. Kissinger wrote in his book *Diplomacy* (1994) that there would be 5–6 leading powers in the world, with the United States being the first among equals. Washington did not want to accept this reality – hence exactly is the crisis of the liberal world order system.

I think that we'll witness two triangles among the leading powers. One of them is Russia, the United States and China. Russia will play the moderator's role because China and the United States will never agree with each other, especially as both understand force similarly, rather severely, and the way it should be projected. The second triangle is Euroatlantic. We are witnessing restoration of bipolarity in the Western world: the Anglo-Saxons on the one side and Germany/the European Union on the other side. Thus, the Americans think that the Euro is the German Mark in “sheep's clothing”, i. e. they accuse the Germans in manipulations with their currency by creating the Euro zone. Because of that it is possible to suppose that the Washington–Berlin–Moscow triangle will be formed here, and the Germans will be the moderators here as Europe found itself in the trap of anti-Russian policy, forced upon it by the Americans (that was not concealed by the former Vice-President Joseph Biden).

The crisis of Anglo-Saxon capitalism rooted in the Reformation is evident as well. Economists say that 45 years after World War II there was some aberration in capitalism development, for which it is characteristic to work in favour

of investment classes, as a result of which inequality growth is inevitable in the society.

Development crisis on the whole is evident in connection with the crisis of Anglo-Saxon capitalism. A vivid example is Venezuela. The majority there with Maduro at the head is poor classes, they will never give up power, because they know that they will get what already was. It's required to think about new variants, new development models, about which Mr Galbraith spoke at the plenary session. Those who did not dismantle the social state that had become the result of World War II and "the answer to the Soviet Union's challenge" – Germany and a considerable part of European states, the European Union as a whole as well as Japan and South Korea – will stick to it, opposing the Anglo-Saxons' pressure. Those who decided to try capitalism of the period before 1929 are in deep crisis now, which they are trying to overcome by protectionism, "closing" globalization. This does not mean that the Anglo-Saxons will not succeed in their attempt to dismantle what was created by them but started raising other powers, first of all China. Actually, a lot has already been dismantled, in particular the regulation system for the financial sector, etc. Special features of national character, culture, etc. are reflected in that: what suits some players is unacceptable for the others.

A few words about Brexit. Theresa May, who announced her resignation, had wanted to virtualize the exit from the European Union, i. e. to exit and stay at the same time. But that can't be done. The English will cut down taxes on business like the Americans, and will try to compete on these terms unacceptable for the continental Europe. They will tighten the belts, and that will be the national mobilizing project of elites like Trump's project "Make America Great Again!"

Development crisis is manifested in education crisis (the quality of human capital deteriorated drastically). And the higher education system crisis was related to capitalism crisis in the West, deregulation of the financial sector, degradation of the school system (I witnessed that in Canada already in the middle of the 1980s) and the middle class crisis. Atomization of the society began on this basis. It was already evident then that the higher education does not guarantee employment according to the studied profession with respective income level. Because of that what the middle class is, is also a subject for discussion – it turned out to be subjective to changes up to half-disintegration.

As for science, Vitaly Tovievich, I won't agree with you. Science in principle and the Enlightenment laid the foundations of ideology as such that is basically inconsistent with freedom, claiming like religion to be called the truth. It is difficult to say what science can do in the present environment, because elites and trust to them are "worn out". Elites controlled traditional mass media via political correctness and at the same time appealed to the expert opinion – and because of that it is not trusted now. Western elites abused averaged, non-alternative policy too often in recent decades. Because of that I doubt the efficiency of science in the established environment.

It is another matter that there is freedom and lack of freedom. It is not accidental that Bonapartism originated after the French Revolution. Currently, everything is unsupported and flimsy, is in the state of disintegration and consequently chaos, but chaos and freedom are compatible.

I think that we have no grounds to worry about that. Disintegration of armaments control was also inevitable within the framework of such common trend.

Strong persons like Donald Trump and Vladimir Putin will agree on the existential issues of war and peace. And when the environment, including technological, is established to control the armaments, talks will start, and their new architecture will originate satisfying the requirements of the time.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – I give the floor to Professor Jan Aart Scholte from Sweden.

**J. A. SCHOLTE:** – Thank you very much. I was just pondering as we were talking about risks in the future. And I thought: what would our grandchildren want us to be really paying attention to in our discussions here? I am sure we would not all have the same answers, but I think it is an interesting question to pose. Would our grandchildren want us to focus on Brexit? Would they care about which country or which state is more dominant in the world? Would they care about who is the leader? I suspect, probably not so much. My guess would be that my grandchildren would be more concerned about the emerging technologies that raise fundamental questions about human being and human dignity. Think of genetic modifications, biotechnologies, nanotechnologies, digital technologies: already now we feel a number of their implications. I think our grandchildren would probably also be especially concerned about ecological changes, for example, what is done in terms of climate change. There was a report a few weeks ago from the United Nations on species loss. For me the forecasts were overwhelmingly troubling. A few generations down the line people will be asking what these ecological changes do to humans and to life on the Earth – and ask what our generation did about them. A third thing in my mind – besides technology and ecology – is the whole societal complexity we have. How can we, for our grandchildren, understand the dynamics of complexity and the accelerated society that Vasil was talking about earlier on? Understanding that complexity is necessary, so that we can restore some kind of intentionality and deliberation in politics. At the moment growing complexity and speed mean that so many things at the moment are beyond our understanding and control. Anyway, I am just trying to take a longer-term perspective, about these risks, and to wonder what our grandchildren would want us to be doing today. Thank you.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Thank you, Mr Scholte. Mr Guy Mettan, the President of the Union of Chambers of Industry and Commerce "Switzerland – Russia & CIS", is invited to the microphone.

