

RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES
ST. PETERSBURG INTELLIGENTSIA CONGRESS

ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

The 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

May 14–15, 2015

*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*

*The conference, originally called 'The Days of Sci-
ence in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities
and Social Sciences' is the 23rd in number
and the 15th in the status of the International
Likhachov Scientific Conference*

To implement the project 'The 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference'
state funds are used. The funds are allocated as a grant in accordance
with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of January 17, 2014 No 11–рп
and the tender held by the Association "Znaniye" of Russia



**St. Petersburg
2015**

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.

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

C56 Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests: the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 14–15, 2015. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2015. – 214 p., il.

ISBN 978-5-7621-0840-9

Materials 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference which took place on May 14–15, 2015 in SPbUHSS according to the Decree of the Russian President V. V. Putin "On perpetuating the memory of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov" are published in the collection.

Representatives more than 30 countries of the world took part in the 15th Conference. Among 64 authors of the collection — outstanding domestic scientists, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences: O. T. Bogomolov, R. S. Grinberg, A. A. Guseinov, A. S. Zapesotsky, G. B. Kleiner, V. A. Lektorsky, A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov, A. D. Nekipelov, V. S. Styopin, V. A. Tishkov, V. A. Chereshnev, etc.; heads of the academic institutes and research centres, representatives of higher educational institutions, media executives, eminent state and public figures, recognized experts in the field of policy, economy, international law, representatives of the creative intellectuals: judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation G. A. Hajiyev, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation G. M. Gatilov, Russian Ambassador in Great Britain A. V. Yakovenko, First Deputy Director General of the Russian Information Agency "TASS" M. S. Gusman, Vice-president of Federal chamber of lawyers H. M. Reznik, Dean of the Higher school of television of Lomonosov Moscow State University V. T. Tretyakov.

Among foreign authors of the collection — Presidents of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), the academician A. A. Akayev, the Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007) Sh. Aziz, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), professor G. W. Kolodko, the Minister of Education of Poland (1996–1997) J. Wiatr, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain (2004–2010) M. A. Moratinos; Ambassador of Mexico in the Russian Federation R. Guerrero, Ambassador of Spain in the Russian Federation (2008–2011) J. A. March, Consul General in St. Petersburg M. Faillietaz (Switzerland), member of the House of Lords C. Moynihan (Great Britain), Deputy of Legislative Assembly of Delhi A. Lamba (India), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ghana (2003–2007) N. Akufo-Addo, etc.; journalists, observers, publishers: Yu. S. Goligorsky, M. Papadopoulos (Great Britain), T. Kent, W. Tarpley (USA); members of foreign academies of Sciences: D. Ardakani (Iran), V. Prodanov (Bulgaria), P. P. Tolochko (Ukraine). Professors: A. Bassam (Syria), T. Bauer (Germany), A. Bebler (Slovenia), Sh. Weber (USA), B. Wolf (Germany), J. Galbraith (USA), P. Dutkiewicz (Canada), V. Ingimundarson (Iceland), A. Irvani (USA), H. Köchler (Austria), S. M. Mohaghegh Ahmadabadi (Iran), T. Osang (USA), V. della Sala (Italy), J. Sapir (France), T. Türker (Turkey), M. Fujita (Japan), Junyong Zhang (China), N. El Sheikh (Egypt), etc.

The role of Likhachov Conference is highly appreciated by the President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin, noting that "Conference gets more and more wide international resonance, and its agenda is filled with significant and topical issues of the present".

ББК 72



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

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

1. the Government of the Russian Federation should:
 - establish two personal grants in honour of D. S. Likhachov at the rate of 400 roubles each for university students from the year 2001 and to define the procedure of conferring them;
 - work out the project of D. S. Likhachov's gravestone on a competitive basis together with the Government of St. Petersburg;
 - consider the issue of making a film devoted to D. S. Likhachov's life and activities.
2. the Government of St. Petersburg should:
 - name one of the streets in St. Petersburg after D. S. Likhachov;
 - consider the issue of placing a memorial plate on the building of the Institute of Russian Literature of the Russian Academy of 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

Dear Friends!

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

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

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

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

I wish you new achievements and all the best.

President of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 17, 2012



Dear Friends!

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

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

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

Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 5, 2011



Dear Friends!

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

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

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

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

I wish you good luck and all the best!

Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation

V. PUTIN

May 11, 2010



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

Holding this scientific forum has become a good and important tradition. It helps not only to realise the value of humanistic ideas of Dmitry Sergeyevich 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 15TH INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

To the participants and guests of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

Dear friends!

I am glad to welcome you in St. Petersburg and to congratulate on opening of the 15th International Likhachov Conference.

Traditionally bringing together famous philosophers, scientists and cultures in the Northern capital of Russia, they became an authoritative humanitarian forum. The debatable subjects connected with tendencies of development of society, globalization processes, a role of education and art in the modern world, problems of the interfaith relations are submitted for your discussion.

It is important that the representatives of the different countries who are taking part in Conference in the researches rely on fundamental works of D. S. Likhachov. Its most rich creative heritage contains answers to the most sensitive issues, including what defined the agenda of your present meeting – global challenges and national interests. The academician Likhachov who was called by conscience of the nation, considered that the arising conflicts can be solved only through dialogue of cultures. It proved culture as spiritual basis of national life, and its preservation – as guarantee of sincere safety of the nation. These thoughts have enduring value, especially in our hard time.

I wish to participants of the International Likhachov Conference to work, exchange fruitfully opinions and to offer perspective ways of strengthening of the humanitarian cooperation based on universal values and mutual respect.

Russian Prime Minister

D. A. MEDVEDEV

May 14, 2015

To the organizers, participants and guests of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

I welcome organizers, participants and guests of the 15th International Likhachov Conference!

This year on Likhachov Conference work of the various sections devoted to culture, art, economy, policy, the right is planned. These discussions will help to give the answer to sensitive issues of the latest time – how to combine globalization and preservation of national identity.

Finding the unique experience, the nations share with mankind all the best that created throughout the history. The mutual respect is so formed, there is a unity unlike, the world in which cultures and civilizations conduct dialogue is so created, enriching each other.

I wish to participants of Conference interesting and fruitful work.

Chairman of the State Duma of the Russian Federation

S. E. NARYSHKIN

To the organizers and participants of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

Dear friends!

I am glad to welcome all of you in St. Petersburg – the city in which the great scientist, the real devotee of domestic culture, the academician Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov lived and worked.

The scientific, ideological and humanistic heritage of D. S. Likhachov had huge impact on development of the Russian culture and art. Educational ideas of the academician Likhachov became part of world scientific property. They keep the relevance in the modern world.

Carrying out the International Likhachov Conference in the St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences became a good tradition. Every year they assume the increasing scale, become a platform for discussions of domestic and foreign scientists on problems of dialogue of cultures, civilizations and humanitarian issues. On the agenda of Likhachov Conference the important and sensitive issues promoting deep judgment of heritage of the great Russian scientist are taken out.

I wish to all participants of Conference fruitful discussions, new creative ideas and most pleasant impressions of St. Petersburg!

Governor of St. Petersburg
G. S. POLTAVCHENKO

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear friends!

I am sincerely glad to welcome organizers, guests and participants of the 15th International Likhachov Conference. For last years this representative forum became an important platform for the international discussions on key problems of a human civilization. The intellectual foundation laid by D. S. Likhachov has enduring value, and its works can be undoubtedly used in search of answers to modern global challenges. One of possible ways in the solution of these questions, certainly, is the appeal to history and culture. Doesn't raise doubts that these two spheres play an important role in judgment of the dynamic and deep changes happening today in the world. I wish to participants of Conference fruitful discussions, personal and professional progress, health and wellbeing.

Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation
V. R. MEDINSKY

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear participants and guests of Conference!

On behalf of the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection of the Russian Federation allow to congratulate you on opening of a large scientific forum. For fifteen years of Conference bring together bright representatives of science, education, culture, public figures.

Carrying out Conference in the St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences not casually. The higher education institution is known as innovative, dynamically developing, constantly expanding scientific communications and a perspective of scientific researches.

It is important to note that in this educational institution in an initiative order it is created first and the only faculty of conflictology in the world which graduates promote prevention and settlement of the social and labor and ethnic conflicts. The ministry sees in it real prospect and counts on development of cooperation in this direction.

The scope of current Conference, as always, is actual, got by spirit of the present, civic consciousness and social responsibility.

I wish to participants and organizers of Conference fruitful work, substantial discussions, health and wellbeing!

Minister of Labour and Social Protection of the Russian Federation
M. A. TOPILIN

**To the participants and guests
of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

On behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences I welcome participants and guests of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference!

In fourteen years of the history your Conference became the largest forum of integration of scientists-humanists on the international standards to what testify problem-thematic scale of reports and discussions, and also the high intellectual potential of participants and a spiritual and moral nerve of the discussed problems. Likhachov Conference steadily cause interest of the Russian and foreign scientists, famous state and public figures, representatives of the creative intellectuals with an active scientific and civic stand united by understanding of the global challenges of a modern civilization seeking to explain the present and to predict the future of Russia in the global world. Reports of participants of Conference created a unique collection of projects in which ideas and scenarios of the prevention and permission of global problems of the modern world are presented.

I wish to participants of the Forum of fruitful discussions and search of constructive answers to global challenges of time. It is sure that Likhachov Conference will make the significant contribution to development of domestic humanitarian knowledge, understanding of actual problems

of the present, strengthening of the humanistic principles of cross-cultural dialogue, development of models of the stable future and the statement of unity of human culture.

President of the Russian Academy of Sciences
Academician V. E. FORTOV

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear participants, guests, members of the Organizing committee
15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference!

On behalf of Federation of independent Trade unions of Russia warmly I welcome and I congratulate you on opening of the largest annual international forum.

Modern society more than ever needs comprehensive discussion of a hot topic "Contemporary global challenges and national interests". Low level of social responsibility of the international and national capital, inability of the world community to develop led the acceptable mechanisms of regulation of processes of globalization to growth of nationalism and terrorism, local armed conflicts, rise in crime. All this promoted decrease in general in quality of human resources at the world and national level.

Annually in University the elite of the domestic and world humanity and culture gathers, showing importance of the constructive dialogue promoting judgment of the cardinal changes happening in the world forming the unique spiritual environment of communication. The creative atmosphere reigning on the International Likhachov Conference promotes search of answers to the topical issues exciting the international community.

Uniting millions of workers of Russia, the FITUR is interested in mobilization of intellectual resources of the leading scientists promoting the researches to judgment of tendencies of world development. In the conditions of strain of relations between work and the capital all sane people need to follow the principles of the international solidarity, to strengthen mutual cooperation and unity.

Your forum, representative and unique on structure of participants, undoubtedly, will make the contribution to development of ways of an exit from the international crisis, promoting upholding of ideals of the world and social justice.

Chairman of the Federation of independent Trade unions of Russia
M. V. SHMAKOV

**To the organizers, participants and guests
of the 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference**

Dear members of the Organizing committee!
Dear participants and guests of the 15th International
Likhachov Scientific Conference!

I welcome you, dear colleagues and friends!

The St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences – one of the oldest and most prestigious educational institutions in Russia which is adequately carrying out a complex and responsible challenge of studying and development of heritage of the academician Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov.

The subject 15th of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference "Contemporary global challenges and national interests" is of great importance for UNESCO. It is especially actual now when the problems which collected for some decades of difficult political and human relationship became aggravated.

Before it was never so important to follow the principles of equality, respect and solidarity between all people occupying the planet. It is sure that, working in common, we can achieve the peace and stable future for all people, observance of their rights and interests.

The main objective of UNESCO – protection of cultural heritage of mankind. Today it is necessary to combine efforts of world community for protection of our cultural and cultural wealth. I want to thank organizers of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference for commitment to these purposes and ideals.

I wish to participants of the forthcoming discussions of successful work and all the best!

Director-General of UNESCO
I. BOKOVA

ABOUT THE INTERNATIONAL LIKHACHOV SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE

Information

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

The co-founders of the Conference are the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Russian Academy of Education, 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. Piotrowski). Since 2007 the conference has enjoyed the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, in 2013 had the support of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts (Salzburg).

Traditionally, the most universal debatable challenges of the present time are put on the agenda of the conference: 'Education in terms of the new cultural type formation', 'Culture and global challenges of the world development', 'Humanitarian issues of the contemporary civilization', 'Dialogue of cultures under globalization' etc.

Every year greatest figures of Russian and foreign science, culture and art, public and political leaders take part in the conference. The following academicians of the Russian Academy of Sciences have taken part in the conference in recent years: L. I. Abalkin, G. A. Arbatov, N. P. Bekhtereva, O. T. Bogomolov, V. N. Bolshakov, Yu. S. Vasilyev, M. K. Gorshkov, R. S. Grinberg, A. A. Gromyko, A. A. Guseinov, 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, 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, V. A. Chereshnev, A. O. Chubarian, 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. Likhachov, 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, G. A. Hajiyev, G. M. Gatilov, M. S. Gusman, A. K. Isayev, S. L. Katanandov, S. V. Lavrov, E. I. Makarov, T. A. Mansurov, V. I. Matviyenko, V. V. Miklushevsky, 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, G. V. Sviridov and others.

Since 2007 in the framework of the Conference there has been held Likhachov forum of senior high-school students of Russia, which gathers winners of the All-Russian Contest of creative projects entitled 'Dmitry Likhachov's Ideas and Modernity' from all over Russia and abroad.

Since 2008, supported by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, the Diplomatic Programme of the conference 'International Dialogue of Cultures' has been implemented. Ambassadors of foreign states present their reports and give their opinions on acute challenges of present time.

Since 2010 the complex of Likhachov events has been supplemented with an All-Russian cultural-educational programme for senior high-school students entitled 'Likhachov Lessons in Petersburg'.

In 2001, 2004, 2006, 2009–2012, the hosts and participants were greeted by Presidents of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin and D. A. Medvedev, in 2008, 2010–2015 by Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation.

Every year volumes of reports, participants' presentations, proceedings of workshop discussions and round tables are published. The copies of the volumes are present in all major libraries of Russia, the CIS countries, scientific and educational centres of many countries in the world. The Proceedings of the conference are also available on a special scientific website 'Likhachov Square' (at www.lihachev.ru).

CONTENTS

Decree of President of the Russian Federation “On Perpetuating the Memory of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov”	3
Greetings of Vladimir PUTIN to the participants of the International Likhachov Scientific Conference	4
Welcome Addresses to the participants and guests of the 15 th International Likhachov Scientific Conference	7
About the International Likhachov Scientific Conference (Information).....	9

REPORTS

A. A. AKAYEV , <i>President of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Research Fellow of the Institute for Complex Systems Mathematical Research under Lomonosov Moscow State University, Dr. Sc. (Engineering), Professor</i> GEOPOLITICAL RISKS AND BIFURCATIONS IN THE EU ECONOMY	14
NANA AKUFO-ADDO , <i>Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana (2003–2007)</i> CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS	17
REZA DAVARI ARDAKANI , <i>President of the Academy of Sciences of Islamic Republic of Iran, Ph.D., Professor</i> WHAT CAN PHILOSOPHY DO AT THE PRESENT TIME?	21
SHAUKAT AZIZ , <i>Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007)</i> CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS	24
ABU ABDULLAH BASSAM , <i>Director of the Centre of strategic researches (Damascus, Syria), Head of the department of the Russian and Turkish researches, Professor of University of Damascus</i> CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS, THE WAR ON SYRIA CASE.....	27
TAMASH BAUER , <i>Professor at the Goethe-Institut (Frankfurt am Main, Germany)</i> GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONAL INTEREST: ECONOMIC ASPECT	29
ANTON BEBLER , <i>Professor of faculty of social sciences of Ljubljana University (Slovenia)</i> ON POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN CONFLICT	31
O. T. BOGOMOLOV , <i>Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor, Honorary Director of the Institute for International Economic and Political Studies RAS</i> THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION AND SHAPING NEW MODELS	35
PIOTR DUTKIEWICZ , <i>Co-director of the Centre for Governance and Public Management at Carleton University (Canada), Professor of Political Science</i> GLOBAL STRATEGIC INSTABILITY – A FIVE THOUGHTS	41
NOURHAN EL SHEIKH , <i>Professor of Political Science at Cairo University, member of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs</i> CLASH OF INTERESTS: INSTABILITY AND GLOBAL UNCERTAINTY	43
MICHEL FAILLETTAZ , <i>Consul General of Switzerland in St. Petersburg</i> SMALL COUNTRY IN A BIG WORLD: SWITZERLAND AND ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS	47
JAMES K. GALBRAITH , <i>Professor of School of public administration of Lyndon B. Johnson at the Texas University (Austin, USA), visit professor of chair of the general economic theory of the Moscow school of economy of Lomonosov Moscow State University</i> NATIONAL ECONOMICS IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL CHALLENGES	48
G. M. GATILOV , <i>Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary</i> ABOUT SOME GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AT THE PRESENT STAGE	52
YU. GOLIGORSKY , <i>Journalist, producer (United Kingdom), Professor of the chair of journalism at SPbUHSS</i> RUSSIAN MASS MEDIA IN EAST-WEST DIALOGUE: WESTERN PERSPECTIVE	55
R. S. GRINBERG , <i>Director of Institute of Economy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the RAS, Doctor of Economics, Professor</i> “FLEETING” WORLD AND RUSSIAN SPECIFICS	58
RUBEN GUERRERO , <i>Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the United Mexican States in the Russian Federation</i> STRUCTURAL REFORMS IN MEXICO: A STRATEGY TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT GLOBAL CHALLENGES	61
A. A. GUSEINOV , <i>Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Honorary Doctor of St. Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences</i> NATION AS AN IDEA AND HISTORICAL PHENOMENON	65

M. S. GUSMAN , <i>First Deputy Director General of the Russian Information Agency 'TASS', Dr. Sc. (Political Studies), Professor, Honoured Fellow of Culture of the Russian Federation</i> GLOBAL CHALLENGES IN THE MODERN WORLD AND NATIONAL INTERESTS.....	68
G. A. HAJIYEV , <i>Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Law, Professor, Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i> ABOUT LEGAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SENSE OF THE STATEMENT "THE WEST IS THE WEST, THE EAST IS THE EAST".....	70
VALUR INGIMUNDARSON , <i>Professor of Contemporary History of the Faculty of History and Philosophy at the University of Iceland, Ph.D.</i> LEGITIMIZING SECESSION AND NEW STATES: GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS AND LEGAL NORMS.....	71
AHMAD IRAVANI , <i>President and Executive director of the Centre for the Study of Islam and the Middle East (Washington, USA), Ph.D.</i> NATIONAL INTEREST CHALLENGED: RELIGION, PART OF THE SOLUTION.....	74
THOMAS KENT , <i>Deputy chief editor of Associated Press Agency (USA)</i> JOURNALISTIC ETHICS: IS THERE ROOM FOR RELATIVITY?.....	78
G. B. KLEINER , <i>Deputy Director of the Central Economics and Mathematics Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor</i> PARADIGM DE COMMERCIALIZATION: GLOBAL IMPERATIVES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS.....	80
GRZEGORZ W. KOLODKO , <i>Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), Director of the Research Institute "TIGER" Kozminski University (Warsaw), Doctor of Economics, Professor</i> TOWARDS A BETTER FUTURE: INTEGRATION PERSPECTIVES.....	83
HANS KÖCHLER , <i>President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), Professor at the University of Innsbruck, Ph.D.</i> WORLD ORDER AND NATIONAL INTEREST.....	85
ALKA LAMBA , <i>Member of the Legislative Assembly in Delhi (India)</i> GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS: THE CASE OF INDIA.....	89
V. A. LEKTORSKY , <i>Chairman of the Cognitive Theory sector of Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor</i> GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONAL CULTURAL IDENTITY.....	92
A. G. LISITSYN-SVETLANOV , <i>Director of the Institute for State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, LL.D., Professor</i> THE NATIONAL RIGHT IN THE GLOBALIZATION CONDITIONS.....	94
GARY LITTLEJOHN , <i>Economist, sociologist (Great Britain)</i> CALCULATION OF NATIONAL INTEREST, AFRICA AND BRICS.....	96
V. A. MALAKHOV , <i>Chief researcher of Department of philosophy of culture, ethics and esthetics of Institute of Philosophy named after G. S. Skovoroda of NAS of Ukraine (Kiev), Doctor of Philosophy, Professor</i> PATRIOTISM AS A WILL TO THE WORLD: TO MODERN JUDGMENT OF THE TERM.....	99
JUAN ANTONIO MARCH , <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Spain in the Russian Federation (2008–2011)</i> THE WORLD IS NO LONGER THE SAME: THE BIG CHANGES AHEAD.....	101
SEYYED MOSTAFA MOHAGHEGH AHMADABADI , <i>Professor of Law & Islamic Philosophy at Shahid Beheshti University (Tehran, Iran), Ph.D., Chairman of Department of Islamic Studies at the Academy of Sciences of Islamic Republic of Iran</i> HUMANE NATIONALITY VS UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS.....	104
MANUEL F. MONTES , <i>Senior Advisor on Finance and Development, The South Centre (Geneva, Switzerland), Doctor of Economics</i> THE COMBINATION OF GLOBAL AND NATIONAL INTERESTS AS THE CHALLENGE OF THE 21st CENTURY.....	106
MIGUEL ANGEL MORATINOS , <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010), Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i> CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS. CONFRONTING THE MAJOR CHALLENGE. TIME FOR ACTION.....	114
D. V. MOSYAKOV , <i>Head of the Centre of studying of Southeast Asia, Australia and Oceania of Institute of oriental studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor</i> COUNTRIES OF THE EAST AND THE CRISIS OF MODERN MODEL OF GLOBALIZATION.....	117
COLIN BERKELEY MOYNIHAN , <i>Statesman, public person of Great Britain, Member of the House of Lords in the British Parliament</i> CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE ARCTIC. A NEAR NEIGHBOUR PERSPECTIVE.....	119
A. D. NEKIPELOV , <i>Director of the Moscow School of Economics of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i> THE NATURE OF MODERN GLOBAL PROCESSES: REFLECTIONS OF AN ECONOMIST.....	123
MARCUS PAPADOPOULOS , <i>Editor of "Politics First" magazine, expert and commentator on Russia and the rest of the former Soviet Union, Doctor (Great Britain)</i> RUSSOPHOBIA: AN INGRAINED AND UNOFFICIAL POLICY OF THE WEST.....	126
NENAD POPOVICH , <i>Chairman of the Serbian People's Party, president of the "ABS Electro" Group, Dr. Sc. (Economics)</i> BALKAN REGION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MODERN GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS.....	129

VASIL PRODANOV , <i>Corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor in the Kutafin Moscow State Law University, Candidate of Sciences (Law), Honoured Lawyer of Russia, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i> BULGARIA AND RUSSIA BETWEEN THE LIBERAL-UNIVERSALIST, CIVILIZATION AND NATIONAL VALUES.....	133
H. M. REZNIK , <i>Vice-president of Federal chamber of lawyers, Professor of Department of legal profession and notariate in the Kutafin Moscow State Law University, Candidate of Sciences (Law), Honoured Lawyer of Russia, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i> EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS: LESSONS OF COMPARATIVE.....	136
VINCENT DELLA SALA , <i>Associate Professor of political science at the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the University of Trento (Italy)</i> MERCURIAL EUROPE AND PLUTONIC RUSSIA: NARRATIVES OF A DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP.....	139
JACQUES SAPIR , <i>Professor of Economics of the School for Advanced Sciences in the Social Sciences (EHESS, Paris), head of the Industrialization Research Centre (CEMI) EHESS, visiting professor of the Chair of General Economics of Moscow School of Economics of Lomonosov Moscow State University</i> CRISIS OF GLOBALIZATION. THE NEW CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES FOR NATIONAL ECONOMIES.....	142
V. S. STYOPIN , <i>Head of the Section of Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and Law of the Department for Social Sciences (the Russian Academy of Sciences), Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i> NATIONAL INTERESTS AND UNIVERSAL VALUES: PROBLEM GLOBALIZATION STRATEGY.....	145
WEBSTER G. TARPLEY , <i>Writer, journalist, publicist, President of the Washington Grove Institute (USA), Ph.D.</i> IDEAS FOR WAR AVOIDANCE IN EUROPE AND BEYOND.....	147
V. A. TISHKOV , <i>Secretary Fellow of the History and Philology Department of the RAS, Director of the N. N. Miklouho-Maclay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the RAS, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor, Honoured Scientist of the Russian Federation</i> LANGUAGES OF NATIONALITIES.....	151
P. P. TOLOCHKO , <i>Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Academician of the NAS of Ukraine, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor</i> EUROPEAN INTEGRATION DRAMA OF UKRAINE.....	153
TAŞANSU TÜRKER , <i>Director of the Research Centre for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Associate Professor, Doctor of Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University (Turkey)</i> HISTORY OF NATION AND BEYOND; EMPIRE AND THE WEST IN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.....	156
SHLOMO WEBER , <i>Supervisor of the Laboratory for Studies of Social Relations and Diversity under the Russian School of Economics, professor of economics at Southern Methodist University (Dallas, USA), Ph.D.;</i> D.V. DAVYDOV , <i>Leading research fellow of the Laboratory for Studies of Social Relations and Diversity under the Russian School of Economics, Head of Department of Mathematical Methods in Economics of the Far East Federal University, Dr. Sc. (Economics);</i> T. OSANG , <i>Professor of Economics Faculty at Southern Methodist University (Dallas, USA), Ph.D.;</i> M. FUJITA , <i>President and scientific director of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry (Tokyo), Professor of Konan University (Kobe, Japan), Ph.D.</i> MIGRATION POLICY, LABOUR MARKET COMPLIMENTARITY AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC HETEROGENEITY.....	159
BERNHARD WOLF , <i>Professor of the Higher School of Economics (Ludwigshafen am Rhein, Germany)</i> RUSSIA IN THE MODERN GLOBALIZING WORLD.....	160
A. V. YAKOVENKO , <i>Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, LL.D. (International Law), Professor</i> POLITICAL UPHEAVALS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON INTER-CIVILIZATION RELATIONS.....	162
A. S. ZAPESOTSKY , <i>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</i> USA ARE READY TO FIGHT WITH EU TO THE LAST UKRAINIAN.....	165
JUNYONG ZHANG , <i>Head of Department of Economic Science at Shijiazhuang Railway University (China), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor</i> CULTURAL DIALOGUE AND AN ALL-ROUND COOPERATION. WHY EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION AND SILK ROAD ECONOMIC BELT ARE COMPATIBLE?.....	167
Plenary Session “CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS”	170
Participants: A. A. Akayev, Reza Davari Ardakani, Shaukat Aziz, O. T. Bogomolov, V. A. Chereshnev, Piotr Dutkiewicz, Nourhan El Sheikh, James K. Galbraith, G. M. Gatilov, Ruben Guerrero, A. A. Guseinov, M. S. Gusman, Ahmad Iravani, Thomas Kent, G. B. Kleiner, Grzegorz W. Kolodko, Hans Köchler, V. A. Lektorsky, A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov, E. I. Makarov, Seyyed Mostafa Mohaghegh Ahmadabadi, Miguel Angel Moratinos, Colin Berkeley Moynihan, A. D. Nekipelov, H. M. Reznik, Vincent della Sala, V. S. Styopin, P. P. Tolochko, V. T. Tretyakov, Taşansu Türker, Jerzy J. Wiatr, A. S. Zapesotsky, Junyong Zhang	
Round Table “NATIONAL MODELS OF THE VITAL DEVICE AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS” (“Is the West the best?”)	197
Participants: Reza Davari Ardakani, Shaukat Aziz, Anton Bebler, V. A. Chereshnev, Piotr Dutkiewicz, Nourhan El Sheikh, Michel Faillettaz, G. M. Gatilov, Valur Ingimundarson, Ahmad Iravani, E. V. Kharitonova, Grzegorz W. Kolodko, Hans Köchler, Miguel Angel Moratinos, D. V. Mosyakov, Colin Berkeley Moynihan, A. P. Nazaretyan, H. M. Reznik, Vincent della Sala, Ya. G. Shemyakin, P. P. Tolochko, A. B. Tsinker, Jerzy J. Wiatr, A. S. Zapesotsky.	

REPORTS

A. A. Akayev¹

GEOPOLITICAL RISKS AND BIFURCATIONS IN THE EU ECONOMY

The world economy in 2013–2014 slowed down, the growth rate reduced to 3.3% from 3.5% achieved in 2012. Experts give diametrically different forecast for 2015: the optimists believe that economy will accelerate again, raising the growth rate up to 4% or more, while the pessimists, on the contrary, expect that slowing will continue and the growth rate will go down to 3% or less. It is a well-known fact that the uncertainty in the short-term world economy is related to an increase in geopolitical tensions of the world. Quite reasonably, the World Economic Forum in Davos named 2015 the Year of Geopolitical Risks. Indeed, in 2014 geopolitical conflicts began affecting negatively on the global financial and economic system. This affect can be enhanced by the next wave of the crisis in global financial markets. There are also risks that global demand will be insufficient for the growth of potential global production.

Optimistic experts rely on the fact that the US economy, which last year won a steady course and high growth rate with 3% of potential growth, will now play the role of the main world economy driving force, along with the Chinese economy, and will pull the European Union, Japan and other states that have close and substantial trade and economic relations with the US. As far as the second powerhouse, the China's economy, is concerned, it keeps growing steadily at relatively high rates, over 7% per year. Optimistic prognosis is supported by a drop in prices for oil and other raw materials, which can serve as an additional stimulus for the world economy growth.

On the other hand, export-oriented economies of developing countries have a general tendency to slow down. In most advanced economies, the gaps between potential and actual production is still significant. Among the developed countries only the US and the UK economies are growing steadily, as they little depend on their exports growth. They grow due to national demand, which used to be stimulated by national central banks with large-scale "quantitative easing". The Eurozone economy, that could play a key role in the uncertainty elimination, is still stagnant, and the Japanese economy, after a rise in 2012–2013, experienced a double-dip recession in 2014. In addition, the Eurozone is drifting towards deflation. In December 2014 the consumer price index decreased by 0.2% for the first time in the last five years, and in January 2015 deflation was 0.6%. On top of all these problems, violent terrorist attacks in Paris in early 2015 overshadowed continental calmness. Most

experts believe that in 2015 the threat of international terrorism and radical extremism will sharpen. All these things will certainly have a negative impact on investment activity in the Eurozone, and, consequently, on the further economic growth. Therefore, pessimists suppose that stagnation in the Eurozone is the main threat for the further recovery of the world economy.

Growing geopolitical risks bring additional obstacles to accelerated global growth. Indeed, the Eurozone economy is very vulnerable and unstable, it tends to buckle being affected by small demand shocks. Radical reforms are not being carried out. Most Eurozone countries are burdened with overwhelming debt. Moreover, the debt nature of the European economy model remained unchanged: the debt is still redeemed by new loans. Unemployment is still at a high level, the whole Eurozone has 11.4% of unemployment, and among young people 24%! National demand in the Eurozone is recovering very slowly due to austerity policies pursued by the European Union. Economic growth in the Eurozone was sluggish and amounted to 0.8% in 2014. Currently, the Eurozone economy has an unstable equilibrium, when a favorable geopolitical situation and abolition of economic sanctions against Russia may contribute to its further recovery and sustainable growth. Otherwise, the Eurozone economy may plunge into another recession. Thus, 2015 is the year of bifurcation for the Eurozone economy, when, depending on the geopolitical choice of the EU, it can go upward or downward to a significant decline. The theory of nonlinear dynamics states that small fluctuations of external influence are dramatically amplified around a bifurcation point. Therefore, a small shock will be enough to select one of two scenarios.

In 2015, foreign policy and geopolitics for the EU's security will be determined by the situation in Ukraine and in the Middle East, in view of increasing threat of "Islamic state" LIH. It is obvious that in 2015, radicalization of the Middle East will only intensify. Nowadays, thousands of Islamist militants from European countries are already fighting for the LIH, thousands more are trying to join them, but later they will be sure to return to the countries of their origin, thus importing terrorism and radicalization of the Muslim people in Europe. The Ukrainian political crisis in 2014 led to a sharp deterioration of relations between Russia and the West. The US and most EU countries announced large-scale financial and economic sanctions against Russia. Russia was also made to adopt economic sanctions in response. European experts recognize that the mutual sanctions of the European Union and Russia against each other cause significant damage to both Russian and the Eurozone economy, since Russia is the EU's third largest trading partner.

Experts estimate that only German export to Russia in 2014 decreased by 26.1%, i.e. by more than a quarter. For example, Professor Jacques Sapir, a prominent French economist, gives the following estimates of growth loss due to sanctions: 0.5 percentage points (p. p.) of GDP in Germany; 0.25 p.p. of GDP in France; 0.8 p.p. of GDP in

¹ President of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), president of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic (1988–1990). Senior Research Fellow of the Institute for Complex Systems Mathematical Research under Lomonosov Moscow State University (since 2005), a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, Dr. Sc. (Engineering), Professor. Author of over 250 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,' 'History, Passed Through My Heart,' 'Thinking about Future with Optimism,' 'For the Benefit of People', 'Kyrgyz Statehood and the National Epic Poem 'Manas', and others. Member of the New York Academy of Sciences. He is awarded with the order 'Badge of Honour' and Pushkin Medal. Laureate of Kondratiev golden medal, Leontiev golden medal, and Vernadsky golden medal and order.

Hungary and up to 1 p.p. of GDP in Poland. [1] Some experts estimate the loss of economic growth in Germany and France, respectively, as 1 and 0.5 p.p. of GDP. Taking into account that the forecast of economic growth in Germany and France in 2015, according to the OECD, is respectively 1.1 and 0.8%, it becomes obvious that continued mutual sanctions will lead to a slowdown in economic growth in Germany and France by a few tenths p.p. of GDP. Such a situation can initiate capital outflows from the Eurozone to the United States with its strong economic growth. As a result, the growth rate in Eurozone locomotive countries – Germany and France – could fall to almost zero, which will inevitably lead to another recession in the Eurozone economy in 2015.

The choice is up to the European Union. Most Member States consider the current confrontation between the West and Russia as unconstructive, and, in fact, as a threat to European stability and security, and as an obstacle to settle the Ukrainian crisis. The US has already taken full advantage of political crisis in Ukraine created by them and solved their key task, pushing the EU and Russia towards confrontation and geopolitical conflict. It seems that the United States want Europe to search for a way out of the Ukrainian crisis. But the European Union has already accumulated advocates of stabilized relations with Russia. That is what prompted the political leaders of the EU, Angela Merkel, the German Chancellor and Francois Hollande, the French President, to make a peace initiative in order to resolve the Ukrainian conflict by diplomatic means, through negotiations. They also opposed the US supply of military weapons to Ukraine. All this shows that the EU headed for discharge of geopolitical tensions and stable relations with Russia.

Since there are no reasons for optimism in improvement of Russian-American relations in the coming years, the EU could give an example and together with Russia start de-escalation of the Ukrainian conflict by putting an end to the war and determining the status of the regions in the south-east of the country. It could have a healthful impact on regional and global security. In turn, Russia could become an important ally of the EU in the struggle against the growing international terrorism. Russia could also facilitate the active participation of Iran in the conflicts resolution in Syria and Iraq, as well as anti-LIH actions. All this would help the international community to stabilize the situation in the Middle East. The price of such a scenario is very high. Cancelled mutual sanctions of the EU and Russia and fruitful cooperation in the above-mentioned areas will allow the Eurozone economy to go upward, and move towards long-term sustainable growth in the nearest future years, while Russia's economy can avoid a deep recession. The world economy will also benefit from it.

That is why 2015 is the year of bifurcation in the dynamics of the Eurozone and the world economy, which will be determined by the global geopolitical situation. If political leaders of major world powers come to a compromise on the main issues of the crisis, find ways to detent current geopolitical challenges and cancel mutual sanctions, the Eurozone economy followed by the world economy will continue to rise. Otherwise, the Eurozone economy is likely not only to continue its stagnation, but, moreover can slip into recession, which will lead to a significant slowdown in the global economy.

The European Union (EU) economy

The crisis of the Eurozone economy originally had a debt nature. The total public debt of the eurozone at the time of the crisis was over \$7 trillion or 84% of total GDP. The total public debt of five most unstable debtors (Greece, Ireland, Spain, Italy and Portugal) amounted to 3.2 trillion euros. The debt of these countries in relation to their GDP ranged from 90 to 160%, whereas the Maastricht Treaty for members of the Eurozone sets a limit of 60% of GDP. Moreover, when the EU was established, the member states signed the Covenant of Financial Stability and Economic Growth, which claimed that the budget deficit of each of member shall not exceed 3% of GDP, public debt – 60% of GDP, and inflation shall not exceed the lowest level observed in the member countries by more than 2%. These requirements are quite reasonable, for example, the economy of almost all fast-growing developing countries meets these criteria. As for the Eurozone countries, in 2011 only Finland met the requirements, but the majority of the European Union members failed to comply with them. Some Eurozone countries, including leaders – Germany and France, often evade the Maastricht requirements in terms of limitations on the size of the national debt and budget deficit. And such countries as Greece, Ireland, Spain, Italy and Portugal, that systematically allowed large budget deficits, were the first to face the threat of bankruptcy. They dragged the entire Eurozone into the debt crisis.

The only Maastricht criterion, which is fulfilled by all countries, is limited inflation. Moreover, many experts fear that the Eurozone could slip into deflation. Indeed, inflation in 18 core Eurozone countries was only 0.8% in 2014, while the peripheral members experience deflationary tendencies, which can lead economy of these countries to the “Japanese scenario” stagnation. In this regard, Mario Draghi, the ECB head, announced plans of large-scale liquidity injections from the early 2015 onwards by means of purchasing government bonds of distressed EU countries in order to accelerate inflation. Thus, price stability has become a problem for the Eurozone, since in such circumstances people are not inclined to spend money, and investors to invest in the real economy.

The Eurozone economy was in recession and stagnation in 2011–2012, and only in 2013, it managed to recover thanks to increased national demand and improved situation on foreign markets. However, national demand is recovering very slowly due to the austerity policies pursued by the European Union. Eurozone economy today lacks incentive programs. Eurozone needs a dynamic economic growth, which will solve the problem of the budget deficit, public debt and employment.

To mitigate the negative effects of the debt crisis, the European Union created the European Financial Stability Facility EFSF. Its basic resources amount to 440 billion euros. The EFSF has become the most critical mechanism for resolving crises. In fact, it is targeted at giving an opportunity to loan up at preferential interest rates to the countries unable to service their debts. The first thing the EFSF did was to give guarantees for Ireland and Portugal loan in the amount of 43.7 billion euros, and providing Greece with part of the soft loan for 109 billion euros. Thanks to the EFSF the European Union managed to provide real assistance to a number of states at the verge of bankruptcy.

However, it turned out that this mechanism does not solve the problem of excessive government debt. For example, despite the draconian austerity program and restructuring debt, national debt of Greece in 2013 amounted to 160% of GDP, whereas before the crisis of 2008, it was at the level of 110%. The budget deficit in 2013 amounted to 7% of GDP. Greece received preferential loans for over \$300 billion, and private investors have written off 100 billion euros debt. Thus, a simple increase in preferential loans to Greece cannot solve the problem of its public debt. Each new soft loan only increases the debt. This means that Greece's economy will remain uncompetitive for many years.

The European Central Bank (ECB) played an exceptionally positive role in saving the single currency of the Eurozone, as well as the European banking system. Jean-Claude Trichet, the former ECB President, was the first since the crisis who took a decision to purchase transformed shares in exchange for monetary emission in favor of banks. Ben Bernanke in the US followed this example. Thanks to it, large banks maintained their solvency. In the midst of crisis, the ECB bought the debts of Greece, Portugal and Ireland for nearly 80 billion euros and announced multibillion-dollar write-downs on securities that nobody wanted to buy. After the second wave of the global financial crisis that began on August 3, 2011, when the situation around the euro became even more dramatic, the ECB started buying government bonds of Italy and Spain.

Thus, in order to save the euro the European Central Bank took over the functions that are not specified in any of its Charters: it developed a program to reduce costs for indebted countries such as Greece, Ireland and Italy; prevented bankruptcy of large banks; supported the bond rating of several member states of the Eurozone. Naturally, all this led to criticism and discontent on the part of lenders, who believe that the ECB is only obliged to ensure stability of the single currency and permanent prices. On the other hand, for example, Italy's outstanding government bonds ranked third in the world at that time. Without effective assistance by the ECB this debt market could have collapse. If that had happened, the consequences not only for the Eurozone, but for the entire world economy could have been disastrous. Today we can be confident that Jean-Claude Trichet acted very strongly and wisely in the crisis. Comfortable soft monetary policy of the ECB, that saturated the Eurozone with liquidity, was a decisive contribution to restoration of economic growth. Apparently, the only major mistake of Mr. Trichet was raising the interest rate from 1 to 1.5% in 2011, which turned out to be premature. He admitted his mistake and in 2013 lowered the refinancing rate to 0.5%.

So, expectations of full recovery of economic growth in the Eurozone in 2014 failed. Economic growth amounted only to 0.8%. The reason, according to IMF experts, is that, despite a marked improvement in the banks' balance, the debt burden of the corporate sector and households still remains high, which prevents increased demand and investment in the real economy. One of the reasons was also a reduction in the actual rate of economic growth in Germany to 1.5% instead of the expected 1.9%. It is worth noting that during the crisis, Germany was the only country whose economy showed a relatively strong growth despite the recession in the Eurozone as a whole. As for the second Eu-

rozone economy, France, it showed a barely noticeable increase in 2014, equal to 0.4%.

A significant role in slowing Eurozone economy belongs to a geopolitical confrontation between the West and Russia, due to the Ukrainian political crisis, the result of which was the war of economic sanctions. Mutual sanctions the EU and Russia led to a sharp reduction in commodity turnover between them. For the European Union Russia is one of the largest trading partners with a turnover of 326 billion euros in 2013. Many European companies were forced either to redirect or curtail the flow of goods to Russia due sanctions of the European Union. Russia introduced a counter ban on food import that hit many sectors of the Eurozone economy, especially in those countries that made significant investment in agriculture with a view to export to Russia. Eurozone economic recovery was too fragile to withstand deterioration in external economic conditions. Also continued geopolitical tension does not encourage European businessmen to invest, despite the fact that they have available funds.

Jean-Claude Juncker, the new head of the European Commission, proposed a three-year stimulating investment plan for 315 billion euros, which will be based on guarantees and a small start-up capital from the European Investment Bank (EIB). The main funds to exercise the plan will come from private sources. Investment fund intends to attract large banks with experience in infrastructure projects. It is assumed that investment will focus on projects contributing to faster economic growth, especially on carefully selected infrastructure projects. The European Commission expects to create more than 1 million jobs. Given that the Governments of the Eurozone countries have limited investment opportunities as they use the available funds primarily for reduction of public debt and budget deficits, the new investment plan could help to restore economic growth in the Eurozone.

As we can see, new European Union leaders are aware that in order to find the way out of the crisis they require an active investment growth, rather than austerity. The contribution of expansionary monetary policy of the ECB into the recovery of economic growth is also noteworthy. But now it has already exhausted its possibilities. Thus, the responsibility for the further economic growth acceleration is laid upon the governments of the European Union and on political leaders. The EU needs expansionary fiscal policy worth 300 billion euros annually in order to ensure economic growth of 1.5–2% per year. However, without Russian market, without established trade with Russia, Juncker investment plan is unlikely to get the desired effect. Therefore, the primary task of the European Union political leaders is to overcome geopolitical tensions in relations with Russia and promptly eliminate economic sanctions.

I'd like to conclude with the words of John Stiglitz: "I hope the crisis will lead to changes in policy and in minds. If we take the right decisions, not only politically, but socially reasonable, we can make the next crisis less likely, and perhaps even accelerate the deployment of real innovations that can improve the lives of people around the world. If our decisions are wrong, we will get society even more divided and economy more vulnerable to another crisis and less equipped to meet the challeng-

es of the 21st century”[2]. Let’s hope that political leaders of the world will listen to the opinion of John Stiglitz and at this crucial moment will make right geopolitical and geo-economic solutions for the benefit of the entire world community.

I feel privileged to be asked to contribute to this year’s International Likhachov Scientific Conference, especially as this marks the 20th anniversary of this conference. Dimitry Likhachov, “the last of old St Petersburgers”, was an outstanding scholar, scientist, a principled thinker, a man of culture and a patriot of the highest order.

I have chosen to look at the topic “Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests” from this perspective: challenges facing Africa, the opportunities available to the continent and how, using my country, Ghana, as a case study, the continent can turn the challenges into opportunities for its fast-growing population. I intend by the end of the presentation to have made the persuasive point that the project to democratise prosperity in Africa is critical to the overarching issue of securing and enhancing global prosperity and security. When Africa becomes a success, the whole world wins, because a successful and booming Africa would add a significant mass of people and wealth to both global supply and demand.

According to Outlook 2015, a report by the World Economic Forum’s Global Agenda Councils, growing economic inequality and increasing joblessness are among the world’s most pressing threats. Lack of leadership was identified in the survey as a major global challenge. The Global Agenda survey found a median of 76% across 34 emerging and developing nations seeing corrupt political leaders as a very big problem in their countries.

Again, a survey by Pew Research Center indicates that majorities in all of the 44 nations surveyed say inequality is a big problem facing their countries. Indeed, there appears to be an international consensus on what are the contemporary global challenges. For instance, a report published by Eurobarometer in October 2011, showed that poverty came top on that list as 28% of those polled in the EU identified poverty, hunger and lack of drinking water as representing the biggest problem for the world.

There are, of course, many development challenges inhibiting Africa’s progress. Common among them are under-underserved production structures, huge infrastructural deficits, underdeveloped human capital, weak governance, and a need for women and youth empowerment. In October 2013, survey data from the Afrobarometer collected across 34 African countries showed that very little had changed for the poor after a decade of economic growth. Poverty is the biggest, yet surmountable challenge facing Africans. But that is not the whole story. We have had more than our fair share of poor leadership. Our institutions of state are poor. Our education, health and sanitation services are

¹ Politician, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Ghana (2003–2007), Leader of the New Patriotic Party (NPP), he took part in the Ghanaian presidential election in 2008 and in 2012.

Reference

1. *Sapir J.* Russia: Lessons of the Crisis / J. Sapir // *Journal Expert.* – 2015. – № 4. – P. 18–21.
2. *Stiglitz J.* Steep dive: America and the new economic order: translated from English. / J. Stiglitz. – M. : Eksmo publishing house, 2011.

Nana Akufo-Addo¹

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

poor. Our infrastructure, such as water, roads, and electricity are poor. Trade among our various states are poor. We cannot hope to defeat poverty without addressing these related problems.

I was first elected the leader of my political party, the New Patriotic Party, for the 2008 general elections. I fought that election on the manifesto of “Building A Modern Ghana”, which had four thematic areas: Strengthening Our Democracy, Structural Transformation of the Economy, Modernising Our Society, and Regional and Continental Integration. I believe these four thematic areas are at the heart of confronting Africa’s challenges. So please permit me to use them as the pillars of my treatise. It is just as well that the contemporary global challenges in most part coincide with our fundamental national interests in Africa.

Background

Ghana being the first black African nation to gain independence in the last century, epitomised, by her actions, both the dawn of the African hope and the loss of that hope, as well. The era of Africa’s Big Men, which started from independence and lasted for some three decades with authoritarian regimes across the continent, ended with the spread of democracy in the 1990s. Instructively, the period of authoritarian regimes was marked largely by economic stagnation and long periods of instability. The promise of the independence movement that freedom would bring with it, an improvement in the quality of life for the masses of Africa, was quickly replaced by the promotion of the personality cult. Thus, instead of building strong institutions as requisite instruments for development, many African leaders decided to personalise governance. I was among those who led the fight against military dictatorship in the 70s and 80s because, to many of us, there was a positive, intrinsic link between freedom and development and, for that, democracy was the preferred route.

Strengthening our democracy

The political party, which I lead, the New Patriotic Party, traces its roots to the struggle for self-governance and democracy in Africa. We began the journey in 1947, when our party’s founding fathers launched the first truly nationalist party dedicated to achieving national independence. Our founding fathers believed, even at the outset of the ideological battles of the Cold War, that the principles of democratic accountability, respect for the rule of law and human rights, social justice, individual liberty and responsibility, and a strong market economy, with good management of public finances, would provide the most effective and fast path for the development of the modern African state.

After the rocky start, a consensus has emerged in most parts of the continent and certainly in my country, Ghana, that multi-party democracy is the best way to govern ourselves. We believe that Democracy has come to stay. But, we have no illusions and we know that democracy can only survive if it is seen to be delivering on the aspirations of Africans. Africa's democracy is still work in progress, nevertheless, the evidence is clear that Africa has made much more progress in the last two decades with democracy than in the previous four decades without. For example, from independence in 1957 to 1992, Ghana had five military takeovers and four constitutional republics. The longest, uninterrupted period of liberal constitutional rule in Ghana, the 23 years so far under the 1992 Constitution, has also been the most impactful on our development. Ghana's GDP averaged \$8.54 billion from 1960 until 2013, reaching an all time high of \$47.93 billion in 2013 and a record low of \$1.20 billion in 1960. As a Christian, I remain convinced in my belief that God did not put Africans on our rich land to be poor. It is bad leadership that makes us poor. And, thankfully, bad leadership is a problem that can be fixed.

The fight for democracy has been won. The next challenge is how to translate that to building free, prosperous societies of opportunities in Africa. Today, Ghana, once again, is hailed as an example that democracy can thrive in Africa. This really should not come as a surprise; and I cite two reasons for my assertion: one, because our systems of government in pre-colonial days were fairly democratic and representative and we saw the ills of dictatorship subsequently. Two, since the country's return to multiparty democracy in 1992, and the constitution placing a two-term presidential limit, we have had six general elections with two successful transitions from one elected government to the other in between. Next year, Ghanaians return to the polls and, with a strong possibility of another change in government happening again, God willing, with me and my party being the beneficiaries.

Corruption

I hold the view that strong institutions can only be built by men and women of integrity. A recent survey puts the number of Ghanaians who think that corruption is widespread at 85%. In 2007, 66% of Ghanaians shared that view. The Afrobarometer of June 2014 showed that only 25% of Ghanaians think the government is doing well in tackling corruption. Corruption, of course, has been with us for a long time. But, what is worrying is that even as we deepen our democracy, the perception out there is that the situation is getting worse. In 2008, 56% of Ghanaians felt the government was doing well in tackling corruption.

What this state of affairs tells us is that we need a total leadership commitment to be able to win the fight against corruption. The development-arresting infrastructural deficit in Africa is not, in most cases, due to lack of resources. It can be rather attributed to the integrity deficit in the award of public contracts. If we are to succeed in meeting the challenges confronting Africa, we must succeed in securing the public purse.

Leadership

Another challenge in democratic Africa is the temptation of leadership to think more about the next election rather

the next generation. Shiza Shahid, co-founder of the Malala Fund, points out that "a startling 86% of respondents to the Survey on the Global Agenda agree that we have a leadership crisis in the world today" and points to this leadership crisis as the reason why there is so much corruption in emerging and developing economies. We already have on our statute books all the laws to make corruption unattractive. What we need is the will to apply them. There is a desperate yearning for leaders to emerge from the democratic process that will inspire and bring hope. We need leaders in Africa that can be trusted and who will demonstrate a true commitment to serving the national interest and not sectional interest. We need leaders who can be trusted to treat public money with respect.

A few weeks ago, something dramatic occurred in Nigeria. For the first time since the return to constitutional rule in 1999, an incumbent President was defeated in elections in Africa's largest country that were deemed to have been conducted freely and fairly. That election was fought on three main issues: security, corruption and the economy. In fact, the two main presidential candidates fought the election on similar messages. It came down to who the people thought they could trust to deliver on the three things that mattered to them: security, jobs and anti-corruption. The outcome of that election is a big boost for the fight against corruption in Africa. Also, for General Buhari to overturn a 10 million margin of defeat in 2011 into a three million margin of victory four years later should put positive pressure on other incumbents to know that they too shall be judged on performance.

Governments are elected to offer creative solutions to the problems that face a country and not to find creative ways to loot the coffers of the state. Nigeria has shown the way that the ordinary voter in Africa has the power to change leaders who fail to deliver. The period of passive citizenship in Africa appears to be coming to an end, and governments must adapt or find themselves thrown out of office by an impatient electorate. But it is not enough to go through the basics of the democratic process; we need to go further and take affirmative action to adopt inclusionary policies that empower marginalised groups, especially women and the poor.

Democracy is best established when institutions are trusted, the rules of the game clear and agreed upon by all sides and the political actors are prepared to win and lose. It is therefore imperative that the integrity of the electoral process must have the confidence of the general public. Anything short of that undermines the belief that bad governments can be changed through the ballot box. And, once that belief disappears we risk sinking the democratic ship. The challenge now for Africa is how to use the democratic space to facilitate social and economic transformation.

The youth bulge

Among the greatest challenges facing the African continent today is the youth bulge, with Sub-Saharan Africa having the fastest population growth projection and the highest youth population in the world. The number of youths in Africa is set to double by 2045. The World Bank's "Youth Employment in Sub-Saharan Africa" paints a worrying picture but highlights the urgency in addressing the challenges of providing jobs to the majority of the continent's population. Earlier, the African Economic Outlook 2012 urged

African countries to boost job creation and help young people acquire new skills. "Creating productive employment for Africa's rapidly growing young population is an immense challenge but also the key to future prosperity", say the authors. Africa can only turn this challenge into an opportunity if its leaders are prepared to invest in the future. With 60% of Africa's unemployed aged 15 to 24, and more than half of these, many of them women, having given up on trying to find work, this poses a national security threat for many countries. Moreover, with 65% of voters in most countries being under the age of 40, political leaders also have, perhaps a not so obvious, electoral incentive to think more about what type of future they are building for the youth. What Africa's young population need, more than anything else, are education, skills and jobs. And to have any realistic hope of modernizing African societies means the youth bulge has to be factored in governments' development programmes.

Modern society

A modern society is basically where the rule of law works, and the system is responsive to the welfare and wellbeing of the people. At the heart of meeting this challenge is making sure that public procurement contracts are done at the best price and free enterprise is encouraged. It will also mean creating a business friendly environment, including a stable macroeconomic environment, that can attract investors, for thriving businesses to be taxed to provide decent public services. The ends of human dignity are served when families have access to decent, affordable homes, universal healthcare, and other basic amenities such as water and electricity to power their small businesses. Africa is probably the richest continent in terms of natural resources. Yet, those riches have not translated into prosperity for the African people. If gold, cocoa, timber and oil could develop a nation then Ghana would probably not be running to the IMF this year for a financial bailout. If they could, we would have been rich and developed a long time ago. On the contrary, African nations in general are poor because we do not invest enough to develop the most important ingredient in any nation's development: the intellect.

In 2004, Ghana became the first African nation to implement a universal national health insurance scheme. This was followed by free maternal care, free basic education from kindergarten to primary school, free school-feeding programme for children in state-owned schools and other social interventions. I am often accused by political opponents of seeing Education as the answer to every development challenge question about Ghana. I gladly plead guilty. The 2012 general elections was fought on the NPP's major campaign pledge, which was free, compulsory secondary education for every child. Beyond that, our party is committed to doubling the current investment in technical and vocational training for young people.

What successful countries have in common is a serious commitment to investing in the acquisition of knowledge and skills for their people. They do so because they know that it is but their own people who can lead any agenda to transform their societies. We must treat with greater urgency the need to invest more in the modern tools of learning, mainly ICT, in order to get more quality tuition to more and more of people in every geographical patch. Science, technology, communication and information tech-

nology have become the structure of knowledge in the 21st century. African researchers must collaborate to optimize this opportunity.

Structural transformation of the economy

The World Economic Forum's 2014 survey of technology experts found that half envision a future in which robots and digital agents have displaced significant numbers of both blue- and white-collar workers. Indeed, Harvard professor Larry Summers speaks of the global threat of jobless growth brought on, in part, by technological changes, seeing automation as "certainly the biggest single contributing factor" to the problem. But, in Africa, we continue to speak of a different kind of jobless growth even though economic growth rates in Africa have been among the highest in the world. This is because the growth is driven by exports in the extractive industries, which have a limited capacity to create jobs. Africa has no choice but to industrialise and transform the structure of its economies through diversification and value-addition. About 70% of export revenues in Sub-Saharan Africa comes from oil, gold and other natural resources. This has not changed since the last century and it is painfully clear that it will not change the circumstances of Africans. The International Labor Organization's (ILO) "Global Employment Trends 2014" speaks of *the* "risk of a jobless recovery", reminding us of the structural weaknesses in the "Africa rising" story.

I know of the debate here that Russia is too dependent on its natural resources, with oil and gas constituting 58% of your main exports. If you think yours is bad, try Ghana, where oil, gold and cocoa make up 80% of total exports. The structure of our economy has not changed for a century. The challenge is about adding value to Africa's raw materials in Africa, maximising the benefits that Africans accrue from their natural wealth, and diversifying economic activities on the continent.

As things stand now, countries with manufactured products to sell to Africa, including Russia, China, Brazil, South Africa and India, are happy to sell them and have no intention of building manufacturing plants on the continent. My view is that this is unsustainable. The new crop of African leaders are determined to industrialise. There is also a greater impetus to work towards economic integration among the 54 countries on the continent and the various regional blocs. My advice to companies and countries that export finished goods to Africa is this, join the bandwagon of pioneers and grab yourself a pole position now and build a manufacturing base in Africa.

We, in Africa, know we have no option but to break our future free from the shackles of the colonial economic model of producing and exporting raw materials. In Ghana, for instance, we see the recent petroleum find as offering the perfect opportunity to create a petrochemical industry in Ghana. We intend to exploit Ghana's comparative advantages in the region to make Ghana a regional centre for light manufacturing industry for, primarily a West African free zone market of some 350 million people. We will do so by weaving together our numerous natural resources, like food produce, bauxite, iron ore, oil and gas, with our talents and energy to turn our nation into an economic powerhouse in Africa. That, at least, is my party's strategic objective. That is the road to sustained prosperity for our people

and we intend to pursue this vigorously over the next decade if given the chance.

Agribusiness

Challenges can also present opportunities. It must be recognized that despite all the challenges and because of all the challenges, Africa is becoming more and more an intelligent option for investors looking for high returns. Currently, Africa has a \$2 trillion economy. In 2013, Africa was the world's fastest-growing continent at 5.6% a year, and GDP is expected to rise by an average of over 6% a year between 2013 and 2023. The population is projected to grow to 2 billion by 2050. A new Eldorado which investors must begin looking at is agribusiness in Africa for the continent to feed itself and the rest of the world.

In his 412-page book, 'The Role of Agriculture in Economic Development – The Lessons of History', Søren Kjeldsen-Kragh points out that many developing countries failed after independence because they chose to neglect agriculture. From the 1750s, the industrial revolution of both Europe and North America was fed in a big way by an agricultural revolution. Post-colonial Africa continues to see agriculture accounting for some 25-35% of the continent's GDP, with the sector responsible for 60-70% of employment; yet woefully under-developed.

By 2060, the world's population may hit 9.2 billion, with Africa's doubling to 2 billion. The FAO estimates an extra 6 million hectares needs to be brought under cultivation every year for the next 30 years to meet global demand. Africa must prepare to take advantage of the opportunities that this demand will present. We have over 400 million hectares that could be used for crop cultivation, which translates into 60% of the global total of arable lands. A 2013 World Bank report projects agriculture growing from \$313 billion in 2010 to a \$1 trillion industry in Sub-Saharan Africa by 2030. These statistics speak eloquently of the growing pulling power that agribusiness holds in securing our collective future. Putting money in agriculture is good business. The challenge is to prepare our economy to be at the centre of this exciting future? Agribusiness, spanning the entire value chain, must become the backbone of Ghana's industrialisation drive.

The World Bank expects that most African countries will reach "middle income" status by 2025 if current growth rates continue. By 2030, the corresponding population of West Africa may hit 500 million and Ghana's population is estimated to hit 30 million. I see this as a great opportunity, especially in an integrated region.

Economic integration

In order for African countries to meet the challenges of globalisation, while promoting their various national interests, we must show greater commitment and urgency to the pro-

cess of economic integration and cooperation. So far, using the already existing framework for regional integration, companies on the continent are steps ahead of our governments in making the concept of free movements of goods and services an unstoppable reality. The five main regional bodies include the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). In 2012, the African Union agreed to set up the Continental Free Trade Area (CFTA) in 2017. The integration train is on and just as well because intra African trade only makes up approximately 10-12% of Africa's total trade. This compares badly to intra European trade, which is 60%, 40% in North America, and 30% in Asia, according to the WTO.

Africa cannot compromise on the economic union agenda. We must build our own viable economic bloc, build cross-border infrastructure in energy, ICT and transport to be taken seriously by investors, private equity funds and pension funds floating around the globe in search of good returns. The EU generates a nominal GDP of about €14.303 trillion (US\$18.451 trillion in 2014), according to the International Monetary Fund, accounting for 20% of the world's trade. On current showings, the GDP of Sub-Saharan Africa is expected to hit \$29 trillion by 2050 and is likely to be more if the countries on the continent make the necessary efforts to reap the full benefits of industrialisation and integration.

History tells us how Tsar Nicholas I and his Finance Minister Count Egor Kankrin fearing economic transformation would undermine the political status quo, saw it as rather prudent to frustrate Russia from taking a leading role in the industrial revolution and railway development in Europe in the 19th century. It is argued that Russia has still not fully recovered from that bad decision.

In conclusion, for Africa to meet the global challenges head on and turn them into opportunities for an inclusive, broad-based development, it must get the basics right. It's about obeying the rules of the game; it's about rallying citizens around the vision; it's about developing the people's pride in the national paradigm that you set as a leader; it's about leading by example; it's about understanding the market; it's about applying and maintaining market-sustaining incentives; it's about giving workers the incentives to excel; it's about investing in human capital; it's about spending wisely and boldly on infrastructure, research and technical education; it's about adding value to the economy, and it's about never shirking your patriotic responsibility as public servants to spend public funds strictly according to value for money.

When these come together for development in freedom, our national interests would be met and we would have met our obligations as a responsible nation doing its bit to surmount the global challenges that face the world.

Reza Davari Ardakani¹

WHAT CAN PHILOSOPHY DO AT THE PRESENT TIME?

The present time is the time of disparity of affairs and distracted minds everywhere. Even the so-called developed nations are wondering what to do and where to go. The rest of the world, in turn, follows the example of the precursor with faltering steps, unaware of being a follower and reluctant to think of its destiny. The modern world differs from the old worlds in two major aspects: now the finality of science and action is man, and it is man who builds his world with technological science. After experiencing intense spiritual, mental, political and ethical changes in the Renaissance, the Western world cut his ties with the Middle Ages and then during the 17th and 18th centuries encountered a world which had to be built by effort, hope and rationality. Such a world was formed and developed in two centuries in a relatively balanced and appropriate way.

Yet the development and stability was not as swift and continuous as it was expected at the beginning of the early 18th century. In the mid-19th century, Marx spoke of underlying chaos of the capitalism. However, some Russian writers had observed the nihilism nested within modernity. Even Dostoyevsky has well recognized the terrorist face of nihilism and described it. Such a discovery served as a basis for Russia's steadfastness against the West. At the end of the 19th century the crisis of modernity gradually became more intense. However there was no obstacle in the way of development until the early 20th century or at least until the beginning of the First World War. As we have seen, Europe and the USA did not surrender to the shadow of communism that in Marx words 'had embraced Europe'.

During the two world wars, the inner conflicts of the world history were unveiled. While the technical power of Europe and the USA continued to increase, their internal union and hope declined. The world wars were signs of weakness and intensified the weaknesses as well. A common characteristic of the two world wars was that they had no winners; both sides were losers and gained nothing. However, it is true that Europe got rid of the malignant tumor of Nazism, and the USSR increased the scope of its influence in Eastern Europe and other areas, and the USA fostered thoughts of interference in the affairs of nations throughout the world. Yet Nazism was not the only issue for Europe, and the expansion of the influence of the USSR and the establishment of the so-called republics in Eastern Europe did not result in the solution of the world dilemma. After all, Nazism was merely a sign. Germany was the loser in the Second World War. However the great powers of Europe took no booty and the pillars of their colonialism were weakened or destroyed.

The consequence was the emergence of the two poles of East and West. The Western side was under the leadership of the USA. When the USA entered the scene of the world politics, it turned into the super power of the Western world and began to put all nations under its military and political

power. Of course, it also had the desire to represent *Novus ordo seclurum* (new order of the ages). However, it failed to achieve this goal owing to its conflicts with its domestic and international policies elsewhere in the world, particularly in the Far East. There were cases where the USA ignored the fundamental principles of democracy so much so that some American statesmen claimed that in fighting against terrorism, torture is justified or even necessary.

With such events, the New World Order with its 200 years background took a new form and experienced a reform. When the USA failed to satisfy the Monroe Doctrine (the doctrine of nonintervention), it was engaged in wars and local rebellions, particularly in the East Asia and Latin America. On the other hand, the increase in martial and political authority of Russia had direct or indirect impact on anti-colonialism movements, but those movements did not achieve their stated goals. National movements were defeated and the Cold War cast a shadow everywhere. This war lasted for forty years, and when it ended, some politicians, and Americans in particular were overwhelmed with joys, thinking that the era of the rule of unrivaled liberal democracy has begun.

Apparently the Cold War, like the two world wars, has had no winner. Those Americans who talked about the end of ideology and history realized very soon that despite its formal and established form, socialism was defeated and discredited. On the other hand, liberal democracy could not save face either. Moreover, the present problem is not pertaining to socialism, capitalism and liberalism; rather it is the problem of the darkening horizon of the future. What future can be perceived for the world in which 90% of its population live in undeveloped or developing countries and regions, and would like to reach a stage that the developed world has already achieved? The future of the developing world would actually be the same as the past or present situation of the developed world. In other words, the developing nations would like to reach a place that the developed world has already reached. It's a pity that reaching such a place is not an easy task for the developing world. It can be seen that in most countries of the world, the development process is in progress irregularly and at a low pace. In case the undeveloped world fails to attain development, its existing conflicts in the world will intensify; and if it achieves such a goal, it will face the same problem as that of the developed world. That is, it can see no horizon in front of itself and does not know where it should go.

The founders of modernity had a universal view about it but modernity has become regional. It is easy to reside in the imaginary 'now' and state that we should not be worried about tomorrow's problems and difficulties and that, 'we will think about tomorrow when it does come.' But the problems belong to the present time. It is better to say that all the people of the developing world are now confronting big problems that have unveiled their internal conflicts more than ever and have resulted in extremism, terrorism, devastation and all types of corruptions. The people of the developed world are always busy producing and reproducing new technological products, keeping the other people of the world busy in such affairs. In case they do not find

¹ President of the Academy of Sciences of Islamic Republic of Iran, Ph.D., Professor. An author of more than 40 books and 500 articles, including: "Postmodernist Way of Thinking", "Western Thought and Civilization", "Modern Iranian Philosophy", "Tradition and Modernity", "Philosophy in the chain of Ideology", "Of Science", "Of the West", "Politics, History, Thought", "Science and Politics in the sphere of Education and Research", "Philosophy and Tomorrow", etc.

themselves alienated and hopeless in their nihilist world, what are they supposed to do with economical crisis, expanding moral and ethical corruption and dangers resulting from military technology development and depletion of energy resources?

Those who can sense a bit the beats of life and time of the developed or developing nations, can ask themselves where the hope of the people of the 18th century originated from, and why such a hope turned into hopelessness in the 21st century? To pose this question is to enter into the domain of philosophy. It is philosophy that asks why the hopeful world lost its hope. Did it reach the end of its way or become hopeless and did not attain its goal? Now it is time for philosophers as well as politicians, sociologists and teachers of ethics to reflect on these matters. Such questions are not the fabrication of philosophers. So we cannot say that if there were no philosophers, there would be no philosophical questions.

These questions do exist in the world and because of their existence; they are posed by some people. Philosophical problems are not forged by philosophers, and philosophy itself has not come to existence randomly: it is not the outcome of the taste of people like Socrates, Avicenna, Descartes, and Hegel. Socrates has said that Philosophers have listened to the words of time so as to become philosopher. In his relatively short life, Avicenna tried to set forth the problems of the world in a philosophical thinking framework and to show the way of wisdom. It is not unjustified and irrelevant that philosophy came to existence in the world of Islam in Shiite sect, who did not perceive the world without Imam and guide, to provide answer to the questions that was set forth to them. So far we have not conducted a thorough research into the status of philosophy in the Islamic world and why it was abandoned to its fate. So far little is known about the impact of philosophy on 'theology' and 'religious science' in particular and probably on 'hermeneutics' and lastly on people's lifestyle, ethics and on politics. Nevertheless, it should not be underestimated that philosophy and science of Greece were of interest to Muslims in general and to Iranian people in particular, who welcomed Greek science and philosophy and followed that way of thinking and wisdom and then, even the Europeans reaped the benefits of their accomplishments.

The relation between philosophy and politics has blurred in our time. Farabi's effort has not been followed in the history of Islamic philosophy. As we reach Descartes and Kant, we see that such a relation is clearly evident. Descartes describes the world order in a way that man stands at its focal point, with great authority to employ the otherwise alienated nature, with scientific dominance. But as of the second-half of the 19th century, mental distress and agitation entered the souls and bodies of people and reflected in poetry and thoughts of people. Presently, the imaginary form of earthy paradise of the 18th century has faded and almost vanished. No one knows what the destiny of the world is.

In the contemporary world, the modernity order is a dominant order. But some people still live in the pre-modernity era. There are still some who nurture thoughts of modernity and are satisfied with that. That is, their hearts are ravished with something and their minds are busy with another matter; so they do not have the upper hand. Neither of these two group has any relation with the time and history of modernity.

The era of modernity has different faces and manifestations, and is at least divided into the developed, undeveloped or developing eras. The undeveloped era is not a time that would be placed before pre-modernity and modernity, it should not even be conceived of as a transition time, as the undeveloped era is neither the modernity era itself nor is it prior to it. It may well be a ghost of time. Hence the people of this era think that they are making efforts to achieve their desirable future, although they are repeating a form of 'now', which is suspended, cut from the past, and not tied to the future. This is the 'now' of undeveloped era, whose signs are found everywhere, particularly in formal, semi-political, and semi-cultural speeches. This non-historical or out of history 'now' is the very pseudo-time of the undeveloped world.

These three forms are synchronous. In case pre-modernity people lived in the present calendar time, they would be contemporary with people of the developing and developed worlds. Surprisingly, there are cases where they can be found together in a single home; as it is possible to launch a course on Ptolemaic Almagest treatise through the Web for students who belong to the era between tradition and modernity. Such people who are cut from the old history and are yet to join modernity, do not belong to these two eras. If they are interested in joining to history and residing in the future, they should think of their own time or timelessness. For instance, an Iranian Muslim should now think of the time and century he is living in, whether he is living in the 21st century A. D. or 15th century A. H. Probably, he belongs to none of these eras.

He was born in a calendar day. He may have lived for decades in the 20th and 21st century. In case living in the 21st century necessitates its own peculiar thinking manner, literature, science, education, economics and politics, that man may have not had the thinking manner, literature, science and schooling proper for the 21st century, neither those of the 14th and 15th centuries A. H. Under such circumstances, if he studies Islamic philosophy, his studies are not those of Mulla Sadra and Mulla Hadi Sabzevari. He cannot either reflect on Nietzsche or Kant. He does not clearly know what relation he has with Mulla Sadra or Kant (As we do not know anything about these matters or have a little knowledge about them, there are few people who would have even a little knowledge about them).

In our time, dealing with philosophy is in two forms. One is formal education in which we learn about Mulla Sadra and Mulla Hadi Sabzevari, for instance. We also learn briefly about Kant and Nietzsche's views. We think of these people as men who had their own particular views, and we are in turn in agreement with some of their views and in disagreement with other ones. In this case, it is possible to mistake Mulla Sadra's time with Kant's time, or their relevance to time be ignored (But their works and signs belong to a certain time, and their thinking manner is marked with time. So it is hard to ignore their relations to time all together). The other form is neither learning nor teaching the formal philosophy, rather reflecting on the relation of each of these philosophers with time.

It has been common in recent decades to mention two or three eras. We repeatedly read and hear about pre-modernity and modernity eras, as if there are merely two times or two historical eras in the history: one belonging to pre-modernity, and the other, the time and formal history of

modernity. However do we know what relation a philosopher has with time. Now that we read Mulla Sadra and Descartes every day, what relation do we have with them? And with whom do we share the same time? If we do not belong to Mulla Sadra's time, when and how did we cut our relation with that time; and to what time have we joined after that? It is unlikely that we have joined the Descartes and Kant times, as their time was the time of forming the world. We should see for ourselves whether we have achieved the stage of forming the living creatures. And if we have done so, do we form the world in the same way that Kant, Hegel and Marx proposed? That is to accept modernity in an un-said and unconscious deal.

Now our problem is that we have not cut our relation with Mulla Sadra's time, nor are we frank enough to cut our relation. We cannot ignore the new time either. There may be some who would belong to two times. If such people could be ever found, they can serve as future guides. However, life, and cultural, social and political systems cannot belong to two eras, and if they can, they will be subject to turmoil, distress, misunderstanding and inability in practice. Each time order is represented and spoken of in art, religion, wisdom and philosophy.

This may imply that one cannot learn anything from the past philosophy. That is to say that historical horizons of Mulla Sadra and Sohrevardi should be ignored, and that we should cut our relations with them and join the modern time and modernity to develop. People of each time and era belong to their own time and history. But usually they are unaware of it, and know nothing about the difference of their own time and other times. It is the philosopher who talks about time. To know that Mulla Sadra belonged to a world different from that of Descartes, his contemporary philosopher in Europe, does not necessitate the acceptance of one and rejection of the other. One can belong to the new world and at the same time, appreciate Mulla Sadra's time. There may be some who would say if Mulla Sadra had done what Descartes has done, the new philosophy would have emerged and developed in Iran. But Mulla Sadra belonged to a different time, and for that reason he followed the example of his precursors and reached the end of that way. But the Western philosophy had a different way and called for different means and had different outcomes and impacts.

Today's world major problems are connected to development and modernity everywhere. Development has had three ways. Firstly, the so-called inner generative development- as it has happened more or less organically in developed countries with a natural trend; secondly, conscious imitation-based and calculated planning; and thirdly, pure imitative development. The first way is the natural and original way of the history of modernity. The second way is a comprehensive and relatively coordinated imitation to get rid of backwardness.

Of course the end of this way is obscure. That is the way that some Latin American countries and some Asian countries have experienced. Finally, the third is a partial and positional imitation without considering the suitability, status and place of the affairs. Another idea may come to mind (of course its illusive form is very common but here reflection and thinking are discussed). That is, whether in people's mind, modernity is the same as development and whether modernity itself is already developed and whether it is not possible to think of another plan in life. Here, our focus is

not on Marxism, Proletarian revolution, Communism and classless society, since Communism was not a Plan to surpass modernity but a plot for rescuing the modern world. So, the slogan, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his need' may be regarded as a peculiar interpretation of modernity principles.

To inquire what modernity is, and particularly objecting to it, is not a new matter that would have been set in recent decades, although it may have occasionally had ideological form. At least, in its ideological form, this idea has not reached the state of dissatisfaction from modernity world and objection to and malignant enmity with it. This idea has not entered the domain of thinking and even has had nothing to do with post-modern thinking yet. (The inquiry into the essence of modernity was a new idea in the Russian literature which has not been considered seriously.) Nevertheless, there exists no way now other than the development way. If this is the case, it is not possible to deviate from the way to development at this juncture.

But how should one go along this way? Without thinking, taking this route and travelling to anywhere in any way or form will not result in order, coordination and moderation; as balance has never been achieved in any stage of development. The undeveloped world works less and is more engaged with struggles. Even its formal administrative organizations are not run on the basis of rational bureaucracy, and as a consequence, are dispersed and scattered; and probably keep themselves busy rather than doing their main duties. In *Le Spleen de Paris*, Baudelaire regards the modern city 'as a city of spleen'. He appreciated the spleen in Paris. If Paris was the city of spleen to him, the spleen of non-development must be more bitter and more painful than that of modernity.

Unfortunately, the people of the undeveloped world spend their days and nights with boredom and spleen without being aware of them. There are few people who would question the cause of their spleen, and its persistence, or even its intensification in some cases. The undeveloped world does not ask itself why it does not benefit from its hard struggle to the extent that it deserves it. People act on the basis of their view to the invisible, martyrdom, the material world, the other world, their status and place. The development of the new world was realized concurrently with the advent of the *transcendental ego* in the new philosophy, literature and politics under certain spiritual and cultural circumstances. Is it possible for people who live in different historical and cultural conditions to easily develop and share the modernity history while maintaining their identity and originality? This question faces us with bigger mental and scientific questions and problems. What are historical and cultural conditions, and how has social-economical development happened in proportion with a particular mentality and spirit? What do originality and religious, radical and national identity imply? Has modernity brought anything more than a series of behaviors, customs and objects in recent 200 to 300 years? The Japanese may have not had such challenges. There is no need to engage people with such matters elsewhere. But when the way to development and modernity turns to be a difficult route to go through, there must be some people who would reflect on these matters to find their roots.

The main portion of these problems originates from the spiritual status and common sense of people who are in-

clined to develop. Problems have always existed to some extent everywhere. If the difficulty of the chosen way has not been appreciated yet, it is due to the fact that it is believed that development has only a Western way to go through without considering the universality of modernity and its cultural, scientific and political status, and knowing that the ways close behind explorers, and others should open it again even if they have some information about the trend of the pioneers. That is, to go through the modernity way of the West demands wisdom and power to open that way again. If it were not so, the developing world would not have been at the beginning of the way after 100 years of attempt and struggle. The developing world is in need of knowing the depth of the history of the new Europe thoroughly since the aim is to obtain whatever Europeans have achieved. But it should not and cannot forget its difference with Europeans. What is this difference and in what is it? The differences are obvious. But it is not clear why and how it is possible to settle them, and why they are not easily settled. In the past, people did not insist on settling the differences. They still try to maintain their differences in certain matters. But whatever is related to science and technology and lifestyle is of interest to them and the Western examples are followed.

We know that not all people agree that modern science and technology are Western phenomena. They hold that benefitting from science and technology in particular and the world of consumption in general is a step toward advancement and natural historical development which belongs to all people of the world. Should this be the case, one

should ponder on the distance and difference that existed at the outset of the new era and persisted during the time. This question should be answered that if the new science is the thorough form of the past science, why is it that we were pioneer in science, philosophy and art, but failed to have figures like Galileo, Copernicus and Descartes, and even did not appreciate their science until necessity forced us to adopt it? Why didn't our way intersect with modernity way? Mulla Sadra was contemporary with Descartes, but the former stood at the apex and end of the Islamic philosophy and the latter became the philosopher of the modern world. Why did this happen? This matter should be discussed elsewhere. It should, however, be mentioned here that before entering the way to the future, preparation should be made by referring to history and studying the thoughts and culture of the past.

Even for achieving modernity, we have no choice but to refer to the art and thoughts of the past. Then we may have self-awareness for choosing the future way. Philosophy and Islamic theology have not only depth and credit, but also are the manifestations of the spirit of 1400 years history of Iran. Through referring to them, and in the mirror of philosophy, theology, poetry, and literature, we will learn about our capabilities and existence in the past.

The organizers may have coined Likhachov's name to this conference to imply this matter. Likhachov is one of the great representatives of the history, literature, and culture of Russia. It is a great pleasure for me to have attended this event.

Shaukat Aziz¹

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

The fight against global terrorism is one of the toughest challenges the international community has ever faced. The developments we are seeing in the Levant, in Africa – even in Europe – present problems on a scale we have not witnessed before.

We have seen non-state actors seize territories for the first time. They are working across borders, exploiting resources, collecting taxes. By all accounts they are ahead of the curve in terms of effectively using technology and the internet to spread propaganda, communicate and recruit.

Our highly connected, globalised world gives these conflicts an unprecedented reach. They have been hitting right to the core problems within our own societies, gathering support and recruits from the UK, Germany, Canadians Australia, persuading these young people to give their lives to fight in the Middle East.

The case for global leadership, coupled with international engagement and cooperation, particularly in the field of intelligence, is stronger than ever. Only through a coordinated effort will we have the means to face up to these new threats.

Terrorism and extremism are factors of deprivation. Deprivation manifests itself in many forms – it can include lack of income, lack of voice, lack of human rights, lack

of resolution of disputes. Extremists spread by preying on those people who are struggling to find a place in their own society, and who find their recruiters offering them a purpose.

It is when deprivation reaches a stage where people they feel they are not heard that they are vulnerable to being converted to extreme causes.

We must recognise that – in some cases – the problem starts at home, in our own countries.

We must address the root causes of extremism. So far, the world has primarily approached this as a security issue. This is a mistake. It is a hearts and mind issue and should be treated as such. If we want to withdraw the breeding-ground for extremism, we must create more political, material and cultural security around the world. We must demonstrate that there is a dividend for peace. We must promote inclusive policies – bring these disaffected elements into society. Rooting out these problems begins in the community – by creating jobs and opportunity, improving education and a feeling of fairness and equality. Civil society leaders and community figures have a significant role to play in reaching out to the disaffected among them.

The problem is not only about the young people who are susceptible to be recruited to fight these causes. We must also be concerned about return risk – what happens when these people who have been radicalised, perhaps gone abroad, and then wish to return to society? We must build

¹ Politician, Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007), Finance Minister of Pakistan (1999–2007). In 2001, Mr. Aziz was named "Finance Minister of the Year" by Euromoney and Bankers magazines.

programmes to cope with this issue, including rehabilitation and deradicalisation programmes, all the while ensuring that they are not a threat to others.

As the world faces up to these and other growing global threats – of terrorism, security failures, nuclear proliferation, cyber attacks and natural disasters – this could create problems for the future and disrupt prospects for peace and progress. Countries, particularly in the developing world, need world-class and far-sighted leadership to unlock their true potential and face these threats.

Unfortunately, the world today has a leadership deficit. We see it all over the world – while there are able leaders in the world, there are not enough that can show forward-thinking leadership. Across the world many politicians and decision-makers are too often preoccupied with the next election and do not take a long term strategic view.

A true leader will worry about succession and will build up credible and valid candidates to replace them. They will not feel uneasy about having to step aside. They will encourage people to grow and develop without feeling threatened themselves. They must be qualified, honest and transparent. Total integrity is crucial. They must take responsibility for their team when mistakes are made. They must be focussed and be able to deal with both adversity and growth.

Strategic leaders understand they will occasionally need to stand alone. There will often be no glory in this and only after many years pass will history recognise their achievements. Often the reforms and changes that are best for the country are not popular at the time. What's more, it is usually future heads of state that will benefit. That is the downside of being truly visionary. For example, Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder's economic reforms in Germany were unpopular at the time, but stood Germany in good stead during the global financial crisis. As a result he showed true leadership and in the process his party lost the election – but I think this is a good trade off to make, if you believe what you are doing is a game changer for your country.

This brings me onto the subject of the economic challenges facing the world today. The global financial crisis shook the world and its repercussions are still being felt today.

As we emerged from the crisis, we have been confronted with financial turbulence, loss in output and social distress on a scale not seen since the Great Depression. It also created a series of challenges for policy-makers. Across the euro-area, it exposed structural and institutional weaknesses. Times of crisis are times of hardship – but they are also times of change and opportunity.

The nature of markets mean there will always be another downturn – it is important to develop a culture that senses upcoming crises and is ready to take quick action to correct them. For this, policy makers must shore up public support – because the necessary measures can often be difficult ones. Global economies should be made fitter and more competitive. Budgetary reform will ensure that countries live within their means. Swollen, inflexible public sectors must be slimmed down – while keeping in mind the social needs of the impoverished and the disadvantaged in society.

Economic transformation through structural reforms and strong, forward-looking leadership is crucial for any nation that wishes to boost growth. A broad-based structural

reform agenda of deregulation, liberalization and privatization are key to creating an enabling environment for growth.

This should be coupled with well-thought through, clear regulation. A good regulator will not simply dictate terms – they will collaborate and have the industry's growth and future viability in mind. Regulators must encourage innovation and growth, working closely with financial institutions.

No country, whether developing or developed, is immune from this need to reform. It is a continuous, evolving process, critical for adapting a country to its ever-changing environment. However, for the purposes of this article, I will focus more on the relationship between growth and risk in developing countries.

One of the challenges for policy makers today is not only to encourage growth, but to make sure it is equitable. The economist Thomas Picketty has provided us with a stark warning about the dangers of the increasingly widening gap between the rich and poor. If prudent policies are not undertaken to manage this transition, the social implications could be significant.

Serious attention will have to be paid to the rebuilding of the international financial architecture. It is important that new institutions are not hostage to history or bound by the old methods of operating.

The Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank (AIIB) is an opportunity for the region to build a model institution for the 21st century. It will complement the existing development institutions such as the Asian Development Bank, and the World Bank. The AIIB should not be tied by historic rules, as is the case for the Bretton Woods institutions, which stifle their ability to adapt to the modern world. We must learn from our past experiences and devise a new structure of governance. For example, there is no need for a modern institution to have a permanent resident boards of directors – the AIIB should look at how the corporate world functions in this respect and make use of the fact that technology and the ease of locating board members in a crisis means this system of resident boards is no longer needed. Senior management should be empowered for an institution to function effectively. In its appointments the AIIB should be a truly meritocratic institution, which will recruit and promote the best talent on merit and not nationality.

The world order which has existed since the end of the Cold War – that of unilateral power – has already made way to a new normal. China has already emerged as a global player. One only has to look at the international willingness to join the new Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank to see that China is already pulling significant clout.

This does not mean to say that previous global powers have lost any of their standing. The United States is in many ways a model of openness to the world and opportunity. The world can learn a lot from the way the country has historically welcomed immigrants, allowing anyone who worked hard enough to have a chance to build a better life. The United States continues to be a global player and heavyweight in many regions of the world, and maintains its influence in multinational institutions. There is enough room on the global stage for more than one power – particularly when considering the large number of new challenges we face.

Some stakeholders feel nervous about the ascent of China, and have speculated about whether or not it is indeed a peaceful rise. We must view China as an opportunity, not

a threat. As it continues to grow and its consumer spending increases, it could both be a great market for the rest of the world to sell its goods in. It can also be a valuable partner in tackling the world's challenges and advocating peace and harmony.

This emergence of a new balance of power must be handled maturely. Instead of seeing each other as rivals, key world players should focus on dealing with each other at the summit level and using soft power. A multipolar world is better than a unipolar one.

There should be a renewed focus on building linkages and connectivities – these are the true guarantors of peace and can play a crucial role in lowering the temperature during a crisis.

There should be a focus on collaborative efforts on issues of common interest. We must steer clear of strategies that might alienate or alarm other world powers. Instead of counterbalancing emerging new powers, we must focus on cooperation. Initiatives such as TTIP should be inclusive.

The struggles seen within Europe must be resolved. In the long term it does not benefit any of the European countries to be adversarial towards any of its fellow. Europe should engage with Russia and negotiate to develop a peaceful atmosphere – Russia in turn should also engage with Europe and build linkages, connectivity and interdependencies to develop a better relationship while respecting each other's sovereignty. Increased cooperation will help lower the temperature and the peace dividend will be high for both Russia and the EU countries. In the long term the security, stability and the prosperity of the whole of Europe can be attained with all major stakeholders working together.

One area of cooperation which the global powers – namely the US, China and Russia – would be in dealing with universal threats – such as terrorism, security, epidemics, natural disasters and climate change. This would have the benefit of both a stronger approach to these risks, and a fostering a good relationship between these countries. It could help smooth over tension if it arises, and become a win-win for all.

Exploiting the world's vast resources is vital for development, and their use was central to the Industrial Revolution and the exponential economic growth of those indus-

trial countries. The story is being repeated in the emerging markets today. But not only is the number of these resources finite, the risks to the environment associated with them are substantial. According to the UN Panel on Climate Change, the globe's temperature is already 1–2 degrees centigrade higher than it was prior to the Industrial Revolution and weather patterns have been affected. The panel estimated that, unless growth in carbon emissions is halted and reversed, the world's temperature will increase by another 2 degrees centigrade within 20 or 30 years. This is likely to have catastrophic effects on the world's environment, weather and eco-systems.

Investing in alternative energy sources is a step in the right direction. Germany has been a world leader in this. But such development usually requires substantial investment and a healthy economy, which many countries struggle with. Hydro power is the cheapest energy source, but its use is geographically limited and at times the environmental impacts are significant. Wind and solar power have become cheaper but they still require generous subsidies to be competitive. Progress has already been made in lowering solar technology costs, for example – Swanson's Law shows the steep drop in cost of solar cells, suggesting that they effectively halve every three years.

I have described some of the new challenges that have arisen – the spread of international terrorism, sectarian struggle, the growing number of failing states. A single country is not in the position to meet all of these challenges on its own. Multilateral solutions are the only way to try and tackle these increasingly complex issues.

Multilateral institutions, such as the United Nations, the EU, ASEAN, the OIC and others, can play an important mediating role in resolving potential crises. For developing countries facing economic problems, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank play a role in giving them a life line. However, not only are such institutions in need of further reform, developing nations should aim to manage their progress themselves, because the final onus for its success will rest on them.

It is time for the world to show leadership and for countries to stand together and address the complex challenges we face, without any country compromising on its national interest.

Abu Abdullah Bassam¹

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS, THE WAR ON SYRIA CASE

Introduction

National interest is a very common concept with wide range of connotations; the National interest might range from acquiring more power and expanding the capabilities of a state vis-a-vis other states to raising the standards of human rights and solving environmental problems. However once could agree that preserving the very existence of a state is to be the main goal national interests hovering around, that is true whether you are a realist or liberalist or proclaiming to be an independent thinker. In other words, once the survival of a state is threatened it then left with no choice but to narrow down its welfare ambitions and to map out its trace for survival, and this is the case of Syria since 2011.

Before the outbreak of the current crisis in Syria nourished by several external powers announcing their animosity to the Syrian state, the country's economy was diverse and promising; the most important sectors included agriculture (22% of the economy), industry and excavation (25%), retail (23%), and tourism (12%).

Agriculture is a high priority in Syria's economic development plans, as the government seeks to achieve food self-sufficiency, increase export earnings, and halt rural out-migration. Thanks to sustained capital investment, infrastructure development and the government's investment in huge irrigation projects, Syria has become an exporter of cotton, fruits, vegetables, and other foodstuffs. Of Syria's 186,000 km² about 28% of it is cultivated, and 21% of that total is irrigated.

Commerce has always been important to the Syrian economy, which benefited from the country's location along major east-west trade routes. Moreover, Syria lies adjacent to many of the major oil and gas suppliers and has long served as a host for pipelines connecting the Gulf to the Mediterranean.

Syria is well positioned to attract significant investments to develop and promote high-growth industries such as tourism, finance, insurance, retail, transportation and oil and natural gas trading and extraction. By the end of 2010, Syria was hoping to attract more than \$55 billion in foreign investment in the next few years especially in the oil fields. Additionally, a number of laws, decrees and new financial institutions were issued to facilitate doing business in Syria.

In 2009, Syria received around 6.1 million tourists, whose spending contributed to around 11% of GDP, giving a substantial boost to the services sector.

Syria realized an advanced pharmaceutical manufacturing, where firms produce 95% of domestic demand (second in the Arab world), and export pharmaceuticals to 55 countries.

Syria has a geopolitical importance out of all proportion to its relatively small population, area, resource base, and economic wealth because of formidable military power, and its location at the heart of the Middle East. As a re-

sult, it plays a central role in most of the Middle East's key political and economic issues.