**G. METTAN:** – Thank you very much, Professor Scholte, because I think we are the eldest people here but if we ask the younger people, I am sure they will take the environment problem and the total collapse of biodiversity and climate change into account. And as we are older, we don't speak a lot about that. I wanted also to thank Mr Chavagnac and Mr H. Köchler for their interventions. In my view, the bipolar world is not a wish, that's fear. That's a threat and I'm not defending this vision of the world, I'm trying to avoid such an escalation. But what can we say if

we look at Europe? Sorry, Mr Chavagnac, if you look at Europe, you can see that Europe is totally submitted to the United States in terms of military defence, in NATO. Who is commanding NATO? It's not Europe, it's the US. Maybe it's not bad, but it's total vassalization, militarily speaking.

Another thing. Now, the US are also imposing extra-territorial law as Mr Desgardins said, and economic sanctions. And Europe is imposing sanctions against Iran, they are just doing the agreement about Iran, and Europe is saying "No! No! No" and isn't doing anything, they are just words. Because the economic sanctions are imposed and Europe is just obeying what the US are saying, for instance, in case of Russia. So, the economic submission of Western Europe is growing and I will be very happy if France recovers its Gaullist attitude and makes some counterbalance to this influence in terms of intervention. Look at Venezuela, Cuba, Iran that are arranging changes. It is not Russia or China that are trying to make a change in Venezuela. And what is Europe doing? It is totally following the US direction. Doesn't follow the Mexican President's proposal to be a point of force in order to find a solution there. So, that's the problem. For me a superpower, to answer your question, is a power, which has the capacity to impose its will on other powers in terms of military issues, culture, economy, technique, science, human values and preservation of natural resources, which will probably be the main topic in the future. Thanks.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Now, Honoured Lawyer of Russia Henry Markovich Reznik will speak in front of us.

**H. M. REZNIK:** – The longer I live, the more I am amazed by the wisdom of the Ancient Greeks who, I remind you, made measure the main philosophical category. Local difficulties originate from time to time in any system – turbulence features *exist* to this or that extent in many systems, and they disappear when circumstances, leading to changes in the country's politics, change. But how can we fix the state's obligation to spend more on butter than on cannons in all times? It's a pity that it is impossible. But what happens today in Russia? Why more is spent on "cannons"? It's clear that these are the consequences of the 2014 events – the Ukrainian crisis, events in Donbass, annexation of Crimea. The latter is assessed in different ways, and I'd be happy with Crimea joining Russia had I not been a lawyer. Probably, the prevailing military expenditures are a temporary decision, and there is not enough money for this and for that. But all politics is changed in connection with that, state propaganda is activated, and now the notion of patriotism is being filled with the content that was precisely and wittingly worded by Mikhail Mikhaylovich Zhvanetsky: "Patriotism is a precise, clear, well-proved explanation why we should live worse than the others."

The world has been developing in the competitive struggle of two ideas for many centuries already: liberal and social. One of them eats the other from time to time. And what happens? Absolute liberalism without any corrections by the state leads to problems, which we know not by hearsay. I remind you that Lenin announced the utopical aim – universal equality – in his paper *The State and Revolution*. But he did not know how to achieve that, acknowledging that people are not the same in various qualities – diligence, conscientiousness, finally, wits. Another extremity is the so-

cial idea. Economic stagnancy begins where it triumphs, because it has been proved by experience of many countries: if we want the country to develop and economy to grow, it should be based on private initiative. Private initiative as such can't obligatory provide economic development in all countries. The colleagues were fairly right to pay attention to the fact that historical traditions, legacy, national character, etc. are also important. But there is not a single country in the world that became rich and prosperous not basing on private initiative. To my mind, Askar Akayevich was right to determine the problem that won't be solved for a very long time. The world has become open, and many countries compare themselves with others, and inequality has become a fertile soil for populists. How it was in past? Everything the state riches belongs to the pharaoh, and people think that this is right, it can't be otherwise.

One of the most important issues of our times is the system of values. Naturally, it is required in international politics to consider the established world order, not to humiliate other countries and build peaceful relations between them. But this does not mean that people are inclined to accept the values on which life is based in other countries. For example, the home policy of some states horrifies us – totalitarianism, suppression of dignity and freedom of individuals, etc. How to cooperate with them? The way was named by Irina Olegovna: there are no other means to regulate relations between countries besides international legal institutions.

We can criticize the United Nations as much as we like – but do we have an alternative structure? And I give a big plus with a tiny minus to the European Court of Human Rights: by its decisions it helped to advance law enforcement and judicial systems of all member states of the European Council. The order in the past was maintained via religious values, and later the significance of religion reduced greatly. And it seems to me that we have only one efficient tool in the modern secular world – international law. We should not refuse from it, never. On the contrary, it should be strengthened. And great powers should be pointed at it regularly, in order for them to obey laws on equal bases and moderate their appetites.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – A small comment about values. I think that everyone will agree that there is no universal idea of values. For example, there are 10,000 various nations living on the African continent, and each of them has its values. To my mind, it is a big mistake to try forming some ideal system of values that could become common for the whole world.