Notwithstanding the aforementioned success story, since the outbreak of the crisis in Syria, the Syrian economy has been hit by massive economic sanctions and terrorist targeting of its economic infrastructures. The western economic sanctions and the destruction caused by terrorism have reversed previous growth in the Syrian economy to a state of decline.

The percentage of losses in the year 2011 alone stands at 81.7% of the value of the local production of the Syrian economy in 2010, having reached \$59 billion according to World Bank estimates. According to the Syrian Center for Policy Research, those losses include a drop in local production by 35% in 2011, equivalent to \$20 billion, \$12.4 billion of which are foreign investment losses and \$8.9 billion tourism.

The damage inflicted upon Syria's economy is demonstrated in several cases, for example, unemployment is almost reached 60% as the crisis continues, the tourism sector dropped by 95%, and the purchasing value of the local currency has dropped by almost 80% causing severe inflation.

Capital flight, de-industrialization, looting and destruction of Syrian factories and businesses both large and small have translated in a GDP contract more than 30% each quarter of the last fiscal year.

According to the UN, total economic damages of the Syrian crisis are estimated at 170 billion dollars as of late 2014. In sum as a UN report states it "Even if the conflict ceased now [April 2014] and GDP grew at an average rate of five per cent each year, it is estimated that it would take the Syrian economy 30 years to return to the economic level of 2010".

As usual as it is the case in such an anarchic system, states national interests determine their political strategies and attitude regarding any international event. The same traditional rule suits the western attitudes toward the crisis in Syria where they demonize the Syrian government and support the armed groups and movements destroying the country discharging from responsibility that most of these anti-Syrian state armed groups are raising the Jihadist flag and applying terrorist tactics. No body denies the fact that the most prominent anti-Syria movements which dominate the "armed opposition" are al-Qaeda affiliates mainly the Islamic State in Iraq and Al Sham and Jabhat Al Nusra.

The external powers supporting the anti-Syria "armed opposition" (as they have preferred to call it) aim at regime change in the Syria by destroying the country economy and infrastructures, destabilizing it, threatening its territorial unity and breaching its security and independence.

Exogenous Challenges threatening developing states' national interests

Syria is a usually presented as a country in the Middle East, and exactly here resides one of the intricate problems developing countries like Syria faces in endeavoring to be member of the International system, which is the perceived the

¹ Director of the Centre of strategic researches (Damascus, Syria). Head of the department of the Russian and Turkish researches, professor of University of Damascus. Author of a number of scientific publications, including books "Murder of democracy: operations of CIA and the Pentagon during the Post-Soviet period" (in a co-authorship), etc. Adviser of the Ministry of information of Syria, observer of the Al-Watan newspaper (Damascus).

important role of the Western perspective on international relations trying to impose even the conceptual framework that newly independent countries must accept in order to be recognized as welcomed members of the already shaped international order which itself a subject of harsh reforming from time to time, and nothing left to the developing countries but to readjust their political, social and economic structures in order to be granted contentious western recognition.

Throughout history, states and empires have sought to enhance their wealth, power and influence by reshaping the world order to better serve their interests by acquiring colonies, forging alliances with friendly states, constraining the power of their rivals, and so on.

Typically, this drive has united political-military and economic motives: a perceived need to bolster the nation's strategic position in juxtaposition to that of competing states, along with a desire to acquire and protect valuable overseas assets.

For instance, the "new" world order led by the United States of America and its Western alliance after the breakdown of the USSR has been presented boldly as a unipolar imposed order governing the international system. And since the international system is still one of anarchic nature, the new imposed order does not represent generalized fare rules; it simply represents the interests of the rulers of the unipolar world, i.e. the new order shaped by imbalance of power serves the causes of its rulers, and therefore once there is a conflict between the national interests of the strong rulers and those of other weaker states, the weaker side is required to reshape its policies and performance in order to appease the rulers.

The rulers of the unipolar system (even through it is a unipolar, it is actually led by a western bloc more than one state) have not hesitated to intervene in other states' internal affairs hoping to achieve a "prolonged" preferred attitude and performance depriving targeted states from expressing their self determination.

In the aftermath, external Intervention is the main challenge confronting the national interest of developing countries, since it exemplifies an external attack aiming at depriving them from their sovereignty, national independence and national resources. External intervention takes several forms many of which have been directed against Syria during the years of the current crisis, and these forms of intervention challenging the national interests of Syria are:

1st challenge.

Denying the legitimacy of national regime

— Once a country attitude contradicts with the national interests of the West, it was decided in the Western capitals that its regime needs to change. The fight for "democracy" is a false flag thrown out to cover up totally different aims.

— The type of political regime and government – one of the clear-cut domestic issues – becomes a prominent subject for western intervention.

— The west mixed in its external policies between promoting democracy and imposing it by the threat or use of force.

— Under the pretext of promoting democracy and its accompanied peace the west shows its willing to use force,

destabilizing the targeted countries causing internal turmoil and generalized violence and even threatening that terrorist movements overthrow the targeted regime.

— Under the logo of "democratization", traditionally accepted political concepts such as political opposition are attributed contradicting and false connotations. It becomes accepted in some cases to have "armed opposition" movements which ally themselves to terrorist groups.

— It should have been obvious that the damage to the countries concerned was likely to be out of all proportion to the possible gains to the west.

— In the aftermath, developing countries have recognized as a major threat to their national interests.

2nd challenge: Economic intervention

— Regime change is the most frequent foreign policy objective of economic sanctions.

— Governments impose economic sanctions to try to alter the strategic decisions of a state that threaten their interests.

— Developing countries are under continuous threat of economic isolation once they chose to perform independently. In other words, many states recognized their situation in the international arena to be locked in a western imposed IR equation says: "to follow an independent trace means to be isolated".

— Powerful states in the west did not hesitate to use economic sanctions against Syria even though recognizing that the people would be the main victim.

— International sanctions played a major role in the deterioration of the Syrian economy owing to their remarkable impact on the country's commercial balance with the drop in exports.

— Economic sanctions are domestic penalties applied unilaterally by one country (or multilaterally, by a group of countries) on another country. It may include various forms of trade barriers and restrictions on financial transactions.

3rd challenge: media warfare

— When the same people who in Europe are considered terrorists are declared "freedom fighters" when it comes to Syria.

— Blackening the state and its government becomes an adherent policy in the intervention projects aiming at regime change.

— The media distortions are directed to mind of the people inside the targeted country and the people of the offending countries in order to raise domestic support for offending intervention policies.

4th challenge: terrorism and extremism

— The Syrian crisis proves that terrorism is a very effective tool of proxy war aiming at destroying targeted countries from within.

— Extremism is an essential element of the terrorist intervention equation since it embeds the fertilizer spreaded to create fertile ground for terrorism.

— Without being granted a huge external support at the financial, intelligence, military and – in many cases – political levels, no terrorist group or organization is capable of confronting a normally non failed state with well armed national army – or otherwise we might unfortunately consider

terrorist organizations as main actors of the contemporary international system beside states.

— Terrorist activities flourish in a targeted country once there exists a support of such activities from neighboring countries.

— Terrorism as a tool of devastation serves as a two-fold asset in external intervention equation: on the one hand, it represents the forces on the ground, and on other hand it constitutes a justification for direct external intervention once needed under the pretext of fighting terrorism.

Tamash Bauer¹

GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONAL INTEREST: ECONOMIC ASPECT

The¹ problem of interlink between globalization and national interests of the certain countries is not a new one. But still it is always in the spotlight. Such interest to this question is known from the works of Marxism-Leninism classics. Their economic theory was based on the theory of additional value: dynamics of capitalist production is based on isolation of additional value by businessmen capitalists as carriers of economic growth. According to Marx, the constant aspiration of capitalists to increase the profit inevitably conducts to growth of the gap between the salary and the profit. In textbooks of political economy of capitalism it is called as a relative impoverishment of working class. According to Marx, under capitalism the accumulation of wealth on one side is directly connected with the accumulation of poverty on another side. The concept of operation explains the reasons of the poverty for millions of people by isolation of profit by capitalists.

We can see such accumulation and increasing of differences appearing all over the world. Analyzing the development of colonial India, Marx noted that the colonial state (England) delivers the production of manufacturing industry to the markets of the colony of India, undermining and practically destroying the development of the local industry. The economy of the colony becomes the supplier of raw materials and food for economy of the colonial state. The international economy in general takes the direction of development when underdeveloped countries supply raw materials and food to the advanced countries, and advanced countries perform industrial centers for the rest countries (including countries of Eastern Europe) Economic development of separate groups of the countries in the first half of the twentieth century was kept by representation of Marxism. At that time the distinctions between the industrial countries of the West and colonies of the South really increased not only in quantitative but also in dimensional aspect: diametrically commodity structures of production and trade differed. Such distinctions appeared in commodity structure of export and import of the advanced industrial and in some developed countries of Europe in the middle of 20th century. Today such interpretation of the international economic relations appears in the theory of the center and the peripheries.

Long dispute between supporters of free trade and supporters of protectionism reflected the experience of early capitalism in the international aspect. Representatives of protectionism considered that free foreign trade conducted to further accumulation of profit and to the impoverishment of the poor countries (colonies, or countries of the pe-

riphery). The Soviet Union and other socialist countries developed their economic policy and economic system on the ground of such approach. So-called socialist industrialization is an aspiration to overcome the structural distinctions between the underdeveloped and advanced countries.

From the first view such policy was successful. In the first decades of “construction of socialism” high growth rates of the industrial output and the increase of the national income were reached. The industry became the leading branch of the national economy of the former agrarian countries. There were huge capacities of the heavy industry, first of all mechanical engineering, chemical industry in all countries, and the USSR rapidly developed the mining and military industries. As a result engines and equipment prevailed in export of socialist states. For example, the specific weight of this commodity group in the export of Czechoslovakia, Poland or even Bulgaria was higher than in the Western Germany. Is it not a success of socialist industrialization?

In the fiftieth and sixtieth years the economists of some socialist countries already noticed that the policy of protectionism in connection with the whole system of policy planning led to a specific status of these economies. The industrial structure of production or commodity structure of export seemed to be developed. The last was reflected in general data on export. But looking at the export to the capitalistic and socialistic countries separately we see another picture. Export to the developed capitalist countries was based on the raw materials, fuel, food and production of light industry, but cars and engines were almost absent. It is explained by the fact that the production of mechanical engineering (its quality and assortment) wasn't competitive in free markets of the West, and production of light industry was competitive only at very low prices. On the contrary, in the export to the countries of CEA the same countries reached the high specific weight of cars and the equipment. It explains commodity structure of export in general. The most important, modern types of the equipment and high-quality raw materials should be imported from the West as they were not available in the socialist countries. The outstanding Hungarian economist Ferenc Yanoshi characterized such conditions of socialist economies by the concept “the quasi-development”.

If the community of the socialist countries could develop independently for a long time, on the basis of unlimited deliveries of raw materials and fuel from the USSR, irrespective of environment of capitalist world economy, we could consider protectionism in the form of “socialist industrialization” to be successful. But we know, that by the beginning of the eightieth years all sources of such economic development (on terminology of that time of “the extensive growth”) were settled. Since the middle of the seventieth

¹ Professor at the Goethe-Institut (Frankfurt am Main, Germany). His academic interests lie in the area of transformation process on former socialist countries – comparative analysis. He is the author of more than 50 academic papers, published in English, German, Hungarian, Russian and other languages, including his book *Investment Cycles in Planned Economies*.

years the lag of the socialist countries from the West didn't decrease further, but only increased. CEA as the institute of protectionism on the levels of community was destroyed.

Crisis of the Soviet economy and disintegration of CEA forced the leaders of Central Eastern Europe to search the new directions in external economic and, in this regard, the whole economic policy. In the countries of Vyshegrad 3G (since 1993 4G), as well as in Baltic it was decided to join in the western economic integration. It meant not only changes of the direction of trade relations, but change of the character of the external economic relations: transition from centralized bureaucratic trade between the closed economic complexes of Eastern Europe to deep integration of separate economies with full trade liberalization just as it occurred between economies of Western Europe earlier. These countries entered the European Union, accepted rules of the European Union, and therefore eliminated all barriers in the movement of goods, cash and labor. The foreign capital was integrated into privatization and played especially important role. As it was in the Western Europe, the firms of CEE countries was involved in close cooperation with major companies of the West. This process was an important part of globalization. On traditional thinking in a former communist block it can be formulated so that CEE countries lost the economic independence in the relation to the large international capital. The profit leaves to the West and enriches the Western owners. Economies of these countries develop as subordinates of division of the western economies, and specialize on installation and on deliveries of production of low additional cost.

However we think that other consequences of the integration are more important. First at all, after the period of deep crisis at the beginning of transformation of CEE countries economic policies we can observe the approach of their economic level to the developed capitalist countries.

Table 1

GDP growth per capita in comparison with EU-15

Country	1995	2009	Difference
EU-15	100	100	
Bulgaria	28	40	+12
Hungary	45	59	+14
Lithuania	31	50	+19
Poland	37	55	+18
Romania	28	42	+14
Slovakia	41	66	+15
Czech Republic	63	75	+12
Estonia	31	58	+27

Data in Table 1 shows that GDP per capita gradually comes nearer to average levels on the EU. Special success was achieved by the countries of Baltic, by Poland and by the Slovakia of 2009th.

Approach to the advanced countries is observed not only concerning GDP growth, but also in the field of restructuring. In decades of socialism the commodity structure of foreign trade was characterized by export of raw materials, fuel and food to the socialist countries, but as a result of restructuring of the economy connected with integration into the capitalist world economy the structure of production and especially trade looked like to the structure of the advanced countries more and more. Earlier the struc-

ture of foreign trade of the socialist countries with the West was characterized by sharp asymmetry with which we got acquainted on the example of the underdeveloped European countries that by the end of last century. But nowadays the structure of foreign trade of the former underdeveloped countries became more balanced), and after two decades of transformation the structure of foreign trade on groups of goods of a former communist block of the Central Europe reminds similar structure of foreign trade of the advanced capitalist countries more and more. It means, that the approach is observed not only in quantitative, but also in qualitative sense.

The experience of China is also very interesting. China before its reforms of 1978 was the country of the emergency protectionism and represented a bright example of quasi-development as a result of socialist industrialization of the Soviet type. China before reforms created the nuclear bomb and the satellite, but in its foreign trade the raw materials, fuel and food prevailed too much. Data in the Table 2 shows that similar to the countries of Central Eastern Europe China was succeeded to lower extent of lag from the most developed countries. The commodity structure of Chinese foreign trade sharply essentially: the country became a large exporter of production of manufacturing industry, turning on both machines and electronics and the importer of fuel. There of the structure of foreign trade of China became balanced. Thus the experience of China supports conclusions on the basis of experience of CEE countries: transition from protectionism to integration into the international economy, trade liberalization and a massive stream of FDI would lead not to lag reproduction as it was supposed earlier, but to approach.

It is time to ask the question: whether those who assumed that the national interest of less developed countries demands resistance to aspirations of the advanced countries to expansion of free trade were mistaken? Whether the protectionism was a mistake already since the time of its foundation by Friedrich Liszt in 19th century?

It was the time when the protectionism played a positive role. During Friedrich Liszt and Karl Marx free trade really led to reproduction of a difference between the rich and poor countries and regions. The exchange of raw materials and food on one hand and the production of manufacturing industry on the other hand was a basis of international trade. At that time growth of the industry of the developed industrial countries assumed growth of a mining industry and agriculture of less developed countries and regions. The contradiction between the developed industrial countries in which modern knowledge, science and the cash increased, and the agrarian countries and colonies amplified. Globalization, however, led to essential change in nature of development of world economy. Value of an exchange of production of manufacturing industry for agricultural production, raw materials and fuel sharply decreased. It was the consequence of decrease in the material capacity, in production capacity, in sphere of services, and of increasing of a role of knowledge. The share of agriculture and a mining industry in world GDP constantly decreases. Nowadays intra-branch communications in the industry and in services become the ground of international trade. The competition extends in world scales and firms are compelled to transfer production to places with the lowest expenses. Instead of opposite interests of the advanced and less developed countries

we can see the coincidence of interests (win-win). For example, transferring of separate productions of a firm from advanced to less developed country with the lowest salary will lead to decrease in prime cost and increase of competitiveness of firm in general, to preservation of value of production of divisions in the advanced country and to increase in production and employment in less developed country.

Thus big West companies created the number of new, modern and effective workplaces in a former communist block of Europe and East Asia (China, Vietnam). FDI are

also a distribution channel of knowledge and help to increase the level of professional knowledge of staff in less developed countries. As for the movement of staff in the conditions of free resettlement, it can have negative consequences in short term, but in case of return of part of guest workers to less developed country can become an additional distribution channel of knowledge. That is why it seems to us that globalization creates conditions for coincidence of interests of the different countries from the point of view of favorable economic development.

Anton Bebler¹

ON POLITICAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN CONFLICT

Since from 2013 considerable international attention has been attracted by an internal crisis in Ukraine, followed soon by the Russian-Ukrainian conflict over Crimea and by the related civil war in South-Eastern Ukraine. Substantively, the conflict over Crimea differed and yet bore some similarities with four earlier cases on the Southern periphery of the former Soviet Union – Transnistria, Abkhazia, Southern Ossetia and Nagorno Karabakh. These ex-Soviet entities, involved since the 1990s in conflicts within and between several Soviet successor states share up to a two centuries-long history of Russian imperial and, subsequently, of Soviet communist rule. The Russian rule in these entities was preceded by up to three centurieslong direct Ottoman rule or of strong dependency on the Sublime Porte. In the 18th and 19th centuries, the five lands were militarily conquered or ceded to and then annexed by – the Russian Empire. This historic background has had a number of not only political but also demographic, ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural consequences which have to a considerable extent influenced the origin and development of the five post-Soviet conflicts.

The Russian imperial expansion into the Black Sea region and in the Caucasus had been strongly opposed by the Western powers – Great Britain, France and Austria/Austro-Hungary. This opposition resulted in the 19th century in a direct military confrontation, fought mostly on Crimea. The immediate pretext for the Crimean War in 1854–1855 was the Russian occupation of two Danubian principalities. In January 1854, the British and French fleets demonstratively sailed into the Black Sea. Following a Russian rejection of the British ultimatum to withdraw Russian troops from Wallakhia and Moldavia (the territory that is in today's Romania and Moldova), Great Britain and France declared war on Russia. In September 1854, almost one million Ottoman, French and British troops landed on Crimea and started a yearlong siege of the Russian stronghold Sevastopol. In January 1855, the Kingdom of Sardinia joined the coalition. The anti-Russian coalition had suffered staggering losses of over 300 000 dead soldiers, mostly due to

disease. The Western powers and the Ottomans finally won the war against the Russian Army (which lost about 400 000 soldiers) and achieved the destruction of the Russian Black Sea Fleet and of the fortress Sevastopol. They failed, however, to dislodge Russia from Crimea. All of this happened in a geostrategic environment very different from the present one. Almost 160 years later no one in the West even thought of undertaking a similar operation against the Russian Federation.

Following the Soviet Union's dissolution in December 1991 conflicts within several ex-Soviet successor states have developed along porous ethnic, linguistic and cultural lines. In Ukraine this line has separated a majority within the titular nation, on the one hand, and a majority of the Russian-speaking population, on the other hand. The Russian-speaking population has constituted however a regional majority in parts of that successor state – in Eastern and Southern Ukraine and on Crimea. From the beginning the neighbouring Russian Federation has been indirectly but tangibly involved in this internal conflict. The intensity of this involvement has increased dramatically in 2013, reaching by February 2014 the level of an outright military intervention on Crimea. The Ukrainian situation has born considerable resemblance with those in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1991–1995 where armed secessions were attempted by Serbian nationalists. These attempts were actively supported by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). The resemblance with the two ex-Yugoslav cases stemmed from some unforeseen consequences of the Yugoslav nationality policy after the end of the Second World War. In 1945–1946, ignorant of other and more successful models of federalism, the new Yugoslav communist rulers almost copied the Soviet ("Stalin's") Constitution of 1936 and the main features of Soviet ethnofederalism. Ultimately, both the Soviet and Yugoslav "socialist federations" ended up in failures which were, unfortunately, accompanied by several bloody armed conflicts and outright wars. The current Russian-Ukrainian political conflict could be viewed as basically a delayed by-product of the Soviet Union's disintegration.

The Historic Background of the Conflict over Crimea

Since antiquity and until 2014, Crimea was ruled by many states and empires and has only been an independent state for less than four decades. The present Russian-Ukrainian

¹ Professor of faculty of social sciences of Ljubljana university (Slovenia), doctor of political sciences. Ambassador, permanent representative of the Republic of Slovenia in the United Nations (1992–1997). Author of a number of scientific works, including: "Southern Europe and European safety", "European Union, NATO and "the Arab spring"", "Experience of federalism in Southeast Europe and post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina", "Slovenia and security policy of the European Union", "NATO and transnational terrorism", etc. President of the Atlantic council of Slovenia.

dispute is about the peninsula called today Krim or Krym in the two closely related Eastern Slavic languages. This name was derived from the Turkic word *qirim*, in the 13th century the name of the capital of a province ruled by the Tatar-Mongol Golden Horde. The more ancient Greek name, *Tauris/Taurica*, as well as the names of Sevastopol and of other old towns (Simpheropol, Feodosia etc.), point to the most ancient recorded inhabitants of Crimea – the Tauris and the Greeks.

After the conquest and outright annexation by Russia in 1783 Crimea was given a new name – the Taurida gubernate. Numerous wars, the Russian imperial and later Soviet rule have dramatically changed Crimea – demographically, culturally, economically and politically. It has experienced mass summary executions, the exodus and expulsion of the Muslim Tatars and Turks, the demolition or conversion of close to 1600 mosques and other Islamic monuments and the disbanding of all Islamic institutions. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Russification of the Crimean population had been carried out through massive resettlement of ethnic Russians and already Russified subjects from central and northern Russia, through public schools and administration in Russian only, through obligatory military service, Orthodox Christianization, and – later – through Russian mass media under the Soviet communist regime etc. By spring 1945 the entire Tatar, Greek and Bulgarian minorities were brutally deported. It is estimated that nearly a half of the deported Crimean Tatars died during or immediately following this deportation to Central Asia. Unlike other deported minorities, the Crimean Tatars were for several decades banned from their homeland. Although legally rehabilitated in 1967 and since December 1991 allowed to return to Crimea, they still have not been compensated for the losses of life and property.

The Legal Status of Crimea from 1917 to 2014

Since the collapse of the Russian Empire, the official name and the legal status of the peninsula has changed many times. The Russian *Bosheviki* replaced the previous imperial names of many provinces, cities, districts, squares, streets etc. under their rule with new ones. As an expression of the new nationality policy, guided by Yosif V. Dzhugashvili (Stalin), the previous name Malorossiia, was replaced by a new official name Ukraine. As a friendly gesture towards Kemal Ataturk's Turkey, the previous official designation of the peninsula was replaced with the older Turkic name *Krym*. In October 1921, the Crimean Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was proclaimed as a unit of the Russian SFSR. The new name and the autonomous status reflected the presence in Crimea of still sizeable non-Russian minorities. In 1922 the territory became incorporated into the Soviet Union and remained within the USSR until its dissolution in December 1991. In 1945, after radical ethnic cleansing, Crimea was stripped of its pre-war autonomy status and became an ordinary *oblast* of the Russian SFSR. In the same year Ukraine, without the territory of Crimea, was admitted to the Organization of United Nations.

Less than a year after the death of Yosif V. Stalin, in February 1954, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR issued a decree transferring the Crimean *Oblast* from the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic to the Ukrainian SSR. The transfer had been described by official Soviet propaganda as a symbolic brotherly gesture

marking the 300th anniversary of Ukraine joining the Russian Empire. This momentous decree by the Presidium (and not a federal law and a constitutional amendment passed by the entire Supreme Soviet of the USSR) gave a very dubious legal cover to a decision actually made by the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The decree clearly violated Art. 14 and 18 of the then valid "Stalin's" constitution of the Soviet Union, which required a formal agreement between Soviet Socialist Republics for any border changes. The Supreme Soviet of the USSR (and not the Presidium) could confirm such an agreement, but not by itself pass a federal law and a constitutional amendment to this effect. In the case of Crimea no such parliamentary procedure was initiated and duly carried out in the two parliaments, no relevant parliamentary sessions were held, no debates took place, no votes were taken and no agreement was adopted and signed. Moreover, the Crimean population was deprived of its right to give or deny its consent to the major status change. The transfer of Crimea to Ukraine was thus illegal even in Soviet terms, unconstitutional and clearly illegitimate.

The next status change of Crimea occurred during the process of the Soviet Union's dissolution in 1990–1991. After an all-Ukrainian referendum in February 1991, the Crimean *Oblast* was upgraded again to the status of an autonomous republic, this time within Ukraine. In summer 1991 an attempted coup against Michail Gorbachov took place in Crimea, where he was vacationing. The coup, its aftermath and the referendum on Ukraine's independence on December 2, 1991 actually sealed the fate of the USSR. At the latter referendum the population of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea was not consulted on whether it desired to remain in Ukraine after the dissolution of the USSR or alternatively wanted to re-join the Russian Federation. The Soviet Union was dissolved on December 8, 1991 at a meeting of the heads of the Russian Federation, Ukraine and Belarus. At that gathering in the hunting reserve Belovezhska Pushcha, the Russian leader Boris Yeltsin failed to request from his Ukrainian colleague, Leonid Kravchuk, Crimea's return to "mother" Russia.

On February 26, 1992, the Supreme Soviet of the Crimean ASSR, without the consent of central Ukrainian authorities, changed the official name of the land into the Republic of Crimea. On May 5, 1992, the Crimean parliament proclaimed Crimea's independence and passed its first constitution. Under pressure from Kyiv, the latter was amended on May 6, 1992 with a sentence on Crimea as part of Ukraine. On May 19, 1992, the proclamation of Crimean self-government was annulled by the Ukrainian Supreme *Rada* (parliament). As a *quid pro quo*, Kyiv agreed to strengthen Crimea's autonomous status. Exploiting these increased legal prerogatives the Crimean parliament established on October 14, 1993 the post of President of Crimea. On March 17, 1995, the Ukrainian parliament annulled Crimea's constitution, removed President Yuriy Meshkov and abolished his office. The President was charged with anti-state activities, as well as with promoting Crimea's secession from Ukraine and its reintegration with the Russian Federation.

Crimea's Reunification with the Russian Federation

Since the breakup of the USSR, political tensions between its two neighbouring successor states – Ukraine and the

Russian Federation – have continued on many issues. These have included, i.a., those related to the status of Crimea, the division of the Soviet Black Sea Fleet between the two states, the basing rights of the Russian Black Sea Fleet in Sevastopol, the Russian use of military facilities on Crimea, and the number and status of the Russian military personnel on Ukrainian territory, etc. In June 1993, the Russian State *Duma* adopted a resolution designating Sevastopol as a Russian city. In 1996 a prominent Russian geostrategist, Sergei Karaganov, wrote about a possible disintegration of Ukraine and the absorption of its parts by Russia.¹ In 2008, the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry protested against the mass distribution of Russian passports in Crimea as a “real problem” in conjunction with Russia’s declared policy of possible military interventions to protect Russian citizens living abroad.² In August 2009, anti-Ukrainian demonstrations broke out in Crimea calling on Russia to act in the same way as it did in Southern Ossetia and Abkhazia during the war with Georgia in 2008.

Similar demonstrations and mass unrest by took place on Crimea in winter 2013–2014 reaching the acme immediately after the *coup d’etat* in Kyiv on February 22, 2014. Under the Russian Army’s protection a referendum was held on March 16, 2014. It was reportedly conducted in a peaceful and orderly manner, but in several important respects did not conform to high democratic standards. The ballot contained two questions and only one positive response was considered valid:

1. Do you support re-joining Crimea with Russia as a subject of the Russian Federation?
2. Do you support the restoration of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Crimea and Crimea’s status as a part of Ukraine?

The ballot omitted two other possible choices – remaining part of Ukraine under the current constitution or Crimea’s independent statehood. The time shortage did not allow for a real and substantive public debate on such a momentous issue. According to the Crimean authorities, 81.36% of the registered voters took part in Crimea’s referendum and 96.77% of them voted for its separation from Ukraine and for reuniting with Russia. The official figures of the voters’ participation and the approval rate could not, however, could not be verified by OSCE observers and were very probably inflated in order to legitimize Crimea’s incorporation into the Russian Federation.

Despite numerous shortcomings of the referendum, it seems reasonable to assume that the Russian-speaking majority among the Crimean population generally favoured Crimea’s secession from Ukraine and its re-joining Russia. Their attitudes reflected, i.a., the deep dissatisfaction with the state of economic and political affairs in Ukraine and with the widespread incompetence and rampant corruption in both Kyiv and Eastern Ukraine. In these respects, the feelings of the Crimean Russian speakers largely coincided with the feelings of many ethnic Ukrainians, and also those of the *Maidan* protesters. The very unwise bill, hastily passed by the Ukrainian parliament, abolishing the official status of the Russian language in twelve Eastern regions revolted many Russian speakers in Ukraine (N.B. The law

was soon vetoed by the interim President of Ukraine and never went into effect). Most Russians on Crimea apparently did no longer wish to be a national minority in Ukraine, exposed to the pressure of assimilation and forced to use another official language. Moreover, the proponents of reunification with the Russian Federation expected a tangible improvement of their standard of living, including, at least, twice as high Russian wages and retirement benefits, etc. Thus the political conflict between the new Kiev authorities and the majority of Russian-speakers in Crimea has contained salient cultural, language and economic components which largely explain the outcome of the March referendum.

On March 17, 2014, Crimea declared its independence and asked the Russian Federation to join it. On March 18, 2014, a treaty on incorporating Crimea and Sevastopol was signed in Moscow. In only five days, the “Constitutional Law on admitting to the Russian Federation the Republic of Crimea and Establishing within the Russian Federation the New Constituent Entities the Republic of Crimea and the City of Federal Importance Sevastopol” was passed by the Russian Federal Assembly, signed by the Russian President and entered into force. To justify the reunification President Vladimir Putin used as chief argument the right of the Crimean people to self-determination.³ Russia’s much stronger historic claim to Crimea was also used. Indeed Russia conquered Crimea and *de facto* possessed it for around 168 years – much longer than Ukraine’s possession of 60 years. In his Presidential address to the Federal Assembly on December 4, 2014, President Putin stressed, in addition, the strategic importance of the peninsula as “the spiritual source” of the Russian nation and state, citing the fact that Grand Prince Vladimir adopted Christianity and was baptized on Crimea. According to President Putin Crimea has had “invaluable civilizational and even sacral importance for Russia, like the Temple Mount in Jerusalem for the followers of Islam and Judaism”.⁴ Moreover, the reunification in 2014 was said to undo the unconstitutional and unjust separation of Crimea from Russia sixty years earlier. Unlike the NATO military intervention against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in March-June 1999 the separation of Crimea from Ukraine was achieved without known casualties.

In the framework of Ukrainian constitutional and legal order, the holding of the referendum on March 16, 2014 and the declaration of secession were clearly illegal and unconstitutional. Article 73 of the Constitution of Ukraine namely prescribes: “Alterations to the territory of Ukraine shall be resolved exclusively by the all-Ukrainian referendum”. It is also true that most declarations of independence were unconstitutional, including the declaration of USA in 1776 and, more recently, Kosovo’s declaration of independence in 2008. The International Court of Justice, in its opinion issued in July 2010, concluded that the Kosovo declaration did not violate the norms of international public law. Although there was no need, unlike in Kosovo, to apply on humanitarian grounds the “responsibility to protect”, a majority among the population of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea claimed and, with decisive outside assistance (like

¹ Karaganov S. Russia and the Slav vicinity in Baranovsky, V. (1997). P. 300.

² Federal Law on the State Policy in Regard to the Fellow Citizens Residing Abroad (1999).

³ N.B. Art. 5 of the Russian Constitution contains a provision for the right of peoples to self-determination but does not confer to them the right to secede from the Russian Federation.

⁴ Presidential Address to the Federal Assembly. URL: <http://eng.kremlin.ru/transcripts/23341>, accessed 12.12.2014.

in Kosovo), realized its right to self-determination.¹ Moreover, the Russian-speaking majority in Crimea has relatively peacefully expressed and exercised this right, in conformity with principle 8 of the Helsinki Final Act. The two sizeable minority communities (Ukrainians and Tatars) apparently acquiesced to the desire of the Russian-speaking majority. These facts confer a measure of legitimacy to Crimea's secession and to its reunification with the Russian Federation. A representative public opinion poll conducted by a Canadian Berta Communication Company in January 2015 confirmed this conclusion when an overwhelming majority of respondents approved the reunification.

The Civil War in Eastern Ukraine

There has been not only a temporal but also a substantive connection between the conflict in Crimea and the events which led to a civil war in South-Eastern Ukraine. There are however considerable differences between the two situations. "Novorossia" and particularly the area of Donbass has been more closely economically and energy-wise connected with the Russian Federation. Unlike Crimea, "Novorossia" has legally been part of Ukraine since 1921. In addition to general dissatisfaction the flare-up of unrest in Donbass expressed regional grievances against Kiev unitarianist centralism and a strong opposition to Ukrainian ultranationalists and "fascists" who "staged a coup in Kiev". The defence of Russian language rights has figured prominently in the motivation of Russian-speaking insurgents in Donetsk and Lugansk. Similarly as in the SFR of Yugoslavia in 1990–1991 the West did a great disservice to Ukraine's state integrity when its high representatives openly interfered in Ukrainian internal affairs supporting one side in the conflict. In Ukraine this side included also armed Ukrainian ultranationalists and neo-fascists. This ill-advised Western policy aggravated the conflict and tangibly contributed to the developments which undermined mainland Ukraine's territorial integrity.

The reunification of Crimea with the Russian Federation encouraged the Russian-speaking insurgents in Eastern and Southern Ukraine who apparently hoped that Moscow would repeat the same scenario. Mass unrest took place in April 2014 in a number of Ukrainian cities. In Kharkov, Donetsk, Lugansk and Odessa "People's Republics" were proclaimed. The Ukrainian government instead of trying to reach a political solution ordered the Ukrainian Army and security forces to crush the "terrorists" in the Donetsk and Lugansk provinces. Local clashes consequently very soon degenerated into a full-fledged civil war. Massive artillery and rocket attacks against densely populated urban areas, mostly by Ukrainian forces, had constituted grave violations of international humanitarian law. By February 2015 the civil war in South Eastern Ukraine had affected more than five million of inhabitants, caused close to six thousand dead counted by the UN and OSCE (the real number is probably well over ten thousand), more than eleven thousand wounded, a million and a half internally displaced persons and refugees and a huge economic damage. Moreover the civil war and numerous casualties have seriously damaged, at least, medium-term relations between the two largest Eastern Slavic nations—the Russians and Ukrainians.

A very different course of events in South Eastern Ukraine has already led to a different outcome than that in Crimea. President V. Putin initiated two ceasefire agreements which were reached in Minsk in September 2014 and February 2015. He publicly spoke in favour of reintegrating the Donbass area into Ukraine's "common political space". The highest Russian officials are also on record favouring Ukraine's federalization and a wide autonomy accorded to its predominantly Russian-speaking regions. These statements indicate Moscow's probable strategic intentions: (1) the creation of a Russian-speaking autonomous region legally within Ukraine but closely economically, culturally and politically linked to the Russian Federation; (2) ideally barring forever Ukraine's entry into NATO. Apparently the province of Quebec in Canada and *Republika Srpska* in Bosnia and Herzegovina come close to a model favoured by Moscow. The termination of hostilities and normalization in mainland Ukraine could result from a political solution only. This solution will have to be a compromise affecting Ukraine's state structure, the relations between its central institutions and regions and national minorities, as well as Ukraine's long-term economic, security and foreign policy orientation between the West and Russia.

The Russian-Ukrainian Conflict and the International Community

The conflict over Crimea and the civil war in South Eastern Ukraine have developed in an international environment which, apart from the two directly involved states, included other important actors. These have been the European Union, NATO, OSCE, UN, USA, Germany, France, Poland etc. The Russian leadership has for many years openly opposed Ukraine's integration into the economic, and hence also political "West". In particular, Russia has opposed the prospect of Ukraine's membership in NATO. This Russian position has been well known, but consistently ignored by Western leaders.

In his keynote speech at a joint session of the two chambers of the Russian parliament on March 18, 2014, President Vladimir Putin clearly stated the geopolitical rationale for the reunification of Crimea with Russia the chief objective was to prevent Crimea's conceivable inclusion into the North Atlantic Treaty area. Russia's actions in 2014 related to Ukraine and Crimea constituted largely – if not primarily – reactions to the EU and NATO enlargement into the ex-Soviet space. To a considerable but critical extent, they were a consequence of the ill-advised decision by the US administration under George W. Bush to promise Ukraine (and Georgia) NATO membership. Other members of the Alliance unwisely succumbed then to American "friendly persuasion" and agreed to include the promise in the conclusions of the Bucharest summit of 2008. This "misguided strategy" by the USA and NATO has been to a large extent, responsible for the crisis in Ukraine.² In September 2014, NATO indirectly admitted its mistake when the Wales Summit Declaration did not repeat the promise to Ukraine.

In 2014 the United States, and later the European Union, adopted, in addition to political measures also financial and other economic sanctions. The application of these sanctions raised a number of questions. The true objectives

¹ Whether it was entitled to exercise this right is a debatable legal proposition. William W. Burke – White. Crimea and the International Legal Order, Survival, Aug.-Sept. 2014. Vol. 56. № 4. P. 65–80.

² Mearsheimer J. J. Why the Ukraine Crisis is the West's Fault, Foreign Affairs, Sept.-Oct., 2014. URL: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/141769/john-j-mearsheimer/why-the-ukraine-crisis-is-the-west-s-fault> (12.09.2014).

of the sanctions have been never clearly stated. These could conceivably be: a) the restitution of Crimea to Ukraine, b) the termination of Moscow's support to the autonomists in South Eastern Ukraine and exerting pressure on them to accept Kiev's centralist rule, c) to force Moscow to agree to EU's and NATO's further enlargement into the post-Soviet space, d) to effect a leadership change in Moscow and "shackle" the disobedient Russian "bear". President V. Putin apparently believes, seemingly with a good reason, that the Ukraine crisis served only as a pretext while the toppling of the present Russian leadership has been the chief objective of US sanctions.¹ It is ironical that the United States initiated and still press for sanctions against Russia while having publicly admitted the failure of their own efforts to bring down the Castro regime and of the sanctions applied for 50 years against incomparably smaller, weaker and much more vulnerable Cuba. Moreover, the Western sanctions against Russia have not, so far, achieved, and are very unlikely to achieve any of the above-stated goals.

There have been many commentaries and a number of proposals on how to deal with the conflict in and about Ukraine. Some Western commentaries have tried to revive the spirit of the "Cold War" presenting Russia's behaviour as presumably a threat to the very foundations of international security, international law and even to the liberal West. More realistic commentaries, on the other hand, admit the mistake made by NATO and propose that the Alliance assures Moscow that it will not draw Ukraine into its membership (H. Kissinger, Z. Brzezinski). Two other authors – M. O'Hanlon and J. Shapiro asked for a repeated and binding referendum on Crimea, this time under credible international supervision.² In addition they proposed other conditions for gradual lifting of Western sanctions – a verifiable removal of Russian "volunteers" from Eastern

Ukraine, Russia's guarantees of mainland Ukraine's territorial integrity, the termination of NATO's enlargement and making Ukraine's relations with EU compatible with its membership in the Eurasian Economic Union.

The four parties' agreement reached on February 12, 2015 in Minsk and signed by the highest representatives of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Federal Republic of Germany and France paved the way to a peaceful resolution of the armed conflict in South Eastern Ukraine. If and when fully implemented the agreed upon measures would restore mainland Ukraine's territorial integrity and meet at the same time the demand for extensive political, economic and cultural autonomy of the Donbass area. A reform of Ukraine's present constitution, to be adopted by the end of 2015, is expected to enshrine Ukraine's, at least, partial decentralization and, very importantly, remove the grounds for grievances related to assimilationist pressures and to the alleged discrimination of the Ukrainian Russians and Russian-speakers. These reforms by themselves will not terminate the sharpest conflict in Ukraine but, if carried out in good faith, would allow for its peaceful management in years to come.

Bibliography

1. *Baranovsky V.* Russia and Europe – The Emerging Security Agenda (1997). SIPRI
2. *Saharov A.*, ed. *Istoria Rossii* (2010). Prospekt, Moscow.
3. *Grushevski M.* *Ilustriovannaia istoria Ukrainy* (2008). BAO, Donetsk (reprint of the edition by Prosveshchenie, S. Petersburg, 1911).
4. *Tantsura B.*, ed. *Politichna istoria Ukraini* (2008). Akdamvidav, Kiiiv.
5. *Karaganov S.* *Rossia i Mir. Novaia Epoha* (2008), Rus-Olimp, Moscow.
6. *Freedman L.* *Ukraine and the Art of Crisis Management* (2014), Survival, IISS, London. June-July 2014. Vol. 56. № 3. P. 18–21.
7. OSCE, Human Rights Assessment Mission in Ukraine (12 May, 2014), The Hague-Warsaw.

O. T. Bogomolov³

THE GREAT TRANSFORMATION AND SHAPING NEW MODELS

Such was the theme of the World Economic Forum held in Switzerland in 2012. The organizers thus tried to emphasize the main lesson taught by the global crisis of 2008. According to the President of the Forum, 'capitalism in its current form no longer fits the world around us'. Many are not wor-

¹ News conference of Vladimir Putin. 2014. Dec. 18.

² N.B. A representative public opinion poll conducted by OSCE could be more palatable to Moscow. *O'Hanlon M., Shapiro J.* *Crafting a win-win for Russia, Ukraine and the West.* Washington Post. URL: http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/crafting-a-win-win-for-russia-ukraine-and-the-west/2014/12/05/727d6c92-7be1-11e4-9a27-6fdb612bfb8_story.html (accessed 07.01.2015)

³ Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Honorary Director of the Institute for International Economic and Political Studies RAS. In 1989 he was elected a deputy of the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and in 1993 – to the State Duma. Author of over 600 publications, including the selected books: "Reforms from American and Russian Scholars' View", "Reforms in the Looking-Glass of International Comparisons", "My Chronicle of the Transition Period", "Mulling Over the Mundane", "World Economy in the Era of Globalization", "Non-Economic Facets of Economy: Unstudied Interaction" and others. Honorary President of the International Association of Economic Sciences; professor Honoris causa of Budapest University of Economics and Nankai University (China). He is awarded with the order of the October Revolution, the Red Banner (twice), the "Badge of Honour", "For merits before Fatherland" (degree 4 and 3).

ried about it. The majority of the world's population, as a rule, prefer stable, peaceful and predictable existence. Nevertheless, changes radically alter the life of mankind. They affect industry, transport, communications, agriculture, public functions, culture and many other spheres. Peaceful and military use of nuclear energy, as well as space exploration, have significantly changed our lives. Automation and computerization, modern means of communication and transport have brought about revolutionary changes in industry. The distances between continents have been reduced due to jet aviation. There is a transition underway to the next technological system – using nanotechnologies, genetic engineering, inventing new materials with particularly valuable properties. Radical innovations have affected both medicine and education.

At the same time, there appear signs of impending changes in the social structure, the rise of its new models. The world order and the geopolitical situation are changing. There appears a different configuration of international relations and cooperation of world civilizations. The uni-

polar world dominated by the US hegemony is giving way to a multipolar world, one that requires equality, respect for the interests and reconciliation of a greater range of countries. The credibility of America has tarnished. The pole of the political and economic attraction is increasingly moving from the West to the East, where China and India – the most populous states of the planet – are demonstrating record growth. The BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa) is also gaining momentum and influence. The idea of forming a common Eurasian space as a geopolitical reality is coming into being. As a result of globalization industry, trade, transport, communication, access to information, scientific cooperation and cultural exchanges are becoming subject to qualitative changes.

Along with the information, industrial¹ and geopolitical revolutions, social and political revolutions in various parts of the world are becoming more frequent. The dictatorial and autocratic regimes, which have remained in the world, are breaking down and giving way to democratic reforms.

21st century is marked by intensifying globalization. Global interdependence and mutual influence provide significant benefits, but at the same time, they make countries face serious challenges, which need to be answered in order to avoid crisis shocks. Breaking the conventional relations and institutions does not flow smoothly. According to the American philosopher Ervin Laszlo, the process of social evolution on our planet has approached the critical phase of macro shear. At the first stage it is accompanied by social and cultural disorder and even chaos, flashes of cruelty and violence, when political regimes demonstrate helplessness in the face of the impending changes, and the majority of the population spontaneously vent their displeasure, sometimes resorting to violence. We are now the victims of these processes, which sometimes overshadow the emerging changes for the better.

Decline of the American hegemony

Thereupon, impressive are the frantic efforts of the USA to counteract the decline of their hegemony. Failures of the hegemonic policy come one after another – in Libya, Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Egypt, and now in Ukraine. Modern Ukraine, which after the coup d'état was plunged by Kiev into chaos and fratricidal civil war, has become a bargaining chip in the US geopolitics. Splash of nationalism, neo-nazism, Russophobia, monstrous displays of vandalism, moral degradation, crime in Ukraine are in no way condemned by the US and their European partners. By imputing the blame on Russia for the humanitarian catastrophe that befell the south-eastern regions of Ukraine and that resulted from the punitive operation with the use of heavy weapons initiated by Kiev, the United States are trying to discredit and weaken our country. Shameless propaganda and economic sanctions, putting pressure on other states with the requirement to support the US in their adventurous policy are called into play. The crimes committed by Kiev are deliberately ignored by Western media.

Russia continues to make considerable efforts to address the arisen dangerous military, propaganda and trade confrontation via political means. But the prospect of the restoration of peace and cooperation in Europe on the basis

of the interests and will of its peoples, of overcoming the international tension remains doubtful.

Emerging changes in the social and economic structure

Unfortunately, the development of scientific and political thought in the global community, as well as the public conscience, clearly fails to keep pace with comprehending the nature and peculiarities of the changes taking place. The dominant ideology in the world, political practices and morality discredit themselves. Thus a need to find new models of public and economic structure, as well as the global world order, which would be adequate for the challenges of the 'macro shear' that is taking place, is more keenly felt. It is no coincidence that Forum 2014 in Davos was held under the theme '*The Reshaping of the World: Consequences for Society, Politics and Business*'. The discussions have shown how important it is that fundamental improvements in market and management mechanisms as well as humanitarian and democratic values, people's desire for peace, conciliation and social justice find their proper place in the new models. If Western scientific authorities have started to think about it, it is time we cleaned up our act.

Despite the fact that Russian President Vladimir Putin emphasises that the social orientation of a state policy is not a fad, but an intrinsic necessity, the existing reality does not confirm this. Arbitrary and unfair wages of the working population, exorbitant incomes earned by heads of the largest state-owned companies and institutions, as well as by oligarchs from the private sector, regressive taxation, when a tax of 9% is levied on stock dividends while for the rest of the employees 13% of their salary are collected as taxes, – all these factors lead to incredible social stratification. It seems that the government takes more care of the new bourgeoisie than of ordinary workers.

In recent years, it has become obvious that the *economy has its own humanitarian dimension*, and that sometimes the determining factor is the solution to the problems concerning ideology, politics, public opinion and order, the state structure, culture and morality rather than the ones related to the economic sphere, scientific and technological development. In the non-economic sphere, there is a large untapped potential of output growth and of improvement in the situation not only in Russia but also in the whole world. Moreover, at crucial and critical stages of development non-economic factors, a reasonable policy can acquire a leading role. It is in this field where measures must be taken in the first turn to change the situation for the better, isn't it?

It is useful to remember that the dominant ideology, controlling the conscience and behaviour of large masses of people, becomes, according to Karl Marx, an arm of flesh. A great economist of the 20th century John Maynard Keynes wrote: '...The ideas of economists and political thinkers – both when they are right and when they are wrong – are much more important than most people think. In reality, they are the only ones who rule the world...' ² Today new facts indicate the truth of these words.

The global crisis has showed how defective the so-called 'mainstream' of Western economic thought is, although Russian reformers have made it operational. It has

¹ See: The Third Industrial Revolution : Special Report // The Economist. 2012. Apr. 21–27.

² Keynes J. M. The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money // Anthology of Economic Classics. Moscow, 1993. Vol. 2. P. 432.

proved to be absolutely inadequate in the post-Soviet conditions. We have faced devastating consequences both in production and in the spiritual and humanitarian field. Sociological surveys register the depression felt by a large mass of the population, lack of sense of social justice, uncertainty about the future, catastrophes and disasters, acts of terrorism, which have become more frequent – all of these lead to a psychological shock.

There has occurred a split in the public conscience. There have appeared two mutually exclusive poles concerning the perception of the reforms and policies, which makes it difficult to restore the health of the society and the economy. Others factors hindering the progress of the society and economy are the fall of culture and morality, not to mention indifference towards politics, lack of patriotism, inherent in some part of the society, including young people.

It is time to realize that a human being, their culture, knowledge, ability, health, moral and spiritual condition are of key importance to the revival of Russia. Therefore, it is vital to set it a strategic priority to invest not only and not so much in new technology, but in a man, in strengthening the *human capital assets*.

Social cohesion, people's belief in the fairness and viability of the social system, trust in the leaders of the state are of no less importance. This is what is called the *social capital*, strengthening of which is increasingly becoming a key to the success of all other initiatives.

The urgency of changing the neo-liberal course, which has fallen short of expectations

Certainly, there comes up an age-old question: what is to be done? What should efforts be focused on in the first place to deal with the serious challenges of a new era? For us, it is also overcoming the negative consequences of neo-liberal market reforms. Let me remind you the truth, which has become a truism: the successful development of society and economy is unthinkable without a credible and effective governance and efficient public policy. Only the state has the power to oppose elements of unbridled enrichment of market participants, to ensure fair access of people to public goods and thereby contribute to the consolidation and stability of society. And, besides, to ensure the sovereignty and security of the state.

Unfortunately, the state mechanism of governance and compliance with the order in our country has proved dysfunctional, devoid of the immune system, which could cleanse it of the evils and insure it against blunders. The need for its improvement and strengthening by qualified and honest staff is obvious. All the more so as our private business has largely brought discredit upon itself due to the insatiable greed and social irresponsibility, immorality, neglect of national interests and the rule of law, and often merging with crime. The fight against corruption, bureaucracy, incompetence and dishonesty of officials at all levels has become one of the central functions of the state.

The attitude towards the state and its role in the economy is one of the key themes of rethinking of neo-liberal development concepts and thinking of new models of the arrangement of life; these are the processes that have started recently. In one of his latest books a Nobel laureate Joseph Stiglitz acknowledges fundamental flaws in the American model of capitalism. Other reputable scholars echo his

opinion. The UNCTAD¹ report, which states: 'Market fundamentalism, laissez-faire, over the last 20 years has dramatically failed the exam', is also evidence of *the revolution brewing up in minds*.

According to the magazine *The Economist*, 'The world is watching the sunrise of a new economic hybrid that could be called 'state capitalism'.² This magazine even put on its cover the portrait of V.I. Lenin, the creator of the NEP – apolicy, combining private-ownership market relations with the commanding heights of the economy under the control of the state. An impressive example of state capitalism, according to the magazine, is the Chinese model, which in the 21st century may become dominant for developing countries. Certainly, China does not abandon socialism with Chinese characteristics. *The nation is building, as its leaders claim, a rich, powerful, democratic, civilized and harmonious socialist state and sees it as a triumph of the dream of the greatness of the country.*

In short, the once forgotten concepts of integration (convergence) of the proven achievements of different social systems, the strengths of the liberal, and social and democratic ideologies have started to be discussed by many scholars, journalists and politicians of the world. In one of his recent publications 'Ideological crisis of Western capitalism', Joseph Stiglitz writes: 'The financial crisis was supposed to teach Americans (and others) the need for greater equality, stronger regulation, and a better balance between the market and the state. Unfortunately, this did not happen. On the contrary, the recovery of the right-wing economy driven by ideology and groups with special interests, once again threatens the global economy, or at least, Europe and America, where these ideas continue to prevail'.³

European countries, especially Scandinavian ones, have for a long time been practicing a model of the welfare state or socially oriented market economy. They are searching for new paradigms of development. But the traditional neo-liberal thinking has not yet lost its influence, and a significant part of Russia's political and business elite is committed to it.

Meanwhile, the constitution defines Russia as a *social state*. But its essence is not specified, so the society is deprived of guidance of development, not getting answers to important questions: 'What form of democracy will be implemented in our country? Which socio-economic system will the country come to as a result of the reforms? And what will it give to the people?' The lack of a clear perspective, of confidence in the future cannot but affect the public spirit of the citizens and the business climate in our country. And if even Joseph Stiglitz is absorbed in reflections on 'a third way between today's global capitalism and yesterday's compromised socialism'⁴, it would be a good idea for Russia's policy makers to attend to similar reflections.

Russia will have to choose a model and strategy for the social and economic development, which would naturally combine social and democratic orientation of the activities of the state, with its commanding position in the management of the planned economy and control of the market

¹ The Global Economic Crisis: System Failures and Multilateral Remedies. N. Y. : UN, 2009. P. III.

² The Economist. 2010. Jan. 23–29. P. 22.

³ Stiglitz J. Ideological Crisis of Western Capitalism. URL: http://www.project-sidicate.org/series/unconventional_economic_wisdom

⁴ Ibid.

economy. One cannot ignore the fact that a healthy economy has an important and integral component of humanitarian and social sphere, that *immoral economy is futureless*. The future is in the society, focused on meeting the immediate needs of the modern man, social justice, the development of culture, education, science, improving the nation's health, and so on. These strands of state policy should be emphasized. Strategically the results will not show up soon, years will have passed by that time, but they will be crucial to restore the power and greatness of the country.

For the time being most of the proposals concerning the improvement of the health of the Russian economy and acceleration of its growth relate to the objectives of technical innovations, improving the investment climate, increasing of the share of savings in GDP, overcoming inflation. The management reshuffle is put hopes on. All of these make sense, but, unfortunately, the strategic objectives of the future social and economic structure of life are overlooked. Today its possible model seems to be a distant dream, but it can become a driving force for development. We should take steps to living out this dream while clarifying goals and correcting errors. It is important that each next step should improve the lives of people and inflate hope in them.

Undervalued burning problems

Let me focus only on some urgent measures, which until recently have not been paid sufficient attention to. We are talking about agriculture, to be more precise, about the country's agro-industrial complex (APC), the current system of labour remuneration and in particular – the growing social and property stratification of the population, the urgent cultural revolution capable of qualitatively improving the spiritual and moral state of society, including education and upbringing of future generations.

Agriculture has traditionally been perceived as by no means promising and not at all a priority sector in the implementation of the country's modernization. Meanwhile, the reforms that have led to an unprecedented rise of the Chinese economy began with the agrarian sector. And in our country this sector contains huge untapped reserves of accelerated and sustainable development and security of the country. Toughening Western sanctions against Russia and our taking measures to counter them has made it particularly important for the state to support the development of Russian agricultural business and to substitute food import with our own production. This gives hope.

Russia, which today has nearly 40 million hectares of unused arable land and which is abundant in water resources, is not only able to feed itself, but also to become the world's largest exporter of agricultural products. This is promising for several reasons. The investment efficiency in the agricultural sector is relatively higher than that in the industry. Revolutionary advances in biology and agricultural engineering, in mechanization are able to bring the profitability of agriculture closer to the level of that of oil and gas output. In addition, the increase in population and the improvement of living standards in many developing countries lead to a steady rise in demand for food, which is on hand for exporters.

Unlocking the major economic potential of agriculture, however, requires a substantial correction of the state's attitude to it, first of all – eliminating unequal exchange of food products for the manufactured goods needed in the

village. This applies to price regulation, taxation and credit conditions, eliminating unnecessary intermediaries between producers and direct consumers of food products, the creation of marketing and processing co-operatives in rural areas. The state financial and material support for agriculture should include constructing roads, electrification, gasification, access to telephone, Internet, basic TV channels, health care and so on. We also cannot do without building modern dwellings for villagers, children's, educational and cultural institutions. But most importantly – we cannot do without training a new class of educated citizens who are knowledgeable about modern techniques and agricultural engineering. All this will lead to a more equitable settlement of residents of the country across its vast territory.

Another direction of key importance is bringing order to the system of remuneration for workers of different professions and in sectors of society. Unfortunately, injustice and economic groundlessness of labour remuneration is widespread across the country. There is an underestimation of work in many professions, which is accompanied by a number of destructive consequences. Discipline and attitude of employees to their duties suffer, productivity and quality of work get worse, creative initiative is suppressed, and there appears a temptation of additional dishonest 'earnings', including bribery, embezzlement and other ways.

An impressive difference in the average salary for the same kinds of skills and labour is not caused by the quality of work, but by differences in financial, economic and socio-political situation, which individual segments of society and economy encounter (not without the state's participation). Due to such segmentation of society and economy Russia stands out among the leading countries of the world. For example, in the privileged export industries of fuel and raw materials sector, as well as in the banking sector, the average salary is three times higher than that of teachers, doctors, workers of culture, honest and experienced common managers, employees in textile and consumer industry, and so on. Many of those working on television, in show business, lawyers, administrators, let alone top managers of large companies enjoy over-generous incomes and earnings.

The financial gulf that separates ordinary workers from government appointees, heading the 'commanding heights' of the economy, such as Rosneft and Gazprom, is unprecedented. The annual income of the President of Rosneft Igor Sechin, according to Forbes magazine, is \$50 million. (16.5 billion roubles, or 55 million roubles per month), the income of the Chairman of the Board of VTB (Vneshtorgbank) Andrei Kostin is \$35 million.

The moral consequences of unfair wages are of particular concern because they split the society. The role and dignity of employees, who are valuable to society, its culture and economy – scholars, inventors, designers, artists and musicians – are undeservingly depreciated. The prestige of a man is more frequently defined not by his labour achievements, talent and moral qualities, but by wealth: a luxury car, a chic city apartment and a country house. All these factors are poisoning the moral atmosphere in the society, devaluing all the conventional moral values. The spiritual and moral damage done to the nation is beyond counting, but it is great. It affects not only the economy, education and health, science, art, culture in general, but also safety – both foreign and domestic. It is clear that the task is to

bring if not levels (in poor countries with low labour productivity, they are certainly lower), but at least the proportions between remunerations for employees of trades varying in importance and required skills in line with international practices and with the objective laws of reproduction of labour resources.

The influence of spiritual culture on economic development is too significant to neglect the objectives of its priority development. Unfortunately, it is rarely taken into account in strategic planning. The concept of culture encompasses many aspects of development of society and in terms of content, it is close to the concept of 'civilization'. In a broad sense, 'culture' refers to the experience in creating material and spiritual values accumulated by mankind and by every people, as well as the stored value and goods, ennobling and extolling a man, improving the quality of his life.

We can assume that the material culture is primarily represented by the economy, the national wealth of a country, its productive potential. The development of the economy reflects the level of the material culture of a nation. However, the main content of culture is its spiritual and humanistic component. Achievements of the human mind, gains of sciences, masterpieces of art, the richness of language and literature, moral and religious ideals that determine the behaviour and relationships of people – that's what the public conscience usually associates with the notion of 'culture' and estimation of its level. Intellectual, spiritual culture of the nation today, as never before, becomes a factor of social and economic progress. The modern society and economy are based on knowledge, on the greatest achievements of culture. The level of elitist and popular culture is a key indicator of the degree of development and authority of different civilizations in the world.

The culture of the people is rightly judged by its outstanding representatives: writers, poets, artists, actors, scholars, philosophers – educators, preachers, publicists, inventors and so on. They form the spiritual climate of society, enrich the culture with their creativity, and define its greatest achievements and moral principles. It is no coincidence that Maxim Gorky called writers engineers of human souls. But these days, the souls are being dominated by television and the cinema, the media are bringing souls under control.

The elite brings culture to the masses. However, here we should make a reservation. A part of the society, which is generally considered to be the intellectual elite, including its most influential segment – the political class, is rather heterogeneous. Lack of culture, ignorance, vulgarity, immorality, lack of principles also have their representatives in the elite and power structures. Using their influence, they can corrupt the human souls, spread false knowledge and ideals, and instil bad tastes and standards of conduct. In culture, as well as in society, there is a clash of good and evil, of the sublime and the profane, of innovation and misanthropy. The struggle of contradictions eventually results in progressive development, but at times, there is observed a temporary setback. Changing the social order based on radical and liberal reforms has plunged Russia's society into a deep crisis, accompanied by the degradation of mass and elite culture.

The decline in the level of culture is a serious obstacle to economic development. Unfortunately, it is usually un-

derestimated. I shall mention only some lines of interdependence of these two spheres of public life. The analysis requires separate consideration of the role of the elite and mass culture. Both the former and the latter are, of course, interrelated, but they have different effects on the economy. Increasing its efficiency and competitiveness largely depends on the state of popular culture, rather than elitist culture. At least, it is true for the current moment. Strategically the defining role belongs to the elite culture.

Examples of the low cultural level of the Russian population are encountered everywhere. The lack of counteraction to incivility leads to its strengthening. Failure to comply with the laws and basic norms of behaviour in the community and society, self-interest and selfishness, trampling the interests of others, unreliability, carelessness, individualism, contempt for the slightest manifestations of human solidarity and reciprocity – all of these poison the social climate in the country, have a negative impact on labour and economic activity. Massive spread of corruption, embezzlement, theft and fraud, which turn into a deadly disease of the economy, have yet more destructive consequences. The economy also suffers from alcoholism and drug addiction, tyranny of officials. Such acts of barbarism as immorality, violation of the rules of hygiene, environment pollution, and barbaric attitude to nature are also rather harmful. As a result, the economy suffers considerable losses; the quality of life and the health of the population deteriorate. The country has to provide for a huge army of peace officers and private security guards, pad the bureaucratic regulatory authorities. It takes a lot of effort and money to remove garbage from public places.

Unwillingness to comply with traffic rules, the desire to bypass others in traffic jams, gain an advantage at the expense of law-abiding drivers is a typical pattern in modern Russia. It results in thousands of accidents, numerous victims. People lose time, not to mention the loss of property and health. Our country has a record number of road deaths per 1,000 vehicles. The economy suffers huge losses from catastrophes, fires and other disasters, the cause of which is the human factor, low professional culture, lack of discipline, neglecting their duties.

The high level of crime, corruption, embezzlement of public funds is undoubtedly the product of many unfavourable circumstances, particularly impoverishment of large masses of the population, as well as the weakness of the state and its law enforcement institutions. But it is impossible not to see that in the course of the hasty and ill-considered reforms the moral foundations of society were undermined, its culture and culture-bearers were devalued. Moreover, television and the press indulge the base tastes and interests. Violence, robbery, sex have become the prevalent themes of books and TV programs. Mass media promote a luxury life and Western consumption standards, which are inaccessible for most of the Russian people. An average person, barely making ends meet and bearing the burden of numerous everyday problems, feels humiliated. The society was doomed and is doomed to the spiritual emptiness. It affects workforce productivity. Good faith and selfless work remain unclaimed and unrewarded morally and financially. Moreover, they are often punished by those who gain gratuitous earnings by botch work and cheating.

It is necessary to complete the list of shortcomings with the lack of adequate political culture and civil responsibility

for the situation in the country. Those who were enthusiastic about the changes and rested high hopes on the reforms, met with a bulk, lost their faith in the reformers. None of the latter apologized for their terrible errors and mistakes, and none of them was punished. Instead, they tend to be at the top of their career ladder again and make frequent appearances on television screens.

Due to impoverishment and attempts to survive people did not have much time and energy left to social activities and to thinking about politics. Mass media distracted their attention from the troubles in life by showing on TV action-series, lowbrow humour entertainers, musical shows, and sports programs. Their consciousness was manipulated by offering the information that was convenient for the authorities. Under such circumstances, the formation of civil society and effective democracy became elusive. Lack of political culture has become an obstacle to the disclosure of the creative potential of the nation and improvements in the social order, has made it difficult for the economy to recover.

Creative intellectuals, public politicians, public and religious figures, business leaders play an important role in countering the decline in the level of mass culture. They should set an example of gaining knowledge, culture, intelligent and responsible behaviour, respect for the national cultural heritage and moral values. Their role in the detection of errors and mistakes in policy and correcting its course, in the preservation of national culture could be rather significant. Unfortunately, the Russian elite, especially the political elite, has proved to be unequal to the situation. The level of their experience and knowledge was clearly not consistent with the scale of reforms undertaken, and the moral foundations gave way to lust for power and getting rich quickly. Thus, perverse behaviour guidelines for a large mass of the population were set. Spiritual values were quickly forgotten in favour of mercantile interests. The market needed a mass unpretentious demand, which promised quick and high returns.

The expensive elite culture turned out to be unclaimed, as it had a narrow range of consumers, and its achievements did not promise quick money. Therefore, it was no coincidence that in literature, films, and on television, an honest and conscientious worker was no longer a hero, especially because he became impoverished overnight. 'Knights of Fortune' the new rich people, mafia thugs and crooks of different colours, surrounded by their hangers, occupied his place. Teachers, doctors, scholars and many other intellectuals and representatives of the former middle class became the 'new poor'. At the forefront of the public attention came 'new Russians' with their expensive cars, luxury apartments, holiday villas and other attributes of high social status. Outstanding figures of art and science often found recognition and decent remuneration not at home but abroad.

Commercialisation of public relations made an impact on the Russian creative intellectuals, literature, films, music, theatre and the visual arts. Many ministers of culture sacrificed their high ideals of the good and eternal to please the undemanding audience. It was required that schools should reduce the number of hours devoted to the study of classical Russian literature and language, our history. The best examples of spiritual creativity of the nation proved less and less popular and lost their educational role.

Market freedoms deny non-market patterns of culture development. Examples of antagonism between market and

morality, market and culture are abundant. Just a few positive examples can be set against them. Therefore, there are louder calls to contain the market ego, the unrestrained pursuit of profit, to demand from businessmen and officials to be socially responsible. In other words, society expects them to care not only about their own, but also about the public good.

The economy suffers from negative changes in consciousness and behaviour. Rudeness, anger that people face at home and outside the home, can permanently ruin the mood. They poison the social climate; reflect in the quality and productivity of labour. Until the moral norms and principles have become part of the general culture, it is necessary to compel people to abide by the law, to observe the rules of the community, using the authority of the government, the press, television.

Education plays an important role in fostering morality and culture. But it seems that the authors of reforms in this sphere do not care about it. Schools do not really teach children courtesy, household hygiene, rules of conduct in public places, and many other things. Not every family can fill this gap.

The rise of culture in all of its meanings cannot but be among the priorities of the state. This is a vital prerequisite for the modernization of the economy, harmonious development and prosperity of the whole society. Therefore, budget money should be invested in the development of culture. Rapid and tangible improvements cannot be expected here, but strategically the country will certainly gain. The situation cannot be corrected only by means of propaganda campaigns in the press and on television. It is necessary to carry out cultural and educational activities to increase awareness continually and persistently, with particular attention to the younger generation. The selection of competent tutors of good morals has not yet become an affair of the authorities. Those who see technological innovation as a factor in renewal of the country should not forget that the investment in building the cultural potential of the nation could bring no less, and even greater returns in the modernization of the country.

Humanized economic theory and ideology

The tectonic shifts in all areas of lives of countries and peoples, as well as in the system of their relations, which are going on nowadays, challenge the theoretical thought and upset many established notions. In fact, there appears a new approach to economic theory and to understanding of the economy as an integral part of the whole social order. Many now believe that the man, his culture, knowledge, skills, health, and the state of mind are essential to human progress. Everything connected with the ennoblement of man, revealing his creative qualities, creating the necessary conditions, is included in the concept of humanism in its modern perception. Humanism is the antithesis of inhumanity. Inhumane is cruelty and oppression of people, depriving them of their rights and freedoms, shameless exploitation of their labour, which makes some extremely rich, and others—extremely poor, violation of human dignity, violence, and absence of dialogue in resolving conflicts are inhumane. But it is not only the violation of cultural and moral values developed over the centuries by mankind. Inhuman manifestations in politics and the political system brake the technological and economic development.

Compliance with humanitarian values contributes to the increase in national income and output growth, although it is not always possible to quantify. But scholars and politicians are beginning to understand that the prosperity of their states, their international prestige are now more and more determined by the spiritual and moral state of the society, the achievements in the field of culture, science and education. Social justice and social cohesion, equality, respect for human dignity and solidarity – all of these have a direct impact on the economy. The belief in the rightness of the ideals and social justice can become a major driving force of the economy.

The humanitarian component in achieving sustainable economic recovery, the use of substantial reserves, inherent in this area, have laid the foundation for a new direction in science – the study of the natural interdependence of economics and non-economic factors that influence and sometimes determine economic outcomes. These include the dominant ideology, policy and strategic provisions, the state structure, spiritual and moral climate in the society, the state of science, education, health, and the quality of the political and business elite. ‘The humanized economy’, which has not yet gained a well-established name, is already represented in Russia and in the West by serious publications that can help find the best models of the order of life.

Piotr Dutkiewicz¹

GLOBAL STRATEGIC INSTABILITY – A FIVE THOUGHTS

Let me start this presentation from a central question that I will try to answer: what are the key reasons for the current global system to start disintegrating and what most likely be the main consequences of that process.

1. Government of all sorts (democratic and authoritarian) are finding that it is more and more difficult to govern.

It is increasingly difficult to tax the rich, keep social peace, capture terrorists, integrate immigrants, keep the middle class not losing too much, keep protesting poor out of the government buildings.

Crisis of 2008–2010 with its vibrations still around us has triggered a new crisis of international and domestic governability as states/governments are increasingly difficult to control events within their borders. It also clarified the murky process of the paradigms change thus serving as catalysts for moving faster from What Zygmunt Bauman calls as “inter-regnum” to a new “new norm”.

The sources of instability are different in each country, but what is common between Egypt, Syria, France or Russia is that most “instability” comes from within each state. So-called international problems more and more frequently “start at home”. For Russia – as for most countries – the pressures that are coming from outside are compounded by pressures that are coming from within her own society. Egypt, Ukraine, Syria are becoming a classic cases to observe. People in OECD countries until 2008 had high expectations after 40 years of stability, stable wages in most sectors of the economy that future in – at least – not worse than today; all of that is disappearing fast.

So, why that is happening?

¹ Co-director of the Centre for Governance and Public Management at Carleton University (Canada), professor of Political Science. He is the author and editor of many books, among them: “Eurasian Integration – The View From Within” (co-ed.), “22 Ideas to Fix the World. Conversations with the World’s Foremost Thinkers” (co-ed.), “New Technologies in Public Administration as Reflected by Canadian and Russian Experience” (co-ed.), “Democracy versus Modernization, A Dilemma for Russia and for the World” (co-ed.), “Russia – The Challenges of Transformation” (co-ed.), “Juvenile Justice in Russia” (co-auth), “New Europe: The Impact of the First Decade. Variations on the Pattern” (co-ed.). He is a member of the Valdai Club. Awarded the Order of Friendship (Russia), received the Embassy of Canada in the Russian Federation Award for his “distinguished and sustained contributions to Canada-Russia relations” and the Research Excellence Award from Carleton’s Faculty of Public Affairs.

There are at least *two ways* to explain that process.

A. One was provided partially by Ivan Krastev. Reconstruction of his idea goes as follow:

a) In the economic sense starting from 1917 (with Russia) and going to the 1930s society at large, but also the political class, lost its trust in the market as the best way to allocate resources and to develop the economy, and in response to the crisis a new paradigms emerged. Trust in the market was lost but was compensated for by increased trust in government as an economic manager. Confidence in the capacity of government to overcome the destructive nature of the market was a shared belief in Roosevelt’s America, Stalin’s Russia and Nazi Germany (Keynesian model emerged).

b) In a similar way, in the 1970s in the West societies lost trust in the government as an economic actor, but at the same time there was a regained trust in what the market can deliver (i.e. Hayek Europe /Friednam Chicago, USA, model dominated).

c) Next is the market revolution of the 1980s coming with the neo-liberal approach. It strongly asserted the value of choice and it opened up much space for innovation, but it also delegitimized the very idea of a public interest. Capitalism did a lot to increase the choice of the people and in many respects created freedom for consumers and citizens; but an accompanying idea was that you don’t need to bother anymore about what’s happening in your society, you don’t need the civic-minded citizen anymore, it’s enough to pursue your individual interest in the framework of the law, and the public interest is meant somehow to emerge automatically.

As a result people lost faith in both market and state as distrust in the market has not been parallel to growing confidence in the state. The next step was to lose faith in market and – consequently in liberal democracy.

Seem to me that we have entered – thus – a period of strategic instability as defined by in-ability to govern at different levels of global units (using previous methods of securing obedience to the system).

B. Zygmunt Bauman – a famous macro-sociologist has proposed another explanation. In a nutshell his argument is that even big powers are very much constrained

and have limited capacity to govern because all we are in a state of the “inter-regnum”. The so called “inter-regnum” according to Bauman – is an updated version of Antonio Gramsci’s of a state of affairs in which the inherited means of having things done no longer work, yet the new and more adequate ways have not been invented, let alone deployed.

This particular interregnum has been caused by the progressing separation and divorce of power (ability to have things done) and politics (ability to decide which things are to be done), and the resulting disparity between the tasks and the tools serving them: on one side power increasingly free from political control and politics increasingly suffering a deficit of power on the other. Powers increasingly global and extra-territorial confronted with politics BEING territorial and local as before. Bauman further argues that our interdependence is already global, whereas our instruments of collective action and will-expression are as before local and stoutly resisting extension, infringement and/or limitation. The gap between the scope of interdependence and the reach of institutions called to service it is already abysmal, yet day by day widening and deepening.

Let me link those approaches together in terms of their consequences for the global governance Global governance:

To put this in a nutshell: we are still deprived of a global equivalent/homologue of the institutions invented, designed and put into operation by our predecessors at the level of the territorial nation-state in order to secure the marriage of power and politics: such institutions as serve or at least meant and pressed to serve the coalescence and coordination of diffuse interests and opinions, their proper representation and reflection in the practice of executive organs and universally binding code of laws as well as juridical procedures.

2. Here comes the central issue of power.

First me try to define it before make further analysis; power can be defined in many ways but let us consider three propositions power = confidence in obedience (Nitzan, Bichler); Power – as ability do things (to effectively follow political decisions – Bauman) and new Power = as externalization of own/domestic problems (the idea of a state that is foxy state – outsmarting the system by – if you wish – exporting own problem and placing them on the shoulders of others (example: US – printing money):

a) *Z. Bauman position is that gap between politics and power is widening; my position is that we a double global shifts: one – geographical (regional-west-south east) shift of power and another simultaneous – of power shifting its locus – power without the center that is able to constrain it. In other words power is increasingly free from apolitical control.*

b) The once uncontested leaders of every arena – from religion to government and from military to finance – are increasingly aware that they face unprecedented constraints in what they can do with the power they have. *Power has become easier to get, harder to use and far easier to lose. (Moises Naim).*

c) In many ways, this shift in power is good, and there is much to celebrate. Society is freer, and options are greater. Voters have more choice.

d) But it’s not all a rosy picture. The crisis of power is troubling, especially when it comes to tackling some of the

world’s most serious threats. There are many number of issues that require collective international action. That means countries working together and synchronizing their policies at home and internationally – an endeavor that, unfortunately, is never easy and in recent years has too often become an unattainable goal.

Earlier I said that “power is increasingly free from a political control”. If that is the case than

3. The essential notion of sovereignty is also undergoing a serious mutations.

First a sort of term clarification – to me a “Sovereign” is the state that controls “dominant rationality of its development”. Dominant rationality – “sovereign states” have the ability to impose type of economic and institutional rationality (model) that fits into their current stage of development; weaker countries are subject to a rationality imported or imposed from outside; it means that in “great countries” developmental models – that is the way decision makers and elites think about the market, society, institutions are formative to others as “required or desirable norm” that has to replicated elsewhere; for instance debates about “small state”, “neoliberalism”, “democracy”, “free trade” are examples of externally imposed standards of rationality that guide policy choices; in other words great countries are able to suggest solutions (market and social) that are relevant to their particular stage of development and serves their purposes thus creating “asymmetry of rationality” in a sense that “recipients of advice” may be not at the same historical stage of development.

Imposition of rationality is de facto subordination as the “dominant rationality” serves mostly those who introduced it in its own interests and thus it distorts search for genuinely “domestic solutions”. In other words we shall avoid the situation in which we are told that systemic, global compatibility requires certain standards that are – domestically – violate internal evolution and existence of historically accepted norms and institutions. Another consequence of “asymmetry of rationality” I that orientation towards outside standards deforms the system as not-endogenous processes and institutions block self-referentiality (orientation towards “yourself” rather than “the Other”) thus blocks genuine, stronger self-identification; in turn, lack of the sense of “who are we” makes legitimization both domestic and external legitimization impossible or difficult (how to legitimate something that is “foreign” to the system).

Framing the discourse & setting up agenda (“internal and international povestka dnia”). “Great countries” are able to avoid the trap of following someone’s agenda; Having the ability to frame discourse is equal to freedom of choice in shaping its own agenda and part of the state sovereignty.

We may come to the conclusion that old notion of internal and external sovereignty is becoming obsolete as de facto this is one undivided notion; the main implication of that is that governments *have to work 24/7 to maintain it – it is time to present one more idea.*

4. Seeing power, sovereignty and liberal democracy – to see the future:

a) Liberal democracy does not guarantee stable governance as elections (even most democratic can be nullified by the people on the street); so systemic order is disrupted; *but*

b) Too strong internal sovereignty can lead to becoming sovereign from its own society.

Finally – Potential Responses from the emerging economies and “smaller states” not along the “West against the rest” but “World Beyond the West”.

Looking beyond false choice (LIBERALISM OR CONFLICT), we can see that rising powers are starting to build a “World Beyond West” that “bypass” the existing international order. It is increasingly clear that the emerging powers are slowly but firmly deepening ties among themselves in all areas. In so doing, they were loosening in relative terms the ties that bind them to the liberal international system centered in the West. What is happening is a concerted effort by the emerging powers to construct parallel multilateral constructions that are going around the liberal order with a consequence of changing the world we know today.

This argument made a lot of people uncomfortable, mostly because of a depth and attractiveness of the existing liberal order and coming unpredictability.

What is also interesting that “the rest” knowing its limitations are proposing a PROCESS instead of a MODEL. The question is not whether these new institutions can “replace” elements of the tenuous global order, but rather whether they are developing at a rate, in a direction and with a purpose that will offer meaningful alternatives in a few years from now.

5. In conclusions a final note on the Multipolar world.

The construction of the new world order, which was spoken about profusely 25 years ago, has not led to success. With a collapse of Soviet U. – U.S. has not been able to manage world processes; actually the opposite has happened.

For the sake of fairness it must be said that the desired multipolar world that is evolving today does not promise order or harmony or equilibrium. It is creating new set of challenges that we are not ready to face as yet.

Nourhan El Sheikh¹

CLASH OF INTERESTS: INSTABILITY AND GLOBAL UNCERTAINTY

National interest is one of the concepts that sparked controversy, particularly with regard to its definition, as the concept takes different contents according to the context within which it raises, and the aim stands behind that. This is in addition to the lack of agreement over what exactly the goals and priorities of national interest, not only among politicians and decisionmakers in each country, but among the literature of international relations as well.

National interest can be defined as “the framework within which the decision makers direct and organize their foreign policy”. National interest, like a compass, guides and determines the behavior of state at the international level. The national interest in this regard includes a wide range of interests, which can be elaborated within three main pillars.

1. Security: As security is the first and basic need for individuals, it is also for states. Securing the state, its borders, and protecting the society from internal and external threats is a basic goal for any state. Security does not mean absence of threats, but the ability to deal with them successfully and protect the state and its people from the risks involved, and to achieve the stability needed for development and progress in various fields. Security is no longer limited to the traditional military dimension, it has expanded to include a wide range of dimensions that deal with non-military threats. Energy security and water security, for example, are not less important.

2. Economic development: Achieving economic growth and development, self-sufficiency of basic needs, and improving standard of living and services provided to people, are among the priorities of national interest.

3. Preservation of national identity, values, traditions and cultural heritage is also considering a national interest priority.

Although working on these three pillars of national interest should be parallel, in most of the cases the country gives priority to one of them. That varies from one country to another, and from time to another in the same country. The political leadership in any country has a pivotal role in pinpointing its national interests and priorities among them. The leadership is the first in charge in identifying and adopting policies that ensure national interest. In this regard he/she does not operate in a vacuum but in a context of internal and external environment affect them and their available options.

Perhaps the important question is on the limits of national interest. In other words, is the aggression on sovereign state acceptable on the grounds of national interest to another, as the United States did in Iraq?

There is no doubt that the right of any country to protect its national interest should respect other countries interests. There must be a balance of the interests within which every nation can achieve some of its interests. That balance of interests is a prerequisite for the stability of the world. However, the general trend of international interactions reflects that clash of interests among nations seems to be inevitable and also the conflict among them.

Clash of Interests and the New Cold War

United States adopts a global strategy based on the propagation of influence and global hegemony. Despite the relative decline of America’s capacity, and its failure in dealing with many international and regional crises, Washington insists on continuing expansion in the world under the guise of globalization. The American National Security Strategy 2015 announced by Barack Obama, stressed that the strengthening of American power policies, militarily and economically and maintaining the American leadership of the world is its main goal. To achieve that Washington is moving along three parallel pillars.

The first pillar, is economic one, including its attempt to control oil and gas sources and pipelines and influence the

¹ Professor of Political Science at Cairo University, member of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs. He is the author of many books, among them: “Theory of International Relations”, “Soviet and Russian Attitudes toward Arab Unity”, “Russian Foreign Policy in the Middle East”, “Restructuring Russian Foreign Policy 1985–1996”, “Decision Making Process in Russia” and some others.

energy market, through its access to the global energy market as an energy exporter.

The United States has very rapidly become a powerhouse as an exporter of finished petroleum products, natural gas liquids, other oils including ethanol, and even crude oil with, total gross exports of all of these combined reached 5 million barrels per day (mb/d) in 2014.

Although the United States is the 2nd largest energy consumer in terms of use (about 50% of the nation's energy comes from petroleum and natural gas). Data showed that the United States has reduced its net oil imports (that is, net imports of crude oil and petroleum products combined) by a stunning 8.7 mb/d over a very short period of time, that's more than the total production of any country in the world other than the United States, Russia, and Saudi Arabia. Just eight years ago, in August 2006, the United States imported, net, a little over 13.4 mb/d of crude and products; by the middle of 2014, that had fallen to 4.7 mb/d. The oil import gaps expected to be totally closed well before the end of the decade, possibly by 2019 if not by 2018, at which time the United States should become a net exporter of crude oil and petroleum products combined.

That is poised to usher in disruptive changes to global oil markets, trade, and investment. And how this process unfolds is sure to create new winners and losers as it re-makes the global energy landscape.

Some believe that the United States "made" the Ukrainian crisis with a basic objective is to hit the Russian economy by undermining Russia's energy exports to Europe, and to repeat the Soviet Union scenario when oil prices fell sharply and affected the Soviet economic capabilities. That was a main factor led to the disintegration of the Soviet Union early nineties.

Washington is trying to re-draw a new world energy map in light of discovering huge reserves of shale oil and gas in the United States. American companies have been able to produce shale oil in large quantities and at relatively low for the expected costs. Shale oil formed about 29% of the total American oil production, while shale gas accounts for about 40% of the total natural gas production in the United States, according to 2012 estimates, compared to only 1% in 2000.

The increased importance of the oil and gas pipelines, that turned from just a way for fuel transfer, to the arteries of life for many countries and a tool to increase its influence, explains US policy toward several areas rich in energy sources or serve as an actual or potential pass for energy.

Some explains the US policy on Syria and its role in the escalation of conflict there with the attempt to extend lines of energy through Syrian territory. According to US geologist survey there are about 120 trillion cubic feet of gas recoverable in the eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea, which includes the coast of Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Cyprus. In the case of American control on Syria, or even some parts of it, these fields and reserves would become under the American control, preventing Russians and Iranians to work and invest in, where Iran and Russia participated in projects to help Lebanon and Syria in the exploration and development of their fields. Syria also is a key to Asia through the line that runs from Iran through Turkmenistan to China and vice versa from the Caspian Sea region, the proposed line, which may extend from Iran through Iraq, Syria and Lebanon to the sea (New Silk Road).

In the Caspian Sea region, United States has pumped investments in projects such as the pipeline Baku – Tbilisi – Ceyhan to transport oil from Azerbaijan to Mediterranean coast and from there to Europe through Georgia and Turkey. United States also supported another mega project, "Nabucco", which includes construction of a pipeline stems from the three countries in Central Asia: Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, to the west of the Caspian seabed until Azerbaijan, and from there to Georgia, then Turkey and then to Europe in order to compete with Russia in the European market gas. The United State has serious concerns about the growing Russian influence in the global energy market, and being without doubt, a giant in the field of energy. Energy resources of oil and natural gas are not just commercial goods, they are strategic geopolitical resources.

This explains the rush of American companies to invest in the energy sector in Azerbaijan and Central Asia. Dick Cheney, American former vice President, called in his speech at the NATO summit in 2006, to diversify European energy sources. The European Union has also repeatedly declared its intention to reduce the role of the Russian company "Gazprom" in Europe, through other sources of Central Asia and the Caucasus. In the light of extreme tension which haunts the relations between Russia and the West, and penalties exchange between the two sides, which was called "sanctions war", Washington and Brussels returned to talk again about the need to diversify energy sources to Europe.

Both United States and European Union have persistently launched threats to punish Moscow and isolate it. They adopted a number of escalatory actions including those aimed the Russian energy sector and major subsidiaries in the field. The European Union discussed the possibility of reducing its dependence on Russian gas in an attempt to put pressure on Russia and strangle its economy. They confirmed the need to diversify energy sources supplied to Europe in coordination with the United States within the framework of the "Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement", includes the supply of American shale gas to Europe and cooperation between the two sides in the application of new technologies to save energy. Also activate efforts to implement the "Southern Corridor" project, the European Commission initiative, to transport energy resources from Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and others to Europe without going through Russia.

Some question the ability to enter these proposals into force in the short term. The alternative energy transmission lines need a significant investment and time to be implemented. American shale oil and gas will remain much expensive than the cost of Russian gas, in a time the European economy is facing difficulties and is not willing to bear additional costs. It is obvious that Europe cannot dispense with the Russian energy in the near future.

On the other hand, escalating international "polarization" may lead to the Russian focus on Asian energy markets. Deepening the strategic and economic cooperation that already exists between Russia and the Asian powers, foremost China and India would be a Russian priority.

Cold War is back, not on ideological grounds, as was the case between the Soviet Union and US, but on the basis of the clash of interests between Russia and the West.

The clash of interests also exists between the United States and China particularly in the South China Sea re-

gion, where third of global marine cargo cross. The amount of oil coming from the Middle East through it toward East Asia is estimated by about three times the amount that cross through the Suez Canal, and about 15 times compared to the amount that cross Panama channel. This represents about two-thirds of the energy supply for South Korea and 60% for Japan and Taiwan, and 80% of China.

South China Sea region also contains huge reserves of oil and natural gas, estimated at around 7 billion barrels of oil and about 900 trillion cubic meters of natural gas. That makes the South China Sea close to the Gulf region in terms of its importance in the global energy market in near future. Within this context Washington is encouraging Vietnam and Philippine to take strong positions against Beijing with respect to the disputed islands issues in the South China Sea particularly after China began to exploit its wealth through China National Offshore Oil Company (CNOOC), Chinese state-owned in May 2014.

The second pillar, is a military one, affected by the Cold War mentality and pattern of thinking and originating in NATO expanding in terms of membership, functions and partners. Strengthening American missile shield and the alliance capabilities near the Russian border in Eastern Europe, especially Poland, Baltic States, and in both Black Sea and Baltic Sea is a clear example for that. The alliance recently announced the formation of a rapid reaction force of several thousand soldiers in Eastern Europe. It is also going to establish five military bases in Eastern European countries and send them heavy weapons, including tanks and armored vehicles, for the first time since these countries became part of Western defense system and joined NATO membership in 1999 and 2004. Moscow considered that a violation for NATO commitment to Russia in 1997, according to which NATO should not keep permanent bases in eastern and central Europe.

The map of NATO partners also expand dramatically. During the NATO summit in October 1993, the United States launched the "Partnership for Peace" program to establish extensive military cooperative relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States. The program has started in January 1994, and the Commonwealth states joined it respectively.

At the same time NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue was initiated in 1994 which currently involves seven non-NATO countries of the Mediterranean region: Egypt, Algeria, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia. A decade later NATO's Istanbul Cooperation Initiative was launched at the Alliance's Summit in 2004, offering countries of the broader Middle East region practical bilateral security cooperation with NATO. It includes Bahrain, Qatar, Kuwait and Emirates.

In addition to its formal partner, NATO cooperates on an individual basis with a number of countries which are not actually part of its formal partnership frameworks. Referred to as "partners across the globe" or simply "global partners", they include Afghanistan, Australia, Iraq, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Mongolia, New Zealand and Pakistan. Some of those contribute actively to NATO operations either militarily or in some other way.

The American Secretary of defense, announced in 2012 that the United States would deploy the bulk of the marine fleet between the Pacific and the Atlantic Ocean to the 60% to 40% in favor of the Pacific Ocean and docking in larg-

est number of ports in a wider area up to the Indian Ocean, parallel with the strengthening of military partnerships in the region, in order to activate the American role in a vital region for the future of the United States. That is part of a new American military strategy presented by Barack Obama puts Asia, not Europe, as strategic priority in addition to the Middle East.

In this context, Washington signed an agreement with Vietnam in December 2013 to support the task of the Vietnamese Coast Guard forces in protecting its sovereignty over the South China Sea. United States also reached an agreement to allow American ships and aircraft using the Philippine bases.

The third pillar of the American global strategy is a political claim of spreading democracy, by force in Iraq, and across the color revolutions in Russia's neighborhood, and the "Arab Spring" in the Arab region.

During that process the United States destroyed the national sovereignty of many Arab countries, notably Libya, Syria, and Yemen which have lost their sovereignty and territorial integrity. Washington is trying to break up the big entities in the Arab world, according to religious, denominational and sectarian lines, and fueling conflicts and civil wars within Arab states, which threatens with large-scale regional wars.

More seriously, is the American support for terrorist organizations and Islamic extremist movements to overthrow regimes not liking to Washington. Since the fifties of the last century and over more than six decades the United States allied itself with Islamic extremist groups allegedly confronting communism. Washington and a number of European capitals, especially London opened their doors and embraced the fleeing Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt and other Middle East countries after committing acts of violence and terror.

This alliance between Washington and extremist groups was reinforced after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, where the Muslim Brotherhood cooperated with the CIA and pushed thousands of their followers to fight in Afghanistan and support Washington plans. Moreover, the United States supported the formation of new terrorist organizations to serve American interests. As Britain supported the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1920s in Egypt to break up the unity of the Egyptian society and hit the Egyptian national movement demanding for independence, the CIA created Al-Qaeda and supported bin Laden during its operation aimed to strengthen the Afghani "Mujahideen" against Soviets. It finance and train them, and gave them weapons to a painful blow to the Soviets. Washington and its ally Pakistan were also behind the formation of "Taliban" to ensure a pro-authority of the two countries in Kabul.

Despite the breakup of the Soviet Union and the demise of the "communist threat" early nineties, the Western policies have not changed towards Islamic movements. The US and EU continue their support to these groups. Unlike many other countries, both rejected to include Muslim Brotherhood in their lists of terrorist organizations, and let them carry on their activities on their land and be a pressure group penetrating decision-making process in Washington and Brussels. Some of Muslim Brotherhood became influential advisers to President Obama and in EU bodies. The United States helped them to reach

power in Bosnia then in Turkey, and welcomed their domination on power in the Arab countries that witnessed revolutions since 2011.

On the other hand, the West took advantage of the instability that sweeping the Arab countries especially Syria and tried to get rid of extremists whose numbers significantly increased in Europe and have become a matter of concern, by encouraging them to go to Syria for "jihad". "Radio Free Europe" and imams throughout Europe, were urging young people to go to the Middle East, especially Syria. This operation is known as "Clean Europe" from extremists by moving them voluntarily to the Middle East. That fit with Muslim Brotherhood agenda, who found it a chance to control power in Syria, Libya and elsewhere, and to form armies of mercenaries under the slogan of "Jihad". The West and Turkey also supported the "Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham", "IS", by money, weapons, information and training for thousands of Europeans extremists who have joined its ranks under the pretext of the overthrow of Bashar al-Assad.

The 30 June revolution that remove Muslim Brotherhood from power in Egypt is a pivotal turning point led to the collapse of western plans not only in Egypt but in the whole Arab region where coincided with increasing provisions by the Syrian regime on the reins of power in Syria. Western schemes failed, leading to the return of many of the European extremists back to Europe, more trained on fighting skills and on using weapons and all that entails doing the work of a terrorist organization in EU.

Extremists coming from European countries such as Britain, Germany, France and the Netherlands have received training in so-called "terror camps" run by militants loyal to al-Qaeda in northern Syria near the Turkish borders. As if these were tutor colleagues for places that could be targeted and the methods used by police to thwart any attacks within cities. "Charlie Hebdo" incident represented a clear reflection of that, and still extremists are deployed in the French and other European societies waiting for an opportunity to attack them.

European dream to get rid of extremists has turned to nightmare with professional terrorists return to Europe. European countries cannot prevent them from coming back because they are European citizens, hence the European dilemma. Those are returning from Syria threaten European stability. They are considered by the British Interior Minister as the main terrorist threat facing Britain since September 11, 2001 attacks on the United States. London foiled dozens of terrorist attacks, including attempts to carry out attacks with firearms on the streets, and the plot to blow up London stock market, and plans to drop a passenger aircraft and others.

Despite the strict and stringent security measures taken by the European capitals to counter the threat of terror, which include arrests, trials deterrent, deport dangerous people on security, and the confiscation of passports, and airline tickets, they are still under the threat of terrorism, which threatens its security and stability and the lives of their citizens.

Toward a Multipolar World

After two decades of American absolute hegemony on international and regional affairs in the context of unipolar system, the international system is witnessing profound changes in the direction of multipolarity since the beginning of the current decade. In which Russia is returning back to play a pivotal and influential role in international politics, and the rise of China and a number of Asian countries is increasingly noticeable and affect the international system especially on the economic front.

It seems that Europe is not only the one becoming "old" as the former American President Bush mentioned, symptoms of ageing began in the American body too. Great economic and military powers go beyond Europe and North America, and the balance of economic power is clearly in favor of the Asian continent in the light of different Asian tigers generations or Asian Dragons, and the presence of the second largest global economy, China, in Asia, which strongly competes to bypass the United States and rise for first rank. China also strives to translate its economic power to a military power. China is the second largest global military spending, by a large margin, after the United States, and its military industries grow well. It consistently develops technology in this field. Plus it is a military nuclear power since the sixties.

The two countries, Russia and China, lead the group of countries, which resist the American arrogance and double standards measures in dealing with international and regional crises. They were able to curb the United States and impeding its movement in several occasions, most notably South Ossetia crisis in 2008, the Syrian crisis since March 2011, and the Ukrainian crisis that began by the end of 2013 and still casts a clear effect not only on Russian relations with the West, but on the entire international system, which is witnessing a new Cold War era.

Reinforces this trend, the relative decline in America's power for several reasons, among the most important ones the economic problems in the light of the financial crisis since 2008, and social violence after the aggravation of the issue of racial discrimination against blacks in the American society, as well as the failure of the America military campaigns in Afghanistan, Iraq, and its faltering campaign against IS, and declining confidence and credibility in President Obama after his inability to enter many of his promises into effect.

The transition to a multipolar world has become a fact which cannot be ignored, and the unipolarity has become one of the past. A new international division between two blocks on pragmatic terms and interests can be noticed. Joining any of the two blocs is voluntary and on the basis of convergence of interests and visions, not on ideological bases as it was during the cold war. The first block includes the United States and its partners in Europe and Asia. The second includes Russia, China and their partners in Asia and Latin America, those who are not satisfying with the American policies and looking forward to a better position in a more balanced and equitable international order.

Michel Faillettaz¹**SMALL COUNTRY IN A BIG WORLD: SWITZERLAND AND ITS NATIONAL INTERESTS****Modern global challenges and national interests**

After 2014, the Consulate General of Switzerland in St. Petersburg is again honoured to contribute to this year's Lichachev Conferences and I would like to thank the Organisers for their interest in my country.

Small country in the heart of Europe with which it shares 3 different cultures, Switzerland is neither a major political nor a military world power. Yet, like many other nations, it faces global challenges and, yes, its policy and its constitution are, like other nations, also aimed at protecting its national interests.

The global challenges that Switzerland faces are, not unlike its neighbours and fellow countries in Europe, diverse. They concern mainly the general political situation, the economic outcome of our markets, environmental but also security matters. Within Switzerland, some aspects regarding our various languages, our three cultures and political organization with an extended form of federalism need to be addressed.

Neutrality does not prevent Switzerland to take part to the world affairs

The principal political powers in Europe confirmed Switzerland's neutrality at the congress of Vienna in 1815. This was an important act that was strongly supported by Russia and the Tsar Alexander 1st. This major decision has shaped Switzerland foreign policy and the mind of Swiss people ever since. However, being neutral does not mean that we are absent of world politics. On the contrary, Switzerland without any hidden agenda, is contributing with its means to the world stability, for example by representing various countries that have broken their diplomatic relations or by hosting various international conferences aiming at easing tensions within or between nations. This is presently the case with Switzerland hosting a high level conference on Iran or by assuming Russia's interests in Georgia and vice-versa or representing the USA in Iran or in Cuba. Only last year, our Foreign Minister, the then President of Switzerland, Mr. Didier Burkhalter headed the OSCE, that organization that is promoting peace and security in Europe and at the present time actively seeking to ease tensions in the Ukrainian conflict.

Neutrality prevents Switzerland to join a military union like NATO yet it has taken part in the Partnership for Peace (PfP) since 1996. PfP is a political initiative supported by NATO and 22 partner states aiming at strengthening democracy, peace and security in Europe and to jointly seek responses to common threats. For Switzerland, the Partnership for Peace is an important security policy forum. It enables us to put forth directly our interests with regard to NATO and other partner states as well as benefit from the exchange of information and experiences. The cooperation within the Partnership for Peace is grounded on a purely voluntary basis and entails no legal obligations. Each state is able to determine the extent of its participation in the

Partnership. Participation in the Partnership is therefore also possible for neutral states such as Switzerland².

The global challenge that the world community faces with the ongoing war in the middle-east and in northern Africa or with the present tensions in the Ukraine is serious and one that will affect national interests, not only in those areas but also worldwide, including Switzerland. People fleeing the conflict areas seek refuge in other countries, Russia for example, but also across the European Union and to my country. For us, but not only, this is a global challenge that needs to be addressed on an international level.

An export oriented economy

Global trade i.e. imports and exports between the European Union and Switzerland amounted to about € 1 Billion per every working day in 2013. During the same year, global trade between Switzerland and Russia amounted to € 18 million per working day. An economic slowdown in one European country or elsewhere in the world has an immediate impact the employment and the economic activity in Switzerland. My country is certainly not the only one in this situation but with about 50% of its BIP earned on exports, it is highly dependent on the general economic climate and on a set of regulations, for example those set through the World Trade Organisation.

The increase of the value of the Swiss Francs in comparison to the € poses an important challenge for us at the present time. Our machine or our pharmaceutical industries are in competition with the Euro-Zone and they have seen their costs of production rise by about 58% in between the years 2007–2015 due to the sheer appreciation of the Swiss franc. A piece of equipment costing CHF 1000 in 2007 would have been billed € 600 then; today, the same piece costing the same amount in CHF would need to be charged € 960. Productivity alone cannot make good this difference. The value of the Swiss franc has soared from 1€ = CHF 1.67 in 2007 to almost parity in 2014. Today, 1€ will buy you CHF 1.04. Facing this challenge, the Swiss National Bank introduced in 2011 a minimal fixed parity of 1€ = CHF 1.20 so that both our foreign and our touristic trade would not suffer too much from this situation. But after 4 years of supporting the value of the CHF, the National Bank had to let the CHF soar again versus the €. At the present time, negative interest rates are introduced by our banks for deposit holders to help controlling the value of the CHF, i.e. to diminish its attractiveness in comparison to other currencies.

Yet another example of a global challenge that adversely affects our national interests, but this time this is a challenge that we have to face alone. As a famous American Secretary of the Treasury once said about the dollar, "this is our currency but your problem"! In our case, not only is it our currency, but it is also our problem...

Sharing three European cultures

As I have indicated in the introduction, Switzerland shares cultural values with its German, French and Italian neigh-

¹ Consul General of Switzerland in St. Petersburg. Graduated from the High Business School in Lausanne, Switzerland. Successfully worked in various diplomatic missions of Switzerland in Cologne, Tehran, Belgrade, Jeddah, Brasilia, Frankfurt, Bordeaux, Dublin, Marseille and Lyon.

² Source: Federal Department of Defence, Civil Protection and Sports DDPS.

bours. About 65% of the Swiss population speaks German, 22% French and 8% Italian. Federalism is the governing principle of my country, which also means that, for example, the various Swiss cantons can adapt their school programs according to their needs and, in particular, to the choices of their respective populations. In some instances, direct democracy which gives the population the right to express its opinion during popular votes has led to a paradigm change in education whereas English is now the first foreign language taught at some Swiss schools. This is, in my own personal view, a negative trend as mastering at least two Swiss national languages help reinforce the national cohesion between the communities. English is no doubt an important language that young Swiss have to master but I do not see why German, French or Italian should not be taught first with English coming a close second! This is certainly more a local than a global challenge, yet our national interests are directly at stake here too. Indeed, national cohesion and mutual understanding are at the core of Swiss values. They are to be preserved if we want to keep our country united despite its diversity.

Federalism has enabled us to live in peace despite our differences and has given equal rights to all, in particular to the various minorities that constitute our country. With four national languages, 26 Cantons of various size and economic importance, federalism has been an essential tool in building our nation, a nation brought by the will of its population to unite over centuries and to construct what Switzerland has become since three small states first joined forces in 1291.

Sharing a common environment with our neighbours

The lowest point in Switzerland is Lake Maggiore at 195 m. Four major rivers have their source in Switzerland, among them the Rhone, the Rhine and the Po. This means that all of our waters flow downwards towards other countries, giving us a special responsibility to keep them as clean as possible for our neighbours. In turn, we depend on the latter for the quality of our air (western winds prevail in most areas) or for the security of some major nuclear installations built not far away from our borders.

Here lies another global challenge that one country alone cannot master without global cooperation, sometimes at the expenses of some of its national interests.

Should size matter?

Small country yet an important economic player, Switzerland depends on the world order given by international institutions like the United Nations Organization, the UN Security Council or the UN Human Rights Council. The G20 or the G8 are powerful instruments to resolve urgent matters like the economic crisis in 2008 yet efficiency does not bestow legitimacy as Joseph Deiss, the President of the 65th Session of the General Assembly of the UN pointed out in his introductory remarks of the occasion of the thematic debate on the UN in global governance in New York on June 28th, 2011¹. Smaller nations, maybe more than the major global players, need a world order based on commonly agreed principles. For this, the international organisations and in particular the United Nations need to be strong, respected and representative of the world nations.

According to the article 54 of the Swiss Federal Constitution, the Confederation shall ensure that the independence of Switzerland and its welfare is safeguarded; it shall in particular assist in the alleviation of need and poverty in the world and promote respect for human rights and democracy, the peaceful co-existence of peoples as well as the conservation of natural resources².

That this ambitious aim cannot be achieved by Switzerland alone is evident. International institutions and regulations are needed to maintain a world order and these exist in the form of the UN various Organisations or international treaties, for example on the protection of the environment or the WTO.

Strong, respected, only they can guarantee all nations, but in particular smaller ones that equal rights are bestowed on equal partners, independently of their size or economic importance. Indeed the challenges are global and every nation is keen to preserve its own interests, yet should not all nations consider that the strength of the world community of nations should be measured by the well-being of its weakest members?³

James K. Galbraith⁴

NATIONAL ECONOMICS IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBAL CHALLENGES

It is a pleasure to have this opportunity to share ideas with colleagues at the XV International Likhachov Scientific Conference.

¹ www.un.org/en/ga/presidenbt/65/statemenbts/globalgovernanceE280611.shtml

² Cf. art. 54 of the Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation of 18 April 1999 (Status as of 18 May 2014). URL: <http://www.admin.ch/opc/en/classified-compilation/19995395/index.html>

³ To paraphrase the Preamble of the Swiss Federal Constitution of 18.4.1999.

⁴ Professor of School of public administration of Lyndon B. Johnson at the Texas university (Austin, USA), visit professor of chair of the general economic theory of the Moscow school of economy of 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", etc. the Chairman of the American organization "The Integrated Economists for Reduction of Armaments" (ECAAR).

My father, born in 1908, was a close contemporary of Academician Dmitry Likhachov. He too had literary distinction, serving once as President of the American Academy of Arts and Letters – the first economist ever so to serve. As a member of the Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche of the Lincean Academy, I feel honored to share in a similar tradition.

As an economist on the other hand my pursuits are prosaic. I deal not with grand ideas but with grubby details. Among my vices, the Ricardian does not number. I consider that sensible policies grow only from useful local knowledge, and that useful local knowledge relies, in part though not in whole, on meticulous and well-considered measurement. My ideal economist was described by Keynes in his

sketch of Marshall: “purposeful and disinterested in a simultaneous mood; as aloof and incorruptible as an artist, yet sometimes as near the earth as a politician”.¹

In that spirit, my main line of research for twenty years has addressed a seemingly simple problem: measurements of economic inequality at the national level. These have long been inadequate for realistic comparison across countries or through time. The main reason lies in a heavy reliance on surveys. Surveys are expensive, they are taken sporadically and especially so in the poorer lands, and the survey designs and target concepts (income, expenditure, gross or net of tax, households or persons as the reporting unit, household-size adjustments) vary from time to time and place to place. The result is a cacophony of measurements, except in a small number of the wealthiest countries. Econometricians have attempted to compensate for the noise with sophisticated statistics; the effort has not worked.

A recent fashionable alternative has been the use of income tax data, especially to measure the income shares of the top-most strata. But income tax data are available only in those countries that have income tax. In a recent iteration of the Top Incomes data set these numbered twenty-nine; most of them either of Anglo-Saxon heritage or in continental Europe². Moreover, taxable income for income tax purposes is defined by tax law and this differs across countries and varies through time. In the United States, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 expanded the definition of taxable income while covering the spectrum of that income for the wealthiest taxpayers at a lower marginal rate. This revenue-neutral, broadly progressive reform now turns up on the statistical radar screen as a dramatic increase in the top share of incomes. Apart from the legal redefinition of income, nothing occurred in 1986 or 1987 that would have produced any such thing.

The philosopher Charles Saunders Peirce wrote of Kepler that he “undertook to draw a curve through the places of Mars, and his greatest service to science was in impressing on men’s minds that this was the thing to be done if they wished to improve astronomy; that they were not to content themselves with inquiring whether one system of epicycles was better than another, but that they were to sit down to the figures and find out what the curve, in truth was”.

This has been my credo for years, and the question has been, how to apply it in this particular domain?

My answer derives from expedience and also from some acquaintance with fractal geometry and elementary information theory.

Expedience suggested that if better measures were ever to be found, intermittent ad hoc surveys of random samples of households would not do. The effort would have to rely on data sets collected consistently, over long periods of time, for ulterior purposes, with wide coverage, by stable authorities. Fractal geometry suggested that random sampling might not be necessary. A selective subsample of an economy – such as the manufacturing sector – might be sufficient to indicate the general behavior of distribution – just as one can peer through a window and tell the weather, without taking a random sample of pixels from the sky.

¹ Keynes J. M. *Essays in Persuasion*. L.: MacMillan, 1933.

² Alvaredo F., Atkinson A. B., Piketty T. and Saez E. *The World Top Incomes Database*. URL: <http://topincomes.parisschoolofeconomics.eu/>

Information theory taught me that a generalized entropy measure of information could be transformed into an inequality statistic – the Theil statistic – with the attractive property that measures taken at the group level (using only group average income and group size) would often be consistent in their behavior with measures that might have been taken at the individual level, but were not.

As for the underlying mathematics of the Theil statistic, I have noted that it can be taught to any graduate student in twenty minutes – except to a Russian. For students of Russian culture in my experience, ten minutes are ample. Once a student originally from Minsk joined my research group; she glanced at the formula, turned to me and said, “Is that all?”

So it stood to reason that one might be able to measure comparative levels and the evolution of economic inequalities from administrative data sets, collected for tax, trade, industrial planning or other purposes over long periods by bureaucratic routine, and published as tables semi-aggregated by some classification scheme, usually either industrial, sectoral or geographic, and sometimes a blend of two of these types, such as sectors within regions. It remained to test this proposition and we found that it was easy to do so, especially using data for the manufacturing sectors which are compiled by most governments with reasonable consistency over long intervals. Given clean source data, a global inequality data set with thousands of observations can be generated on a spreadsheet overnight.

For many purposes a measure of pay inequality across industrial sectors is the appropriate tool – for instance if one is interested in the effect on relative wage rates of technology or trade, or of macroeconomic developments such as changing unemployment or exchange rates, or of international forces such as global interest rates and the oil price. Similarly with region or sector data one can develop an informative portrait of changing relative position within countries, as we have done for Russia, China, India, the European Union, several large Latin American countries and the United States. In the US case, we have shown how to string together different data sources to produce inequality measurements back to 1920.³

Still, for many audiences the between-groups component of Theil’s T statistic is not an intuitive measure. And it is difficult to compare directly to the Gini coefficients of household income inequalities with which many researchers in economics and the larger public are most familiar. For this reason, we sought to discover whether there was a stable correspondence between a T-statistic measured across the manufacturing sector in a standardized international data set – namely the Industrial Statistics of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization – and a selection of survey-based Gini coefficients.

We learned that after controlling for the income/expenditure concept and several other characteristics of the survey-based measures, the Theil measure is more volatile but otherwise the correspondence is very close, over more than 400 overlapping country-year observations.

This finding permitted us to generate a data set of estimated measures of household gross income inequality, called EHII, in Gini coefficient format, with over 3,800 observations for 149 countries during the period from 1963 to

³ Once my friend the late Dr. Alexey Shevyakov told me that it should be possible to do the same for Russia back to the Middle Ages.

2008. This is the largest consistent cross-national data set of income inequalities in existence that does not rely on interpolations over missing years or across missing countries. It is available on the web-site of the University of Texas Inequality Project at <http://utip.gov.utexas.edu>, along with working papers and other materials explaining the calculations and interpreting the results. An update through 2010 or 2011 is underway.

A recent undertaking has been to evaluate the quality of the EHII estimates against other measures. These are of two broad types: the individual survey-based estimates that are calculated and published by government agencies, private research enterprises and individual academics for particular countries and years, and on the other hand the large transnational data sets that have appeared in recent times, published by the World Bank, the OECD, the European Union, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Luxembourg Income Studies.

We found that the EHII measures are highly compatible with the measurements produced, mainly for the wealthy countries, by the LIS, the OECD and the EU; moreover EHII has far more observations than any of these alternatives.¹ There are cases, however, especially among large developing countries including Brazil and South Africa, where the EHII measures fall below those taken in surveys. The reasons for this remain unclear, beyond the fact that such countries have both wealth and poverty on atypical scales. In the United States, EHII does not capture the rise in taxable incomes reported at the top of the income scale after 1990; this is not surprising since that rise is known to originate in the financial and capital markets, and not so much in increasing inequality of wages. In comparison to EHII, the World Development Indicators of the World Bank stands out as an example of a sparse, inconsistent and unreliable agglomeration of measures; yet apart from EHII it is the only data set based on independent calculations for each observation that has been presented as having global scope and measures that are presented as being directly comparable across countries and over time.²

What then can one learn from examining a substantial panel data set of inequality measures over a half-century's time? An immediate consequence is renewed respect for the American economist of Belorussian origin, Simon Kuznets, born in Pinsk in 1901. In 1955 Kuznets argued for a simple model of pay inequalities, determined mainly by the average differential between industry and agriculture and by the relative size of these two major sectors.³ In general, he argued, as development matures, an emerging middle class reduces overall inequality in the richer countries. This model can be adapted in numerous useful ways to the more diversified and differentiated global economy that exists today, but the underlying principle remains. It is that intersectoral transitions and changing average incomes across

groups as overall income increases remain the prime determinants of changing inequality.

In Kuznets' original version, where an agricultural economy of free-holders (or communes, as in China) provides an egalitarian starting point, then inequality first rises under industrialization and then falls – the famous inverted “U”. But if the starting point is a slave economy, a serf economy, or a dual economy of subsistence farming and resource extraction, then the Kuznets income-inequality surface may be predominantly downward sloping over its entire range. And that is what the data reveal.

Presently the richest countries of the world, specifically the social democracies of Northern Europe, have the lowest inequalities. The countries with high income inequalities are those in the developing world, and especially in the tropics: Latin America, Africa, South and Southeast Asia. Two significant exceptions are the communist lands, which in their day had low inequality for their income level, and some of the richest countries in the era of globalization, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, which have high inequality due the high share of income derived from the capital markets. China is a rare example in the modern world of the classical Kuznets case: rising inequality along with income in the early stages of industrialization. But even in China the peak of the Kuznets inverted-U seems recently to have been reached.⁴

A second finding concerns trends. These are continental and global, not national. They bear a distinct relationship to financial regimes. After 1971, with the dissolution of the stabilizing Bretton Woods framework, there was a global commodities and credit boom, and in many developing countries inequalities declined, although in some of the advanced countries, whose terms of trade were hurt, inequalities increased. After 1980, with the arrival of high interest rates and debt crises, there was a world-wide movement toward massively higher inequality, first in the developing world, then in the breakdown of the communist system, and finally in Asia. One may say that the pressure for rising inequality was effective in inverse proportion to the strength of institutional structures that resisted it.

A finding of common global forces and particular movements through time enables us to dispense with convenient myths about technology, education, and skill. I first demolished the hypothesis of “skill-biased technological change” as a driver of inequality in a book published in 1998.⁵ Many others have followed but for serious students of inequality the skills-hypothesis lost interest years ago.

The rise of global inequality peaked provisionally in 2000, with the crash that ended the information-technology boom in the United States, and then the change in the world financial climate following the events of September 11, 2001. Interest rates on secure short-term assets fell sharply. There followed a general revival of commodity markets and industrial development throughout the world, and inequality – though still high by historical standards – began again to decline. We have documented this decline in wage data for parts of Latin America, for China, for parts of Europe and for Russia and other postSoviet states. Whether we have entered a new “era of declining inequality”, time will tell.

¹ James K. Galbraith, Jaehee Choi, Beatrice Halbach, Aleksandra Malinowska and Wenjie Zhang, 2015. “A Comparison of Major World Inequality Data Sets” UTIP Working Paper 69. URL: <http://utip.gov.utexas.edu>.

² The World Income Inequality Data (WIID) set of the United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research is a valuable bibliographic collection, but the data to be sorted in various ways before the values in them can be treated as comparative measures. The valuable Standardized World Income Inequality Data set (SWIID) of the University of Iowa is a synthetic data set drawn, in part from EHII, and heavily reliant on interpolation across time and countries.

³ Simon Kuznets, 1955. *Economic Growth and Income Inequality*, Presidential Address to the American Economic Association, American Economic Review, March.

⁴ Zhang W. Has China crossed the threshold of the Kuznets curve? UTIP Working Paper 67, 2014.

⁵ Galbraith J. K. *Created Unequal: The Crisis in American Pay*. N. Y. : Free Press, 1998.

In a recent book, Professor Thomas Piketty of the Paris School of Economics has argued that rising inequality is inexorable under capitalism, due to a tendency for the rate of return on financial capital to exceed the rate of growth of income¹. Without getting into the particulars of that argument, the evidence described above suggests a different general rule. Rising inequality is the artifact of particular moments in the history of financial capitalism, when strong pressures at the continental or global levels overwhelm the institutional defenses that societies seek to erect, whose purpose is to provide stabilizing protections against the ravages of extreme inequality.

The neoliberal era was such a period; it began in the late 1970s and continued until the end of the century. The neoliberal era was a period of savagely rising inequalities within most countries, mitigated at the world level only by the rapidly rising average real income in one formerly poor but never neoliberal country, China. The tocsin of the era sounded in 1997 with the Asian crisis, in 1998 with the Russian devaluation, and again in 2002 with the Argentine default and subsequent rapid recovery. Since that time, alternative models have been developing throughout the world. Even in the heartland of neoliberal ideology, the United States, the ideological onslaught of inequality-increasing measures has waned. And so too has the rise in economic inequalities.

Therefore, in contrast to Professor Piketty, I maintain that economic inequality is a contingent condition, subject in principle to effective regulation and to control.

More generally, the role that effective regulation plays in economic life has been widely misunderstood. The neoliberal view holds that regulation imposes burdens as well as benefits, and therefore may be imposed or dispensed with according to whether one is greater, or less, than the other. This view embodies a deep and drastic misunderstanding. For as any engineer knows, without regulation machines overheat. As any biologist knows, without regulation organisms die.

In economics the boundaries imposed by regulation are indispensable. Airlines do not fly without air traffic control; drugs require testing; meat and milk must be inspected; banks left unsupervised fall prey to crooks.² Indeed the principal difference between “developed” and “less-developed” societies is not “human capital” or access to specific technology. It is the functioning of reasonable and efficient laws and regulations, and the willingness of the population to live by and to respect them. The control of economic inequalities, and therefore of predatory behavior, especially by oligarchs, is an instance of this requirement for successful civilization and sustainable economics.

The principal challenge facing national economies is therefore to design, build and maintain an effective, autonomous, fair, competent and efficient regulatory service, and to do so in the face of instabilities and disruptions from within and from without. Financial regulation is an element of this challenge with obvious implications for inequality. So too are minimum wages, labor rights, and effective taxation of income, profits and land value. So too of course is the ultimate challenge of controlling and coping with climate change.

In large countries, including the United States, Russia and China, as well as Brazil, effective regulation can be pursued at the national level. In regions composed of smaller units – even in Europe where some of the units are very large – international experiments have been tried. These deserve a word.

The tragedy of modern Europe is that the design of its transnational economic system occurred under the shadow of Mrs. Thatcher. It therefore embodies the delusions of market self-regulation that were common to her time. The result has been an ongoing disaster in Southern Europe, against which the peoples of those countries, in the first instance the Greeks, are now rising up. The new Greek government has the forces of reason and history on its side. But where (as in Europe) the neoliberal ethos aligns with national and not merely with corporate interests, and where inequalities are especially pronounced across national borders rather than only within them, then power relations are especially strong and the prospect for an effective reconstruction along sustainable lines is bleak.

I have observed, from time to time, that large political entities do not long survive the departure of even their smallest members. The Soviet Union did not survive the departure of the Baltic states.

Yugoslavia did not survive the departure of Slovenia. The United States in 1860 did not survive the departure of South Carolina – said at the time to be “too small for a republic, too large for an insane asylum”. It took a long war to restore the previous Union.

Europe most urgently requires an ethic of trans-European solidarity and mutual assistance. It needs, and lacks, a means of supporting the incomes of its most vulnerable households, wherever they may be, and without going through local or national governments that may be ineffective, corrupt, or merely bankrupt. Europe needs a common program for investment, debt relief and financial reform – all measures that would reduce trans-European inequalities.³ In these respects, the European problem is an instance of the larger questions to which this paper has been addressed.

¹ *Piketty Th.* Capital in the Twenty-first Century. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 2013.

² The criminal element in the Great Financial Crisis is well-documented as are the recent multiple deprivations of HSBC.

³ See: *Varoufakis Y., Holland S. and Galbraith J. K.* The Modest Proposal. URL: <http://vanisvarourakis.eu/euro-crisis/modest-proposal/>

G. M. Gatilov¹

ABOUT SOME GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AT THE PRESENT STAGE

The international relations continue to be under conditions of the increased instability and turbulence. Their characteristic feature is that the new dangerous centers of intensity are added to the old conflicts. There are signs of existence of deep problems in the organization of both the European, and World safety. It becomes more and more obvious that there are serious contradictions between necessity of team and partner actions for the development of adequate solving of common challenges, and aspiration of some states to domination with their attempts to impose their will to other countries and to establish their interests and safety at the expense of other participants of world process. That is why there are high risks of interfaith, interreligious and intercivilization breaks.

About six-seven years ago one of the sharpest global challenges was world financial and economic crisis. The attention of the most part of the states of the world was focused on search of ways of an exit from the crisis and overcoming of its consequences. It in turn pushed many countries to development of agreed decisions on wider basis.

Gradually events began to get other, more ominous and dangerous lines. State, political, public bases, traditions and customs of many countries faltered. The events which received the attractive name of “the Arab spring” became the brightest manifestation of this process. Many people of West urged not to hyperbolize the threat of extremism and terrorism. They stated that it will come to naught by itself and that the main thing to do for that period was to achieve changing of M. Kaddafi’s and B. Assad’s modes. And it was, by the way, after alternation of the power of S. Hussein’s regime in Iraq. However after events in Libya and, especially in Syria, it became obvious that “the spring” ended.

Now we see the consequences of those “good” intentions. Huge territories in the Middle East, in Africa and in the Afghan-Pakistani region become uncontrollable to the legitimate authorities. The extremism is splashed out to other parts of the world, including Europe: we remember the recent events round the Parisian weekly “Sharli Ebdou” which underwent attack of terrorists, and also attack of extremists on a synagogue and cafe in Copenhagen.

The risks that the weapons of mass destruction will come to the hands of non-state figures become more keen. Situation with Middle Eastern resolution gets explosive character in other zones of the regional conflicts. We are seriously concerned by the events in Yemen, the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of which we always supported. It is important that all parties of the Yemen conflict and their external allies immediately stopped all forms of military operations and refused attempts to achieve their objectives by means of weapon. We are convinced that it is

possible to settle the deep contradictions in Yemen only by means of wide national dialogue.

From the very beginning of process of changes in the Middle East Russia urged not to give it to extremists and to create a united front of counteraction against the growing terrorist threat. We supported advance of necessary reforms through national dialogue, search of peace and harmony between all confessional groups, including various currents of Islam and Christianity; warned not to follow a temptation to take in allies practically any of those who declared himself B. Assad’s opponent, whether it was “Al-Qaeda”, “Dzhabkhat an-Nusra” or other similar to them structures, including IS, which are in the focus of attention today.

Representing the sharpest global challenges today the threats of terrorism and extremism demand an integrated approach if the purpose consists in eradication of their reasons, but not in reaction to the subsequent symptoms.

During the last fifteen years nearly all possible main measurements were carried out in the field of legal support of anti-terrorist activity and prevention of terrorism at the international and national levels. 19 universal profile anti-terrorist, sectoral conventions and protocols are active today; the unique Global counterterrorist strategy which is organically uniting the purposes of rigid and “soft” anti-terror with functions of overcoming of the conditions capable to feed terrorism is coordinated. Key anti-terrorist resolutions of the UNSC 1373, 1540, 1566, 1624 are developed. System and vigorous activity of Counterterrorist and sanctions committees of UNSC is held.

Mechanisms of counteraction to rather new forms of terrorist threats, in particular such as suppression of activity of so-called “foreign militant-terrorists” (the resolution of UNSC 2178), also help to strengthen the legal framework of anti-terror. The document specifies that suppression of ideology and promotion of terrorism shall include also measures for struggle against the militant-terrorists receiving military training in zones of the conflicts and then coming back to countries of origin or accommodation. It is important as these persons often act as carriers of “the most effective remedy” of such promotion and mobilization of new supporters in terrorism. And it is not the whole list of completed actions which were effective and prompt.

Regional initiatives – contracts and organizational decisions – supplement such international centralized by UN system of anti-terror. The Convention of the Council of Europe on the prevention of terrorism of 2005 is a core initiative for Russia. This Convention was the first in criminalizing such activity as public instigation to terrorism. The document came into force in 2007, and included into the Russian legislation. It served, by the way, as the effective tool for improvement of the Russian anti-terrorist laws. The convention passed thorough right human examination in the Council of Europe and was admitted as an example of balance and complementarity between problems of protection of society and state against terrorism and problems of protection of the individual rights and freedoms of the person.

¹ Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. An expert in multilateral diplomacy. Author of a number of publications, including: “Peacekeeping UN Blue Berets”, “Results of “The Great Gathering” at the UN General Assembly”, “Results of the UN Doha Forum”, “On Some International Aspects of the Dialogue of Cultures Under Globalization”, “Formula of Reconciliation in Syria” and some others. Awarded with the orders of Friendship and Honour.

One of the reasons of fast spread of terrorist threat is the low level of mass consciousness of modern people which was not developed for a long time and thus weakened. Moreover, spiritual foundations and moral values of modern societies, both traditional, religious and civilization, cultural values continue to weaken. Sometimes such values are trampled by simplified and aggressive maxims of radicals. In this regard an actual task is not to allow jihadi to take control of minds and souls of young people, to hire them in the ranks. We support the initiatives of Christian and Muslim leaders in the region directed on standing together against attempts of extremists of any colors to profane and pervert the high moral principles of great world religions.

However a dilemma exists. How does it happen, that at such powerful potential of the international cooperation the expansion of extremist ideas spreads so fast and terrorist threats increase? The reason is that the activity of the last fifteen years in this field simply is not as effective as it was expected to be. Many people were confident that in the face of the general deadly enemy – global terrorism – all states would forget misunderstandings and a contradictions and would unite; in a partner way, honestly and without double standards would remove counteraction to terrorism out of limits of narrow understanding of national interests. Now we see that it is just an illusion.

Put it simply, “double standards” and dividing of terrorists on “bad” and “good” – all these disagreements didn’t disappear, they still remain, and in some fields they even amplify. By the way, Russia knows it better than many others because of its own experience from terrible events of 90th and 2000th in the North Caucasus when our country was attacked by almost the most efficient groups of the international terrorism.

Neither earlier, nor now our foreign colleagues, signers of the most advanced anti-terrorist agreements, didn’t lend to us a shoulder in fight against terrorism directed mainly against Russia. And even now based in the West the Internet sites of the same terrorist organizations which were active in the North Caucasus still conduct extremist promotion in support of IS and “An-Nusry”, promoting and glorifying those who decapitates of the European and American citizens under the camera.

It is not easy to believe in overcoming the “double standards” after so many years and events. Especially in when the main Russian-western formats of anti-terrorist cooperation, excluding OCSE and UN, were minimized during the last year by the initiative of the western colleagues. I will remind: anti-terrorist cooperation in 8G line, and the NATO-Russia Council is frozen, our consultations on counterterrorism from the EU, and also the majority of two-sided Russian-western mechanisms of counterterrorist cooperation are put on hold.

As a result of the mismatch taking place in questions of anti-terrorist cooperation it is important not to forget that terrorist groups often do not face such problems. They either interact, or follow their rule that the strongest takes all benefits.

Nevertheless, Russia is ready to continue efforts, to run business to cooperation, to suggest to work openly and in a partner way. We will concentrate attention on those formats that were and remain the most perspective for us – SCO, the CSTO, the CIS, APEC; potentially – BRICS and 20G and, needless to say, the UN and, as far as possible, – OSCE.

There is the general understanding of that ideological strengthening of modern international terrorism, replenishment of its ranks at the expense of more and more aggressive radicals happens today mainly under the Islamic, perverted religious slogans. But it is not the only ground for terrorism, as we see from the events in Ukraine now. The Ukrainian events show that the radicalization is possible and dangerous as well under other ideological postulates which are well known by official Kiev – ultranationalist and nazi. The result, unfortunately, turns out the same: death of the civilian population, destabilization of social, economic and political life of the states and regions, shift of the lawful governments, infringement of the rights of ethnic minorities. And all this is reached by the violent methods which are adjoining with terrorist, and even looking like them.

We are interested in restoration of peace in the neighboring country. All who is at least a little familiar with history of the deepest, brotherly and related communications between our people should understand it well. The way to political settlement is well known. Just one year ago Kiev assumed the obligation in the Geneva statement of Russia, Ukraine, the USA and the EU to begin extensive national dialogue with participation of all regions and political forces of Ukraine for implementation of the constitutional reform. Its performance would allow all Ukrainians to agree how to live further according to the traditions and culture. But they didn’t manage to do it then.

One more chance arose as a result of the new complex of arrangements reached on February 12, 2015 in Minsk approved by the resolution of the UN Security Council. It is necessary to provide their realization in full, including carrying out the constitutional reform within which legitimate rights and interests of citizens in the east of Ukraine shall be provided. Today the progress in performance of the package of measures approved in Minsk is noted. Those who don’t notice it and demand to deliver the weapon to Ukraine, assume heavy responsibility for failure of peaceful settlement. They are not guided by the interests of the Ukrainian people or by the interests of rescue of human life.

It is necessary to focus the priority attention on the sharpest humanitarian situation on Donbas. For ensuring the most basic rights of its inhabitants the government of Ukraine has to raise the actual blockade of this region entered by it, reestablish economic relations, social payments, banking services, a freedom of movement of people between Donbas and other regions of the country. The relevant provisions are fixed in the Minsk Agreement. We hope that the human rights and humanitarian structures of the UN working at Ukraine as well as the OSCE Mission, the ICRC will achieve the fastest solution of these tasks.

The big range of work on solving the new global challenges is provided also by the framework of the Global agenda in the field of development which will be approved on September 25–27, 2015 in New York during the Summit of the UN at anniversary 70th session of General Assembly of the United Nations. This document will determine the strategy and parameters of interstate cooperation in the UN in the social and economic sphere for the period till 2030. The concept of the agenda assumes emphasis on elimination of poverty and transition to steady models of production and consumption on the grounds of balance of economic, social and ecological factors. A lot of work on overcoming of the sharpest calls and threats in developing countries,

such as extreme poverty, hunger, a social inequality, maternal and infantile mortality, infectious diseases, restrictions in access to education, etc. is necessary.

Flexible network formats focused on the advance of coinciding interests of member countries have considerable potential in the field of the solution of social and economic problems. The philosophy of collective work is the cornerstone of our presidency in the SCO and the BRICS. Within the BRICS the speech, in particular, goes about the promotion of projects of creation of New Development Bank and Poulat of notional currency reserves, and also about coordination of the strategy of economic partnership and “road map” of investment cooperation. It is planned to sign the agreement on cultural ties, to open the new directions of interaction, in particular in that, as for establishment of Council of regions of the BRICS. The activity in the field of civil societies of the countries of this 5G gets stronger. In April, 2015 the Civil forum of BRICS is planned in Moscow.

Among new challenges and threats it is necessary to distinguish a problem of religious minorities protection, and first of all – Christians. Today the increasing number of Christians, measured by millions, is exposed to prosecutions, mockeries and discrimination. They become the victims of brutal punishments. The speech, first of all, goes about the Middle East – a cradle of Christianity and in general of a human civilization, where in so mass scale the outcome of Christians is observed from. This process may have the most negative consequences in respect of its influence on the structure of the Arab societies, on the preservation of historical and spiritual heritage, significant for all mankind. It is necessary to multiply the efforts of the world community with the purpose to stop prosecutions of Christians, as well as followers of any other religions.

Unfortunately, Christians are exposed to persecutions not only in the Middle East. It occurs also in Ukraine where after anticonstitutional revolution fratricidal war was launched. National radical headed for forcing of interreligious discord. Orthodox churches and monasteries are destroyed; priests and believers are exposed to intimidations and mockeries. Only in the southeast of Ukraine ten temples are completely destroyed, the serious damage is caused to seventy more. Three orthodox priests are killed. Many priests ran to Russia, escaping from threats of extremists.

Christians have problems also in a number of the western states where sometimes it becomes politically incorrect to designate belonging to Christian religion. Some people even start to feel shame of the Christian values making a basis of European civilization. Concepts of morals and traditional, national, cultural and religious identity are washed away.

In this regard it is difficult not to share opinion of those observers who consider the tragedy with the German passenger plane in the French Alps and an estimated role of one of pilots in it “the back of that full moral autonomy which is diligently cultivated today in the West when a person being separated from the world does not feel the support from God and forgets the traditional values of society and decides for himself personally what is good and what is evil”.

There are history lessons which confirm the fact that the civilization which refused the moral ideals loses spir-

itual force. All of us should remember it, especially this year when the 70 anniversary of the Victory in the Great Patriotic War and in World War II, which took tens of millions of lives of people of all nationalities and religions, is celebrated. Our total debt is not to betray the feat of winners and to counteract attempts of incitement of hostility and hatred uncompromisingly for the sake of future generations.

It is necessary to see that the main obstacle in the adjustment of collective efforts on search of adequate answers to global challenges is a very contradictory position of our western colleagues. Often they do not disdain any tools in order “to press through” decisions favorable to them, to force the partner to change the approaches to this or that problem and concede to pressure. I think, we conceded enough since 1991. Such large-scale steps towards the West than were made by us, still weren’t undertaken by any country in the world for all history of mankind. But West is far from understanding it in present. But we have this understanding. We stand on it and we feel that we stand on right positions. We are able to live in peace. We do not need shocks. However they are necessary to those who got used to live beyond means who got used to solve the problems at the expense of other countries.

Probably, we are on the threshold of that time, as well as several decades ago, during an era of the Soviet-American teleconferences when civil society of Russia, simple people united by the noble purpose, could to explain these immutable and simple truths to people of other cultures, first of all the West. Therefore we welcome their efforts in this regard. We urge to participate more safely in the most different international actions, it is more courageous to communicate with representatives of other cultures, civilizations and the countries, to explain to them think, what the citizens of Russia think about and what are the reasons of their deeds. Such direct national diplomacy, by the way, is very effective.

It is impossible not to remember that in 1933 the United States were closed from us by the Iron Curtain demanding a guarantee of non-interference to internal affairs of the USA as a condition of establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Then they were afraid of our ideas. Today we have no reasons to be afraid of ideas from the ocean. We have already passed through it before. We see all their artificiality and illusiveness. Let the idea which is fairer, more truthful, more demanded by time and expectations of people win in this competition, in this fight of ideas. I don’t doubt, that our ideas from traditional values and to prompt behavior in world affairs – will be demanded by American as well as any other western society.

F. M. Dostoyevsky in “The diary of the writer” in February, 1877 wrote, that “those who speak loudly about “the Russian capture” and “the Russian insidiousness” are actually confused by something truthful, disinterested and honest in the manner of Russia. They feel that Russia can’t be bribed and no political benefit can entice it in mercenary business”. These are good, correct words. They reflect the essence and character of the Russian person as well as possible. It is our truth. And we aren’t going to refuse it.

Yu. Goligorsky¹

RUSSIAN MASS MEDIA IN EAST-WEST DIALOGUE: WESTERN PERSPECTIVE

To begin with, let's look back to the times, when there was no television, and fledging radio was making its first steps towards becoming a powerful branch of mass media.

So, it is March, 1925. A dinner party given by a well heeled London family. A lively discussion ensues at the table, where all those present compete for the measure of influence they exert.

'I was to be late to a meeting', says the then British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, 'but luckily a policeman recognized my car, which was waved through and allowed to drive up the wrong side of Piccadilly to by-pass the traffic. Thank God, I arrived on time. Whatever you say, there are some advantages to being the Prime Minister'.

Lord Reith, the founder of the BBC, seemed to be unimpressed.

'I', said he, 'can pick up the telephone in my study, give two simple orders, and in a matter of minutes my voice will be heard by *millions* of British people around the country'.

The Prime Minister conceded that his influence is lesser than the influence of a person who has control over the radio...

...Fast forward to the 90s of the last century. I run seminars organised by the BBC (incidentally, at the expense of the British taxpayers) for journalists from the recently demised Soviet Union. I would tell them of the verbal duel between Baldwin and Reith, and this story, like many others about the relationships between the executive branch and the media in Britain, invariably struck a cord with my audience.

...Today, when I look at some of the Russian journalists who attended these or similar seminars in the West, I feel embarrassed, and even ashamed. It seems that they may have misconstrued our messages and failed to appreciate that being in the powerful position of a journalist does not absolve one of adhering to some basic ethical norms. It is not enough to be able to deliver TV and radio signals through the thick brick walls, to the sitting rooms of every household. Today's acid test is to earn as much trust of our audience as was enjoyed by Lord Reith and his colleagues, whose broadcasts were seen as independent and completely free from undue influence.

Many years after Lord Reith, my BBC colleagues, Mary Dejevsky and Angus Roxburgh, who have become influential columnists in leading British newspapers, continue the tradition of independent journalism. For instance, they express strong criticism of the British policy in the Russian-Ukrainian crises. Another prominent columnist, Matthew Parris of 'The Times' newspaper, who also happens to be an ex-Conservative MP, is only mildly less critical of the British stance on Ukraine. However, no one in Britain calls these renowned journalists 'traitors', 'fifth column' or 'punitinists'.

An ability to present the most diverse spread of opinions is the most endearing quality of the British media. And although in print journalism it is acceptable to openly nail one's colours to a particular political mast, none of the pa-

¹ Journalist, producer (United Kingdom). About 30 years of experience in the BBC World Service in London as a host, producer and editor. Professor of the chair of journalism at St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

pers will refuse to let its opponents have their say. Not only it is unethical, but also commercially unwise: the monotonous unanimity of views usually causes circulation to drop...

It is important to note that the British Broadcasting Corporation, the BBC, which was established under a Royal Charter, was not from the outset confined by the notion of impartiality. The Broadcast Licence issued in 1923 read that the BBC should 'transmit efficiently a daily programme of broadcast matter to the reasonable satisfaction of the Postmaster General'.

And again, in the 1927 Royal Charter, there was nothing to indicate that the BBC must be impartial. The BBC founders, under the direction of Lord Reith, *chose* to adopt the principle of objective and impartial journalism of their own free will. And ever since the establishment of the BBC, this principle has been a target for criticism of *every single British government* from Stanley Baldwin to David Cameron. It has also become an object of admiration and even envy all over the world. The relationship between the executive power and the media is worthy of its plaudits: the first priority of the executive branch is to put policies into practice; the first priority of the media is an impartial assessment of these policies and actions. *Both* the executive and the media realise their individual independence as well as their mutual dependency.

At the end of the last century, it seemed that a similar type of 'independent-cum-mutual dependency' system took root in Russia. However, this proved to be not the case. In 00's Russia, recoiled to the old system, when the state-controlled mass-media fulfilled the role of the authorities' 'driving belt'. To the people in the West, this move backwards sowed the first seeds of doubts and mistrust, and indicated that old habits die hard.

And here we are today, experiencing a level of mistrust and lack of understanding which has not been present since the Cold War. To a large degree, journalists share the blame for this split.

Russian media paints the picture of Moscow as being aggrieved by the deceitful West and NATO, treacherously encroaching into the traditional Russian spheres of influence. Western media says that it mistook Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's reforms as the beginning of an era of democracy in Russia.

Russia complains about the West's high-handed approach to serious international issues – starting with the situation in Yugoslavia and ending with Syria. Moscow believes Western democracies serve as a source of chaos; threaten basic Christian morals ('Gay-Europe') and provide fertile grounds for extremism.

The West, in turn, presents Russia with counter-claims: from the blatant trample of its Georgian neighbour, to providing a cosy protective umbrella to the Syrian ruler. Moreover, daily reports from inside Russia on the political 'screw-tightening', on the growing crime and almost full decimation of independent mass media in Russia, left Western people with the firm belief that the Russian stance on domestic affairs will sooner or later spill into a similar attitude to the foreign policy. So, as common sense dictates, not

only should NATO leaders keep their powder dry, but also strive to replenish and enhance their reserves.

Does Western mass-media distort in its reports the situation in Russia? Well, let's by-pass the Western media and recall just some bare facts in the development of modern political thought and mass-media in Russia. That may help us to understand the reasons for the West's growing anxiety.

People in the West are accustomed to the incessant political debates and bickering amongst their own politicians (in Russia the most polite term for this process is 'waste of words', whereas in the West this is the definition of parliamentary democracy). So, imagine the Europeans' surprise when they heard Mr Gryzlov, speaker of the Russian parliament, stating that 'The State Duma is not the right platform for political battles'. (This utterance served as the source for a popular saying 'Parliament is not a proper place for political discussions'.)

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy too added his tuppence when he promised 'to dip Russian soldier's boots in the waters of the Atlantic and Indian oceans'.

And – last but not least – Mr Dmitry Kisilev. Kiselev is perceived by the West as the Voice of Kremlin. Recently he has 'reassured' his domestic audience by saying: 'Moscow is capable of turning all European capitals into radioactive dust in a matter of minutes'.

One can safely assume that this elucidation has definitely reinforced the army of NATO supporters in the West...

Do those people who threaten the West with the nuclear sword ask themselves for how long they themselves would survive should their country decide to resort to the nuclear strike first? Are we talking minutes? Or perhaps even seconds? Mutual annihilation – that's the best outcome one can hope for...

...I've been watching Russian TV programme 'Norkin's List'. (I, unlike the average Russian citizen, am duty-bound to watch Russian federal TV Channels.) The programme's host, one of the most experienced Russian journalists, Mr Andrei Norkin, with an enviable sincerity reassures his audience that 'the Russians are *genetically* incapable of war and oppression of their neighbours'. None of the programme's guests seems to be in a hurry to remind the host that this 'genotype' had repeatedly failed: in 1953, when Moscow suppressed the insurrection in the Eastern Germany; in '56, when Soviet tanks ran over the Hungarians, and in '68 over Czechoslovakia. In 1979, Moscow made an attempt to subdue the 'insubordinate' Afghans (alas, unsuccessfully).

This 'genotype' 'packed in' even when dealing with domestic upheavals, as it was in 1962 in Novocherkassk, in '80s – in Vilnius, Tbilisi, Baku...

The 'genotype' had another bad day, this time in new Russia, when the old NTV was unceremoniously taken apart. (And Mr Norkin must have some recollection of this event...) The 'genotype' failed when Tomsk TV-2, a brilliant regional TV channel, the winner of numerous prestigious professional awards, was forced off air. (By the way, I can't help mentioning it: Ms Melanie Bachina, one of TV-2's star journalists, was one of my interns at the BBC courses.)

The 'genotype' is definitely a threat to itself when the 'Dozhd' TV channel is brought to heel. The genotype's logic brings its bearers into the self-destruct mode when such people as Listyev, Starovoytova, Politkovskaya, Markelov and Nemtsov violently die at the hands of political assassins.

Even if we are to believe the version that the CIA, or MI-6, or Mossad or the late Mr Berezovsky (the person who ostensibly was 'either manipulated by all Western spy agencies, or manipulated them all himself') are to blame for the political killings inside Russia, we are left wondering: 'What exactly are the numerous employees of *Russian security services* doing, when people are getting killed right in front of the Kremlin's walls?', especially when, in 2015, the national security agencies in Russia are being allocated 17% of the state's budget...

Will *all these topics* be subjected to serious and deep investigations by the Russian mass media? In exactly the same way as the role and the motives of the British government in the run-up to the Iraq war were scrupulously investigated by the British media?

Will these topics occupy a significant place in Russian history textbooks? Will these topics be covered with the same impartiality and thoroughness with which the Americans, Brits, Germans and French analyse and explain to their children even the most shameful chapters of their countries' history?

For the West, the actions or the lack of thereof, of the Russian authorities and the outrageous level of political bias of the Russian state media are part and parcel of the same picture. It becomes easier to understand, why Russia's sympathisers in the West lose their enthusiasm, when what is called in Russia the 'Western gutter press' quote practically identical utterances made by Khrushchev and Shelepin about Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* ('stench') along with the 'new cultural science category', introduced by the Minister Medinsky, when he was asked to comment on Andrey Zvyagintsev's film 'Leviathan' ('Depiction of Russia as full of shit').

Tim Whewell, one of the most brilliant and knowledgeable BBC's journalists, has recently produced a documentary about the situation in the Eastern Ukraine. The film was shown by the BBC at prime time, and some of the official Russian mass-media even judged it to be 'the first sign of a more balanced understanding the Ukrainian tragedy in the Western media'.

After the broadcast I spoke to Tim. He explained that his first aim was to show that 'besides the ambiguity of the notion that there were no regular Russian troops at the East of Ukraine, it is obvious that many of the Russian-speaking Ukrainian citizens have taken up arms in fear for their fate'. However, I doubt whether any Russian journalist is able to make and then show on a federal channel, a report arguing that 'the Kiev Maidan was not of the CIA's staging, but a legitimate people's protest against the authorities who have gone beyond the pale in pursuit of personal gain'?

I think that we, with a 'help' from mass media, are currently spiralling into the abyss of mutual mistrust and estrangement. Already Russian A-bombers are flying ever so close to the boundaries of the West European states, while the West is reconsidering its policy towards Moscow...

The times when Russia, as previously, the Soviet Union, was considered to be a reliable provider of energy, totally immune to the political winds, are gone. Nowadays, Europe is set on diversification of its energy supplies by means of establishing the European Energy Union. One of the aims of this organisation is to reduce an almost total dependence on Russia and to seek new, more predictable, albeit more ex-

pensive, suppliers: Algeria, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Turkey, the Middle East, and even Iran.

Dmitry Kiselev's threats to 'attack the West by cutting off its puppet states from the gas pipe', were heard in the Western capitals loud and clear. These threats have set certain mechanisms in motion.

Last May, another prominent figure, Mr Dmitry Rogozin sarcastically suggested that the USA should 'deliver its astronauts to the International Space Station with the help of a trampoline'. The sarcasm evaporated though when a few months later the Americans demonstrated that if needed, they were perfectly capable of launching their own spacecrafts...

We hear and see on Russian federal channels Messrs Kiselev and Mamontov, Mmes Mizulina and Yarovaya. But would it not be a bit more beneficial, for the sake of balance, to let those who don't blindly hate the West have their say on the federal screens a bit more often?

It still has not happened...

The level of concern which is shown by Western Europe in regards of Russia is demonstrated by the recent statement of the President of the European Commission Jean-Claude Juncker, who suggested that the European Union should establish 'its own army as a European defence instrument'. At the same time, an advisory council headed ex-Secretary General of NATO, Javier Solana, submitted a paper with suggestions on the development of a new European strategy.

Although in Britain Juncker's ideas did not receive an enthusiastic reception (prominent journalists and politicians declared themselves to be against creating an additional layer of bureaucracy, and stated that 'having *national* armies was more than enough'), a *real review of major political strategies* does take place...

...Napoleon used to say that to wage a war one should have three things: money, money, and again, money. For many Westerners the current situation in the east of Ukraine looks like nothing but a war. A local one but still – a war... Taking into consideration the fact that the main and, virtually, the only, source of revenue for Russia's budget is the export of hydrocarbons, how long can Russia afford to be on bad terms with the West? It worth remembering that Russia's GDP is only just higher than that of California alone.

The comparison with California is not accidental: children and families of some of the prominent Russian lawmakers have long since settled down either there, or on the banks of the West European rivers – Thames and Seine, or close to the beaches of Nice and Antibes. These are the families of the same lawmakers who condemn 'Gay Europe' and '*pindosy*' (i.e. American trash) with the greatest zeal. This leaves us with the hope that there will be no real confrontation between Russian and the West, for I seriously doubt that Russian politicians will decide to bomb their offsprings, wives, children, and mistresses, as well as their own properties... The people from the inner circle of Russian officialdom, politicians and oligarchs seem to feel themselves at home in the West, and often 'of-the-re-

cord' speak of Russia using Mr Medinsky's terminology. It is a paradox, but Russian political dissidents, who had to escape to the West due to political pressure at home, are often disgusted by the utterances of so-called Russian 'patriots' made 'of-the-record' about their 'beloved homeland'...

Will federal TV channels be so kind as to show us how much money and property self-righteous Russian 'patriots' have accumulated at the banks of Lake Geneva or in Miami?

According to public opinion polls, more than 80% of Russians approve and support the current Russian leadership's policy. These polls are extensively reported by the official Russian media. Moreover, by and large, people in the West accept these reports as the true reflections of the situation. And it is easy to see why: president Putin's popularity is mostly based on the *real* improvement in the quality of life of many Russian citizens. Will he be able to maintain his popularity if the quality of life takes a knock due to the fall in oil prices and economic sanctions? That's a different question altogether. It is easy to see how Italian parmesan or French oysters could be replaced by, let's say, products produced by Belarusian manufacturers. However sea-food substitutes from the 'maritime of Belarus' can hardly serve as a firm base for political stability...

What will the West do in this situation? The most cynical analysts suggest... doing precisely nothing. 'Let's wait', they say, 'until the stock in Russian luxury shops runs down to bare necessities...'

This approach seems to be cruel and callous, as the first victims of this policy will be not the political elite, but ordinary people. And this is precisely the effect craved for by those who are against reaching some sort of normalisation.

And yet again: the role of the mass media in this situation is impossible to over-estimate. Just as in the after-dinner debate between Stanley Baldwin and Lord Reith, when the Prime Minister had to admit defeat: not only could Reith say what he wanted to say, but the PM couldn't tell Reith *what he would like him to say*. I doubt that the BBC would have been able to gain its current worldwide reputation if Reith had decided that his corporation should tow Baldwin's political line.

Can we hope for improvement in Russian-Western relations? At the moment the prospects are bleak, as even the most ardent supporters of some kind of rapprochement lose heart when they hear that in Perm the 'Museum of the Gulag's Victims' is being reorganised and renamed as the 'Museum of the Gulag's *Personnel*'...

I wonder how Dmitry Likhachov would have reacted to such a metamorphosis? After all, he himself was a political prisoner and as well as a beacon of humanism. After all, it is his scientific legacy and impeccable personal authority which make us come back here every year to have a sincere and open dialogue.

I very much hope that by coming back to our traditional annual meeting in Saint Petersburg, we are travelling back only in space but not in time...

R. S. Grinberg¹

“FLEETING” WORLD AND RUSSIAN SPECIFICS

A few years ago the famous British sociologist Anthony Giddens supposed that we live in the “fleeting” world and this is a very exact statement. As a result of globalization the world became more coherent and uniform, but this feature made it more and more unstable and fragile. There are serious changes in the economic field: the innovative economy is gradually forced out by the model of financial economy with the emphasis on the financial markets instead of innovations as the main factor of increase of competitiveness and profit. There is a redistribution of force and influence in global economic community, new poles of economic development – for example, the BRICS countries are formed. Traditional mechanisms of regulation and self-regulation fail more often, and it is confirmed by a global economic crisis of 2008–2009.

Prospects of final recovery from the crisis are foggy, but its first wave was brought down by massive financial injections, active state anti-recessionary policy worldwide. There is a feeling that we will become witnesses of radical changes in the modern economic device, changes of economic models of development, and, maybe, even returns on new rounds of a dialectic spiral of familiar meanings and concepts, values and norms. Today it is already possible to outline some of its most significant elements. At first let us remind how things happened during the crisis.

1) The return of cycles: the lack of any serious shocks in the leading countries of world economy for the last 15–20 years gave the grounds to consider that the cyclic nature of economic dynamics is overcome. As many people believed, the market provides social and economic development by means of self-corrections, and various financial instruments (new financial innovations like derivatives) which allow to diversify and spread the risks in the financial system and it strengthens stability and safety of economy in general.

But the cycles, apparently, returned. So far we cannot tell much about their frequency, the borders of cycles were greased by factors of regulation and enormous expansion of the markets in connection with geopolitical and geo-economics changes in the world. But now we precisely know that the anti-cyclic regulation applying in the 1950–1980th years needs to be updated again. It is obvious that new mechanisms of anti-cyclic policy are required in the conditions of globalization.

2) Reconsideration of the role and the place of large economic and legal forms in modern economy, the corporate capital, including multinational corporations. Assumptions of that the computer era will lead to increase of efficiency of small forms and that small and medium business

will come to the first roles in ensuring economic growth and structural shifts of world economy in general weren't confirmed. Actually the wave of merges and absorptions proceeds everywhere, the qualitative structure of leaders of the global competition race changes, but large corporations remain engines of national economies. And this tendency is traced in all countries and regions of the world. The anti-monopoly policy which is guided not only by scales of corporations and shares of the markets occupied by them, but mostly by concrete manifestations of exclusive (anti-competitive) behavior and the facts of violation of the antitrust law also changes.

3) Rehabilitation of the role of the real sector of economy and the material economy in general. There is a revision of the concept of post-industrialism. There is a certain irony that speaking about post-industrialism is applicable mostly in relation to the post-socialist countries which began the reforms with the destruction of the national industry and primitivization of the structure of economy. And in this aspect the industry releases a place to a certain post-industrial society and leaves not as the certain obsolete historical and economic phenomenon. Its temporary and spatial movements (that means mass closing of the industrial enterprises) are the result of vain belief in self-regulation forces during the transformation of the system, and also the consequence of sharply amplified global competition. Actually, we can speak about an obvious post-industrial trend only in this aspect.

For the specified countries which failed to maintain the national segments of the modern industry, such trend became a severe reality, but for the states which were the leaders of the global economy it turned out to be absolutely different. I think it is appropriate to say that those countries (FRG and China) which don't fall into temptations of popular post-industrialism and stay with traditional industrial sectors of economy manage to overcome the crisis. For Germany it is so-called investment goods (cars and the equipment), for China it is mostly commodities.

Besides, the export areas of the productive capital, in which the low price of labor and weak social security of hired workers provided high profits to the multinational corporation not long ago, reduce now. The crisis places all points over “i”, and repatriation of industrial productions, creation of new workplaces in economically developed countries on both sides of Atlantic becomes one of hot points of the political and economic agenda.

4) Return of the state to economy, substantial increase of its role in the regulation of the economic processes, emergence of a number of new functions from the point of view of providing the economic security, realization of national interests, and also support of innovative sectors and long-term development of social infrastructure of the society. But other events also take place in the economy. The ideology of the market fundamentalism governing in the last 30 years as “guide to action” does not fail everywhere. Unfortunately, mostly in relation to Russia it is possible to say that “the market fundamentalism died, but its business lives”. I will try to show it “without anger and passion”.

¹ Director of Institute of Economy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Economics, Professor. Author more than 250 scientific publications, including monographs: “An economic sociodynamics” (in a co-authorship), “Individual & State: an economic dilemma” (in a co-authorship) etc.; articles: “Economy of modern Russia: a state, calls, prospects”, “To restore trust in a triangle the West, Ukraine, Russia”, “Intellectual accident of Russia”, “About the new concept of foreign policy of the Russian Federation”, etc. The President of New economic association. The winner of an award of M. V. Lomonosov for scientific works of the II degree. He was awarded the order Friendship, the certificate of honor of Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Medal of Institute of economy of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

From the first view, the current provision of domestic economy isn't so deplorable. Prices of oil are already more or less stable or at least don't decrease so promptly, as earlier. As we are told by the authorities with hardly hidden relief Ruble allegedly reached the "equilibrium" level and even becomes stronger unexpectedly, causing the growing panic in adherents of radical import substitution. Just begun recession goes by the end and the consumer inflation promises to decrease by the end of the current year to unambiguous size. So, maybe, it is time to relax and stop frightening each other by the approaching collapse? The government, seemingly, is also engaged in it, showing optimism. Why? First of all because there are no firm bases to believe in long stability of today's oil prices, not speaking about their possible growth to New Year's Eve level. On the contrary, the signs indicating very probable reduction in cost of hydrocarbonic raw materials in the world market are multiplied. So most likely the price reduction trend will be stronger than price increasing trend here. And then our recession and inflation (as a result of a new devaluation push) will receive new acceleration. Secondly, even if the government assumptions will be more or less concrete, we shouldn't rejoice to it at least because neither the anti-crisis plan of the government, nor a monetary policy of the Central Bank aren't aimed at change of an industrial landscape of the country and structure of the export income. And without it the country sooner or later again will be defenseless before the next failure of the oil prices with all well-known consequences for the state budget, ruble exchange rate, scale of inflation and dynamics of the real income of the population.

It is impossible to tell that the authorities absolutely ignore such prospect. From time to time the top officials of the state publicly declare exhaustion not only of former model economy, but also of economic policy. It is also told about the necessity of a new paradigm for management of a national economy. All this, of course, is very nice. But there are many questions if we think deeper about it. The core question is what our ruling house intends to undertake in details in order to stop so humiliating dependence of domestic economy on the growing instability of the world prices for oil?

Unfortunately, it should be noted that the installations and ideas of solutions of this task declared today by government officials and experts do not inspire optimism if to consider that the time does not play for us and, therefore, fleeting of the country in "a technological moor can be irreversible". To reduce the state presence at economy, to carry out structural reforms, to increase efficiency of state expenses, to reduce administrative expenses and tax burden for business – here are the main government ideas to bring the country to the direction of sustainable civilized development. What could we tell about it? First of all, these steps were already done and did not bring desirable results. Primitivization of economy proceeds in the severe global world. Today it is impossible to get rid of feeling that the government does not know any other measurements to get rid of "oil needle" except improvement of investment climate, decrease of the inflation rate to 4% and release new political programs. But they cannot ignore the fact that even at ideal investment climate and zero inflation desirable structural transformations in economy anywhere in the world weren't carried out with-

out strong systematic state support in the form of industrial policy. However, we already have a law on industrial policy, but it is still declarative. Of course, we do not want to miss the magnificent chance to modernize an industrial landscape of the country. It is magnificent in that sense, "that there's no evil without good": the unexpected devaluation protectionism in combination with the western sanctions literally pushes economy to diversification of its structure.

Secondly, it is required to clear up, at last, concerning so-called "structural reforms" about which need constantly speak both the high-ranking government officials, and the economists calling themselves liberals. It is necessary to notice that those and others somehow not willingly open the content of such reforms, and it is obvious. After all it is about exclusively unpopular reforms, and it means that you hear them telling the following: "we want that it was better for all, and it once will occur, but during reforms will be worse, and it should be taken for granted". Citizens do not enjoy it. The reformers should declare about "the distribution of the market principles on public sector", about "refusal of a paternalism and increase of self-responsibility of citizens", about "the optimization of the public expenditures", etc. And actually one specific objective is set to reduce social obligations of the state, and this objective is to transfer health care, education, culture and science to the greatest possible self-sufficiency. In human language it is an appeal to the citizens to pay for everything, from maternity hospital to a grave. Having come up against such situation more than a half of Russians have the monthly income lower than 18 thousand rubles, and 38% – is lower than 14 thousand rubles, my grandmother would tell: "at first we were poor, and then they robbed us".

In brief, if the country carried out "the structural reforms" of the described contents, the country with guarantee will receive – the plutocratic elite asocial state with primitive single-crop economy.

All of us weren't lucky that our transformation coincided on time with popularity of the demonizing of the state activity. The state was considered as the evil which has to be as little as possible. It was the western trend. We are always inclined to borrow everything in the West not taking into consideration "the place and time" irrespective of, whether we are on friendly terms with it (as at the beginning of the 90th) or we are in confrontation (as today). But, unlike us, in the West treat doctrines not so blindly, and therefore their doctrines are applicable to real life. We have a genetic tendency to installation of "the only true" economic theories, whether it is Marxism or it is a free market. Thus easily we change one utopia for another.

As a result today we endure crisis of market economy. Of course, we created capitalism, but not with a human face. The primitive production structure together with a scandalous inequality of the income of poor and rich people – such economy is always vulnerable. After all the well-being of the country in fact is based on the high prices of oil. As we all remember, in zero years the golden shower poured on us (about 9 trillion rubles in currency rate of those times), but the largest share of this money went to a jug, and the others were distributed very unevenly and unfairly. In addition to it let's remind the universal domination of the large capital, hardly noticeable presence of small and medium business, and also very powerful state pressure

upon business owners, and you will understand how vulnerable we being face to face with economic crisis.

They say that we “get up from knees”. It means that we feel ourselves as equals with other great powers and all cumulative West. But our potential is much weaker today, than in the Soviet years. Such rising is a very risky thing. Especially, when suddenly there is a problem of “collecting of lands”. And we try to do it though none of those who’ve left especially don’t want “to gather”. Besides for us collecting is interfaced to huge expenses which can undermine our existence in general. The Crimean history has just begun, but it is already demanded about twenty billions of dollars. This peninsula seems to become a burden.

In a word, we should think of a goal-setting from the point of view of economic prospects. The speech doesn’t go about restoration of directive planning. Such planning contradicts human nature as we have already understood it from our experience. But any country of the world didn’t achieve prosperity if it didn’t plan the desirable purpose and ways of its achievement.

In this regard I will mention one project that always causes ideological disputes while time doesn’t play for us.

“East range” – is a name of complex railway project. It is about pointing of bottlenecks of the Trans-Siberian Railway and BAM or wider – about modernization of both of these highways. And now let’s show the figures. The development of BAM and Trans-Siberian Railway is estimated at 562,5 billion rubles. First of all it is the state investments. 150 billion rubles are allocated from the National welfare fund, 110,2 billion rubles have to arrive from the federal budget. 260 billion rubles will come from public-private partnership of Russian Railway company namely from “Mechel”, “SUEK”, “Norilsk Nickel”, “Evraz Holding”. Only for last year, they took out over 57,9 million tons of minerals from region fields. And after reconstruction of roads, by 2020th year figure will be able to take out to 113,2 million tons. Interest is available. The rest amount is the investments of the Russian Railway.

Investments are something that the Russian economy most sharply needs today. By known calculations of the Russian experts, each ruble of investments into railway infrastructure gives 1,46 rubles of multiplicative effect for GDP of the country. That means that investments into the railroad “awake” not only new investments in allied industries, but also new demand.

There is a traditional objection from the liberal economists: state investments are inefficient, next “building of a century” will enrich not the country itself, but its officials. I don’t want to fall in details of a subject of “kickbacks” and to leave on a platform of prosecutor’s office. I speak as an economist. And the situation is rather clear. When there is a project which could be realized by the state or state com-

pany as well as by a private company or person it always turns out to be that the private person or company could do it better than the state because the motivation is rather higher when you work for yourself but not for the state or company in general. But the “East range” is a project of another nature. It could not be realized by a private trader. He will not even undertake it because the investments won’t be paid back (in the horizon till 85 years).

Does it mean that if payback “isn’t visible” the project should not be undertaken for realization? There are those who answers that it is senseless to undertake such projects. But first of all, without such large-scale projects we cannot solve global infrastructure problems, and without solving these problems we cannot achieve the expansion of private investments. The developed and effective infrastructure means the existence of a good investment climate for a private investor. Secondly, without such projects there will be no acceleration of development of territories, and such development is a national objective. Thirdly, in the conditions of the coming crisis the large investment project is an important anti-recessionary measure. As the Minister of Economic Development Alexey Ulyukhaev wrote in one of the articles, “now risks of state investments are significantly lower than risks of absence of investments”.

But let’s come back to “East range”. It is not the “range” only in the sense that the Trans-Siberian Railway and BAM have unconditional strategic value. Another meaning of the word is also important: in some sense the Trans-Siberian Railway created Russia, connected its regions, and this communication is sharply necessary. But, by calculations of “Russian Railway”, on the majority of sections of the route of Eastern Siberia and the Far East efficiency of power stepped over limit values. It means that the alternative of modernization of the Trans-Siberian Railway and BAM simply does not exist.

Let’s remember Stolypin: “Money goes on roads”. For economy money is life. For a long time we should develop Eastern Siberia and the Far East. The reasons of it are clear without any explanation. Modernization of the Trans-Siberian Railway and BAM are important not only for themselves. It is a step to a new modern infrastructure system which, in turn, should be the core instrument for the development of new productions, emergence of new workplaces, perhaps, of the new cities in Eastern Siberia and in the Far East.

“East range” should teach us not only realize large infrastructure projects successfully, not only build public-private partnership, not only resist to crisis, but also build the new life.

Vladimir Putin and Dmitry Medvedev aren’t tired to say that we need new model of economy. It is a high time to lay new rails for it.

Ruben Guerrero¹

STRUCTURAL REFORMS IN MEXICO: A STRATEGY TO PROMOTE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH IN THE LIGHT OF CURRENT GLOBAL CHALLENGES

Introduction

Mexican economy has gone through different stages, some of them characterized by recessions and other by periods of moderate growth. Macroeconomic variables therefore experienced changes, many of which contributed to the slowdown in growth and in turn undermined the standard of living of the population, not only in terms of occupation, but the deterioration of basic welfare services such as education and health.

Severe structural economic imbalances, registered in the Mexican economic system in the past three decades as consequences of the incompatibility of the development models and the internal needs, have placed the country in a difficult economic environment that ended up becoming evident with the crisis of 1982. To mention an example, the growth of income per capita dropped dramatically, reaching an annual rate of 0.6% from 1980.

Following the critical event, it was clear that Mexico required the implementation of a different economic strategy, one which would respond not only to domestic interests but also the international dynamics. The revenues generated from oil sales and the remittances from migrants managed to maintain a steady pace, but the current circumstances at that time gave the tone to adopt an open economy model favoring, among other things, the competitiveness of multiple sectors. The entry of Mexico to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the subsequent signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), formed the central pillar of the policy of economic openness to world markets; and because of NAFTA, the country managed to position itself as an attractive trading partner, and at the same time allowing to build a solid economic framework.

The country's opening to world markets increased trade and foreign investment flows, in addition with the acquirement of new technologies which favored the competitiveness indices, nevertheless, the complexities of the internal political system barred the benefits of this new economic policy to distribute equitably among the population. The

lack of flexibility in public policies and weakness of institutions became an obstacle to growth and inclusive development.

After years of null convergence between the predominant Mexican political parties, on the need to undertake the reforms that will break the impasse, the country witnessed economic stagnation and social decay. Several governments tried to solve these problems by implementing strategies closer to what we know nowadays as reforms, but it was during the administration of President Enrique Peña Nieto, that the government achieved a pact, the so-called "Pact for Mexico" which resulted in a competition of the main political parties and established a very ambitious common platform, which contains the main guidelines for structural reforms.

The "Pact for Mexico" dispelled the existing political differences; it was a historic event that allowed the government to implement reforms in favor of certain key sectors of the economy.

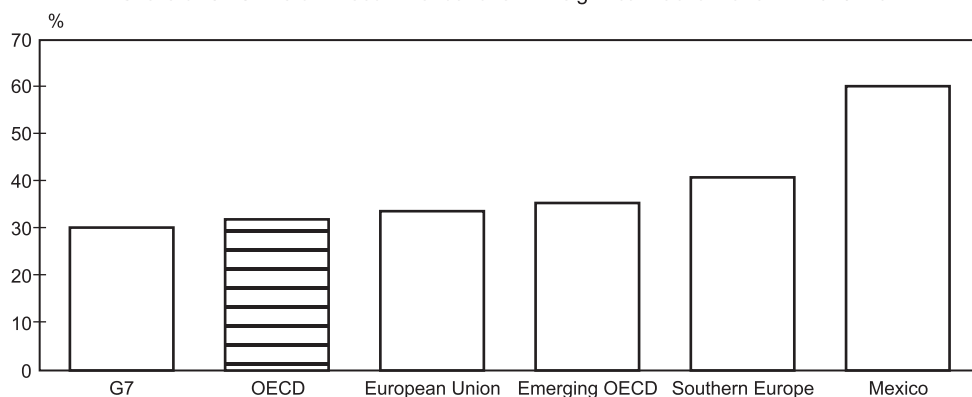
Scope and significance of structural reforms

Eleven major reforms have been approved in only twenty months since the beginning of the administration of President Enrique Peña Nieto, reforms designed to increase the country's productivity, to strengthen the rights of citizens and secure the system of democracy and freedom. This package of reforms includes the labor reform, energy reform, reform in economic competition, reform in telecommunications and broadcasting, financial reform, tax reform, education reform, the entry into force of a new law on legal protection, a new criminal procedure code, the political-electoral reform and transparency reform.

A recently published study by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) points out that Mexico has become the greatest reformer of the past two years within the framework of the OECD (see graph), which means that the in 2013 and 2014, the country undertook significant measures in public policy, attending each

Figure 1. Mexico's reform activity is the highest in the OECD

Share of OECD reform recommendations with significant action taken in 2013–2014



Source: OECD (2015) Economic Surveys, Going for growth

¹ Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the United Mexican States in the Russian Federation. On diplomatic service since 1981, since 2005 – in the rank of the ambassador. The deputy minister over the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean Region (2010–2012). He headed consulate generals of Mexico in New York (2007–2010) and the Phoenix, the State of Arizona

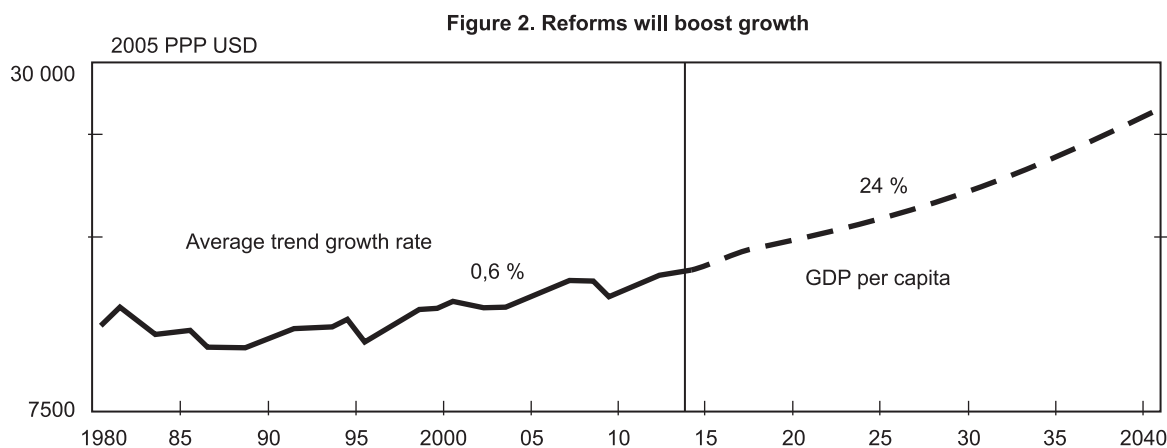
(2001–2003). He worked as the CEO of Department on protection of the rights, assistance and assistance to citizens of Mexico and to consular affairs (1997–1999), the CEO on legal questions of the Mexican commission on cooperation with Central America (1993–1994).

year and on average 58% of the recommendations made by the Organization.

The bold package of structural reforms implemented by the government of Mexico demonstrates the political commitment to encourage the inclusive growth, reduce income inequality, improve the quality of education, encourage formality, reduce poverty, among others; however, in order to make it possible, it is necessary for the country to continue strengthening its institutional and governance capacity. Un-

der this context it is that a constructive political dialogue is particularly relevant.

If continued as before and assuming that the reforms will be fully implemented, it is expected that in the next ten years, they could increase the tendency of growth of per capita annual GDP by one percentage point (see chart), the effects of energy reform will be most visible in the early stages, while the results of education reforms will become noticeable in the longer term.¹



Source: OECD Long-term Growth Scenarios database.

Same as the OECD, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) recently acknowledged the positive performance of the Mexican economy since it was plunged into the process of structural reforms. Meanwhile, on 19th of April this year, the IMF Managing Director, Christine Lagarde, said that to the extent that these reforms are fully implemented, the Mexican economy could achieve growth of up to 4%²; whereas on 16th of April, the World Bank President, Jim Yong Kim said that by initiating a program of structural reforms with significant changes in the telecommunications and energy sectors, the investors will see Mexico differently, so there is an interest to invest in the country, which will eventually lead to a future economic growth.³

The positive evaluation of the program of structural reforms in the country, made by the main organizations and the international financial community are proof of the strength and depth of the package driven by President Peña Nieto. With this, Mexico becomes one of the best positioned emerging economies to deal with volatility in international markets, a pointer case in the way it has efficiently promoted a series of changes that aim at the acceleration of the national economic performance.

All the eleven reforms set the tone for promoting a significant change, and the energy reform deserves special mention because of its uniqueness. In the context of the meeting with members of The Economic Club of New York in September 2014, President Peña Nieto said: "...it

(the energy reform) meant to brake the scheme of exploitation of our natural resources and our oil, that was imposed more than 60 years ago, so that our country was always behind other nations who had dared to make significant changes".

With this reform, the government will be able to ensure the participation of the private sector in improving the methods of the exploitation of natural resources and developing other sources of clean energy, always maintaining the assets of hydrocarbons. The reform allows the biggest state oil company, PEMEX, to ensure the exploitation of about 2.5 million barrels per day for the next 20 years.⁴

With the energy reform (approved at the end of 2013) there were established several regulating organizations, self-sufficient and financially independent, and have clear assignments in providing licensing, safety and environmental protection in the sector. These new regulators will help monitor the opening of the energy sector to a greater competition and make more effective the usage of national resources.⁵

Mexico will begin to experience the first effects of the energy reform starting next year, with the boost in growth of 3.3% as it is projected for 2016, and as anticipated by the IMF. In this sense, Pedro Joaquin Coldwell, Secretary of Energy, declared that it is estimated a total of 62 thousand 500 million dollars that will be invested in the sector including Round One, which consists of the construction of pipelines and power investments in the next three to five years. In addition, Coldwell said that, in the issue of hydrocarbons, it is expected the migration of 13 new applications of Exploration and Production Contracts to shared produc-

¹ OECD, "Economic Survey of Mexico 2015". [Document on-line]. Jan. 2015. P. 4. [Consult. 23-04-2015].

² Morales Y. El Economista, "With the execution of the reforms, Mexico's GDP will reach the 4%". [Document on-line]. Abril 2014. [Consult. 21-04-2015].

³ Hernandez L. El Financiero, "BM prevé crecimiento económico de México tras reformas estructurales". [Document on-line]. Abril 2014. [Consult. 21-04-2015].

⁴ Federal Government, "Structural Reforms and its implementation, Mexico's future i son a promissory way: President Enrique Peña Nieto". [Document on-line]. Sept. 2014. [Consult. 23-04-2015].

⁵ OCDE. Op. cit. P. 18.

tion this year. Finally, Emilio Lozoya Austin, General Director of PEMEX said there are four mega projects over a billion dollars that already have strategic partners with whom they will generate more investments for the benefit of the company.¹

As we have already stated, several international organizations have recognized the fact that with the approval

of the 11 structural reforms there will be, certainly, economic benefits in the medium and long terms. In its latest report, the IMF noted that in 2015, the Mexican economy will be located in 13th place worldwide, which will locate it above countries like Spain and Holland. The IMF also expects Mexico to grow this year between 3 and 3.3%, after 1.4% in 2014.

Table 1

GDP in US dollars (in 2015 Mexican economy will be the 13th in size of the GDP in the list of 189 countries)

Position	Country	2015	2016	2017	2018
1	USA	18,124.73	18,959.22	19,864.55	20,769.42
13	Mexico	1,231.98	1,300.95	1,377.85	1,463.44
14	Spain	1,230.21	1,259.82	1,303.50	1,356.44
15	Russia	1,176.00	1,375.56	1,519.58	1,698.34
16	Indonesia	895.68	951.94	1,036.56	1,116.97
17	Turkey	752.51	790.82	840.99	894.27
18	Holland	749.37	768.89	797.97	832.09
19	Switzerland	688.43	695.10	711.66	728.71
20	Saudi Arabia	648.97	705.68	760.18	811.40

Table 2

Macroeconomic projections²

	2011	2013	2014	2015	2016
	Current prices MXN billion				
GDR	14544.1	1.3	2.6	3.9	4.2
Private consumption	9658.2	2.9	2.2	3.5	3.6
Government consumption	1683.2	1.4	2.1	3.7	2.4
Gross fixed capital formation	3156.7	-1.7	1.8	4.1	4.8
Final domestic demand	14498.2	1.7	2.1	3.6	3.7
Stockbuilding ^{1, 2}	224.4	-0.1	0.3	-0.1	0.0
Total domestic demand	14722.5	1.6	2.4	3.6	3.7
Exports of goods and services	4543.8	1.1	7.0	6.2	7.0
Imports of goods and services	4722.2	1.8	5.0	4.2	5.5
Net exports ¹	-178.5	-0.3	0.6	0.6	0.5
Memorandum items					
Gdp deflator	—	1.8	4.0	3.5	3.0
Output gap	—				
Potential GDP	—				
Core inflation	—				
Consumer price index	—				
Private consumption deflator	—				
Unemployment rate ²	—				
Public sector borrowing requirement ^{3, 4}	—				
Narrow budget balance ⁵	—				
Gross debt ⁶	—				
Current account balance ⁴	—				

Notes: 1 – Contribution to changes in real GDP, actual amount in the first column; 2 – Based on National Employment Survey; 3 – Central government and public enterprises. The PSBR differs from the government's definition of the deficit in that it excludes non-recurrent revenues and pure financing operations, such as withdrawals from the oil revenue stabilization fund; 4 – As a percentage of GDP; 5 – Based on the PSBR not including investment in public enterprises (REMEX and CFE); 6 – Official gross debt figures as of Dec 2013 and Sep 2014.

The IMF also considers that factors such as the recovery of the construction sector, the growth of investment and the maintenance of consumption, will sustain the growth of the Mexican economy in 2015.

¹ Meana, Sergio, El Financiero, "SENER is looking forward into the investment of 62 mil 500 million dollars in the energy sector". [Document on-line]. March 2015. [Consult. 23-04-15].

² OECD Economic database. Mexico-Overview-2015.

At the same time (with the adoption of the reforms) Mexico seeks to promote its participation in the global environment; as it is recalled in recent decades, Mexico has taken important steps, such examples were: the entrance to the GATT (now the World Trade Organization – WTO) in 1986, the signing of the Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 1994 and the accession to the OECD the same year.

International relations play a key role for Mexico as we can observe it through several international agreements, regional organizations and mechanisms such as the Organization of American States, the Rio Group, the Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Free Trade Agreement, the European Union/Latin America and Caribbean Summit and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (a grouping of countries in the Pacific Rim). Mexico also belongs to the G20 and has participated in G8 group of emerging economies +5 (along with India, China, Brazil and South Africa).

The Pacific Alliance was created on April 28, 2011 and it represents a regional economic and political integration

pact whose member states are Chile, Colombia, Mexico and Peru.

“The weight of this economic bloc is impressive. It has a combined population of 204 million (36% of Latin America’s population), a GDP of \$1.7 trillion (35% of regional GDP), and global trade of \$1.045 trillion, which represents half the region’s world total”.¹

Mexico is also the tenth member of the TPP (Trans-Pacific Partnership) which allows to fully participate and influence the negotiations of all issues that are part of the trans pacific partnership initiative and reflect the interests of Mexico in the discussions and the consequent development of the region. The strategic value of the TPP is that the Agreement constitutes a platform to increase trade and promote the commercial integration of Mexico in the Asia-Pacific region; giving Mexico one hand, the opportunity to continue to diversify its exports and, secondly, to maximize its leading role in global supply chains for both the US market and for the Asia-Pacific region (currently the most dynamic in the world in economic terms).

Table 3

Mexico’s Free Trade Agreements

Agreement	Coverage	Date of Signature	Entry into Force
North American Free Trade Agreement	Goods and services	December 17, 1992	January 1, 1994
Costa Rica–Mexico	Goods and services	April 5, 1994	January 1, 1995
Nicaragua–Mexico	Goods and services	December 18, 1997	July 1, 1998
Chile–Mexico	Goods and services	April 17, 1998	August 1, 1999
European Union–Mexico	Goods and services	December 8, 1997	July 1, 2000 (goods) October 1, 2000 (services)
Israel–Mexico	Goods	April 10, 2000	July 1, 2000
Northern Triangle–Mexico	Goods and services	June 29, 2000	March 15, 2001; June 1, 2001
EFTA–Mexico	Goods and services	November 27, 2000	July 1, 2001
Uruguay–Mexico	Goods and services	November 15, 2003	July 15, 2004
Japan–Mexico	Goods and services	September 17, 2004	April 1, 2005
Colombia–Mexico	Goods and services	June 13, 1994	January 1, 2011
Peru–Mexico	Goods and services	April 6, 2001	February 1, 2012
Central America–Mexico	Goods and services	November 22, 2011	Pending

Conclusion

Each one of the reforms pursues a defined target. As a whole package, the reforms provide Mexico a legal/jurisdictional and institutional framework that will allow the country to become a more competitive and productive nation, where legal rights are fully exercised and where democracy and transparency are essential values of the daily life.

The adoption of these structural reforms is an historic event, as it was mentioned in previous paragraphs, and it’s only part of a great transformational project guided by the administration of President Peña Nieto, who’s cabinet is aiming to continue with the work to ensure the full implementation of the reforms and guarantee that the benefits will eventually translate into a better living conditions for the Mexican

families. The Federal Government in has committed to implement relevant legislative changes, design and put in place public policies, all this in order to achieve three main objectives: make Mexico a more productive and competitive country, secure the exercise of legal rights and shift from an electoral democracy to a democracy based on results.

The commitment towards the consolidation of structural reforms undertaken by the federal administration demonstrates the importance that the government is giving towards building a renewed Mexico, not only in economic terms but also socially. In a globalized world, the main challenge for the countries involved is to reconcile national interests with those prevailing in the international environment, focusing primarily on public welfare. Structural changes pursue welfare through economic policies, accountability and stability protection.

¹ Socorro Ramirez. Regionalism: The Pacific Alliance, Latin America Goes Global, Spring 2014.

A. A. Guseinov¹

NATION AS AN IDEA AND HISTORICAL PHENOMENON

Obvious fact of social development in the modern world consists in that globalization and a universalization in one sphere of human activity is followed by the increasing localization and conflicts in other spheres. If consider that civilization is the “body” of society, i.e. its material part, and the culture is its “soul”, i.e. its ideological semantic part, we can tell that: the universalization concerns the civilization of society, and localization is the cultural aspect of society. In fact, we are speaking about the conflict of civilization and culture. In economic and technological spheres of life the mankind has reached the stage when it is capable to overcome historical dissociation and to move forward formation of uniform space of civilization. Globalization processes lead to the formation of uniform civilization and it covers all mankind. At the same time general vector of development in the sphere of culture has an opposite focus. Here we would like to observe obvious increase of misunderstanding, estrangement and aggressive within the society. There is an impression that the mankind is ready to become uniform in the aspect of civilization, but not in the aspect of culture.

Certainly, the aspect of civilization can never exist without the cultural aspect. We do not speak only about the general compliance between the type of civilization and the type of culture can be reached (of course not without conflicts) within large historical eras. Taken into consideration in its direct meaning the activity of civilization exists in a certain intellectual and axiological frame and the human culture should serve it. In this sense the globalization extending on all continents and peoples should be followed and are supplemented with the corresponding culture necessary and sufficient for the course of these processes. That is, for example, ideology, psychology and even ethics of consumerism, some kind of so called fast food culture. This culture substitute which included in globalization practice should not remove or soften the above mentioned gap between civilization and culture, but it outstands as an additional source of cultural tension and oppositions in the world.

When we speak about amplifying of isolation and escalating of conflicts in the field of culture, in particular on a joint of different cultural eras, we mean cultures in their relative independence or in general independence in relation to economic and technological fields of society, cultures embodied in the corresponding religions, arts, philosophies, moral practicing, national traditions, etc. There are many examples of cultural growth of consciousness in its original expression which represents the negative reaction to cultural standards of globalization. Among them there are the following occurrences: return of religion to public

space, growth of influence of so-called conservative ideologies, revival of traditional forms of behaviour. Obvious growth of national consciousness, increasing of number of political and social movements can be good examples of the conflict between civilization and culture. The experience of Europe in that direction deserves special analysis.