**H. M. REZNIK:** – Really, each society has its values. But we have common values with Europeans, who are not recognizing suppression of human freedom and dignity. This should not determine the state's foreign policy but you can't cancel them in home policy.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – I agree. I won't argue either that there are moral and ethic principles common for the whole mankind. The majority of those present in this hall are representatives of Christian civilization, we live in European culture, and we would not like to leave our zone of comfort. However, there are other cultures and civilizations, which we should respect and whose values we should acknow-

ledge, notwithstanding that they sometimes differ from ours greatly.

It's a pleasure for me to give the floor to exactly a representative of another culture, Mrs Talukdar from India.

**I. TALUKDAR:** – What are the solutions towards creating a multipolar world order? The solution to create a multipolar world order is to understand the concept clearly. The understanding that multipolar world order is an illusion as multipolarity does not exist is itself problematic. Multipolarity has been existing and at the same time the other poles (unipolarity, bipolarity or polycentricity) also existed. There is a constant tussle amongst these poles. In the current narrative on world order, many confuses between multipolarity and polycentricity. Both are seen from the same angle. However, there is a difference between the two concepts. In fact, polycentricity and multilateralism are similar whereas multipolarity is different. There will always be competition between polycentricity/multilateralism and multipolarity. Understanding of these concepts in the proper manner helps in putting international relations in the right perspective. Countries reflect the nature of human beings. The collective reflection helps in building a nation. Hence, the personalities of people reflect in a country. This understanding is on a more philosophical aspect. For instance, in a protracted conflict, it becomes difficult to reach a resolution because national interests get involved. Countries get bound by their country's laws and interest which makes it difficult to rationalise and move in a harmonious direction. In addition to it, civilization and culture further complicates the matter. Even though culture and civilization is supposedly to bring out the good part however, the subtle superiority complex that all countries have does not allow them to come to a constructive solution. One of the biggest problem humanity faces is the loss of ethics and morality based on humanity of dignity, respect, love and tolerance. Even though the message of all religion and philosophies is about spreading love, embracing every one, equality etc. there are everyday examples where people are killed on the name of religion, ethnicity, culture and civilization. National interest of countries stops the country from taking the right decisions based on humanity. Even if a country would want to think about this so-called philosophical aspect, it will be unable to as the country will be taken as a weaker country. It is seen as if it defers Realpolitik. This understanding is problematic. Addition to this, the trust deficit amongst countries also stops countries from engaging and resolving issues from a positive angle.

On reaction from India on the world order, New Delhi's policies have been multivectoral, mutual cooperation, inclusiveness and of balancing power, even during the Cold War times. The Non-aligned movement (NAM) is one example. New Delhi, under the then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to take along all countries together, including China. When the Soviet Union and the United States were talking of a permanent seat to India in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), India gave up its seat to China, trusting China. However, till date it has been seen that Beijing, not only is willing to include India as P6 member but also keeps vetoing against India. Hence, there is a trust deficit issue from the Indian side. China is an example. Any country which breaches India's or others' trust is not trustworthy. Though Russia and China are very close

friends. However, there are problems emerging in many fronts such as in the Arctic. China, being a non-Arctic country, is claiming its stakes in the Arctic. In 2018 Defence Paper on the Arctic, Beijing claimed its stake and has justified its claim which is worth noticing. Questions that arise from this claim is whether the permanent members of the Arctic like Russia, the United States etc, will be fine with this claim or not. There is increase militarization happening in the Arctic. India is concerned with such kind of claims as well as militarisation in the Arctic. New Delhi is also concerned with the militarization in space. Though countries, including India, Russia and China talk about non-militarization in space, however it is taking place and there is competition in this which creates a dangerous atmosphere for the world.

Apart from these, there are future problems in the multilateral organizations such as the UN, SCO etc. The SCO is a positive initiative but there are issues amongst the member states which is of great concerns. For example, SCO members face water sharing problem amongst each other – be it India-Pakistan, India-China, China-Central Asian countries or within the Central Asian countries. The problem is because of the upstream and downstream arrangement amongst the member states. The members (usually) do not want to resolve this crisis multilaterally rather bilaterally. Understanding and the approach adopted by the members against terrorism is another challenge. Though the members condemn terrorism however they are not ready to condemn the member state which is sponsoring terrorism against another member. India which is raising this issue against this particular member is not getting the proper support within the SCO. It is a kind of isolation for New Delhi. This shows the divisive lines, greater evil supported by the other members.

The global climate change is another issue which needs to be given proper attention. Most of the countries, including the Asian countries see it as an obstruction to their development. However, the global climate change is an immediate and a big threat not only for certain countries but for the world. It needs real attention and concrete solution.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – We are worried that the consumer's attitude to life is formed in case of the majority of young people, because of that it's a pleasure to find out that the young generation is interested in environmental problems. And I agree that people should think more about love and not material benefits. This is not easy if we take into account that the consumer society standards are forced on us. Alexey Gromyko spoke about that. I think that the ratio of the material and the spiritual is the issue that is very important for the future of humanity.

Now, I'd like to give the floor to Mr Prodanov.

**V. PRODANOV:** – You have told us that there are two most important questions. The first is who to blame? And the second, what is to be done? But it seems to me that there are different questions for different social groups. For us, as scientists, the most important questions are the descriptions and the explanations of things. What is going on? What are the objective reasons for what is going on? For politicians the most important question is what is to be done, it's true. There is also the question of who is to blame. It seems to me that this question is the most im-



portant for the mass consciousness in some situations, it is also for politicians in some situations. These situations are connected with the crisis in the society and the task of scientists is to explain why. And it seems to me that we live now in a situation where more and more politicians and more and more usual people in the mass consciousness will have the question, who is to blame? And for me the reason for this question is the growing inequality, growing poverty of the societies, growing sense of insecurity, lacking confidence in existing elites, growing number of people declaring themselves precariat, and that's the reason. 30 years ago, you know, Gorbachev declared an end to the image of enemy, but the irony of history, [as Hegel thought], is that we live now in a world with more enemies. Different enemies in different directions. Two types of enemies; foreign states and immigrants. There is a growth of anti-Semitism in Europe, in the United States, there are Russophobia reports, there is a growth of Sino-phobia in the United States, Islamophobia, and that becomes a characteristic of the new Cold War. And also, internal enemies increase, there are religious, ethnic, racial separations, conflicts, and the feeling of danger and uncertainty in this situation leads to the rise of several types of reactions: requests for more borders and control in all spheres from the borders of the European Union and the United States, to the virtual borders and digital security, requests for a strong hand in the centre to protect us. That is why the structure is once again centralised in place of the crisis of liberal democracy.

Now, this new centralization is facilitated by the new technologies of the so-called surveillance capitalism; Big Data, facial recognition, digital government. And many studies today suggest that there is global growth of nationalism and opposition to the liberal marketing globalisation. We already have Brexit, and the desire of Donald Trump to create a wall between the US and Mexico, and also a growth of protectionism, and it is now, it seems to me, the direction of the governments in the world, where the enemies are most important for the mass consciousness and politicians. Thank you.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Thank you very much, Mr Prodanov. I invite Petr Petrovich Tolochko to speak.

**P. P. TOLOCHKO:** – Dear colleagues, the following questions have been asked here today several times: what is the greatness of the country? How is it measured? Who should rule the world? Do economy, culture, military strength make the greatness of a country? To answer this question I'd like to offer you to remember certain historical facts. Magnificent Rome was destroyed by barbarians, Byzantium fell under the Turks, Kiev Russia under the Mongols. So, think what determines the country's greatness. Vitaly Tovievich said who would rule the world: the great countries. Only we have to ask them to make this governance more or less sensible.

Colleague Kramarenko tells us: do not worry, Putin and Trump will come to an agreement, and everything will be fine. But it should not be like that in the world. And what if they won't come to an agreement? Besides, no matter if we want it or not, but the world is returning to bipolarity. Because of that I agree with Mr Mettan: we need the third power that will balance the strength of blocs.

Let's remember at least the Non-Alignment Movement (I spoke about it yesterday). There is also the World Peace Council, the voice of which we have not heard for a long time. Henry Markovich said about the United Nations. We should not say that all regulation tools in the world are outdated. The existing institutions should be strengthened and the ones that lost their power today, should be revived, and we should not only hope that the Presidents will come to an agreement between themselves, or that sensible behaviour will be demanded from great powers. Who will demand it? I repeat: the United Nations, Non-Alignment Movement, World Peace Council – these institutions should be returned the former authority. And surely they should be governed by international law, otherwise there will be chaos and complete destruction in the world.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – The floor is given to Alexey Vladimirovich Kuznetsov.

**A. V. KUZNETSOV:** – Today, everyone is speaking approximately like this: "There was stability in the past, and there is none now". However, instability is a transfer from one fairly sustainable condition to the other. Sure, absolute chaos is possible, but that is highly improbably on global scales.

Such a transfer is required from time to time, when the main features of the present regulation that maintains this relative stability, start opposing the needs of global development, being obstacles for rising powers. Unfortunately, humanity usually solved this problem by arms, a great number of victims and economic losses. Had people learned to avoid wars in the past, global development would have been much more dynamic. And now, strong economic opposition takes place most often instead of armed conflicts because of a threat to use nuclear weapons and thanks to development of international law. That makes the situation more humane but does not change it principally. Respectively, the question arises: what is to be done? Many concepts originated after World War II, they were often ideal but sometimes fairly realistic as to humanity's movement to peace. Now, because of information openness we really have an opportunity to include common people in international processes more. Nevertheless, we continue speaking about leaders and elites, and still view people just as a mass that it is easier to mobilize today thanks to new technologies. However, if we speak about European values, democracy, we should address the population that in the IT age should be responsible for its development. The population of the countries losing their influence like the United States and the European Union states, but also the rising leaders such as China.

Russia is a special case because there is no doubt that it is to expect reduction of its influence in the long-term, though in the short-term it definitely strengthens its role. There is some boost when someone is looking for its place in the world. Where is it – close to the West or Asian countries? And respectively, the question arises again: what is to be done? In particular, what should be done by the European Union and Russia?

It is often possible to affect the mass consciousness because the population is insufficiently educated, so it is required to advance the educational level of the people. But

there are also wishes for elites. It is necessary to create the objective picture in mass media using all the possible ways and means, and mass media should be first of all unbiased for that. This can be fairly well achieved by elites if they stop using the image of foreign enemies in their political interests, or some other scarecrows that worked in the previous epochs and finally led to wars. Besides, the issue of foreign relations is important for the agenda of internal political struggle. The population in many countries, especially small ones is mostly concerned with domestic problems – social inequality, economic development with the help of foreign capital or the country’s own resources, etc. At the same time, international relations are left for great powers, thus helping formation of their “supreme power”. Because of that the population – every person! – should think about their role in international affairs in order not to become victims of economic wars another time. And representatives of elite should be more responsible in understanding that they should not only think about their own survival as political elites but also think somewhat wider.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Thank you, Alexey Vladimirovich. I invite Leonid Leonidovich Fituni to speak.