New European civilization which plays the leading role in civilized alignment of the modern world today brought the idea of the national state. The national state is European state. And if speaking in details, it is the invention of West Europe. Europe showed incredible productive power of national being with its successful and tragic events of the last two centuries. Today Europe looks forward breaking through the horizon of the national state which became too narrow for it and forward creating political, legal, financial and economic space which corresponds to the general tendency conducting to a uniform civilization. However, it didn't exclude and even amplified the national consciousness of the European people, woke the sleeping dogs of ethnicity.

Destiny of national idea in the modern world, in particular its opposition to the cultural tendencies of the developing global civilization, allows to change view on the phenomenon of nation and nationalism in historical process. I would like to speak about two basic moments.

1. There are to different meanings of the nature of nation in literature and in public opinion. One meaning is connected with understanding of the nation as an ethnocultural community which is defined by the birth and education. Other point of view considers the nation as a political community defined by nationality. I consider these conceptual approaches to be unilateral and abstract. It doesn't mean that they are false. No, they are first of all unilateral. They represent different understandings of nation represented by views and addictions of those who gives such definitions. But they do not reflect the essence of nation in its completeness. It looks like defining a person as is a reasonable being in the opinion of one side, and defining the person as a social being in the opinion of the opposite side. The same we can say about distinctions in definition of the nation. Actually, the nation represents an ethnocultural community which receives continuation and end in the form of the national state and thanks to it becomes the nation.

In order to understand this unity of cultural and political components of the nation, we should keep in mind that the nation appears as overcoming of class division of society. The national state, respectively, is a post-class state, i.e. democratic state. Only national state is able to become democratic.

The dominating classes were culturally and mentally separated from oppressed classes within the class state. The society of that feudal era was semi-educated. Education considered to be the privilege of so-called noble classes, and the lowest classes formed an uneducated mass of citizens deprived of civil rights. Within the class state the state system, policy, and political class were separated from each other by an ethnocultural basis of the vast majority of citizens of the state. Lines of social and status separation were also lines of cultural separation. Formation of the na-

¹ Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Doctor of 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. Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS.

tion and formation of the national state meant overcoming of this gap, and this overcoming arised as its basic element. People become the nation only when the state becomes national, when the uniform space appears as the ground for development of national culture, for intellectual and human growth of the citizens.

Each person belongs to a certain ethnocultural community. It does not much depend on the person as well as the fact of his birth and the cultural environment he was born and grew within. Ethnic origin of the person forms his destiny. The person can not choose his ethnicity. Of course, it doesn't mean, that the ethnicity represents the biological phenomenon. It only means that the person is a social being and that he inherits his primary etnical group. The ethnic origin of the person is similar to his biological definiteness only in the aspect of inheriting it before he gets any opportunity of choice. That is quite different with the citizenship as it is really the matter of personal choice. However the person becomes a citizen not as an abstract unit, but as a unit of his ethnical affiliation. The peculiarity of the national state and the main criteria that it is really national is that it allows to combine an ethnical identity of the person with his civil identity. And it remains national in that measure in which it is able to do it. (It is a special question how such combination is reached; experience testifies that it can be reached by different ways – from construction of ethnicity in the political principle to total separation of one from another when nationality becomes some kind of new ethnicity supplementing primary ethnicity not identical to it).

To put it briefly, the modern democracy, and the concept of the national state which is a synonym of the democratic state, includes freedom of ethnocultural development of people as natural basis of individual freedoms. Pertinently to notice: just because the nation exists in the unity of state, political, ethnical and cultural fields there is a danger of appearance of cosmopolitan, nationalistic and chauvinist trends.

2. Being a post-class form of human community the nation, not only assumed political equality, transformation of society from a semi-educated people in educated nation, development of independency of citizens but also resisted the ideology of class separation and represented a new form of a spiritual community. The nation always bears a certain idea in itself. There is no nation without the idea. The nation should be understood as a certain form of a spiritual community and, respectively, as a certain step of a spiritual development of society. In this sense it is important to emphasize that the nation is not only a post-class, but also a post-religious formation.

3. The nation represents the post-religious formation not only in chronological, but also in historical sense. It is also placed among spiritual forms and aspires to be the force more powerful in uniting people that religion is. Opposition to the church-papal universalism and struggle for the unity of people above and beyond the religious distinctions separating people within the nation is one of the most dramatic stages of formation of the European nations. One of the truths proved and gained by experience of the European development during Modern times consists that the national unity is higher and more important than not only political, but also religious distinctions. The same truth receives confirmation in the field of the interstate relations: now it appears that national distinctions are more important and

much more essential than religious unity. The general character and schemes of interaction between the dominating religion and developing nations which were shown by the European history, are confirmed also by the experience of other regions, in particular, of the modern Muslim Middle East.

What higher spiritual sense and what an idea does the nation contain? Expressed in extremely general and short view, it consists in justice. Herewith the national stage of historical development means essentially new, higher stage of public justice. The justice is equal to idea of the nation in its anti-class orientation and means a democratic being arrangement of society (it found reflection in the well-known slogan of the French revolution of 1789 in the words "freedom" and "equality"). It also means the serve to the people in the anti-clerical orientation (it is reflected by the same slogan in the word "brotherhood"). These two aspects of national idea are tightly connected with each other: serve to people instead of serve to the god meant readiness to find the opportunity of embodiment of human hopes which corresponded to democratic forms of life.

The understanding of the nation as spiritual community contains higher understanding of human dignity and justice, providing thereby the civil unity and the extra religious unity of the society. Such understanding is particularly important in the respect of providing open prospect of a non-national view of the world, thereby protecting the society from nationalist tunnel of consciousness. The national consciousness is based on understanding of value of national being. It is some kind of axiom expressing the fact of belonging of the person to a certain nation and allowing him to distinguish his nation from all other nations in the valuable priorities just as he distinguishes the parents from all other people. At the same time the aspiration to make the contribution to enhancement of his nation assumes knowledge of real demands of the nation. It means that correct understanding of national problems should be based on wide view on the nation including more than its historical developing and historical justice.

The view of the nation as historical and spiritual phenomenon is connected with understanding of patriotism. Patriotism as love to the native land includes devotion to native language, native nature and childhood memories aims at subordinating personal interests to public interests. The patriotic system of thoughts and feelings comes to the forefront of human lives and societies when we deal with relationship, cooperation, competition or conflicts with other nations and states. Patriotism expresses the living position proceeding from belief that the homeland (native land) is above and beyond of everything. It unites people within the native land and simultaneously blocks them within the borders of their national consciousness, thereby isolating them from people of other states. It creates the possibility of development of different theoretical and ideological interpretation of patriotism therefore the patriotism urged to unite people becomes a source of conflicts between them.

In the history of Russia this or that understanding of patriotism was one of the main subjects of ideological and practical oppositions in society. In Russia the subject of patriotism have many difficult nuances of understanding, sometimes sharp and even bloody in the practical consequences. In general, there are two polar approaches in understanding of patriotism in Russia. One approach is that patriotism is true, the another one – that patriotism is false.

The first approach is based on identity of Russia. It recognizes that Russia has its own way of development and all West borrowings are disastrous for it. Followers of this approach are sure that all global problems of Russia appeared since the time of Peter the Great who undercut Russia by imposing foreign customary in it. This approach is characterized by noncritical view on history, traditions and life of the people and therefore the patriotism of its followers is considered blind.

In the most general philosophical and methodological plan this approach was reflected by the concept of N. Ya. Danilevsky who assumed that there were no general regularities and the uniform line of development of nations, and that each of the nation was equal in the typological definiteness to itself. In a concrete moral and political orientation patriotism in this case is identified with nationalism and realizes itself in opposition to bourgeois and individualistic Europe.

Another approach which is designated as universalistic, cosmopolitan and antinational by its ideological opponents is based on the idea that the nation is not the last word of history and its destiny should be considered in wider, than the nation, spiritual and historical prospect. Summarizing briefly, it can be described by the following statements:

No one could love the native land with his eyes closed – patriotism does not exclude but even needs the critical approach to current status of the state and its nation, to the level of their political, cultural and moral development;

Nobody holds the patent for patriotism and ruling circles which are inclined to abuse patriotic feelings for protection of fixing of their exclusive conditions have the least right for it;

Patriotism does not mean nationalism, it requires respect for all nations and states and borrowing best practices of their experience and achievements.

This second approach, in my opinion, proceeds from more adequate understanding of the nation as historical and spiritual phenomenon.

Attachment

Further I would like to quote V. S. Solovyov because I hope that he could be one of the most useful distant participants of our discussion. His approach may be particularly actual nowadays because it concerns the nationalism in the aspect of that today it has lost its negative connotation.

I quote the work "National problem in Russia" in 2 volumes, volume 1 in edition of Philosophical essays, Moscow, "Pravda", 1989.

"Endorsing the serve to the nation as the highest aim every nation sentences itself to the moral loneliness..." (P. 280).

"...one can see the national principle from another point of view: not as an incarnation of the national selfishness but as the requirement of world justice according to which all nations have equal rights for sovereign being and development" (P. 280).

"In order to be a deserving subject for belief and serve, the nation should believe and serve to something supreme and ultimate. In other case believing in the nation and serving the nation would mean to believe and serve to crowd of people..." (P. 281).

"But in order to make patriotic cares of national independence fruitful and faultless, it is necessary to remember two things: first that the independent nationality after all

isn't the prime and final target of the history. It is just the means or the next purpose. And secondly that not arising of national selfishness conducts to the achievement of this next purpose, but in the contrary, opposite awakening of national self-knowledge, i.e. knowledge as a working tool in establishment of the God's Kingdom on the Earth" (P. 284).

"You tell us: serving the people, we thereby serve the mankind. The same we could tell about serving ourselves, I serve the family, serving the family – I serve the people, etc., and as a result it would the conclusion that I could serve only to myself. But what's the service it would be? All this is only a word-play; actions depend on what way and for what I serve myself and other people" (P. 307).

"...Sometimes conscience in political and world questions is more sensible and exacting than self-conscience in personal cases" (P. 328).

"Besides the external benefits which should be provided by the state, our people want more. It wants the truth, i.e. consent between the life and the truth he believes in" (P. 331).

"Internal contradiction between requirements of the true patriotism requiring that Russia would be as good as it is possible, and false petitions of the nationalism that Russia has already reached the status the best of the best, is a contradiction ruined the Slavophilism as the doctrine..." (P. 444).

"Instead of insisting on the Russian way and on the idea that Russia is a great boon, – it is necessary to separate white from black in the Russian reality and the Russian history, without being confused at all that white color is equally white for all people of the Earth" (P. 475).

"...distinctions between nationality and nationalism look like distinction between the personality and egoism" (P. 516).

"...nationality and nationalism are two different things (as personality and selfishness)..." (P. 592).

"...renunciation of the national selfishness does not mean denial of the nationality..." (P. 592).

"The mankind is represented to us as something abstract – let it be; but after all the nations developed in the face of history, and one thousand years ago 'France', 'Germany' had to be represented by the same abstract terms, as 'mankind' now" (P. 602).

"What national task they served, whose national consciousness was expressed by apostles, martyrs, at last, great teachers of church?..."

This circumstance reflects the great difference between nationality, as a positive force of human beings of uniform mankind, and nationalism, as total separation from the world, denying mankind and ruining the nationality. Only understanding and accepting this distinction, it is possible to leave the dark and suffocating sphere of national complacency and reach the open and light way of national consciousness" (P. 603–604).

"The nationality represents only one limited part of the mankind. It is able to stay in this or that relation to the absolute ideal, but in any case it is not identical with it; therefore when such private fact considers as the highest principle, when one nation is empowered by the exclusive and integral privilege or by the monopoly for absolute truth, it transforms from the attendant of the mankind ideal to the unconditional subject of serve prevailing to itself, i.e. to an idol, worship to which is based on false and conducts to moral, and then material crash" (P. 628–629).

M. S. Gusman¹

GLOBAL CHALLENGES IN THE MODERN WORLD AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

We will discuss a wide range of issues that are extremely important for the development of global media community. I propose to focus on those trends, which define our present and future careers today.

Information space in the context of global information development

Information processes underlie all evolutionary changes of the world. Information development and the process of globalization are linked by cause and effect relationship. Among various processes that take place within the context of globalization and under its influence, information globalization is currently one of the most significant integration processes, including the development of communication, the creation of global information networks, computerization of many spheres of human activity.

The global information development of society is of objective nature. It is increasingly becoming the basis and the pivot of science and technology, as well as of the economic, social and cultural development. Information development is viewed as both a scientific process and a historical and social one. Accordingly, information development has dramatically changed the society not only technologically but also socially and spiritually. These changes result in the transition of the humanity to building an information society.

The building of an information society, in its turn, leads to changes in the structure and modifies characteristics of the information space qualitatively. The level of the development of the latter radically influences the main spheres of society – social, political, economic, and individual. This affects citizens' behavior, the rise of social and political movements, and social security.

Information space has actually erased boundaries between countries, which is one of the main sources of globalization and at the same time the result of this process.

In the context of the globalizing world, information space acquires a trans-boundary character. The way integration and the global information development work is strongly exemplified by creating united Europe. Intensive integration processes in Western Europe including the economic sphere would have been impossible without modern methods and means of communication and information, without a reliable transmission of large amounts of data over great distances. The development of new means and methods for data transfer allows us to suggest that a new phenomenon defined as a European information space emerges, Russian information space being its

integral part. Global information space has become an objective reality.

A qualitatively new domain of activities, namely information sphere, is being shaped by the information society. Information sphere with such properties as globality, unprecedented speed of information delivery, the virtual disappearance of formerly existing borders between states determines changes in the methods of modern geopolitics. One of the most important methods in the modern world is the repository of resources and means of information influence. Information space first linked all areas of the individual, society and the state and is now beginning to dominate over them. Virtual environment is losing its mediating role and becomes one of the main sources of dominating reality. The level of information technology and communication systems development, including external ones, becomes the most important factor among those which determine the influence and abilities of the state.

Future geopolitical form of the world is likely to be determined by the redistribution of zones of influence, especially in the information sphere. Taking advantage of the growing gap in their development, some regions of the world will try to make other participants in the global processes assume the role of supporting regions. Growing stratification of the society will follow the same scenario. All these processes form what can be called the geopolitics of the information society.

Information space is characterized by a clear distinction between such concepts as 'information' and 'knowledge', which are commonly perceived as synonymous. In fact, information in the modern information space is apt to be seen as a resource, a kind of 'some raw material to produce knowledge'. Unlike the classical natural science paradigm, knowledge in the information space is not viewed as something immutable, fundamental, and constant (independent of the changing situation). In today's information society, the main feature of knowledge is contextuality, that is dependence on many factors.

Interactive type of communication in the information space determines purposeful and active handling of information and information exchange between actors. The idea of interactivity means that communication is no longer considered in terms of 'subject – object' relationship. The sender of the message is no less important participant of communication than its recipient.

Information plays a major role in our lives. Currently, it is not only a way to obtain data perceived by the brain through senses, but also a way to gain from it, to share knowledge and to improve oneself. Thus, information gives rise to new social relations, assuming leadership in them.

Contemporary media: global trends of its transformation and prospects

Under the new conditions, the role and status of media begin to change.

In accordance with current legislation of the Russian Federation, the media are responsible for informing citizens about the activities of government agencies and branches. Laws, decrees and acts of state authorities come into force

¹ First Deputy Director General of the Russian Information Agency 'TASS', Dr. Sc. (Political Studies), Professor, Honoured Fellow of Culture of the Russian Federation. Author and host of the television series "The Formula of Power" (since 2000 it has broadcast over 250 exclusive interviews with the world leaders and crowned heads). Author of books: "Formula of Power. 55 Interviews in a Golden Tie" (2005), "Formula of Power ...60 more Interviews in a Golden Tie" (2010), "Formula of Power ...65 more Interviews in a Golden Tie" (2015), and of several scripts for TV films and programs. Vice-President of the European Alliance of News Agencies, representative of the Russian Federation in the UNESCO Intergovernmental Committee for Information and Communication (IPDC). Winner of the State Award of the Russian Federation and the Moscow Government Award in journalism. He is awarded with the order "For Merits before Fatherland" (degree 4), orders of Friendship, Honour and others.

only after being published. Thus, the media are an intermediary in establishing social relations between state authorities and the public, and they have a sole right to obtain and distribute information about the activities of state authorities.

As new technologies penetrate the life of the state and its citizens, government agencies acquire another operational channel controlled only by the state to directly communicate with the population, so the need to use conventional media to deliver information disappears. Thus, media are losing their unique and sole right to obtain and distribute information provided by the government.

One more implication of the fact that modern communications influence media policy is the following. Communication technologies make a good competitor of the media by gaining the ultimate right to deliver official information to the public accurately and objectively.

Special attention should be paid to a gradual process of the concentration of power in the media, with objective economic and technological reasons contributing to the process. The fact that the media to a great extent act as an information maker as well as policy and ideology architect rather than a purely information transmitter makes it easier to access and impact them. It is more difficult to tell between a media product and a phenomenon depicted. What is really going on becomes a 'public event' only through its reflection, and this reflection may undergo a wide range of 'corrections', including those secretly targeted.

Under conditions of competitive market (maximization of profit, striving for monopoly, realization of proprietors' intentions, etc.), the media tend to ignore normal, everyday life, which makes it difficult to adequately reflect reality, and fail to see true underlying causes and processes. These principles are the main reasons for the media to be involved in the information-psychological conflicts and the manipulation of the public conscience.

Reflecting on information, we cannot omit another challenge. It is a challenge to traditional media by so-called new media, namely, social networks. Many people believe that networking which takes place today is the biggest revolution in the information history of mankind, which can be compared with the invention of the printing press.

The development of the Internet and digital technologies has led to the fact that news is no longer the prerogative of professionals only. Virtually any layman with a camera, mobile phone, webcam and Internet access can now produce and distribute 'content'. At present, it is impossible to deny effectiveness and impact of citizen journalism on society. However, the effects resulting from this phenomenon can be very different.

The demise of the old mass media has been discussed for decades. New generations of information users put forward their own demands, seek out new approaches and destroy the boundaries between a creator and consumer. However, traditional media are still strong and in demand; they are developing and become more flexible and receptive to new technologies. Each market player strives not only to keep pace with global information processes, developing new information formats, but also to stir up interest in high quality traditional media products and sustain channels of their distribution. To do this, modern specialists must be in the know of contemporary practices of the media space.

We clearly witness the following tendency. There is a vast media-space around the consumer due to the availability of information caused by a serious technological leap on the one hand, and Internet proliferation, on the other. This space significantly broadens the choice of the sources and channels of the information delivery. Information overload poses a problem for the audience, readers, consumers, this involves the problem of making decision about a source of information that is able to present it in a convenient and data-intensive form.

Moreover, many novel media and severe competition between them can impair quality of media products. The audience can lose confidence in the accuracy and objectivity of the information received. On the one hand, there is an inviolable right to the freedom of choice of information, on the other hand, this right may clash with the right to reliable information.

Under these conditions, the main competitive advantages of traditional media are reliable sources of information, the tradition of deep and objective analysis, their own unique content, high professionalism and often the devotion of journalists to their duty. Vehicles for delivering information undergo changes and are replaced with more modern forms of presenting information. Professional and social media tend to mix. What should remain unchanged in the realm of information sources and resources is adherence to the main principles of high moral, freedom of speech, honesty, and professionalism. They make it possible for traditional mass media to stay afloat and customize to users' fancy, since the latter want to be protected from the huge amount of information pouring on them; they long for an intelligent and competent interlocutor capable of sharing with them an interesting story. Professional media appears to continue playing an important role in the world.

I would also like to draw attention to the issue of responsible consumption of information. As traditional media actively penetrate digital environment and some print publications are frequently available on the Internet, solving this issue is the key to survival for many publishers. Should we educate those who used to get free information on the web and teach users to develop the habit to pay for quality content? Shall we look for ways of restructuring our publications in accordance with the prevailing culture of the virtual space? These are questions to be answered by for everyone sooner or later.

Today, the topic of information security cannot be ignored either. It is obvious that the existing model of digital information space management starts to deviate from standards and ideals of free flow of information. A deep crisis in this sphere is looming. Invalid information, numerous hacker attacks and global surveillance undermine democratic values and generally established ethical standards and, therefore, to control these processes some efficient international mechanism is needed. The international community is beginning to realize the need for careful regulation of potentially dangerous content which can cause escalation of international conflicts and destabilization of the internal situation in the country, as well as promotion of terrorism and extremism.

Digital world is rapidly advancing and our professional duty is not to block its way but to guide and control this progress, to anticipate threats and find new techniques to prevent them. All challenges we are facing should be viewed as new perspectives and opportunities for modernization, renewal and development.

G. A. Hajiyev¹

ABOUT LEGAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SENSE OF THE STATEMENT “THE WEST IS THE WEST, THE EAST IS THE EAST”

1. The known Rudyard Kipling's statement is the good cause for discussion of questions which is important now: “What are national traditions? Is legal Russian tradition of the active position of the states and the social beginning which weakens an individual autonomy of the person national?” Discussing it, you definitely appear in that segment of science of a constitutional right which I call the constitutional ethics and which is boundary not only for the right, but also for ethics and social philosophy as you have to estimate a ratio of a paternalism of the state generating a dependence and weakening of an individual autonomy with her independence and an initiative sometimes.

Here it is useful to remember the statement of Oscar Wilde who compared consciousness of the person to a magnetic needle which constantly is in a field of inclination of powerful magnets. Ones of them, perhaps, are national traditions. That is why, estimating them, you can't forget about the value of an personality autonomy, its independence of different fields of inclination, “-isms”, whether it is liberalism or conservatism. Especially independence of thinking is necessary for scientists for whom cognitive independence is their professional activity condition. Therefore, the academic freedom protected by our Constitution is the major professional constitutional right, as well as the right for freedom of economic activity for businessmen.

2. I believe that Kipling's statement is right if we proceed from presence of two different points of view in the world, how the main social conflicts have to be resolved. One of main conflicts is the conflict between economically successful sectors of society and those who needs social help. This help can be provided by giving to not self-sufficient members of society pensions, grants, privileges, compensations which partly can be taken from income of economically active citizens by redistributive operations. The essence of a problem is simple: whether the state has to execute a certain moral imperative concerning those who needs it, and in what amount? Moral categories are differently transformed to economic and social policy in the West and the East.

The East is famous for the reverent attitude to the senior generation. In the Far East, in China, there is even pension system because the children obligation for a maintenance of parents excludes the institute of social contempt. The idea of the social state is popular in Europe, Russia, Latin America. The West concerns more watchfully to all social though Obama's programs for development of medicine in the USA do an antithesis “West-East” less contrast. There are some ideas in the West to appeal Kipling's statement.

¹ The judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Doctor of Law, Professor, Honored Lawyer of the Russian Federation. Author of over 200 scientific papers, including monographs and textbooks: “The protection of fundamental economical rights and freedoms of entrepreneurs abroad and in the Russian Federation: the experience of a comparative analysis”, “Entrepreneur–taxpayer–state: the legal positions of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation”, “The constitutional principles of market economics”, “Constitutional economics” and others. The chairman of the Editorial Board of the journal “Comparative Constitutional Review”, a member of the editorial boards of five academic journals. The member of the Presidential Council for the Development of Civil Legislation. He was awarded with the honorary Diploma of the President of the Russian Federation. Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS.

Unlike tradition of east societies the western societies are more selfish and focused on a person. They put in the forefront the individual autonomy and the neutrality of the state determined by it.

The law which (coming from the western idea of an individual autonomy) let people elder than 35 years or having three and more biological children do a voluntary sterilization was passed in Hungary. The constitutional court of the country recognized this norm unconstitutional. The court considered that if the person has a right for health, the state has a certain debt on protection of a body of the person in spite of the fact that he consciously made the decision on sterilization. Thus what are the borders of the individual autonomy sphere, that is self-determination? What ethic is better – social ethic or self-love and focused on person ethic? Still this question was investigated by Kant, he is an author of an egotistical way of human thinking assessment as *ethics of self-love*. In the XIX century these words were “upgraded”, and people began arguing on “reasonable egoism”. Many American constitutionalists which do not have professor of a constitutional right Barack Obama among them, consider the individual autonomy as the main constitutional value.

The states like Hungary, don't allow voluntary sterilization, abortions, the right for euthanasia and so on, are not considered as the neutral. The West uses strong argument: “Anyone who does not support us in our cause is our enemy”.

Split on the “West-East” line, which you can see clearly in division of the Roman Empire on East and Western, has not disappeared and will hardly disappear. People will give different answers to the discussed questions for a long time that is the main challenge (if you remember the topics of Likhachov conference). Those who lives in the different countries will treat the constitutional principle differently forbidding obligatory or state ideology for a long time. (By the way, this principle is related to the idea of the neutral state which has to be equidistant both from these or those enterprise structures, and from these or those “-isms”.)

3. The collection of the chosen works of Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov “Notes about Russian” was released Last year. On its last pages I found that looked for very long time – the following lines are given in the essay “About Russian and Foreign”: “Any people have their advantages and disadvantages. It is necessary to pay more attention to ours, than to others”. Simple truth. I will try to reproduce the same thought, using concepts of the right and philosophy.

If you stop in reasonings on ascertaining which is taken out in the name (“The West is the West, the East is the East”), it is unproductively and less rationally. The main thing taken from Kipling's statement, that it is necessary to draw a pragmatic conclusion. I perceive a conclusion that in the world it is necessary to defend a priority of national traditions as irrational and confrontational. Chinese, Americans, Hindus, Brazilians can have different views on the

solution of the main social problems, different nations have their own national traditions. It is impossible to impose others the national legal traditions. But it does not mean that, being proud of some of them (as, for example, the tradition of public health care created in the XX century), we can't propagandize them. As it is impossible to be proud of modesty, so it is impossible to take conflict potential from national traditions.

The people occupying Earth have different traditions, but it does not cancel an idea of a brotherhood. It is fixed in a preamble of the Russian Constitution: "We, multinational people of the Russian Federation, see ourselves as a part of the world community..."

The dialogue about national traditions becomes useful if you refuse a categoriality of judgments and stop believ-

ing in the infallibility of yourself. It is necessary to recognize that the mankind developed different forms of humanity and, as a result, the different points of view on the social life structure.

The mankind won the natural right for identity of each people by long cultural evolution. A certain rationalism-pragmatism-individualism of the western society should not be taken hostilely because it is a result of their original history, social determination of the western model of culture.

But it doesn't mean that we have to copy it diligently. From a Russian literature school course we remember how harmful the "blind, slave, stupid imitation".

"The constitutional ethics of the East are worse, than the constitutional ethics of the West?" – the one who asks such question, already acts immorally.

Valur Ingimundarson¹

LEGITIMIZING SECESSION AND NEW STATES: GEOPOLITICAL INTERESTS AND LEGAL NORMS

It is widely accepted that self-determination – as defined in international law and on which any claim for secession is contingent – is based on nationality/ethnicity, common culture, history, language, and territory.² Such a claim, however, does not have to be fulfilled through sovereign rights; the more common way is to grant autonomy rights within states.³ This tension between self-determination of peoples and sovereignty of states, which forms the basis for the international system, makes secessions so contentious and difficult to achieve.⁴ Historically, self-determination efforts usually have far more chance of succeeding after wars and conflicts than in times of peace and political stability. The post-World War I settlement – which was heavily influenced by Wilsonian idealism on the question of rights of self-determination – led to many new independent states. The World War II created the decisive momentum for decolonization: between 1945 and 1960, a three dozen new states were created in Africa and Asia. And after the end of the Cold War, the break-up of the Soviet Union and the violent disintegration of the former Yugoslavia resulted in numerous state formations in the 1990s.

In this paper, I compare recent secession cases from geopolitical and legal perspectives. The focus is on attempts to confer legitimacy to the political divorce proceedings, which, in many cases, are contested.⁵ The question of state viability or the limitation imposed on the exercise of sovereignty – or what has been termed "limited statehood"⁶ – are not my concern here. I argue that there is no likelihood that a universally applicable rule for secession can be agreed on. Apart from state sovereignty rights, other factors always have to be taken into account, such as self-determination rights; historical territorial claims; the nature of armed conflicts; the interests of Great Powers or supranational alliances; government practices of within states, and the relationship between majority and minority populations. I show that a successful political breakaway is dependent on a combination of internal and external factors. First, secession and subsequent state formation⁷ need some sort of legitimization on the part of the national/ethnic group in question. Second, the separation process is far more likely to succeed, if it is accepted – either explicitly or implicitly – by the state majority population. If rejected, however, this does not necessarily have to prevent new states from being created. Third, statehood is contingent, in the long run, on the recognition by other states, which are normally reluctant to grant it unless there is a broad consensus on the process.

Conferring Popular Legitimacy on Secession: The Role of Referendums

To fulfill the first requirement – to receive a popular mandate for secession – the principle of a referendum has become the most common form. As was the case during the process of decolonization – after World War II – this makes

¹ Professor of Contemporary History of the Faculty of History and Philosophy at the University of Iceland, a chairman of the Scientific Innovation Center EDDA, 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", "Geopolitics of Arctic Natural Resources", "Topography of Globalization: Politics, Culture, Language" (ed.), "Nordic Cold War Cultures: Ideological Promotion, Public Reception, and East-West Interactions" (ed.), and book chapters in "Arctic Security in the Age of Climate Change", "Cold War Cultures: Perspectives on Eastern and Western European Societies", "NATO: The First Fifty Years", etc. He is the recipient of a Literary Award of the J. Sigurdsson Fund and government award for research on NATO. He has been a peer reviewer for many scientific journals, including "Cold War History", "Journal of Slavic Military Research", "Journal of Polar Research".

² On the concept of secession, see, for example, *Wellman Ch. H.* A Theory of Secession: The Case for Political Self-Determination. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005; *Kohen M.* (ed.), *Secession: International Law Perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

³ See: *Cassese A.* Self-Determination of Peoples: A Legal Reappraisal. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; *Weller M.* Settling Self-determination Conflicts: Recent Developments // *The European Journal of International Law.* 2009. № 20. P. 111–165.

⁴ *Hannum H.* *Autonomy, Sovereignty, and Self-Determination: The Accommodation of Conflicting Rights.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1990.

⁵ See: *Cooley A. and Spruyt H.* *Contracting States: Sovereign Transfers in International Relations.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009.

⁶ See: *Risse Th.* (ed.) *Governance without a State: Policies and Politics in Areas of Limited Statehood.* N. Y.: Columbia University Press, 2013.

⁷ See: *Crawford J.* *The Creation of States in International Law.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; *Raic D.* *Statehood and the Law of Self-Determination.* The Hague: Kluwer Law, 2002.

perfect sense when an overwhelming majority of the break-away population favors separation. The practice gets, however, more complicated when the population is evenly split. The 2014 referendum in Scotland is a case in point. A simple majority decided on the existential question of independence. Even if the outcome was more decisive than expected, with 55% rejecting secession, there is obviously a difference in terms of legitimacy when 90% of the population vote for a split or 51%. When Quebec held a referendum on independence from Canada in 1995, the proposal was defeated by a margin of one percent point. If it had gone the other way, it would have meant that half the population was against being part of the divorce proceedings.¹ Catalonia could possibly be faced with the problem in the case of a referendum, if a sizeable number of people would balk at a separation from Spain due to the political and economic risks involved and/or the uncertainties of a contested state-building.²

This is not to say, however, that there is a fairer way of claiming legitimacy for secession; thresholds designed to require enhanced majorities can be as hard to justify. The question is more about achieving political stability and societal reconciliation following a process, which, in some cases, is bound to lead to sharp divisions among the electorate. What explained the momentum for holding a referendum in Scotland was not only national identity aspirations, but the widespread view that Scottish interests were not adequately represented by British institutions. After all, the governing party in Britain, the Conservative Party, has practically no support in Scotland. That is also what characterizes the situation in Catalonia: the belief that the Spanish state has treated it unfairly by refusing to recognize its national rights and by extracting too much from it in economics terms.

In the case of Montenegro's separation from Serbia in 2006, the European Union insisted on an enhanced majority to validate the referendum result: that at least of 55% of the population had to vote in favor of secession. The EU was against the break-up of the Union of Serbia and Montenegro on the overly optimistic grounds that a resurrected variant of the defunct Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a viable option after the civil wars in the former Yugoslavia. But the numerical requirement for enhanced majority was arbitrary and reflected the economic and political leverage the EU had vis-à-vis Montenegro, a weak state entity with EU membership aspirations, than concerns for establishing a universal principle on secession. As it happened, 55.5% of those who took part in the Montenegrin referendum backed independence and removed any potential external recognition roadblocks. Yet, it was perfectly understandable that the Montenegrin Prime Minister, who spearheaded the secession effort, declared before the referendum that he would push ahead for a political divorce, if only a simple majority voted for independence.

In contrast, the Kosovo Albanians, which constitute over 90% of the population in Kosovo, were not allowed to hold a referendum before declaring independence in 2008 – with the support of most Western states (excepting several

countries with secession movements within their own borders). Actually, they had already held such a referendum in 1990 after Kosovo had been deprived of its autonomy by the Serbian regime. It was, however, not recognized by any state in the 1990s. The Kosovo Albanians had grounds for secession after the breakup of Yugoslavia: having enjoyed most of the same rights as those of other Republics, they had also been exposed to state-sponsored repression by the Serbian government. If a referendum had been held in 2008, it would without doubt have produced an overwhelming support for independence. But as a result of Serbia's opposition on sovereignty grounds, the "international community" feared that such a vote would destabilize the territory, which was still recovering from the wars in the former Yugoslavia.

A referendum on the creation South Sudan, however, was held in 2011 with UN and Great Power backing; it resulted in 98% of the population voting in favor of secession. Another precedent for such a decisive outcome was when the people of East Timor voted for independence from Indonesia in 1999 with 80% support in a referendum organized under the auspices of the UN after negotiations involving Indonesia and the Portugal, the former colonial power.³ The 2014 Crimean referendum on secession from the Ukraine surely reflected the will of the majority population, but the secession process itself had far more to do with the interests of an external power, Russia, which used the political vacuum created by the Ukrainian crisis to annex the territory, using both self-determination and historical arguments to justify the move. To sum up, while the practice of holding a single majority referendum to legitimize secession is the favored one, it is not a universal rule. The process often depends on geopolitical factors, such as the will and conditions of Great Powers or intergovernmental or supranational international bodies.

The View of State Actors: Accepted and Contested Partitions

Historically, the second requirement for secession – the acceptance by the majority population – is usually far harder to fulfill. Territorial losses are seen as a threat to state sovereignty and political cohesion, and, if achieved as a result of violent conflict or Great Power decisions, they can lead to future irredentism. Needless to say, if multinational states recognize the right of political divorce – no matter how reluctantly – the process is far more likely to produce a mutually agreeable outcome. What explains why the Scottish referendum went so smoothly is that all sides accepted the rules of the game, even if the Scots were subjected to pressure and threats by the British government and the EU.

It also underscores why the Montenegrin secession was achieved without trouble. Serbia recognized Montenegro's right to do so as a former Yugoslav Republic following the referendum, even if it was against the move. When Kosovo followed, however, in the footsteps of Montenegro, Serbia vehemently opposed, offering instead the option of keeping Kosovo as a UN protectorate for twenty additional years or autonomy within Serbia. For historical reasons – and because Kosovo did not have secession rights within the Federal Republic Yugoslavia – the Serbs refused to accept Kosovo's independence. Therefore, it had to be imposed

¹ On the Quebec case, see: *Bayefsky A.* (ed.) *Self-Determination in International Law: Quebec and Lessons Learned.* The Hague : Kluwer Law, 2000 ; Canada Supreme Court, Reference Re Secession of Quebec, Judgment of 20 August 1998, (1998) ILM 1371. URL: <http://scc-csc.lexum.com/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/1643/index.do>

² See: *Guibernau M.* Catalan Secessionism: Young People's Expectations and Political Change // *The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs.* 2014. № 3 (49). P. 106–117.

³ *Devereux A. and Anderson C.* Reporting under International Human Rights Treaties: Perspectives from Timor Leste's Experience of the Reformed Process // *Human Rights Law Review.* 2008. № 1 (8). P. 69–104.

through a declaration underwritten by the Western powers. While Kosovo's secession from Serbia has been completed, its sovereignty remains contested and divided because Northern Kosovo is de facto part of Serbia.¹

The Catalan secession movement faces similar challenges – the absolute refusal of the Spanish state to accept on legal grounds the legitimacy of secession. It is hard to believe that the Spanish government will prevent a referendum on independence, which it considers illegal, through violent means, risking a civil conflict. But what makes the situation potentially explosive – unlike the Scottish case – is that there is no consensus on how to deal with the Catalan demands. The Spanish government is convinced that the strong language contained in the Spanish constitution on territorial integrity will give it the absolute legal means to resist and ultimately abort any Catalan secession attempts even in the case of a positive vote on separation. The idea, which is often put forward when secession movements push for referendums, is that the majority population should have a say in the matter through full participation. If such a rule would be established, however, it would guarantee an outcome preferred by the dominant national majority. Hence, it is arguably not a universal option, when strong cases are being made for separation based on self-determination rights or on moral grounds, for example, if the population has been subjected to gross violation of human rights.

International Recognition of New States

The third condition for a successful political divorce depends on international recognition.² If separation is achieved with mutual consent, the path toward state recognition is usually quick and easy. The recent examples of East Timor, Montenegro, and South Sudan are cases in point. If Scotland had opted for independence, external recognition would most likely have been achieved without trouble. When secession is contested, however, it has proven far more difficult. Since the Great Powers could not agree on Kosovo's final status, the refusal of Russia and China and other big countries to recognize its independence has meant that it has not been granted admission to many international bodies, including the United Nations. To be sure, 110 states have recognized Kosovo; in addition, the ruling by the International Court of Justice that Kosovo's declaration of independence did not violate international law has boosted its long-term chances of recognition, even if it did not necessarily confer legitimacy on the state of Kosovo. The independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia³, which was initiated by Russia after the 2008 Georgian War, has only been recognized by a few states. And the Crimean secession and subsequent annexation by Russia has not

been endorsed internationally, with only several states stating their support for it.

What complicates the picture is the role of supranational organizations, like the EU. Interestingly enough, what separatist projects – in Scotland, Catalonia, Kosovo, and Montenegro – have in common is that they are only directed at the nation-state, but not the supranational entity, which is set to limit their sovereign state aspirations. What European independence movements have in common is the aspiration of either joining or staying in the EU as sovereign states. The only potential exception is autonomous Greenland, that is, if it opts for secession from the Danish Realm as it is entitled to – a prospect that is not likely in the near future. At the same time, the EU is wary of secession schemes on the grounds that it can breed regional instability and make its own governance even more unwieldy if additional states would be admitted to it.

The European Union's threat to exclude Scotland and Catalonia from EU membership if they went their separate ways was motivated by the problems associated with political precedence-setting, legal issues, or the more tendentious grounds of "enlargement fatigue". One would have thought, however, that it would be in the interest of the EU to influence the policies – of new national entities that fulfill its criteria and have abided by them – through continued membership. The alternative could be regional volatility, which does not serve the interests of the EU. A more difficult challenge is posed by individual EU states, which do not accept secession and which want to prevent the break-away state staying in the EU. If Spain would take such a hard-line, it could pose a serious problem for an independent Catalonia; what is more, it could enlist the support of other EU states facing potential secessionist attempts like Romania because of Transnistria, Slovakia because of the Hungarian minority within its border and Cyprus because of its own divided status.

Secession aspirations can be legitimate, even if they do not have the consent of the majority population. Yet, the chance of success depends, in most cases, on specific political conditions. State-sanctioned repression can strengthen the case for secession and give a moral claim on statehood – as was the case in East Timor and Kosovo. It is, however, not guaranteed that the two go hand in hand. It needs no explanation why a mutually agreeable political divorce is the most stable option: it reflects the normalization of the relationship between the contesting parties. The breakup of Czechoslovakia into two independent states after the end of the Cold War is an example of such a successful outcome. The same applies to Montenegro and East Timor. The civil conflict in South Sudan has undermined its viability as a state, although it has not affected its international legal sovereignty. Other options involve imposed solutions – often by Great Powers with varying degrees of legitimacy.

Conclusion

As I have stressed here, power and geopolitics – wars, break-up of empires or state repression – often have more to do with secession outcomes than legal precedents. Norms, which have assumed the function of international law, are also open to critical scrutiny. For example, after the breakup of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the principle of sovereignty was conferred on the republics and legitimized through international recognition of the successor states.

¹ *d'Aspremont J.* Regulating Statehood: The Kosovo Status Settlement. *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 20, 3 (2007). P. 649–668 ; *Vidmar J.* International Legal Responses to Kosovo's Declaration of Independence // *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law*, 42 (2009). P. 771–849.

² See: *Caplan R.* Europe and the Recognition of New States in Yugoslavia. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2005 ; *Ryngaert C. and Sobrie S.* Recognition of States: International Law or Realpolitik? The Practice of Recognition in the Wake of Kosovo, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia // *Leiden Journal of International Law*, 24, 2 (June 2011). P. 467–490 ; *Rich R.* Recognition of States: The Collapse of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union // *European Journal of International Law* 36, 4 (1993). P. 36–65.

³ See: *Ó Tuathail G. and O'Loughlin J.* Inside South Ossetia: a survey of attitudes in a de facto state. *Post-Soviet Affairs* 29, 2 (2013). P. 136–172 ; *Kabachnik P., Regulska J. and Mitchneck B.* Where and When is Home? The Double Displacement of Georgian IDPs from Abkhazia // *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23, 3 (2010). P. 315–336 ; *Souleimanov E.* Understanding Ethnopolitical Conflict. Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia Wars Reconsidered. L. : Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

But this understanding created problems in cases of other territories with national or mixed populations. What is more, the constitutional rights of secession did not mean that the republics were allowed to break away when they were part of larger state entities. If this right was, in fact, inoperable when made part of the law, why should it suddenly become a sacrosanct rule for secession after these multi-ethnic states ceased to exist? Again, this has more to do with political norms adopted by Great Powers to promote stabilization or orderly separation of entities after major political upheavals or to prevent divorce proceedings from occurring in the first place.

For the same reason, it lacked credibility to argue, as the United States did, that Kosovo's independence was a special case or *sui generis* – as if other nationalities that have experienced state repression or that have strong self-determination claims could not have the right of secession. This only highlights the point that despite the privileged status of the nation-state in the international system, it is often forced to cede sovereign rights – as is the case with EU membership or as a result of Great Power interests. Territorial changes have often resulted from the

break-up of empires, multi-ethnic states, or nation-states – and sometimes states are deprived of their territories because of wider geopolitical interests, government repression or lost wars. And while the success of state creation ultimately depends on international recognition, it is not the requirement for establishing a functioning state.¹ History shows, that it took decades for some states to get full international legitimacy. The regime governing the most populous state in the world, China, was not granted the right to represent it at the UN until 22 years after it came to power. Conversely, the state of Palestine based on the 1988 independence declaration is recognized by 134 UN members, but has not had a chance to function as a state because of the Israeli occupation.² Yet, before any political divorce proceedings can be initiated, the question of contested sovereignty needs to be engaged – to what extent, it should be unified, shared or divided. And the outcome of that power struggle is heavily contingent on the relationship between the contesting parties within states and, no less important, the level of direct inference by Great Powers, other states with stakeholding claims, and/or regional and international organizations.

Ahmad Iravani³

NATIONAL INTEREST CHALLENGED: RELIGION, PART OF THE SOLUTION

The concept of national interest has been the source of controversy ever since it became a popular and widely used catchphrase to describe foreign policy objectives of states. Although the concept had been used in some variants before the twentieth century, it is only after the Second World War that its application became paramount in describing, explaining and prescribing foreign policies of nations. The concept is fraught with ambiguity and global transformations of the last two decades have rendered it further problematic. Globalization, the emergence of identity claims within and across states and ongoing transnational issues that intertwine the interests of international and national actors have called into question the utility of the notion of national interest. One of the most important developments of the recent time has been the birth of religiously inspired identity politics and governments in the Middle East and Africa that do adhere to some form of religious governance. This phenomenon has added another layer of complexity to the changing international relations thus creating serious challenges to a purely power and state-centered conceptualization of national interest. This paper intends to focus on how religion has become an important variable in shaping the state-to-state relations and transnational processes. Furthermore, the paper will try to suggest how and in what ways religion can play a positive role in address-

ing challenges generated by these development. First part of the paper briefly examines the theoretical and analytical background of the concept. In the second part, contemporary challenges will be addressed. The third part of the paper focuses on religion, particularly Islam, and its manifestations in contemporary international politics.

The Idea of National Interest

As with nearly every other concept in social sciences, the concept of the national interest is not an objective criterion by which policies can be formed or assessed. It has to be defined within a particular theoretical tradition. The concept, perhaps justifiably, seems to have more affinity with realist school of international relations.⁴ Morgenthau's Classical realism and Waltz's structural realism, albeit with different formulations, are primarily interested in the state's self-interest, security maximization and survival. In realist tradition, national interest is defined in terms of power and as a discoverable objective yardstick by which states can formulate policy.⁵

There are two fundamental elements in this conceptualization. First is the ahistorical and universal validity this concept is supposed to portend in defining national objectives. Second is the idea that power has a consequential impact on determining what the state interest is.⁶ Of course realists' definition of power primarily rests on the material aspects at the expense of normative components. Liberal theorists countered the realists by postulating a diffused

¹ *Jorri C. Duursma: Fragmentation and the International Relations of Micro-States: Self-Determination and Statehood.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1996.

² See, for example: *Quigley J. The Statehood of Palestine: International Law and the Middle East Conflict.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2010.

³ President and Executive director of the Centre for the Study of Islam and the Middle East (Washington, USA), Ph.D. Fellow at the Catholic University of America (CUA). Member of Global Agenda Council on the Role of Faith 2014–2016 (World Economic Forum). Leading expert in the United States on the relationship of law, religion and politics.

⁴ See: *Morgenthau H. J. Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace.* N. Y. : Alfred A. Knopf, 1948.

⁵ For a succinct examination of the concept within the two schools see: *Clin-ton W. D. The Two Faces of National Interest.* Louisiana State University Press, 1994.

⁶ *Morgenthau H. J. The Primacy of the National Interest // The American Scholar.* Vol. 18, № 2 (Spring 1949). P. 207–212.

notion of power leading to arguably a more useful concept of national interest. For them, there is no such thing as an abstract and uniformly derived set of interests discovered out there by the state. The formulation of national interest is rather engrained in the domestic political processes of nations. Institutions and groups try their utmost to have their preferences recognized as the national interest.¹ This “bottom up” perspective distinguishes liberals from the competing realist and constructivist theoretical frameworks. The ways in which liberal internationalists conceive power allow them to be somewhat attentive to rapidly changing international structure and environment, and at same time, distance themselves from fixed abstractions of the concept of national interest.

Constructivists turned into ideational issues as the formative components of state behavior. National interest in this framework is defined by the state identity which is constituted by the international social structure. In this framework the concept of national interest becomes a reflection of the state’s identity and how it develops as the result of interaction between states.² How states self-define themselves in the context of an intersubjectively constructed world will have a lasting impact on how they define their national interests. For constructivists at least for many of the more influential ones culture, ideas and the identity of states are of subjective nature, but they are socially placed in an international structure. Thus, critical concepts in IR such as threat, interests and power are redefined in a different way, which allow for a normatively constructed international structure.

The three broad theoretical traditions outlined above have definitely more to learn from each other than the literature and critics suggest. Certainly realism and the power and state-centered definition of national interest have endured much of the real world events and theoretical and methodological critiques levelled against it. But however one tries, the concept cannot stand a few but much talked about criticisms. First, it is impossible to demonstrate empirically how one jumps from the public interest to the national interest or better said the state interest. It will always be those in charge of the decision-making on foreign policy that will decide what the best interests of the state are. Second, the real world is a lot more complex and will become even more so in the coming years, and setting priorities for states produces enormous difficulties as choices must be made. Consistent policies based on standards derived from national interests have always been near impossible thus comes the moral dilemma. Nowhere else this dilemma is present than in policies related to human rights, democracy promotion and humanitarian intervention. This moral inconsistency has more relevancy for great powers as they tend to have an expanded view of their interests that touches all corners of the international system and convers a multiple issue areas. Lastly, the ambiguity of the concept as a tool for policy-making cannot satisfactorily be rectified. It is in this last sense that the concept of the national interest often becomes a rhetorical tool for justifying policies by politicians and bureaucrats. We will probably not be able to resolve these discords, but the world is rapidly

changing but the same concept keeps being used thus challenging the field more than before. The challenges notwithstanding, the real power relations at the inter-state relations will endure more than the critical appraisals pertaining to the utility of the concept.

New Challenges and Old Concepts

As if the concept of national interest has not been critiqued and questioned enough, the world has encountered massive change and turmoil that challenges the traditional conceptions of the national interest more seriously. Let us turn to some of these transformations and how they could possibly affect our understanding and the need to move beyond the extant divides among policy-makers and scholars.

First is the erosion of the territorial state boundaries and the birth and activation of sub-national, non-national and supra-national identities. As time and space have compressed, the interaction and interlinkages among actors have multiplied. The new consciousness of ethnic and national identities has bred more conflicts and additional claims for recognition, and in some instances claims for statehood. This seems to be a byproduct of the ongoing globalization process. Globalization is not simply the compression of the world in terms of time and space, more importantly, it is a cultural shift that has become the source of confusion, sovereignty threatening and probably destabilizing for some states. The use of the national interest as a guide to devise policy in support or against some of these claims is not so easy and we are back to the consistency dilemma. States constantly face such dilemmas and they often pick and choose based on what they describe as their national interests.

Secondly, it seems to be a widely-held opinion that the “information age” and the digital revolution have much to do with some of these changes.³ Information revolution has affected distribution of power among actors in the international system and has called into serious question the primacy of military power as the pillar of national power. Information has to some extent empowered previously powerless groups and states, even if the economic benefits of globalization has not been equally distributed among players resulting in persistent structural inequality. In this context, perhaps the interests of nations are more intertwined with each other as the extreme poverty and powerlessness have negative repercussions for others, especially for more powerful and prosperous states.

Thirdly, the U. S. National Security Strategy of 2015 released in February put the environment and climate change as one of the top priorities of the current administration and indeed the world.⁴ Rapid industrialization and the global economic growth of the last fifty years have adversely affected the environment to the degree that it has increasingly become a national security issue and a global challenge. In this issue area, the interests are no longer purely “national” and we have to begin looking at it as transnational interests. In the same document, epidemics are treated as problem areas with severe national security dimensions by which all states, and in fact all humanity, could be threatened. Therefore, the rise of new threats climate change and disease epidemics challenges the security of all states and requires

¹ *Moravcsik A. Taking Preferences Seriously: A Liberal Theory of International Politics. International Organization, Vol. 51, № 4 (Autumn 1998). P. 516–521.*

² See: *Wendt A. Social Theory of International Politics. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1999.*

³ For this part I relied on: *Nye J. S. Jr. Redefining National Interest // Foreign Policy. July/Aug., 1999.*

⁴ *National Security Strategy, United States, Febr. 2015.*

combined global efforts based on a redefinition of the concept of “national interest”.

Fourth and related to perhaps even caused by the first two developments is the rise of violent extremism in parts of the world which affect everybody. This phenomenon is no longer confined to a particular state or region. It is crossing borders and affecting vast numbers of people in many parts of the world. Whether as a legacy of ill-conceived military adventures, or the result of identity crisis emanated by globalization and cultural diffusion, or the product of sheer economic disparities, or perhaps a combined effect all of the above, terrorism has become a truly transnational challenge. Indeed a challenge that ties the national interests of many countries together. It appears that much of this cycle of terror has been done in the name of religion, but to sufficiently and effectively respond to this challenge, one must look beyond the simple and distorted narrative of “Islamic terrorism”. Historically, religiously motivated groups have not been the primary users of terrorism and extremist narratives in advancing their cause. Secular ideologies have been as much, and perhaps more, responsible for atrocities.

Islam, the State and the National Interest

Religion, as I alluded to earlier, has become far more present in the modern time. In the 1970s and early 1980s when academics and policy-makers were celebrating irreversible march of secularism, the world witnessed the powerful resurgence of religion on the international scene. For as long as human beings have searched for meaning in life and an overarching protection for the awful and evil aspects of life, religion has been the ever-present refuge. Whether viewed as a functional vehicle of meaning formation or as subjectively constituted part of self, the social and collective belonging, religion has been an indispensable fact. Sometimes even the secular ideologies have apparently assumed the function of providing individuals and groups – we can safely say increasingly states – with that normative guide to both self-preservation and power projection. Here of course I am using the concept of power very broadly to include self-definition, self-empowerment and search for recognition and respect, and not merely material power. Therefore there is a need to make every effort to take a fresh look at how one defines the national interest, and how some of these states and societies perceive their national interests from where they stand.

Nowhere else this trend has played out in different arenas more than the Middle East. In the Middle East, Islam has been more than a private set of beliefs that have very marginal impacts on social and political aspects of everyday life. Islam has a profound bearing on social, cultural and daily life of individuals and communities. The constant and ever-present role it has on people makes Islam not only a meaning-construction source, but also a tool to express frustration and claims. At the same time, Islam has become the framework and content for the governing structures of a few states in the region. The process of desecularization in some parts of the Middle East and North Africa seems to have been both a bottom-up and a top-down process. In parts of the region the shift has been a gradual societal change and a cultural revival of some form, and an attempt to restore tradition. In other parts and as an elite-driven movement, Islamization has been more of a social engineering proj-

ect that has often attracted some support from below along with resistance from other social forces. Regardless of the nature, form and degree of Islamization, these states and movements, and their constituencies have direct or indirect influence on what the national interest is and the how it is formulated. Therefore, in order to have a better grasp of the problem, it is wise to see how these groups and movements define themselves rather than dismissing them as “non-believers” in their fates.

The global challenges that were outlined in the previous part have not left the Muslim world untouched. The foremost problem was the unavoidable process of globalization from which a plethora of other problems has risen. The “onslaught” of western culture has shaken the very fabric of some of these societies. The information age that has brought new forms of interaction with the Western world has produced challenges to the cultural and historical identity of large segments of the population. Indigenous cultures and values are perceived to be in danger from various directions. The globalization accompanied by demographic changes has deepened some of these social and cultural dislocations. In short, the new world has created contradictory processes of adaptation and rejection.¹ Muslim youth and elite could be found on either side of this divide of adaptation and rejection. How the world, the local governments and communities respond to this rapidly changing influx of ideas, symbols and trends determine the future trajectory of developments. For a great number of people in between, the issues center on daily struggles to make ends meet, however conflicted they may be.

Economic disparities and the erosion of public trust in institutions and political leadership that are responsible for providing welfare and opportunities are brewing a sense of hopelessness. The cultural and social dislocations caused by paradoxical process of globalization are taking place in the context of economic malaise and uncertainties. Economies of the region’s vast majority of states suffer from stagnation, unemployment and widespread corruption. Even the few oil monarchies in the Persian Gulf area that are sitting on abundant oil money reserves are feeling the weight of economic pressures and demographic changes. What compounds the situation is the persistence of authoritarian governments and lack of mechanisms and venues for political participation. Islam is often (mis)used by the ruling elites to legitimize the preservation of the political status quo while the forces lined up against the ruling governments do the same to justify their actions in the name of Islam and the teaching of the Prophet (PBUH).

Violent extremism is just another manifestation of this complex legitimization response to domestic and international challenges Muslims, particularly the youth face. Islamist extremism relies on a narrow, strict and intolerant interpretation of the text. The vast majority of those that follow these distorted interpretations are not born into communities amenable to extremism.² In fact most of them seem to have been raised in very typical families with traditional outlook to the role of religion. The dominant ex-

¹ For an interesting collection that examines this issue from different perspectives see: *Birgit S. and Stenberg L. (eds.) Globalization and the Muslim World: Culture, Religion and Modernity.* Syracuse : Syracuse University Press, 2004.

² Islam and religion in general is not innately violent. For a superbly researched analysis of non-violent nature of Islam and other religion see: *Armstrong K. Fields of Blood: Religion and the History of Violence.* N. Y. : Alfred Knopf, 2014.

tremist narrative depends on the population's frustrations accumulated over decades of perceived and real injustices, and a belief that their societies have been consistently encroached by foreign countries using the pretext of "national" and "security" interests at the expense of the local population's interests. Moreover, the selective and inconsistent use of the national interests by major powers always feeds into this feeling of powerlessness and anger, which in turn facilitate recruitment of foot soldiers for terrorism and validate the radical groups' narrative of Islam. Confronting terrorism and religious extremism require a very complex and multifaceted approach to which I will return in the next section.

Environmental degradation, climate change and resource scarcity is a different set of challenges with which many of these nations are grappling. They are not yet in a position to formulate effective policies. Political turmoil, lack of resources, underestimating the long and short-term consequences and economic development imperatives has taken these issues off the priority list. While governments and the public show no dedication to or understanding of the depth of the problem, the cultural and religious traditions and institutions have not been tapped into to generate indigenous cultural and religious grounds for highlighting the importance of natural resources and environment. There is a whole lot to be done in all of these areas of global common goods which could demonstrate the degree to which the interests of distant places are so closely tied together, and these are not national but global interests.

Islam, Part of the Solution not the Problem

As I indicated earlier, religion is not the problem, but can be a solution to many of the problems facing the humanity. Many of the issues discussed about have no easy answer and require a fresh, comprehensive and multifaceted approach. Cultural and identity issues are among the most difficult to tackle as the world keeps rapidly changing. Islam in particular is a religion that has a rich textual repository from which new interpretations can be made. This is a theological and philosophical approach—undoubtedly the most difficult and sometimes controversial—that delves into Islamic tradition for theoretical innovation. Jurists, theologians and philosopher should take this endeavor seriously as it may be the most challenging long-term, but profoundly essential, solution to the problems of the Muslim world. The texts, tradition and sayings of the Islam's Prophet (PBUH), and above all the holy book Quran, provide enough references for engaging in a truly dynamic revival of scholarship in which the Muslim world was once a pioneer.

There are a few essential areas where the suggested revival should focus on. First is a return to the vital texts and tradition to reconstruct jurisprudence and the Islamic law in accordance with the needs of the contemporary time. It is indeed possible, and in fact necessary to take what Muslim scholars and jurists have said before and have acted upon, namely the notion of "time-space exigency". The early Muslim leaders and learned authorities provided solutions to a lot of problems and challenges of their own time. It is now the duties of Muslim jurists and leaders to do their

utmost to encounter today's challenges and provide solutions to societal problems in particular the growing questions that the fateful youth is struggling with.

These theoretical and philosophical undertakings, however difficult they may be, should then tackle the problems of authoritarian rule and the question of freedom. It is of vital importance to face the challenge of unjust rule and draw a new framework for exercising freedom, representation and democratic accountability. Islam has a tradition for scholars to rely on and drive the basic principles of free and democratic government. Quran and the tradition have plenty of references to the concept of council as a mechanism for deliberation, mediation and electoral democracy. We are of course not bound to replicate exactly the Western notion of liberal democracy. But Islam for sure cannot condone authoritarian rule and intolerant societies, and history of early Islam is a testimony to how the concepts of just rule and individual freedom were sanctioned and practiced.

Quranic verses and Islamic precepts do indeed provide evidence to support the notion of freedom of choice. Moreover, Islamic jurisprudence and theology can be tapped into to broaden the role of masses in political process. Participatory democracy is not merely a western construct or product. It has rather been in some fashion practiced in early Islam. New philosophical and theological works in recent time have tried to introduce these notions with solid reference to original Islamic texts. Certainly a lot more needs to be done based on existing developments using *Ijtihad* independent reasoning which is an accepted method by some of Islam's schools of thought. It is a means of constantly reinterpreting classical texts in the context of new societal changes.

We live in a historical period in which the interests of states, non-state and supra-state actors are inextricably linked together. The traditional notion of national interest might be a valuable rhetorical device to justify foreign policy, but the global transformations at least in most cases no longer recognizes border. Violent extremism and terrorism happening in the Western world are related to development in other corners of the globe. Terrorism is related to a variety of sources; economic, cultural, political and psychological variables. Climate change and resource scarcity are tying the fate of humanity together more than ever. For all these reasons, can we still talk of a purely "national interest?"

Religion is an important source of meaning for people, while at the same time it can be a source of extremism and violence. It is my view that for the most part, religion, and for the purpose of this paper, Islam should be and is part of the solution. All the steps that need to be taken must begin by a broad national and international dialogue. Such a dialogue must include religious leaders, influential community members and the public at large. Incorporating contemporary Islam's leaders and institutions into a debate strengthen civil society and create venues for participation. Ultimately, civil society in the Muslim world and ruling governments will have some impacts on how "national interests" are defined and state objectives are pursued.

Thomas Kent¹

JOURNALISTIC ETHICS: IS THERE ROOM FOR RELATIVITY?

Can ethics be relative?

The question has been discussed for centuries, dating back to Plato if not before. Are there universal codes of behavior that every person ought to recognize, irrespective of country or culture? Or do history and experience dictate different morals for different people?

The same questions arise, in a somewhat more limited way, in the field of journalism. Are there ethical principles that everyone must accept to be part of the profession, or can they vary as much as societies do?

The question is extraordinarily important now that the products of journalism routinely leap national and linguistic boundaries. International broadcasters and Internet publications send content worldwide. A news story originating in Russia can easily show up on an American's Facebook page, a Twitter feed in Bangladesh and a news aggregation site in Japan. Should the Russian journalist try to work to some international norm, given the multiplicity of his audiences? Or should he simply write in his own cultural and professional context, without trying to calculate how a distant audience may view his work?

Some journalists believe there must be a full, internationally recognized journalistic code of ethics, however difficult it may be to come up with. As one senior French journalist put it to me, "If the journalists of the world can't create a unified code, they should be locked in a room until they do."

Others believe such a quest can never be fruitful; cultures and expectations are just too different.

In this paper, I will address this question against the background of the Do-It-Yourself Ethics Code project of the Online News Association.² The ONA is an American-based international journalism organization, focused on journalism and technology in the Internet era.

The Do-It-Yourself project tries to walk a line between two absolutist points of view: one arguing that there must be a universal journalistic code, the other declaring that there must not.

It does this by accepting a short list of universal journalistic principles that we believe, indeed, should be accepted by every journalist. But it follows these with a broad range of possible options on other ethical matters, for journalists to make their own choices.

The project is designed to help journalists around the world, especially young journalists and bloggers, create ethical codes that reflect their own journalistic principles. Many young journalists are eager to create codes of their

own rather than simply settle for one of the dozens of ready-made codes already in existence. The Do-It-Yourself project makes this possible.

Selecting a set of fundamental principles was a challenge, but a necessary one. The code, at root, is a journalists' code; if it's simply a blank page for whatever people choose to write, there will be no way to distinguish journalism from public relations and government propaganda.

We decided, then, that some journalistic ethics are truly universal, and should apply to all those who consider themselves part of the profession. These are beliefs proclaimed in more than a dozen journalistic codes from all over the world, however imperfectly they may be observed in a given country.

For example:

Be honest, accurate, truthful and fair. Do not distort or fabricate facts, imagery, sound or data. Provide accurate context for all reporting.

Seek out diverse voices that can contribute important perspectives on the subject you're writing about.

Ensure that sources are reliable. To the maximum extent possible, make clear to your audience who and what your sources are, what motivations your sources may have and any conditions people have set for giving you information. When unsure of information, leave it out or make clear it has not been corroborated.

Correct errors quickly, completely and visibly. Make it easy for your audience to bring errors to your attention.

If a report includes criticism of people or organizations, give them the opportunity to respond.

Clearly distinguish fact from opinion in all content.

Avoid any conflict of interest that undermines your ability to report fairly.

Do not allow the interests of advertisers or others funding your work to affect the integrity of your journalism.

Respect your audience and those you write about. Consider how your work and its permanence may affect the subjects of your reporting, your community and the larger world.

Don't plagiarize or violate copyrights.

These may look like a long list of principles, but in fact they are very few. The vast majority of ethical choices are, in the ONA's view, open to discussion – and honest journalists can legitimately disagree about them. In these areas, ethics can indeed be relative, based on country, culture, religious belief and other factors. Opinions can also vary widely within cultures.

Take, for example, the issue of "objective" vs. "point-of-view" journalism. Should a journalist seek to write in a totally impartial manner, quoting all sides and trying to conceal his personal feelings? Or is he motivated by a political, national or religious cause that he seeks to advance?

In the ONA's opinion, it is possible for a person to be a journalist and also to serve a cause, if he respects the truth and is transparent with the audience about his beliefs.³

For instance, a journalist can be fervently engaged in environmental causes, convinced that the world must step

¹ The deputy chief editor of Associated Press Agency (USA), the editor concerning observance of standards of objectivity and accuracy. I worked in AP as the editor of the international information; news editor of World service AP; the head of AP bureau in Moscow; the head of representation of AP in Tehran during Islamic revolution; the correspondent in Brussels concerning activity of NATO and the EU; the correspondent in Sydney and Hartford (the State of Connecticut, the USA). He has served twice as a juror for the Pulitzer Prizes in international reporting; acts as the consultant for ethical questions of Society of professional journalists. The consultant at School of journalism of Columbia University, the teacher of Institute of Harriman of School of the international and public relations of Columbia University.

² The project, currently in a crowdsourcing stage, can be seen at <http://bit.ly/onacrowdsourcing>. The author is the leader of the project. The project is separate from the author's work at The Associated Press, and the ONA project does not necessarily reflect the views of The Associated Press.

³ The Associated Press, in its own work, is committed to objective journalism.

up the fight against climate change. But he can still conduct searching investigations of individual environmental groups and critically assess their work.

Similarly, one can support a political party but still rigorously scrutinize potential candidates and truth-check their assertions.

Beyond the objectivity-vs.-engagement choice, the ONA project discovered more than 40 ethical areas where journalists can legitimately hold differing opinions.

Some examples:

Can an investigative journalist conceal his identity? Many news organizations consider such dissimulation normal and reasonable. Others are extremely wary of undercover work; they believe it undermines the honesty of the press, and that going undercover is rarely the only possible way to conduct an investigation.

When a journalist interviews a government or company official, should he provide a full list of his questions in advance? Should he allow the official to “correct” his quotes afterward, or review the story before publication? In some cultures, such “courtesies” to senior officials are routine. In others, they are anathema to journalists, representing unacceptable concessions to the power of the interviewee. Better not to hold the interview, many journalists believe, than agree to such conditions.

Should journalists identify by name people accused of crimes before they are convicted? Journalistic practice – and the law – in some countries protect the identities of arrested people. But in others, identities are routinely reported.

Another ethical issue in crime reporting arose when Dominique Strauss-Kahn, the former International Monetary Fund chief, was arrested in New York in 2011 for allegedly sexually attacking a hotel housekeeper. U.S. television networks all broadcast Strauss-Kahn’s “perp walk” – a routine U.S. practice where an arrested person is shown to the press in handcuffs. French journalists feel that such scenes should never be broadcast, at least until a person is found guilty. Strauss-Kahn’s perp walk was not broadcast in France.

It’s in a situation like this that the issue of transnational ethics really comes into play. CNN and France 24 are both worldwide networks; some viewers may believe strongly that, as such, they should agree on some common code of ethics. But experience has shown that this is impossible as a practical matter. Though it may be puzzling for a viewer in Senegal or India to see such different treatments of the “perp walk” on the two networks, it would take an extraordinary amount of self-regulation by journalists – or outrageous coercion by governments – to make ethics identical in every transnational medium.

Many of the issues in the ONA code are born of the digital age. Some involve digital archives. Should a news organization agree to remove a story, photo or video from its website?

A typical case is a person who was arrested at the age of 19 for marijuana possession. He’s now 35 years old, trying to get a job and bedeviled by the 16-year-old story that keeps popping up on search engines. Some news organizations will refuse to remove a story if it was true; others take a much more flexible approach, believing that as matter of morality and fair play such a story should be removed after a reasonable number of years.

There are also many ethical issues around data journalism and graphics. If an organization offers a publication a bar graph or pie chart to support its point, should the publication simply recopy the image it was given? Or should it insist on knowing the precise data points that went into those graphs and charts, and then try to do the chart itself.

The Do-It-Yourself code also discusses how journalists conduct themselves on social networks – can they write whatever they want, or must their comments reflect the objectivity (or point of view) of their employer?

Another issue, of course, is whether a news organization show videos of hostages distributed by terrorist networks. Here, opinions vary widely from continent to continent. The Associated Press does not carry “moment of death” imagery; some news outlets do.

There also debatable ethical issues that reflect the economic status of different countries. Under many ethics codes, journalists are forbidden to accept gifts. In many countries, it’s a good rule. But can there be exceptions?

In some countries, journalists are paid poorly and irregularly, if at all. Sometimes in these countries, when journalists attend a press conference, they find in the press kit an envelope with a small tip – say \$10 or \$20. It’s ostensibly a thanks for attending and to defray the costs of getting there.

Some journalists use these small sums to feed their families.

Are these journalists all immoral? Should they be expelled from the family of journalists? Or might one recognize that the reality for journalists is different from country to country? Is there a way for a journalist to accept the money in this situation, while being transparent with the reader that a gift was offered to those who attended?

All of these situations suggest that journalistic ethics cannot be identical everywhere. We’re likely never to have consistency among transnational publishers and broadcasters.

At the same time, this is not necessarily a negative thing. To a great degree, ethics come from experience. As we face a welter of new digital journalistic experiences, it’s perhaps better to try different ethical approaches to see what works best.

News organizations closely watch one another’s ethics and decisions. As experience accumulates, organizations will not always make the same choices. But they should thoroughly analyze and understand what they stand for and why, and be transparent with their audiences about their beliefs.

G. B. Kleiner¹

PARADIGM DE COMMERCIALIZATION: GLOBAL IMPERATIVES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

De commercialization the world economy as a process

In recent years, the world economy an increasing trend of economic separation of the space as a sphere of realization of interwoven at different levels of production, distribution, exchange and consumption, into two parts: the economy and create new value and business process as a profit. The boundary between them is unlikely can be uniquely demarcated, but clearly felt by the participants of these processes. Just as at the beginning of the last century in Western countries there was a separation of ownership from the economy at the beginning of this century, planned separation of business from the rest of the economy (in the narrow sense of the word) by a non-profit business. In this sphere of non-profit activities is gaining most of the space, pushing business to the periphery of "moral topology" general economic sphere. There is a spontaneous process de commercialization economy.

It may be noted a number of phenomena, reflecting the growth of the commercial failure of decision criteria in favor of non-profit. These effects include: increased incidence of transmission of large fortunes to charity instead of passing on hereditary (Bill Gates, W. Buffett, Slim K, J. Soros, et al.); volunteering; crowdsourcing; focus on strengthening the social responsibility of companies; implementation of large-scale non-profit projects such as the construction of the LHC, etc. In fact, non-commercial nature of the activity is the basic sciences, a significant part of the arts, sports, collectibles, participation in activities of social and political nature. This direction applies to environmental activities, the protection of flora and fauna, the struggle for political correctness, and a number of other activities that are not aimed at deriving benefits for the participants themselves. According to some estimates, a non-profit activity in developed countries is about half of the active time of individuals.

A growing share of the knowledge economy in the total labor force also suggests expanding the non-profit segment of the economy. Loomed in the last year of the growing influence of purely political actions in international relations, including various kinds of sanctions anti sanctions, embargo, visa restrictions and the like, it is usually not caused

¹ Deputy Director of the Central Economics and Mathematics Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Economics). Head of the Department of Economics of the State Academic University for the Humanity Sciences, Head of Institutional Economics Department of the State University of Management, Head of the Department of System Analysis in Economics of Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation, Professor of Economics Faculty of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow School of Economics of Moscow State University. Chief Editor of the journal "Economics of Contemporary Russia", the deputy of the chief editor of "Russian Management Journal". An author of over 650 scientific publications, including: "Innovative training programs for modern managers", "Russia on the way to a modern, dynamic and efficient economics", "What economics does Russia need: an analysis based on system modeling", "System Economics as a platform of development of modern economical theory", "What mesoeconomy is necessary to Russia? A regional section in the light of the system economic theory", "System principles of modern management", "Institutional Management, institutes of management, management institutes. Institutional Economics: development, teaching, use", "System economics and system oriented modeling", etc. He was awarded with the order "For Service to the Motherland" of the 1st and 2nd degree. Laureate of the RAS after V. S. Nemchinov.

by commercial interests, although it has serious both commercial and commercial consequences. Broaden and deepen the nonprofit side activities of many international organizations, political, cultural, educational and health areas, including the UN, UNESCO, UNICEF, etc. about

The widespread practice of Western companies in strategic planning can also be attributed to the non-commercial events as the basis for the company's strategy is its mission, understood as a destination, which in fact can not be formulated in commercial terms.

Not surprisingly, as one of the most urgent challenges facing management in the XXI century, the guru of modern management P. Drucker called the management of non-profit organizations and projects.²

Thus, de commercialization a gradual process of expansion of activity was not originally designed to benefit the participants, as well as the release of many kinds of economic activity from the commercial orientation is a significant phenomenon of the global world economy, and for a certain period can be seen as a kind imperativ³. From a national perspective, this trend is a challenge requiring a response from the Russian economy.

In theory, the formed set of concepts justifying the rejection of expansion and deepening of a pure market principles of management (commercialization) in favor of a more complete account of the principles of justice and moral duty to the company and each participant⁴ (de commercialization). The quintessence of these concepts can be called a paradigm de commercialization.

In our opinion, this move should be promptly taken up and developed not only in the world but also in the domestic economy.

This publication, prepared by a grant from the Russian Science Foundation, project № 14-18-02294, giper commercialization process of the Russian economy in recent decades is investigated in comparison with a decrease in the share of commercial targets in the developed economies of the world and offers project de commercialization national economy. As a theoretical paradigm is seen as a theoretical framework de commercialization opposed to monetarist theory, proposed the development of a cultural urological economic theory based on "cultural dimension" of the results and the factors of economic activities at all levels of governance.

Giper commercialization Russian economy

Currently, the Russian public consciousness dominated by the approach that the success of economic activity is estimated by the ratio of agent revenues and expenses in monetary terms. Accordingly, as the predominant purpose of the enterprise – the economic agent and the individual – social agent is to obtain the highest possible profits. This ap-

² Drucker P. Management Challenges in the XXI century. M. : Publishing House "Williams", 2000.

³ Bogomolov O. T. Economics and culture // Culture and global challenges of world development: V International Likhachov Scientific Conference, 19–20 May 2005 / SPbUHSS. St. Petersburg, 2005. P. 9–12.

⁴ Kleiner G. B. The Economy. Culture. Justice // Dialogue of cultures in a globalizing world. XII International Likhachov Scientific Conference May 17–18, 2012. Vol. 1 : Reports. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2012.

proach not only entrenched in the public consciousness, but also reflected in the Civil Code of the Russian Federation. According to the Civil Code, profit maximization is immanent purpose of the entity. The same performance evaluation shall also apply to meso-economic systems, such as region, branch, natural monopoly, and others.

Exaggerating the commercial side of economic agents in the early 1990s. It can be seen as a reaction to restrictions, and often suppression of commercial elements in the economy of the Soviet Union. This kind of “shy”, in the words of A. S. Zapesotsky¹ – one of the clearest examples of a zigzag path of Russia’s development in a number of aspects. In recent years, the level of commercialization of the economy outweigh not only the best but also the legal limit, which resulted in numerous negative consequences. So, on the scale of the country’s economy has been the transition from polyproduct (diversification) structure to produce a single-product, based on the export of hydrocarbons. The unprecedented growth of corruption is directly related to the accession of the commercial results as the primary performance measures. Finally, income inequality also owes its citizens’ levels of over-commercialization of the economy. The negative impact on the innovation process giper commercialization vividly demonstrated in A. E. Varshavskogo.² Oligarchic governance structure of the Russian economy as a consequence of unrestricted commercialization. Serious damage caused giper commercialization such spheres of social life, as the fundamental and applied science, education, culture.

As the negative effects super commercialization the Russian economy can be noted: a reduction of the planning horizon and decision-making, spatial-temporal economic “myopia” agents; acceleration of inflation; instability of the national currency; “rating mania”; demotivation of economic actors; low efficiency and, ultimately, uncompetitive economy.

Giper commercialization leads to deformation of the entire system of values of the society, it inhibits solidarity and patriotism, the capacity for collective interactions, etc.

It can be noted that in this aspect of the Russian economy is moving in the opposite phase with respect to the Western world. In the interest of Russia to suspend the enlargement process and start the process commercialization de commercialization domestic economy. This is not about depriving the commercial component of the economy, and the definition of a rational correlation between commercial and non-commercial components in general and the search for the optimal placement of these components in the structure of each of the subject at all levels of society.

To begin this process should be with the theoretical aspect of the problem.

Monetarism as the theoretical basis of commercialization

On the part of orthodox economic theory of “commercialization without Borders” is supported by such a common direction as monetarism. According to the latest, most holistic versions of monetary theory, monetary funds received as a result of any economic system are mainly the result

¹ Zapesotsky A. S. Culture and its function in social life (basic ideas of contemporary culture) // Report to the General Meeting of the Division of Social Sciences. March 23, 2015.

² Varshavsky A. E. Problematic innovation. Risks to mankind: economic, social and ethical aspects. M. : URSS, 2014. 328 p.

of its operations and the funds invested in the system – a major factor in its activities. Thus, the monetary approach to the economy as it closes the activities of economic systems in a kind of “monetary mites”, excluding from consideration the diversity of the initial and final aspects of economic systems. Note that in fact monetarism should be considered as a variant of reductionism, multidimensional information and multifactor processes for one-dimensional and one-way.

In a sense, the monetary measure is the most convenient because monetary valuation is additive with respect to the amount of one-time joining one to another: total score is the sum of terms. In the case of attachment occurring at different uses as known discounting or compounding operation usually also possible to present the result as a linear function of the components. However, the convenience of monetary measurement should not replace their adequacy. With the approach of the monetary kind overlooked many substantive aspects of investing. Excessive concentration on the financial results of economic activity often leads away from reality.

Can anyone suggest an alternative monetarism, picture of the world that could become the basis for a new pluralist socio-economic theory? In our opinion, the theoretical basis for the development of strategies de commercialization Russian economy and society can become cultural studies.

The cultural economy as a theoretical basis for the paradigm de commercialization economy

In cultural studies reflected the variety of factors, results and technologies of economic activity and social interaction. Cultural universals allow make order in this diversity, highlight the basic elements, trace the historical dynamics of the culture. The theory of cultural archetypes gives hope to identify the invariants of the human psyche as the creators and consumers of cultural value.³ (In this regard, one can not forget such classic works as “Dead Souls” by Gogol and “The Golden Calf” by I. Ilf and Petrov. Archetypes economic behavior landlords: Boxes, Manilow, Sobakevich, Nozdryov, Elijah, and others. Show almost a full range of types of transactional behavior of market participants; adventure Ostap Bender clearly show the effects of a collision of commercial and cultural attitudes of the characters.)

The concept of cultural genotype in the context of evolutionary theory of the firm will reveal the possibility of creating cultural values within the organization and serve as the basis of preliminary assessments of the value of the products of the organization.

Finally, the theory of cultural values can serve as the basis for creating a non-monetary unit of multidimensional scaling estimates of economic benefits.

Structuring and developing the concept of culture as a vehicle over biological behavioral programs (V. S. Stepin⁴), we come to the analogy between the culture of the society and the computer operating system. This representation allows us to distinguish the basic components of the socio-economic structure of society from the variant. The actual level of the commercialization of the company, apparently, is one variable, however, is optimal for a given level of society belongs to the basic invariants.

³ Zapesotsky A. S. The theory of culture Academician V. S. Stepin. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2010. P. 112.

⁴ Stepin V. S. Civilization and Culture. SPb. : SPbUHSS, 2011. P. 407.

Culture per se is one of environmental system¹ whose primary function is to maintain stability in the temporal dimension and spatial homogeneity. This is the basis pluralistic cultural conception of the economy as environmental system, incorporating a variety of artifacts, it is due to their diversity sells its system functions. In a cultural economy, in contrast to the neo-classical, the main drivers of development are not competitive and cooperative relations between the agents. Country cultural code ensures the continuity of the cultural environment as a whole and continuity of agents' behavior as part of the whole. Culturalism as a concept which determines the influence of culture on the behavior of agents may become the nucleus of a new economic theory based on pluralistic non-ad valorem assessments of economic benefits in the context of the cultural environment of the society.

The cultural economy contains seem significant opportunities both descriptive and normative. In the first case it is a question of explaining the behavior of economic agents by cultural factors and cultural evaluation, in the second – on the strategy and the transformation of existing models in the Russian economy in hiper commercialization balanced and sustainable growing economy, consistent with the cultural code of the country. Thus, cultural economy with proper development can be an alternative to monetarism, while the core paradigms de commercialization economy.

De commercialization the national economy as a project

Commercialization of Russian society, carried out in the 1990s, was not spontaneous and was the result of a particular social project, conceived and carried out the reformers. Similarly, de commercialization should also be the subject of institutional and functional design. The implementation of such a project would meet the national interests of Russia.

In the list below provide activities for de commercialization Russian economy as a national project, most activities do not require significant financial costs. We need a coordinated program of action implemented under the public consent. The key can be recognized the following events.

1. Development of cultural urological economic theory, development of recommendations for the definition of an optimal level of commercialization of the economy and economic policy de commercialization at different levels of governance.

2. Creation of a system of cultural comparisons, measurements and estimates of economic benefits. Development of cultural values scales, allowing to form non-monetary evaluation of cultural production activities at all levels of the management hierarchy. Development and implementation of the concept of the formation of cultural values of

economic benefits (of the “pricing”), supplementing the traditional system of valuation of economic goods (pricing).

3. Development of the theory of cultural urological efficiency projects, innovative processes, infrastructure, media, organizational systems.

4. Development of the theory of the firm (company) as “cultural processor”, transforming the original cultural values, presented in the form of means of production and labor, in other cultural values, presented in the form of goods, works, services).

5. The institutional separation of business as a sphere of accumulation and investment from the economy (in the narrow sense) as the production and consumption of goods. Creating a separate system of horizontal and vertical representation of business (in the true sense of the word) and the economy (in the true sense of the word). “Deadly embrace”, which compresses the business economy must be open.

6. Change the proportions between the material and moral incentives at all levels of governance. Restoring the role of moral incentives and social assessment of the results of labor.

7. Demonetization (naturalization) benefits. This is an operation inverse monetization.

8. Comprehensive development of the knowledge economy as a key element of a non-monetary culture. Increased attention to cognitive factors and the results of the economic processes.

9. Strengthening the institution's reputation and prestige as the cumulative assessment of the impact factors of employment of the individual activities of the organization.

10. Revitalization of the work of the media in the audience's attention to the transfer of monetary assessment on cultural economic performance.

11. The inclusion in the curricula of undergraduate and graduate programs of economics new discipline “The cultural economy.”

The proposed project must not become a “road map” of the transition from state to state over commercialization low commercialization. Do not treat it, and as a way to barter economy. The story ended with a barter economy in Russia by the end of 1990 did not automatically result in a specific project de barterization.² He played a major role in the ideology of the “victory of monetarism.” It is hoped that the development paradigm, synthesizing the achievements of modern cultural studies, and the system of economic theory, will be the basis for the project de commercialization Russian economy and society. The implementation of this project would help not only the improvement and efficiency of the economy in the long term, but also addressing the output of the economy and society of Russia from the crisis.

¹ Kleiner G. System-platform development of the economy as a modern economic theory // Problems of Economics. 2013. № 6. P. 4–28.

² Rozmainsky I. V. About debarterizatsii and other aspects of the dynamics of the payment system in “Putin's Russia” // Journal of Institutional Research. 2010. Vol. 2. № 3. P. 75–85.

Grzegorz W. Kolodko¹

TOWARDS A BETTER FUTURE: INTEGRATION PERSPECTIVES

We live in the era of globalisation. Globalisation is a perpetually functioning dynamic system which has both positive and negative consequences. That's why when we assess globalisation we should take into account these consequences and the impact they have on the long-term development. If the balance of the consequences is positive, if globalisation contributes to the economically, socially and ecologically balanced development, when we should support globalisation and use it to mutual benefit.

Let me demonstrate how different interrelations can be the factors of creativity in economic dynamics with the use of the following assessments. A common language increases volume of trade by 42% in identical conditions. If the countries belong to the same trade bloc, volume of trade increases by 47%, by 114% with a common currency, and, it is interesting to note, by 188% if the countries share colonial history [1]. Although we should view these assessments with reserve, they are quite telltale nevertheless. External trade, international exchange, economic integration, political coordination are the factors of economic expansion, factors of growth.

Let us compare the countries in regards to the involvement in globalisation. We shall have a look at the example with considerable geopolitical consequences: Russia and China. In 1990 Russia, the stem of the disintegrating Soviet Union produced three times as much as China. After 20 years of involvement in globalisation in two fundamentally different ways China produces approximately five times as much as Russia. There have been other factors to the countries' development apart from globalisation, in particular, different policy in system reforms. But globalisation shouldn't be dismissed.

The worldwide picture is ambiguous. Almost one generation of intense globalisation was enough for some of the "rising" countries to have substantially reduced the gap between themselves and the rich world. They have managed to use the benefits of international trade and attract an influx of foreign capital (money of those who live in the other countries) in the form of direct investments which are crucial for technology transfer and improvement of quality of management. But, unfortunately, there are a lot of countries that don't know how or are unable to use their involvement in globalisation for their benefit.

On the worldwide scale, the balance of globalisation is positive. We can track economical dynamics from the present day to the time before the crisis of 2008–2013. It was higher in so-called rising countries. In time of the crisis the temp of growth increased against the rich countries.

The local integration processes are irreversible, just as globalisation. The deepening of any ongoing local integration process is the greatest chance for progressive globalisa-

tion, the path to the long-term, dynamic and balanced social and economic development. This is another reason why it is crucial to overcome the crisis in European Union. In the modern age EU makes up much more than one fourteenth or one fifth of the world. For local integration in the other parts of the world to receive an impulse, political, cultural and economic basis of the Europe should prove that it can solve grave issues. And it sure will.

Taking into account the smaller gap between the developed economies and the countries subjected to post-socialist system transformation, especially the European ones, we can claim that the latter have better chances of emancipation than the underdeveloped countries of the other world [2]. Perspectives of the EU members look particularly promising as these countries integrate with developed economies. Total integration, above all, is institutional integrity, and it is a good way to correct disadvantages and reduce the gap between the levels of development.

We can drive certain conclusions for integration processes. Integration can be seen as an emancipation measure for other parts of the world: in Latin America, Caribbean region, Africa, the Middle East, South and South-east Asia. The more the economies are integrated on the local level, the easier it is for them to raise competitive capacity, the faster will be the temp of economic growth, and, accordingly, they can achieve the higher level of social and economic development.

Globalisation is and will be an open process, present as long as our civilisation will last. It is irreversible and has no ultimate point. However history shows that globalisation can sometimes go backwards. 100 years ago our world had almost collapsed. The next three generations saw two world wars, the great crisis and depression of 1929–1933, another war – the Cold war, with the subsequent division of the world economy on aforementioned two "worlds" and the third one, trapped between the first two. This is not the intensifying, but the denial of liberalisation and integration

The progressive course of globalisation has many dangers on its path. Special attention should be given two the coexistence of the following three phenomena: globalisation, state and democracy. Some scientists speak about the globalisation paradox [3] or the insoluble contradictions linked to it.

Globalisation encompasses the worldwide events and processes, but also affects particular national economies and states. The state, as a rule, in its evolution is formed as a national structure, and, in certain cases, in multinational conditions, when the nations were able to coexist beneath the same roof, or in the borders of a particular state. Just recently certain features of statehood have become present in the most developed in the institutional respect integration unions. European Union is the best example. Democracy, the third element of this aforementioned trinity, can function better or worse in national states, and continues to search for a way to be present in interstate treaties. In terms of the whole world and the whole humanity, democracy is still a long way in the future. We have established, to a great extent, an integrated global economy, but we still lack world community and the Earth is not a planetary state.

¹ Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–97, 2002–03), Director of the Research Institute 'TIGER' (Transformation, Integration and Globalization Economic Research) Kozminski University (Warsaw), Doctor of Economics, professor. Author of 49 books and over 400 articles published in 26 languages, selected works: '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 the European Academy of Arts, Sciences and Humanities Research. Honorary Doctor of 10 foreign universities.

The European crisis is the great example of the difficulties we face when dealing with economic problems in conditions when democracy crosses the boundaries of national state. It is hard not to lose your popularity in your own country and the chances to be re-elected just because you helped another country in which, despite all the troubles you went into, people still call you names. It is a paradox that you can appear a traitor to your own country, and a parasite behind the physically invisible, but psychologically and politically perceived, border.

In the present days the only reasonable choice is to bring the most part of growing decision-making issues to the supranational level, and, if it is possible, to the global level. In other words, modern politicians should regard it as their duty to work not on national, but on supranational and on global scales. My point is that how do we direct globalisation? It is impossible to guide or rule the process of globalisation, that's why we should direct it, i.e. vector the spontaneous economic processes in such a way that the results would benefit more people. It is crucial to establish global regulation with the global regulator or coordinated bloc of national regulators.

The people who will rule the global economy in the future have a clear mission. The world, humanity, economy, and culture will remain non-uniform; we should understand and accept this fact. But the changing dynamics of the process should not be ignored or left to the mercy of fate. The process should be directed so as to avoid dangerous collisions. Integration gives us real hope. Through integration, we can intensify regional cooperation and improve the worldwide institutional and political coordination. When more than ten local international groups work shoulder to shoulder, it sets in motion the three-stage process of coordination of the decision-making. The decisions are made on national, regional and global levels. Firstly, the decisions should be made in the framework of national economies. Nowadays most of the decisions fall into this level, but it is only for the time being; in the future the number on national issues will be decreased and they will be redirected to the next three levels.

Next decisions are for the whole integration unity to make. The feedback is crucial for this level, since some of the decisions, suitable for one country, can inspire the rest of the group, and, on the other hand, any organization of countries demands that certain steps are taken by all of its members. Global issues are discussed between the integration unities. Let us assume that the existent local unities are as institutionally and politically mature as the EU. In these conditions the basic questions of regulations, norms and standards could be discussed between a dozen of regional partners. After the decisions are made by the regional powers, they become, automatically, to a certain extent, mandatory for the lower, national level. This works for the ever-growing EU's issues. But there is another course of actions here: creation of a mechanism that would allow the transfer of the regional decisions "up" to the ultimate global level.

In the future the mechanisms of institutional coordination and decision-making policy will demand agreement in the framework of every regional integration group, and only then can the issues be redirected for the ultimate agreements to the global level. Instead of unproductive, overextended, and sometimes perpetual, "each-with-every" negotiations which are applied by the organization of UN and Bretton-

Woods system (IMF and WB), we observe a transition to "integrated-with-integrated" mechanism".

The gradual transition of world economy coordination from interstate to interregion level can be seen in different areas on economic activity. There are a lot of examples: regulation of the greenhouse gases emission, the work migration policy coordination, the protection of intellectual property rights.

This is a possible course we aim for, but there is still work to be done. And what is more, a big institutional crisis in EU can render impossible the future we desire. But if EU manages to cope with difficulties, other regions of the world will be able to learn from this experience. The need of the other integration unities to use the "battle-tested" models has brought to life the Warsaw Initiative. It has been done when Poland, the country which benefited greatly from regional integration, held the Presidency of the Council of the EU. The key aspect of the project is to offer wide technical support on the matter of integration and development policy to emancipating economies [4]. This initiative is worth extending.

Globalisation has long-term consequences for the position and the role of state in economy. Some authors go as far as to say, that globalisation cannot exist without state, and, at the same time, cannot coexist with state. So then, is this a new paradox?

The rise and fall of the modern laissez-faireism have left the world facing a deep new problem: what to do after neoliberalism has discredited itself? If we delve into the inner European issues, we will see that the true cause of disagreements is not money, but moral values. This is not a question of controversy between the national states. The discord is created by different ideologists and groups of interests, all of which benefit from the patronage of heads of particular states and governments, who claim to be having only national interests in mind. These circumstances are very undesirable, because the real conflict of groups' interests might (but not bound to) cause the aggravation of the international situation. And this is particularly deteriorative as at the present time supranational cooperation is not only a measure of politics, but a supreme value.

The ongoing crisis is the crisis of ideas and ideologies, the collapse of the values that seemed so firm. This ensures the loss of the path, and makes it impossible to navigate the ever-changing world. Don't expect this crisis of ideas and culture to end soon. Who knows, perhaps, one day another classical author will come into the world to ask the eternal old questions: "What are we fighting for? Where are we going?" For such questions must be asked. We must start from the questions of urgent importance: economy plans on the succeeding years, continue with the questions of great scale: the directions and the ways of strengthening the local integration links, and conclude with the fundamental questions: what course will the world take?

Notes

1. *Ghemawat P.* World 3.0: Global Prosperity and How to Achieve It. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard Business Review Press, 2011.
2. *Kolodko G. W.* From Shock to Therapy. The Political Economy of Postsocialist Transformation. Moscow, 2000.
3. *Rodrik D.* The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy. N. Y. ; L. : W. W. Norton, 2011.
4. *Kolodko G. W.* The Warsaw Initiative // Roubini Global Economics. May 9th. 2011. URL: <http://www.economonitor.com/blog/2011/05/the-warsaw-initiative/>

WORLD ORDER AND NATIONAL INTEREST

(I) The evolution of world order

When the so-called “cold war” ended at the beginning of the 1990s, expectations were running high for the emergence of a new and peaceful world order.² It was widely hoped that the rivalry between that era’s two superpowers, which was commonly characterized as “East-West conflict,” would be transformed into a stable system of co-operation among all states at an equal level and on the basis of common goals.

The prophesied golden age of “liberal democracy” and “peace,” however, quickly turned out to be a *Fata Morgana* when it became clear that *one* party to the erstwhile confrontation – that saw itself as the winner in the global struggle for power – insisted on a monopoly of definition of the basic principles of world order, including human rights and the rule of law. In the years that followed, the majority of United Nations member states nonetheless challenged the remaining superpower’s claim to political and ideological supremacy. Francis Fukuyama’s initial proclamation of the “end of history,”³ implying global acceptance of the supposedly victorious doctrine, was quickly proven premature.

The sudden disappearance of the global power balance, in the wake of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, resulted in a constellation of *hegemony* where the dominant global player felt emboldened to present its **national interests** as if they were the **universal interests** of mankind.⁴ In the new *unipolar* framework (after the end of the *bipolar* order of the cold war period),⁵ the lack of checks and balances in inter-state relations led to a profound destabilization of the international system, represented by the United Nations, and to a kind of legal anarchy that condemned the world organization to the role of impotent spectator of the hegemonial power’s unilateral actions. The wars of aggression against Yugoslavia (1999) and Iraq (2003) are just two examples of how the United Nations’ system of collective security – that is based

on the balance of power among the Security Council’s permanent members – was eroded, and eventually undermined, in favour of the interests of essentially only *one* member state.⁶ This development had already become obvious in the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq when the United States succeeded in exploiting authorization for collective enforcement action against Iraq to advance its peculiar agenda of a “New Middle East.”⁷ The measures, officially conducted by a so-called “coalition of the willing” on the basis of binding resolutions of the UN Security Council,⁸ included punitive economic sanctions against the country’s entire civilian population that caused the death of up to a million people.⁹ In the NATO intervention in Libya in 2011 it has again become obvious that in the absence of proper checks and balances the strive for power virtually knows no limits.

In an effectively hegemonial environment the very *legitimacy* of the use of armed force on behalf of the United Nations Security Council is undermined, even negated, and the system of collective security is rendered dysfunctional. This is mainly because of the *abuse* of the provisions of Chapter VII of the UN Charter by the *most powerful* actor for the sake of its own strategic agenda. Under such conditions, the dominant country will seize any authorization of the use of force by the Security Council as an opportunity to advance its strategic interests. (In the period that followed the end of global bipolarity, this was clearly the case with the United States, the self-proclaimed winner of the cold war.)

The practice of power politics under the conditions of *military* unipolarity has become the most serious challenge to the principle of national sovereignty, and in particular to the *sovereign equality* of nations, enshrined in Art. 2(1) of the United Nations Charter. The dominant global player has increasingly tried to cloak its national interests behind the veil of *universal values* such as democracy, human rights and the rule of law – albeit in its own parochial interpretation.¹⁰ This, in turn, has triggered a counter-reaction from members of the international community that are resisting marginalization by the reassertion of their national interests.¹¹ In the name of trade “liberalization,” the hegemonial

¹ President of the International Progress Organization and Coordinator of the Vienna Center for Global Dialogue (Vienna, Austria), professor emeritus of philosophy at the University of Innsbruck, Ph.D. Author of more than 30 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; World Order: Vision and Reality; Security Council as Administrator of Justice?* Professor Köchler was awarded honorary doctor degrees from Mindanao State University (Philippines) and Armenian State Pedagogical University, 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, and others.

² For an analysis of the term “New World Order” and its ideological implications see the author’s paper: *Democracy and the New World Order // Studies in International Relations*. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 1993. Vol. XIX.

³ *Fukuyama F. The End of History? // The National Interest*. Vol. 16. Summer 1989. P. 3–18. See also: *Fukuyama F. The End of History and the Last Man*. N. Y. ; Toronto : Freepress and Maxwell Macmillan, 1992.

⁴ American political commentator Charles Krauthammer pointedly and, for his part, affirmatively described this imperial understanding of the global hegemon’s role: “America must be guided by its independent judgment, both about its own interest and about the global interest.” “The Unipolar Moment Revisited” // *The National Interest*. Winter 2002/03. P. 5–17, 16.

⁵ For details see, inter alia: *Brooks S. G., Wohlforth W. C. American Primacy in Perspective // Foreign Affairs*. 2002. Vol. 81. № 4 (July/Aug.). P. 20–33.

⁶ See the author’s analysis: *Quo Vadis, United Nations? // Köchler H. World Order: Vision and Reality / Collected Papers* Edited by D. Armstrong. New Delhi : Manak, 2009. P. 189–204; esp. ch. II. P. 192ff.

⁷ On this concept see also: *Kuehner J. T. 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. № 1 (Jan.), Foreign Policy Research Institute, USA. URL: www.fpri.org/footnotes/101.200501.kuehner.newmiddleeast.html

⁸ For details of the marginalization of the United Nations in the handling of this conflict see: *Köchler H. (ed.) The Iraq Crisis and the United Nations: Power Politics vs. the International Rule of Law. Memoranda and declarations of the International Progress Organization (1990–2003) // Studies in International Relations*. XXVIII. Vienna : International Progress Organization, 2004.

⁹ See, inter alia, the report of the “Harvard Study Team”: *Unsanctioned Suffering: A Human Rights Assessment of United Nations Sanctions on Iraq*. Center for Economic and Social Rights. May 1996. URL: www.cesr.org/downloads/Unsanctioned%20Suffering%201996.pdf

¹⁰ As early as during the Second World War, General Charles de Gaulle noticed in the declarations of the President of the United States the tendency to cloak the will to power in idealism: “Je écoute Roosevelt me décrire ses projets. Comme cela est humain, l’idéalisme y habille la volonté de puissance.” (*Gaullie Ch. de Mémoires de Guerre / L’Unité*. 1942–1944. P. : Librairie Plon, 1956. Vol. 2. Iss. 1. P. 238.)

¹¹ This has also been observed by Charles Krauthammer who, in regard to the United States, acknowledges that “[o]ur experience with hegemony his-

country also uses predatory economic globalization to advance its strategic interests. In response to this comprehensive and global claim to power, new forms of intergovernmental co-operation have developed such as the grouping of the BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) or the Shanghai Co-operation Organization.

In the post-cold war environment, global tension is also the result of an increasing *disparity* between unipolarity in the military-political domain and multipolarity in the socio-cultural (or civilizational) sphere.¹ What Samuel Huntington described as “clash of civilizations”² is partly also an effect of this tension and the dominant global player’s tendency to establish civilizational (and ideological) supremacy over the rest of the world.³

A new balance of power will thus be indispensable for the *politics of the national interest* not to lead to global dictatorship and permanent conflict. The exercise of national interests must be pursued in a *cooperative* framework and on the basis of *mutuality*, which alone is in conformity with the United Nations’ principle of sovereign equality of states. That notion does not conform to a stable international order of peace if it is interpreted in an exclusivist (or absolute) sense, excluding – or, more precisely, absorbing – the interests of all other international actors as competitors for global influence. The politics of national interest must not remain the *domaine réservé* of the dominant power(s) of the moment.

The urgency of this is even more obvious in the light of claims expressed following the events of September 11, 2001 that the United States’ “unique global power allows it to be the balancer in every region,”⁴ and in view of the propagation of a so-called new unilateralism that “argues explicitly and unashamedly for maintaining unipolarity, for sustaining America’s unrivaled dominance for the foreseeable future.”⁵

(II) National interest in a multipolar world

In theory as well as in practice, the term “national interest” has always been used in a rather vague manner – and this in spite of its centrality in inter-state relations. While, in the realist doctrine of international relations, national *interest* is generally defined “in terms of power”⁶ (or, more precisely, the interest in the preservation of power), making it the “perennial standard by which political action must be judged and directed,”⁷ the notion needs to be described

torically is that it inevitably creates a counterbalancing coalition of weaker powers...” (Op. cit. P. 8). He is mistaken, however, when stating that no such “counterbalancing” occurred in the unipolar environment after the events of September 11, 2001 (Ibid.).

¹ For details see, inter alia, the author’s paper: The Shifting Balance of Power and the Future of Sovereign States // Bulletin 2010. [Moscow] : World Public Forum “Dialogue of Civilizations”, 2009. P. 129–142.

² Huntington S. The Clash of Civilizations? // Foreign Affairs. 1993. Summer. Vol. 72. № 3. P. 22–49.

³ See also: Köchler H. Civilization as Instrument of World Order? The Role of the Civilizational Paradigm in the Absence of a Balance of Power / Dallmayr F., Kayapınar M. A., Yaylaçlı İ. (eds.) // Civilizations and World Order: Geopolitics and Cultural Difference. Foreword by Ahmet Davutoğlu. (Series “Global Encounters: Studies in Comparative Political Theory”). Lanham : Boulder ; N. Y. ; Toronto ; Plymouth (UK) : Lexington Books, 2014. P. 19–33.

⁴ Krauthammer Ch. Op. cit. P. 15.

⁵ Op. cit. P. 17.

⁶ Morgenthau H. J. Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace. 4th edition. N. Y. : Knopf, 1966, Chapter “A Realist Theory of International Politics,” “Six Principles of Political Realism,” principle 2. See also: Morgenthau H. J. In Defense of the National Interest. N. Y. : Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.

⁷ Politics among Nations. P. 9.

in its implications for the different spheres of state action (economic, social, cultural, military, etc.) in order to be useful for understanding the dynamics of inter-state relations and for appropriately identifying today’s global challenges. Apart from conceptual precision, every state should play with open cards and clearly define and indicate the *parameters* that define the scope of its national interests. This is one of the most essential requirements of a *rational* foreign policy, which alone will make a state a reliable member of the international community. A stable order of peace is only possible if states make it possible for their fellow states to rationally calculate their behavior.

A *definition* of a state’s national interests must be precise and comprehensive.⁸ The *policy* of the national interest should be *transparent* and the underlying principles must be declared *vis-à-vis* the community of states. Naturally, such a definition will focus on the aspect of *national security* that is to be guaranteed in order to enable citizens and society to realize their aims in the social, economic and cultural fields, and it will have to establish a clear hierarchy of interests (values).⁹ Accordingly, “national interest” is a *multidimensional* concept that can only be described in a concrete operational framework and on the basis of specific historical circumstances. As the self-preservation of the state as collective of citizens is at stake, national interests are nonetheless long-term in nature. Their *international* dimension, with the central aspect of military defense of the state, follows from the fact that each sovereign entity must operate, and define its role, in the concert of all other sovereign actors. It cannot do so in splendid isolation. Legal “sovereignty” alone – and the status of sovereign equality – does not shield a state from the potentially hostile intentions of other states or from the adverse effects of the pursuit of their interests. This is even more so in our era of global interdependence.

Furthermore, as said earlier, in the era of globalization, a *rational* definition of the “national interest” is only possible on the basis of *reciprocity*, i.e. by taking into account the *interdependence* of the actions of sovereign states and considering the interests of other state actors when outlining one’s own state doctrine. This is particularly relevant in regard to global environmental issues – concerning which we are all “in the same boat” – and in view of the nuclear arms potential, whether declared or undeclared, of some of the major global players. Regional conflicts – whether in the Middle East, Central Asia or Europe – have also made drastically evident the *complexity* of *national* interests and the interrelatedness of that notion with interests related to the *international* level (in terms of peace and stability, regionally as well as globally). The conflict in and around Ukraine is a case in point.

⁸ On the need for a precise definition see e.g.: Miskel J. F. National Interests: Grand Purposes or Chatchphrases? Newport (RI) : Naval War College, 2002.

⁹ As examples see the national security concepts of the United States and Russia announced at the beginning of the new millennium. The President of the United States identified as “vital” interests of the US “those directly connected to the survival, safety, and vitality of our nation”. (William J. Clinton, A National Security Strategy for a Global Age. Washington, D.C. White House, December 2000. P. 4). In a statement of principles released in the same year, the Russian Federation described the country’s national interests as “a totality of balanced interests of the individual, society and the state in economic, domestic, political, social, international, informational, military, border, ecological security.” (National Security Concept of the Russian Federation. Approved by Presidential Decree № 24 of 10 January 2000, Chapter II.) For a structural comparison see also: Russia and U.S. National Interests: Why Should Americans Care? Task Force on Russia and U.S. National Interests Report / Center for the National Interest and Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. Washington, D.C., October 2011.

In the era of globalization, the most challenging question, however, is whether a sound notion of “national interest” requires the inclusion of *general* (or *universal*) interests that are shared by *all*. In other words: Is, under those conditions, the *bonum commune* (not merely of the community of the state’s citizens, but of the *international* community) a defining element of the national interest?

The question becomes even more complex in terms of realpolitik. Will sovereign states only be prepared to include the global *bonum commune* in their definition of “national” interest if the power constellation is actually *multipolar* – while in the absence of a *balance of power* (in a *unipolar* framework where all are “at the mercy” of one dominant player¹) it would be a struggle of all against all, an unrestrained assertion of each one’s interests, trying to gain favour vis-à-vis the hegemon at the expense of all the others?

An understanding of the national interest on the basis of *mutuality* is most relevant in the military domain, namely in all matters that relate to the armed defense of a state’s vital interests, first and foremost its very survival. In this sense, national security is the *conditio sine qua non* for the exercise of a state’s interests in all other domains, whether political, social, economic or cultural. In the era of arms of mass destruction, and in particular nuclear arms, war, in its ultimate consequence, is no longer – as put in the famous dictum of von Clausewitz – the continuation of politics by other means,² but a recipe for *universal annihilation* – “mutual assured destruction.”³ In all issues where the survival of mankind is at stake, the exercise of the “national interest” has thus to be conducted in an *inclusive*, not *exclusive*, manner, i.e. by respecting the rights of other states on the basis of *mutuality*. This is the very essence of peaceful co-existence among nations. In a context where arms of mass destruction are the ultimate means of the assertion of the national interest, an exclusivist attitude, putting the interests of a particular nation (state) above those of all the others, would be intrinsically *irrational*. The withdrawal of the United States, in 2002, from the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty⁴ is indeed one of the most drastic illustrations of an exclusivist, *unilateral* understanding of national interests that is in itself a challenge to global peace and security.⁵

The need for an “inclusive” – and comprehensive – interpretation of the national interest is also evident in *global environmental issues* and in matters of *global economy*

and *finance*. The self-destructive nature of a unilateral, uncoordinated approach has revealed itself, among others, in the economic as well as political instability triggered by the global financial crisis of 2008 and in the inability of the community of states to agree on effective measures to deal with the ecological problems resulting from either unforeseen or deliberately ignored effects of industrial production and consumption.

In today’s hegemonial environment, the arrogant assertion and unrestrained (unilateral) exercise of national interests has brought chaos to geopolitically sensitive regions such as the Middle East or Central Asia and has led to an *unstable global order*. Due to the imbalance in global power relations, the militarily strongest international actor is always tempted to intervene even in distant regions and continents, outside its “natural” sphere of influence. Under these conditions, a lone superpower such as the United States will increasingly define its national interests in a global, all-encompassing sense, and without due consideration for the interests of the weaker players. The hegemon will not recognize any geographical limits to the assertion of its power. It is no coincidence that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), established as an instrument of *collective defense* in the era of the cold war, redefined its mission shortly after the end of this era. When the United States emerged as the sole superpower during the 1990s, NATO declared virtually the entire globe as area of operation, effectively transforming what had been a *defensive* into an *offensive* posture.⁶ Originally, the organization’s mission had been to assist member states in case of an attack (according to Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949).⁷ This mandate (that applied to the territory of the member states) was based on the principle of collective self-defense according to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter and was meant to complement that organization’s system of collective security.⁸ Following the collapse of the bipolar balance of power, this approach was completely abandoned and the concept of “out-of-area operations” or, more euphemistically, “non-Article 5 crisis response operations” was introduced to describe NATO’s new defense doctrine.⁹ It was unavoidable that this posture brought NATO member states in direct conflict with national security interests of many non-member states – particularly when the organization was entrusted with operations in the course of the so-called “global war on terror,” proclaimed by the US administration after 2001.¹⁰ The problem was further aggravated by the expansion of the organization’s membership after the disappearance of its erstwhile rival, the Warsaw Pact.¹¹ Due to the in-

¹ A report issued by “The Commission on America’s National Interests” is an example for the definition of “national interest” in a strictly unipolar framework, which is meant to justify that country’s (the United States’) claim to “global leadership.” See: America’s National Interests: A Report from The Commission on America’s National Interests. Washington, D.C., July 2000.

² “So sehen wir also, daß der Krieg nicht bloß ein politischer Akt, sondern ein wahres politisches Instrument ist, eine Fortsetzung des politischen Verkehrs, ein Durchführen desselben mit anderen Mitteln”. Carl von Clausewitz, Vom Kriege. Hinterlassenes Werk; ungekürzter Text. New ed. Berlin: Ullstein, 1998. P. 44.

³ The term was coined by US mathematician and strategist John von Neumann during the 1950s. However, for an assessment of the notion in the context of the prevention of war see now Michael Shermer, “Will Mutual Assured Destruction Continue to Deter Nuclear War?” in: Scientific American, Vol. 310, Issue 6, June 1, 2014. URL: www.scientificamerican.com/article/will-mutual-assured-destruction-continue-to-deter-nuclear-war/

⁴ The Treaty was signed in 1972 between the Soviet Union and the United States. In 1997, a Memorandum of Understanding determined that, for the purposes of the treaty, Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine are successor states to the Soviet Union.

⁵ For a critical assessment see: *Jing-dong Yuan*. Bush’s ABM bombshell: The fallout in Asia // Asia Times Online, Hong Kong, Jan. 8, 2002. URL: www.atimes.com/China/DA08A0d1.html

⁶ See the new defense doctrine of NATO: The Alliance’s Strategic Concept Approved by the Heads of State and Government participating in the meeting of the North Atlantic Council in Washington D.C. Press Release NAC-S(99) 65, issued on 24 April 1999. URL: www.nato.int/cps/en/nato-live/official_texts_27433.htm

⁷ The North Atlantic Treaty. Washington, DC, 4 April 1949.

⁸ “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.”

⁹ Article 52 of the Alliance’s Strategic Concept (1999).

¹⁰ For details see the author’s analysis: “The Global War on Terror and the Metaphysical Enemy,” in: Hans Köchler (ed.), *The “Global War on Terror” and the Question of World Order*. Studies in International Relations, Vol. XXX. Vienna: International Progress Organization, 2008. P. 13–35.

¹¹ This has become one of the main reasons of increasing geostrategic tensions in Eurasia. An American commentator aptly drew attention to the question of reciprocity (totally overlooked by a country that sees its role as that of the global hegemon): “How would the United States react to a Russian incursion in the Western hemisphere?” Jeffrey Tayler, “The Seething Anger

creasingly frequent use of NATO for military operations outside the treaty area, and often without proper UN authorization (as in Yugoslavia/Kosovo in 1999 and Libya in 2011),¹ the implementation of collective security on behalf of the treaty states was widely perceived as a *threat* to the very security of states in the affected regions, and subsequently to global security.

The escalation of tensions in the Middle East and North Africa, the Caucasus and Eastern Europe, including the armed conflict in Ukraine, is a direct result of this hegemonial policy that is tantamount to the projection of the leading power's national interests to distant regions of the globe. It is equally unavoidable that this post-cold war imperial policy of "containment" of other powers will lead to the *reassertion* of their national interests by those countries whose influence and projection of power – in the strategic logic of the global hegemon – ought to be "contained" in their own geographical region. Under such circumstances, these countries have effectively no other option; there is no other rational response to this crude exercise of realpolitik (in fact, power politics). The proclamation of universal values (principles) defined by the dominant power alone – and to which all countries are expected to conform – is neither morally credible nor will it convince the weaker states. Any idealism in the face of a monopoly of power is out of place.

The lesson to be learned from these developments in different and distant regions of the globe – not only in the above mentioned regions, but including the Philippines and the South China Sea – is that the assertion of national interests (particularly by the most powerful countries) is only compatible with peace under conditions of a global power balance, i.e. in a framework of *checks and balances*, which was originally to be provided through the very might of the veto-wielding countries in the UN Security Council, its permanent members. Although the system has always only worked imperfectly, it had certain credibility and efficiency as long as a bipolar constellation existed between the United States and the Soviet Union. In this framework of mutual control of the two great powers, the national interests of smaller or weaker countries were not entirely marginalized, but those states enjoyed at least a modest margin of maneuver between the two global competitors, and the UN Charter's principle of sovereign equality was not entirely obsolete or ineffective.

In structural terms, the problem of the national interest is indeed similar to that of the definition and exercise of *national sovereignty*. In order to be compatible with an order of peace, sovereignty must be practiced on the basis of *mutuality* – and not as an absolute right of unrestrained

self-assertion at the expense of any and all members of the community of states.² In the latter case, sovereignty would be *mutually exclusive* and, thus, a recipe for perpetual conflict and anarchy – a state of international relations German terminology aptly describes as *Souveränitätsanarchie* (anarchy among sovereign states).³

The very system of collective security, enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, depends on a non-exclusivist understanding of sovereignty and national interests. The coercive powers of the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter would be meaningless and self-contradictory in a context where each state is authorized to exercise sovereignty in an *absolute* sense, including the right to wage war solely at its own discretion.⁴ An approach that focuses on an interpretation of sovereign rights in an *isolated* sense (a mindset which is behind the unilateralist doctrine and strategy of hegemonial powers), is not only incompatible with the UN system of collective security, but will ultimately be *counterproductive* because it challenges the very security of each individual actor it is meant to protect; in this sense, it would also be *irrational* – except in a situation where only *one* world state exists, a leviathan that may not be an enviable model for mankind, and particularly not in the era of globalization. In view of the multitude of states who are destined to co-exist on a globe with limited resources, a state's national interests can only be advanced if the ever more complex interdependencies of a state's actions – in the economic, social, cultural and military fields – are entered into the strategic and foreign policy calculus.

Conclusion

The emerging international system is *multipolar*, and the resulting balance of power will require that each of the global players "negotiates" its national interests in consultation with all other states competing for power and influence, at the *regional* as well as at the *worldwide* level. Under the conditions of global interdependence, this is the essence of *realpolitik* that alone offers a chance of stable peace⁵ – as opposed to idealistic posturing and claiming a kind of ideological supremacy, as has become the habit of those who see themselves as arbiter, indeed "the balancer in every region."⁶ As Andrew Moravcsik aptly observed, "[t]he unwillingness to accept the multi-polar nature of world politics is a critical intellectual failure," which global powers that enjoy military supremacy at a particular point in time are inclined to make.⁷ A *coordinated*, instead of an insular, approach towards the definition and assertion of national interests will be the best antidote to the reemergence of imperial rule of only *one* power, and it will make it increasingly

of Putin's Russia," in: The Atlantic, September 22, 2014, at www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/09/russia-west-united-states-past-future-conflict/380533/. For a critical assessment in the early years after the end of the cold war see the words of the late George Kennan who emphatically warned of the consequences of NATO expansion: "I think it is the beginning of a new cold war... I think it is a tragic mistake. There was no reason for this whatsoever. No one was threatening anybody else. This expansion would make the Founding Fathers of this country turn over in their graves." Thomas L. Friedman, "Foreign Affairs; Now a Word From X," in: The New York Times, May 2, 1998, at www.nytimes.com/1998/05/02/opinion/foreign-affairs-now-a-word-from-x.html.

¹ On the legally dubious military operations of NATO countries (under the effective leadership of the United States) in Libya see MEMORANDUM by the President of the International Progress Organization on Security Council Resolution 1973 (2011) and its Implementation by a "Coalition of the Willing" under the Leadership of the United States and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. International Progress Organization, Doc. P/22680c, Vienna, 26 March 2011, at www.i-p-o.org/IPO-Memorandum-UN-Libya-26Mar11.pdf.

² For details see the author's paper: "Sovereignty, Law and Democracy versus Power Politics," in: Current Concerns, No. 34, Zurich, 22 November 2013, Supplement, pp. 18-25.

³ For a further description of the notion in the context of today's global order – after September 11, 2001, see the author's paper: "The Politics of Global Powers," in: The Global Community. Yearbook of International Law and Jurisprudence, 2009, Vol. I, pp. 173-201; pp. 182ff.

⁴ The jus ad bellum – the right to wage war – has anyway been abrogated in the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, the basic provision of which is incorporated in Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter.

⁵ Jeffrey Tayler, op. cit.

⁶ Charles Krauthammer, op. cit., p. 15.

⁷ Andrew Moravcsik, The Myth of Unipolarity in a Post-Cold War World: Lessons about Power from the US and Europe. China and Global Institutions Project, Princeton University, USA, December 2006, at www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/unipolarity.doc. Moravcsik's remarks refer to the policies of the US administration under George W. Bush.

difficult for such a country to veil its aspirations in the cloak of *universal values*.

Wherever and whenever the *bonum commune* of mankind is at stake, the definition and policy of the national interest should thus be in conformity with the “pursuit of mutual global interests.”¹ As Thomas J. Christensen has ar-

gued, such a universal, *multilateral* approach is more appropriate than a mere *bilateral*, utilitarian strategy and course of action between individual state partners who pledge “to respect each other’s core interests,”² but in the process may alienate all the others and risk undermining their own long-term security.

Alka Lamba³

GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS: THE CASE OF INDIA

Chairperson, Ladies and Gentlemen and Namaste to everyone!

At the beginning, let me truly thank the organizaers for their kind invitation to this important conference.

Foreign and security policy issues are in most countries the concern of small elites, so also in India. Right from the anti-colonial freedom struggle, India’s leading role in the *Non-Aligned Movement*, the opening up of the economy in 1991 and the diversification of our foreign policy, partly as a consequence of this, but also due to deliberate choices, India has put its national interests in foreign affairs into the fore-ground.

Under the current government, India tries to engage with practically all the major powers and a number of middle-powers in the world, like for instance South Korea and Germany. All these engagements – and Prime Minister Narendra Modi since he assumed office in 2014 has been a tremendous traveller and host, for instance to Chinese President Xi Jinping last year – serve the purpose to strengthen India’s independent interests. Across party lines, there is a wide-spread consensus not to enter into alliances with any dominant power and to preserve the capability to act independently in a multi-polar world.

On the other side, there are observations, that India has been moving more towards the Western world, that means the US, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Australia and key states of Western Europe, besides its traditionally good relations with Russia or for that matter ASEAN since the early 1990s. But these relations are in no way directed against China, with which India entertains strong economic relations irrespective of border issues. Economic relations with Russia unfortunately are not up to the mark, except in the defence sector.

The antagonistic relations with Pakistan are unfortunately continuing, although the government of the *National Democratic Alliance* (NDA) with the *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) as the leading force has laid a special emphasis on improved relations with its immediate neighbours in South Asia and also with the island states of the Indian Ocean.

¹ Thomas J. Christensen. *The Need to Pursue Mutual Interests in US // PRC Relations*. Special Report 269. Washington, D.C. : United States Institute of Peace, April 2011. P. 2.

² Op. cit.

³ She is a member of the legislative Assembly in Delhi (India). Chairperson of NGO ‘Go India Foundation’ (established in 2006 to protect the rights of young people and support their participation in political, social and economic development of India). Former National President of National Students Union of India. Laureate of Indira Gandhi Priyadarshini Award.

India’s interests in a globalizing world and aspects of India-China relations within BRICS

I want to highlight some of India’s interests in the globalizing world and make You at the same time a little bit familiar with some of our major internal challenges.

Internally, my country is confronted with tremendous challenges. Irrespective of fast growing middle classes, a sizeable amount of people is living with less than two dollars a day below the poverty line and marginally above it. There is an agricultural crisis situation, due to a lower overall agricultural productivity compared to other Asian countries and a largely rain-fed agriculture with its dependence on a good monsoon. Climate Change and its consequences are therefore from different angles a major issue in the years to come. Insofar the outcome of the *Conference of Parties 21* (CoP 21) in December 2015 in Paris is also for India very important.

The so-called youth dividend – India is a very young society – could literally turn into a „*demographic curse*“, if we do not manage to improve the vocational skills of our aspirational youth and create sufficient job opportunities.

Since India is, together with Brazil, China, Russia and South Africa a member of BRICS, I want now to turn to some observations on “*Crisis management and risk prevention in BRICS Countries’ modernization process – Observations about India.*”

I will concentrate to a large extent on the “case-study India”, but also permit myself some references to the bilateral relationship between India and China.

In my opinion it is important to develop a clear understanding of the respective power-systems and their inner dynamics in the various BRICS-countries.

Some relevant data of the mega-society (societies) of the Indian Union

Population in 2014: About 1.27 bn. people, compared to China with currently 1.37 bn. India will overtake China in 2028 with 1.45 bn. as the most populous nation in the world. For 2050 a population of 1.6 bn. for India and 1.3 bn. for China are forecast. In India, the population will have increased by nearly five times within a hundred years since independence in 1947, with repercussions for the ecological balance.

Yet, population control by the state is in India politically not possible. Therefore, the demographic advance requires urgently employment opportunities and skill

development, given the huge amounts of unemployable youth.

Each year, about 12 million people are entering the Indian labor-market, which is already characterized by mass unemployment. How can this demand be met under widely prevailing conditions of “*jobless growth*”?

Secessionist groups within the Indian Union are existing in Jammu & Kashmir as well as in India’s Northeast. They use force and terrorist means. Autonomy-seeking groups within the parameters of the Indian Union operate by and large peacefully. The Indian state succeeded in its history to fight militarily secessionist movements, to co-opt them into the ruling class and/or respectively to grant them autonomy.

In various parts of the country, armed groups are operating under the leadership of the *Communist Party of India (Maoist)*.

Social trends

The Indian caste system is reducing its impact gradually (“*silent revolution*”), nevertheless one can still observe a dominance of the traditional upper castes, who represent a minority of the population of about 17 to 18%, in key sectors and top positions of the society and economy. These traditional caste-hierarchies can even be traced within religious minorities.

In-built “*structural force*”, particularly against “*Dalits*” – “*oppressed*” or so-called “*untouchables*”, numbering about 160 millions – and “*Adivasis*” – “*original inhabitants*” or so-called “*tribals*” – (a term unthinkable in independent Africa) – numbering about 100 millions, has gradually to be eliminated as part of a tremendous nation-building process and good governance. At the same time, cultural emancipation of the oppressed and disadvantaged sections is an urgent task.

Although the Gini-Index for China is higher than in India, there are in both countries a growing number of people owning incomes as \$-billionaires and a concentration of wealth, besides the growing numbers of middle classes.

Inclusiveness and social equity are difficult to achieve, if large parts of the population have no or only an insufficient access to the labor market and/or are living below the so-called poverty-line. The widening income-gaps and the high expectations with regard to the promises of India’s new government, particularly amongst the youth, have to be adequately met, otherwise frustrations could lead to increasing social conflicts and even revolts.

India definitely requires more productive investments in society, like the manufacturing sector, infrastructure, health and education.

Strengthening of democratic structures

India looks back, except for a short period between 1975 to 1977, to an uninterrupted democratic development. Yet, the massive anti-corruption movement in 2011/12 demonstrated the remarkable deficits of India’s democracy.

I would be more than happy to answer questions about this movement, since my party, led by Arvind Kejriwal, the Chief Minister of Delhi, is to a large degree a product of *India against Corruption*.

Phenomena like systemic corruption, country-wide political dynasties as well as plutocratic and even criminal tendencies in the political class undermine the quality of Indian democracy. A lack of real internal democracy can

be observed across parties. This could lead in the long run in our society to increased pressure and thinking about true reforms.

Regionally and locally one can observe the emergence and existence of counter-elites. The anti-corruption movement in 2011/12 questioned the very existence and legitimacy of the political class.

Since years one can observe, that the electorate votes out governments, but confirms on the other hand through re-election those who deliver “*good governance*”. It is important to ensure, that not only 15% of the development funds reach the target-groups, like in the past, but ideally the full amount (“*direct cash transfers*”).

The socialist parties have practically disappeared and the Communists seem to be in terminal decline. Yet, given the macro-economic and social patterns, there is an unoccupied space for an enlightened left and social-democratic movement in India.

The preference for pluralism versus the temptation of “*majoritarianism*” will be an essential corner-stone for the social integration of various sub-nationalisms, ethnic and religious groups.

To a certain extent, India represents politically an anti-thesis to China with its monopoly of the Communist Party. But it has to be seen, if a renewal from within the democratically legitimized post-colonial *State Class*, as one might call it, is really possible in India.

Economic priorities

China’s Gross Domestic Product is nearly five times the size of India’s. Yet, a large part of the Indian economy is molded by the so-called “*black economy*”.

India possesses a huge internal market. With the opening towards the world economy in 1991, international capital entered increasingly the country. The new government is trying to attract with the slogan “*Make in India*” foreign direct investment in several sectors of the economy (infrastructure, insurance, defense production etc.) and wants especially to expand the manufacturing sector.

India’s immense and to a large degree unused human resources, not the least because of insufficient vocational training, have to be constructively used (“*dual system*”), in order to improve above all the manufacturing, infrastructure and energy sectors. The *Swachh Bharat* (“*Clean India*”) – campaign is intended to change dramatically the prevailing hygienic conditions.

The modernization process requires a strategy to transit from an agrarian economy, with wide-spread symptoms of agrarian distress (“*farmer suicides*”), to employment generation in a largely industrialised society, which cannot depend on the service sector.

Differences between India and China

India is located in a highly complicated region with several crisis centers in South and West Asia. This leads to very high military expenditures, since, at least theoretically, a two frontier war with China and Pakistan cannot be fully ruled out. Currently India is worldwide the biggest importer of weapons. Pakistan follows a strategy of “*a thousand cuts*” with terrorist inroads, in order to bleed India.

But China and India look back to thousands of years of peaceful civilizational relations. Yet it is no good precondition for a constructive co-existence between BRICS-coun-

tries, if a disputed, unmarked frontier and Chinese territorial claims vis-à-vis the Indian state of Arunachal Pradesh – China depicts it as *Southern Tibet* – endanger the remarkable economic relations between both countries and also common positions at the international level, for instance with regard to climate change and the reform of international institutions.

Alleged or actual boundary incursions by units of the *People's Liberation Army* (PLA), especially also during high-ranking Chinese visits, demonstrate, that “normal” relations between both countries have not yet been achieved, not to speak of the decade-long military support of Pakistan by China, allegedly in order to tie down India in South Asia, according to leading Indian analysts.

The big bilateral trade between India and China suffers from a huge and in the long-term not sustainable Indian trade-deficit.

As utopian as it might sound still *today*, India has allegedly the potential, to outflank China and become after several decades the largest economy in the world.

Perspectives

The alleged admission of India as a full member into the *Shanghai Cooperation Organization* (SCO) – in which Russia is a prominent member – would be certainly welcome. Such steps and further confidence-building measures as well as increasing civil societal contacts could, nearly 63 years after the India-China border war, reduce the still existing caution and trust deficit in India vis-à-vis China. There are consultations between both countries with regard to Afghanistan and Central Asia as well as an exchange of data with regard to the water levels of the Brahmaputra (Chinese: Yarlung Zangbo Jiang or in Tibetan Tsangpo).

China's silk-route and maritime silk-route initiatives are followed with great interest in India. The intention of China to invest \$25 bn. during the next five years in India – Japan intends \$30 bn. and the US allegedly \$40 bn. – can only improve the further engagement between both economies.

How can India and China improve their relationship in a constructive and non-antagonistic manner? Such questions should form a part of constructive bilateral dialogues as well as between various sections of the elites from BRICS-countries. The former Indian Prime Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh claimed, that there is sufficient space for the simultaneous and peaceful rise of China and India at the international stage with its challenges to prevent dramatic climate change, nuclear proliferation and terrorism.

Can the BRICS-states create an alternative and sustainable development model for their societies, which learns from the mistakes of Western development and set positive socio-political and ecological accents? Based on visions for their societies, concerted reforms are an essential requirement, definitely in India but certainly also in all the other BRICS countries.

Risk prevention and crisis management are therefore a pre-condition both internally and internationally between the BRICS-countries in the years to come, in order to stabilize the volatile International System with its tremendous challenges.

Let me now turn to a few remarks in my capacity as *Parliamentary Secretary for Tourism and Culture*.

Tourism as an incentive for urban renewal

I represent a constituency, that was in the 17th century known as *Shahjahanabad*, named after Shah Jahan, the famous builder of the world-wide known *Taj Mahal* in Agra and the capital city in Delhi.

Let me introduce my constituency with a few slides:

Maximum of 5 functional slides.

The famous *Red Fort* was till 1857 the seat of power for the Mughal dynasty (1527–1857) Like Humayun's Tomb, the predecessor to the *Taj Mahal*, and the *Qutub Minar* in Delhi, the *Red Fort* is already on the *World Heritage* list. It is under consideration to include also the *Chandni Chowk* street, once famous for its outstanding beauty and the exquisite architecture of the surrounding buildings and houses, into the *World Heritage* list.

The main task is how to integrate and reconcile the historical city with all its remaining splendour with the challenges of town planning, modern life and basic civic amenities. In other words, the urban challenge should finally lead to the transformation of this uncoordinated conglomerate into a functional “*smart city*” for its current and future inhabitants, where also “*heritage tourism*” will find its adequate place.

India has such a vast and diversified heritage, even with potential for instance with regard to its Buddhist heritage in Arunachal Pradesh. At a recent conference on the North-East of India, somebody proposed a kind of “*heritage-corridor*” from Bhutan via Tawang in Arunachal Pradesh potentially even up to Myanmar, not only for those interested in Buddhism but even on the footprints of Guru Nanak Dev of Sikhism and Hindu-Pilgrim Tourism.

Bhutan and Sikkim are examples of “*high-value tourism*”, which could be studied for other parts of India, also under the aspect of an adequate involvement of the local population, its skill development and with corresponding benefits.

The Himalayan States have a high tourist potential. Perhaps an exchange with Austria and Switzerland or even other mountaineous regions in Europe and the world – a kind of *International of the Hill People* – and a learning from their rich history, including examples of the potentially destructive effects of mass-tourism, should be systematically initiated.

How to involve farmers and other villagers for instance in Kumaon/Uttarakhand in individualized and small-scale tourism, which would create additional jobs and incomes without eroding social patterns etc.? “*Informative tourism*” should involve various sections of the population, so that they can become stake-holders in these efforts. One can rightly question the effects of large-scale tourism in Goa or Mallorca in Spain.

The *Aga Khan Foundation* in cooperation with the *Archaeological Survey of India* and some private players have done a truly excellent job in the restoration of Humayun's Tomb (perhaps a slide) and monuments in Nizamuddin-West, involving there the local population. I could envisage such a pattern in my own constituency in *Chandni Chowk* with its own rich cultural heritage, besides learning about successful models in Russia and elsewhere.

Therefore, India's tourism strategies have certainly to be highly differentiated, even within a single state. Adequate skill-development for all involved is an absolute

must. Governments, with the help of tour-operators, academia and civil society, should reflect on the required priorities, also for instance how to be pro-active in approaching potential target-groups in Russia, Europe and elsewhere, for instance the huge numbers of Buddhists in China and the rest of East Asia. This should not be left exclusively to the market-forces.

An enlightened relationship to India's multiple layers of history as well as an attempt to inform visitors about their own country's relationship vis-a-vis India can lead to a widening of the world-view of the population of the host-country and the visitors, as well as to an understanding of the developmental challenges of India, a world-power in the making.

V. A. Lektorsky¹

GLOBALIZATION AND NATIONAL CULTURAL IDENTITY

It is a well-known fact, that an intensive growing process of globalization creates serious challenges to the national-state interests. Actually, globalization involves some components. Firstly, there is a real extension of the modern market economy in all parts of the world, accompanied by the forming of transnational corporations today, which are controlling many economic processes in the world in defiance of national frontiers.

Secondly, there is a universal penetration of modern communication technologies into all countries of the world: TV, the Internet, mobile communication – all of them generate a worldwide Masscult, which, as it turns out, supersedes the traditional culture with the advantage of developing just within the limits of the national states.

Some theorists believe that national and state identity should disappear with the help of the process of globalization; the future of humanity will occur due to withering away of nations and nation-states. The concept of state sovereignty will soon be gone away in the past, and the individual identity in the future will be based either on the global collective (cosmopolitan) or on a separate accident created and rapidly disintegrating social networks.

Other theorists – postmodernists – go further with their points of view, the notion of any human identity is meaningless today, both individual and collective. We can speak about a 'vague' identity, polyidentity, the destruction of all boundaries between individuals and individual collective societies. It is clear from this point of view, that the question about the protection of national interests is meaningless. However, this question is full of deep meaning especially today.

¹ Chairman of the Cognitive Theory sector of Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor. He is the author of over 400 published scientific works, including the monographs titled "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"; "Knowledge and consciousness of interdisciplinary prospect" in two parts (edition), "A consciousness problem in interdisciplinary prospect" (edition), etc. Lektorskiy is Editor in Chief and one of the authors of the series of 21 books titled "Russian Philosophy in the Second Half of 20th Century". Chairman of the International Editorial Board of the "Philosophy Issues" magazine, and a member of the editorial board of the Epistemology and Science Philosophy magazine. He is a member of the International Institute of Philosophy (France), a foreign member of the Center for Philosophy of Science (Pittsburg University, USA), and a member of the International Academy of Philosophy of Science (Belgium). Moreover, Lektorskiy is granted the title of Professor Emeritus of the Institute of Philosophy of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and an Honorary Member of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan, and decorated with the Order of the Badge of Honor, the M. V. Lomonosov Gold Medal, and the medal For Investment in Philosophy of Philosophy Institute of the RAS.

Of course, many economic problems can effectively solve within the framework of a market economy. It's out of the questions, that new communication technologies and the latest technology NBIC (nano-, bio-, info-, cognitive) are creating a new space for human development; providing fundamentally different possibilities for going beyond cultural isolation.

Nevertheless, at the same time the process of globalization in the form, as it is carried out now, threatening not only the existing nation-states, but also a man himself. Globalization breaks not only national boundaries, but also the world of human life, not only the person of a particular culture, but also the human at all.

I do not mean some features that refer to the specific characteristics of a particular culture, but the invariant characteristics of all cultures, no matter how they are different from each other. We are talking about values such as freedom, caring for another person, mutual understanding etc. Global technologisation of social and cultural relations will threaten the existence of a man.

The growing involvement of a man in the global information and communication network – is not only an opportunity to establish contacts with other people and cultures, but also a growing network of dependencies. There are expanding opportunities to manipulate the consciousness, to control a person for the production of misinformation upon a large scale.

In connection with the development of information, biological and nanotechnologies there is a possibility of serious bodily modification of human qualities, an impact on his brain and mind. On the one hand, it is opening up new possibilities, on the other hand – it cannot influence the culture, and the image of man in all existing cultures presupposes those of his physical and mental characteristics that have developed historically.

Communities arising from the global information networks are different in some respects from those that are based on the traditional cultures. Network community can as instantly appear as quickly disintegrate. It is not tied to any territory and does not rely on a stable tradition.

The relationship between such communities do not have hierarchical nature, and their body cannot be represented in the system as a whole one. Therefore, involvement in the community and attachment to one of the existing cultures based on historical traditions and involved spatial localization, are coming into serious conflict.

The market economy has shown and continues to show the efficiency upon a global scale. Nevertheless, as the pro-

gress of modern technologies and a science lying in their root are carrying out today within the limits of such economy so a science, and technologies are getting some characteristics which were not peculiar to them in the traditional culture and which in any sense are “dehumanizing” both a science, and technologies.

I have just mentioned about the possible dangerous use of modern technologies. As for science, in the context of modern consumer society (which globalization is trying to extend to the entire planet), it has the nature of so-called Technoscience: only the knowledge, which may rise some technologies, is valued and encouraged.

With the help of the latter, the goods on sale can be produced. The knowledge itself becomes a commodity, and a scientist – a service provider. This is a very serious impact on the ethos of science. If it works for large corporations, the knowledge obtained by a scientist becomes the property of the corporation with all its consequences – up to the classification of methods for obtaining the knowledge that can be used in the development of new technologies.

There is so-called the cognitive capitalism, there are new types of scientists, previously being available, for example, Scientist-Manager. In the 1940s, the famous American sociologist of science R. Merton based on the study of the activities of individual researchers and research teams made four features of the scientific ethos: universality, collectivism, cultivated scientific skepticism and the prohibition of plagiarism.

For decades, it seemed that Merton’s characteristics of scientific activity are unconditional features being considered as a science. Meanwhile in the science, developing in today’s global market economy it is not so any more. If the scientific knowledge is the property of corporations, it is obvious that the universality of knowledge and its collectivity, in many cases, are out of the questions.

Criticism in this case also cannot be practiced in the form, which it has been done before. Fortunately, not all fields of science have evolved in technoscience and not all-scientific knowledge has become the property of corporations. In addition, some aspects of the scientific ethos, defined by Merton, are still working in many scientific studies.

However, the tendency of transformation a science as one of cultural achievements of the humanity into a simple way of making money, certainly, is connected with the propagation of market relationships on all areas of human life, as it is going on in the modern process of globalization.

What is able to resist this process as the form of globalization having introduced today (as the globalization can be implemented in other forms)?

We can resist the dehumanization of a man and a culture by means of keeping the traditional human values and at the same time adapting them to modern realities, including the challenges having been created by the development of science and technology. Traditional values exist and are

handed down from generation to generation within the existing national cultures.

These cultures differ from each other. Comprehension of the world and the man in them is unequal. Nevertheless, all of them are peculiar to certain general concepts, which today are put into question by global challenges. The variety of traditional cultures is not a disadvantage, but the condition of survival and the further development of the humanity.

In general homogeneity (to which the practiced globalization is leading today) is a way to a deadlock, as it is well known, development, evolution are possible only in the case of diversity. Various forms may find different resources on a particular circle of the further development, so what seems the most perspective today, may not be the same on a new step.

National cultures today are forced to respond to challenges of globalization and to adapt to them by self-development. Different cultures can appear to have various resources of similar adaptation. Therefore, for example, some traditional ways of the organization of work in China and in Japan have appeared to be a well correlating with modern forms of work of the network enterprises.

I think that cultured unpragmatic values in Russian can play a positive part in the search for a way out from the deadlock of ‘cognitive capitalism’. The most tragic situation would be for those cultures (and states connected with them), which will not be able to find the resources to adapt to the current situation and to self-development. They may lose their identity – both cultural and state.

Thus, the safety of the humanity today means protection and development of traditional culture, and the latter involves the protection of national identity, hence, national interests.

The latter, of course, includes the protection of geopolitical and economic interests of the country, the development of the economy, health care, finding the country’s place in the international division of labour and cooperation with various international economic and political institutions, strengthening of the defense and so on.

The country cannot be in isolation. In order to preserve their national identity, it should develop, and thus adapt to the current global and political realities, to be more exact, not only to adapt, but to give its response to global challenges, therefore, to change, to develop itself.

However, this is impossible without the preservation and development of the culture, because it is precisely based on the national and state identity. Without one’s own culture, all the rest (political and economic relationships, state and public institutions) will not preserve the national identity.

That means that the protection of national interests is impossible without the development of education, science and art. Economically developed country, having lost their culture, is deprived of national identity and national interests.

A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov¹

THE NATIONAL RIGHT IN THE GLOBALIZATION CONDITIONS

Consideration of the right as element of culture is inseparably linked with such categories, as “national” or “civilization”. Both of them assume a certain plurality and variety of manifestations, at least, taking into account their historical development. It is simplest and evident to consider formation of the national legal systems, which made “legal civilizations” on the example of Europe. With all variety of the existing views of researchers of a world history of the right it is fair to mean that original formation of independent national legal systems is connected with disintegration of the Roman Empire and emergence on the European continent of the independent states capable to sign contracts with the Empire. Then principle *par in parem non habit imperium* appears there (equal has no power on equal).

The international agreement is a result of coordination of will of the states, fixed in a legal form. According to the level of the Roman Empire’s legal culture, the state, which has life based on rules (and customs perhaps), as you could consider like legal ones, could be her contractor in equal or rather equal relations. Further formation of the states in Europe has led to formation of various legal systems. This difference is shown not only in division into the right continental and Anglo-Saxon. There are also independent legal systems on the continent. Later, during a colonial and post-colonial era, they had essential impact on formation of the right in colonies.

The formed differences are non-uniform in character, and their existence is derivative of those circumstances, which form culture of the people, their customs and social behavior. Historical experience gives us an examples when one states “borrowed” some sources of the right other states. However, reception of foreign norm does not mean perception of the foreign right as such. The practice of application of the borrowed sources has not been shown again in judgments, you can take it as a direct evidence. In this regard examples of adopting the French Code of Napoleon in Belgium, and the Law on obligations of Switzerland in Turkey became classical. Right application reflects national features in both cases. In the countries of “general law” precedents have even more national character. However, not only reception of the rules of law, but also other attempts of perception of someone else’s doctrines don’t create “legal clones.” So, after World War II the Constitution of Japan was developed under strong American influence, how-

ever it is hardly possible today to call the related phenomena both a role of the Basic law and further development of the right in Japan and in the USA.

The differences of the legal systems also depend on the sphere of regulation. Especially it is obvious in the sphere of public law which is influenced not only by cultural and as its part, legal, tradition, but a political situation in the country as well. For example, fascist dictatorship establishment in the 30th years in such states as Italy and Germany, obviously didn’t correspond to legal traditions of these states, however coming to power of political forces of that time created in them a brutal law and order.

At the same time, historical experience specifies that the considerable social changes happening in the states can generate the political, economic and ideological changes, finding fixing in the right, and at the same time keep presence of the legal institutes traditional for these states. Appearance of the USSR and further countries of national democracy established in them almost new law and order in the sphere of regulation of economy. However, along with the new developed right, which economic based, mainly, on governmental decrees, the civil legislation traditional for continental system of the right continued working in these states.

A new stage in formation of legal systems began both on national and international levels since the second World War finished. The human rights were proclaimed at the same time with formation of the law and order providing the world to the people as the supreme value. The key principle for development of legal systems was grounded not much on national features and traditions, as on the world bipolarity developing, which has the ideology, first of all the communistic in its base. It has extended on the countries with the population exceeding one and a half billion people.

Distinctions in approaches to interpretation of the concept of a human right became an element of opposition of two systems. Disintegration of socialist camp, appear, could give uniform understanding of human rights and, respectively, uniform approach to right application. Moreover, the European understanding of human rights could apply for world leadership, especially because the regulation, developed in this sphere, is based both on material and legal regulation – the Universal declaration of human rights, and on procedural practice of the European Court of Human Rights. But the last decades events show other. The West European approach did not become a sample for the rest of the world.

From historical positions you can see that norms and values of European civilization developed in the XVIII–XIX centuries has not received immunity from the totalitarianism which struck Europe in the XX century. The legal policy and the legislation of many states at a stage of totalitarianism regime wore the clothes of moral, proclaiming the violence providing their interests, manifestation of “the highest moral” but settling immorality in fact.

What is the meaning of the Declaration? Perhaps in, historical experience of mankind reflecting, directly proclaimed human right as the supreme values, which obser-

¹ Director of the Institute for State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, head of chair for Private and Public Law of the State Academic University of Humanities, Academician of the RAS, LL.D., Professor. Author of over 100 publications, including: ‘Settlement of Disputes Relating to Protection and Transfer of Rights to Inventions, Know-How and Trademarks’, ‘Arbitration in Industrial and Scientific-Technical Cooperation’, ‘Legal Issues of Research, Technical and Industrial Cooperation’, ‘International Technology Transfer: Legal Regulation’ (with co-authors), ‘US Law’, ‘Private International Law: Contemporary Issues’ (with co-authors), ‘Legal Regulation of Foreign Investments in Russia’, ‘Private International Law: Modern Practice’ (with co-authors), ‘International Civil Procedure: Current Trends’, ‘Human Rights and Modern Public Legal Development’, ‘Commentaries to the Civil Code of the Russian Federation’ (with co-authors), ‘New Challenges and International Law’, ‘The Role of Law in Modernization of Russian Economy.’ Chairman of the Editorial Board of ‘State and Law’ journal and a member of the Editorial Board of ‘Works of the Institute for State and Law’ bulletin. Member of the Bureau of the Department of Social Sciences under the Russian Academy of Sciences and the Presidential Council for Science, Technology and Education. He is awarded with the Order of Friendship, the Order of Leopold II (Belgium), the Order of St. Sergius of Radonezh of the Russian Orthodox Church.

vance could protect mankind from wars and mass violations of basic rights and freedoms.

Statements of the Declaration proceed from the universal understanding of human rights including such categories as equality, conscience, justice, bringing them to all people and countries, i.e. from universal understanding of humanity. "every language, existing on the earth", recognizes these values. However, even the people of the United Nations and even in the conditions of the globalizing world inevitably put in them the contents reflecting of both features of national traditions and moreover general civilization features. These special moral installations, existing in consciousness, are inevitably transferred to the adopted legislation and, what is especially important, in law-enforcement practice.

Both in policy, and in the right questions of morals and moral continue possessing a different scale of values. It seems that situation with the Universal Declaration has the same roots. Differences in the national legislation concerning human rights, of course, can be generated by the purposeful policy of the mode operating contrary to a letter and spirit of the Declaration. However, differences in national standards of protection of human rights, in interpretation of provisions of the Declaration can be caused not by evil intention of the authorities accused of these or those actions or of establishment of the rules limiting freedom of personal acts. There might be other reasons in this case. They can be also caused by aspiration to provide the public benefit. A question – where that side which can create harmony balance of the rights and interests is.

From the point of view of the right, the immemorial dilemma between realization by the person of his right and a public order expressed in ideas of national interests and national security, economic opportunities of the state about public moral, etc. here is inevitable.

According to part 2 of article 29 of the Declaration of a human right can be exposed to restrictions in the order established by the law "...only for the purpose of ensuring due recognition and respect of the rights and freedoms of others and satisfaction of fair requirements of morals, a public order and the general welfare in democratic society".

This rather general and soft formula gets very certain legal forms in practice. Real life in various states of the world abounds with examples of restrictions of the rights proclaimed in the Declaration. These restrictions concern a freedom of speech, the right for free movement, the right for non-interference to private life, the right for integrity of human beings. Anybody, who applies for a certain etalon in these questions, dissembles.

The listed group of restrictions in essence is rather international and the address to them is interfaced, mainly, to special or emergency situations, including, the international character. For example, in the context of fight against terrorism. However, acceptance of these restrictions though is explainable, but has to have accurate legal grounds in the national legislation, but does not have any character based only on political and administrative matter. As it appears from the shown part 2 of article 29 of the Declaration, any restrictions have to be reasonable that imposes special responsibility on the power.

Besides, not only democratic institutes of the state and the right could be and must be a guarantee from suppres-

sion of the rights, but also the developed institutes of civil society.

The difficult balance of universalism of humane values, the civilization features forming a public order in the right and, at last, influence of external factors anyway should not cause an infringement of human rights. The legal policy of the member state of the UN – cannot be out of a legal framework where following to the universally recognized norms and the principles of international law is an indispensable condition of membership in the UN and the existence of the world community. In this regard the Universal Declaration of human rights is a conceptual basis of development of two branches of the right – international and national. According to part 4 of article 15 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation "the conventional principles and norms of international law and the international contracts of the Russian Federation are a component of its legal system. If the international agreement of the Russian Federation established other rules than provided by the law, it is needed to use the rules of the international agreement".

The primacy of international law entrenched in the Constitution of the Russian Federation is a norm for the modern democratic states. At the same time, the international law is a coordination product of the states' will where someone's domination is excluded. Complexity of the states' will confirmation process also is captured in the international legal regulation in the field of human rights structure. Modern international legal regulation is based both on the universal documents making along with the Universal declaration of human rights the International bill about human rights and on regional regulation. It includes the European system of protection of human rights, the Interamerican convention on human rights and the African charter of human rights and rights of the people. You should notice that the contents, a circle of regional participants, and, above all, efficiency of action of the Interamerican convention and the African charter significantly differ from the European system of protection of human rights.

Regulation of protection of human rights differences on the universal and regional levels have stimulated an idea of most universal standards adoption. Thus they ignored sometimes a fact that development of uniform standards is always connected with need of national laws and orders correction. In the globalization conditions when opposition of the bipolar world is overcome, arguments in favor of uniform understanding of human rights amplified. However now ideological, cultural and moral, ethno-religious and legal world maps differs from ones being at the time of International bill about the rights creation. The modern world is defined as multipolar in which uniform processes of a globalism (generally in the sphere of economy, information scientists, sciences) meet the amplifying tendencies of preservation of national and civilization values in the sphere of morals, moral, right.

In modern conditions when the voice of many states, and first of all the Asian states, got different, than in the forties, sounding, process of development of uniform standards of human rights and mechanisms of their providing is seen more difficult, demanding the provision for the features of a civilization development of all states of the world community.

Gary Littlejohn¹

CALCULATION OF NATIONAL INTEREST, AFRICA AND BRICS

The 'National Interest'

It has long been commonplace to argue that the concept of 'nation' is problematic, in that almost all modern nation states have quite large ethnic and linguistic minorities within their borders. One implication of this is that such minorities can be a basis for challenging the legitimacy of the existing geographical state boundaries, or indeed the legitimacy of any particular nation state itself.² These kinds of analysis have taken on a renewed urgency recently for various reasons.

1. The increasingly aggressive pursuit of world government as a partly hidden agenda of Western governments and intergovernmental bodies such as the European Union and NATO. This pursuit amounts to a *de facto* repudiation of the Westphalian system of international law established in embryo at the end of the Thirty Years War (1618–1648) in Europe. Such international law forms the basis for the very existence of international bodies such as the United Nations, and of some nation states which owe their legal existence to explicit recognition under UN auspices.³

2. The growing existential crisis of the European Union itself, as the monetary union of the Euro currency has not been matched by greater fiscal integration, and as differing levels of productivity among member states have led to increasingly differential economic performance. This differentiation has been exacerbated by the austerity introduced in response to the financial crisis of 2007–2008. The response to the crisis in the EU has been capped by the imposition of new governments on EU member states (Greece, Italy) and by the imposition of economic policies on populations that increasingly repudiate them. Hence the supranational agenda is visibly in considerable difficulty.

3. Overt and increasingly vocal regional or national opposition to central rule by governments that for various reasons are no longer deemed to be legitimate in the view of a substantial part of their own electorates: Scotland, Wallonia, Catalonia and 'Novorossiya' come readily to mind.

In addition to the inherently problematic nature of the nation and nation state, which has become increasingly salient in certain countries recently, there is also the issue of the 'national interest'. The latter is often presented as somehow emerging naturally from the workings of the state whose activities in many ways define the nation. Yet this is often little more than a rhetorical device used in attempts to persuade electorates to accept unpopular policies, or to accept an increase in the accretion of power to existing (or even new) state structures. This usage of the term is now very relevant in debates over the extent and content of state surveillance of those using electronic means of communication.⁴

¹ Economist, sociologist (Great Britain). He is the author of several scientific publications, including: "Sociology of the Soviet Union", "Kritzman and agrarian Marxists" (co-author), "Andre Sik and the development of African studies in the USSR" (co-author), "Crisis During the Perestroika times", etc. He is a member of international scientific conferences on economics and Social Sciences of the USSR, Eastern Europe and Africa.

² Zubaida S. Theories of Nationalism // G. Littlejohn [et al.] (eds.) Power and the State. L.: Croom Helm, 1978.

³ One example is Israel, which nevertheless refuses to acknowledge various UN resolutions that affect what it defines as its 'national interest'.

⁴ This is evidently now a serious issue for Africa, especially South Africa, with the recent reports of leaked files from intelligence services. See for ex-

ample: The Guardian, 25 February 2015. URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/24/africa-el-dorado-espionage-leaked-intelligence-files> Other related stories can be found on this web page, below this news story. The government of South Africa may use this leaks scandal to push through legislation against whistleblowers and other critics, supposedly in the national interest.

However, without some conception of the national interest, it is difficult to see how reasonably coherent government policy can even be properly formulated, let alone implemented successfully. The recognition of diversity, and of varying levels and dimensions of expertise, must somehow be reconciled with at least a minimum of unity of purpose, for without some such unity a nation state would fail sooner or later. Consequently, rather than treating the 'national interest' as simply emerging from the normal workings of the nation state, it should be considered as a form of political calculation.

The idea of a national interest entails some conception of rational calculation and action by the nation state. Yet this too is inherently problematic⁵. There are various reasons for this problematic nature of rational calculation, some of which are connected to the extent and kinds of knowledge on which policies and operational decisions are based. Other reasons include the time horizon over which policies are expected to operate, and yet others are connected to the increasingly common phenomenon of 'state capture' by specific, usually rent-seeking, groups. Such considerations render problematic the concept of 'national interest' in nominally democratic states.

In addition, while the national interest is in my view a matter of calculation, it is not merely a technocratic exercise, because such calculation involves taking account of the current *configuration of power*, both inside and outside the country concerned. This configuration depends on the outcomes of a series of struggles within a variety of arenas, and is consequently both difficult to analyse and constantly changing in some respects. Political power can be analysed as an outcome of the interplay of discourses, resources, arenas of struggle and forms of social organisation. As such *political power can be said to be situational*, in that the outcome of this complex interplay is indeterminate⁶. In particular, the articulation of arenas of struggle can mean that stagnation in one arena can result in a loss of power there, as events elsewhere can result in institutions and actors in that specific arena being overtaken by those 'outside' events and thereby rendered relatively powerless or irrelevant.

This is now happening with the European Union. An example of the failure by the EU to respond adequately to developments that affect it can be seen in its energy policy. The Vice President of The European Commission in charge of energy policy, Maroš Šefčovič, was told on his visit to Moscow in January that the South Stream pipeline was being rerouted to Turkey. Apparently he had not been informed by his officials that such a decision had already been announced publicly in Russia in December 2014. Any connection to southern Europe would have to be built by the EU, rather than by Gazprom. It was also announced by

ample: The Guardian, 25 February 2015. URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/24/africa-el-dorado-espionage-leaked-intelligence-files> Other related stories can be found on this web page, below this news story. The government of South Africa may use this leaks scandal to push through legislation against whistleblowers and other critics, supposedly in the national interest.

⁵ Hindess B. Humanism and teleology in sociological theory // Hindess B. (ed.) Sociological Theories of the Economy. L.: Macmillan, 1977.

⁶ This argument is compatible with Ilya Prigogine's argument concerning the irreversibility of events: *Prigogine I. The End of Certainty*. N. Y.: The Free Press, 1997.

Russia that the gas pipeline link through Ukraine to Western Europe would be closed in three years, and that a decision by the EU to start building it would need to be made soon, owing to the long lead time of such infrastructure projects. The response has been to announce a new plan to create a single European energy market, with more decision-making power going to the European Commission (EC).¹ Unsurprisingly, this proposal will generate resistance in the European Parliament, and in various EU member states. Consequently, it is now unlikely that a new pipeline will be built through Greece or Bulgaria from Turkey to serve Eastern and Southern Europe in time to fill the gap left by the closure of the Ukrainian supply route. Thus not only has the EU failed to recognise that it is becoming increasingly irrelevant, but its response to a strategic setback is simply to attempt to reassert control in a manner that will result in a further loss of control.

In the case of the UK Coalition government, a combination of policy stagnation, lack of a clear strategy and poorly-conceived decision making has led to a similar international marginalisation. The resultant failures in foreign policy, which mirror failures in domestic economic policy, have recently led to a critical report from a House of Lords Select Committee on foreign policy. This report notes the loss of expertise in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, especially with respect to the Former Soviet Union countries. This loss of expertise may help explain why the UK Prime Minister has recently threatened to force Russia out of the SWIFT international payments system in a further round of economic sanctions. Apparently he is unaware that Russia has already developed a payments system to replace SWIFT, precisely to deal with such an eventuality. In this case, the UK national interest is ill-served by inadequate analysis and by the dominance of tactics over strategy. This UK example illustrates the importance of 'discourse' in the calculation of national interest, since without clarity of analysis, political calculation readily results in misdirected effort.

Capital (itself a form of social organisation that increases dynamic control over resources) is not political power *per se*. However, as a form of economic power, and owing to its impact on resources and on other forms of social organisation, capital influences political power through its dynamic interaction with discourses and arenas of struggle. 'Arenas of struggle' can include peaceful political contestation in a parliament, as well as extra-parliamentary struggle, competition between large corporations, competition within or between state agencies, legal disputes and open conflict. The latter can take various forms and vary in geographical scope.

Yet despite these inherent difficulties in calculating the national interest, those who wish to defend the Westphalian system have little option but to articulate some version of the national interest or set of interests, since we wish to de-

fend the right of nation states to pursue and defend those interests, within the scope of international law. Conversely, if globalisation is seen as the establishment of global hegemony in a unipolar world, then it amounts to the suppression of national interests. Such a form of globalisation would render impossible the geographical demarcation of democratic national arenas, thereby subjecting humanity to the global militarised domination of finance capital.

Many of these difficult issues are prevalent in African states, and in regional bodies that attempt to coordinate policy at supra-state levels. Examples of such supra-state bodies include the so-called RECs (Regional Economic Councils) such as ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority on Development) and SADC (Southern African Development Community), or a UN sponsored body designed to reduce trade barriers (COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa), or the UN ECA (Economic Commission for Africa) or of course the African Union (AU). Many of these bodies have had very mixed results, and others not mentioned have already disappeared. Only one such failed body, the East African Community, has ever been revived. Others that have survived, such as the Southern African Customs Union (SACU), have problematic relations to bodies that overlap with them geographically. The very existence of such a plethora of bodies, which are poorly articulated with each other, and some of which have been renamed in an attempt to re-launch themselves, can reasonably be counted as a symptom of ongoing failure. They also constitute a complicating feature in the any single nation state's calculation of its interests, policies and strategy.

Africa

Why should one begin by treating Africa as a relative failure, after the optimism that prevailed following the end of Apartheid in South Africa, and after the promise of an African Renaissance? Surely the recent increase in economic growth in many African economies is an indication that the continent as a whole has turned the corner?

Regrettably, even those of us who are most sympathetic to the problems that Africa confronts have to admit that Africa remains quite marginal in international affairs². This is in part related to its poor economic performance, which limits its political influence. With roughly 14% of the world's population, but only about two per cent of world GDP and trade, Africa is evidently not performing as well as other major world regions such as East Asia. This discrepancy in performance over the last 40 years or more has been subject to much comment. One cannot simply attribute this relatively poor performance to debt induced by the recycling of petrodollars following the sharp oil price rises of the 1970s. Although this encouragement of indebtedness was indeed partly responsible for Africa's relatively poor economic performance, other parts of the world have managed to develop the political means and economic resources to minimise or even shrug off the effects of such indebtedness. Such a strategy on the part of individual nation states, sometimes acting in concert or in mutually supportive ways, has involved confronting repressive and corrupt regimes. This is

¹ See: The Guardian, 2015, 25 February. URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/feb/24/eu-blueprint-energy-union-russian-gas-gazprom-maros-sefcovic>

For a commentary supporting this inadequate response that fails to mention the three-year deadline to replace the Ukraine gas pipeline route, see: The Guardian, 2015, 27 February. URL: <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/27/eu-energy-union-vladimir-putin-russia-europe>
Yet this article mentions the many national obstacles in the way of reaching an agreement within the EU. One suspects that Russia will be blamed for the energy problems of Eastern and Southern Europe when the gas supply is cut off.

² For an analysis that argues for this conclusion, see: *Ndongo Samba Sylla. From a marginalised to an emerging Africa? A critical analysis // Review of African Political Economy. 2014. Vol. 41. № 143. Suppl. Iss.. P. 7–25.*

very evident in Latin America, where *Mercosur* and Bolivarian ideals are among the organisational and discursive factors that have been used as part of a long-term strategy to recover some national autonomy in the face of the International Financial Institutions¹. However, it is clear that Africa has failed to prevent capital from leaving the continent, and this implies that such capital has not been used for productive investment in Africa.

Over the period from 1970 to 2010, roughly USD 800 billion left Africa, and this was a *greater amount* than inward flowing foreign direct investment (FDI) plus foreign aid. If one also takes account of remittances flowing into Africa from its diaspora, then Africa received a slightly greater inflow of funds than the amount that left the continent. However, most inward remittances are devoted to consumption in Africa, and so these funds contribute little to capital formation. Another point to notice from this evidence is how small the total is over 40 years. As a comparison, the US Senate voted USD 700 billion to prop up large US banks at the onset of the financial crisis of 2007–2008. In addition, the sectors that generate most income for Africa are minerals and some food crops such as cocoa. Very few African countries run an effective strategy to develop their own infrastructure.²

It must be admitted that an important part of Africa's weak performance is the result of both deliberate and unintended destabilisation and the fostering of armed conflict. This destabilisation has taken many forms, including financial destabilisation (such as external regulation of the currency and/or control of interest rates), conscious transport disruption, corruption, funding and support for armed insurgency, and assassinations. The latter are often presented as mysterious plane or helicopter crashes. The motives for such measures have included reversing the effects of decolonisation (neo-colonialism) and resource monopolisation (oil, other minerals, water, or agricultural land). Such forms of competition for resources have at times unintentionally destabilised economies and diverted investment away from other forms of productive activity.

One aspect of this loss of control of the economy (and consequent inability to decide autonomously on the national interest) that has received a lot of attention since the 1980s consists in some of the consequences of the neoliberal policies resulting from Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). The more usual critiques of SAPs have been concerned with rising inequality, increased poverty, reduced state welfare expenditure, especially on health and education, and the negative impact of debt repayments on nationally available investment funds and thence on economic growth. However, while related to these points, indebtedness has increased the power of financial institutions within African nation states, and this financialization has both diverted funds away from formerly productive sectors³ and led to changes to morality, with a growth in cynicism and a loss of mutual trust within the population. The latter

¹ Ongoing unrest in Venezuela, and alleged attempts to overthrow the elected government, suggest that this process is far from complete.

² A notable exception is Angola, as noted in an unpublished paper by a World Bank official: H. Fofack (2015) "Retrospective Analysis of Africa's Post-HIPC Growth Resurgence: Overcoming the risk of immiserizing growth". In fact Angola has not only funded a fibre optics cable to Brazil, and a fibre optic link between its coastal cities, but it is launching its own satellite, Angosat, and will develop an inland fibre optic network linking its major cities.

³ This has been well documented in a recent unpublished paper on financialisation in Nigeria: Ejike Edeogu (2014) "Financialisation and Economic Growth in Nigeria".

widespread cultural change has led in turn to short-termism and what might be termed 'micro-mercantilism', that is, the constant attempt by individuals to gain any advantage possible within market exchange relations, rather than cooperative attempts to secure future prosperity by mutually beneficial activities.

Nor can foreign aid be described as entirely beneficial. For one thing, such aid is often dictated by the interests of the donor countries, rather than any evaluation of priority needs in the recipient nation states. Alternatively, aid and loan finance from international agencies are often simply implementations of existing dogmatic neoliberal economic policies, which tend to induce a negative economic spiral in recipient countries. Mitigation measures are also often misplaced, and not only with respect to Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers that the recipient countries 'voluntarily' draw up: even such apparently laudable policies as Millennium Development Goals take no account of recurrent costs. The implication is that, without an effective strategy for economic growth in the country concerned, even those indices that are successfully met will not be sustainable, because they required additional funds to meet those Goals, and that financial tap will be turned off sooner or later.

Yet the most obvious problem in African nation states, most of which depend on mineral resources for foreign exchange, is state capture. This is linked to the destabilisation mentioned above. Ostensibly democratic forms are manipulated to ensure that control of resources is maintained. This has led to the development of 'booty futures' in some countries, whereby support from abroad for an armed incursion or insurgency is sought with the promise of future control of some of the mineral resources of the countries concerned. This and other forms of what economists politely call 'rent seeking behaviour' are evident in many countries, and the consequent reliance on the illegitimate use of force and a culture of impunity is widespread in some countries.⁴ One negative effect of the consequent human rights violations is that economic activity tends to concentrate around this, the most profitable sector.

This has led to a cycle of further foreign interventions to usurp or re-establish control of resources, especially when peaceful competition is not feasible. For example, as early as 2002 a senior US military officer in EUCOM (European Command, which is closely linked with NATO HQ) was stating that Africa was a top priority for the US military. This was fairly openly related to the growing presence of Chinese investment in Africa. In other words, because peaceful economic competition was unlikely to secure the desired outcome, attempted military dominance was to be the response. The first indication that this new approach was being acted upon came with the formation of the Gulf of Guinea Commission that was founded in 2006. This Commission was formed on the initiative of the US Department of Defense and consisted of 11 countries agreeing to various forms of cooperation on maritime safety and security, and it now has a permanent HQ in Angola.

This military and security cooperation with various African countries was intended to pave the way for the next development, namely the foundation of Africa Command (AFRICOM), which took place in 2008. Despite that fact that no African country has agreed to host the HQ of AFRICOM, it continues to operate from Stuttgart in Ger-

⁴ Ibid.

many. In addition to an apparently ever-growing number of US troops in Africa, this development has also negatively impacted on social science research on Africa in the USA.

Far from stabilising Africa, such military intervention has vastly increased instability and reversed past economic and social gains. While this reversal is most notable in Libya, where the overthrow of the government surely discredited so-called ‘liberal interventionism’ and the ‘responsibility to protect’, its destabilising effects can be witnessed elsewhere too.

Other forms of intervention have also destabilised various countries. To take a well-known example, the rebellion of the Tuareg in Mali was not simply a response to the inflow of weapons from the Libyan conflict. It had been preceded by months of activity by Muslim ‘fundamentalist’ charities funded by Gulf states. The youth of the incipient Tuareg rebellion, which resulted from grievances generated across international boundaries by their earlier treatment by various African governments, allied itself with this more fundamentalist insurgency after an initial clash between the two forces. The Tuareg were then defeated by the fundamentalist movement which immediately swept southwest across Mali, threatening to overthrow the government. This example illustrates the complexities of some of these struggles, and the impact of struggles in other countries, but one might cynically question whether the activities of these Muslim charities did not provide a very convenient excuse for the French army to intervene in a country with a large uranium mine. After all, France relies on nuclear power for about 75 per cent of its electricity, and world reserves of uranium are not that large. These examples show that destabilisation of African countries did not end with the end of Apartheid.

BRICS

The African member of BRICS is of course South Africa, probably the largest and certainly the most advanced economy on the continent. The other major economies are Egypt, Nigeria and Angola, but none of them has the diversified industrial and service sectors of South Africa. Regrettably, South Africa opted for a ‘neoliberal turn’ during the CODESA negotiations that led to the end of Apartheid in 1994, and now suffers from many of the problems of loss of national autonomy discernible in other African countries. The major mining companies were permitted to relocate to the London Stock Exchange, which means that their profits are now exported, counting as a loss on the national balance of payments.

Its autonomy is further undermined by the weakness of its intelligence services in defending its national interests.¹ It has suffered a certain loss of legitimacy that is reflected in the declining vote for the ANC, amid accusations of corruption and repressive responses to strikes. It has not invested sufficiently in the energy sector to meet the demands of a rising population and growing economy, resulting in rationing of electricity. This may change, however, with the investment in new nuclear power stations and in the proposed Congo River project.

Despite this, South Africa, like the rest of Africa, suffers from a dearth of investment. The main hope for change probably remains FDI, along the lines of the New Silk Road policy for Eurasia, and the major source of FDI in Africa this century has been China². This approach, rather than the harmful approach of the past, may help Africa to regain control of capital flows and investment for a more productive future in a multipolar world. To conclude, BRICS could become a vehicle for the emancipation of the world economy from the dominance of militarised western finance capital.

V. A. Malakhov³

PATRIOTISM AS A WILL TO THE WORLD: TO MODERN JUDGMENT OF THE TERM

The word “patriotism” sounds aggressive today. When you hear it, you involuntarily imagine gloomy guys in camouflage on some military steppe post or, at worst, the shouting fan whose face is painted in the colors of the national flag. The more aggressive, the more patriotic, the more patriotic, the more aggressive – apparently, everybody already got used to this gloomy maxim of our time.

Well, as they say, we don’t choose time – we die in it occasionally. However, it doesn’t mean that we definitely have to be at time’s beck and call. As Paul the Apostle preached: “and be not conformed to this world” (Riml.12:2). One of the main characteristics of humani-

tarian thought is its ability to resist, first – resistance to its time, “this world”. It is possible to assume that exact ability and make it truly modern.⁴

According to the given reasons, the purpose of this report is an attempt of philosophical reconstruction of positive, creative sense of the term “patriotism” – the sense which is convincingly presented in D. S. Likhachov’s works, getting a distinct polemic sounding today. This sense will become clearer to us in the context of differentiation of patriotism and nationalism; while on the subject, the closure limit of the aforementioned concepts is also possible to be considered as one of the characteristic features of the present.

You can find a lot in common between patriotism and nationalism, undoubtedly, not less, than that between nation and fatherland. Nevertheless, nuances are important, sometimes they solve the case. Switch nation to fatherland, race (*natio*) to homeland, in fact it is something absolutely different, than transition stitch within the uniform of the notorious doctrine between Blut and Bode, “blood” and “soil”.

¹ J. Sanders (2006) *Apartheid’s Friends: The Rise and Fall of South Africa’s Secret Service*, John Murray, London; F. Chikane (2013) *Things that Could not be Said*, Picador, Cape Town.

² For an evaluation of Chinese FDI in the Democratic Republic of Congo, see M. Chakrabarty (forthcoming) ‘Growth of Chinese trade and investment flows in DRC – blessing or curse?’ in *Review of African Political Economy*.

³ Chief researcher of Department of philosophy of culture, ethics and aesthetics of Institute of Philosophy named after G. S. Skovoroda of NAS of Ukraine (Kiev), Doctor of Philosophy, Professor. Author of books: “Culture and human integrity”, “Shame (Philosophical and ethical sketch)”, “Parting science...”, “Ethics: Course of lectures” (ukrainian), “Vulnerability of love”, “Ethics of communication” (ukrainian), “The right to be itself” (ukrainian), “On that party of clarity”, etc.

⁴ See, for example: *Agamben Dzh. What is modern?* Kiev : DYH ILITERA, 2012. P. 45–61.

Communication on birth and origin (“blood”) and communication on a necessary way of maintenance of life (“soil”) have matches, firstly, in empirical and local character and, secondly, they capture a person independently of his consciousness and will. Respectively nationalism (I will remind: *natio* – race; *Natio* – is also the Goddess of Birth to ancient Romans) and nationalist jealousy of the native earth as they reproduce the mentioned type of human communications already at the level of certain valuable preferences, inevitably conceal in themselves danger, first, of basic delimitation of various human communities, secondly – the obvious or veiled neglect to a reflection, spirituality and free self-determination of the personality.

There is a strong aspiration to prove that modern (“constitutional”, “democratic”) the nationalism is not burdened with anything similar and generally is formed on other basis in many countries including Ukraine. However, practice of implementation of nationalist ideology in real life of people shows that nationalism without national isolation and without playing with “blood” and “soil” is an impossible thing. The language policy (and language, according to Heidegger, is the house of life), designing of the national myth and its introduction in the consciousness of citizens, the corresponding reorganization in the field of education and upbringing – in all these vital spheres for the state focused on modern “civilized” nationalism you have nothing to do without straight lines or indirect appeals to the “blood-soil” factor anyway. I repeat, the problem, which we face, is in fact a practical problem, and for example modern Ukrainian life practice, in my opinion, quite convincingly, shows on inevitability of the mentioned appeals.

Nevertheless, the concept “nation” (and “nationalism” respectively) in the modern use is extremely effective because of its ambiguity: gained a legitimacy at the high level of a constitutional and political discourse, it then, proves in other form the right to existence of such realities, which from the first view does not have a place in the modern world anymore – up to ethnic filters, etc.

As for the concept “homeland”, “fatherland”, it sends us to the same list of ideas of “race” and patrimonial exclusiveness only at first sight. If “nation” is *that* extent of life in which people are born (and at least partly for *that*), “homeland” is a place, from *where* people are born; just according to this initial sense the concept of the homeland doesn’t bear in itself that shade of isolation, disconnection, which no matter how hard you try, you cannot take out of the concept of “nation”. Representatives of the most various nations and cultures can have a common homeland: inhabitants of Kiev N. Berdyaev, M. Bulgakov, M. Rylsky, V. Gorovits, R. Gliere, I. Ehrenburg – people of a different national identity, in spite of this they have the same homeland. The feeling of the homeland unites, but does not separate.

If thoughts on nation and a national identity as, it is easy to agree, accidentally attract human attention *down*, to an origin and roots, the feeling of the homeland essentially manages you differently. The homeland is not so much the soil under one’s feet, but woods growing on it, fields and gardens, landscapes around, and the sky over one’s head. And in more “internal”, ideal sense the concept of the homeland acquaints us to peculiar “ontologies from above”, imparts ability to distinguish and appreciate the highest aspects of human life. We easily speak about the spiritual

homeland; not only about the natural, but also about the cultural, spiritual landscapes becoming for the person native and forming his ethos, his moral predisposition. At the same time concept of the homeland generally more connected with persons, than concept of the nation. Unlike the last, it does not hide the human personality in its own subsoil as if in a wardrobe, and on the contrary it gives it a chance to reveal its unique traits more brightly, its freedom, its creative soul. Instead of sad distinctness of “blood and soils” the relation of the person to the homeland links us to the category of being hailed: we are hailed by familiar landscapes, childhood memories, the cities in which we inhaled the exciting air of freedom and love for the first time. It is not heavy for us to be hailed, it makes us go up, it inspires our mind and will. A person can leave the homeland, go to his independent life by himself – at his own risk!, but it is also not less in human nature to decide to come back to the homeland, summing up thereby the life experience, the moral searches: the sky of the homeland leaves a place for everything human that is inside a person.

Both “nation” and “homeland” are words that can sound loudly. However, unlike “nation”, “homeland” has the whole register of chamber application corresponding to the considered aspect of this concept, causing possibility of this concept to measure it with a people. I, in this case, an inhabitant of Kiev remember Alexander Vertinsky: “Kiev is a gentle homeland...” There have been a lot of touching pages written about the potential of silence, tenderness, a coziness concluded in the idea of the homeland. A. F. Losev who has, generally, bravura in the understanding of the homeland, nevertheless, has such an unexpected judgment: “Only the Homeland gives an internal coziness because all native is cozy, and only the coziness is overcoming destiny and death”.¹

It is obvious that the developed patriotic consciousness is urged to display the humanistic sense of ideas of the homeland in all its integrity. Scientific and publicistic D.S. Likhachov’s articles not only provide for this purpose exact material and methodological tools, but, I would say also, it sets the certain general tonality extremely important for preservation of the *positive moral basis* of patriotism which is today under threat. Most of actual – *polemic* actual – is the subject of *Russian*² which was permanently occupying Dmitry Sergeevich. On a wide background of the Russian open spaces, the Russian nature and culture, architecture, an iconography and, certainly, the Russian verbal art the scientist carries on conversation on the basic importance of positive, light traits of national character, first of all kindness. Thus the matter isn’t connected to overpricing at all. He says about something that should be important for all of us, about whom we, being formed during all those centuries, should be today and what should we give to the future.³

And then Likhachov speaks about kindness. According to its depth and serious attitude to it quite moral quality I would put him in one row with a few modern to him thinkers, as writer V. S. Grossman, the philosopher E. Levinas.

But if Likhachov is right, if the feeling of sincere patriotism really directs us towards good and light, whether the

¹ Losev A. F. Zhizn. Stories, stories, letters. SPb.: Set, 1993. P. 49.

² See: Likhachov D. S. Notes about Russian: coll. M.: Humming-bird: Azbuka-Attikus, 2014.

³ See collection of works of the scientist: Likhachov D. S. The past – to the future: articles and sketches. L.: Science, 1985.

real patriot has to appreciate and protect most of all *not indignant*, not distorted by hatred conditions of the homeland allowing it to reveal in its internal self-life? After all there was a place for monumental historicism, and for feats daring, and for gentle shyness of soul, and for that “silence of the pacified self-deepening” which we can see in Andrei Rublev’s works, in “The story about Pyotr and Fevroniya Muromskikh”¹ etc., the completeness of this self-life.

So the logic of reflections about patriotism brings us to a point of intersection with other, not less topical and at the same time immemorial human problem – the problem of peace. The one, who really loves the homeland, cannot but wish it all the good, and a condition of any benefit as intelligent improvement of life is peace. Not only bombs and shells, but also the spirit of war destroys mutual human life; it can spoil the shape of our lovely fatherland, our home to unrecognizability. Here comes the conclusion: if you are true patriot of your homeland if you are afraid of loosing it – wish it first of all peace. Peace is not just absent from military operations; it itself has positive valuable sense. According to V. V. Kolesov, since ancient times the peace is

“what is lovely, and first of all the tranquillity, silence, rest and consent between people and tribes² are lovely”. Not accidently in ancient texts, as well as in modern Russian, the peace-rest and the peace-community are designated by the same word. In the prospect planned here, perhaps, it’s not out of space to see a peace as organized space of coexistence not only different people, but also various human homelands. That is why patriotism is a will to the world.

Certainly, sometimes homeland and peace are on the verge of destruction. In this case war is like a resistance to chaos and evil, however this may be tragic, it becomes a right cause: in its fire ring people, the nation, the homeland, the world concentrate, reach manhood, anew find themselves. The last till this day similar test in our history – the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945. Present events don’t seem like that. Current ill-fated war deforms, cripples, deprives of identity the homeland and the world in state we inherited them. Any losses from this war, from any part, they are ourselves losses. Practically, an attentive reading of the academician D. S. Likhachov’s works makes me believe in it.

Juan Antonio March³

THE WORLD IS NO LONGER THE SAME: THE BIG CHANGES AHEAD

We are living very hectic moments of change in all areas of our life. From communications to health developments the day to day life of people is extremely different from the one our parents lived. The same is happening in the map of the world, where the rise and fall of Nations, Regions and great powers happen at meteoric speed. The media are taking good advantage of this characteristic of our times and they have a lot to cover, although normally they are very focused on the very short term perspective and point out enthusiastically any symptom of success or failure in the evolution of countries and areas. I am much more interested in pointing out the deep tendencies that like seismic movements are happening in the depths and provoke big transformations when they emerge.

The subject is so large and passionating, that we could spend hours and hours analysing how everything is transforming under our eyes, day after day. But having in front of me such a distinguish audience of experts in international relations, I will concentrate on the political dimension, in some major changes in the world structure, that deserve, in my opinion, very close attention.

I would say that in our days, the major issue at stake is how are evolving four big areas of power: United States, China, EU and Russia. Obviously there are many more

members with great importance in our world like India, or areas with great potential like Latin America, the Middle East or the Gulf countries, but I would like to concentrate on the four above mentioned to point out how important is what is happening in their interior and how its evolution will affect tremendously the rest of the world.

United States, China, the European Union and Russia, represent today more than 80% of the total gross National Product of the World and concentrate the major military capacity of the world. They produce more than 90% of all the innovation occurring in the world. But what is impressive is to point out how differently are they evolving!

Let’s take the United States first. It is an extraordinary well articulated country. Its political and economic system is really working for what their people are anxious about: to have opportunities, to live under better material conditions, to enjoy freedom and security. The country works extremely well in adjusting constantly internally to the always changing environment of the world. His weakness is nevertheless the limited number of population for being a superpower in the XXIst Century. 300 million people is a very good figure for a great country but it is too limited for a supreme superpower in a global era. So the United States has to forge a big alliance with another great partner to continue to lead the world in fifty years time. And the problem is that it is very difficult for them to articulate this Alliance. It can not be with the countries of Latin America because there is a dynamic between the two areas that never really fit (it is a little bit like the Oil and the Water). It could be with Europe but for many in the States, Europe represents the past and does not create great passion. So the question remains opened but the solution is not found. And without a solution there is a limit for the future.

Then you have China. Here a great preparation for the future is under way. In the mid term, the future belongs to

¹ See: *Likhachov D. S. Human in an ancient Russia’s literature. M. : Science, 1970. P. 93–96.*

² *Kolesov V. V. Peace of the person in the word of Ancient Russia. L. : Publishing house Leningr. un-that, 1986. P. 226.*

³ Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Spain in 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 Ibero-American 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”, a series of publications about problems of contemporary international relations.

them. The magnitude of the change is amazing, "colossal" I would say. The combination of three factors will make this happen. The incredible fast growth of the per Capita Income (380 US Dollars per capita income in 1992 and 7,200 US Dollars in 2014) the large size of the market (1.5 Billion people under an effective political organization) and the one child policy, this meaning a personal intensive coach of new individual for a very effective integration in the New Society, the three elements combined give to China and every Chinese, a strong determination for being successful in the future and will make of China the largest superpower in 25 years. This will have enormous impact for all of us. I think China will have maybe some problems in 50 years time, when the policy of one child will produce a sharp decrease in the global number of population (from 1.5 to 1.3 they could go) because of the obsolescence of many installations (homes, roads etc.), but in the medium term China will have a very well prepared society full of great professionals in a massive way. Today The Chinese population between 10 and 22 years old is 200 Million people. Each family knows its child must be successful because this has two very important consequences: its future depends on it (it will be no longer the State who will take care or "protect" him or her) and the future of the family too (the protection by the State is fading and the most reliable source of support in the mid term will be the descendant). So you have in China today 200 Million people under very intensive personal coaching by the family. The whole new generation will go from peasant to architect, doctor or lawyer in a jump!. Obviously life is very complex and some will not be able to do it, but what I want to point out is the strength of the numbers and the proportion: From this 200 Million maybe 25% will not have a successful evolution in life but you very probably will have 150 million great first class professionals in China in 15 years time that are now under the process. If we look at the US, the number of young people between 10 and 22 is 35 Million. Because the system is working with less pressure for each new person (the variety of reasons is enormous from familiar problems to the fact that the system is more open and allows larger margin for errors and more personal and not so deterministic options) most probably half of them will opt for not a professional leadership. The rest, 17 Million, will be good professionals but maybe only half of them seeking really for a great professional achievement in their careers. So the comparison of figures is very impressive: In 15 years time you will have on the US Market maybe new 9 Million great new professional. You will have in the Chinese market 175 million. In an open ruled by Globalisation and free movement, the consequences will be very important.