**L. L. FITUNI:** – Some remarks about the presented opinions.

First – about academician Akayev’s words about the disappearance of the middle class. I won’t argue with it as it really happens. Askar Akayevich connects that with Industry 4.0 (the Fourth Industrial Revolution) and the new technological pattern. I agree with his opinion but I’d like to mention that disappearance of this or that class is the result of any revolution. Aristocracy disappeared in the middle of the 19th century. They exclaimed during the Spring of Nations in 1848: if aristocracy disappears, the nation’s honour will disappear! But today, if some of us have additions to our family names left, for example, de or uni (Eastern variant) like in mine, we have not been aristocracy for a long time, we are common citizens and we don’t regret that the status was lost. Possibly, because of that we should not worry about the disappearance of the middle class. Something else will appear, and that will become the basis of the new development stage.

Second – about Mr Scholte’s words about the young generation. Will today’s children care about Brexit? Most likely, they won’t because Brexit is already in the past. If something like that is on the agenda, young people will think about that. And what is more, to my mind, even environmental problems do not worry young people much. Are we really worried that dinosaurs disappeared? We do not remember that often, mostly when watching movies. Do we care about the Little Ice Age in the 16th–17th centuries in the Netherlands? I can’t say with assurance but I think that we overestimate today’s problems, in any case in the context of thoughts about the future of our children.

The third remark is about values. To my mind, this is really important. The problem is that great values (love, peace, etc.) are important when we perceive them not as values but as something that just exists in the human society and for people. As soon as we start saying that love and peace are values, which we should pass over to somebody, this becomes a religion at first and ideology later, which is hammered in the heads.

And the last thing – not a remark, just a thought in connection with Mr Reznik’s idea that the only right way of development is to give an opportunity to the most conscientious, clever, hard-working people to take decisions. The problem is that it is also connected with values. Someone has to say: “This is a value” and confirm that by his/her behaviour, demonstrating his/her attitude to this value. But a question arises – who has the right to judge about that? Second, it’s not rare that rich people are not the most conscientious, clever and hard-working. Many of them got their fortune just robbing someone, or they were just more insolent. Because of that the category of values is useless practically, we can’t be governed by them in Realpolitik.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Academician Chereshev, you are given the floor. You are welcome.

**V. A. CHERESHNEV:** – May in Russia is full of significant events. We just celebrated the Victory Day, today we have the University birthday, in two days we’ll be celebrating the 316th anniversary of St. Petersburg, etc. In that connection I’d like to say a few words about history, to be more exact, its honest, truthful presentation. Students asked me: “Valery Alexandrovich, why did the whole Europe meekly surrender to Hitler? Actually, only we and the Yugoslavs really resisted him”. “Yes, it was exactly like that”. “And did you read this?” – and they show me an article in which it is written that it was possible not to resist in Leningrad and Stalingrad, and we should have given up Moscow. The French managed to preserve Paris undamaged and the rest European capital cities practically did not suffer. I ask them: “Did you read what Hitler planned to do in place of Moscow and Leningrad? A giant lake”. “Really? Valery Alexandrovich, please take a look. Japanese schoolchildren from Hiroshima and Nagasaki write papers about that war, and 20% of them don’t know that they were bombed by the United States, they name other countries. And they ask: ‘How can the United States, the best partner and ally of Japan, bomb us, and throw nuclear bombs, and in the end of the war?’”. Young people should know history.

Next year, we’ll be celebrating the 75th anniversary of the great victory, and they are making the memorable exhibition about Sobibor in Poland, where the majority of prisoners were Soviet, who organized a riot and ran away. But are there representatives of Russia as the USSR successor in the organizing committee? Alas, there are none.

Going on with the speech about history, I’d like to note that Russia was lucky that the Academy of Sciences that will soon celebrate its 300th anniversary, was set up by outstanding scholars, with Mikhail Vasilyevich Lomonosov among them. When his 100th anniversary was celebrated, it was said that he was a great poet, and 50 years later he was called a great chemist, and he turned out to be the Leonardo da Vinci of the 18th century. He wrote in his historical paper *On the Preservation and Reproduction of the Russian people* that the might, greatness and richness of the whole state was in the preservation and reproduction of the Russian people and not in expansive territories useless without inhabitants. Lomonosov thought that the numbers of people were important, and their quality was even more important: “And above all instill the thought in everyone by education that... a deceiver, robber, the unjust, bribe-taker, thief and others distorting the image of the surrounding

people, will not find forgiveness, no matter if he eats wood chips, bricks, soaked bast fibers, clay and coal instead of the common Lenten food for seven weeks, and most part of the time stands on his head instead of bows and prostration”.

And the last thing. I have many friends on the Crimean peninsula with whom I grew up together, and they studied in the Nakhimov Sevastopol Naval College, and now they are Captains 1st rank and even Admirals. I meet them often. And they ask me the question, “Why aren’t you explaining the state of affairs as to Crimea? It was 2014. They had Maidan in Kiev, the Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian Parliament) cancelled the law on the status of the Russian language. The Crimean Parliament allowed the referendum, and it took place”. The Ukrainian authorities say, “The Rada’s agreement was required according to our Constitution”. But how was it to be done if there was actually no Rada? It was anarchy. 93% voted for becoming a part of Russia at the referendum. My friends from Sevastopol tell me, “If you conduct a referendum now, you’ll get 99%. What occupation? Did they think what laws they approved? They cancelled the Russian language in the region where it is the mother tongue for nearly everyone – what did they expect after that?”