Then you have the EU. This is the most articulated global space nowadays, with nearly 600 million people well structured in Cities with great capacities in every area: housing, transport, education, health, public institutions etc. The problem here lies in the future. Due to the great developments in health in this area, life expectancy is growing very much. In many countries of the Union the average expectancy is already over 80. Tendency is that life expectancy will continue to grow reaching an average of 85 by 2025. This factor combined with the lack of an effective and real government at EU scale, the decrease in numbers of the young population, the cost of the enormous structure of the existing institutions in all countries, the rigid labour regula-

tions fixing retirement around the age of 65 and the rigidity of the societies to really innovate and readjust at the speed others do (like for example the US) all this will act as a tremendous burden for the future. For sure most will say that this is too gloomy and the analysis is too exaggerated. They will point out at the existing strengths; the present institutional structure of the UE, the performance of the Educational system, the variety of the industrial tissue, the scientific capacity etc. Yes all this exists and all this makes the UE to be a shining region today. But what I point out is at the projection in 20 years. And there I underline that the costs are going to be huge and the income decreasing, and this combination in a space with very high standards and sophisticated habits can be very, very disruptive. I very much fear that the very thin layer of young population will not want to be in charge of the tremendous burden that will mean the public expenditure of the EU in 2030. And the people must know that someone has to pay... if you want to continue to have the benefits. So the EU has a big, big problem, ahead, in the mid-term, and should start by creating the really effective common government to be able to master the challenges. Once this is done many other substantive measures have to be implemented to reinitiate the path to be a region of the future more than a region of the past. One of these measures is geopolitical and its has implications with Russia, so I will refer to it after the analysis on Russia.

Finally we have Russia. This is a country of passion and great epic moments in history. It is the country that has saved us from the Nazis. We have a huge debt with this country if it is only for this reason. We have also a debt with it because it is the country that demonstrated in reality that communism, despite any abstract merit it could have, was not a positive way to organize modern societies. It showed how Communism brought misery instead of progress to the people, oppression and control more than freedom and happiness. You will say, well Russia did not do it for the others, did it for itself. Yes it is true, but thanks to that the two big successes of the XXth Century in the political scenario were achieved: The Nazis were defeated and the experiment of Communism was also buried. The problem of Russia today is due partly to those unique historical episodes. The country had to take a role of Superpower and sometimes wants to preserve it for which it is not prepared for and it is not in its advantage. I understand that for the national ego the idea of being superpower results attractive and generates support. But in this modern life it is essential to be realistic and to formulate the political ambition accordingly to the results it will bring to the population. Russia has made an amazing effort in the XXth Century, the country has lived the most epic moments and sacrifice has been immense. 25 Million were killed by the Nazis, 23 million people were the victims of depuration by Stalin. At the end of the last century, Russia started a path towards a new pattern of life marked by freedom and modernisation that brought new perspective to the country. The problem for Russia is that the possibilities are enormous but it needs a new economic tissue to master the future in the positive way the population deserves. Russia has great elements in its favor. It has a great scientific capacity, it has the most impressive stock of natural resources, it has a common language in a very vast territory and it has a national feeling. It has also some important problems like a low life expectancy (just 59 for men!) it has a decreasing population

(from the 148 Million now to the 129 Million predictions say it will have in 2035) and the diversification of the economy does not take off. Apart from the Oil, Gaz and Commodities sector there is no big Russian company in any other sector with mayor presence in the world. For the size of the country, for the natural richness it has, for the great scientific capacities it shows, for the very clever and well educated population it has... the results are very poor. There is something that clearly does not work!

And in today's world, the advantages can become a problem and the problems can be source for new solutions. In the case of the EU and Russia it is clear for me that although the prospects are not good for each of them, if they joined forces the future could appear amazing for both. Why?

Let's start with the UE. It is clear that it needs an important exterior project to mobilise again the people in a new positive dynamic. Otherwise the Union is entering in a kind of introspective destructive movement. Joining forces with Russia would mean to create the most impressive internal market, have a totally well integrated economy from surplus in raw materials to the most sophisticated kind of industries (aerospatial, pharmaceutical, computers etc) and to encourage the young generation young to look ahead with ambition. It would also mean to reinforce the scientific capacity, the key element for being ahead in the XXIst Century in the era of globalisation.

For Russia it would mean to diversify the economy at high speed, as investment at the level of small and medium enterprises would flow. The impact on the population in terms of increase of purchasing power, employment and new labour perspectives would be tremendous. It would be essential also for taking advantage of the great scientific capacity. Once the former Russian Prime Minister, Anatoly Chubais, said "We the Russian we have been very good at transforming money into science but we have not been successful until now to transform science into money", referring to the difficulty of integrating science in the industrial civil activity. The capacity of the small and medium enterprises in the European Union to work with the Universities and the Scientific Communities to execute a good interlinkage between research and production would be extended very quickly to Russia. In general terms, the EU is the best partner for Russia in a modernisation process. Russia is a very vast country but all the processes of modernisation have always come from Europe through the connection with Saint Petersburg and Moscow. From there all innovations and new customs have penetrated in the rest of Russia. Some can think that the future must now be connected with Asia using the Asian dimension of the country. Those who say this, tend to take in little consideration the fact that the Asian part of the country is huge but scarcely populated (less than 20% of the total whereas represents 70% of the territory) and that by reinforcing the Asian connection and by having Asian partners as the new ones the will be a problem in the Union in the mid term. In addition to that there are many other considerations that play in favour of the EU connection; the proximity, the human connection, the history etc.

By joining forces the European Union and Russia would create a large civilized space of freedom and prosperity for over 800 Million people. It is true that in terms of population it will still be half of the Chinese one, but it

is also true that it will be much more articulated in terms of distribution of people and the social cohesion along all the territory. It will be nevertheless three times larger than the United States in terms of population and could become very quickly the most balanced superpower in the New World. And on this factor lies precisely the big problem: how to articulate politically this space in such way that it does not become dominated by a certain group of countries? How to build the political architecture of this space in order that it is a large space property of all the citizens? It is also true that it is on this issue that the United States is a very modelic Union: although it is called a Union of States it is in reality a Union of the Citizens. The Americans want to be Americans because there are certain core issues that make the Union attractive for all of them. The connection is of the American Citizen with America not the Illinois or Connecticut Citizen with America. So the great challenge is how in this big area that I call the "Large Europe", it is to say the EU and Russia, give birth to a political space that becomes an stable political entity that works for all their citizens. This is the great difficulty but at the same time it is the key issue that all the Citizens in this area should ask the politicians to work for. If this is the Acheeles Heel of Europe, this is the task to what Europe should devote the effort of the most brilliant people and politicians that could recruit.

To create the "Large Europe" is something that triggers all the alerts and fears of many different groups. First of all, it triggers the panic in the small countries existing along Europe, who have had too many bad experiences in the past with periods of large political entities, that have always oppressed their potential. Most of them are in the EU and they find this space very protective for their size because of the consensus mechanisms existing in its administrative machinery. They fear the existence of a large new project articulated under the old methods of centralisation and reduced circuits of power. I think they are totally right in their analysis. It is not possible to build this new space with the old methods. We have to build the Europe of the XXIst Century in which the Citizen is at the center and the States are just territories who help the local processes in order to favour a dynamic of harmony in all the territory. We can not think in a new Political space driven by four or five old large Nations. We have to think in a political space with common general rules that allow the population to develop their activity with predictability at large scale.

Then we have the problem of the global power the New entity may have. By large its geostrategic position in the world would be strengthened. Its position in the Security Council of the UN would be very prominent, The Global Army of the entity would be very impressive, the Scientific Capacity of the New Union would also be extraordinary. Some people can think that the ghost of a New Imperial Europe could re-emerge. It is true that a large consolidated power has a tendency to be involved in exterior initiatives. The history of the Superpowers in the world illustrates it very clearly. Large political and powerful entities always go for exterior actions. Sometimes they have to do it because of the responsibility to preserve a better order (the case of US vis a vis the Nazi expansion in Europe) sometimes they do it for more dubious purposes (Case of the US in irak). People in Europe are tired of being involved in wars and have embraced with relief the project of the EU as it means to have a large political space with no real capacity for ex-

terior military actions. The problem is that the capacity to perform this model has, is vanishing in the New World that now emerge. Europe has to reinvent itself. I think that the only solution is to be very conscious of the danger of becoming “imperial” and to orientate the new space from the very beginning to the concept of serving the citizens more than serving the honour of the nations.

Obviously there is also the problem of the perception of the others. Existing superpowers can be reluctant to the emergence of this new large space but we should be clever enough to build it. It goes our future in it, it goes the prosperity of all of us and the capacity to lead the future instead of “suffering” the future. We can not arrive late to this appointment with the destiny. We have to turn the problems into opportunities, the difficulties into solutions.

At this respect the present crisis in Ucraina can not be ignored. It is a very difficult situation the one existing there but I am convinced that we have to transform the dispute in Ucraina into the new link between Russia and the EU. We can not ignore that major crisis bring major achievement. First World War lead the world to the League of Nations, the first Global Organization. We can not forget that was the terrible confrontation between France and Germany and by extension all Europa through the II WW that was at the origine of the EU, the common project between the old enemies. It is certain that for many, many years, the people who had suffered the world in the worst consequences with the death of very close familiars did not see this reconcili-

ation with good eyes. But there were visionary leaders that took the driving seat of their Nations and were able to build the future in a much more positive manner. I think that the crisis in Ucraina is by far less important that all those other crisis but in the same way it could bring as positive outcome the arrival of a new era between Russia and the EU, a crisis that would allow all of us to name this large space with only one word: Europe.

We should understand very clearly that all nations, we are condemned to decline if we do not take the right decisions at the right moment. In the context of global competition with new emerging wealthy poles and very fast transformation of societies through constant technological innovation, we, at the european stage, we can not run after wrong tangets. Russia should not run under the ghost of playing at the XXth Century ststyle of areas of influence and The European Union should not run under the ghost that Russia is a danger or a non reliable partner. These ghosts can be seen as false baits that maybe some other have inducted us to believe in, but we can not be so blind not to realize it and reorientate our race towards the real hare. The Ucrainian crisis is deepening our divission and it is blocking our capacity to build a common future. Let’s be clever and take the opportunity to tun it into the link of the New Large Europe, the origin of a common new projet that show to the world that one of the oldest civilization in the world, Europe, is also becoming one of the driving civilizations of modern times, by having the right size for the new era.

Seyyed Mostafa Mohaghegh Ahmadabadi¹

HUMANE NATIONALITY VS UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS

Since the early stages, when the International Community started to conduct Human Rights regulations, there has been a question of incompatibility between the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the national sovereignty of member states. To this end, different schools of philosophy of law have emerged; among them is the Transnationalism School. It confers that the role of national sovereignty, considered as an obstruction in monitoring and execution of International Human Rights measurements, should be mitigated. Richard Falk, a proponent of this school, states: ‘without establishing a new World order, which would not rely on sovereignty of states, no International support would emerge over Human Rights and thus it all will be pushed aside’. The question here is how this may be possible? And when such a noble order could be materialized? On the other side, there are some ‘Pragmatic’ foreign policymakers who believe that the question of Human Rights should be framed within domestic affairs of states and is not an international issue; hence the principles of foreign policy do not apply here. Henry Kissinger is among the proponent of this school of thought.

Considering these two strands of thoughts, one may say that the Human Rights question which we face today, although it is a domestic affair in a sense that it refers to the

rights of every states, the first transnational thought seems more viable when the philosophical principles of Human Right thought and its emergence are taken into the account. Let me explain it in further details. Most scholars believe that the development of the concept of International Human Right is owed to the works of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), the German Philosopher of the Age of Enlightenment. In 1795, he published the essay, *Perpetual Peace: A Philosophical Sketch*, and proposed ‘Human Dignity’ and stated that there will be no end to hostilities until the time that people rule the states. He speaks of ‘Republican States’, within which the law is the core of nations’ life. He then continues and states that such governments are more capable to guarantee sustainable world peace.

Establishment of a Republican government based on a Constitution Law implies that people have rationally engaged in a social contract. Such a system indicates a great sense of ‘public will’. To this end, the Republic state has three foundations:

The Freedom Principle, as all members of society are free as they are human,

All members of the society, as citizen obey a coherent law, and

All citizens are equal vis-à-vis the law of the state.

Therefore, human and citizenship rights are among the very essential foundations of Republican orders. Moreover, the perpetual peace is not accessible unless there is separation and autonomy among Executive, Legislature, and Ju-

¹ Professor of Law & Islamic Philosophy at Shahid Beheshti University (Tehran, Iran). Ph.D., Chairman of Department of Islamic Studies at the Academy of Sciences of Islamic Republic of Iran. Author of a number of publications, including books “Religious Education”. Teaches disciplines of “The right of the personality” and “Islam philosophy”.

diciary powers. Yet establishment of such a state is conditional to rationality, justice, ethics, and authority that are all considered based on a concrete law.

Now you may ask how Republicanism, respecting Human and Citizenship Rights, would mitigate the chance of war and lessen the hostilities? Addressing this, I would say that when governments that do not have public support outbreak a war, eventually they are people who pay the humanitarian and financial costs of the conflict. Whereas, when people themselves become in charge of managing the society, their transcendent wisdom would perceive the viciousness of the war and as they likely behave rationally, the wars and conflicts are going to be eased down considering their devastating humanitarian and financial impact on people's lives.

In April 1919 and in the aftermath of the WWI, the Covenant of the League of Nations was drafted and eventually led to the foundation of the League of Nations, yet the Human Rights question was not addressed at the time; and as we all know, with foundation of the league, the International Community did not reach the peace. Nevertheless, the Human Rights question became the center of discussions in post WWII and the foundation of United Nations. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948, has an essential introduction and 30 articles representing global representation of inherited rights entitled by all humans.

The first sentence of the declaration's introduction, every fundamental principle has been addressed, which make the issue of human right as a global phenomenon, especially for governments and nations. This fundamental principle is acknowledging the unity of 'the Human Family'. Employing the freedom and global peace to the notion of human family, as how the declaration states, would also drive us to the transnationalism school. Through this declaration this principle is considered as the foundation for other principles such as brotherhood, equality, freedom, and etc.

Recognizing the concept of human family infers the theory of 'Global Citizenship' and refutes any sort of nationalist prejudices. Although this does not take national interest away, nobody can deny that believing the principles of human rights stipulates some other 'transnational interests' concerning the unity of human family. Acknowledging such unity is a first step of globalization, and also necessitates a new attitude towards the human society. Based on such attitude, global changes are not considered as unfavorable and the globalization itself is seen as a process within which opportunities have upper hand to that of threats, and as a requirement for whom willing to promote their national interests.

Nonetheless, what do we mean by 'nation' when we discuss about 'national interests'? Nation is defined as a large body of people who has common culture and historical backgrounds. What associates this body of people, whom have different ethnic backgrounds, languages, sects, belief schemes, and political interests, is the coherent 'national interests'. Therefore, until all members of the com-

prising sections of a nation are not convinced over their common destiny and good, they do not respect public and each other's gain and interests. Denying and not abiding by the common national interests would make a section and its partisan demands superior to the cost of other sections rights and would be devastating for other members of a given state. Such a conclusive attitude towards national interests is quite compatible with the philosophy of human rights as it constantly considers common interests and refutes that the ethnic and/or partisan interests to predominate the common interests.

Equivalent to their national interest, states may pursue to gain transnational interests as well, which are common among all humans and which mitigate the damaging avidity of one ethnic group or nation over others while decrease the chance of subsequent hostilities. In this sense, the Human Right thought, founded on the notion of unity of the human family, has been developed to prevent such unpleasant incidents; thus as much as the belief in principles of human rights would be elevated among human societies, the more unlikely become the outbreak of bloodsheds and wars.

The human tragedy that took place in former Yugoslavia was the result of blind insistence on blood superiority. Therefore, we witnessed that in the last decade of 20th century the conflict erupted the peace among different sects of the region and turned the financial and human resources to debris in matter of days. Based on historical evidences, the wars caused by racist insanities, in every period, were among the shortest yet the bloodiest and the most destructive ones. Whereas in contrary, there are multinational states in today's world, which due to their progressive and bright cultural status, each of the comprising groups do not consider their ethnic symbols as superior to that of other groups but equally appreciated. In such developed multinational states, the black skin of one citizen does not prohibit him from his human right in eyes of his white compatriot, thus all citizens of such a state live together peacefully. In these societies, the ethnic backgrounds diversities are not considered as a disadvantage but may most probably become a positive salient point for further development.

The Humankind equality is the main principle of all universal religions, including Islam. Indeed the general addressee of the Noble Quran is *Nās*, the humankind. In one of its verses, Quran acknowledges the Human Family Principle and considers the existence of different ethnics and races, only as a mean of interaction.

O mankind, indeed we have created you from male and female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. Indeed, Allah is Knowing and Acquainted (XLIX: 13).

Yet it is unfortunate, that today due to misunderstandings of religious texts, the partisans of different religions have engaged in conflict and war with each others and have forgotten that the common goal of all religions is to elevate and to welfare of humankind. To address this problem the solution is to recur to this main goal of religions and to exegesis their orders through a rational process.

Manuel F. Montes¹

THE COMBINATION OF GLOBAL AND NATIONAL INTERESTS AS THE CHALLENGE OF THE 21st CENTURY

The SDGs and the post-2015 Development Agenda

To¹ help mobilize the resources for a renewed development agenda beyond 2015, the General Assembly agreed in December 2013 to convene the third international conference on Financing for Development (FfD) in 13–16 July 2015 in Addis Ababa.

In 19 July 2014 the Open Working Group of the United Nations agreed on a draft of a set of 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (United Nations 2014a), making the first step toward a renewed development agenda. The effort to agree on the SDGs was seen as the follow up to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), whose end-date had been set to 2015. Aside from the 17 specific goals, the draft SDGs included 169 associated targets (United Nations (2014a).

The enlarged number of goals and associated targets reflects the UN community's ambitious conception of "sustainable development" defined in the 1992 Rio conference as the joint realization of the three dimensions of environmental recuperation/revitalization, social progress, and economic development.

The purpose of this piece is to explore the issues that will be the most likely subjects of negotiation and contention in the Addis conference.

The FfD conference is being held three months before a September 2015 UN Summit that is expected to agree on the post-2015 development agenda to succeed the MDGs. It is highly likely that the summit outcome will incorporate the draft SDGs.

Developing countries strove mightily to have the FfD conference precede the Summit because they have become increasingly skeptical of taking on new international obligations – implicit in the draft SDGs – without the resources and the enabling international economic environment to meet such commitments.

The Financing for Development Process

The FfD process, created in the "Monterrey Consensus" outcome document, seeks to "promote sustainable development" (United Nations 2003, paragraph 1). The global FfD agreement came in the wake of the late 1990s Asian financial crises which devastated economies renowned for their successful embrace of globalization. The new agreement sought to restore confidence in the international economic system. It features its own review process and, while it is a UN activity, officially engages the principal global economic governance institutions – the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organization (WTO), and UNCTAD. FfD also provides for the participation of civil society and the private sector in its deliberations.

FfD's substantive structure organized into six chapters of "leading actions" signifies the key areas where developing countries face both obstacles and opportunities in mobilizing financial resources to sustain long-term investment in new economic activities critical to promoting structural change. These six chapters deal with domestic resource mobilization, foreign direct investment and portfolio flows, international trade, official development assistance, external debt, and systemic issues (see United Nations 2003).

For example, the title of the first of the six leading actions, "mobilizing domestic financial resources for development" signals the fact that resources from domestic private savings – which require steady, non-volatile, macroeconomic growth – and government revenues provide the overwhelming bulk of financing for development. The choice of chapters embodies a delicate balancing act between the responsibilities of developing countries and those of international partners. One could make the argument, for example, that domestic resource mobilization is a sovereign matter, and not appropriate for interference from outside parties. However, developed country partners have taken on corresponding commitments, particularly in the other chapters. Since the FfD process began, the most visible discharge of obligations has been in domestic resource mobilization – by the developing countries. Tax revenues of developing countries more than doubled between 2002 and 2011, increasing from US\$838 billion to US\$1.86 trillion. On the balance, developing countries can be seen to be meeting their obligations more than their development partners are under the FfD process.

The Global Economic Situation

When the Third Financing for Development Conference takes place, the global economy will still be struggling to overcome the near collapse in 2007–08 of the international financial system. Unlike previous crises, the ongoing crisis originated in the developed countries.

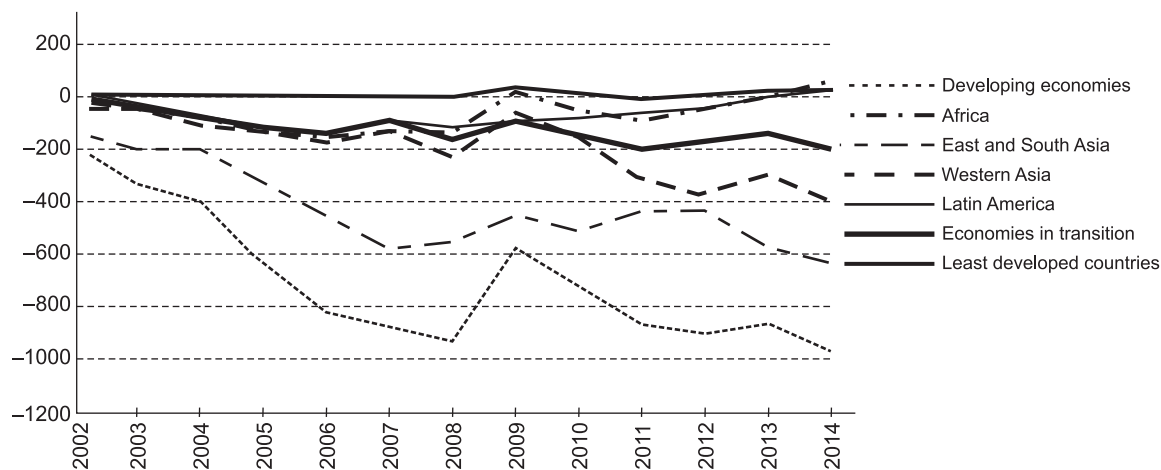
For the developing countries, the first reality the conference must address is that developing countries are net financial investors in developed country financial sectors. The international system is not mobilizing financing for development on a net basis in favor of developing countries. Central Banks in developing countries have been building up their international reserves as a form of self-insurance from any sudden reversal of private investment flows as had devastated East Asian economies in the late 1990s. Graph 1 tracks the financial flows between developing countries and developed countries after netting all the possible flows – official development assistance from developed to developing economies, private investment mostly from developed to developing countries, remittances mostly from developed to developing countries, payments for intellectual property rights mostly from developing to developed economies, and changes in international reserves mostly from developing to developed countries and so on. It indicates that for almost 20 years, the net flow of investment has been from developing to developed countries.

For developing that have do not have current account surpluses, a good proportion of their reserves are from external borrowing. If developing country authorities had greater con-

¹ Senior Advisor on Finance and Development, The South Centre (Geneva, Switzerland), Doctor of Economics. He was previously Chief of Development Strategies, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs; UNDP Regional Programme Coordinator, Asia Pacific Trade and Investment Initiative based at the Regional Centre in Colombo, Sri Lanka; Programme Officer for International Economic Policy at the Ford Foundation in New York, 1999–2005; Coordinator for economics studies at the East-West Centre in Honolulu, 1989–1999; and Associate Professor of Economics at the University of The Philippines, 1981–1989. His publications have been in macroeconomic policy, development strategy, income inequality, climate change financing and industrial policy. He holds a Ph.D. in Economics from Stanford University.

confidence in the ability of the IMF to provide adequate, timely, and counter-cyclical liquidity in the event of private sector portfolio reversals they would reduce their reserve accumulation. The IMF is, after all, by design meant to be a cooperative among its members for emergency liquidity support.

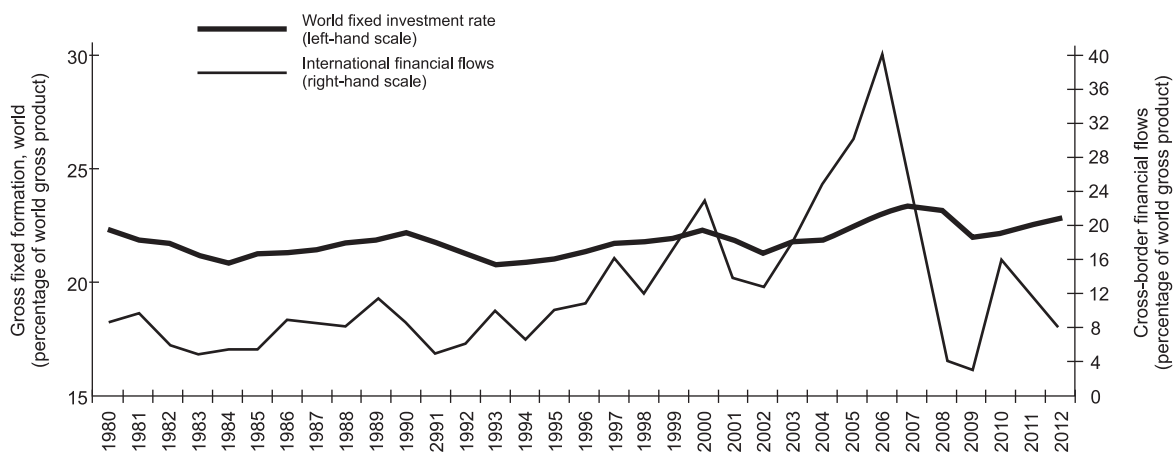
These self-insurance reserves would also be reduced with better international financial regulation. This gap is included as draft SDG target 10.5: “improve regulation and monitoring of global financial markets and institutions and strengthen implementation of such regulations” (United Nations 2012a).



Graph 1: The scale and pattern of net transfers of financial resources from developing to developed countries¹

In 2015, developing and non-reserve issuing countries such as the Russian Federation face another external shock, not of their making, with the looming increase in US interest rates and reversal of private portfolio flows. In 1980, the US Federal Reserve’s decision to raise interest rates of 20 per cent almost overnight to tame US inflation sparked widespread debt crises in the developing world. Developing country international reserves can stem some of the potential problem but whether they are large enough is untested.

The international economy is now shorn of many of the public policy tools to monitor and control volatile private capital movements. The theory was that allowing freer capital movements would increase the availability of financing for developing countries and thus raise the rate of investment. The availability of private financing did increase for a while until it collapsed with the financial crisis of 2007-08. Unfortunately, even in the years of explosive private financing flows, the actual result has been little or no increase in the rate of investment worldwide (Graph 2).



Graph 2: Liberalized private capital flows have little or no impact on the global rate of investment

The record suggests that the underlying issue is **not the availability of finance**, both public and private, but the lack of demand for investment, for which the serious loss of public policy space is a large contributor. For example, mobilizing financing, such as through infrastructure facilities, will not increase fixed investment unless countries are able to have policy space to design and undertake such infrastructure projects according to their national priorities.

The seemingly sudden, recent discovery of a global infrastructure gap is the culmination of years of procyclical public expenditure policies in developing countries to meet fixed public sector deficits ceilings (see Development Committee 2006; and subsequent country studies published in 2006–2007). To meet public sector deficit ceilings, many developing country governments cut investment expenditures in infrastructure and also relied on MDG-motivated aid to try to protect social expenditures. The Development Committee (2006) analysis suggests that delayed infrastruc-

¹ Source: United Nations (2015). Fig. III.1. P. 65.

ture spending compromises developing country medium-term growth prospects by inhibiting private investment due to inadequate infrastructure, such as energy supply.

While the strength of the interest rate-exchange rate-inflation rate connections vary by country, restoring capabilities for *capital account* management or regulation is critical to create some public policy space to sustain domestic demand for long-term investment. Capital controls are also critical to make feasible incomes policies to reduce inequality, increase wage rates, and expand public taxation/expenditures for social objectives.

Estimates of the scale of financing flows needed for the SDGs and the post-2015 development agenda come to numbers of great magnitude but well within the capacity of the global system to fund. The August 2014 report of the “Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing” (ICESDF) (United Nations 2014b) indicated that the global economy generates savings of \$22 trillion annually (United Nations 2014, paragraph 36). The ICESDF estimate is that for infrastructure alone \$5–7 trillion annually would be required and for eradicating extreme poverty \$66 billion annually (United Nations 2014, paragraph 33). There are of course overlaps among the possible areas of financing because, for example, if infrastructure investment can be channeled to increase employment of the unskilled it can help reduce extreme poverty. Investment in renewable energy supply, if it can be afforded in developing countries, enlarges access to modern water, sanitation, and electricity services and reduces the incidence of disease.

Policy debates in the Open Working Group provide a view of the debates that will attend the FfD negotiations. Two areas are prominent:

1. The mix of private versus public development financing
2. The contrast between placing priority on the scale and direction of financing flows versus constructing an international environment conducive to financing development.

Within these two debates, the questions of financing climate change actions have also been raised with a view toward the 2015 UN summit in Paris on climate change.

Private versus Public Financing Flows

The FfD process pays attention to both public and private financing, and how public sector actions mobilize private development finance. Chapter 2, “Mobilizing international resources for development: foreign direct investment and other private flows,” is devoted solely to private flows. However, all other chapters discuss the private sector’s role in their respective area.

From the start, FfD agreements recognized the potential of public-private partnerships. But FfD has also recognized the primacy of national priorities and the critical role that states play in channeling private financing toward these priorities. It is therefore important that the contrasting and mutually reinforcing financing roles of the public and private sectors are strengthened and many lessons learnt from actually implementing these partnerships embraced.

Recent debates however point to the prospect that the arithmetically dominant role the private sector has always played in finance in market economies is being (a) erroneously confused with the idea that the private sector finance can substitute for the public sector in financing develop-

ment and (b) used to justify the channeling of public sector funding, including ODA, to subsidize and mitigate the risk of private sector investment projects. Public sector infrastructure projects, for example, are often funded by the flotation of government bonds to the private sector. However, this cannot be interpreted to mean that the private sector can undertake the same projects on its own nor is it the dominant development actor, even though arithmetically, even as the private sector provided all of the financing by purchasing the project’s government bonds. Public sector guarantees for private sector bond flotations for infrastructure projects can also be provided. However, the public sector must be careful not to end up holding all the project risk, otherwise it might as well undertake the projects itself, and avoid creating fantastic private wealth with limited social return.

ODA and public-private partnerships

Pleading straitened public finances because of the global economic crisis, developed countries have recently emphasized the role of private development financing to substitute for ODA. Even before their current difficulties, developed countries, except for a few mostly Nordic countries, had not reached their ODA targets. Paragraph 42 of the Monterrey Consensus, reaffirmed developed countries’ commitment to “0.7 per cent of gross national product (GNP) as ODA to developing countries and 0.15 to 0.20 per cent of GNP of developed countries to least developed countries” (United Nations 2003). The actual performance has been less half of the targets: 0.3 for ODA to all developing countries in 2013 and 0.9 ODA to LDCs in 2012. Recently reported ODA figures to LDCs are also skewed by the large swings in aid to Afghanistan and by the debt write off to Myanmar in 2012.

For LDCs, private sector financing cannot substitute for ODA. First, ODA can contribute as much as 40 per cent of the public finances of some LDCs rely up to on ODA; this dependence cannot be changed overnight and will require a transition period. Second, domestic financial markets LDCs are underdeveloped, with very limited availability of financial instruments through which foreign financiers can to channel financing. Financing from trade surpluses is unstable and can be negative. Many LDCs are commodity exporters and benefited from the high commodity prices before the current economic crisis. The historical pattern of commodity booms being followed by busts presages difficult development financing prospects in the medium term for many LDCs and other commodity exporters.

With the active support of OECD there is also a discussion on the “modernization of ODA” in which the most prominent proposed innovation is the increased use of ODA to “mitigate the risk” of private investment projects. By this method, donors hope to amplify or “leverage” their ODA flows by the amount of private investment that is facilitated.

The first question this raises is whether, in the universe of possible uses of ODA money, the private sector is always a necessary partner in the projects with the highest priority, for example the question of facilitating institutional advances in LDC countries to reduce their public revenue dependence on ODA. Is there really a paucity of projects which the public sectors of both donor and recipient countries can jointly undertake unless there is private sector participation? One need only point to the implied financing requirements in the Istanbul Programme of Action to illustrate the scale of unmet ODA needs.

The second question is: Whose private sector risk will be mitigated by “leveraged ODA” flows? If private sector risk from the donor country is being mitigated, then leveraged ODA would be tied aid, in the same way that donor countries like to count hosting foreign students or writing down their debt service claims on aid recipient countries as ODA. Will upgrading the capabilities of private companies from donor countries through leveraged ODA crowd out the building of indigenous private sectors in developing countries?

The ICESDF report (United Nations 2014b) report highlighted the potential of public-private partnerships (PPP) to mobilize financing for infrastructure projects. These approaches hold out the possibility of easing public sector contributions to financing critical projects by relying on the private sector to raise part of the financing through loans to be serviced from the operational revenues of the project. However, PPP has seen many notable failures even in the developed countries, such as the 2002–03 upgrading of the London Underground where private debt subsequently became a liability of the Crown when private partners were unable to service their loans (Ahmad 2014). The ICESDF report itself cautioned that “poorly designed public private partnerships and other blended structures can lead to high returns for the private partner, while the public partner retains all the risks” (United Nations 2014b, paragraph 135).

Climate finance

So far financing flows for climate change action utilize an ODA “modality” – through the climate investment funds under the World Bank, for example. The 1992 UN framework convention on climate change assigned to developed countries the obligation of providing finance to developing countries so that the latter could undertake mitigation and adaptation actions. Under the framework convention, financing climate action is not supposed to be a voluntary act on the part of developed countries but a public sector obligation within the burden sharing system of the global effort to combat climate change.

Participating countries in the framework convention agreed in December 2010 to mobilize \$100 billion per year to finance climate action in developing countries “from a wide variety of sources, public and private, bilateral and multilateral, including alternative sources” (UNFCCC 2011, paragraph 99). It is likely that climate change finance will stay within the climate change framework. However, this developed country promise is an instance in which the public sector of these countries has appeared to commit financing actions on the part of the private sector. Are these governments authorized to make such commitments on behalf of their private sectors? How firm and enforceable, not to say verifiable, is performance on these commitments?

External Debt

Debtor countries have long sought a rules-based, non-arbitrary, predictable, comprehensive and timely process for resolving their external debt crises. External debt is a whole chapter in the Monterrey process and debt resolution has an important public-private dimension. Private external debt, rather than sovereign international bonds, was the major culprit in the largest emerging economy crises in recent times, including the 1990s Asian crisis which provided the impetus to the Monterrey Consensus and the Eurozone cri-

ses in Spain, Ireland, and Portugal. Unlike in domestic contexts where bankruptcy procedures apply, international debt resolution has been a messy affair, where states have been compelled to absorb private indebtedness, undertake austerity programs to cope with public deficits bloated by new debt service obligations, and apply other taxpayer resources, including those in international institutions such as the IMF, to bail out the private sector.

Since the Asian crisis, calls to change the process to “bail in” the private sector, and to prevent vulture funds from profiting from an unruly system, have re-emerged. In 2003, paragraph 51 of the Monterrey Consensus, already called for “fair burden-sharing between public and private sectors and between debtors, creditors and investors,” a demand that is unfulfilled. In September 2014, developing countries overwhelmingly outvoted developed countries in the UN General Assembly to force the start of negotiations toward creating a multilateral legal framework for debt resolution.

Portfolio Motives as Dominant Private Investment Modality

A most fashionable thought these days is that there is a large unfilled gap in infrastructure investment. The fashionable thought is that infrastructure projects need to attract large financing flows to promote development and, therefore, it is essential to persuade “the private sector” to increase their investments in developing countries. But this premise is defective because the private sector is already a big short-term investor in developing countries and it may never provide the long-term finance required by infrastructure projects.

However, the private sector is “investing” huge amounts in emerging developing countries – about \$400 billion per year (net financial inflows) before and after the onset of the global financial crisis. Their investments mainly consist of short-term asset positions driven by rapid changes in the mood of global investors. For example, in 2007, emerging market countries experienced private sector incoming flows of \$1.2 trillion and outgoing flows of \$825 million for net inflows of \$460 million. In 2010, the equivalent figures were \$908 million incoming and \$500 million outgoing, with net private capital inflows of \$408 million to developing country emerging economies. This simultaneous and frenzied level of to-ing and fro-ing can prove unnerving in the small economies and foreign exchange markets of developing countries.

It is also fashionable to insist that countries require an open and enabling business environment in order to attract and retain investment flows. This is a “coded” policy message calling for the removal of capital account regulations. This policy is misguided since, capital account regulations are not meant to cage in external investors or rich locals with connections to invest abroad. They are needed to maintain a sound domestic financial sector. These regulations also nurture a long-term investment climate by containing the adverse impact on national exchange and interest rates of international private mood swings and developed country policy pivots.

In the coming two years, these portfolio driven investments will, on the net, reverse direction and the assets will move back to the United States and some relatively safe economies in Europe (the Eurozone will still be an unattractive destination). A rehearsal for macroeconomic dis-

locations of capital flows reversals occurred in April-May 2013, when the Federal Reserve announced its intention to end its quantitative easing program. Exchange rates fell quickly in the major developing countries (including India, South Africa, and Brazil), losing as much as ten per cent in value in the space of a week, despite the fact that the only thing the Federal Reserve did was to make an announcement that it would continue “printing money” to buy bonds, but at a gently decreasing rate, which it did for more than 12 months afterwards. This is an example of a private sector mood swing, which illustrates why private portfolio investments in its currently unregulated form are an unsuitable source of financing for infrastructure or for other types of long term investment projects.

A Global System Conducive to Financing Development

The FfD process has consistently treated (1) the scale and direction of financing for development and (2) the institutional environment as two sides of the same coin. Moreover, both the domestic and international environments are also intimately connected. Developing countries, for example, can mobilize domestic financing from national savings and taxes for development, but such an effort can be undone by capital flight and tax evasion, if international cooperation is inadequate to monitor and reduce these illegal flows.

It is therefore important for the Addis outcome to make distinct progress and to incorporate means of monitoring and accountability in the building of a global system conducive to financing development. Organized according to the six Monterrey leading actions chapters, here are some critical areas where institutional progress has to be achieved.

Mobilizing domestic financial resources for development

Public domestic finance in developing countries more than doubled between 2002 and 2011, increasing from US\$838 billion to US\$1.86 trillion. This bright spot in the FfD process must be strengthened with international cooperation. Among these actions are:

1. Upgrade international tax cooperation and multilateral efforts against capital flight. Institutional innovation, including moving more of this effort in the United Nations and raising its intergovernmental character, instead of relying heavily on the OECD, can have a large impact not only for reasons of universality, equity, and transparency. The OECD, dominated by the countries of the large transnational corporations and financial companies, has found difficulty in arriving at simpler and practical approaches to the reporting/regulation of financial movements and the treatment of transfer pricing.

2. Redesign and renegotiate contracts in natural resource sectors to increase royalties and revenues. Increase the progressivity of domestic tax systems. Selectively raise tariff rates consistent with progressivity and increased reliance on domestic demand.

3. Further development of domestic financial systems in developing countries to mobilize greater long-term finance. In the first place, this will require not only better domestic financial regulation and supervision and capital account controls. There is a need for external support to make capital management tools effective in developing countries; this will be impossible without more effective financial regula-

tion and supervision in the developed countries and financial centres, even if only to generate timely information for developing countries on assets and liabilities of their citizens abroad and their foreign investors.

4. The further development of domestic financial systems in developing countries will also require the increase in the operation of long-term financial intermediators such as development banks and the building up of a domestic investor base. The emergence of new sources of international finance, such as the BRICS' New Development Bank and possibly the Green Climate Fund, will require the creation and strengthening of domestic financial institutions that can program long-term finance.

5. Support productive engagement in all countries in public-private partnerships by improving public sector capacities to design and negotiate contracts that minimize information asymmetries among the parties and permits fair risk sharing.

Mobilizing international resources for development: foreign direct investment and other private flows

Private sector investments in developing countries are dominated by portfolio motives. The effective regulation of portfolio flows of private investors, now constituting the major proportion of existing flows and a significant proportion of national financial sectors in many developing countries, should be a priority going forward. The dominance of these kinds of flows that can reverse direction in herd fashion has encouraged “beggar-thy-neighbor” policies that foster short-term investment through deregulation and harmful tax competition. Based on lessons learnt, important progress can be made in:

1. Effective regulation of capital movements and portfolio flows to discourage short-term positions and to encourage greater inflow of long-term institutional investors.

2. Strengthened and effective regulation of foreign banking operations in domestic financial sectors, including requiring foreign banks to be subject to national capital controls and operations through a domestic subsidiary, instead of through branch operations

3. Promote the registration of all foreign investment and allow only registered investments access to national investor protections. All foreign investors must recognize the state's rights in exercising policy actions for public purposes. Support developing country efforts to negotiate investment agreements which provide investor protection in exchange for investor responsibilities.

4. Because of the greater potential for data availability, start the data revolution in the area of reporting and monitoring of foreign investment operations and capital flows. At the international level, promote and expand the enterprise identification system and the identification of beneficiary owners of overseas assets.

International trade as an engine for development

Activities in the trade area are mainly situated in the World Trade Organization (WTO) and in the proliferation of free trade agreements (FTA). A recent development has been the process of negotiating mega regional trade agreements with the US at the centre in the TransPacific Partnership and the TransAtlantic Trade and Investment Partnership. In general, less-than-multilateral trade agreements contain more stringent restrictions on national policies; strengthening the

effectiveness of the multilateral trade regime to facilitate development is important. As explained above, increasing financing will not raise fixed capital investment rates if policy space for undertake such investment is unduly inhibited by international obligations either through the rules themselves or by reducing expected private returns to investment. Many of these restrictions are in the trade regime.

1. The FfD outcome should imitate a process of review of multilateral, bilateral, and other treaties that prevent developing countries from raising their long-term investment rates. These processes could begin with expert studies and would be reported out and discussed in the periodic FfD meetings.

2. New information and interest in global value chains (GVCs) raises the possibility of an international discussion based on lessons learnt on how to harness the activities of international corporations for development. The FfD process should facilitate discussions on the development impact of GVCs for development and how domestic policies and global rules can be reshaped to mitigate their adverse and maximize their beneficial impact. For the most part, developing countries have not been able to capture a significant proportion of the value added from these chains, many of which enjoy monopolistic positions in global markets.

3. As has been called for in the draft SDGs, progress has to be made to reform of the agricultural subsidy regime which undermines livelihoods and food security in many developing countries.

4. After 20 years, sufficient data is becoming available to evaluate the impact of the international intellectual property regime (IPR) enforced through trade sanctions in the WTO. Review efforts on the impacts of this regime are starting in academic circles. The FfD process should support such studies and consider how their results could generate suggestions for reshaping the IPR regime and to mitigate its adverse developmental and human rights impacts. This reconfiguring is also important because sustaining growth rates in developing countries while reducing emission requires new technologies being adapted in those countries, where the mitigation and adaptation potentials are greatest.

5. Strengthen state capabilities in designing and implementing performance requirements on foreign investors such as local content and domestic hiring. These tools help ensure host countries can benefit from foreign investment. Initiate a review of WTO and FTA disciplines which unduly restrict space for regulating foreign investment.

6. Recent successful experiences of developing countries (such as Indonesia and Kenya) in applying export taxes to mobilize investment in domestic processing and new tax revenue has created interest in export taxes. Future FTAs should not include restrictions against such policies. International development organizations should assist developing countries to consider and develop these kinds of policies.

Increasing international financial and technical cooperation for development

This chapter is about “ODA.” The Monterrey Consensus called for “[E]ffective partnerships among donors and recipients... based on the recognition of national leadership and ownership of development plans” (United Nations 2003, paragraph 40). This was the basis of the aid effec-

tiveness agenda launched in Paris in 2005, which led to important proposed disciplines on donors and mobilized political support. This agenda has slowed down considerably, particularly after a failure to eliminate policy conditionality in 2008. The agenda has mutated into an effort, not very successful, to sustain ODA levels and draw in new countries into the process. Reviving this effort will require a return to pursuing the basic principles associated with national leadership and ownership of development policy, and moving the effort back to the UN.

1. Eliminate policy conditionality in ODA. This will also require the redesign of grant-making processes and safeguards to facilitate meeting ODA objectives.

2. Donor countries must commit to a time schedule to achieve the 0.7 GNI target for ODA.

3. The FfD process should incorporate in its deliberations proposals in the donor community to redefine the meaning and the measurement of development assistance; these discussions might not be completed in time for Addis, but further discussions should be part of the FfD work plan. The FfD process must facilitate intergovernmental analyses and discussions to enhance mutual knowledge and coordination with regard to the reprogramming and “leveraging” of development assistance in favor of mitigating private sector risk in investing in developing countries.

4. UN member states should commit to restore core funding to UN development agencies. These resources are critical to supporting forward-looking critical analysis of development strategies and their impact.

5. The FfD approach of including the IMF, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization in ODA discussions of development strategy should be strengthened. Developing countries have experienced the largest reversals in during debt crisis episodes including through the economic reform programs – under the auspices of the IMF and the World Bank and coordinated with donor countries – triggered by these episodes. With the immediate prospect of commodity busts and balance of payments difficulties, the FfD process must become more effective in drawing all the key international agencies.

External debt

The burgeoning new global effort toward a multilateral legal framework for sovereign is anchored in the General Assembly process based on the 9 September 2014 resolution A/68/L.57/Rev1. The Addis outcome will have to recognize any progress made in the General Assembly. The elements of a rules-based, comprehensive, and equitable debt resolution process are well known. Intergovernmental agreement has to be reached on these elements to facilitate implementation. The FfD process should be tasked to facilitate the process and support both formal and informal monitoring of its progress. The key elements of an international debt resolution regime that facilitates financing development are the following:

1. The main objectives of an international debt resolution process should be (1) to avoid liquidity crises spiraling into solvency crisis and (2) in an insolvency situation to make sure that outcomes restore the basis for future growth and access to credit markets.

2. The process must be comprehensive and include both public and private debt, and all the modalities of external indebtedness. All parties should be bailed-in in an equita-

ble and transparent manner in any debt reprofiling or restructuring.

3. The process will be a mix of voluntary (“market” or “contractual”) and statutory features. Voluntary approaches can be most effective in normal conditions and in early stages of debt difficulties. Market-based features such as collective action clauses need to be reconfigured to facilitate debt reprofiling and voluntary resolution of servicing interruptions. Debt sustainability assessments need to be more timely and more credible to all stakeholders. It could prove to be necessary to locate these evaluations outside of creditor institutions, instead of, as they are now, in the World Bank, a creditor institution. The Addis outcome can address this shortcoming by facilitating the creation of debt sustainability assessment process outside a creditor institution.

4. The recent vulture fund controversies involving Argentina prove the limits of market-based approaches. Statutory tools are necessary to avoid a disorderly spiraling into insolvency and to corral private actors from intervening to undermine the integrity of voluntary, market-based processes. Installing statutory features will require domestic legislative changes in the jurisdictions where debt is issued. One recent example is the reform instituted in the UK legal system in response to the spate of vulture fund actions against HIPC countries, when private parties sought to “raid” new public sector resources created by debt write-downs of claims of international financial institutions.

5. The practicability of statutory approaches will require the legitimation of and material support for standstills on payments by debtors. These tools include exchange controls, lending into arrears by the IMF, and giving debt seniority to credit provided after the declaration of a standstill. New resources provided after a standstill should be used to protect growth and finance necessary imports, not towards servicing of pre-standstill debt claims.

6. The practicability of statutory approaches will also require eliminating the current dependence of restructuring processes on creditor and donor dominated fora, such as the Paris Club. Conflicts-of-interest, a violation of a basic principle of good governance, are characteristic of creditor-dominated debt restructuring fora. A statutory process will require that an independent body determine whether a standstill is justified; this independent body does not have to be a standing institution, but it could also be. The Addis outcome can facilitate this reform as a practical application of the FfD parties’ commitment to “good governance at all levels” (United Nations 2003, paragraph 4).

Addressing systemic issues: enhancing the coherence and consistency of the international monetary, financial and trading systems in support of development

That developing countries, as a group, are net investors in developed countries is a reflection of the deep systemic trapdoors in the global financial system. The ongoing and unresolved financial crisis which originated in the developed countries and now threatens to engulf developing countries in balance of payments crises is another indicator. The Addis outcome must revive the effort at systemic reforms that animated the Monterrey Consensus. The FfD process should monitor progress on these reforms.

1. Make progress in international cooperative efforts to strengthen financial regulation and supervision of systemically important financial companies. In 2009, the UN Sec-

retary-General called for (United Nations 2009, paragraph 53): “Reforms... reshaping regulatory systems to identify and take account of macroprudential risks; expanding the perimeter of regulation and oversight to all systemically important financial institutions, instruments and markets; mitigating procyclicality in prudential regulation; strengthening capital and risk management; reorienting principles on executive remuneration to minimize reckless risk-taking; and improving standards on valuation and provisioning. In a financially integrated world with competing national financial centres in which financial companies can choose to locate specific activities in order to exploit regulatory advantage, these reforms will be successful only if coordinated internationally.” Developed countries, especially those hosting financial centres, must take the lead in financial re-regulation. The FfD process should deliberate on whether the extent of regulatory reform is sufficient and on whether backtracking on initial regulatory reforms as a result of lobbying by large financial companies reintroduces vulnerabilities to financing for development.

2. Support developing country efforts to regulate their capital accounts and to strengthen regulation and supervision of their domestic financial sectors.

3. Initiate a process of designing and agreeing to international disciplines on reserve-issuing countries. Facilitate efforts to steadily reduce the dependence of the global payments system on the US dollar. The IMF can issue new SDRs annually at a level consistent with the growth of world trade. The new issues can be allocated to members most in need of shoring up their reserves. Special temporary SDRs allocations can also be issued in time of global slowdowns.

In 2009, the UN Secretary-General found that (United Nations 2009, paragraph 55): “The ongoing financial crisis has sparked a discussion among world leaders of the deficiencies of the present international monetary system in which a national currency, the United States dollar, serves as a dominant source of international foreign exchange reserves... Reforming a global reserve system so that it can provide a stable foundation to growing trade volumes and financing for development will require either supplementary disciplines on dollar emission and/or a purposeful evolution towards a truly global currency reserve system. Technically, it should be possible to move forward on a mix of both, recognizing the difficult political constraints that have to be overcome in making the progress needed in this critical matter.”

4. Complete governance reforms in the IMF. As an application of the FfD parties’ commitment to “good governance at all levels” (United Nations 2003, paragraph 4), initiate assessments and international discussions and facilitate governance reforms in critical international bodies, such as ICSID, and private standard setting bodies, such as IOSCO and FASB, which have an impact but limited public accountability on the determination of tax liabilities of international corporations, the regulation of finance, and the public sector policy space.

Re-Sovereignization to Humanize the Second Coming of Globalization

The world is undergoing the second period of globalization. The first period ended in 1914, and led to two world wars, destruction and dislocation, millions of deaths. The

first version of globalization did not prove to sustainable and ended destroying itself.

The rules and mechanisms of the first version of globalization planted the seeds of its destruction. Even though the global economy was very productive and created great wealth for some, it was based on the subjugation of peoples through colonialism, the irresponsible devastation of natural resources, and the political domination of small elites which competed with each other. Under the rules of the first globalization, nation-states competed with each other in terms of control of territory, commercial control, and arms.

The global community vowed after World War II to learn from the lessons from these catastrophes and created institutions to prevent their recurrence, including the United Nations. National authorities were assigned the responsibility to respect, protect and fulfil individual human rights. Commensurate with these responsibilities, national authorities were assigned full sovereignty over their resources and the supervision of their private sectors,

The pressures of globalization are forcing the retreat from these rules and the weakening of the capabilities and corresponding responsibilities of national leaders. In order to compete for investment, particularly for foreign investment, states are reducing their taxes and regulations over the private sector and suppressing the demands of their populations for higher incomes and standards of living.

These kinds of trends are important in the European economic space. European countries feel intense pressure to compete with other economic powers and have been sacrificing social protections and reducing the social contract of states to their citizens.

When the debt crisis of the 2007–08 erupted, policy choices privileged bailing out private creditors, imposing the costs on public spending, employment especially of those starting out their careers, and the maintenance of critical services and infrastructure.

As discussed by some economists, such as Dani Rodrik, there is a TRI-lemmas created by globalization on state capabilities. Under globalizations, nations cannot have three things at the same time – (1) democratic politics, (2) national sovereignty and (3) deep global integration. Nations have to limit their pursuit of one of these in order to have more of the the other two.

The system created after World War II, from the lessons of the 20th century, severely restricted deep global integration in order to make possible national sovereignty and democratic politics. Unfortunately global rules – mainly oriented toward competing for private investment – are forcing nations to compete with each other, and forcing them to either give up democratic politics or national sovereignty.

The choice of Europe is to reduce or limit the extreme global integration in order to protect democratic politics. Otherwise, global integration will promote extremist political movements which will ultimately destroy democratic politics as it did in the 20th century.

It is important to recognize that the global economic system, while it is nominally or formally, in favour of democratic politics, is not really committed to the protection of democracy or to its promotion. As stated earlier, the global economic system protects dominant private players, particularly those in the financial sector.

The global system is high unstable, but this is to benefit of economically dominant countries. While no one wants instability, it happens to be very convenient for countries with control over large financial resources.

What is at stake is an international enabling environment so that less powerful countries – not just the two or three that are dominant – can pursue their development and fulfil their human rights obligations to their citizens. The term “systemic issues” is used to point to imbalances in the international system. The term recognizes that there are serious flaws in the international system that can serve as obstacles to development.

There are two main kinds: First, is to make sure that the international system does no harm, and that it facilitates, instead of obstructs, people-oriented policies. The second is that question of good governance at the international level which comes from imbalances in power and influence.

There are many harmful features in the international system.

Developing countries, as a group, are net financial investors into the developed countries for almost 20 years. Their central banks have been buying insurance against unstable private flows, the kind that devastated the Asian economies in the late 1990s. The IMF system was supposed to provide a pooled reserve to reduce the need for large individual country reserves but (1) countries cannot trust that the IMF will not worsen the problem when they are called upon and (2) with private capital flowing freely, even the IMF resources are now too small for the purpose.

There is plentiful private capital, but as even the inter-governmental experts on sustainable development finance report puts it, the money is going to the wrong places. It is not available for long-term purposes which is what is needed for social and economic development. Private funds are invested mainly as portfolio placements that can move out in response to even small changes in interest rates.

Regulating capital flows at the international level through concerted and cooperative country regulation is therefore an important element for international cooperation. There is a common responsibility to regulate private capital flows because any under-regulated jurisdiction can attract all the private investment and cause trouble for others, but the responsibility is differentiated because there is a great diversity in size and sophistication of financial markets.

In the systemic issue of global governance, the most well-known problem are imbalances in voting weights in the IMF which do not reflect the change global economic structure.

Even more important are imbalances in the system due to differing economic weight and capabilities. As a result, other countries lose policy space, while the powerful have all the tools to protect themselves and to choose which countries to support economically. The US, Europe, and other developed countries have enormous power to quickly provide \$17 billion in financing for Ukraine, even with great uncertainty whether that country can undertake economic reform.

Keeping the imbalances and instability, does not create a predictable regime, but it keeps the control and discretion with powerful countries. In the 2007–2008 crisis, the US Federal Reserve Bank provided swap facilities (without conditions for economic reform which IMF programs

require) to 14 central banks. This gives the US the power to decide who to rescue; among the 14 given emergency funds was the Brazilian central bank, but this was before the electronic spying scandal erupted. Nobody wants instability and unpredictability, but it preserves discretion and control over other economies on the part of powerful economies.

These imbalances provide policy space to economically powerful countries, to undertake their own national policies even if they have adverse impact on the economies of the weaker countries. This impunity does not motivate powerful countries to have policies more consistent with good long-term outcomes internationally. These are genuine obstacles to people-oriented economic policies but also provide the seeds for the collapse of globalization as it is being practiced at this point in time.

Humanizing the process of globalization will require restoring national capabilities and relocating decisions now reserved for international authorities and markets back to national control. Otherwise, just like the first version of globalization which had taught humanity many lessons, the world will retreat back into isolationism, regional divisions, and an increased reliance on violence and war to resolve conflicts.

References

- Ahmad, Etishad (2014) "Public Finance Underpinnings for Infrastructure Financing in Developing Countries." London School of Economics and Political Science. February 2014.
- Development Committee (2006) "Fiscal Policy for Growth and Development." Washington DC: Joint Ministerial Committee of the Boards of Governors of the Bank and the Fund On the Transfer of Real Resources to Developing Countries. DC2006-0003. April 6, 2006 Available at <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/DEVCOMMINT/Docu->

mentation/20890698/DC2006-0003%28E%29-FiscalPolicy.pdf, accessed 28 November 2014.

OECD (2014) "Aid to developing countries rebounds in 2013 to reach an all time high." Available at <http://www.oecd.org/newsroom/aidtodevelopingcountriesreboundsin2013toreachanalltimehigh.htm>, accessed 19 January 2015.

UNFCCC (2011) Report of the Conference of the Parties on its sixteenth session, held in Cancun from 29 November to 10 December 2010. FCCC/CP/2010/7/Add.1, English language version available at <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2010/cop16/eng/07a01.pdf>, accessed 28 November 2014.

United Nations (2003) The Monterrey Consensus. The final text of agreements and commitments adopted at the International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002. Available at <http://www.un.org/esa/ffd/monterrey/Monterrey-Consensus.pdf>, accessed 28 November 2014.

(2009) Follow-up to and implementation of the Monterrey Consensus and Doha Declaration on Financing for Development: Report of the Secretary-General. A/64/322. New York. 25 August 2009.

(2012a) The Future We Want. New York. United Nations General Assembly A/RES/66/288. 11 September 2012. English language version available at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/RES/66/288&Lang=E, accessed 20 September 2012.

(2014a) Report of the Open Working Group of the General Assembly on Sustainable Development Goals. New York. United Nations General Assembly A/68/970. 12 August 2014. English language version available at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=a/68/970&referer=/english/&Lang=E, accessed 28 November 2014.

(2014b) Report of the Report of the Intergovernmental Committee of Experts on Sustainable Development Financing. United Nations General Assembly A/69/315. 15 August 2014. English language version available at http://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/69/315&Lang=E, accessed 20 September 2014.

(2014c) Synthesis report of the Secretary-General on the post-2015 sustainable development agenda. New York. United Nations General Assembly, A/69/700. 4 December 2014.

(2015) World Economic Situation and Prospects. New York. United Nations publication Sales No. E.14.II.C.2.

Miguel Angel Moratinos¹

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS. CONFRONTING THE MAJOR CHALLENGE; TIME FOR ACTION

Twenty-five years later the fall of the Berlin Wall, unpredictability and uncertainty still govern a global scene made of contradicting trends and complex transformations. If a sharp decline in the number of wars have marked the post-Cold war era (Center for Systematic Peace, 2013), civil wars, massacres and renewed episodes of violence fueled by religious extremist discourses have nonetheless dramatically jeopardized the principles and mechanisms of a Collective security system set more than half a century ago, in the aftermath of WWII. While some have put in question the pertinence of international organizations dedicated to maintaining peace and security, unilateral superpower military interventions and failed peacekeeping operations have also weakened a multilateral regime desperately trying to reform itself. Likewise, many sectors of international cooperation have been marred by the absence of any multilateral consensus.

In regard to Global governance issues, there are two main challenges that international key players have been confronted to, especially since September 11, 2001. First, should the "international community" intervene in cases where states – voluntarily or not – fail to protect their own population? Second, what type of collective response should be opposed to transnational terrorist violence?

The first point has led to the adoption of the "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) principle by the United Nations (2005), following a 2001 report by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS) In a provoking manner the ICISS commission introduced the concept of sovereignty as "responsibility". From now on, States viability should not be evaluated in regard to their capacity to control a territory or various resources but first and foremost on its ability and determination to protect its own population. A State failing to do so could end up losing its "right" to sovereignty and, in specific cases – including notably the perpetration of massacres – an international intervention would be launched to protect endangered populations. In several instances of violent conflict, R2P was mentioned and used to legitimate intervention by military

¹ Diplomat, lawyer and politician, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010). 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), 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 Saint Petersburg University of Humanities and Social Sciences.

forces directly under UN authority or under the authority a third country: Côte d'Ivoire (2011, UNSCR 1975), Lybia (2011, UNSCR 1970 and 1973), Central African Republic (2013, UNSCR 2127). Following the Lybia resolutions, accusations have been formulated as to whether members of the Security Council had simply used R2P as a tool for regime change, distorting the concept and endangering its legitimacy. The international community's hesitation and failure to intervene in the war in Syria that broke out in 2011 is a perfect illustration of the ambivalences of the R2P concept and the inherent obstacles to establishing a functional collective security system. If several countries have unilaterally decided to intervene in Syria, helping supply money and arms stocks to one party or the other hoping, therefore, to alter the course of the war, this type of intervention will not bring long-term peace. Only coordinated international intervention through cooperation between States, NGOs and International organizations can help civil societies survive this type of conflict and allow for reconstruction and stabilization. Fueling parties at war conveys many risks and lacks international legitimacy.

Contemporary global governance is in need of more robust frameworks for crisis management and international intervention. In this regard, strategic interests do not always contradict ethical values; on the contrary, they tend to reinforce themselves and provide legitimacy to peace and security operations.

In the long run, coalition building to fight global and hyper-terrorism and more especially against Al-Qaeda and ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria also known as Da'ish, ISIL, IS) will face the same type of questions. How to stabilize political systems, reconstruct societies and maintain security at bearable costs.

Beyond multilateral cooperation, international organizations should be involved at earlier stages to enhance efficiency and legitimacy on the longer term.

In the area of peace and security, a few research centers and think tanks around the world provide statistical work on the evolution of armed conflict since the end of 1945. Such scientific work helps diplomats better identify the priorities of diplomatic work. Looking at the data produced over the years by the Center for Systemic Peace, we can observe how interstate wars have dramatically declined in numbers over a 70-year period of time. If new types of conflicts have arisen, i.e. intrastate and societal conflicts involving ethnic violent confrontations and mass violence on a high scale, it is noteworthy to observe how the overall number of political violent conflicts has been continuously declining since the end of the Cold War. Wars appear to be more concentrated in certain regions, present specific and recurrent characteristics and involve a number of 'private actors' that call for new diplomatic strategies – not only military ones – able to engage with a diversity of actors, public and private.

Familiarity with such scientific and expert productions would help diplomats and decision-makers cope with heightened complexity and uncertainty resulting from the world's highly interconnected nature and the increasing speed of change. Contemporary conflicts are intimately related to the fragility of states and societies. Looking to enhance global stability, diplomats need to know how to deal with fragile states, societies in transition, post-conflict contexts and civil unrest.

The focus on prevention as a priority for future diplomatic strategies was at the forefront of the 'Responsibility to Protect' (R2P) report released in 2001 by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (ICISS). Chaired by Gareth Evans and Mohamed Sahnoun, the ICISS introduced a radical transformation of the meaning of State sovereignty. Answering the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, question of what should the international community do when a gross violation of human rights was occurring or about to occur, the report answered that sovereignty entailed not only rights but also responsibilities, specifically a state's responsibility to protect its people from major violations of human rights. It was no longer about the 'right to intervene' or to 'interfere' in other countries' internal political affairs but about a 'responsibility to protect' citizens and individual across the world from mass violence and exactions. The ICISS report further asserted that, where a state was "unable or unwilling" to protect its people, the responsibility should shift to the international community.

The responsibility to protect strategy was built on three essential elements: a responsibility to prevent, a responsibility to react, and a responsibility to reconstruct. As such, R2P extended the protection of individuals from the pre-conflict period (prevention) to the post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation efforts. A comprehensive approach to conflict management and resolution that reaffirmed the central role of preventive diplomacy.

This in my view is a key point. There is a role for diplomacy today vis a vis the conflicts and there is a special task for diplomats to enhance preventive actions and keep negotiations alive; in an environment of growing instability, the essential diplomat contribution to the XXIst century agenda will first and foremost be to keep open the channels for negotiation. Preserving a space for negotiated strategies on every sector of international cooperation will be extremely beneficial for global actors while, at the same time, reinforcing the diplomat's status and legitimacy to act. In times of greater uncertainties, diplomats will have to create incentives for negotiation. Creativity and innovation will be required in order to bring to the negotiating table political actors of very different kinds. Such strategies will imply capacity for adaptation to rapidly changing contexts and preparedness to crises with worldwide impact on political institutions and civil societies.

So despite crisis having diminished and the capacity to control them having increased, there are still major crises in action and the role of diplomacy is more crucial than ever to preserve them under control, to encourage actors that a solution can be found and to articulate even the solution!. In a globalized world where modern communication technologies allow heads of States and governments to engage in direct exchanges, where all ministries, from finance to environment possess their own expert negotiators and where even regions and cities engage in diplomatic activity, traditional diplomats seem to be at risk of being less relevant. But in all cases the effort of the Diplomacy is essential.

Let me refer to the two major crises existing at present that deserve great attention and a major effort of the key political actors to be neutralised. I am referring to the Middle East crisis in the larger sense of the word and the Ukrainian crisis.

Let's start with the Middle East crisis. There are four on going crisis scenarios here: the issue of Palestina, the war in Syria, the destabilisation of Irak and the negotiations with Iran.

We can all agree that the Middle East is confronting with a new paradigm. Since the Versailles Treaty in 1919 that develops the Sikes-Picot agreement, we have never seen a larger turbulence in this region. We are drowning in a convulse and fragmented scenario in a total process of change with new actors and a new agenda. That is the general framework of the whole situation that reflects upon the following four issues above mentioned.

In relation to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict we are facing a stagnation process. "The two State Solution approach" is experiencing its last opportunity to become a reality. Elections in Israel, division in the Palestinian political front and the lack of involvement of the international community lead us to a negative and pessimism assessment. Nevertheless the main actors such as the US, the EU, Russia and some Arab countries should react to this crossroad. Maybe the time has come for a New Political Initiative that will try to impose what I will call the double track approach. That is, to recognize Palestine by the Western World, and Israel by the Arab and Muslim Countries. That will be, to a certain extent, to implement the "Arab Peace Initiative". If we, the international Community, have the political courage to move in that direction, we could finally establish the first layer of stability in the Middle East.

In relation with the Syrian crisis, it is high time to put an end to the war and cruel violence. More than ever, we need the "Diplomacy". We should call for a negotiated settlement because we have witnessed that there is no military solution to the Syrian Crisis. If that is the case, why we should not call for a Geneva III?.. With new terms of reference and new participants, including Iran. US Secretary of State John Kerry has said that at the end "We should talk with President Baschar Al Assad. Let's do it in order to find a compromise that will protect and save thousands of lives and avoid the endless suffering of the Syrian people. If we progress in this front we will have better chances to fight successfully against Radical Islamic State and we will add the second layer of stability to the Region.

The expansion and radicalisation of the so called ISIS, is linked to these two previous issues although it was created by the intervention in Irak. Today's challenge is much more serious than a simple internal fight within the boundaries of Irak. It is not a simple issue of counterterrorism! It is one of the main threats in the international agenda and should be addressed accordingly, with a political and diplomatic response. It does not mean we should not use military force to constrain the development of this movement, but more important than that, the Arab countries plus Russia, the European Union and Turkey should call for a new strategy to neutralize this increasing threat.

Finally the region is confronted with a "new rapport des forces": Iran. This country that had been excluded in past decades of a formal regional role in the area, could be accepted as a new regional actor. The Nuclear Negotiations are linked with its new responsibility in the different crisis in the region. Its influence in Gaza and its relation with Hamas would facilitate a unified government in Palestine. Its close relation with the government of Bashar Al Assad, will be essential to facilitate a positive outcome in the Syr-

ian conflict. Finally it should be crucial to have Iran in our side in order to fight ISIS! That is absolutely crucial and we must do it before it is too late!"

Basically these are the four complex issues conforming the big crisis that takes shape in the Middle East. And we should not hide ourselves from acting in a creative but determined way. Time does not play in our favor but time has not still run out for us. Let's be courageous and behave bravely to control this crisis before it goes out of control and an illimited focus of violence and destruction is rooted for a long time in a crucial geostrategic region of the world.

Then you have the crisis in Ucraina. This is a very painful conflict in the Center of Europe. It is deepening the separation between Russia and the European Countries. This is extremely bad for many reasons.

First, because Russia is Europe and to separate Russia from the rest of the European countries will have many bad consequences in many areas for all. From the human dimension to the cultural aspects and to the economy of the zone.

In second term, because this crisis is reliving Russian isolationism and the dream of acting as a superpower, hoping to recover a zone of influence. This is also bad in my view because Russia needs its resources for pushing the country ahead into the new modernity of the XXIst Century. There is so much to do in the modernisation process of the country, from Roads to Motorways, from Airports to new High Speed trains, from closing old pollutant industries to opening new high tech ones, that there is no time to lose, no effort to be diverted! There is such a large list of urgent and huge tasks to be accomplished in order to give to the population the good standard of life they deserve! And you can not divert the resources by pouring them into the army and reviving unrealistic pattern schemes. The present situation is sad and bad because Russia and Europe they need to be together and to join forces in order to avoid decline in the new global Era with new emerging powers. This conflict is delaying our encounter. We, Russia and the EU, we have to revert the situation. The EU has made some efforts, in the last months, to stop any escalation in the tension. I know Brussels is very conscious that this crisis can bring no good for any of us. Some experts go further: they think that this crisis should force all actors involved to rethink the future in a new way. Once deactivated it has to be the revulsive that triggers a new scheme in our relations. We have to think together how to transform this dynamic of bad effects into a creative reconciliation that brings to us a new brilliant common project. This project should be what some call "the Large Europe" and that I would define by the creation of a common space for the development of our societies in harmony. We should create this space under a firm commitment to facilitate the encounter of the societies, the encounter of the enterprises, the multiplication of the common investments in all the area! You can say that I am dreaming that all is going just in the other direction. I will say to you that if you keep cool for a while and think seriously what, we, the EU and Russia are we obtaining of this conflict and what we are losing, you will see very soon that both we are great losers while others are the great winners! Why should we let the others take advantage of our stupidity when we are not stupid?! Because of pride? Because of inertia? Because no body can be humble enough to amend his or her decisions? Let's react! We are clever people, we are civilised nations, we can put reason beyond passion and

by that, turn the gloomy situation into an appealing new period of history. So let's bet for being able to be collectively wise and revert the present situation.

How then to proceed?

One possibility would be to appoint a group of wise man, with huge experience in international relations, from the four parties, Russia, Ucraina, the EU and the United States, to find the way for anchoring a solid peace process and to deflate definitively the tension. After that, two of them, one from Russia and one from the EU, should present a plan for a common future. We have to keep the vision! We have to believe in the power of the ideas and the positive projects. More difficult dreams have become real! Look at Martin Luther King and the situation of the black communities in the US in the 60s and look now at president Obama and how the black communities are living in normality in the US! Look at the bloodshed that covered Europe in the 40s and how reconciliation between France and Germany was possible and how they even managed to create a common space, the EU! Or look

at how Germany has become again a single country when most of the people thought it would take many generations before it could be forged! I do not see why we can not transform the crisis in Ucraina in the hyphen that reunifies us!

If we can achieve it, I promise you that the future of our old Europe will be much brighter and that we will regain the path of hope and sane ambition. The young generations will have a great political project to accomplish ahead and the society will benefit of better perspectives. As the economy will be stronger and with a new larger dimension.

It is the moment to think big and clever. We, in the old continent we should not think that the future will basculate towards Asia and that we are in a declining phase. We should stand up again by joining forces and concentrate our energies in a big project of peace and prosperity. Our citizens should be our priority and we should be able to deliver accordingly to their expectations. Nothing is lost, all can be settled for the good if we are clever... and active. Let's start to act!

D. V. Mosyakov¹

COUNTRIES OF THE EAST AND THE CRISIS OF MODERN MODEL OF GLOBALIZATION

Today the most developed countries of the East participating in the globalization process formulate own agenda more actively, they build such model of a living arrangement which would suit their national interests. Such countries as China, India or Turkey, look back at the Western recipes of national construction and less of international policy and they form a new reality proceeding from the traditions, interests and principles. This way they disprove the key provisions formulated by the Western "fathers" of modern model of globalization that it is a process of formation in the countries of the East of open economic model, a liberal political regime, a transparent cultural position. They question a distribution of the Western political ideas and institutes considered to be universal and unambiguously a positive phenomenon, and the existing option of the Western globalization – unique and uncontested. Option that the countries of the East will be able to formulate and advance the rules of global integration in the long term and the vision of future world in the West was never considered until recently.

In the countries of the East there is a dual relation to model of global integration: on one hand, the increasing interdependence of the most developed countries of the East and West gives to the participants of global markets from among the countries of the East, huge opportunities in acceleration of economic growth and increase of a standard of living in national communities. On the other hand – the model of modern globalization reflects domination of inter-

ests of the USA and the countries of the West which extended steel threads of streams of the financial capital worldwide, entangled in interests of various multinational corporations (multinational corporation). The answer is obvious and today subordination of East societies to the Western dictatorship and rules is strengthening the anti-Western tendencies in economic and political life, in a number of the countries of the East, raising traditionalism, patriotism and a regionalism. The situation develops not absolutely as the Western analysts have predicted and the Western politicians would wish.

We cannot see any noticeable movement in such key spheres as distribution of norms of liberal democracy in the countries of the East. Moreover, the modes, not liberal, but authoritative structures, leaded by communist parties, for example, in China or in Vietnam, show the greatest rates of economic growth today. Their influence in the world – they concern especially the People in the Republic of China – which grows that fast, so Beijing will be able to offer the world community its own globalization project in a while, but not the American one.

High rates of economic growth are also shown by the countries of South-East Asia where authoritarian regimes dominate in some form – both in Singapore and Malaysia, both in Thailand and Laos and Burma. Moreover Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand and even Vietnam (with the only ruling force – the Communist Party of the country) are integrated into the globalization project, practically without changing the political and ideological bases of its structure. If you also add Turkey to these countries, where they have an authoritarian regime of T. Erdogan, a conclusion is formed: it will be wrong, if, for the participation in the globalization project the countries of the East need to form a liberal political system. The countries of the East show that actually the form and character of the ruling regime does not matter for the integration into the global markets.

¹ Head of the Centre of studying of Southeast Asia, Australia and Oceania of Institute of oriental studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor. Head of the department of regional studies of the Moscow humanities university. Author of more than 150 scientific publications, including monographs: "Socio-political development of Cambodia in the XX century. Village and power", "History of Southeast Asia", "Southeast Asia: problems of formation of a civilization community", "History of Cambodia. The XX century", "Policy of China in Southeast Asia in the past and the present", etc. The organizer of the "Monitoring of Modern History of the Countries of Southeast Asia" project, gives training courses at the Kazan state university, Yale university (USA), University of Hosey (Japan), etc. Associate editor of the "Asia and Africa Today" magazine.

It matters, how effective the policy of the ruling regime is and whether it could create rather good conditions for inflow and export of the capital.

The situation with loan and acculturation of the Western cultural stereotypes in the Eastern societies can be one more example of special characteristics in participation of the countries of the East in globalization. Turkey which, undoubtedly, is one of the integrated members of the global family, moves more and more decidedly not on the way of strengthening the bases of the secular state today, but revives more of the Islamism as a state ideology, rigidly criticizes the cultural stereotypes coming from the West. The authoritarian political regime focused on rapprochement within Europe turned into the mode directed on a pan-Turkism and cultural integration into the Islamic world of this country. Thus, the archaisation of the education system and even the way of thinking which goes more and more back to the religious framework of Islam, does not prevent Turkey from showing high rates of economic growth and allows it to be integrated without serious problems into the global markets.

Growing tendencies towards traditionalism and regionalism are clearly visible in India and the countries of the South-East Asia which are quite integrated into the global markets. In most countries of the East, the Western lifestyle spreads and dominates the rather narrow, mainly urban, social strata one way or another involved in global integration. They can be influential and active, but numerically inferior traditionalist forces in the East societies of today are very active. In many countries there is even a certain contradiction between the sentiments of the most successful amongst the urban layers of megalopolises and the vast majority of the rural and urban population, which threatens the stability of the globalization vector of their national development. From all of this it follows that the acceptance of the Western image, style and attributes of life by Eastern societies is not a significant prerequisite for the participation in the globalization process. Eastern societies are focused in general on the preservation of their traditional values which are successfully integrated into this project. Only a small number is enough of social level in them, which has accepted the Western values and acts as the global market.

As we can see today in the countries of the East, the globalization process is not so all-encompassing and difficult how it was at the modernization of its time. There were deep changes in all the spheres of the society – in the way of thinking, education, standards of life, political and cultural ideas, the system of political and economic power – within a long and contradictory modernization process. Moreover, the process of change affected both the general population and ruling, both intellectual and business elite. You cannot find such scope of changes closely similar to globalization. Changes in the countries of the East have socially narrowed and one might say, applied character. In many of them, it is still possible to see such a picture today: there are ultra-modern enterprises connected with the global market, and a peasant nearby digging in his stead, passed down to him through the centuries, with a mattock. This similar situation conducts to the imbalance of national development and undermines the interest in globalization.

The ruling elite of the majority of the countries of the East does not hide any more the discontent with the existing model of globalization and readiness to participate in it only

until it is favorable to their states. Any crisis or decrease in the positive global interdependence can easily destroy the economic mechanism focused on the interests of the USA. A lot of people see regionalism promptly growing both in South-East Asia and in the Middle-East and East Asia as an alternative to this mechanism.

Such a prospect is quite possible because the majority of multinational corporations dominate the international space, and their interests do not take decisions at a national level the national economy prevails: in the most successful countries of the East, and most often based not on domination of private joint-stock companies, but on a mixed public-private partnership. In Singapore, Turkey, South Korea, China and Vietnam and in Japan the role of the state in the economy is incomparably more significant, than in the USA. In this regard it is possible to say that separate elements of the socialist model of modernization remain relevant in the East nowadays, moreover, even if you do not take China and Vietnam, and take, for example, Singapore and South Korea, even their influence of ideology of socialism is shown quite clearly. After all Li Kuang Yu who created modern Singapore began his career as a left-wing politician, a lawyer of the labor unions for a long time and he was very close to communists and socialists, moreover Pak Chzhon of Hee – “the father of the Korean economic miracle”, in his youth was a member of the Communist Party of Korea.

Their acquaintance to socialism allowed them to find the most successful model of development, when the national economy develops not so much as private, but as mixed, with a huge proportion of public-private partnership where the government always takes a decision. This kind of economy is the basis of formation of the national GDP and the main source of national export in China, South Korea, India, Turkey and Singapore. Despite the recurring attempts of certain Westernized liberal politicians to destroy the public sector or to make it insignificant, its enterprises today continue acting as the core of the national development. The idea of a strong state is firmly connected with a strong public sector which creates the illusion of their potential independence for the ruling elite in many countries of the East.

It should be noted that Iran acts as one of the most developed and influential countries of the East. This country was not only integrated into the global market, but even a whole set of the Western sanctions and restrictions inflicted on it did not prevent it from turning into one of the political predominant forces of the Middle East. Iran's experience testifies that in the modern world, to be strong, it is not necessary to participate in the globalization project and globalization and national power are two different concepts and it is possible to be strong in the world without integration into the global economy.

In view of the foregoing, it can be noted that the prospects of a modern model of globalization are no longer represented today as so indisputable, as they were earlier. At least in many countries of the East the ruling elite more often asks about, where the national sovereignty starts, where the main centers of the existing political and economic system are situated, however, as well as headquarters of multinational corporations, as far as their interests match the national governments' interests. One gets the impression that the ruling elite of the countries of the East is already really looking for an alternative globalization and limits its par-

participation in it to purely economic benefit. All the rest that is connected with the modern model of this process, is more and more considered as a direct threat to the sovereignty and it is resolutely rejected. Today such sentiments dominate everywhere – from Turkey to the countries of South-East Asia.

Perhaps, in this regard, recently one can observe a certain slowdown in the globalization process, which is not yet able to capture most of the planet's population, but also creates a strong, world arrangement on international law. Although there is a point of view that globalization – it is not a one-dimensional process, both in time and according to its internal contents, its time is discrete, that is, the periods of acceleration of global integration alternate with the periods of long stagnation, the fact remains: in recent years we observe the increase of problems in advance of this process. It is a set of reasons: from the influence of the global economic crisis of 2008 to the new political risks associated with the strengthening of nationalism, traditionalism and regionalism in the countries of the East. But the main reason still lies elsewhere: in Washington they are obviously not satisfied with what occurs in the East where challenges of the American domination grow quickly.

The globalization model formulated in the West had an essential defect – the lack of real mechanisms of political pressure and control of internal processes in the countries of the East. That was during the modernization era and not during the globalization era. As a result, instead of a block of liberal Westernized regimes extending to the USA, there are stronger political regimes of authoritative and semi-authoritative wing focused on the protection of

national interests, which are throwing down a challenge to the USA. Therefore, in Washington they already do not stand up for globalization so actively and, on the contrary, they seek to provoke new conflicts in key regions of the East to undermine the process of nationalization and regionalization as the most dangerous alternative to global domination.

Summing up the result, we can draw a quite certain conclusion that the Western concept of globalization and the real processes in the countries of the East on key positions strongly disagree with each other. And if we analyze the vector of their modern development, this divergence has an obvious tendency to increase. Eastern countries are too diverse, original and independent and define in an increasing degree not only their destiny, but also the vector of development of the global world. Today we, in a way, are on the turn of an obvious change of the global tendency when the West can no longer dictate the rules and the principles of global integration processes. Countries of the East play the major role here. As part of the modernization, they managed to accommodate and integrate into the national culture many things from the experience and culture of the countries of the West. At the same time, they have preserved for centuries an experienced view of the world, traditional life and culture, a system of principles and priorities. This cultural synthesis created the nucleus of new representations, relations and views, which gave to the countries of the East a powerful impulse for development. Today many of them have reached global power and influence and, quite likely, will soon be able to offer their own variant in the world development.

Colin Berkeley Moynihan¹

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE ARCTIC. A NEAR NEIGHBOUR PERSPECTIVE

In characterising the current stage of development of the world community through the lens of the conditions, trends, and mechanisms for the realisation of national interests in the present global situation, the intention of this paper is to focus on the strategic importance of the Arctic.

The Arctic in the 21st Century is an area of interest for three reasons: it is the epicentre of a physical state change in the earth's geography and weather; it is a region in which former, present, and possibly future superpowers may compete for strategic control over an emerging global trade route, the Northern Sea Route, and access to energy and mineral reserves; and finally it is an arena in which philosophically contrary governance frameworks, (sovereignty, versus international law) are being deployed. Combined, these factors are altering the strategic, geopolitical, and economic value of the Circumpolar North. The evolving vision is to facilitate globalization of the region in a stable way.

¹ Statesman, public person of Great Britain, Member of the House of Lords in the British Parliament, businessman. Chairman of the British Olympic Association (2005–2012). Minister for Sport in Margaret Thatcher's government (1987–1990), Under Secretary of Energy (1990–1992). Director of the Organizing Committee for the Olympic Games, member of the Olympic board, which had oversight of the competition (2012). Sportsman, silver medalist of the Olympic Games in Moscow – 1980 (rowing).

In February this year in the United Kingdom, the House of Lords Select Committee on the Arctic concluded its report on the Arctic entitled: 'Responding to a changing Arctic'. In it, as a near neighbour of the Arctic we sought to assess the respective roles of the members of the Arctic Council; the inter-relationships between nations in this sensitive part of the world and the defence; environmental, trade and political challenges. These issues form an important overview of a significant set of contemporary global challenges.

In summary we saw: *the Arctic is changing*. Temperatures in the region are increasing at twice the global average, causing a range of physical and environmental changes. Sea ice is thinning and receding, although the pattern of change is variable, while land ice is melting and flowing into the sea. Processes in the Arctic have the potential to amplify climate change, causing further warming and further change. Knowledge of many aspects of the Arctic environment and how it is responding to change is limited.

The UK is the Arctic's nearest neighbour and has long-standing political, economic and cultural ties with states and peoples in the region; particularly in the context of scientific research.

As changes expose potential opportunities and threats, international interest in the region has increased. Recent years have seen a significant expansion in the number of observers to the intergovernmental Arctic Council, with Asian states such as China, India, Japan, Singapore and South Korea become increasingly active in the region. The continued growth of international pressure for influence on the Arctic is inevitable, and there needs to be a constructive international response.

Much attention has also been given to the potential for increased hydrocarbon extraction in the Arctic. We concluded that current world oil prices may limit the potential for production in the short to medium term; this offers a window of opportunity for gaining increased clarity on whether oil and gas extraction in ice-affected Arctic waters can be achieved safely and responsibly. The degree to which climate change in the Arctic will create other economic opportunities – such as shorter shipping routes – is not yet clear, but all interested parties will need to collaborate to respond to these changes effectively.

Across much of the Arctic, responsibility for striking a balance between development and environmental protection lies with the sovereign Arctic states in whose territory such development would be taking place. This is not the case for the central Arctic Ocean, which is designated as international waters. There are increasing concerns regarding the future of fish stocks in this area, and all interested Governments should be involved in discussions on its future management. The House of Lords Select Committee recommended that a moratorium on fishing in this area is required; at least until a recognized management regime is agreed.

In view of the rapid rise of tourism in the Arctic and particularly the prospect of large passenger ships sailing in Arctic waters, there is an urgent need to develop co-ordinated search and rescue facilities in the region.

All states with Arctic interests should work to insulate Arctic co-operation from non-Arctic disputes. The Arctic has been a region of co-operation; the Arctic Council has played an important role in supporting and sustaining this stability. In enhancing our knowledge of Arctic changes, and building the capacity to respond appropriately, it will be important to maintain this stability in the years to come.

The Arctic climate and environment is changing. This is having profound effects in particular on the Arctic cryosphere – that part of the Arctic that is seasonally or perennially frozen – with implications for reduced sea ice, melting glaciers and ice caps and the thawing of permafrost.

These changes are predicted to have far-reaching impacts. The melting of the cryosphere presents an array of challenges, opportunities and risks that are still being researched and yet to be fully understood. Reductions in sea ice coverage (among other impacts) may open up new global trade routes, and improve access to land and maritime-based resources. At the same time, reductions in ice and snow cover have the potential to further amplify the impacts of climate change, creating feedback loops with local, regional and global implications.

The diversity of the Arctic

The Arctic Ocean is a semi-enclosed sea surrounded by five coastal states: Canada, Denmark (Greenland), Norway, Russia and the United States. The Arctic land masses are

sovereign territories, while the Arctic Ocean is covered by national legal regimes as well as the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. The five states with Arctic Ocean coastlines are sometimes known as the ‘A5’; there are eight Arctic states who have land territory inside the Arctic Circle (the ‘A8’), including Finland, Iceland and Sweden, who have no Arctic Ocean coastline.

The region is also home to around four million people – a population larger than 70 of the members of the United Nations. This diverse population is spread across the eight states of the region, with approximately half residing in Russia, which as the largest Arctic state, has the potential for the greatest influence on this region.¹ Arctic communities vary in size, from small villages and hamlets to the Russian port city of Murmansk, home to over 300,000 people.

Around 500,000 Arctic residents belong to indigenous groups.² Indigenous peoples have lived in the Arctic for millennia and different groups have their own identities, languages and ways of life. Changes to the Arctic are impacting upon these groups in different ways and, in addition, the views of indigenous peoples towards the issues arising from those changes vary.

Increasing international attention on the Arctic

Causes of increasing attention

Increasing interest in the Arctic is partly explained by the drive of a growing and economically developing world population to find additional resources. Global demand has led to the exploration and development of major ore bodies and metal deposits in the Arctic.³ According to the International Energy Agency’s 2013 World Energy Outlook, “the Arctic likely contains the world’s largest remaining area of conventional, undiscovered oil and natural gas, estimated at 13 per cent of recoverable oil and 30 per cent of recoverable natural gas resources.”⁴

At the same time, climate change in the Arctic – and in particular sea ice retreat – is making Arctic territory and resources more accessible, generating “greater commercialization opportunities” in the eyes of some (although changeable markets and the unclear effects of climate change may yet mean that uncertainty and disruption prevail over the realization of those opportunities).⁵ As is considered, climate change in the Arctic at least appears to enhance access to natural resources in the region, while sea ice changes might open up further shipping routes across the north coast of Russia (the ‘Northern Sea Route’), through the Northwest Passage (to a lesser degree) and even, eventually, across the centre of the Arctic Ocean.⁶ Commercial fisheries may expand northwards as species move and more waters become accessible to trawlers, and tourism to the region may increase. An expansion of economic development in the Arctic could also involve building up infrastructure and providing increased services to residents. At the same time, improving technology and communications are making the region more accessible for all.

Ambassador Pekka Huhtaniemi of Finland told us that “the economic opportunities are really considerable in the

¹ Q 138 (Tom Paterson).

² Arctic Council website: <http://www.arctic-council.org/index.php> [accessed 19 February 2015].

³ Written evidence from Dr Dougal Goodman.

⁴ Written evidence from OGP.

⁵ Written evidence from the National Oceanography Centre.

⁶ Written evidence from Lloyds Register.

Arctic regions". Investment in the Arctic could reach \$100 billion or more over 2012 to 2022 according to a 2012 report by Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) and Lloyd's (a global engineering, technical and business services organisation and a maritime classification society), but the authors noted that this figure could be significantly higher or lower.¹

The Arctic is "a sphere of increasing competition", both commercial and geopolitical.² The Royal Society saw environmental change in the Arctic as "awakening national interests in energy, fishing, shipping and tourism". There was widespread agreement that the perception of increasing commercial opportunities in the Arctic has led to growing interests in the region from "a diverse range of industries and an increasing number of countries."³

The impacts of climate change in the Arctic are also generating external interest on non-commercial grounds, attracting attention from both Arctic and non-Arctic scientists and academics and from campaigning groups such as WWF and Greenpeace, as well as politicians.

Campaigns may focus on protecting or 'saving' the Arctic environment on behalf of planet Earth.⁴ Like commercial pressures, these forces draw the Arctic into globalized networks: so much so that comparisons have been made with Arctic environmental movements to a form of colonialism whereby 'outside' actors claim to speak and act on behalf of the Arctic, including its residents.

Increasing access to at least the marine Arctic is making the region an area of increasing international economic and political strategic interest. The United States and Russia come into close proximity in the Arctic region, and the possibility of the Arctic serving as another arena for the flexing of China's muscles has excited much commentary – China describes itself as 'near-Arctic state'.⁵ As seen above, commercial competition in the Arctic is often interpreted in exclusively inter-state terms. The European Policies Research Centre at the University of Strathclyde considered the Arctic "an area of growing strategic importance", and Dr Dmitriy Tulupov of the St. Petersburg State University agreed.⁶

Luke Coffey of The Heritage Foundation warned that the decrease of sea ice would mean "a larger military presence by more actors than ever before", although other witnesses to our Enquiry disagreed over the Arctic's military-strategic importance and the significance of decreasing sea ice. Greenlandic independence from Denmark might further increase geopolitical interest in the region, especially if an independent Greenland decided not to become a member of NATO and remained outside the EU.

The UK's Ministry of Defence's report, *Global Strategic Trends: 'Out to 2045'* reported that the economic development of the region "is already beginning to render its governance arrangements of deep significance". It considered that "Inter-country disputes within the Arctic, driv-

en by access to, and control over, resources, are possible", though unlikely to result in military conflict.