I repeat, first of all, truth is important in any information.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – I invite Mr Ingimundarson to take the floor. You are welcome.

**V. INGIMUNDARSON:** – Thank you, I’ll just give a brief comment on the two references here to the Arctic and the geopolitics of the Arctic. The Arctic Council was turned into a geopolitical venue recently by the Americans particularly by attacking China and Russia. So far the Council has been a non-political, non-military forum; so this was a new tone, which also echoes US national defence strategy. It involves the abandonment of the war on terror and a refocus on state-based threats and rivalries, particularly with China and Russia. The Arctic used to be defined in terms popularized by the Norwegians, who talked about “High North, Low Tension.” This characterization may not apply longer. But at the same time, I think we should not be overly alarmist about the state of the Arctic. As for the comment on China’s Arctic policies, it should be pointed out that it was not only China that was admitted as a member of the Arctic Council in 2013 but also India. And China’s Arctic strategy basically echoes what the Chinese have been saying for the past four or five years; indeed, there is very little new in it, and the Chinese are abiding by the Law of the Sea Convention. Having said that, it is true that a new geopolitical reality is emerging in the Arctic, which has witnessed increased militarization in recent years, as Mr Alexey Gromyko mentioned in the beginning. I was wondering whether Mr Gromyko sees this militarization, in the near term, as a major geopolitical development; I believe that it warrants, at least, inclusion in this dialogue. Thanks.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – The floor is given to Mr Wiatr. You are welcome.

**J. WIATR:** – I’ll speak very briefly on the raised issue, the importance of values and ideologies. There are various

ideological conflicts. One mentioned is between liberal and socialist values. But this is the kind of controversy, which can be compromised, so democracy, for instance, unlike the communist movement, moved considerably closer to the liberal values, but there is one ideological conflict, which, practically speaking, cannot be solved through a compromise. This is between aggressive nationalism and democratic values.

Nationalism has two aspects: the internal and external. Internal means hostility towards values, groups, particularly minorities within the state. That does damage to domestic policy. External means hostility towards other states. And here there is a very clear situation; the bigger, the stronger the state, the more dangerous is its nationalism. One can say all nationalisms are bad, that’s true. But some are more dangerous than the others. And the danger of nationalism depends directly on how strong a state is. Thank you.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Henry Markovich, I invite you to the microphone.

**H. M. REZNIK:** – “Ignorance is a strong force, and we are afraid that it will bring humanity more tragedies.” This is a quotation from Karl Marx who is not in fashion now.

But I’ll conclude on the idealistic wave. Colleague Kramarenko made the right emphasis, colleague Kuznetsov developed his thought: we live in the mass society, and we should not allow this mass to turn into a crowd, electorate that is being manipulated in order for it to vote “in the right way” and not care about enlightenment. I think that the task of the academic world’s representatives is to talk to people, on the one hand, and to insistently talk to politicians on the other hand, in order for absurd statements to be impossible, such as “It would be nice to introduce obligatory state ideology into the Constitution”. The things we tried to get rid of after the USSR disintegration, did not disappear, they are here, close to us. And we have to develop enlightenment and transmit adequate ideas of the world.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – I invite Mr Desgardins to speak.

**B. DESGARDINS:** – Very short, I would like to come back to something very important, which was mentioned by Mr Kramarenko, when you were speaking about education. I think that all people around the table, we all agree on the necessity to develop education, but at the same time, we see the difficulty for educated people, young people to find a job. We see this problem in India, we see this problem in the Middle East, we see this problem in Europe, in the US. Every government is insisting on this but in the end it’s not always easy, and this is creating some frustration for the young, and I think it’s a key aspect. The second aspect I’d like to speak about is crises of the Anglo-Saxon world. I am not a supporter of the US but I have to be honest, there is a social crisis, there is the opioid crisis, there is a decline of life expectancy in the US, but at the same time, I have to be honest and to see that on the technological side they are still running, they are still ahead, and I think that this will continue for the next few years. And at last, regarding NATO and Europe, I am sorry to say that Mr Trump is right when he asks European countries to spend 2% of their GDP and there is only Poland doing that, the UK doing that and France, which is not very far from that, but the others

are not spending and it's not normal, but I cannot accept the idea that Europe is lying, even if on the issue of Iran it was a little shy, but it's real politique.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – And now I'd like to address His Excellency, the Ambassador of Iran. Could you comment on the today's discussion?

**M. SANAEI:** – I've been listening to all speeches with great interest. It's a special pleasure for me that we are speaking about Iran among other things. I treat the opinion that the great powers rule the world and many globally significant issues are settled by personalities with respect. But I think that the current state of affairs in the world is the result of our being used to it, while new players appeared on the international scene. I do not agree with the argument that the world is returning to the bipolar model because Asian countries are quickly developing and building up their strength. Today, we can't ignore social networks, we have to listen to young people who no longer trust the existing system. This distrust is justified to a large extent because force is playing a bigger and bigger role in world politics and not law and not the set up in their time international organizations. Why did these structures lose their efficiency to a considerable extent? There are two reasons. First, the founders and the most influential parties from these organizations worked for their destruction, first of all the United States that started using force and unleashing wars, including in Iraq. It's interesting that now the United States are dissatisfied that the area for Iran's influence has been freed, though it was them who greatly weakened Iraq – our main rival in the region. I think that the world should call to account those who destroyed stability that had existed, interfered in the affairs of Libya, Iraq, Syria. Second, not only great powers and personalities take important for the world decisions. I think that a big task for institutes and universities is to create new structures, new theories and academic schools. As it is evident that the present global system, regulating international relations, is no longer in conformity with the new realities.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Askar Akayevich, you are given the floor.