Intensifying globalization

With such globalizing forces in action, a narrative of a 'cold rush' has gained some traction, describing the Arctic as the last frontier for the claiming of new resources and strategic access.⁷ While this is an exaggeration (and historically not an unprecedented claim), the Arctic is nonetheless moving from a situation of comparative isolation and relative inaccessibility to becoming increasingly part of global geopolitical, trading and regulatory networks, and subject to multiplying claims on its resources and to its stewardship.⁸

As an example, a 2009 EU ban on trade in seal products saw an expression of EU values affect the livelihoods of Arctic indigenous peoples, because Inuit require healthy markets to thrive "in a globalized economic environment." We received evidence asserting the legal rights of Inuit in a globalized world, telling us that "evolving principles of international law [such as UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples] mean that Inuit are a necessary partner in Arctic affairs", while we heard from many witnesses the importance in the Arctic of international law on matters such as freedom of navigation.

The newly appointed US Special Representative for the Arctic, Admiral Robert J Papp Jr., wrote in December 2014 that the Arctic was "quickly becoming a global cornerstone for scientific and academic research, trade, and tourism" and that "we are all connected through the Arctic, whether *environmentally*, through the global impacts of climate change, *economically* through international trade; or *scientifically* through multi-national research initiatives."⁹ Climate change, among other pressures, is bringing about fundamental state changes in the Arctic not just in environmental and geophysical terms, but politically, economically and culturally.

A scramble for the Arctic?

The Arctic is not unclaimed

While the popular narrative of a 'scramble for the Arctic' might suggest the Arctic is unclaimed territory, this is far from the case.¹⁰ All of the Arctic's lands are part of the eight Arctic states (Russia, the US, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Finland), while much of the Arctic's waters are in the Exclusive Economic Zones of the five of those states with Arctic Ocean coastlines (Russia, the US, Canada, Denmark and Norway). There are a few remaining boundary disputes between the eight Arctic states, but none are considered particularly threatening to bilateral relations or regional order.¹¹

The UN Convention on the Law of the Sea

Claims to Arctic waters are regulated under the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), to

¹ Written evidence from Daniel Kochis, Chatham House and Lloyd's, Arctic Opening: Opportunity and Risk in the High North (2012).

² Prof. Geoffrey Boulton, HE Pekka Huhtaniemi, Dr. Jeffrey Mazo and Christian Le Miere.

³ Written evidence from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

⁴ Greenpeace's 'Save the Arctic' petition page reads, "Sign the petition to join your voice to the movement of millions who believe that the Arctic belongs to all of us – and must be protected by us all".

⁵ Statement by the Ambassador of China to Sweden at the meeting between the Swedish Chairmanship of the Arctic Council and observers, 6 November 2013.

⁶ Written evidence from EPRC and Dr. Dmitriy S. Tulupov.

⁷ Written evidence from Hugh Mackay, Michael Jonathan Dangerfield, Duncan Depledge, Dr. John Campbell, Claude Perras. Charlie Kronick of Greenpeace said that the Arctic was "a frontier that is being pressed for expansion".

⁸ Written evidence from Arctic Advisory Group and Prof. Terry Callaghan

⁹ Admiral Robert J. Papp Jr., 'America is an Arctic Nation'.

¹⁰ Written evidence from Matthew Willis.

¹¹ Examples of such disputes are the Hans Island dispute between Canada and Denmark and outstanding maritime delimitation in the Beaufort Sea between Canada and the United States (written evidence from Dr. Dmitriy S. Tulupov and Prof. Robin Churchill and Prof. Phillip Steinberg). In 2010, Norway and Russia resolved their differences over the maritime delimitation of the Barents Sea (written evidence from Prof. Robin Churchill).

which all of the Arctic coastal states are party, except the United States, which nevertheless treats the Convention as customary international law.¹

Claims to the North Pole

Reports of Arctic nations claiming the North Pole have generated much public interest. Despite the well-publicised planting of a Russian flag on the Arctic seabed at the Pole in 2007, Russia has not sought to exert any claim to sovereign rights over the Pole except through UNCLOS. Under that Convention, Russia, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Canada are all at various stages of submitting materials to the CLCS regarding their sovereign rights to extended continental shelves beyond 200nm.² Russia and Denmark have claimed, and Canada is likely to claim, that the seabed at the North Pole is part of their extended continental shelves and that they should be able to exploit that seabed (subject to paying royalties to the International Seabed Authority), but the waters and airspace in the central Arctic Ocean are unambiguously un-claimable.³

In the 2008 Ilulissat Declaration, the five Arctic coastal states committed themselves to the orderly settlement of overlapping seabed claims, so in the view of Matthew Willis from the Royal United Services Institute, “the odds favour a negotiated solution to current and future differences”. The “high-profile disputes” about Arctic territory “have little substance behind them”, Dr Jeffrey Mazo from the IISS told us.

Moreover, while it may be politically significant to claim the seabed at the Pole, there are no known hydrocarbon resources in that part of the Arctic Ocean.⁴ Further, no state anywhere is yet exploiting minerals on its continental shelf beyond 200nm.⁵ Dr Mazo and Mr Le Miere told us they “do not see any evidence of a race for resources in the Arctic” as 90 to 95 per cent of the known or expected resources in the Arctic, particularly oil and gas, are to be found in undisputed national territories or Exclusive Economic Zones. The assumption underpinning talk of inter-state competition over energy resources is therefore “groundless”.

Further, we received evidence stating that the extraction of hydrocarbons in the Arctic typically required both political stability and international consortia, making extraction “inherently co-operative” and a catalyst for closer economic and political co-operation in the region.⁶

A peaceful and orderly region

We heard that a national race for resources backed up by military power was very unlikely and that the Arctic is a stable region where tensions are, and have every reason to remain, low. The 2008 Ilulissat Declaration and the 2010 bilateral resolution of a maritime delimitation dispute between Russia and Norway in the Barents Sea were cited as showing that the Arctic was a peaceful and orderly region.

Julian Brazier MP (British Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Ministry of Defence), said that the polar re-

gion “is an area where Russia still sees its interests as lying in a stable, rules-based structure.”

We concluded that the ‘scramble for the Arctic’ narrative is overly dramatic: territorial claims are overwhelming already settled, and where they are not there is widespread acceptance of the rules under which they should be settled, little material gain to be had from aggressive claims, and much material gain on offer from co-operation and peaceful settlement. There is no room for complacency, however.

The international legal regime governing Arctic waters is important and must continue to be upheld by the Arctic states and the whole international community.

As noted, the only coastal Arctic state which has not ratified the Law of the Sea Convention is the United States, which cannot submit its claim to an extended continental shelf until it has done so.⁷

The US would send a positive signal on international co-operation in the region if it were to engage with the process for ratifying UNCLOS during its upcoming chairmanship of the Arctic Council: a rules-based Arctic is to the advantage of everyone, not least the US.

The Arctic Council

The eight Arctic states have recognized the case for an international rules-based approach to the region by coming together to co-operate on Arctic issues of mutual interest in the Arctic Council. The Arctic Council was formed in 1996, and is the “premier body to promote international co-operation in the region”.

The Arctic Council holds Ministerial meetings every two years (with one state holding the Chairmanship for each two-year period) and meetings of the eight ‘Senior Arctic Officials’ twice a year. The Council’s activities are largely conducted by six permanent working groups and by time-limited task forces. In addition, the Arctic Economic Council was formally set up under the Canadian Chairmanship in September 2014 as a circumpolar business forum. The Arctic Council now has 32 ‘observers’, comprising 12 non-Arctic states (including the UK), nine intergovernmental and inter-parliamentary organisations, and 11 non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Russian remilitarisation?

Regional security co-operation and the ‘security architecture’ nevertheless lag behind Arctic political, environmental and economic co-operation. Duncan Depledge (Royal Holloway, University of London) told us that “the biggest challenge facing international governance in the region concerns how relations are managed between Russia and the other Arctic states (and arguably the Arctic observer states).⁸

In the summer of 2013, Russia re-established a permanent military presence in the Arctic, and has “increased the Northern Fleet’s forces, including commissioning a new ice-breaker fleet and developing new nuclear attack submarines; modernised its forces in the three military districts that border the Arctic (Far Eastern, Leningrad and Siberian), including creating new Arctic brigades; begun constructing a missile early-warning radar in the Arctic; and re-opened Soviet-era military bases in the Arctic.”⁹ Mr Coffey wrote that:

⁷ Written evidence from Prof Maurice Mendelson QC.

⁸ Written evidence from Duncan Depledge.

⁹ Written evidence from Dr Andrew Foxall.

¹ Written evidence from Prof Robin Churchill and Prof Maurice Mendelson QC.

² Written evidence from Prof Robin Churchill.

³ Written evidence from the Royal Society.

⁴ Evidence from Tim Reilly.

⁵ Written evidence from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Prof Philip Steinberg.

⁶ Written evidence from Matthew Willis and OGP.

“Russia’s Northern Fleet, which is based in the Arctic, counts for two-thirds of the Russian Navy. A new Arctic command will be established by 2015 to co-ordinate all Russian military activities in the Arctic region. Over the next few years two new so-called Arctic brigades will be permanently based in the Arctic region, and Russian Special Forces have been increasing training in the region... The ultimate goal is for Russia to deploy a combined arms force in the Arctic by 2020 and it appears they are on track”.¹

Some witnesses saw these developments as instances of military restoration rather than expansion arguing that Russia was investing in renewing its military presence to a far lesser extent than it had during the Cold War, and Mr Willis saw the investments as a regeneration. It should be noted that other states, such as Canada, Denmark and Norway, have also invested in their Arctic military capabilities and upgraded command structures in recent years.

In my opinion, the build-up should be interpreted as ‘securitisation’. Throughout the region, tasks such as aerial surveillance, anti-smuggling inspections and fisheries monitoring, patrolling, search and rescue, and assistance with oil spill response efforts fall to the armed forces because they have a near monopoly on the training, equipment and capabilities necessary to operate in Arctic conditions. Russia aims to make the Arctic its ‘foremost strategic base for natural resources’ by 2020: to do so it must invest in both economic infrastructure and in the military means to police an enormous region being restored to national economic centrality.

Julian Brazier MP concluded for the Government that Russia “have become much more active” in the Arctic, but “are still very much participants” in regional *fora* such as the Council, noting that “so far, proper notices have been

given and the various protocols are being observed, and so on.”

The Royal Society argued that: “Environmental security discussions focused on international space could provide a co-operative framework through which to address military risks... Given that militaries are trained in providing disaster relief and search and rescue, clarifying their role in this context could increase transparency and maintain a dialogue that could eventually allow more sensitive issues to be address.”²

It does not necessarily follow, in the view of the Committee, that Russia is intent on militarizing the Arctic in a manner that threatens other nations. Russia has the longest Arctic coastline and an extensive Exclusive Economic Zone, and it would be surprising if it did not claim a legitimate right to expand its military presence in its Arctic maritime region. Our difficulty lay in interpreting the extent to which these developments are an attempt to regain the influence that Russia once held in the Soviet era, as opposed to pushing the ‘sphere of influence’ policy in a way that could threaten neighbouring states.

Achievements of the Arctic Council

In the British Government’s view, the Arctic Council has engendered co-operation and co-ordination on cross-boundary issues that affect the Arctic, sharing and disseminating good practice, and developing the evidence base for policy decisions.³ Co-operation through the Council was praised by the Arctic state ambassadors, while in the opinion of Tim Reilly from the Arctic Advisory Group, the Council was “frankly amazing as an international forum in its collaboration, co-operation, and decision-making” and “a fantastic model for international co-operation between superpowers.”⁴

A. D. Nekipelov⁵

THE NATURE OF MODERN GLOBAL PROCESSES: REFLECTIONS OF AN ECONOMIST

This year Likhachov Conference is devoted to very topical issues. Currently the world community faces a unique combination of global challenges. In particular, one group of challenges is associated with global nature of environment problems. Experts argue to what extent such processes as rapidly changing climatic conditions or environmental degradation result from human activity. But whatever the answer to this question may be, it cannot change the fact that people have to find answers to pressing challenges, more natural than social ones. The second group of global challenges is related to an imbalance of interests (intuitively

felt by everyone) of major participants in the global process, first of all the various nation-states and their associations. The social nature of these challenges is obvious: it is a painful process of changes in the structure of the international community. I would like to ponder upon the second group of challenges.

It is a common knowledge that the collapse of world socialism in the second half of the 1980s – early 1990s dramatically changed conditions for the international community in all areas: political, economic, social and cultural. It may seem that eliminated division of the world into capitalist and socialist “camp” was supposed to make the world harmonious, deprived of interstate conflicts. This blissful prospect was associated with making market a universal form of economic life, and democracy – a political life. In terms of uniform economic and political systems, the homogeneous market environment, covering the whole world, and gradual strengthening of intergovernmental and supranational political mechanisms seemed easy to attain. In fact, such a prospect to a certain extent was presented in numerous studies, devoted to the process of globalization.

¹ Written evidence from Luke Coffey.

² Written evidence from the Royal Society.

³ Written evidence from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

⁴ Written evidence from Michael Kingston.

⁵ Director of the Moscow School of Economics of Lomonosov Moscow State University, academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor. Author of over 200 scientific publications, selected works: ‘Essays on the Economics of Post-Communism’, ‘Establishment and Functioning of Economic Institutions from ‘Robinsonade’ to Market Economy Based on Individual Production,’ ‘Central and Eastern Europe in the Second Half of the 20th century’ and others. Member of the Scientific Council of the Russian Security Council. He is awarded the order of Honour, ‘For Merits before Fatherland’ (degree 4). Honorary Doctor of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences.

In real life the things evolved differently. We could make sure that global restructuring of the international community was far from conflict-free. Creation of a uniform market environment encounters divergent interests of the countries. Instead of former confrontation between two socio-economic systems we witnessed increased differentiation of national interests, and new coalitions began to form. The importance of geopolitical considerations in fundamental issues of world politics has increased dramatically. The world stage saw forces that few people had known about before. One can get an impression that the destruction of the world order, initiated by fading of socialism into historical oblivion, only destroyed the previously existing balance without creating a new one. A question arises what the reasons for such course of events are. The answer to it is aimed to not only satisfy our curiosity, but to help in predicting possible scenarios, and to find optimal solutions.

The nature of interests, driving the member of the international process, is obviously a crucial point. The matter, however, is that actively using the terms "interest", researchers do not always rely on a more or less harmonious model in order to explain mechanisms of its creation. As a result, the problem reduces to a general call for the urge to consider the interests of various participants in the process, and importance of effective mechanisms to be used for the purpose of their coordination.

The matter of interests in economics (for obvious reasons) is the key one; that is why its study has been paid much attention to. This fact made me formulate possible approaches to the above-stated issues of current situation in the global community.

Let's start with the fact that the topic concerned is well developed in the economic theory in terms of individual level. The model is formulated as follows. Everyone has a system of preferences that allows him to rank (i.e. to structure according to the degree of preference) every conceivable phases "of the world around us." The challenge for the individual is to reach the phase of "the world around us", which will enhance his well-being with available resources. The concept of individual interest, therefore, is identical to the concept of optimal choice with a clear quantification.

But what about the groups and their interests? This question is the key one for our discussion: in fact the international community is a very complex configuration of groups of different size and importance. Moreover, the composition of these groups is not the same. This means that we have to understand what forces give rise to these groups, how their interests are shaped, what makes them disappear.

It is tempting to extend the above-mentioned approach, applied to individual interests, to the group interests, too. If we assume that the group, like an individual, has its own system of preferences and resources, the approach to solving the issue of individual and social choice would be the same. But here we have 3 difficult issues.

The first deals with the need to answer the question: shall we postulate the existence of a certain system of group preferences (the so-called "holistic" approach) or deduce this system from individual preferences of group members? Our experience suggests that group decisions can not be independent of preferences of every member of the group. However, the famous "theorem of possibility" by K. Arrow indicates that an unambiguous concord of these two kinds

of preferences is only possible when the preferences of one member of the group (called "dictator") spread to the whole group in relation to possible phases of the "world around us". In its turn, the holistic approach appears fruitless in practical terms and, in addition, creates more possibilities for arbitrary interpretation of group preferences.

The second issue concerns the definition of the group resource capacity. The fact that applying the same approach to the group interests as to individual interests, would require an assumption that property of a member is group property. But if we admit that each member of group can make his own decisions as to what assets he is eager to transfer at the group disposal, we will inevitably come up to the necessity of explanation of how the members of the group agree upon the value of such contributions. This violates the internal consistency of approach: to explain the mechanism of group decision-making we have to "leap" over the issue of decision-making on the amount of funds allocated by every member of the group to its operation.

The third issue is that the special group preferences approach in any form gives us nothing in terms of explaining mechanisms of groups' emergence and collapse. Meanwhile, from our own experience, we are aware that each group has a date of "birth", and some have the date of "death."

An alternative approach to the social choice issue is to consider the group interests as a result of harmonized individual interests of its members. Here instead of the idea that the group can independently rank the various phases "of the world around us", another idea steps forward: public option is treated as a kind of cross-point of individual interests. But harmonization requires matching algorithm, which itself can be matched only by members of the group. From a logical point of view, there is an obvious tautology. Besides, the coordination "point" of interests is not unique: at different algorithm for decision-making the result will be different.

It may seem that these circumstances are enough to abandon such interpretation of social choice. But it happened that the tautological structure can not only be a disadvantage, but also a merit. In support of this strange assertion, let's refer to a practical experience. Many companies and institutions begin with the adoption of statutory documents that define the decision-making procedure. Pay attention to the fact that the lack of "strict peg" to the point of matched individual interests allows us to give a logical explanation for the causes of adjustments algorithms of decision making in the groups, as well as the cause of their birth and decay.

A good example of a social choice tool, ensuring coordination of interests of participants in the social division of labor and commodity exchange, is the market. Decision-making at the market is based on the recognition of manufacturers' private property and mandatory execution of their obligations. Exchange, based on these principles, represents the same decision algorithm, discussed above.

But the market reveals only part of individual preferences, namely what characterizes them, by the well-known expression of Adam Smith, as "economic people" guided in their actions solely by their own well-being in selfish sense of the word. With this approach, full coordination of interests in a market economy is manifested in general balance. This condition is known to be characterized by the

so-called Pareto-optimality: you can not proceed to another phase without worsening the position of at least one of the group members. There are good reasons that general balance in terms of perfect competition is kind of earthly incarnation of paradise for “economic people”.

It is worth noting that if the human nature was that of an “economic person”, the nation state would have no place in the modern world. There would be no obstacles to establish a single world currency, to create a unified planetary government, which would provide a uniform basis for private property protection, compliance with terms and conditions of transactions and performance of other functions which are now performed by nation states. It would make no difference for people where to live and with whom to communicate. They would not care, either, in what part of the world industrial activities are thriving, and where they are declining. Thus Marx’s statement that in bourgeois society, the private interests “divide every nation by the same number of smaller nations, as the number of adult in it.” (1)

The situation is fundamentally different just because the “economic DNA” of a human does not tear up where the sphere of “economic person” interests finishes. The system of each individual’s preferences include also relation to such characteristics “of the world around us”, that have nothing to do with the level of well-being as an “economic person.” Each of us, to different extent, is interested not only in our own well-being in the selfish sense of the word, but also the in the well-being of the people around us and harmonious relations in society. But this section of individual preferences can not be detected by the market because its benefits can not be the object of goods exchange.

Such “non-market goods” also include a system of values, emerging as a result of long-term communication with one another, which at a certain stage results in creation of nation-states. Common values unite people living in one state, and often distinguish them from people in other states. For example, we see different average social attitude towards income differentiation: it is enough to refer to the approach to this issue in the United States, on the one hand, and the Scandinavian countries, on the other.

The very presence individual preferences not involved in market turnover means that a consistent view of the citizens of any country on the economic optimum does not generally coincide with the market optimum, and this gap depends on what place non-market value components occupy in the system preferences of society members. This gap

is somehow “covered” by state activities (because these activities are not limited only to insurance of property rights protection and compliance with terms and conditions of transactions), as well as by activities of various public institutions. That is why the measures of economic policy used for market mechanism correction cannot be interpreted as “interference” of the state into (objective) market processes for the sake of political (subjective) ideas.

Global community is a kind of a “mega-group”, whose members are not only (and not so much) individuals, but rather different groups created by them, among which nation-states occupy a special place. All these large groups are driven by own aspirations, so in the sphere of international relations it is necessary to harmonize them. The differences arise in international economic relations, such as the scale and speed of liberalization of movement of goods, services and capital. Similarly, they are unavoidable in political sphere, where various models of democracy, human rights positions, ethnic groups, nations are competing.

Value cultural components of individual preferences systems are not static; they are transformed and influenced by interaction with values of other nations. But this is a slow process, and attempts to boost it, as history shows, do no good.

Today a mega-group called “international community” is in the process of radical transformation. New coalition are being formed, the balance of power is changed. We are witnessing not only a decay of the previous balance on the world stage, but a crisis of many institutions that provide solutions to global problems. In order to achieve a new balance we will require a practical generally accepted mechanism for interests’ coordination. But this is not easy. The situation has a gambling character, the degree of uncertainty for the participants in the “gamble” increases dramatically. When many of the former rules of conduct are doubted, and the new ones have not yet been formed, it is tempting to use the methods of the hard pressure, information warfare without rules in order to split the ranks of opponents.

In such circumstances, there is a great danger that the situation may get out of control. And there is only one recommendation: the gamblers should pay special attention to assessing risks associated with their actions, and to make every effort to reconcile and then strictly stick to the agreed principles of behavior.

Reference

1. *Marx K., Engels F.* Collected Works. 2nd ed. Vol. 46, part I. P. 102.

Marcus Papadopoulos¹

RUSSOPHOBIA: AN INGRAINED AND UNOFFICIAL POLICY OF THE WEST

Despite being in the era of globalisation, the world today retains many of its characteristics from centuries gone by. Of course, when we talk of the “world” in the context of this paper, we are talking about governments and how they operate on the international stage when pursuing their national interests.

The pursuit of national interests is something that every independent, sovereign country in the world has the right to carry out, in line, of course, with international law and the mechanisms of the United Nations. However, that right is one that is perceived as threatening and troublesome by countries who hold sway over the world, and who are determined to maintain this supremacy by any means necessary, including war. Enter the West.

In *Realpolitik*, the West in the twenty-first century is, at its heart, the United States of America, which, in turn, is supported by its most staunch friend and ally in the world, Great Britain (this was the case during the second half of the twentieth-century, too). Indeed, both countries can be described as kindred spirits and constituting the nucleus of the Anglo-Saxon world. Seeing the world through a Western prism, the West views, with unease and suspicion, countries which can be described as forming “the Orient”, or in more contemporary terms, Asia.² And Russia is regarded by Washington and London as a major representation of Asia and as being outside of the European family. That view has a long history, and official observations of Russia and Russians by Westerners often contained evidence of racial prejudices.

Following the establishment of diplomatic relations between London and Moscow in 1553, British officials, heavily influenced by the teachings of Ancient Greek and Ancient Roman philosophers that the world was polarised between “West” and “East” and “civilisation” and “barbarism”, and heavily influenced by their conviction in Anglo-Saxon superiority, came to view Russia and Russians as epitomising “Asiatic barbarism” and “Asiatic despotism”.³ Indeed, one British observer commented that “even in character of their [Russian] alphabet there is a kind of barbarism which is truly revolting.”⁴

By the eighteenth-century, Russophobia had swept across Britain and particularly in London. The view of British politicians was that Russia was a barbaric and tyrannical power which threatened the security and stability of Europe.⁵ Indeed, the parliamentarian David Urquhart regarded Russia as the “Devil incarnate”,⁶ while another parlia-

mentarian Sir Charles Dilke held the Russian race to be inferior to Anglo-Saxons and sidelined Russians as “mere pygmies”.⁷ Furthermore, a fear of Russia was very evident in British observations; for instance, an English officer attached to the Russian army said of Russian infantry that: “they cannot be defeated; they must be killed.”⁸

Following the Bolshevik revolution in October 1917, negative views of Russia increased dramatically amongst British officials. A British liaison officer serving in Paris, Major General Sir Edward Spears, reported on how Bolshevik forces had buried people alive, had cut steaks off live cattle, had thrown babies off moving trains and had massacred disease-ridden people with hatchets.⁹ Winston Churchill warned that: “The ghost of the Russian bear comes padding across the immense field of snow.”¹⁰ And many officials in London believed that the behaviour of the Bolsheviks, in the immediate aftermath of the revolution, exemplified traditional Russian barbarism.¹¹

Despite being allied to Russia in the Second World War, British officials continued to express their view that Russia was a land of savagery. Winston Churchill commented on how he had been informed that the Russians were “not human beings at all”¹² and he warned that “it would be a measureless disaster if Russian barbarism overlaid the culture and independence of the ancient states of Europe”.¹³ At the end of 1945, the British military attaché in Warsaw commented on the behaviour of Russian soldiers in the Polish capital, stating that: “It would be unreasonable to expect Anglo-Saxon standards from a primitive and largely Asiatic race.”¹⁴

Further to that, the American government was fed a damning assessment of Russia and Russians by its military personnel during the war years. One example involved an American POW, liberated by the Red Army, who complained about the meals given to him by the Russians; he demanded that US troops should be “treated as white men and given decent food instead of cabbage soup.”¹⁵ Such observations would help to contribute to the US view during

¹ David Nicholls, *The Lost Prime Minister: A Life of Sir Charles Dilke* (London, The Hambledon Press, 1995) p. 29.

² David C. Engerman, *Modernization from the Other Shore: American Intellectuals and the Romance of Russian Development* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2003) p. 112.

³ Max Egremont, *Under Two Flags: The Life of Major General Sir Edward Spears* (London, Phoenix Giant, 1998) p. 86.

⁴ R. H. Haigh, D. S. Morris and A. R. Peters, *Unhappy Landings: British-Soviet Relations, the Russian civil war and interventionism 1917–1920* (Sheffield, Sheffield City Polytechnic, Department of Political Studies, 1980) p. 63.

⁵ Michael Hughes, *Inside the Enigma: British Officials in Russia, 1900–1939* (London, The Hambledon Press, 1997) p. 180.

⁶ Ben Pimlott, ed., *The Second World War Diary of Hugh Dalton, 1940–1945* (London, Jonathan Cape, 1986) 27 August 1942, p. 486.

⁷ Martin Gilbert, *Road To Victory: Winston S. Churchill, 1941–1945* (London, Heinemann, 1986) p. 239.

⁸ FO 371/47954/N 14520: 1 October 1945, report by the British military attaché in Poland on the “Discipline of Russian Forces in Poland”.

⁹ Frank Costigliola, ““Like Animals or Worse”: Narratives of Culture and Emotion by US and British POWs and Airmen behind Soviet Lines, 1944–1945”, *Diplomatic History*, Volume 28 (2004), p. 763. For a discussion on how the US was viewing Russia during the Second World War, see: Frank Costigliola, ““I had Come as a Friend”: Emotion, Culture, and Ambiguity in the Formation of the Cold War, 1943–1945”, *Cold War History* (August 2000), pp. 103–128; and Frank Costigliola, ““Mixed Up” and “Contact”: Culture and Emotion among the Allies in the Second World War”, *International History Review* (December 1998), pp. 791–805.

¹ Editor of “Politics First” magazine, expert and commentator on Russia and the rest of the former Soviet Union, doctor (Great Britain).

² For a discussion on “the Orient”, see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London, Penguin Classics, 2003), A. L. Macfie, *Orientalism: A Reader* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2000) and Ziauddin Sardar, *Orientalism* (Buckingham, Open University Press, 1999).

³ See Anthony Cross, *Anglo-Russica: Aspects of Cultural Relations between Great Britain and Russia in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Oxford, Berg, 1993).

⁴ M. S. Anderson, *Britain’s discovery of Russia 1553–1815* (London, Macmillan, 1958) p. 87.

⁵ For an account of the history of Russophobia in Britain, see John Howes Gleason, *The Genesis of Russophobia in Great Britain: A Study of the Interaction of Policy and Opinion* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950).

⁶ David Wetzel, *The Crimean War: A Diplomatic History* (New York, East European Monographs, 1985) pp. 146–147.

the Cold War that Russia was an “inferior” and a “primitive” country and that “Russian barbarism” was a threat to freedom and civilisation in the world.

Throughout the Cold War, the US constantly depicted Soviet Russia as a malignant threat to peace and civilisation in the world, culminating in Ronald Regan’s famous referral to the Soviet Union as the “evil empire”.

Notwithstanding the collapse of the Soviet Union and, with it, the end of the Cold War, the US maintained its suspicion of Russia, and this was demonstrated by the Pentagon’s Defence Planning Guidance of 1992 (also known as the Wolfowitz Doctrine, after its author Paul Wolfowitz). The document, which highlighted the necessity of American unilateralism and urged the use of pre-emptive military action to ensure Washington’s global hegemony after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, stated that: “Our first objective is to prevent the re-emergence of a new rival, either on the territory of the former Soviet Union or elsewhere, that poses a threat of the order of that posed formerly by the Soviet Union. Despite its current travails, Russia will remain the strongest military power in Eurasia and the only power in the world with the capability of destroying the United States.”¹ That assessment proved to be the blueprint for future Nato expansion eastwards, beyond Germany’s eastern border (something that the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was told in 1990 would not happen by President George Bush senior and Secretary of State James Baker in return for the USSR signing the Treaty on the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany). Between 1999 and 2004, Nato, under American leadership, expanded eastwards in Europe, to the western borders of the Russian Federation.

On top of Nato expansion, the Western military alliance is today constructing a missile defence shield in Europe, components of which will be in the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and in Poland and Romania. Nato’s presence on Russia’s borders and its construction of a missile defence shield in Europe pose a credible threat to Russian national security and the Russian strategic nuclear deterrent.

Following the coming to power in the Kremlin of Vladimir Putin in 2000, Russia has transformed itself. The Russian economy is today an energy superpower and the Russian government is again pursuing its national interests in the international arena (as it has every right to do), while the Russian people have a greater degree of security and stability in their lives today – something that Russians have historically valued as their most important priority. In short, Russia has restored much of its former superpower status – a reality that is unsettling to the American and British governments.

The West’s continued mistrust of and hostility towards Russia explains why there is again a serious standoff in the world between the West and Russia. Under no circumstances can Moscow countenance further Nato expansion to its borders, especially to Ukraine.

Resentful at how Russia is standing up to Nato expansion and the West’s global supremacy, the US and the UK are today leading the charge in demonising Russia and demonising its leader, President Putin. For the West, it was unforgivable that Russia went to war with Georgia, in 2008, to defend its national security interests (derailing, albeit temporarily, US endeavours to bring the South Caucasian

country into Nato); unforgivable that Russia is supporting the legitimate president and government of Syria (Bashar al-Assad and the Syrian Government) against Islamist militants; and unforgivable that Russia is taking a hardline stance over Ukraine, following the Western-instigated coup, in February 2014, against the democratically elected leader of the country, Viktor Yanukovich (stalling, once again, temporarily, the US’ ambition to bring Kiev into Nato).

In order to achieve its geo-strategic objective of bringing Ukraine into Nato thus completing the encirclement of Russia in Eastern Europe by the western military alliance (which, in the event of this happening, would severely weaken Russia in Europe and thereby in the world), and by installing a missile defence shield in Europe (which could, hypothetically speaking, neutralise the Russian strategic nuclear deterrent), the West is today alleging Russian barbarism and aggression in Europe and is calling, therefore, for an increase in Nato defence spending. For Washington and London to achieve their aim of weakening Russia in Europe, it is important for them to build a public case against Moscow in order to convince their respective domestic audiences that Russia is an aggressor state and action, therefore, needs to be taken to contain this aggression.

The language which US and UK mainstream politicians, and American and British mainstream media journalists, are using today in regard to Russia, is remarkably similar to the language used by British officials from the sixteenth-century onwards when commenting on Russia – namely, it is racially-charged.

The editorial of *The Washington Post* called on the West to contain “Russia’s new barbarism”², while a retired US general told Fox News that the American government should start “killing Russians” in Ukraine.³ Britain’s Defence Secretary Michael Fallon argued that Russia is “as great a threat to Europe as the Islamic State”⁴, while the British Foreign Secretary Phillip Hammond said that: ““We are in familiar territory for anyone over the age of about 50, with Russia’s behaviour a stark reminder that it has the potential to pose the single greatest threat to our security.”⁵ It should be noted, however, that talk of Russian “savagery” in the British media also occurred in the years leading up to the Ukraine crisis; for example, *The Independent* ran an article in 2008 entitled: “Russian barbarism must be tackled head on”.⁶

The two principal leaders of the Western world, Barack Obama and David Cameron, have followed in the footsteps of their predecessors when appraising Russia. President Obama commented that the US is leading the world in its opposition to “Russian aggression against Ukraine, which is a threat to the world”.⁷ And for his part, Prime Minister Cameron called on Nato member states to “speak with one voice about Russian aggression”.⁸

² The Washington Post, 21 July 2014, Editorial Board.

³ Fox News, Lou Dobbs Tonight, Major General Robert Scales, 11 March 2015.

⁴ Mail Online, 20 February 2015, “The new Cold War: Vladimir Putin issues new threat”.

⁵ The Telegraph online, 10 March 2015, “Putin’s Russia could be “single greatest threat to Britain’s security”, Philip Hammond warns.

⁶ The Independent, 31 August 2008, “Russian barbarism must be tackled head on”.

⁷ Reuters, November 15 2014, “Russian aggression against Ukraine a threat to world: Obama”.

⁸ Wales Online, 3 September 2014, “Nato Summit 2014: David Cameron blasts Russian “aggression” in Ukraine as leaders prepares for Wales meeting”.

¹ Tribune, 7 September 2008, “Analysis: Why the Russian Bear bit back at the US Eagle”.

The language which Western politicians and journalists have used to depict Russia over the Ukraine crisis is extremely inflammatory and demonstrates a racial prejudice: namely, that they consider the Russians to be a barbaric race who threaten peace and freedom in Europe and the wider world. Now, the West would argue that when they use the expression “Russian barbarism” or a “Russian threat”, they are referring to the Russian government, not the Russian people. But, of course, the Russian government is composed of Russians! And, as we have seen earlier, the Western mindset towards Russia remains, fundamentally speaking, the same as it was in the nineteenth-century, for example, through the language it uses when discussing Russia over the Ukraine crisis. Further to that, how many politicians and journalists in the West talk of “Jewish barbarism” or a “Jewish threat” when condemning the actions of the Israeli government in Gaza, for instance? Such a reference would be clearly anti-Semitic and would not be tolerated, and rightly so. Alas, talk of “Russian barbarism” or a “Russian threat” is no different. Racism is racism and should have no place in the world, especially given that 2015 marks the 70th anniversary of the defeat of Nazism.

So, the West, in its portrayal of Russia as a menace, is using language which is racist. Western politicians and journalists have no moral compunction in using the expression “Russian barbarism” or “Russian aggression”. And they have no hesitation in attributing blame to Russia for tragic incidents which serve only to increase feelings of Russophobia; for instance, hours after the Malaysian airliner MH-17 crashed in eastern Ukraine in July 2014, Western journalists blamed Russia for the tragedy, even though they were not air crash investigators themselves and failed to present any firm evidence to corroborate their claim. To ordinary people in the US and UK, who had already been influenced by negative assessments and opinions by their politicians and journalists of Russia from the start of the Ukraine crisis, that Russia was “responsible” for shooting down a civilian airliner, which resulted in the deaths of all 298 people on board, demonstrated how “cold-blooded” its people were. When accusations are made against politicians and journalists in the West for inciting anti-Semitism as a result of their remarks about Israel, it is high time that the charge of Russophobia is brought against individuals who make uncorroborated assertions against Russia and who refer to “Russian barbarism”.

The role of Western media in the demonisation of Russia has been instrumental. While politicians and journalists in the West are keen to argue that their media is free and independent, the reality is very different. As the former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said, the role of Western media in the “Satanisation” of the Serbs during the Bosnian civil-war was “immense” and Western journalists “did more damage to us [the Serbs] than Nato bombs.”¹ In short, the American and British media follow the line of the State Department and the Foreign Office, respectively. US and UK journalists are very much part of the official mind in their respective countries.²

Western media constitutes one of the most potent weapons in the West’s arsenal. During the Yugoslav civil-wars,

¹ Politics First, May 2011, “Radovan Karadzic: The other side to the Bosnian story”.

² For a discussion on how Western mainstream media operates, see Peter Brock, *Media Cleansing: Dirty Reporting: Journalism and Tragedy in Yugoslavia* (GM Books, Los Angeles, 2005).

Western journalists, in order to help Western governments achieve their geo-strategic objectives in the Balkans, convinced their domestic audiences that the Serbs (who have historically close ties to Russia) were “genocidal” and were the “new Nazis in Europe” and therefore Nato needed to take action against them.³

In the case of Russia, Western media has been extremely successful in depicting Russia as the “aggressor” in Ukraine and in projecting the West as the party striving to bring freedom and prosperity to Ukraine. A YouGov opinion poll found that 72 per cent of British people believe that Russia poses a “threat to the West”, while 46 per cent believe that the West’s policy on Russia is “not tough enough”.⁴ In another YouGov poll, 42 per cent of Britons believe that Russia “deserves to go into recession as a result of Western sanctions”.⁵ Further to that, another YouGov poll found that 64 per cent of the British public support the West’s sanctions on Russia.⁶

What distinguishes the West’s current tirade against Russia in comparison to how it presented Moscow during the Cold War period, is that the Russian leader is being ferociously targeted, amounting to demonisation (it is evident that the West, which enjoyed having a compliant, subservient and weak leader in the Kremlin during the 1990s, Boris Yeltsin, is livid at how President Putin is today pursuing an independent foreign policy and how he has returned Russia to the international scene). Britain’s *The Spectator* ran an article on President Putin with the title: “Vladimir Putin’s new plan for world domination”⁷, while CNN ran an article entitled: “Putin, just evil enough”.⁸ In the US, Vice-President Joe Biden informed the media that during a meeting with President Putin, he told the Russian leader that: “I don’t think you have a soul”.⁹ Hypothetically speaking, would Western media run an article entitled: “Benjamin Netanyahu’s new plan for world domination”? I think not. Such a headline would be clearly anti-Semitic. And so the headline titles about President Putin, as cited above, are clearly Russophobic.

Comparing President Putin to Adolf Hitler is another very effective way of influencing public opinion in the West that the Russian leader is malevolent and therefore poses a threat to their security. During a meeting with European leaders in Brussels, Prime Minister Cameron is reported to have said that: “We run the risk of repeating the mistakes made in Munich in ‘38. We cannot know what will happen next. This time we cannot meet Putin’s demands. He has already taken Crimea and we cannot allow him to take the whole country.”¹⁰ And Britain’s Prince Charles is believed to have told a lady who lost relatives in the Holocaust that: “Putin is doing just about the same as Hitler.”¹¹ In the US,

³ For articles on how the West targeted the Serbs during the Yugoslav civil-wars, see Tribune, 18 March 2009, “The Cancerous state at Europe’s heart”; Morning Star, 3 December 2009, “The conflict that could’ve been averted” <http://serbianna.com/analysis/archives/745>; and Morning Star, “A spectre of Bosnia’s war” <http://davidaslindsay.blogspot.co.uk/2009/12/how-pseudo-west-destroyed-yugoslavia.html>

⁴ YouGov, 9 March 2015, “Russia”.

⁵ YouGov, 18 December 2014, “Russia Sanctions”.

⁶ YouGov, 12 February 2015, “Russia and Ukraine”.

⁷ *The Spectator*, 22 February 2014, “Vladimir Putin’s new plan for world domination”.

⁸ CNN, 25 July 2014, “Putin, just evil enough”.

⁹ *The New Yorker*, 28 July 2014, “The Biden Agenda”.

¹⁰ *The Guardian*, 2 September 2014, “David Cameron warns of ‘appeasing Putin as we did Hitler’”.

¹¹ *The Telegraph Online*, 20 May 2014, “Prince Charles compares Vladimir Putin to Adolf Hitler”.

Senator John McCain argued that: “If Putin is allowed to go into a sovereign nation on behalf of Russian-speaking people, this is the same thing that Hitler did prior to World War II.”¹ And Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter, and who is an influential voice in the American corridors of power, commented on how President Putin is “a partially comical imitation of Mussolini and a more menacing reminder of Hitler.”² Further to that, *Forbes* ran an article discussing whether the Russian leader is another Hitler (which the author of the article answered in the affirmative) and concluded that: “Putin... behaves as if he rules the Earth. Sadly, there is no Churchillian voice to sound the alarm and call the democratic world to action.”³ Comparisons between President Putin and Hitler install fear in the minds of many ordinary people in the US and UK about Russia, and this helps to gather their support for the West’s policy towards Moscow.

What we are witnessing today in the world (indeed, what we have seen in the world since the collapse of the Soviet Union) is an attempt by the West to cement its leading global position by targeting countries in geo-strategic areas of the world which pursue independent foreign policies that clash with Washington’s interests. The Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia were targeted because they wanted Yugoslavia to remain intact (and because of their historic close relations with Russia), Serbia was bombed in 1999 because the US wanted to strengthen its position in the Balkans (the American military base in Kosovo, Camp Bondsteel, is the largest overseas US military base constructed since Vietnam) and Syria is today being targeted because it is one of Israel’s main adversaries and because it is a close friend and ally to Russia, thereby enabling Moscow to have influence in the Middle East (no different to how the US has influ-

ence in this region through its close ties with Israel and Saudi Arabia). And it is Western media that lays the ground for demonising any country (and leader) which does not bow down to the diktats of the West.

In regard to Russia, the West is using age-old racism towards Russia and Russians to try and discredit the Russian government on the international stage in order to justify Washington and London’s determination to achieve their objective of weakening Russian power and influence in Europe so that Pax Americana can retain its leading position in global affairs.

The irony of the West’s tactics towards Russia and its people is that it is using racism as a weapon, which puts it at odds with how Washington and London project themselves as being beacons of civilisation in the world. But then, “civilisation” never mattered to the West when it discarded international law and the UN and bombed and/or invaded independent, sovereign countries – Serbia, Iraq and Libya – when it undermined the legitimacy of governments of independent, sovereign countries and opened a Pandora’s box there, causing thousands of deaths as a result – Syria and Ukraine – and when it maintains close ties with governments which are the epitome of intolerance, human rights abuses and extremism – Saudi Arabia.

Russophobia is alive and well in Washington and London and is an enduring characteristic of how both will resort to any means necessary to safeguard their dominant position in world affairs, regardless of how we today live in the era of globalisation. For the US and UK, their interests supersede those of other countries. And therein lies the foundation for a permanent state of conflict between a nuclear-armed West and a nuclear-armed Russia, which represents the greatest potential threat to mankind in its history.

Nenad Popovich⁴

BALKAN REGION FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF MODERN GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

Nature of all global conflicts is always determined by clashes of opposite interests and aims. In classical geopolitics conflict is always set in the center of international relations. The basic conflicts in the modern world are: military-political, economic and social conflicts. Ethnonational and ethnoconfessional conflicts became widely spread at the end of the XX century.

¹ Business Insider, 22 May 2014, “12 Prominent People Who Compared Putin to Hitler Circa 1938.”

² Ibid.

³ *Forbes*, 5 May 2014, “Is Vladimir Putin Another Adolf Hitler?”

⁴ Chairman of the Serbian People’s Party, president of the ‘ABS Electro’ Group, founder of the ‘ABS Electro’ charity fund, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor, Department of Mining Industry Economics and Planning at the Moscow State Mining University (since 2000). Author of 11 books and 211 scientific papers in economics and regional development, including: ‘Frankly about Economy of Kosovo and Metohija’ and others. Chairman of the Honourary Board of the Russian-Serbian friendship. Member of the Board of Trustees of the ‘Unity of Orthodox Peoples’ Foundation headed by the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia, and of the Board of Trustees of the Russian Orthodox Church in Belgrade. Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the ‘Russian Necropolis in Belgrade’ Foundation. He is awarded with the ‘Honourary Power Engineer’ title from the Ministry of Energy of the Russian Federation (2014). He is also awarded with the medal ‘For Humanism’ (Serbia and Montenegro), the order of Friendship, ‘For Merits before the Chuvash Republic’, St. Sava II degree, St. Seraphim of Sarov, degree 2, the Faithful Saint Prince Daniel of Moscow degree 3, St. Sergius of Radonezh degree 3.

Contradictory processes of globalization that take place in the modern world intensified existing problems or produced new. Among basic global military-political and economic threats one can name terrorism, religious extremism, ethnic enmity, uncontrolled migration, illegal arms traffic and many others. All these threats determine the necessity of immediate joint action to eradicate them from all countries of the world.

In the article I will discuss in details problems of the Balkan region that with no doubts can be called today the central part of the global ‘arc of instability’.

Besides Balkan’s strategic role in geopolitical combinations, the vital factor of peninsula instability is still the incompleteness of nation-state construction processes. Latest developments in the Balkan region marked the beginning of a new stage in its nation-state segmentation. Per se the situation goes back to the end of XIX – the beginning of XX century with mutual territorial complains and ethnic nationalism typical for that time.

Latest events in the Balkan region that took place at the end of XX century marked the beginning of a new stage in

its nation-state region segmentation displayed fallacy of the estimation for long-term stability in the region.

UNO International Court of Justice Decision that recognized Unilateral Kosovo Declaration of Independence “compliant with international law” was perceived as go-ahead in the two potentially hot spots of the region – on the territory of compact settlement of Kosovan Serbs and in Bosnian Republika Srpska.

Today similar tendencies to revive the existing models of interethnic conflict regulation and further recarving of the existing state borders have stirred to activity outside Balkans. The threats of repeating Kosovan and Bosnian scenario are heard from Kyrgyzstan and other republics in Central Asia.

It is no coincidence that one of the neoglobalism ideologists Zbigniew Brzezinski defines the region of Transcaucasia, Central Asia as ‘Eurasian Balkans’ and points out that they „in fact resemble older and more familiar to Europe Balkans in South-Eastern Europe: the situation within the political subjects is unstable and besides they cause more powerful neighbours to interfere and each of them is full of determination to resist dominant role of the other neighbour in the region. This very familiar combination of vacuum of power and absorption of power is justified by the term ‘Eurasian Balkans’”¹.

The Balkans has traditionally represented a potential geopolitical sweet spot in the fight for European dominance. The key reason is the geographic location of the Balkans at the juncture of all trade routes between rich countries of Eurasia and industrially developed states of the West.

The peculiarity of the new global challenges in the modern world is the renaissance of the aggressive ethnic separatism that can already be clearly seen outside the Balkan region – in Romania, Slovakia, Hungary and other EU members. Under the influence of Kosovan precedent the unpredictability of further development of the two ‘frozen’ conflicts (Pridnestrovian and Nagorno-Karabakh) on the former USSR territory has increased.

All mentioned above give grounds to characterize Balkan region in its modern form – 20 years after the beginning of the bloody collapse of Yugoslavia – “as the key component of the ‘arc of instability’” that stretches “from Africa to the Middle East, the Balkans, the Caucasus, South and Central Asia and parts of South-Eastern Asia”².

The role of the Balkan Peninsula in these processes is conditioned by many factors including those connected with difficult interweaving of interethnic, interreligious and interstate contradictions in the region. “In the course of all centuries the Balkans has always been a place of bloody violent clashes of strangers’ interests. The map of the Balkans has been recarved many times without taking into account the will of peninsula inhabitants. From this in a way proceeds the Balkan incompleteness of interethnic and interstate division between peoples, perpetual crises and wars...”³.

That is why to find optimal and long-term solution for the existing conflicts and contradictions on the basis of traditional models involving existing peacemaking tools such

as UNO, OSCE, European Union, NATO and other institutions is almost impossible.

All this opens wide opportunities for the USA and leading European countries to realize their own strategies that include both working off mechanisms that can provide geopolitical dominance in the Balkan region and solution of more global tasks.

This can be confirmed by the declaration of the former American congressman Tom Lantos who said that the US role in creation of Muslim Bosnia and Herzegovina in the heart of Europe should be appreciated “by both responsible leaders of Islamic governments, ...and also for jihadists of all color and hue”⁴ “...that is why the support of the US administration actions in the Balkans by Bosnian Muslims and Kosovan Albanian Muslims is vitally important for the Americans on a propagandistic level of their relationship with Muslim world...”⁵.

The role of the Balkans in providing All-European stability – or to be more precise – instability – is great. Since the end of XIX century Balkan Peninsula has a reputation of “gunpowder magazine of Europe”. The Great Powers has always been making plans (and go on realizing them) on using the Balkan region as a springboard to penetrate into the strategically important regions of the world. One of the key directions for such expansions was the usage of Balkan marine and land shipping thruways both existing and projected (direct analogy to the modern fight around ways of energy recourses transportation).

The history of all wars in the Balkans can prove that. At the beginning of the XX century the acute Balkan problems – Albanian, Macedonian, Bosnian – were being solved by the Great Powers “within their territorial claims in the Balkans and dominance in the Mediterranean and Middle East...”⁶.

Within the system of modern international relations aggressive policy of the Western countries in the Balkan region that was revealed visually in NATO “humanitarian” bombings in Yugoslavia in 1999 followed by promotion of an idea of Kosovo self-declared independence has in itself much larger-scale problems compared to those that European countries had to confront at the beginning of the XX century.

Today it is obvious that US and NATO policy in the Balkans leads to “violence and crime escalation, undermines democracy success, puts an end to disarmament perspectives and definite control over nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, and of course, can leave no other choice for nuclear-free states than to ‘obtain nuclear weapons’ for self-defense...”⁷.

Although one shouldn’t underestimate the importance of disagreements between USA and EU in settlement of the Balkan region problems. Such disagreements have already appeared in 1990-s with the collapse of Yugoslavia and today they influence significantly both the EU elaboration of unified foreign and defense policy and EU development of bilateral relationships with some states of the region such as Serbia and Turkey.

⁴ The Huffington Post. 2007. 20 April.

⁵ Каргановић С., Симић Љ. Сребреница: деконструкција једног виртуелног геноцида. Београд, 2010. С. 129.

⁶ Стојанов П. Македонија во политиката на големите сили во времето на Балканските војни 1912–1913. Скопје, 1979. С. 183.

⁷ Хомский Н. Новый военный гуманизм: Уроки Косова. М., 2002. С. 273–274.

¹ Бжезинский З. Великая шахматная доска. М., 2009. С. 161.

² Мир после кризиса. Глобальные тенденции – 2025: меняющийся мир/ Доклад Национального разведывательного совета США. М., 2009.

³ Модели стабильности в Черноморско-Кавказском регионе. М., 2006. С. 34.

As ex-Chancellor of Germany Gerhard Schroder fairly points out in his memoirs that “the USA up to now cannot decide how to deal with European Union. Every now and then one can hear encouraging appeals from behind the ocean for larger independence and partnership based on common system of values. However as soon as the question about real reinforcement of European independence comes to the agenda, Americans try to stop it...” Moreover, according to Schroder “for their own benefits some American politicians prefer Europe being torn up with arguments...”¹.

Apart from the strategic role of the Balkan Peninsula in All-European and after World War the Second – in global geopolitical combinations and calculations, the key factor of instability in the region is incompleteness of nation-state construction processes (that refers to ethnic and inter-ethnic aspects).

Yugoslavian collapse in the first half on 1990-s caused serious devaluation of international legal norms of crisis and post-crisis regulations. It was connected both with the absence of ready-made models in the world community and with double standards that were imposed by the Western players such as USA, NATO and EU.

Contradictory attitude of International organizations to self-declared in the course of crisis state formations on the territory of former Yugoslavia – from the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Croatia and Republika Srpska in Bosnia and Herzegovina to Kosovo in Serbia – bred among Balkan peoples and states not pleased with their status a feeling of “a game with no rules” when the principles of inviolability of borders and cooperation have been changed to Realpolitik that proceeds from a priority of powerful unilateral actions based not on the international law but on the centers of power and backstage combinations.

Today we can claim that all the events that happened in Transdnistria, Kosovo and Abkhazia have shown incompetence and inactivity of the international community that has proved its feebleness in finding solution in the problem of unacknowledged states. The only thing that was found is Dayton Agreement but today it is being deliberately and purposefully destroyed by its authors.

What happens today in the Balkan region is in fact comeback to the situation at the end of XIX – beginning of the XX century (mutual territorial claims, ethnic nationalism and so on). Moreover, sequential development of actions in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia can be viewed as “postponed chain reaction of the open questions from the time of Balkan wars of 1912-1913”².

Great Albanian idea that was proclaimed at the end of XIX century and was put into practice at the end of 1980-s – the beginning of 1990-s should be considered as the initial point for modern global challenges and the beginning of new destabilization processes in the Balkans.

As it was pointed out in the political declaration of Coordinating Council of Albanian political parties in Yugoslavia adopted on October, 12th, 1991, in case of changes of Yugoslavian borders “Albanian part of Yugoslavia by means of adopting the main declaration as a result of plebiscite will go for territorial union with Albania”. The following ideological reasoning for new borders recarving was mentioned in the document: “in the process of formation

of state borders of Albania ethnic principles and the will of Albanian people were ignored”³. Legal base for such course had become the results of “referendum on questions of sovereignty and independence” that was held in September 1991 in Kosovo and were recognized neither by Belgrade, nor by a number of international institutions. Events that followed in the Balkan regions populated by Albanians fit this program entirely.

Nowadays the “core to collect all Albanian territories” is Kosovo to which Albanian leaders in different Balkan countries are ready to add vast territories of Southern Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and possibly Greece. This will blow up the fragile world and stability in Bosnia and Herzegovina where Bosnian Serbs and Croats openly discuss their intention to repeat Kosovan scenario of self-determination.

Under the circumstances of ethnic ‘leapfrog’ in the Balkans and the absence of distinct international legal mechanisms of local conflicts regulating, great-power plans of Albanian ethnos are leading naturally towards reinforcement of similar tendencies among other Balkan peoples, first of all, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians and Bulgarians.

At present the question of status of hundred thousand of Serbs in two million Kosovan population is being discussed by the international experts almost solely in the context of forced integration of Kosovan Serbs into the structure of self-declared Kosovan state and their further ethno-confessional assimilation. Today it has become clear that neither Belgrade nor Kosovan Serbs will ever agree even to expanded autonomy. They indicate directly “the absence of any signs for this”. However the experts of International Crisis group in their reports continue persuading international community that only this strategy can help to get acknowledgement of Kosovo independence by Serbia.

At the same time it is obvious that recarving of the borders between Serbian and Albanian enclaves may cause mass migration of Kosovan Serbs who live at present to the South of the river Ibar. Together with this recarving of the borders will cause a burst of Albanian separatism in neighboring Macedonia, Montenegro and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

And if in Macedonia the key question in the agenda is further isolation of Albanian community (that according to different data is from one quarter to one third of the country’s population), in Bosnia and Herzegovina the repetition of Kosovan scenario would inevitably mean revival of bloody fratricidal ethno-civil war ‘all against all’. Armed conflicts in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo are the same types of events.

To confirm ‘explosibility’ in the Balkan region there is a quotation of an authoritative American sociologist of Serbian origin Bogdan Denich who said that in case of united Yugoslavia it is “impossible to imagine any new ‘fairer’ borders that would not lead to infinite bloodshed...”⁴.

Deliberate oblivion (but partially not deliberate) of this fact at the beginning of 1990-s caused present day spiral of unceasing instability in the Balkans. Within the framework of this strategy one can clearly see the division of not only Kosovo, but also of Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina.

¹ Шрёдер Г. Решения. Моя жизнь в политике. М., 2007. С. 144.

² Chashule S. Kosovo, a Joint Venture of Democracy // Macedonian Affairs. 2005. Vol. V. No. 4. P. 31.

³ A Political Declaration // The Truth on Kosova. Tirana, 1993. P. 338–339.

⁴ Chandler D. Bosnia: Faking Democracy After Dayton. L.; Sterling, 2000. P. 198.

Today the world community can already be openly questioned: "If Kosovan Albanians according to the UNO International Court of Justice and opinion of the majority of world leading powers have rights to separate on the basis of ethnic hatred and lack of unity with Serbia, why can't Serbs do the same in Bosnia and Herzegovina?"

Recently a number of international observers claim more and more often that present-day situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina resembles a lot the development of the situation in Palestine-Israeli conflict zone because the status of Bosnian Serbs and Croats is similar to the status of Arab citizens in Israel: Israel state "does not let them become entirely Israeli", and they are forced to be "marginal Israeli".

However difficult international relations in the Balkans in the near future can move to the background while a more dangerous factor will come to the foreground – religious one that can turn the region into a zone of hot inter-confessional clashes.

According to Yakub Selimovskij who is responsible for religious formation inside Muslim community in Macedonia, Wahhabism has become more aggressive during last decade in Macedonia, the Balkans and Europe. According to his data, Wahhabites as representatives of a more radical movement in Islam, which has close connections with international terrorist structures, already exists "on a regular basis" in Macedonian territory where it was not observed before. Moreover, destructive, extremist and radical forces try to take local Islamic religious community under their control and become the head of it. It is important to note that Albanians occupy leading positions among Muslims in Macedonia. According to information we have, at least five large mosques in Macedonian capital Skopje are controlled by Wahhabites. Their spiritual leader Ramadan Ramadani spread an ultimatum among local Muslims where he demands to acknowledge him as a leader of all Islamic community in Macedonia. According to Macedonian media a proclamation to support terrorist group "Islamic state" is being transmitted in the mosques controlled by Islamists.

Also Wahhabites are active in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, the rest of Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia, and "recently they have appeared in Bulgaria". Since mid-1990s on the territory of Bulgaria with the help of funds from foreign Muslim countries and organizations there have been constructed more than 150 mosque and the so called "educational centers" through which the ideas of Wahhabism are being spread directly. As the former Bulgarian supreme mufti Nadim Ganjev points out that Muslim organization that act in the Balkan region work for creation of "fundamentalist triangle" formed by Bosnia, Macedonia and mountain West-Rodopski region in Bulgaria.

Islamic centers that work there have close connections not only with Saudi Arabia but also with more radical forces including recorded terrorist organizations such as Egyptian "Muslim Brotherhood" and terrorist group "Islamic State". By the most conservative estimates more than three thousands of young Muslims have completed training in the centers in Bulgaria controlled by them for the last 25 years².

Permanent growth of radical Islamists' activity is marked today in Serbia, first of all in the historic region

Sanjak at the junction of Serbian, Montenegrin and Bosnian borders. Serbian authorities has succeeded several times in stopping the work of Wahhabit centers in this region, including in 2007 in Novi-Pazar – administrative center of Sanjak the work of a large Wahhabit training camp. During investigation organized by the Serbian authorities it was discovered that the aim of Wahhabit groups was organizing terroristic attacks not only in Sanjak and Novi-Pazar, but also in Belgrade against USA and leading European power embassies. Weapons were delivered to Wahhabites from Albania via Kosovo. We should not forget that it was Albania at the beginning of 1990s from where "Al-Qaeda" started penetrating to the Balkans and established strong connections with Albanian leaders of that time including president Sali Berisha and Parliament speaker Skender Gjinushi.

Investigation also unveiled close connections between Novi-Pazar Wahhabites and their accomplice in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to the data of the USA Central Intelligence Agency today not less than three thousand people in Bosnia and Herzegovina share Wahhabism ideas and number of their followers grows. Wahhabism ideas are especially popular among Bosnian youth.

As for the role of the Islamic factor in the self-declared 'independent' Kosovo, according to the international experts, local radical Islamic groups gain points on "negative moods that are produced by the carelessness of international community". Such groups have taken under their control distribution "of food, clothes, places in the refugee camps", and also equipment for growing thin crops by the locals. It lets us find correspondence with the actions of Islamic groups in Afghanistan. Western countries policy after termination of Kosovo conflict "gives grounds to believe that they bear direct responsibility for the creation their own 'Taliban' in Europe"³.

Active penetration of Wahhabites into Kosovo started right after multinational NATO contingent arrived to the territory in 1999. Main financiers of the Islamic radicals have become countries of the Arab world and numerous Muslim funds and organizations, first of all the ones that are based in Saudi Arabia the so-called "Committee of aid to Kosovo and Chechnya" and "Al Haramain" fund. Documents discovered by the police in Serbia near the city Novi-Pazar indicate that the ultimate purpose of the Islamists in the Balkans is the creation of Sharia state that will include Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Sanjak, and that will possibly be enlarged by Montenegro and Albania and will establish close connections with other similar formations that can emerge in the regions of Middle East and Southwest Asia.

The cells of the terroristic network "Al Qaeda" are almost openly work in Kosovo and Albania. The content of the next declaration by "Al Qaeda" headlined "World front of the struggle against the Jews and crusaders" indicates that advocating "jihad against unfaithful" in the Balkans they use the same methods as in the rest nodal points in the global 'arc of instability'. In particular the declaration says that "America and Israel kill only weak men, women and children in the Muslim world and elsewhere", they also "deprived Muslims in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina of weapons, leaving them as unprotected prey for Christian Serbs". Such statements give ideological justification

¹ Pickering P. Peacebuilding in the Balkans. The View from the Ground Floor. Ithaca ; L., 2007. P. 167.

² EU-Balkans-Radical Islam // AP News Report. 2010. 19 Sept.

³ Хомский Н. Гегемония, или Борьба за выживание: стремление США к мировому господству. М., 2007. С. 92.

of further actions and operations of international terrorist structures.

Leading American expert in Wahhabist actions Michael Scheuer pictures the following geography of the operations of this radical Islamic movement: Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Chechnya, Dagestan, terroristic attacks in Russian cities, Philippines, Algeria, Kashmir, West China, East India, Kirgizstan, Malaysia, Yemen, Indonesia and Horn of Africa, he also adds to this scheme “sectarian blood-letting” in Bosnia and Kosovo¹. Recent statement of the head of Uzbekistan Islamic movement Usmon Gozi that this terroristic organization will join the fighters of the “Islamic State” proves the expansion of the geography of this reactionary Islamic movement.

To sum up, the place of the Balkan region as a component of the “arc of instability” is defined by the three factors: its role in geopolitical plans and calculations of the great powers, complex and unsolved international and inter-confessional contradictions and radical Islamists becoming active and strengthening their positions in the Balkans for further penetration into Europe.

These factors intertwine with each other more and more because “both large but torn with inner conflicts Afghanistan and small Kosovo enclave in the heart of Europe with their almost 100% shadow economy – are pawns in the struggle for world supremacy.

International terrorism with its sophisticated pseudo-Islamic rhetoric and proclamation of “worldwide jihad” that

includes the so-called ‘drug-jihad’ is a way to use Muslim cannon fodder in the war for the interests of leading Western powers of the Atlantic block”².

Besides, like a century ago, the Balkan region is a springboard for further penetration of Western countries into the regions of the Middle East, Black Sea region, the Caucasus and Central Asia. For example, one of the key reasons for the fact that the organizer of Yugoslavia collapse was Germany that had just been united was its urge to create a long-term area of instability in the region, to force Americans transfer their military bases there from German territory and then to start their own games not only in the Balkans but further in all the nodes of “onslaught onto the East” (German: *Drang nach Osten*): “...Germans freed themselves very elegantly from American divisions. They were followed by German forces and for the third time this century found themselves in Bosnia and Yugoslavia, then in Kosovo and all over the Balkans...”³.

Such state of things is a challenge for Russia – both from the point of its historical positions in the Balkans and from the point of maintaining stability along its Southern borders and in the regions of international transport and energy ways.

Russian withdrawal from the Balkans will automatically signify fundamental weakening of its positions further in the Eastern direction up to the Caucasus, Iran and republics in Central Asia.

Vasil Prodanov⁴

BULGARIA AND RUSSIA BETWEEN THE LIBERAL-UNIVERSALIST, CIVILIZATION AND NATIONAL VALUES

1. Liberal universalist values versus civilization and national ones

The Age of Enlightenment gave an impulse to the development of universal liberal ideas on common development direction and common values for all countries. However, these ideas could only be put into life at a certain stage in one most developed country. Hegel thought it to be Prussia, later the UK was considered as the right site for incarnation of these ideas, and in 1989 Francis Fukuyama claimed that the United States was its ultimate embodiment. However, alongside with these ideas, various local philosophies of history got evolved, too. They all, more or less, have abandoned a value-oriented movement, without denying the progress of technology and science, and have focused on specific national and civilizational values of a certain community.

The idea of universality is based on key principles of liberal thinking, which is imposed when one state is an eco-

nomie, military and political hegemon over all other countries in the world system.

Civilization and national values as a tool to form communities, united by a sacred space with ultimate goals, have complex and contradictory relationships. Civilization is associated with a long historical tradition, uniting people by origin, religion, cohabitation, collaboration and solidarity. Such, for example, are the relationships between the Russian and the Bulgarians. However, other factors can play a leading role in case civilizations got separated. Western civilization under a Huntington model includes Western and Protestant Europe together with the United States, but it does not include, for example, the Catholic Latin America. While Portugal and Spain, where they speak the same language as in Latin America, are a part of Western civilization. At the same time, Bulgaria and Greece, where they speak different languages, with different origins and alphabets, are included into one civilization because of their Orthodox identity.

The opposite example is Ukraine, despite it is closely related to Slavic civilization thanks to its language and origin, the country is considered as a “territory of fault” where two contrasting civilizations meet, because of the Catholic religion in the western part of Ukraine. We find the same uncertainty in the nation-generating signs: in different nations, we can witness how elements with varying degrees of importance play a leading role. This instability of civili-

¹ Scheuer M. P. 259–260.

² Черкесов А. Наркобизнес + терроризм = наркоджихад // Аналитические записки. 2007. Окт. С. 123–124.

³ Јанковић В. Словенски синдром на прагу трећег миленијума & *Drang nach Osten*. Београд, 2004. С. 11.

⁴ Corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor. He is an author of more than 500 scientific publications, including 21 monographs: “Good and dlzhimo”, “Cognition and values”, “Bioticsocial values”, “Bioethics”, “Civil society and global capitalism”, “Violence during the modern era”, “The Future of philosophy”, “Sociology of Philosophy”, “Theory of Bulgarian transition”, etc. He is a member of the editorial boards of several scientific journals.

zation and national signs creates opportunities for division, opposition, conflict between various communities that are formally associated with a united civilization. And it is exploited by external forces, especially those with military and political hegemony, for the purpose of mutual debilitation of the conflicting nations.

After World War II the United States and the Soviet Union offered their models as universal ones valid for everyone, considering themselves as the symbols of history and embodiment of universal values. In the struggle for the "third world" the US tried to introduce a universal model through their modernization theory, and the Soviet Union was introducing its model through the theory of non-capitalist development.

Greater economic, propaganda and ideological power of the United States gave them the chance to win, and the Soviet system lost its position and collapsed. The Soviet Union and the former socialist states during the "thaw" reinforced their economic, cultural and political relations with the West, and it dramatically increased their reliance on the capitalist center. This enabled the United States and Reagan administration to undertake a series of measures that facilitated the victory of the West in the Cold War. And this, in turn, allowed them to take ideological and political dividends claiming that their model of neoliberal capitalism is the embodiment of universal values.

Soon, however, doubts in this universalism model appeared. In 1993 Samuel Huntington wrote an article on the clash of civilizations in which the ideological model, identity and values offered by the liberal West, are not seen as an aim sought by the others, but they can even come to an inevitable collision with their own models of civilization. In the Balkans, the clash of civilizations began in the 1990s. Yugoslavia broke up and its different parts waged a civilization war: the Orthodox Serbia against the Muslim Bosnia and Kosovo and the Catholic Croatia, but not against the Orthodox Macedonia. It was a time when the Slavs and Orthodox were retreating. In Russia of that time the Westerners, liberals and neoliberals dominated. The neo-liberal capitalist civilization was imposing its model as a universal one through the Westernizing intelligentsia.

However, in 2003 the American "soft power" was not mighty enough to convince the rest of the world in good reasons to attack Iraq, and the Iraqis did not welcome such "liberators" with flowers, but with bombs. At the same time, China grew closer to the United States in economic terms, rejecting Western claims that a successful economic development is only possible under liberal values, norms, rules and institutions. Russia demonstrated a rapid recovery after the collapse of the 1990s and turned to its search for identity in national culture and traditions. When globalization weakened a lot of nation-states, the idea of a "return of empires" cropped out, implying that great forces shall be knit together economically and civilizationally. Multipolarity began to manifest itself not only as an economic, but also as a civilization principle.

The global economic crisis accelerated contradictions, conflicts and division; it showed a greatly escalated inequality and crisis of neo-liberal democracy in the developed Western countries; it sharply increased the US debt and weakened their capabilities. It turned out that unlike the 1933 crisis, there was no way out of the modern crisis by stimulating domestic consumption, especially by open-

ing new markets and stimulating exports through increase in other countries' consumption or removal of their resources. This dramatically increased aggressive and expansionist actions of the global hegemon, i.e. central capitalist states, and actions of other major capitalist powers, too. Civilizational characteristics, ideological explanations and justification of values, morals and human rights are becoming an instrument to legitimize more aggressive policies, which the global capitalism forces the state to pursue. The world is approaching a situation similar to that described in the great debate about imperialism, the imperialist stage of capitalism in the early XX century.

The opposition has a geo-economic nature, but each of major powers is trying to agglomerate the rest of civilization on solidarity and identity principles. Russia is trying to create the Eurasian Union with the former Soviet republics on the grounds of common past and language. At the same time, European integration skidded to a halt, torn between 23 languages and 3 alphabets, because of the difficulty to create a common identity.

The oppositions are caused by the crisis of capitalism and increasing inequality. They are stimulated by economic interests of certain countries and regions. The globalization of labor force movement across the planet leads to clashes of large masses of people on ethnic, religious and national hatred. A lot of immigrants in Western countries adversely affect the level of wages and employment of local people and this gives rise to conflict between visitors and residents of the country. On the other hand, in terms of competition for jobs immigrants are forced to accept miserable work conditions, so social and class contradictions in the developed Western countries lead to ethnic and religious clashes.

2. Bulgaria and Russia in terms of changing civilization relations and balance of power
Bulgarian Revival begins with the national idea, which is based on Russophilia, there are no more Russophile literary works in the whole world than those written by Bulgarian poets and writers, such as Ivan Vazov and Petko Slaveikov. Russia is presented there as a symbol of power, support and fraternity.

After the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke the country was torn between Russia and Western Europe, but we find the same opposition in Russia between the Slavophiles and Westerners. This division in Russia and Bulgaria has some common features, but differs too. In Russia, the Westerners, or liberal universalists, opposed to national loyalist, nationalists, conservatives, supporters of civilization model, the Slavophiles. Bulgaria, too, had its own Westerners (liberals, universalists, supporters of the European model), while their opponents, national loyalists, were the Russophiles, because they considered Bulgarian national identity inseparable from common Slavic, Orthodox, language, scriptory roots with Russia. The balance between these two groups varied with geopolitical changes that pushed Bulgaria towards geopolitical dependency from either the West or Russia.

However, regardless of geopolitical changes, the Russophilia had so deeply rooted in the minds of the people, that it led to a unique situation, when Bulgaria joined the Second World War as a German ally, declared a war on the United States, but did not enter into a war with Russia.

After 1944, Georgi Dimitrov's phrase on the role of the Soviet Union for Bulgaria as "sun and air for every living being" became very popular. Bulgaria was very close to Russia in cultural terms until 1989, which was manifested in a wide spread of Russian culture, such as newspapers, magazines, books, films. In Bulgaria, there were no dissidents, they were the fruits of Soviet perestroika and appeared as Gorbachev's advocates of the so-called "club of glasnost and perestroika".

Later, after the collapse of the USSR, when a unipolar world was triumphantly established in the 1990s and the first half of the next decade, Russia took a subordinate position to the West and reposed power in hands of oligarchs.

When in 1996 Jean Videnov, the Bulgarian Prime Minister, paid an official visit to Moscow and declared to Boris Yeltsin: "We will not join NATO and the EU, but you have to help us with economic projects," Yeltsin, under the influence of the US, said: "Do what you want, it does not concern us". After that, Petar Stoyanov, the Bulgarian President, called for a "new civilization choice", (1) referring to Bulgaria's entry to NATO and the EU, that is, its liaisons to Western civilization. In order to apply the Western "soft power", "think tanks" and NGOs were set up, which funded re-writing of Bulgarian history in terms of pro-Western, Russophobic and anti-Soviet views, and downplaying its Slavic and Orthodox elements.

The second stage of conflict of civilizations came after 2007, when new Russian trends, associated with creation of the Eurasian Union and establishment of Russian identity in a strong state and under conservative traditions, changed the things. Due to the crisis and disappointment in the EU, geopolitical gas war in the Balkans and the situation in Ukraine the opposition of "Russophiles-Russophobes" got intensified in the mass consciousness again.

What do Bulgarian sociological studies of the last decade tell us on this issue?

A number of studies on the Bogardus scale of social distance that the Bulgarians feel to other ethnic communities, show that the least social distance is with the Russians, so the Bulgarians perceive the Russians as the closest of all the ethnic communities. These are the people with whom the Bulgarians are most willing to maintain friendly relations, to be neighbors, to work together, to marry. It is significant that we accept the Russians even closer than the Bessarabians, Bulgarians and Macedonians, which are much more closely related to Bulgaria. (2) These data is confirmed by the studies after the conflict in Ukraine began in the period from June 16 to July 6, 2014. (3)

Bulgaria is the greatest Russophile in Europe. This is confirmed by data from the international "Transatlantic Trends" study conducted in 2008 in 12 European countries and the United States. When answering the question: "What feelings do the Bulgarians have for these countries?" they used a range with 100 as "very warm" and 0 as "very cold"; on average respondents marked 66 points for the Russians. At the same time a positive attitude toward the United States is weakening. In 2007 the "Pew Research" Center showed that only 51% Bulgarians have a positive attitude towards the United States, that is, five years have seen a decline of 21%. And it is most likely that the main reason for decline was violation of all international laws and invasion of the Americans in Iraq and Afghanistan, which entailed disastrous consequences for these countries.

We can talk about two stages of Russophilia in Bulgaria in the last decade. The first phase is harmoniously and consistently combined with Europhilia and Americaphilia and lasts till 2002. Actually, at that time Russia was ready for active integration with Europe. The international "Transatlantic Trends" study in 2011 once again showed that the Bulgarians are the largest Russophiles in Europe: a huge number (88%) of the Bulgarians have a positive attitude towards Russia, while the attitude to the Europeans, on average, is 50%. Only 10% do not like Russia. At the same time the Bulgarians together with the Romanians have the most positive attitude to the EU (90%). Therefore, the right-wing parties organize Russophobe demonstrations, while the Bulgarian Socialist Party is trying to combine pro-Western and pro-Russian views.

However, two events in 2013 marked the beginning of a new geopolitical and geo-economic situation of the Russophilia in Bulgaria. It is a revolution in Ukraine and a geopolitical war for Ukraine between the West and Russia, as well as energy-related geopolitical battles, ("South Stream"), where Bulgaria was in the center of events. All this matched with the growing frustration on Bulgaria's membership in the EU and led to a sharp deterioration of relations between the Russophiles and Russophobes. Of course, it was reflected in the results of new sociological studies.

For example, during the national study held by "Alpha Research" agency in late April 2014, the question was: "If a referendum was held today, and you had to choose between Bulgaria joining the EU and the Eurasian Union (Russia), how would you vote?" We received the following answers:

- Bulgaria's joining the EU – 40%;
- Bulgaria's joining the Eurasian Union – 22%;
- I do not know / I will not vote – 28%.

Supporters of joining the EU would not have received an absolute majority today. Each party experiences civilizational division to a different extent. We see that a coherent anti-European bloc is emerging, which is not publicly advertised, and has no preconditions for the development in the coming years, i.e. the Bulgarian society manifests civilizational fragmentation, similar to the one we have seen in Ukraine. It is an undisputed fact that such civilizational split occurred as long back as after the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke and has constantly existed in Bulgarian history, except for the time of socialism.

Another reputable sociological study conducted by "Median" agency from February 21 to March 1, 2015, during an acute propagandist confrontation between the West and Russia, especially due to Boris Nemtsov's assassination, confirms these data. Propagandist presentation of Russia as an aggressor, and of the US and NATO as guardians of peace, justice and democracy, boosted by the leading Bulgarian television channels and a huge number of NGOs financed by the Americans, are at odds with public opinion.

The United States is much more responsible for the events in Ukraine than Russia. Accordingly, the tension in relations with Russia strengthens the anti-NATO sentiments. Most adults (68%) are of the opinion that the Bulgarian government vassals the country to alien economic and political interests, and only 32% believe that the Cabinet defends national interests. There is a huge difference between the official position on Russia, Ukraine and the United States, represented by the mainstream media, the

president and the ministers of foreign affairs and defense, on the one hand, and public position and opinion, on the other. The image of Russia as an aggressor, and the US and NATO as guardians of peace, justice and democracy does not hold in the public mind. Only 11% believe that Russia provoked the events in Ukraine. Much larger is the percentage of those who believe that what the United States are to blame for events there, 23% respondents. Only 6% of Bulgarian citizens support the position of the United States in Ukraine, and four times as many – 24% – support the position of Russia. According to 33%, in a potential conflict of NATO-Russia, Bulgaria should withdraw from the EU, and only 9% believe that the country should remain in the alliance. Only 14% of Bulgarians support the NATO bases placement in Bulgaria, while 52% are against, that is, during the referendum Bulgarian people would have voted against the American bases, which are viewed as being directed against Russia. (4)

The Bulgarian opposition of the “Russophiles-Russophobes” is in many ways similar to the opposition of left-right wings or anti-communists and communists. In Bulgaria the most “hardcore” anti-communists are Russophobes. From the very beginning, since 1989, right-wing and pro-Western forces in Bulgaria have showed a pronounced anti-Soviet and anti-communist sentiments, seeing the West as an ideal model for Bulgaria, which the Soviet Union had impeded for years. In many ways the anti-Soviet and anti-communist position were transferred to Russia. On the opposite, the left-wing forces feel nostalgia for the Soviet period before 1989, and, accordingly, for close relationship with the Russian people. In this regard, the left forces

are dominantly Russophiles to various extents. At the same time we see a split in the geopolitical orientation and views on the world. Russophobes remain in the world of Fukuyama, while the Russophiles live in the world of Huntington, which US hegemony has already left or is gradually leaving. The US cannot serve as a model, and we must consider our historical relations and values.

Anyway, when it comes to attitude towards Russia, Bulgaria demonstrates a number of specific things that distinguish it from other EU Member States: a) Bulgaria is the closest EU country to Russia in terms of civilization; the only Slavic, Orthodox country in the European Union that uses the Cyrillic alphabet, on our initiative this alphabet started to be used in the EU; b) the population of Bulgaria shows the strongest Russophile mood; c) Bulgaria has the most significant minorities in Ukraine and Russia and is therefore very concerned with the events there; g) Bulgaria has a strong interest in economic relations with Russia, because a new Cold War between the West and Russia will have drastic consequences for its economy, as it was in the time of the Soviet Union’s collapse.

Reference

Reshetnikov L. “САЩ промиват мозъка на българина”. URL: <http://bgnews.me> (last accessed data: 07.09.2014).

See “Социални дистанции и етнически стереотипи за малцинствата в България”. Sofia: Institute «Отворено общество», 2009.

Pamporov A. “Новите цигани // Политики”. 2014. № 3. URL: http://politiki.bg/?cy=285&lang=1&a0i=224111&a0m=readInternal&a0p_id=1106

See «Media»: “Обществото няма доверие в управлението”. URL: <http://www.vesti.bg/bulgaria/politika/mediana-obshtestvoto-niama-doverie-v-upravlenieto-6032533> (last accessed data: 04.03.2015).

H. M. Reznik¹

EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS: LESSONS OF COMPARATIVE

Russia accepted jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights (Court) obligatory concerning interpretation and right application of the Convention and Protocols to it in cases of alleged violation of these contractual acts entered the Council of Europe and ratified the European convention on protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms on March 30, 1998. The Court has adopted about 2000 resolutions on the Russian affairs, mostly recognizing violations of different norms of the European right by Russian Federation for 15 years which passed from the moment of first case “Kalashnikov against Russia” considered in public hearing (on March 18, 2001).

Some judgments caused the aggravated reaction from the Russian authorities: they saw the politicization (“Ilashku” – 2006; “Kanonov” – 2010) or the competence excess

¹ Vice-president of Federal chamber of lawyers, professor of department of legal profession and notariate in the Kutafin Moscow State Law University, candidate of sciences (Law), Honoured Lawyer of Russia. Author of more than 300 publications on the theory of law, criminal law and procedure, criminology, including monographs: ‘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’, etc. A member of the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation. 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, a sign of public recognition the ‘Symbol of Freedom’ of the Union of Journalists of Russia. Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS.

(“Markin” – 2007) in them. The Chairman of the Constitutional Court V. Zorkin and the President D. Medvedev declared that Russia has not given to Court a part of the sovereignty which allows to make decisions caused changing of the Russian legislation.

Recently the critic of Court increased, according to aggravation of an international situation in Ukraine. Someone suggested leaving the Council of Europe and to escaping from Court jurisdiction. The argument of weakening of the sovereignty is supported by the sociocultural argument – imposing to Russia the western values, which are alien to it. And now the head of Investigative committee A. Bastrykin calls the Constitution norm setting a priority of international law over national a diversion of legal regulation.

Interstate conflicts and hurrah – patriotic rhetoric are not allies to the right for sure. But nevertheless there is a positive moment in a political turbulence: public interest in questions of providing a world and interstate order increases, demand for professional knowledge of scientists-lawyers and culturologists extends in mass consciousness and the press, they are given a chance to provide at least partial transfer of the emotions kindled by extreme propaganda to the rational discussion, based on facts.

Ratio of international law and the state sovereignty is an old problem, permanently actual.

The European convention was adopted in 1950 after the Universal declaration of human rights of the UN of 1948 and contains the same fundamental norms on the civil and political rights and freedoms. Both of these acts pursue common goals to provide universal recognition and implementation of the rights proclaimed in them, but also have essential difference – in effective control behind their observance. The declaration, according to the Charter of the UN, has only advisory nature and received validity of its contest much later in two contracts – the Covenant on Civil and Political rights and the Pact on the economic, social and cultural rights, which became legal only in 1976. Thus their implementation problems weren't solved.

Implementation of the international obligations at the interstate level was interfered by absolutization of the USSR and its East European satellites and also by the number of countries of the Asian region of the principle of the state sovereignty. As a result the Optional protocol to the Covenant on Civil and Political rights allocating special Human Rights Committee with competence to accept and consider messages from persons who claim that they are the victims of violation any of the rights stated in the Pact, the USSR and by the countries entering into "socialist camp" wasn't ratified. Behind such decision there was an unwillingness of totalitarian regime to observe the political rights to freedom of thought and the word, conscience and religion, meetings and associations, a freedom of movement. But the Protocol did not provide any sanctions for human rights violation. The only trouble for the state violator which became the participant of the Protocol was getting into the annual report of Committee for the United Nations General Assembly. The USSR which has not ratified the Protocol was free even from this trouble.

The European convention differs from all other international acts of human rights in introduction of an effective guarantee of protection of the violated rights – by Court considering individual complaints to violations of the Convention and authorized to inflict sanctions on the state violator in the form of compensation for the harm done to the victim. It is natural that post-war Europe has made such a resolute breakthrough to the system ensuring the rule of law, pluralistic democracy, human rights. But, as Peter Leprecht fairly notices, internationalization of human rights, is obliged "not so much as merits and progress of Europe, as its mistakes and falling, terrible crimes shown to the world during the totalitarian, fascist and Nazi regimes, to the barbarity explosion which burst in the heart of the European continent, so confident in its civilization".

Being guided by argument "Never more!", the authors of the Convention from twelve European countries at the same time realized difficulties of creation of supranational jurisdiction its collision with century traditions of the state sovereignty. In first edition the Convention formed two bodies – not only Court, but also some kind of filter – the European Commission on Human Rights which accepts complaints of non-governmental organizations and individuals to violation of their rights by member states of the Council of Europe first and solves, whether it is necessary to submit them to the Court. The activity of Court was very low at the beginning. So, it considered the first case by the individual complaint only in 1968.

Nevertheless, the idea of transnational justice in the field of basic rights and freedoms of the person has been being

acquired in the West European space for long time. At the beginning, the majority of the states objected to providing to the individual the right for submission of the complaint in the commission and to obligatory jurisdiction of Court. In 1953. The convention was ratified by only eight countries and only in 1975 all members of council of Europe became its participants. Understanding of that fact, that protection and development of human rights is effective method to achieve the unity between the European countries, the increased authority of Court caused adoption a protocol No. 11 to the Convention in 1994 which increased the level of supranational protection of human rights, abolished the European commission and opened direct access with the complaints to Court for the individual, non-governmental organizations and groups of persons, and the countries participants pledged not to interfere with effective implementation of this right.

How can you explain that a Court satisfies a majority of claims from citizens of all European states without exception, recognizing them suitable – taking into account, however, that more than 90% of claims are rejected as not suitable for a consideration? After all the rights and freedoms stated in the Convention are enshrined in the national legislation of each member country of the Council of Europe. The protection mechanism installed by the Convention has additional character in relation to national systems of human rights guarantees and is started only by claim production after exhaustion of internal remedies. Public interests protected by national laws still exist in the Conventions: state security, territorial integrity, public tranquillity, health and moral, fight against disorders and crime. In the resolutions Court focuses national justice on search of fair balance between protection of human rights and requirements to provide common interests. Court practice shows that this balance is quite often broken. The reason for that – the statism traditions being created for a long time in the light of which human rights and public interests at best are considered to be equal values even at democratic regime

However, the naturally legal doctrine, which laid in the Convention basis, approves other things. The rights and freedoms of the person are principle, and public interests are its restriction. Therefore the priority of these interests has to be based on two criteria ad hoc – not only being provided by law, but also being necessary in democratic society. The Court interprets such need as an urgent need for intervention of the state to prevent abuse of the individual of the rights. And the national authorities constantly stumble over this criterion. The advantage of the resolutions of Court recognizing the conditions which are laid down by the state or the inflicted sanctions inadmissible or obviously disproportionate is in development of exact reference points for national right application.

For example you can look through the practice of Court according to complaints to violation of article 10 of the Convention on the right for expression of the opinion. Court has resolved in the resolution to the case of "Lingen against Austria" the need to differentiate statements about the facts and estimated judgments – the last aren't subject to check on the validity, therefore it is impossible to demand if it represents the real situation. In the following two resolutions Court explained that during considering the cases of this category, concerning the press, national courts should consider the following circumstances:

- presence or absence of a public interest – illumination of an important question for democratic society;
- status of the diffamar person: (to politicians, stars of sport and show business, famous journalists) smaller than to ordinary citizens protection against criticism in mass media, is provided to public figures;
- urgency of illumination of a question: news – perishable goods;
- integrity of the journalist: he had to make attempts to check reliability of information;
- performance in mass media – the response to the charges brought during political debate;
- inadmissibility in giving the same requirements to the accuracy of statements of politicians, public figures and journalists about offenses as to acts of law of the enforcement agencies and courts.

Resolutions of Court also contain such explanations of application of other articles of the Convention: on fair public trial of business by independent and impartial court; on respect of private and family life; on the right for a freedom of worship and religion; on the right for freedom of peaceful assemblies and freedom of associations.

Thus the Court constantly underlines that the assessment of compliance of legislative or constitutional norms to requirements of the Convention in abstracto are not their functions, repeatedly recognizing the right of interstate bodies for freedom of a discretion in especially sharp cases of the conflict of interests, in particular, of a freedom of expression and an insult of feelings of believers, freedom of opinions and commercial.

When the Court finds that human rights violations are caused by the same dysfunction at the national level, it can choose one or several of the repeating complaints, to consider them in priority and to adopt so-called pilot resolution. Difference of the pilot procedures is in that thing, that Court can “freeze” consideration of the same affairs for some time if measures for correction of a system problem will be immediately taken. How – the government decides it by itself under the supervision of Committee of ministers of the Council of Europe. If the problem is not solved quickly, the Court resumes consideration of the suspended affairs.

Court issued the pilot decrees on affairs against 13 states, including Germany, Greece and Great Britain. The succession of events after pronouncement of two pilot resolutions on affairs against Russia is interesting.

The structural problem was revealed in the Burdov’s case (on January 15, 2009): non-execution of judgments on collecting money according to more than 200 complaints considered by Court since 2002. The court ordered to create an effective internal remedy or a combination of such means, which would provide adequate and sufficient compensation for non-execution or untimely execution of national judgments within six months. Following this pilot resolution, Laws No. No. 68-FZ and 69-FZ which provide the right to send the complaint containing the requirement about compensation for a delay of execution of the judgment passed against the state or for the excessive duration of consideration of the case in court to courts of the Russian Federation were adopted in the Russian Federation in a year. The Court specified in two decisions against Russia of September 24, 2010 (Nagovitsyn and Naltsiyev, Fakhretidinov) on unacceptability of complaints that applicants had to exhaust new internal remedies, noted also that it can recon-

sider its position in future depending on consecutive practice of the Russian courts on such cases.

It was much more difficult to solve a system problem to which Court pointed in the Ananyev’s case (on January 10, 2012): inadequate conditions of detention (an acute shortage of personal space in cameras, shortage of berths, limited access to light and fresh air, lack of a privacy when using of a bathroom). The court in more than 80 decrees issued since 2002 qualified such situation as violation of articles 3 and 13 of the Convention (the right not to be exposed brutal or to a degrading treatment and the right for an effective remedy of legal protection). Also more than 250 similar cases were under consideration of Court. It became clear that practically there are no the pre-trial detention centers conforming to the international standards in the country. There is a simple explanation of this – the Soviet government has not constructed any pre-trial detention center for 70 years, only colonies for the condemned – communism’s buildings required a cheap manpower. Ananyev’s precedent helped in promotion of the Federal target program “Development of Criminal and Executive System” assuming construction of 12 pre-trial detention centers meeting modern requirements by 2016. This pilot resolution had one more positive effect: they at last listened to arguments of human rights activists about redundancy of application as a measure of restraint of detention in the State Duma and the Supreme Court. They reduced locking up before hearing, extended application of pledge and recognizance not to leave. However according to a fundamental nature of the right for protection against the brutal or humiliating human dignity addresses, the Court decided not to postpone consideration of the similar complaints which arrived to it.

The Court also took care of determination of the sum of compensation for the moral harm done by violation of the Convention. All countries are divided into four zones depending on the level of economic development: 100, 80, 60 and 40%. 100% of compensation from the state are received by residents of Western Europe. Russia is placed in a 60% zone, and Moldova and Georgia, for example, in 40%. It means, that for identical violation a Russian will pay almost twice less, than, for example, an Englishman.

The discontent with Court is shown periodically by the different countries – including pioneers of the Council of Europe – France, Holland, Sweden. Great Britain which is periodically threatening with an exit from under jurisdiction of Court is in the top of the list. The anti-Strasbourg moods caused resolutions on protection of the rights of the military personnel, migrants and refugees, and also a passive electoral right of the condemned. There are no grounds to see here influence of some deep national traditions. All countries of the European continent have the common destiny: everyone endured territorial dissociation, saw inquisition fires, exercised the wit in forms of the death penalty, passed from religious to the secular state, from rural to a city way of life, participated in wars and political blocks. For lot of them national sovereignty, achieved so hard, sometimes gives rise to painful reaction on criticism of the settled administrative practice by supranational body. Ambitions of Britain reasonably considering itself the pioneer on the way of development of freedom and human rights – the Great Charter of liberties (1215), Habeas Corpus Act (1689) are also clear.

Russia was free from all difficulties of jurisdiction of Court acceptance. Five years before membership in the Council of Europe the Constitution of the Russian Federation established that “the person, his rights and freedoms are the supreme value” (Art. 2) “admit and guaranteed... according to the conventional principles and norms of international law” (Art. 17). The link to international law has here purely political reason as all, without exception, the international principles and norms on human rights are enshrined in our Constitution. As it is told in article 15, “are a component of its legal system”. That is why the criticism of humanitarian norms of international law is actually denial of a basis of the Russian Federation constitutional system.