**A. A. AKAYEV:** – Mrs Talukdar spoke about India's relations with China and Pakistan, and I felt her pessimism as to the prospects of their development. And I'd like to add some optimism. All three countries – China, India, Pakistan – are the members of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), besides China and India are also BRICS members, and they are nothing else but new inter-state associations based on local civilizations. After India and Pakistan joined SCO, the intensity of their conflict started decreasing. I'm sure that these states will be able to solve the problems of their relations within the framework of SCO and BRICS. Let's wish them to show the world an example of solving inter-state and inter-civilization problems basing on dialogue and partnership of civilizations (and representatives of five local civilizations live in these countries). SCO and BRICS though they are not perfect, are samples of the future multipolar sustainable world order based on dialogue and partnership.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Now, Mr Kolodko will speak. You are welcome.

**G. W. KOLODKO:** – I would say that this is the end of the end of history. The end of history lasted for only one generation, and during this decade we may say that this is the time of confusion, or if we are in Russia, maybe, this is the time of troubles. 400 years ago, you did have the Time of Troubles here in Russia, and now we have the time of troubles in the world. And it's a very big problem. I would say the biggest challenge for the future is to attempt to manage, but I would prefer to say to govern this, lasting time of troubles, in our generation or two. This is the beginning of the time of confusion in a peaceful way, to avoid the war. And when you are talking about what the next generations will be looking after and for what we will be responsible, say, in 20–25 years from now, the first question is the time between now and, say, 2050, 2060, 2070. Will it be a peaceful one or not at all? It's not a given. We have to work hard to make the world relatively peaceful. So, to conclude, I would say, I would repeat that the biggest challenge for everybody, who is trying to make a point on the issues we're talking about, is reinstitutionalization or irreversible globalization in a world that will be absolutely multipolar and multicultural. So, there is the great cry for tolerance, and we must answer the question, this is amazing that during the two days of live discussion, maybe I missed it, but we haven't heard about the crisis of liberal democracy. Another part of this time of confusion, time of troubles is that liberal democracy has failed. Liberal democracy has brought Brexit, has brought Donald Trump, a man who is entirely unaccountable and irresponsible as the most influential global leader. So, reinstitutionalization that is setting the new rules for irreversible globalization, for growing humanity, is the biggest challenge. And I think that this is what is bringing us together, the sociologist, the political scientist, the economist and the people concerned about the future, which is very different from the past. Thank you.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – The floor is given to Vitaly Tovievich Tretyakov.

**V. T. TRETYAKOV:** – In such discussions as we're having today, I am always worried about dogmatism and too much political correctness.

Sure, I am for law, including international, to be observed by everyone without exception, but let's be realistic. One of the favourite maxims of international lawyers is that agreements should be fulfilled. But had all agreements been always fulfilled, we'd still have the Roman Empire. If an international agreement is not fulfilled by this or that state, it means that it stopped being profitable or advantageous for it, and no measures of compulsion will help in that case. Because of that I ask you to get rid of dogmatism in international law.

As for political correctness, it has become indecent and improper today to speak about the role of the great powers in world history. Many people think erroneously that to head a small country is the same as governing a big country, a continent and the whole world. But this is not so, as there are different systems and models of governance in different states, combining command-administrative and democratic methods. If someone wishes to rule the whole

world, e. g. the United States, I agree to tolerate that, to be patient for a while as Russia still can't lay claims to that – not enough strength. Only I think that the American President in this case should be elected by the whole world and not only the US citizens. Let's elect the American President by the whole globe, and I'll resign myself with the United States leadership.

**G. W. KOLODKO:** – Then, a Chinese will become the American President.

**V. T. TRETYAKOV:** – May be, that's good, isn't it?

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Robert Iskandrovich, you are welcome.

**R. I. NIGMATULIN:** – Dear colleagues, we established the state of affairs but we spoke little about what is to be done. I'd like to add some observations and information. How much did transfer to democracy cost Russia? Before 1992, death rate in Russia and Western Europe was approximately the same, and after the well-known reform, this indicator started growing in Russia and came up to 16.7 people per one thousand residents by 2003, while it had not exceeded 10–11 in the past. On the whole, democratic reform cost Russia 16 millions of additional deaths. That is what a wrong transition is.

We have fairly grounded claims against Europe but they have claims against us as well. I think that it is necessary to finally refuse from them and start thinking what we should do. First of all, it is required to cooperate and not stake on isolation. Improvements are impossible without that. Unfortunately, we should state that the world is becoming less and less suitable for a happy life, notwithstanding the fact that happiness is a relative notion. When we are moving forward, we are happy. And a far from rich man can be happy if his position is improving, though slowly. But it is worsening now, so the world on the whole is not very happy and Russia especially.

**I. O. ABRAMOVA:** – Thank you very much, all of you who took part in the discussion. We expressed our opinions and suggestions, we spoke a lot about new economic relations, building new legal norms and preservation of already acting norms, about the need to take various opinions into account, listen to young people, pay big attention to education and science, especially when taking political decisions.

We did not have time to discuss regulation of information space. Currently, it's not rare when new rules of the game are dictated by Internet-technologies, which can be more effective than real weapons. Legal norms for information space have not been worked out yet, there are no generally accepted rules. To my mind, this issue is one of the main ones for legislators today.

**L. RIVERA MARIN:** – Well, first of all, good afternoon to you all. It has been a great job by those running the panel, and certainly, even though by reactions I can say that something is missing in the translation, I can say that it has been such an enriching experience listening to all the different opinions and your propositions. I think openness is certainly a requirement for trust. I come from a small island in the Caribbean, but that doesn't mean that we have small

problems and small dreams. And coming to this forum, I listen to what's expected of the leaders of the world, how the world order is transitioning. I believe that we should all expect from world powers to act as leaders and promote the relationships that are built precisely on trust, that this dialogue shall always be present, so that those of us that may not be exerting power around the world are considered. And I think that it's the duty and the responsibility of the leaders of the world to close those gaps and think about the next generations and how the quality of life can be improved, because it's obvious that everybody seeks better opportunities, prosperity and freedom for their people. So, I am very optimistic. As leaders, we recognise the importance of promoting freedom, promoting better health, promoting education, promoting opportunities for all of us around the world, because in the end we are all citizens of the world and we all share responsibility. So, it has certainly been an enriching experience for me and I hope to continue to collaborate and continue this dialogue with you. Thank you for that.

**Al. A. GROMYKO:** – Dear colleagues, we have discussed various topics, expressed our opinions on many most important issues. At the same time, no matter how strange that may sound, the topic from which Professor Bebler started, did not become one of the main ones. That's the topic of strategic stability's destruction. This issue is very important from the perspective of life and death of not only individuals or certain nations but the whole human civilization.

The discussion of Realpolitik and international law seemed very interesting to me. Which of them is more important, or should there be a permanent balance between them? Each country has its law, the Criminal Code in particular. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands violate it. But does it mean that we do not need it at all?

It seems to me that international law should not be made absolute, but international law as well as the United Nations is not guilty that it is violated all the time, and there are political shows organized from time to time even in the UN Security Council.

The topic we spoke on a lot just 2–3 years ago was practically not raised either – that's international terrorism. Another important topic – the Arctic – was just touched upon in passing. Meanwhile, there won't be a single discussion in 5–7 years, where we won't raise this issue. In the 1990s, the world actively discussed globalization, in the early 21st century, practically all discussions referred to the Arab world, and now we can't do without the topic of China. Soon the Arctic will become the regular topic, and in 10–15 years no discussion will avoid India's problems. Currently, this is a "half-asleep" giant but everything will change in the not far-off future. There are countries that will play a much more significant role in one or two decades than today: Brazil, Mexico, Indonesia, Egypt, Nigeria, Vietnam, South Africa. According to various estimations, all these countries will rise much higher by 2050 than their present level. Currently, 7 out of 10 biggest economies of the world are European or economies of the countries that originated from the European civilization, and only 3 represent other continents. And by 2050, only 2–3 countries from the European civilization will be included in these ten, and the rest 7–8 will represent other power centers.

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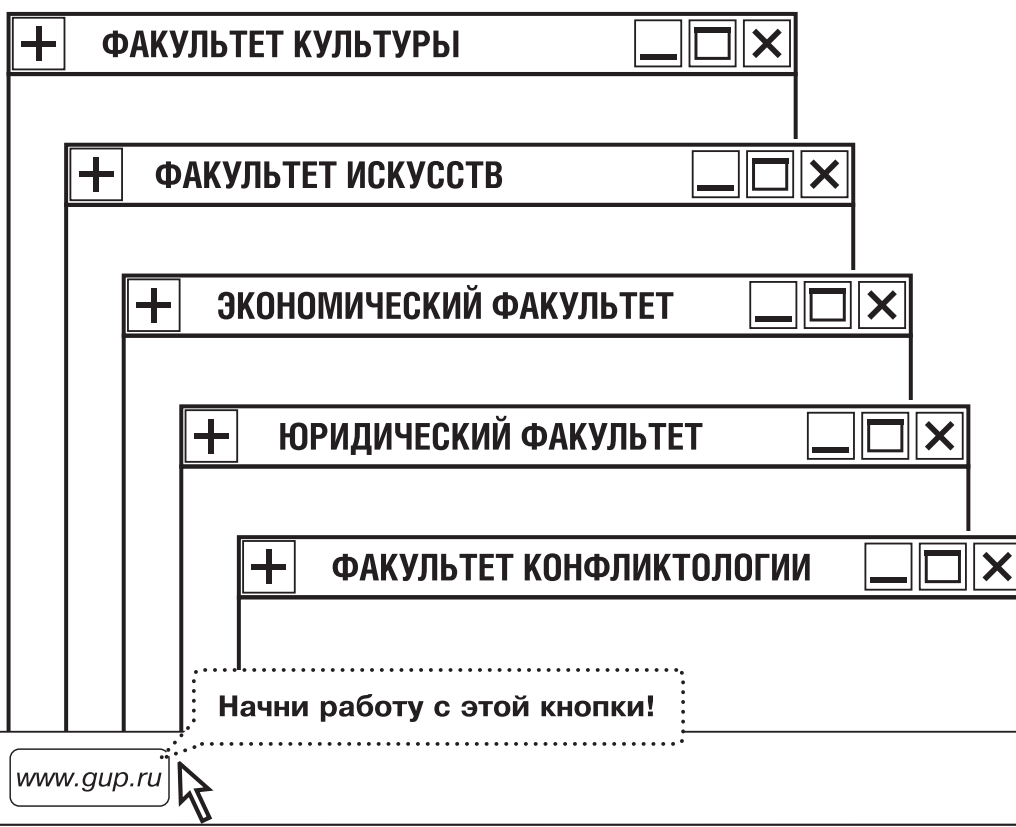
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