Unfortunately we should admit that we observe the movement back in state policy and life of our country in last years. The purpose of consolidation of citizens around the power which especially amplified after the Crimea accession to the Russian Federation, obvious aspiration of Church to take a revenge for 70 years of persecutions generated a number of laws – on a ban of adoption of the Russian children by foreigners, on the foreign agents, on a criminal liability for an insult of religious feelings, on the organization and participation in unauthorized meetings – belittling, limiting the political rights to a freedom of speech, meetings and associations. The history with a staging of the Wag-

ner opera “Tannhäuser” strikes with splash in obscurantism. The bill of introduction to criminal trial a category of truth with assignment of a duty to establish it on court destroys the constitutional principles of a presumption of innocence and competitiveness, brings back neo inquisitorial Soviet legal proceedings.

Not “spiritual clamps”, not cultural traditions, not national features, but political environment and features of development of thought in the separate national imperious heads – all these are the true reasons of a defamation of liberal values, rates on antiquity and ignorance, appeals to leave the Council of Europe, to leave from under jurisdiction of Court. It happens when the idea of supranational humanitarian courts conquers the world: the Interamerican and African courts on human rights are created, the question of creation of Islamic and Asian courts is studied. Russia is a multi-religious country, but it already belongs to European civilization for more than a thousand years. The European Court is its giving-out achievement, it is created for protection simple people against the state encroachments, the domestic legislation and jurisprudence is improved from its decisions influence. You should not forget that every resolution of Court against the state is made for the citizen of this state. The constitutional government should welcome the increasing of a protection level of the citizens’ rights and freedoms.

Vincent della Sala¹

MERCURIAL EUROPE AND PLUTONIC RUSSIA: NARRATIVES OF A DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIP

In the midst of divisions between Europe and the United States at the time of the war in Iraq in 2003, Robert Kagan wrote his now famous book in which he claimed that the United States was from Mars and Europe from Venus. The mythical figures represented the European preference for non-military means to address relations among actors in the international system; in contrast to the United States that had a classic view of international politics defined by power relations. I would like to modify Kagan’s argument but also borrow from mythical figures to help us understand the difficult state of relations between the European Union and Russia. But it is not Venus and Mars that are the models in this case, but Mercury and Pluto. We can use these mythical figures to help get a sense of how each side views each other and how this is leading to perhaps a point of irreconcilable differences that could lead to instability in Europe and beyond. My discussion will focus primarily on how the EU sees itself as a global actor and what seems to be a growing and widespread narrative of Russia in many parts of Europe. More specifically, I will try to show that how the EU understands itself and Russia leaves little room for different perceptions of its behaviour and that of others. The result is that the EU sees itself as Mercurial, interested only in values and mutual gain; while it sees Russia as Plutonic, an actor stuck in an out-dated understanding of the inter-

national system. The premise here is that if we want to understand where relations between the European Union and Russia are heading, we need to understand how each side sees each other.

I hope my comments may help shed some light on how the European Union sees itself shapes how it acts and how this may be a constraint on addressing relations with Russia. I will give less space to how others, such as Russia, interprets the EU as I will leave that to experts who know this much better than I do. My aim is to illustrate how the EU understands itself as a new kind of political structure; and to show that this understanding, while this narrative is important for internal reasons to give the EU a reason for being, it is increasingly evident that it is a constraint when dealing with the rest of the world and often leads to dangerous misunderstanding of how its actions are perceived.

In Roman mythology, Mercury is seen not only as the god of commerce and financial gain but also of eloquence and boundaries. Light-footed and unencumbered, it seeks to profit from more and more exchanges that presumably benefit all. Pluto, on the other hand, is a dark figure, the god of the underworld and guardian of underground treasures, slow to respond to changes in the world. I would argue that these two models shape very much how the EU perceives itself in the world and how it sees Russia; it possibly also may help understand how Russia sees Europe but I will leave that for those who know Russia much better than I do.

The narrative that is central to the EU’s identity – what Antony Giddens calls ontological security – is that it rep-

¹ Associate Professor of political science at the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the University of Trento (Italy). Author of numerous publications on the European Union as well as its impact on the its member states. These include work on the political economy of European integration and questions about integration and democratic legitimacy.

resents a new kind of political actor that according to Jean Monnet, one of its founders, was destined to replace the modern nation state. It is a polity that is not defined by the strategic use of power but by the pursuit of ethical values and the solution to common problems. It does not carry the burden, the argument goes, of history or even geography. It is not, as Jurgen Habermas argues, a “community of fate” that has come together to fulfil a common destiny. Rather, the EU is a process more than a structure that does not pursue political power but looks for rational solutions, cooperation and rules to solve collective problems. The catalyst for this process has been the common interest all member states have in the pursuit of enhanced trade and creating a single economic area. As economies have become more integrated so has the need to address other issues, from climate change to transportation to social cohesion. For some, economic union has been the goal of this process; for others, it has been the means to achieve a political union. Regardless of the objective, the EU sees itself as the model to address the policy and political problems of the contemporary world. It sees nationalism as an artificial barrier to solving problems that affect citizens.

This is the story that gives the EU its identity. Like all political systems, the EU needs a narrative to give it legitimacy. Whether this story is true or not is less important than that it is credible and acceptable to its citizens. It is the basis for the EU as an “exceptional” kind of actor in the international scene. There is also a legal basis to this foreign policy stance as Article 21 of the Treaty of Lisbon states that:

The Union’s action on the international scene shall be guided by the principles which have inspired its own creation, development and enlargement, and which it seeks to advance in the wider world: democracy, the rule of law, the universality and indivisibility of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for human dignity, the principles of equality and solidarity, and respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.

The Treaty goes on to state that the EU is to build relations with third parties who share these values and that it is to work to consolidate the rule of law, promote democracy, help eradicate poverty, promote sustainable development and promote peace.

Where does this narrative of a the EU as an actor concerned only with mutual gain and diplomacy to solve common problems come from? It is rooted in its very creation and reason for being. The standard account sees the creation of the EU not as the result of the Cold War order that had divided Europe into spheres of influence but out of the desire to learn from the lessons of history. These led political leaders, such as Konrad Adenauer, Robert Schuman and Alcide De Gasperi, to look to nationalism and conventional notions of sovereignty and power as inadequate for the contemporary world. In fact, holding on to these ways of understanding the world was an unnecessary constraint and burden that prevented the search for efficient and effective solutions to the problems of citizens. Pragmatism and malleability – that is, to change position quickly – were to be the qualities of the new Prince in the post-war era. They also were to be the instruments to bring peace and stability to the continent, ravaged by at least three major wars between 1870 and 1945. The key was to use economic interdependence, growing gradually in intensity, to become the basis for a new order. This pragmatic, flexible model of govern-

ing was, according to the narrative, responsible for bringing unprecedented prosperity to Europe and pointing out that even the most deep-seated geo-political and geo-strategic conflicts can be resolved by resorting to the rule of law, mutual interest and a pooling of sovereignty.

This narrative has always faced internal challenges and tensions within the EU, primarily because it often has been in contrast to how some of its member states project themselves in their foreign policy. Clearly, in the post-Cold War period, Britain and France have been part of many military interventions, from Kosovo to Libya; and in the French case, frustrated by the reluctance of the United States to intervene in Syria. The EU may be Venus and Mercury but some of its member states have acted in strategic ways to pursue their interests and/or have used military power for what they defined as humanitarian interventions. More importantly, the Mercury narrative of the EU does not take into account that most of its member states are members of NATO. From the perspective of the EU, the actions of member states in foreign policy are, at the same time, distinct from the European level in that they reflect national experiences and interests. However, they are also increasingly inseparable from EU policy and values as the member states become more entwined in a common foreign and security policy that reflects the commitments assumed with the Treaty of Lisbon. This complex interplay is confusing for many EU citizens and must seem even more so for those outside of the EU. It also seems to produce some very contradictory behaviour or actions that seemed to go in a different direction of many basic principles of the post-war international system such as the inviolability of national sovereignty.

For this narrative of the EU as “Mercury”, primarily concerned with finding ways for mutual gain for all parties and with eloquence and quick-thinking rather than power, to work, it needs to construct stories about other actors in the international system that present them in a different light. For this reason, Robert Kagan’s depiction of the United States as Mars was well-received in Europe as it could stand apart in the trans-Atlantic relationship as the more reasoned and reasonable partner who sought solutions to problems rather than simply used power. Europe likes to see itself as the global actor that seeks out peace and diplomacy, while interests no longer suited for the 21st century drive others.

The European Union’s relationship with Russia was always very much driven by this self-identity as a rules-based actor that represented the model for a new order. As many scholars have pointed out, the EU’s discourse during the Cold War created a “rhetorical entrapment”; that is, its narrative of peace and prosperity coming through the pursuit of economic interdependence as a way of resolving even deep-grained divisions meant that it could not help but look to enlargement to central and eastern Europe with the collapse of the Berlin Wall. This was not to extend a sphere of influence or to seek out some sort of geo-strategic balance. This was simply, according to the EU’s version, the logical consequence of the attractiveness of the EU’s post-modern approach to governing. It was not the EU that was extending its borders but an idea and a model. Moreover, in the EU’s Mercurial narrative, important historical developments such as the transformation into market economies and liberal democracies, with the international commitments that come

with them, are not zero-sum. They do not come at the expense of the interests of other actors because they are not meant to be exclusive. Indeed, they are part of an on-going, and possibly irreversible, process of widening and deepening interdependence.

The case for enlargement into eastern and central Europe in 2004 was decided a decade earlier. The end of the Cold War had helped generate that the “end of history” had indeed arrived in Europe and that there were no more political and geo-political conflicts that could not be resolved by the new rules-based political order. There was very much the sense that the EU represented the future and the basis for a new order that went from the Irish Sea to at least the Urals. Enlargement was seen as an almost natural evolution that did not affect or change any geo-strategic balance or possibly diminish the security of bordering states. The Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and its related Eastern Partnership (EP) were seen within the EU, again, not as a strategic move but simply as an exercise in democracy promotion and assistance in economic transition in bordering states. Because the logic of spheres of influence has never been part of the EU’s official narrative, the attempt to strengthen relations with states such as the Ukraine and Georgia seemed simply as the EU doing what it has always done: using its influence to spread democracy and market capitalism as a way in which to create a new international order based on rules and not power. For other actors, the EU seems either very naïve or very cynical, using the rhetoric and narrative of “normative” or “ethical” power to mask what are very much strategic interests.

Along this process, the EU has tried to engage with Russia but in a different kind of way. It actively sought commercial ties, especially with respect to energy, and its strategic partnership was meant to find ways to work closely on common policy challenges. However, the EU’s position was always shaped by its narrative of Russia as a Pluto-like figure; that is, like the guardian on the underworld in mythology, Russia was rich because of its underground treasures but was a dark figure driven by instincts that the enlightened gods had since abandoned. One constantly finds references by EU political leaders as well as the heads of the governments of the member states to how Russia was not living in the twenty-first century. The reference here was not to a lack of economic or technological sophistication but to the fact that, to use the words of former European Commission President Jose Maria Barroso, it was one of the states that had not understood that history was over. Russia, according to the European view, still operated as if power politics and geo-strategic interests mattered in international politics. It was tied down by considerations of territory that no longer were assets but liabilities according to Mercurial Europe. This view of Russia as lacking political modernization also extended to constant criticism for perceived violations of human rights and civil liberties. The EU did not see this as an attempt to extend its influence but as the promotion of universal values.

The tension between these two views – the EU seeing itself as a normative, ethical actor and Russia as a dark fig-

ure driven by basic instinct – came to a head 2013–2014 over the question of states that had been part of the negotiation to join the Eurasian Union possibly signing Association Agreements with the EU. Despite claims that this was not meant to challenge Russia’s traditional influence in the region, it was hard to see how Russia would not see it as a threat. The Association Agreements required that states engaged in a wide range of reforms to adapt their domestic legislation to EU standards, thus beginning a process of transformation that will not only extend the EU’s influence in the region but within society. This has been the traditional approach that the EU has had to integration for the last half-century and it was part of the EU’s Mercurial vision of itself. While in 2015 it may seem different, but the EU generally believed that asking states such as the Ukraine to enter into a close relationship was free of any geo-strategic consideration and did not threaten the strategic interests of Russia. It was this inability to see beyond its own identity as a light-footed ethical actor that became the EU’s limitation as events in the Ukraine spiralled out of control. It looked to the protestors in Maidan Square as affirmation that the EU as a model for the future continued to be a shining light for all those who “saw the end of history”. That same narrative could only lead to the conclusion that anyone – that is Russia – that saw in the EU strategic interests and power politics was still trapped by history.

I am sure that its own narratives also trap Russia and mental maps that, as in all cases, are both assets but also constraints. But the crisis in the Ukraine has raised questions within the EU about how true it is to its self-identity. Clearly, the member states of the EU are not as Mercurial as the Union and they do act along strategic lines, looking to ensure national interests just as much (if not more) as they do promote a post-modern vision of a new order. The problem for the EU is that so much of its self-identity, what we called earlier ontological security, depends on acting on the basis of this Mercurial view. A more strategic actor would look for ways to settle disputes with Russia by asking if vital interests, not principles, were at stake in the dispute and then go from there. The EU cannot do this (its member states can and will) because if it renounces the principle of a rules-based order, it raises fundamental questions about why it exists in the first-place.

So Russia and the EU are trapped in stories that have defined the principal actors and placed limits on what solutions may be found. My argument is that if we are to find a solution to the crisis, both sides need to start to define a common myth about their relationship; one that allows both to maintain their ontological security but also provides them with the room to accommodate both common and diverging interests. For this to happen, the EU needs to find a way to reconcile its self-identity narrative with the fact that it is a strategic actor and it is perceived as such. On this basis, it can then begin to find common ground to solutions to conflicts with other partners. If it remains stuck in its self-identity narrative, it will be neither Mercury or Venus but Janus, the god with seemingly two faces.

Jacques Sapir¹

CRISIS OF GLOBALIZATION. THE NEW CONTEXT AND CHALLENGES FOR NATIONAL ECONOMIES²

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, economic globalization is experiencing setbacks. History and politics once again in the forefront. This means the return to the world stage states previously considered weak, and the retreat of markets, which were considered omniscient. Such globalization has led to conflicting views: some praised it, others criticize. Today, when it is "receding", some see this as a setback, while others welcomed as progress.

However, the retreat of globalization should not see the problem. The world knows many periods of boom and bust. The myth of the *doux commerce*, substituting military conflicts, outdated. At all times, warships preceded trading. The ruling powers consistently used force, opening up new markets and changing conditions in their favor.

The new economic context

The result of the crisis began to discredit the financialization (the translation of bank loans in the form of joint-bond) and the need for reform. The current crisis has exacerbated this problem. However, the cancellation of the international monetary and financial order imposed by the United States, began in 1998. Early crisis has created a strategy that led to the current crisis. At the same time the crisis of 1997–1999 proved to be inadequate for decision-making structure.

Nevertheless, it can be argued that the question of control over capital flows is a cause of conflict between governments wishing to resort to such arrangements, and the United States³. Protecting the economic sovereignty of States is incompatible with the objectives of US policy. Robert Wade, one of the major specialists in the industrial strategies of Asian countries⁴, identifies capital controls with future conflicts between the United States and the countries that wish to maintain the sovereignty of its economic policy⁵.

Is it possible to regulate the financial globalization?

The current crisis that followed many others, gave rise to new attempts to settle markets. So far, however, these efforts were not very successful, except for tightening the rules relating to "tax havens", as well as the desire to limit certain types of income. More than 20 years ago, the International Organization of Securities Commissions (I³International

Organization of Securities Commissions, IOSCO) has identified a list of goals and principles of regulation of the markets⁶. In a study of 2007, preceding the beginning of the crisis, marked the boundaries of this regulation⁷. Prudential regulation of the financial markets has gained increasing importance since the early 1980s.

It is expected that the current market value, which refers to prudential regulation, will help stabilize the market and its further development. It occurs only when the market is stable, otherwise it is impossible to set the current market value. The condition for stability of the market is that the securities are traded at current market value. Trust that defines this cost assumes that the securities are sold on the market, which can only function on the basis of their current market value⁸. The logic of reasoning is typical cyclicity of liberal thought neoclassical sense. Tautological character of "fair market value" was shown a few decades ago by E. Shallem⁹.

To return prohibitive regulation?

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), which can not be suspected of economic heterodoxy, notes that the current market value leads to increased risks of financial instability¹⁰. This leads to a revision of the prudential regulation ideas that emerged from the vacuum generated by the gradual disappearance of external regulation of the market¹¹.

Prudential regulation regularly failed during the crises that followed one another since 1987. Same we have seen in the midst of the crisis in September and October 2008. Then the power of the financial markets of London decided to temporarily ban the sale of securities for a period of no cover (short selling). Those actions have been taken by the State Commission on Securities and Stock Market (SEC) on Wall Street¹².

In this case, a critical attitude to the complementary statements Michelle Aleta (Michel Aglietta) and Laurent Berrebi (Laurent Berrebi) against the US prudential regulation in 2007¹³. These authors built the American example to the rank of the norms to be followed by Europe¹⁴. The

¹ Professor of Economics of the School for Advanced Sciences in the Social Sciences (EHESS, Paris), head of the Industrialization Research Centre (CEMI) EHESS, visiting professor of the Chair of General Economics of Moscow School of Economics of Lomonosov Moscow State University. Author of the range of scientific publications, which includes: "Work and workers in USSR", "Economic changes in USSR in 1941–1985", "To the economic theory of non-uniform systems – experience of research of the decentralized economy", "The Russian transformation – 20 years later" (in a co-authorship), contributor in "Stalinism and Nazism – comparison of two dictatorships" (I. Kershaw and M. Lewin, eds.), consultant of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defense of France. Member of editorial boards of a number of scientific magazines of France.

² See Chang H. J., Palma J. G., Whittaker H. *Financial Liberalization and the Asian Crisis*, London, Palgrave, 2001.

³ See Cohen B. J. *Capital controls: why governments hesitate?* // *Economic Review*. 2001. Mars. Vol. 52, № 2. P. 207–232.

⁴ Here we must mention his remarkable book R. Wade // *Governing the Market. Economic Theory and the Role of Government in East Asian Industrialization*. Princeton (NJ) : Princeton University Press, 1990.

⁵ Wade R. *The Coming Fight Over Capital Controls* // *Foreign Policy*. Winter 1998/1999. Vol. 113. P. 41–54.

⁶ IOSCO // *Resolution on the Regulation of Securities Market*. Madrid, 1983. Apr. ; // *IOSCO Objectives and Principles of Securities Regulation*, Madrid, Sept. 1998; *IOSCO Methodology for Assessing // Implementation of the IOSCO Objectives and Principles of Securities Regulation*. Madrid, 2003. Oct.

⁷ Carvajal A. *Elliot and J. Stengths Weaknesses in Securities Market Regulations: A Global Analysis* // *IMF Working Paper*. Washington (D. C.): IMF, 2007. Nov.

⁸ Brian E., Walter C. *Computing power and conditions forecasting // Critique of fundamental value / dir. Brian E., C. Walter*. Springer, 2007. P. 165–182.

⁹ Challe É. *Core value and informational efficiency // Critique of fundamental value / dir. Brian E., C. Walter*. Springer, 2007. P. 26–54.

¹⁰ *Containing Systemic Risks and Restoring Financial Soundness* // *Op. Cit.* P. 64. Box 2-4, and p. 65.

¹¹ *Sapir J. Illusion // New prudential financial standards (Ch. 8) – Organizing face the crisis / Walter C. (edited by). P. ; Berlin ; Heidelberg ; N.Y. : Springer-Verlag France, 2010. P. 161–188.*

¹² See Kennedy S. *SEC Bans Short Selling of Financial Stocks Hundreds. Regulator Says Ban Is Needed to Protect Market Integrity; Banking Stocks Soar // Marketwatch.com*. Sep 19, 2008. URL.: <http://www.marketwatch.com/News/Story/sec-bans-short-selling-hundreds/story.aspx?guid=%7BFF3CA343%2D2485%2D4B0C2DB971%7D2D7FBFA0AD4611>

¹³ Aglietta M., Berrebi L. *Disorders in global capitalism*. Odile Jacob, 2007. P. 121.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

question is: what caused the crisis? Excessive confidence in the functioning of the financial markets – in inappropriate conditions – due to prudential regulation occurs on the basis of global confidence. It is no accident Aletta Michelle believes that since the beginning of the 1990s, financial globalization is “forced gamble.”¹

Market discipline makes sense if it is applied on an equal footing to all the actors of the market. To be realistic (it is believed that equality in the market – it is a myth), it is necessary to abandon the principle of market discipline as a regulator of the market. Indeed, the history of speculation and crisis, since the “tulip madness” to the current crisis², demonstrates the futility of the use of market discipline as a form of saving. The theoretical work shows the importance of the risk of infection, as well as what is happening in spite of all sorts of prudential regulation. If the market can be considered as a mechanism to diversify risks³, the possibility of infection is expressed with particular virulence, even if some authors tend to be mixed with the diffusion of the infection⁴. About infection can say when there is a sudden shock due to the positive correlation between different investments. If this return was negative or was focused on the decline, we could talk about the process, Hyman Minsky described as the “debt-deflation”⁵.

Please refer to the so-called prohibitive regulations, restricting the freedom of financial innovation and the subjects of the market economy. Only such a regulation is able to neutralize the uncertainties of the situation on the market. There must be a question of the incompatibility of this regulation with financial globalization in the form in which it has evolved over the last forty years. It may be either one or the other but not both conditions simultaneously.

The crisis of globalization

The current crisis has shown the boundaries not only of financial globalization, but also of the international monetary system. We live in a framework of reference of the dollar, which itself is in crisis. At the same time, since 2009, we have made sure of the impossibility of using the euro as an alternative currency in the institutions of economic and monetary union. The structural crisis of the euro mainly related to the conditions in which the its introduction, but also with an insurmountable constraints institutions provide it. Indeed, the economy has a level of inflation that corresponds to their productive, financial and social structures; an attempt to rise above this level could lead to a prolonged crisis in the economy and society⁶. It is necessary to think about the constancy of the different rates of inflation in different countries⁷. So, the common curren-

cy requires a common border, which makes important distinctions between the levels of competitiveness (including temporal factor).

At the same time there is the emergence of mechanisms of re-nationalization of both financial and commodity flows⁸. Indicators suggest that a crisis of globalization, which will return the states, at least those who in time will determine the most important issues, significant authority over the international economy.

The crisis of financial globalization

Some authors believe that the US deficit could be offset by savings of Asian countries⁹. In the so-called Bretton Woods II system system deficit was fully justified, the system was seen as stable. This position has recently confirmed a number of authors in their works¹⁰. Known thesis of surplus savings or global savingglut, popularized by Ben Bernanke¹¹, president of the American Federal Reserve System and Lawrence Summers (Lawrence Summers¹²). Indeed, the system was initially characterized by instability, manifested in the rapid spread of the so-called “bad” debts, which, thanks to financial globalization have been developed in various banks and financial institutions of the world. Others have expressed concern since 2005¹³.

The hypothesis was based on the surplus savings criticized the theory of credit, which has shown the hollowness Keynes (Keynes) in 1937¹⁴. Far from being a mechanism to stabilize the financial globalization, the loans led to increased instability. Solutions that can be taken within the framework of financial globalization will only hasten the crisis¹⁵. The crisis of the dollar in these conditions will increase.

Today, the euro and the dollar support each other, and the euro is on the extreme line of defense of the dollar. If the euro collapses, the dollar will face international speculation. The decision, supported by European and some American economists¹⁶, would be to replace the dollar with the euro as the main currency of the international system. Many executives, in particular French, adhere to the idea. But this decision has implications ghost, which confirms the crisis that began in September 2009, within the euro area. The current crisis has generated doubts about the future sustainability and reliability of the euro. Indeed, the euro in the best case acted equivalent (in terms of the exchange rate), the “gold standard.” But it did not provide adaptability that guarantees the preservation of national currencies, allowing the

⁸ J. Sapir The de-globalization. The Threshold; P., 2011.

⁹ MP Dooley, Folkerts-Landau D., P. Garber An Essay on the Revived Bretton Woods System // NBER Working Papers Series. Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2003 № 9971.

¹⁰ MP Dooley, Folkerts-Landau D., P. Garber Bretton Woods II Still Defines the International Monetary System // NBER Working Papers Series. Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2009 № 14731.

¹¹ Bernanke B. The Global Saving Glut and the US Current Account Deficit:// remarks Federal Reserve Board. 2005. 10 March.

¹² LH Summers Reflections on Global Current Account Imbalances and Emerging Markets Reserve Accumulation // L.K. Jha Memorial Lecture, Reserve Bank of India. 2006. March.

¹³ N. Roubini, Setser B. Will the Bretton Woods 2 Regime Unravel Soon? The Risk of a Hard Landing in 2005–2006. N.Y.: Mimeo: New York University, 2005.

¹⁴ JM Keynes Alternative Theories of the Economic Rate of Interest // J. 1937. Vol. 47, № 4.

¹⁵ See Bibow J. Insuring Against Private Capital Flows: Is It Worth the Premium? What Are the Alternatives? // J. of International Political Economy. Sept. 2008. Vol. 37, № 4. P. 5–30.

¹⁶ Mr. Chinn, J. Frankel Why the Euro Will Rival the Dollar // International Finance. 2008. Vol. 11, № 1. P. 49–73.

¹ Aglietta Mr., Brender A., Couderc V. Financial globalization: the forced journey. Economica, 1990.

² Financial Crises / dir. See Gravereau J., J. Trauman. Economica, 2001.

³ Herring R., Santomero A. Optimal Regulation Whatis? / Keystone Financial Institution Center, Philadelphia (Pa.) University of Pennsylvania, 2000.

⁴ Allen F., Gale D. Financial Contagion // J. of Political Economy. 2000. Vol. 108, № 1. P. 1–33; Denying E., Yang J., Yorulmazer T., Alentorn A. Network Models and Financial Stability // J. of Economic Dynamics and Control. 2007. Vol. 31. P. 2033–2060.

⁵ The Financial Minsky HP-Instability Hypothesis: Capitalist Processes and the Behaviour of the Economy // Financial Crises: Theory, History and Policy / dir. C. Kindleberger, H. Laffargue. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

⁶ Sapir J. Should exit the Euro. The Threshold; P., 2012; Idem. Scenarios of dissolution of the Euro (with P. Murer and C. Durand) // ResPublica Foundation. P., 2013. Sept.

⁷ See GA, WI Akerlof, Dickens GI Perry Options for Stabilization Policy // Brookings Policy Brief. 2001 Feb. № 69.

currency to devalue, when the economy is facing structural difficulties.

To place an international currency as a reserve, it takes more than the relatively homogeneous economy (which is not in the euro zone). The strength of the dollar is related to the special position of the United States from a geostrategic point of view. Europe and the euro area can not replace the US in this role and do not have the funds for this, even if they had planned. Consequently, the euro zone will not long remain within its borders.

Financial globalization now reached its limits. It is targeted not only to governments but also to public opinion and organized social forces (unions, associations). Either we must be content with minor changes, to give a chance for financial liberalization¹, and then its “deadly” force will lead to a series of crises, all the more amplified and destructive to society. Either decision on limiting drasticheskim way of financial globalization. The process of de-globalization in this case can only be a political and voluntarist. Of course, the measures with which it is embodied, should not be technically related (coherent)². However, the limitation of financial globalization are emerging (spontaneous and unorganized) in many parts of the world³. But we must bring them into line.

Thus, the question arises: can the de-globalization become a fact of one country or should it become a fact the group of countries tried to organize a concert and get rid of this system? Ordered de-globalization can be realized only within a group of countries. But the de-globalization may be disordered. Inertia and a lack of will among the partners providing the country the right to analyze their situation. The government can also take a number of initiatives in order to force their orchestras or accept the situation, the effectiveness of which is much lower compared to the original situation of the country, or to follow her.

End of trading of globalization

Trade globalization has also reached the limits today. This is obvious from an environmental point of view (the nature of the damage suffered, caused by the logic of global devel-

opment, which we have followed about twenty years) and in terms of economic and social development.

From an economic point of view, trade globalization has been unable to help developing countries, moreover, it has led to a profound social regression in developed countries. This policy of “making the poor poorer and the rich countries richer the rich in poor countries.”

It is time to return to the coordinated national policies that can simultaneously achieve development and social justice. Such a policy is already underway in some countries⁴. In this regard, the delay of the European continent can be described as tragic. Under the pretext of building a Europe politically “spray” and unable to realize the real industrial and social policies that we have abandoned such policies. But Dani Rodrik reminds (Dani Rodrik), the problem is not that why such a policy is carried out, and how it is implemented⁵. Such a policy should be global and include issues of exchange rate and the training and development of infrastructures.

Today we can say that the majority of these items the EU, judging by how it functions, is an obstacle. This we owe to the European Union policy of openness, accelerate structural crisis in our industry since the 1990s. Today there is an opportunity to change this policy. But if the resistance is too strong, you must decide on the re-nationalization of our economic system. Actions at European level would provide us a maximum of possibilities, but it should not be excluded at the national level, if we fail to reach an agreement with our partners. The phenomenon of the globalization of trade has reached its limits, both social and environmental, and is becoming a threat to the part of the ruling classes in some countries.

Currently, we are witnessing the disintegration of the economic order, which was created from 1971 to the end of the 1990s. This disintegration can be chaotic way (though, so it began). But it can also be the result of concerted action, subject to the recognition that the US should coordinate economic policy. It is necessary to understand the current crisis and its impact on the full and to return control of the US economic structure⁶.

¹ See *Aglietta M.* Understanding the crisis of structured credit // Lettre du CEPII. 2008 Feb. № 275.

² See *Goodhart C., Avinash P.* How to Avoid the Next Crash // Financial Times. 2008. January 30

³ See *Gallagher KP Coelho B.* Capital Controls and 21st Century Financial Crises: Evidence from Colombia and Thailand // PERI Working Paper Series. Amherst (Ma.): University of Massachusetts Amherst, Jan 2010 № 213.

⁴ *J. Sapir* Protectionism and fury of his enemies // HJ Chang, S. Halimi, Lordon F., F. Ruffin, J. Sapir Protectionism and enemies / ed. The links that release. P., 2012. P. 55–72; J. Sapir Back to the Future: protectionism is it our future? // The Political Economy. 2006 3rd Quarter. № 31.

⁵ *Rodrik D.* Industrial Policy: Don'tAskWhy, Ask How // Middle East Development J. 2008. P. 1–29.

⁶ *J. Sapir* Is the economy a non-political? // Political Economy Cahiers. 2004. Fall. № 47. P. 111–126.

V. S. Styopin¹

NATIONAL INTERESTS AND UNIVERSAL VALUES: PROBLEM GLOBALIZATION STRATEGY

Globalization is generally defined as strengthening the relationship and interdependence of different countries and regions of the world. Integrative processes gradually integrate interactive components into an integrated system. In the process of globalization, there are associations of states with varying degrees of integration (WTO, SCO, BRICS, CIS, EAEC, the EU and others.). And with the increasing integration of them all clearly evident fundamental laws of complex systems: components (parts), included in the system, are only relatively autonomous. Reproduction of the system is determined by the parameters of the order, expressing particular whole that imposes restrictions on the reproduction and functioning of the included parts (subsystems and components).

All these features of the system integration process is an objective basis for the increasing challenges the sovereignty and national interests in the globalized world. The greater the integration, the increasingly requires the harmonization of national interests. This involves identifying the content they have in common, and which provides the possibility of reconciling different interests.

As is known, the interests determined values. The structure of the interest corresponds to the structure of values, which, in turn, determined by the interaction of the system hierarchy levels – personal, group (corporate), caste, class, ethnic, national values. National interests and values are the kind of foundation for all other levels. But that's not the ultimate foundation of the value structure of modern societies.

There is a more fundamental level of the hierarchy of values that defines the relationship of national interests. At the stage of modern globalization, this level is represented by the meaning of life and the values of man-made type of civilizational development. Historically, it is the result of transformation of cultures, traditional societies, which, for all their diversity have common features, can be considered as the various options traditionalist type of civilizational development.

I have repeatedly wrote in his works about the distinctive features of these two that have arisen in the history

of mankind, the types of civilizational development. These symptoms are rooted in the peculiarities of worldview universals of culture, its fundamental categorical sense, expressing understanding of man and his activities, nature, society and the individual, tradition and innovation, rationality, power.

In technological societies these understandings are not only different from the dominant ideological meanings traditionalist type of development, but in many ways they are alternative. Only in technological civilization becomes a priority the ideal creative activity, understanding of nature as a logical ordered field facilities for transforming activity as an infinite reservoir of resources, providing the technological progress.

Unlike traditional cultures in technological civilization innovation take precedence over tradition, rationality is the main way to organize various forms of activity, with an emphasis on scientific rationality, providing knowledge of the law, according to which transformed the natural and social facilities. It formed the ideal of autonomous and sovereign identity, as opposed to the traditionalist ideal personality as rigidly connected with membership of a particular corporation (clan, caste, caste). Power is understood not only as the power of man over man (that is inherent in traditional societies), but above all, as power over objects, natural and social. Hence become almost symbolic in technogenic culture ideas of man's dominion over nature, control over social situations, processes and institutions that also appear as objects of technological manipulation.

This value system produced a number of other features of the technogenic culture. She performs her labors nucleus genome technogenic type of development, the basis of its cultural and genetic code.

Man-made type of development to a much greater extent than traditionalist, unifies social life. Science, education, technological progress and expanding market, give rise to a new way of thinking and life, transforming traditional culture.

With the development of technological civilization exerted increasing pressure on traditional societies. Many of them have been absorbed by it during the colonization. Others – embarked on the path of modernization development. They borrowed equipment, technology, education, and at the same time some fragments of man-made culture, transplanted to traditionalist culture, causing them to change.

Such was, for example, the way of Russia, which has gone through several modernization epochs based on the transplantation of Western experience (the reforms of Peter I, Alexander II, the Bolshevik Revolution and the rapid industrialization of the Soviet Russia in the first half of the twentieth century).

Modernization defined transition from traditionalist to technogenic type of development, and many other modern societies (Japan, China, India, several countries in Latin America and the Arab world).

In the second half of the twentieth century man-made type of civilizational development it was introduced not only to the West, are formed on the basis of its own in the

¹ Head Section of Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and Law of the Department for Social Sciences of the Russian Academy of Sciences, academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, head of the department of philosophy of science and philosophy of culture of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Doctor of Philosophy, professor. Author more than 700 scientific works, including 28 monographs: "Formation of the scientific theory", "Philosophical anthropology and philosophy of science", "A scientific picture of the world in culture of a technogenic civilization", "Philosophy of science and equipment", "An era of changes and scenarios of the future", "Theoretical knowledge" (2000, the lane on исп. a language – Stiopin V.S. *El Saber Teorica. Estructura, Evolucion Hictorica*, 2004; into English language – Stepin V. *Theoretical Knowledge*. Springer, 2005), "Science philosophy: common problems", "Civilization and culture", "Scientific knowledge of a social context", "History and philosophy of science", "Human knowledge and culture", "Philosophy and methodology of science", "Philosophical anthropology and philosophy of culture", etc. President of the Russian philosophical society. Foreign member of national academies of Sciences of Belarus, Ukraine, full member of the International institute (academy) of philosophy (Paris), full member of the International academy of philosophy of science (Brussels), honourable doctor Universiteta of Karlsruhe (Germany), honourable doctor of the Novgorod state university, Rostov state university, honourable professor of Institute of philosophy of Academy of social sciences of the People's Republic of China (Beijing), honourable professor of the Belarusian state university (Minsk). The winner of the State award Russian Federation in the field of science and equipment. He is decorated by orders of Friendship of peoples, "For merits before the Fatherland" the IV degrees. Honorary Doctor of SpbUHSS.

course of its history's value matrix of development, but also countries that borrow in the process of upgrading several key components of the matrix and combined it with several layers of its traditional culture, with some of its semantic, characters, ideas and patterns.

At the end of the twentieth century modernization processes develop into globalization. Techno culture takes root in virtually all regions of the world, primarily through technical and technological expansion and global market.

The core of its cultural-genetic code gave rise to a special relationship to the scientific and technological progress and economic growth. They are perceived as higher values and goals that improve the quality of life. This attitude to the economy, scientific and technological activities included in the national interests of all countries – participants of globalization. An indicator of success of the proposed increase in consumption.

The value chain: new technologies – economic growth – the increase in consumption, the last link is seen as a priority component. In explicitly or implicitly accept all the actors of globalization this value chain as an expression of common values and a necessary foundation of the integration processes.

But the fact is that human values tend to function as an ideal, the implementation of which involves concretizing its interpretation. And that is the difference in interpretation is the basis of conflict of interest. All religions of the world can find the moral principles of universal significance. But they firmly linked to certain interpretations, and this gave rise to disputes, clashes, up to bitter religious wars.

In general, the ideal of consumption growth in the ways of scientific and technological progress and economic development of host technological civilization in different ideological doctrines – from liberal conceptions of capitalism to communist ideas reorganization of social life. However, the value-invariant fleshed alternative interpretations (the dominant values of the free market on the one hand, command-planned economy, on the other). Respectively represent different strategies for practical implementation proclaimed the ideal.

Social practice of forming a society of consumption in the developed Western countries testified to the success of their chosen development strategy. And for them it was the basis to position ourselves as a sample in relation to other countries in a globalizing world. Familiar, from the era of modernization, the role of mentor, overtaking other countries in the development of civilization, was the play in the new socio-historical situation of late XX – early XXI century. This position in recent years, the United States openly declares that claim to a comprehensive control over the processes of globalization. But between the ages of overtaking modernization XIX – early XX century, and the present is the key difference. What was in the XIX century only in its infancy, in the second half of the XX century is clearly manifested in the global crisis generated by technological civilization.

The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, environmental and anthropological crisis gave rise to previously unimaginable, but today a real threat to the degradation of the biosphere and the self-destruction of mankind.

Thus, in the structure of values was designated one, the most profound level, which previously did not fall within the scope of reflection, and relied implicitly granted. This

level constituted the two highest values – the conservation and preservation of the biosphere mankind. It is these values are common to all mankind unconditionally status.

But then you need to relate to them the strategies of economic, technological development and the growth of consumption of the installation, which are positioned in the developed Western countries as an expression of universal human values. Do they increase or decrease the likelihood of worsening of global crises?

On this subject I have already spoken out in their publications and in the speeches on the previous Likhachov conference when discussing contemporary issues of dialogue between cultures. Therefore set out the relevant considerations in summary form.

In today's economic development dominated by the principle: "the more we consume, the better it is for the economy." Growth in consumption is associated with an increase in demand, which in turn stimulates economic growth. The modern economy is functioning as a developing system with feedback. It played a major role mechanisms of consumer demand. Historically, there were two key mechanisms that provide a solution to this problem. The first one is related to the expansion and intensification of advertising and periodic change of fashion for certain goods.

In the middle of the twentieth century, one of the researchers in consumer demand American economist and sociologist W. Lebow wrote that advertising and propaganda in the media market should teach people to actively consume and wear things to throw even a relatively new and fit for consumption items, replacing them with new more and fashionable, and all of these processes of renewal of consumable things should proceed at an accelerated pace.

Today, these installations were realized in a consumer society, and gradually become commonplace market relations in expanding their scale.

Renowned futurist, a psychologist and sociologist Ervin Laszlo pointed out that modern civilization over the past 50 years would require the same amount of goods and services (in value constant prices) than all previous generations together (*Laszlo E. Macroshift. M., 2004. S. 70*).

It is clear that such a system the economy can only develop by absorbing more and more of the natural resources and increasing the scale of pollution.

The second mechanism of increased demand associated with the expansion of the practice of cheap credit. This is – life in installments in debt.

In the second half of the twentieth century. It gained widespread credit than individuals and corporations and countries. Expanding foreign exchange and stock speculation turned money into a special commodity. There was an intermediary exchange of a new product – a world currency. They became the US dollar. And then the production of this new product has been a source of profit. US dollar and increasing feed issuance of government securities, were able to lend themselves, constantly increasing the level of consumption. There was a phenomenon of a superpower with enormous military power, who lives in installments. US debt now stands at more than 17 trillion. Dollars. However, the State continues its policy of increasing the budget deficit, increasing costs and ensuring the growth of consumption.

But to live in debt – to live at the expense of future generations. Laszlo, in his book "Macroshift" consid-

ers the principle of “the more we consume, the better we live,” as the path to ecological catastrophe. He noted that the new strategy of development of civilization must be associated with the rejection of this principle. But then a new problem arises: what are the possibilities of such a radical change?

It needs a special analysis of the changes in the structure of the modern economy, which make the knowledge economy, the growth of information consumption and the possibilities of new technologies. It is also important to determine possible changes in the structure of the financial market in the ways of international control of world currency, the transition to this type of world currency, which, as a supranational, while not the currency of a single country.

While it is difficult to say what are the prospects of this scenario, and how it can be realized concretely. But what can certainly fix, so it is now the dominant mismatch strat-

egies for economic development and growth of consumption with the objectives of overcoming the global crisis. It follows that these strategies are expressed in the form of the national interests of the leading world powers, have sufficient grounds for its position as universal values.

Today’s global crisis caused by man-made civilization, require a revision of the previous development strategy. And this turn, implies a critique of the basic values of the technogenic culture and detection of points of growth of new values. From this perspective, it is likely that in the transformation of values and the development of new strategies can play a decisive role precisely those countries that remain adapted to new realities fragments of traditional cultures.

The new system of values is likely to be generated in the dialogue of cultures. And this is an additional argument in favor of positive ideas polycentric globalizing world.

Webster G. Tarpley¹

IDEAS FOR WAR AVOIDANCE IN EUROPE AND BEYOND

In addressing this distinguished gathering in these troubled times, I am reminded of an October 1993 meeting with Academician Georgi Arkadyevich Arbatov in his office in the Khlebny Pereulok in Moscow. I had come to give Academician Arbatov a copy of my 1992 book, *The Unauthorized Biography of George H. W. Bush*. This book, I should hasten to add had been written at the urging of another outstanding Soviet scholar, in this case the orientalist Grigory Livovich Bondarevsky, who had been an advisor to the government of the Uzbek SSR, and also to Marshal Stalin. The Cold War had seen some heated polemics, but we agreed that the Cold War was over, that by-gones should be by-gones, and that whatever patriots had done during the Cold War was honorable in so far as they had done it for their country.

Dr. Arbatov was very gracious, and reminded me of all the times Russia had come to the aid of the United States in a time of existential danger. He first mentioned the League of the Armed Neutrality, which had been formed with a decisive help from the Empress Catherine the Great. This league, had helped the new USA to survive the during the American revolution. A little later, Czar Alexander I prevented the British Empire from concentrating all its land forces in North America after the defeat of Napoleon. Instead, with Russian armies in Paris, the British were obliged to negotiate the Treaty of Ghent in 1815, ending the hostilities. Arbatov also cited the case of the American Civil War, in which Russia was the only foreign nation to send material aid to President Lincoln in his struggle with the slaveholding Confederacy. This took the form of Russian battle fleets, which arrived in New York City on September 21, 1863, and in the following month, in San Francisco.

¹ Writer, journalist, publicist. President of the Washington Grove Institute (USA), Ph.D. Specialized in studies of Venetian history, including Paolo Sarpi and the coming of the Thirty Years’ War. Author of books: “Who Killed Aldo Moro?”, “George Bush. The Unauthorized Biography” (co-authored), “9/11 – Synthetic Terror”, “Anatomy of state take-over: studies and political moves of the Pentagon as a core channel of secret government for “9/11” terror attack execution”, “Obama and the Post-modernist Coup” (co-authored), “Obama. The Unauthorized Biography”, etc. Foreign policy advisor of the Tax Wall Street Party.

I have kept up this theme with a lecture held at the National Press Club in Washington DC on the 150th anniversary of the entry of those Russian ships into New York harbor. This lecture is the most viewed item on the American cable network C-SPAN posted during the Sesquicentennial of the American Civil War, and the most viewed Civil War presentation of the past 15 years. This suggests the vast goodwill towards Russia which exists today, in spite of all propaganda, among the American people.

Academician Arbatov of course mentioned the anti-Hitler coalition of World War II. There is of no doubt that the defense of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War constitutes the greatest military achievement in all of human history, and was the central engagement of the Second World War. Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, observed in a quote placed at the beginning of Frank Capra’s *Why We Fight*: “We and our allies owe and acknowledge an everlasting debt of gratitude to the armies and people of the Soviet Union.” Everlasting means everlasting, so this gratitude is hereby renewed.

Still in the future in 1993 were the events of September 11, 2001, to which I have devoted a critical study. The flexible and far-reaching response of President Putin to those events probably helped to avoid some very dangerous escalations in the short run. Someday, if the CIA archives are opened, the world will understand this question better.

The occasions when Russia has extended a helping hand to the United States are too numerous to count. A recent example was the information furnished by the Russian intelligence community to the US FBI and CIA about that Tsarnayev brothers, one of whom is currently on trial in Boston. That vital information, which could have prevented the tragic bombing of the Boston Marathon, was blatantly ignored by the US side. Instead, we later found out that the uncle of the two terrorists brothers had been married to the daughter of a top CIA official dealing with the Caucasus region.

With this review, I come to my first conclusion, which is that the cornerstone of any foreign policy that seeks to

provide security for the United States must begin with a friendly and cooperative bilateral relation with the Russian Federation. A US policy which sets the stage for acrimony and confrontation is self-defeating, self-destructive, and incalculably reckless. Conflict with Russia must be avoided out of both principle and *ragion di stato*, and secondary issues must be sacrificed for the sake of the greater outcome.

There is persuasive evidence that, 70 years ago, during the time between the Crimean conference in Yalta and the death of the US president, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, Sumner Welles, and Harry Hopkins were working, not just towards Big Three Unity, but towards a Soviet-US condominium, which they thought would emerge as the breakup of the colonial empires necessarily sapped the power of Great Britain. But Franklin D. Roosevelt died too soon, and figures like Harry S. Truman, Averill Harriman, and James Byrnes were able to impose their own antithetical policy of an Anglo-American block against Moscow, bringing on the needless tragedy of the Cold War.

Roosevelt's idea of the United Nations included the notion that the great powers seated in the Security Council would act to preserve international peace and security by disciplining the unruly minor states.

Anglo-American ideologues claimed in 1945 in the case of Poland, and today in the case of Ukraine, that democracy means the absolute freedom of voters to install any government they want in power, recklessly disregarding the implications for world peace. Any practitioner of Realpolitik would dismiss this idea as absurd sentimentalism. The United States itself has never practiced this approach, and with good reason. Indeed, the centerpiece of US foreign policy from 1823 until 2013 was officially the Monroe Doctrine, actually the work of John Quincy Adams. Here the Western Hemisphere was declared off limits to any further expansion of the European colonial empires.

There is no freedom for voters in any country to install a government which threatens international peace and security. War avoidance takes precedence over the desire of any group or voting block to be represented, or to govern. The turbulent politics of small countries, animated by ancient resentments and vendettas, cannot be allowed to threaten the future of humanity.

The Republic of China on Taiwan has no right to secede from greater China. The Netanyahu government of Israel has no right to roll back 35 years of negotiations for a Palestinian state. There is no right for Neo-Nazi groups backed by NATO military cliques to stage a violent putsch in Kiev. And Ukraine, Georgia, and Moldova cannot be allowed to generate international conflict by insisting on becoming members of NATO. And not just of NATO. The Lisbon Treaty obliges EU member states to support the NATO party line, meaning that EU membership automatically entails subordination to NATO. So the EU door must be closed to these states as well.

The interest of Russia in preserving a sphere of influence or cordon sanitaire against the military alliance dominated by the United States is entirely reasonable and should be written into international law by the United Nations Security Council as soon as possible.

Secretary Kerry, NSC Director Rice, Madame Nuland, Ambassador Pyatt seem to be ignorant of three basic truths which could be found only yesterday in any decent high school textbook about the history of Europe.

The first is that Russia has repeatedly suffered aggression by invaders like Charles XII of Sweden in 1707, Napoleon of France in 1812, and Hitler in 1941. This experience has left behind the strong national resolve not to permit hostile states on Russia's borders. There is every reason for the United States to respect this.

The second basic point is the Russian desire for ice free, warm water ports, such as those found in the Crimea. Securing these ports has been a vital necessity. Crimea is historically Russian, and any attempt to assert otherwise is the work of propagandists or charlatans. There is no conceivable American interest served by meddling with the current arrangement.

Third, because of the incalculable human losses visited on Russia during World War II, Russia retains an acute sensitivity to the recrudescence of fascist or Nazi ideology anywhere in the world, but above all in nearby states. The political forces which carried out the Kiev coup of February 21, 2014 came bearing Nazi insignia, SS runes, and portraits of the Ukrainian quisling and Nazi leader Stepan Bandera.

For these reasons, no more states on or near Russia's borders should be allowed to join NATO. Indeed, NATO expansion has already gone too far, and should stop. After Libya, there is also the real question if NATO should exist at all.

Kerry and Nuland may want Ukraine or Georgia to join the alliance, but what possible interest could an unemployed black inner-city American or a resident of the poverty-stricken Appalachian region have in pledging to fight and die for the hotheaded, vindictive, and irresponsible governments of the Baltic states, all of which seem to focus most of all on flaunting their nostalgia for the SS, and their outrageous oppression of their Russian-speaking minorities? We understand that the strident Ms. Grybauskaitė will always be ready to fight to the last American, but the time has come to assert an American national interest to be free of the burden of these turbulent little states.

Neutral states have fared well in Europe since 1945. Any honest citizen of Sweden, Switzerland, or Austria can bear witness to this. After having joined Hitler's assault on the USSR in 1941, Finland might have expected draconian punishment, but instead escaped with mere neutralization. Even Henry Kissinger has rallied to my point of view that Ukraine ought to be Finlandized.

One important problem which must be solved if a permanent peace order in Europe and beyond is to be attained is the question of the so-called color revolutions. Color revolution equals war. One of the founding principles of the United Nations is that interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states is inadmissible. Today, this has to include the color revolutions. The idea of destabilizing a large number of countries can already be seen in the action of the pro-British Mazzini networks in 1848, with Marx and Engels pitching in. Perhaps the first recognizably modern color revolution or themed revolution was Mussolini's March on Rome in October 1922. By the time of the CIA people power coup against President Marcos of the Philippines in 1986, the main outlines of this political strategy were clearly discernible. Then we have the dismal catalogue that goes from the bulldozer revolution in Belgrade in 2000, to the tulips of Kyrgyzstan, the roses of Tiflis, and the oranges of Kiev in 2004. There are also notable defeats, such as the Cedars of Lebanon and the summer 2009 attempt to over-

throw the government of Iran. These last two are interesting because they show that the color revolution works best among populations who are politically and socially atomized, and dependent on television and the Internet to get their orientation. Where there is a well-organized political institution to which people can turn, mass manipulation becomes more difficult. The alleged Arab spring of 2011 provides more recent examples. By this time, the color revolution had lost the advantage of surprise. The internet-savvy golden youth agitating in the public square are generally a smokescreen for a palace coup staged by the CIA and other agencies. Tunisia is an example where the subversion of the officer corps, done in advance with bribery, blackmail, threats, etc., worked well enough to allow the putsch to proceed smoothly. Libya and Syria are cases in which that subversion worked less well. We also note the sharp deterioration in the quality of the dupes deployed. Kiev 2004 still had a gloss of golden youth. But Maidan 2014 had to rely on fascist gangs, criminal elements, adventurers, and foreign mercenaries.

Behind the demonstrators lurk the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). It has long been evident that these NGOs operate in the orbit of the Western intelligence agencies, or under the influence of foundations. Under President Reagan's Executive Order 12333, many of the functions of the Cold War CIA were privatized into foundations, commercial front companies, or camouflaged in other ways.

It is clear that color revolutions have to be banned in much the same way that poison gas was banned in an earlier time. Such a ban will doubtless be opposed by the main purveyors of color revolutions. In the meantime, it makes sense to inoculate one's own populations by thoroughly exposing the techniques of the color revolution, and also by exposing color revolutions either retrospectively – as in the case of the Arab spring operation – or, if possible, in real time.

Way back in early 2008, it was clear that, under the Obama administration, the US intelligence community would escalate the use of color revolutions beyond anything observed thus far. The Obama presidential campaign of 2007–2008 was itself a kind of color revolution inside the United States. The US intelligence community brought home for use in domestic politics the same techniques that had been applied from Manila to Kiev to Beirut and Tehran. During the 2008 Democratic primaries, I wrote a book entitled *Obama: the Postmodern Coup*, with a substantial part dedicated to the color revolution as purveyed by the National Endowment for Democracy and the Albert Einstein Institute of Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In summary, we see a United States foreign policy which depends on backing fascists in Eastern Europe, and the most benighted and murderous barbarians in the Middle East. This leads us back to the question of why the ruling class of the United States chooses to cooperate with such persons. Here we have a strategic aspect, and also a sociological one.

The strategic question involves the goal of the destabilizations and color revolutions. It would be dangerous to assume that the State Department is simply replacing one group of aging political puppets with another group of younger puppets better suited to the needs of the present moment. Something much more sinister is going on. The State Department and the intelligence community regard foreign states, no matter who is in command, as potential

barriers to the economic and financial looting and exploitation demanded by Wall Street and the City of London. Their goal is primitive accumulation from wealth like natural resources, existing industrial plant and equipment, agricultural production, and the labor force. Any political entity which qualifies as a modern state can say no to primitive accumulation, or at least try to regulate it. For Wall Street, this is intolerable.

As soon as the Arab spring started, it was clear that the goal went far beyond regime change as in the Philippines 1986 or Ukraine 2004, but rather consisted of the destruction of the nation states themselves. The new CIA play-book featured the creation of failed states, micro-states, mini-states, partitions, subdivisions, ethnocultural secessionist movements, and warlordism. Democracy, reform, or any sort of constructive change were never on the agenda. Bernard Lewis, a veteran of the British Arab Bureau, who has long been ensconced at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, is associated with the Bernard Lewis plan for the Middle East. This plan includes the partition of Lebanon into micro-states, the emergence of four or five states out of Iran, the division of Pakistan into three or four parts, and the similar carving of Turkey, Syria, and others. The division of Sudan into two parts, long contemplated by the British Arab Bureau, is now an accomplished fact. Iraq is well on its way to a similar partition. Elsewhere, Serbia has been partitioned. Libya is in chaos, with at least two governments. We can see Yemen falling apart before our eyes today. The Western intelligence agencies have kept their nostalgia for the China of the 1920s, divided among some two dozen centers of warlord power. Finally, the Brzezinski plan for the partition of Russia into multiple subdivisions unquestionably exists, both as a document, and above all as a state of mind. The British are so devoted to partition and subdivision that they staged a demonstration project on their own nation through their referendum for the independence of Scotland.

Not every piece of land that wants to declare independence possesses the necessary prerequisites in terms of natural resources, a modern full set economy, and a modern workforce. Ukraine, for example, seems to lack many of these prerequisites, and is well on its way to becoming a failed state. Ukraine is also an artificial state, having been created and put on the map by the Bread Peace of Brest-Litovsk of February 1918 with the help of Field Marshal von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff of the German General Staff as they attempted to maximize food deliveries to the Central Empires and counteract the effects of the British sea blockade. The idea of Ukraine was taught to Russian prisoners in German POW camps. In the twilight of the Soviet Union, the nomenklaturas or oligarchies of the Union Republics played the card of nationalism and separatism. Many of the resulting states (*Staatsgebilde*) – such as Ukraine – had never before existed for any length of time, and their borders were purely arbitrary. There can therefore be no guarantee that these new creations will prove viable.

We come now to the sociology of the ruling elite of the United States. Where do such people come from? Why do they do such strange things? Why do they reject reality? Here we cannot avoid the problem of ideological decadence. Most sociologists and historians have tended to avoid this problem, since it is very hard to get a foundation

grant to produce a critical study of the decadence of the social cohort which controls those same foundations.

The roots of this problem involve first the massive deindustrialization of the US economy, starting about 1970 and continuing rapidly up to our own time. A manufacturing economy based on tangible, physical, commodity production introduces a factor of objectivity into the society which is lucky enough to have it. A service economy, by contrast, is often the realm of subjective caprice based on nothing more than opinions and prejudices, or market forces. An advanced industrial society which loses its advanced industrial dimension can continue to function for a while by living on its bank account from the past, but it will have no future. A country can measure itself against its rivals by competition in export markets. If it cannot compete, military means may seem attractive.

Today, the Wall Street financier specializing in derivatives has largely replaced the industrialist of the past as the typical exponent of the US ruling elite. The dominant personality type has also shifted from the producer to the asset stripper. The exchange traded derivatives markets in Chicago account for about one quadrillion dollars – \$1,000 trillion or \$1,000, 000,000,000,000 – in purely speculative, and often toxic financial instruments. This does not include an almost equal magnitude of over-the-counter derivatives, which exist as contracts between counterparties. These colossal values must somehow be supported by real wealth drawn from the physical economy of this planet. Hence the tremendous impetus towards primitive accumulation coming from the US financial markets. These financiers usually pay little or no federal tax, since they evade the federal corporate income tax and there is no sales tax or Tobin tax on their speculative trading or issuance of new derivatives. In this sense, the US financier is like the French nobleman of the ancien regime – no taxes paid in either case. Most average Americans are unaware of this special privilege, a situation which the Tax Wall Street Party is laboring to rectify.

As the postwar baby boom generation retires (if they can), leadership is passing to the so-called Generation X, a kind of replay of the lost generation of World War I and the 1920s. Generation X grew up in a brutal world of social Darwinism in which the Reagan administration was tearing up the social safety net which had helped the previous generation attend college. Generation X felt the full effects of the rapid decline in the United States standard of living, which has currently reached somewhere between 50% and 65% of the Lyndon Johnson level. Generation X has also provided the most consistent support for US military adventurism.

The top 1% of US society now controls an exorbitant amount of the nation's wealth and assets. US social mobili-

ty is now inferior to any country in Western Europe, except for Great Britain. The labor unions that might have ameliorated this tendency have largely been smashed. There is no military draft that would force the ruling elite to participate in the horrible sacrifices of war, thus inducing a greater realism. The typical US ideology of science, technology, industry, and progress has been supplanted by Malthusian pessimism on the left, and by neoliberal greed on the right. This situation is nothing short of appalling. The US elite is therefore in a state of terminal depravity, but fortunately many of the 99% are at least theoretically salvageable.

US history has been marked by periodic mass movements, and one approach to the present crisis is political organizing for an agenda of radical reform – and this is being done. I would appeal to scholars and creative artists around the world to stop glorifying the decadence of the US ruling class, and instead to portray them, realistically. Satire may also offer important opportunities. The main contribution Russia can make is to stay strong.

Because geopolitical themes are so urgent, I have been forced to neglect what I regard as the main factor pushing the world towards conflict. It is the fact that since 2008 we have been suffering from a world economic and financial depression comparable to, but more serious than, that of the 1930s. We are reliving the three familiar phases of those years: depression, dictatorship, and war. We need to break out of this fateful pattern. The shared common interest in economic recovery is a powerful tool for overcoming conflicts of all sorts. The BRICS Bank offers an alternative to the dead-end policies of the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, but it is time for the BRICS bank to engage in places like Greece, Egypt, and Venezuela. Pope Paul VI, in his memorable encyclical on third World development, *Populorum Progressio*, argued that development should be the new name for peace. We need a world of Marshall plans, development decades, and postwar reconstruction projects over much of the planet.

More than half a century ago, Kennedy invited Khrushchev to engage in a Peace Race for the benefit of both nations, and for humanity as a whole. Today, with signs of a new arms race multiplying around us, I suggest a return to that concept. One concrete manifestation is the ITER thermonuclear fusion demonstration project in the south of France, in which a large part of the world is cooperatively engaged. I also suggest strenuous efforts to maintain international cooperation in space exploration and colonization, since this cooperation is a powerful antidote to the poisonous diplomatic atmosphere here on earth. International campaigns in biomedical research to defeat the dread diseases which have been scourges of humanity since time immemorial should also go to the top of the agenda. I thank you for your kind attention.

V. A. Tishkov¹

LANGUAGES OF NATIONALITIES

In 2009 UNESCO published the Atlas of the World's languages, according to which 2,500 languages out of 6000 in the world were announced to be endangered. 116 languages spoken on the territory of the Russian Federation were also announced to be in danger of becoming extinct. Then, the following scheme comes: what languages are irrevocably dying, what languages are in danger of becoming extinct (among them appear Udmurt, Kalmyck, Chukchi, the North Caucasian languages), and what languages are severely endangered (20 languages were among them on the list, including Chechen, Tuvian, Belorussian)? Even the world program in favor of endangered languages was accepted, though the conclusion of the authors of the project was unpromising: by the end of our century only several hundreds of languages will remain, the rest will become extinct. All of this, of course, is praiseworthy from the viewpoint of language fostering, and for the purpose of saving the language diversity in the world. Nevertheless, in this issue the respectable organization appeared to have been impressed by the "romantic closet" and politicized ideas of the language, its importance in the modern life of people, communities and states.

Are languages vanishing in Russia or not?

Language in the first place is a means of communication of people, and one of the most important cultural characteristics of one or another nation, or its part. In contrast to clothes or food, which are easily adopted from one nation to another, language learning requests a lot of efforts. Language is learnt from the smallest childhood, that is why a native tongue is also called a "mother" tongue. This is the first learnt language, knowledge of which is usually maintained for the rest of the life. However, a modern man lives, works and travels around the multilingual public. A lot of people, in Russia almost a quarter of the population, were born, brought up in blended families, and it often happens that they can speak languages of their mother and father equally well. In the modern world the population of whole countries or separate regions can be authentically bilingual, and even multilingual. And here Russia is as well no exception. Millions of Russian citizens, generally not of Russian origin, know two and three languages, including Russian or other languages of Russian ethnicities. Dozens of millions of people also learn and speak foreign languages. The

¹ Secretary Fellow of the History and Philology Department of the RAS and a member of the RAS General Committee, Director of the N. N. Miklouho-Maclay Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the RAS, academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor and Honored Scientist of the Russian Federation. He is the author of over 400 scientific works and journalistic essays, including the monographs titled "The Liberation Movement in Colonial Canada"; "History of Canada"; "Requiem for ethnos. Researches on welfare anthropology"; "Sketches of the theory and policy of ethnicity in Russia"; "Political anthropology"; "Society in armed conflict"; "Experience of ethnological monitoring"; "Science and life. Talk with ethnographers"; "Stability and mobility of ethnocultural borders"; "Russian people: History and sense of national consciousness", etc. The winner of the State award Russian Federation in the field of science and equipment. Member of editorial boards of magazines "Ethnographic Review", "Federalism", "Ethnic and Racial Studies", etc. The member of council at the Russian President on the international relations, scientific councils at the Security council and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, council of the Russian humanitarian scientific fund. It is awarded by a medal of honor, the medal "For Labour Valour", an award of Russian Orthodox Church of the Saint blessed prince Daniel of Moscow of the III degree.

2010 Census of population showed that citizens of Russia confirmed knowledge of 230 languages, 170 of which are languages of Russian ethnicities or separate ethnic groups. The Mari and Mordovians have two by two separate languages; Ando-Tsezic ethnic communities, included into the Avarian nationality, speak a dozen of preserved languages. There are also so-called languages of one "aul", when one or two mountain settlements with the population of several hundreds of people both protect their "village" tongue and can speak languages of more numerous groups, as well as the Russian language. There are languages among indigenous minorities of the North that can be spoken today only by dozens of people.

So, the question is: are languages vanishing or not, in Russia as well? And one more important question: does the nation or ethnic group vanish with its language loss? Millions of people, scientists and politicians are very interested in these questions. The first question can be answered as follows: there is no mass extinction, as some of scientists and public activists predict. In the 19th century different authors wrote about "upcoming language extinction" among the Russian Northern people and mountain ethnicities, but for the period of 20th century native speakers of the Ubykh language and Sireniski dialect of the Eskimo language disappeared in our country. Indeed, native speakers of 2–3 minority languages in Russia can pass out of their existence as quite few of them are still alive, and all of them are in later years. But even in this case the language can come alive again, as it happened, for example, in the last decades with Hawaiian, Corsican, Welsh, and some other languages. However, among that kind of languages, there is no language in place out of that mentioned in the Atlas. Chechen, Yakut, Tuvian, Chukchee, and others are very potent languages with its writing system, literature, folklore, and even local bureaucracy system. Majority of native speakers of non-Russian languages in Russia have an opportunity to learn language and even attend classes in Russian, and receive state services and information on the territory of Russian republics and autonomous districts, as well as in the largest cities of the country. By the way, this is the most important proof-point in favor of saving today's Russian federalism, including republics and districts.

The second question is answered definitely "No". Language is the most important specific feature of the nation, but not compulsive at all. There are dozens of nations that speak one language or its variants (for instance, all Latin-American world and all Arab countries, as well as five English-speaking countries). There are communities in frames of which several languages exist. There are communities, which mostly switched or are going on to another language, usually more powerful and more widespread in the country and the world, but representatives of these nations and communities do not lose their identity. For large states with the multiethnic population structure, as Russia is, this question has a bigger emotional and political meaning.

Language transfer

Scientists call the phenomenon of language shift as "language transfer" or "language assimilation". Usually some

politicians and specialists consider this phenomenon to be negative, some sort of refusal or betrayal of language of their nationality. “When the language passes away, so does the nation”, – some people, especially writers, think. But this is only a half of the truth and part of a real language life. Children and parents have the right to choose the language for themselves. The choice is made not only on the basis of ideological, emotional considerations, but also owing to some practical and rational reasons. As a rule, this choice is made in favor of the language the majority of the country population speak, and which has an official status and can help in obtaining earthly success as well. In Russia since formation of the Russian state such a language is Russian (some time ago it was called “the language of the Russian State, the dialect of the Great Russian language). Both now and always the population majority speaks this language, though Great Russians formed the minority of the country population until 1991, and until 1917 French was the prevailing language among the noblemen).

According to the population census in Russia, carried out in 2010, more than 98% of the country population can speak Russian. In fact, all citizens are able to freely communicate with each other using one language, and this can be called language unity of the Russian nation. Not all large and even average multiethnic communities possess this advantage in the meaning of the language situation. What is more, this is not just command of language, and in most cases this is a full or partial transfer to the Russian language as 2nd language, or the only one mother tongue. And this is very important to know and acknowledge to be normal, not abnormal, considering that a lot of Russians of non-Russian origin, their parents or even forefathers, transferred to the Russian language – basic language of knowledge and communication. And this language became native for them.

Language russification could be forcible until 1917; in early Soviet times, conversely, the localization policy was encouraged, i.e. compulsory learning and usage of national minorities’ languages; in late Soviet times the Republic elites were enthusiastically disseminating the Russian language in republics, non-Russian languages were gaining support as well. As a result, due to free-will language choice in modern Russia among non-Russian communities, knowledge of Russian is more spread in comparison to a language, which corresponds to ethnic background of citizens. The lowest skill level in non-Russian languages among Belorussians is 24%, Ukrainians – 35%, Buryats – 45%. A lot of ethnic communities have already lost their languages; these communities have been forming a part of Russia for the longest time, and Orthodoxy prevails among them: Volga peoples (the Mordovians, Mari people, Udmurts), the Ossetians, North Caucasian group in particular, as well as minority peoples of the North, Siberia and the Far East. Mostly representatives of these nationalities do not live in regions compactly, but live mostly in cities.

The most important aspect in the issue of transfer to the Russian language is voluntary involvement and advantage a citizen can get being fluent in Russian since childhood. By the way, parents usually understand this much better. Here it is important to recognize not only the right to change a language, but also encourage Russian ethno national bilingualism, as well as acknowledge the right of

the population part to indicate both native languages. No science and no international norm principle do not point at the fact that a man is allowed to have only one native language! At least, acknowledgement of such a right during population census would ease up the situation, which appears before some Russians within making a choice between native languages, languages of fathers and mothers, or just between two languages, which are familiar and native in equal proportions.

Language of nation

Language has very significant effect not only at an individual man or ethnic group, but also at a state and these people, who are united under its sovereign power: whether the Russians, Spaniards, Brazilians, Canadians, etc. A state lies primarily in institutions, bureaucracy, army, legal wording, technical instructions, etc. By all means, it is better, cheaper and even safer if the whole state speaks one language – the language of the population majority. It is clear that military orders, technical operating procedures of power plants and reactors should be executed in one language. Languages of demographical majority, rarely – languages of politically dominant minority, are set as state or official languages. According to the Constitution and the separate decree this language is Russian. This fact cannot be argued by anyone, as Russian is not only the language of Russians, but in fact the language of the whole Russian nation. This occurs not always, as not every country has such a language, or, what is more, such a language, which is related to so-called “universal languages” (for example, Russian). What is more important, in most countries there are significant populations segments, different from “title” nationality, which make a state *bicomunal*, as, for instance, in Canada, Sri Lanka, or Latvia and Ukraine. There are countries, consisting only of minorities and which are free of dominant communities and their languages.

Experience of the world language policy is accumulated in complicated systems. The simplest, though not cheap variant is full official bilingualism, as the situation is, for instance, in Canada. Passage of the law in 1968 on official bilingualism rescued this country from breakup, and made bilingual the Canadian nation; at least, at the level of state institutions and services. The first president of independent Sri Lanka made Sinhalese as a single state language, which resulted in disagreement of the local Tamils. In this country the Tamils, powered by 40-million Tamil fellow soldiers, were fighting the hot war for the reform of the constitution and their rights. Everything resulted in compromise and correction of mistakes in the language policy. In post-Soviet countries the refusal from official acceptance of the bilingualism right among the Russian-speaking part was the key factor which led to the internal conflict and their sovereignty and stability threat.

Another variant of the state language policy was established in Russia: granting of the state language status, besides federal Russian, to the languages of nations, mostly living in sub-federal entities (republics). There are approximately 40 such languages in Russia, if we number not only 13 languages of Dagestan and 4 languages (except Russian) in Karachay-Cherkessia (Karachay, Circassian, Abazin, and Nogai), but also languages with official local statuses, as, for example, in Yakutia (Dolgan, Chukchee, Evenki, Yukaghir). This system has been working reasonably

well more than for the two past decades, and in fact, represents the original version of the national language Charter in comparison with the European one, which is, for a number of reasons, very difficult to ratify, first of all, because of informality of language situation perception in countries of Europe of this Charter.

Do we have problems with this language system? Of course, we do. Principally, there are cases of violation of equity of both language requests and needs of citizens in republics. Language policy and norms in regions should be defined starting from the language situation among population, not from the name of this or that republic. This was inadmissible to officialize the Bashkir language and to make it obligatory to be taught in regions, where the Tatarian population is historically not minor, and considering the fact that not all of the Bashkir people themselves

speak the Bashkir language fluently. The situation was set right after, but in some regions language nationalism on the part of minorities remains. If both the Bashkir and Tatarian languages, besides Russian, had been announced official, as the Nogai and Abazin in Karachay-Cherkessia, there would not have been that much tension and complaints which happened to be in that republic in the times of the former government.

To conclude, I would like to say that in Russia two eminent language images are combining. On the one hand, our country possesses the unique and unchanged language diversity, which remains quite the only one in the world. On the other hand, Russia remains fully responsible to the world for the one of not many national languages it is almost impossible to imagine the world culture and modern civilization without.

P. P. Tolochko¹

EUROPEAN INTEGRATION DRAMA OF UKRAINE

We have to recognize that Euro-Americans won in a global competition for Ukraine between Russia and the US-EU. They were more consistent in preparation of their supporters in Ukraine, while Russia relied primarily on traditional ethnic kinship of the Russians and Ukrainians, believing that it would be indestructible without any additional stimuli and the Ukrainians would have no other way. Such an idea was a profound mistake.

P. Poroshenko, the fifth president of Ukraine, will no doubt get the laurel wreath of a euro-integrator into the Western world, but to be fair, let's admit that the four of his predecessor contributed to this process, too. At the beginning of its sovereignty Ukraine declared a non-aligned status. Then gradually, and regardless of the political color of the presidential team, it remembered that declaration less and less. During the presidency of L.D. Kuchma, the Verkhovna Rada adopted the law on principles of foreign policy in which the rapprochement with the EU and NATO was declared as one of the most important national priorities. However, it was stipulated that, alongside with it, Ukraine shall remain a true strategic partnership with Russia.

After the so-called "Orange Revolution" of the late 2004 – early 2005, when V. A. Yushchenko, President-Westerner, came to power, the strategic partnership with Russia was forgotten, but an unprecedented campaign was launched in favor of the entry of Ukraine into the EU and

NATO. They even announced Ukrainian compulsory NATO education. By the decree of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine, the new school year (2008) in secondary schools began with a lesson about the North Atlantic alliance. Everything indicated that the "orange" government was fulfilling an unspoken promise to American and NATO officials to prepare Ukraine for NATO membership by a certain date.

In fact, little changed in the issue of European integration during V.F. Yanukovich presidency. In full agreement with the opposition, the authorities launched an active promotion of European values and way of life. Together they convinced people that after signing the association, they would enjoy all possibilities possessed by Europeans. Reasoned warnings of leading Ukrainian and Russian economists (V. Muntiyanyan, S. Glazyev, V. Geyets V. etc.) that in case Ukraine entered the European system of political and economic relations, it would lose its main technological facilities, become a market for European products, as well as a reservoir of cheap labor, were not paid attention to. Russia's warnings on impossibility of keeping the current level of economic cooperation with Ukraine, in case Ukraine signed the Association Agreement with the EU, passed unheeded.

V. Yanukovich and his entourage saw the truth only a few days before the Vilnius summit, where this agreement was to be signed. They either had failed to read this multi-page text, or were inattentive to its content, or, more realistically, were hoping for a multibillion-dollar aid from Europe. They supposed, and I must say, for good reasons, that separation of Ukraine from Russia should to be well paid.

It turned out, however, that no European golden shower was ever going to fall over Ukraine. Apart from democratic European values nothing significant was promised. The team of V. Yanukovich decided to postpone signing of the agreement, until the scope and terms of economic aid from the EU, and, most importantly, the status of free trade zones with Russia and the West had been clearly defined.

¹ Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, academician of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor. Author of over 500 scientific publications, among them are 25 books: 'Ancient Kiev', 'Ancient Russia', 'Ancient Feudal City', 'Istorični Portrait' ('Historical Portraits'), 'Russian Chronicles and Chroniclers of the 10th–13th centuries', 'St. Volodymyr – Yaroslav the Wise' ('St. Vladimir – Yaroslav the Wise'), 'Rusi vid to Ukraine' ('From Russia with Ukraine'), 'Old Russian Nationality, Imaginary or Real', 'Power in the Ancient Rus of the 10th–13th centuries', 'The Ukrainians in Russia' and others. Chairman of the Ukrainian Society for Protection of Historic and Cultural Monuments, a member of the Academia Europaea (London), a corresponding member of the Central German Institute for Archaeology, Winner of the State Award of the USSR in the field of science and technology, the State Award of Ukraine, the Award of the National Grushevsky Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Makarii award and Alexander Nevsky award (Russia). He was awarded with the Order of Prince Yaroslav the Wise of the 5th, 4th, 3rd degrees, the order of "Badge of Honour", the order of Friendship (Russia).

But the US and the EU do not want to wait. Together with the Ukrainian opposition, raised by them, they organized the called euro-maidan in the center of Kiev. From its tribune Euro-American officials urged the Ukrainians to freedom and democracy, actually, to a rebellion against the legitimate authority. In fact, the Maidan, the control center of which turned out to be in the US Embassy in Ukraine, became an alternative power for months. A striking example of this is the simultaneous assault of 12 regional administrations on January 23–24 2014, nine of which got in the hands of maidan supporters. After President V. Yanukovich had left Kiev at night of February 21–22 2014, the powers were fully passed into the hands of the Maidan. It was with its approval that the Verkhovna Rada adopted the interim government and interim president of Ukraine. However, the acts of Maidan were relatively sovereign. Judging by the telephone conversation of D. Payette, the US Ambassador in Ukraine, and B. Nuland, Assistant Secretary of State, the US was to make a decision of who should lead the new government in Kiev. It is no accident that A. Yatsenyuk, acting Prime Minister, was immediately received by President Barack Obama.

After that there were no obstacles to signing the Association Agreement with the European Union. On 21 March 2014 A. Yatsenyuk in the presence of the leaders of 28 EU member states put his signature under the documents, although only under its political part, but that was of no importance. It became clear that the political association would inevitably be followed by economic, military, and others. On June 27, 2014 P. Poroshenko, President of Ukraine, signed the whole agreement. On September 16, 2014 the European Parliament and the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine ratified it.

Of course, it was a legal formality. In fact, immediately after the coup Ukraine was considered as an allied country by the United States and the European Community, they provided not only economic, but also military assistance to the new authorities, including the aid to conduct the war with Donetsk and Lugansk regions. It is noteworthy A. Turchinov, the acting President of Ukraine, took the decision to begin the so-called anti-terrorist operation exactly when D. Brennan, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, was visiting Kiev. His visit was followed by mentoring visits of US Vice President J. Biden, Senator McCain D., Assistant Secretary of State B. Nuland to Kiev. The fact that the United States had served a “mediator” in the change of power in Ukraine, was admitted at the end of January 2015 by President Barack Obama.

Compulsive American coaching led to the fact that external government was imposed on the country. Positions of foreign advisers were established in the ministries, and soon after another visit of J. Biden to Kiev, D. Poroshenko announced of “his own” initiative to appoint foreign specialists to ministerial positions, explaining it by the fact that they were not linked with the Ukrainians either by kinship or nepotism. However, the fact that they were linked with Washington and Brussels, and that their participation in governance of a country completely unknown to them would deprive it of sovereignty, did not bother Mr. Poroshenko. It is striking that even people in conflict with the law in their own countries and wanted by Interpol should be invited to “rule” Ukraine.

We can say that the US, the EU and Ukraine began their honeymoon. However, if to continue this metaphor, we will

have to recognize that the marriage was unequal and was entered not for love, but rather for mutual convenience. The US and EU believe that they will receive an additional market for their products and cheap labor, and Ukraine hopes to gain European standards of life without applying any efforts. This is how the authorities explain that unnatural misalliance to the people.

“What can we get from Russia? – They inquire. – They have the same poverty as we do and the same corruption. But the rich Europe and the US is a model of freedom and democracy, we can fundamentally benefit from different civilizational and technological values “.

May God attend them. But I’m afraid, that they back up the wrong horse. After all, Bulgaria, Romania and some other new EU countries had relied upon the same things, but saw no radical improvements in their lives. Even many other EU member states, such as Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, can not boast of the same level of development and living standards, as Germany, France or the UK. Why does Ukraine hope to have special conditions enabling it to rank with the most developed countries?

I have recently read a book by the famous Ukrainian economist P. Gaydutsky «Незалежна економіка України» (2014). Its two chapters are devoted to the problems of integration of Ukraine into the Eurasian and EU community. Despite the pathos of European integration, and sympathy for the EU that the author does not conceal, the factual material gives rise to doubts in this orientation. It turns out that in 2014 trade with the European Union was lower (31.4%) than with the Customs Union (33.3%). The negative balance of foreign trade with the EU has increased by 8 times and reached 10.5 billion dollars. With regard to the agricultural products trade, the Ukraine has a positive balance with the Customs Union (2 billion dollars), and only 0.8 billion with the EU. The trade of mechanical engineering products with the Customs Union gives a positive balance of 4.8 billion dollars, and a negative \$7.2 billion balance with the EU.

The author quotes other informative indicators which suggest that the integration into the EU threatens Ukraine with serious economic difficulties. Undoubtedly, President Poroshenko knew all this, and, therefore, before signing the Economic Agreement with the EU, declared that integration into Europe should not exclude normal economic relations with Russia and other countries of the Customs Union. But will it be possible?

One of indisputable arguments in favor of European integration is the supposed “eternal European nature” of the Ukrainians. But this is rather evidence of the historical ignorance of the new Ukraine leaders. First, not only Ukrainians reside in the country, and secondly, even they are more Eurasians than Europeans. Of course, it is not a death sentence, and there is nothing wrong in that. For thousands of years a civilization border between Europe and Asia was made not in the Urals, but rather along the demarcation line for the steppe and forest steppe. In recent memory the forest steppe was inhabited by the eastern Slavs, and the steppe by the Huns, Avars, Pechenegs, Torquay, Polovtsy, the Mongol-Tatars. Most of these peoples have extinguished from the historical map, but they did not disappear without a trace, they dissolved themselves in the Eastern Slavs, and later in the Ukrainian ethnic group. This is evident in the anthropological appearance of the mod-

ern Ukraine population, language, culture, behavior stereotypes etc.

This does not mean that Ukraine can not integrate into Europe. Of course it can. However, making plans for the future, the new guides should be aware that much of the population of Ukraine is not ready to renounce its past, people can not accept the formula of “one country – one nation – one language”. Neglect of the second largest ethnic group of the Ukraine’s population, the Russians, (and even wider, Russian-cultural group) was essentially the cause of a civil conflict in the south-east of the country.

Religious factor plays an important role here. Many Ukrainians who profess the Orthodox faith and are faithful to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church under the Moscow Patriarchate can not accept the fact that their church is persecuted as a foreign church, only because it is canonically united with the Russian Orthodox Church. Neither the Greek Catholics or Catholics, or the many other faiths, with their sacred and administrative centers abroad, are considered as foreign church believers. Is it necessary to prove that such an unfair attitude towards the main church confession cannot but give rise to serious contradictions in the society?

Surely, Ukraine’s cooperation with the West is not only desirable, it is necessary. However, it is important to take steps that it should not lead to a new civilization choice of Ukraine, as is constantly claimed by the Euro-integrators. That would mean a de facto loss of Ukrainian cultural and historical identity. Discussing this matter, new ethno-ideologists reassure that neither they nor the West shall pursue such a goal, and it is principally impossible.

I rather doubt. Perhaps, in the time of the Brest Church Union of 1596 Orthodox Rusyns of Galicia were assured that this church act would not threaten their religious and ethnic identity. Nevertheless, much of the population of Kievan Rus, that historically had professed Orthodoxy for centuries, being in canonical unity with Constantinople, were suddenly turned into Catholics and became subjects to the Roman throne. In fact, Ukraine saw a civilizational rift that divided the once single ethnic group into two – language related but different in civilizational identity. The negative consequences of the Brest Church coup carried out by Rome and Warsaw are still being felt in Ukraine.

Having decided on such a radical choice in favor of integration into the US and the EU, the current government (as well as their Euro-American coaches), do not seem to realize what they doomed Ukraine for: for civil intercultural confrontation and even loss of national integrity. And, whoever may blame Russia it, we must admit that the mechanism of the collapse was triggered by the Maidan, so carefully cherished by the United States and its European allies.

Unfortunately, there is nothing new here. Ukraine is not the first and probably not the last in a series of countries, made happy by American freedom and democracy. And there was no case when a US intervention ended with peace and prosperity. On the contrary, it led to raging civil wars, disintegration of states, and hundreds of thousands of refugees. Because of the war in the south-east about 1 million people sought for refuge, mostly women and children. Most of them fled to Russia, less to the mainland Ukraine. There is no knowing when and how they will come back to their home and hearth.

And, of course, do not be deceived: the United States and the West are inflamed with love for Ukraine not for

humanitarian considerations. They need it as an outpost against Russia, the territory in which they are going to deploy their military bases. If history is any guide, that will be the case. Essentially, there is no country – the EU or NATO member, which would be free from their military presence. It will happen in Ukraine. Especially that the newly-elected president has already asked Barack Obama about it. But the challenge always generates a response. It is easy to assume what it will be like. It will serve the interests of the old and new members of the EU and NATO. In case of a military conflict with Russia, they will not be the first on the front line. But why should Ukraine be satisfied with such a prospect?

Watching the thrive of the new Ukrainian leaders pushing Ukraine to the West, one can’t abandon the idea that everything is done in defiance of Russia, rather than in the interests of Ukraine. They tear relations both in economic and humanitarian spheres. There is something unnatural in breaking age-old relations, and especially in the confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, given the historical past of our peoples. Their common homeland was Kievan Rus. Then, for more than 300 years Russians and Ukrainians lived in a united country, mutually created by them. All our common history is so closely intertwined that we simply cannot divide this heritage between Ukrainians and Russians without a moral loss.

There is no room for a detailed tour in history (I devoted a monograph to the subject “The Ukrainians in Russia in XVII–XX centuries”, 2013), and therefore I will only focus on the ethnic features of the two peoples. Politically they are different, because they live in separate countries, speaking different, though similar, languages and are of different nationalities. But ethnically they are one people. And it is not only because they both originated from a common root and have ancient Russian nationality as their ancestor. Perhaps a more significant thing here is their late heterogeneity caused by inter-ethnic marriage ties and broad mutual resettlement mobility. I am not sure if there is exact statistics on how many Ukrainians reside in Russia or Russians in Ukraine, but the figure is certainly dozens of millions. And there are even more people with a mixed Russian-Ukrainian ethnicity. Changing the famous aphorism, one might say: “Scratch a Russian well, and you will find a Ukrainian,” or “Scratch a Ukrainian well, and you will find a Russian.”

Can it be the key to ensure peace and harmony between the two current eastern Slavic people? In theory, the answer is obvious: of course, it can. But in practice, it has not always been like that. Now the Eastern Slavic unity is undergoing a serious test. The new political elite of Ukraine, economically and politically integrated with the West, has not only provoked a crisis in relations with Russia, but has also destroyed a fragile inter-ethnic and inter-cultural peace in the country, the country that does not have an organic ethno-geographical and cultural unity. In fact, it is an administrative and territorial unit, formed in the Soviet era. During this period it was composed of New Russia, Galicia, Transcarpathia, Bukovina, and the Crimea. In a short historical period of cohabitation, they could not become Ukraine in a cultural and historical sense, and the Ukrainian nationalist elites, organizing the Maidan, failed to understand it. Unfortunately, they do not want to understand it even now. They insist on inviolability of the unitary Ukrainian state. Meanwhile, the peaceful future of Ukraine

is only possible under a federal state and territorial form of government.

Leaving aside temporary and tactical reasons, such as European banks accounts of the political and economic elite of Ukraine, “villas” on the French Riviera, but considering long-term and pragmatic reasons for all Ukrainian people, the split between Ukraine and Russia is a dramatic mistake. Ukraine is entering the Union with high-tech advances, but that has practically exhausted its resources and is very overpopulated, rapidly changing its civilization essence. Nowadays, some of its countries by a quarter consist of immigrants from the Muslim world, who are beyond any European acculturation. And, apparently, this process will continue. There is no doubt that it will cover Ukraine, too.

Forecasts of leading Ukrainian and Russian economists concerning the technological future of Ukraine in the European Community are far from being rosy. It is likely to lose its status of an industrial power, it will lose machine-building industry and become a market for European products and a reservoir of cheap labor for the EU.

Maybe you can live like that. Yet integration with Russia, which has innumerable natural resources and immense living space, would be a more acceptable alternative for Ukraine. In case of smart cooperation Ukraine could become a de facto shareholder of all these riches. It is a common knowledge that a large number of Ukrainians work at oil and gas fields in Russia. Moreover, Ukraine’s gas and oil transport infrastructure would be a significant share in the stock. We could mine and sell together. And there would be no bypass pipelines as “Nord Stream” under the Baltic Sea, “Blue” and “Turkish” – under the Black.

There is no doubt that close cooperation with Russia and other post-Soviet countries would help Ukraine to preserve and develop such industries as aerospace, aviation, shipbuilding. An immense market of Russia could be the key to successful development of agriculture and processing industry of Ukraine. Unfortunately, under the current circumstances of the Eurasian integration we can only speak of it as of a lost opportunity. But I would like to believe, is not lost forever.

Taşansu Türker¹

HISTORY OF NATION AND BEYOND; EMPIRE AND THE WEST IN RUSSIA AND TURKEY

The objective of this report is a comparison of the ideas of “empire” and “nation” in Turkey and Russia from the 19th century up to the beginning of the 20th century, during a period when they were subject to modern politics, so that some inferences could be drawn regarding the current identity and democracy problems of both, each with its distinctive features.

From the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman Empire had gone into a collapse period, and intellectuals, along with the elite governing the state, were aware of the situation. This awareness of the labefaction process motivated the basic dynamic of the primary reform attempts, remarkable in that these reforms had nothing to do with modernization or westernization, but on the contrary, were carried out as a struggle with the West with a view to protect the state and status quo. In fact, this state of affairs lasted almost until the end of the 19th century, with the only difference the acknowledgement of not only the technical, but also the holistic superiority of the West and thus leading to broader reforms from the beginning of the 19th century. Regardless of what their extent however, the original purpose of the reforms was protection of the state.

The process of reforms began in accordance with this situation, but as stated above, those reforms at first emerged with the goal of satisfying requirements, not related to extensive Westernization, but for combatting the deficiencies of the empire. As late as the periods of Selim III and Mahmud II, the reforms began to be put into practice extensively, and the process which is now defined as Westerniza-

tion began only afterward, albeit somewhat timidly. Despite the fact that Westernization began to change the whole aspect of the empire and society, the main impacts were actualized by the emergence of intellectuals acquainted with western culture. Foundation of the Tercüme Odası (chamber of translation) in 1821 is a turning point in that regard, with young people brought up in this chamber not only acquiring a solid grasp of foreign languages but also of western culture. The process in which the reforms were co-opted from the state is the result of the efforts of those Ottoman intellectuals.

The reforms and concepts of “empire” and “nation” are relevant to the process of national awakening. The stated nationalist awakening was primarily a movement instigated by Christian constituents, and later taken up by non-Turkish Muslim constituents. The Turkish constituent was mainly focused on the idea of “saving the Empire”. The concept of nationalism did not exist in the traditional structure of this empire which was based on the *millet* system, with religious groups that spoke many different languages and consisted of different ethnic groups with their own local administrations under the umbrella of the central imperial power. This state of consciousness grew at a fast pace during the 19th century and eventually subverted the Ottoman Empire. In all this, the main concern of the Ottoman intellectuals concordantly became opposed to nationalism, since the latter had to be abolished to save the Empire. Within this framework, Ottoman intellectuals were not only restricted to creating the ideology of Turkism, they also became the agents of the imperial structure against the nationalist process.

Examining the ideas of West and anti-West, it seems remarkable that for the Ottoman intellectuals, the development of a systematic anti-Western ideal was ultimately late and weak. Because the idea of Westernization fell into a de-

¹ Director of the Research Centre for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Associate Professor, Doctor of Faculty Political Sciences at Ankara University (Turkey). Area of expertise: History of the Ottoman and Russian Empires, modern foreign policy of Russia and Turkey. Author of article theses, scientific publications on history of the Ottoman and Russian Empires and issues of modern international politics.

cline and the skeptical concept of Westernism, which was the essential feature of the reforms, hindered or at least lowered an anti-consciousness. However, in general, there was an effort to reconcile western values with the traditional structure, and thus preserve the Empire.

The ideology of Ottomanism should be evaluated in that sense. The western notions of *homeland* and *patriotism* with the traditional *loyalty* and *justice* were brought together, in the attempt to form an “Ottoman nation”. The failure of this attempt cannot be explained solely by its lack of sophistication. It is clear that the power of the state is an extreme requirement with such a policy, but the Ottoman Empire no longer had that power in the 19th century.

The most important stage of Ottomanism was the era of the *Tanzimat* reform pashas, with loyalty to the Sultan—the traditional focus of loyalty — eliminated by a bureaucratic elite, and the concept of *loyalty* replaced by the concept of *homeland*. The new Ottoman philosophy also added the concept of *homeland* to the concept of “equal and liberal citizenship”. Although the belief that participation in all elements of governance would also be attached to the state may appear as a simple-minded belief, this belief obviously provided a significant cohesion.

Another attribution of the new Ottoman philosophy regarded the anti-Westernism mentioned above. The new Ottoman idea which regarded *Islahat Fermani* (edict of reform, 1856) as a western intervention also put forward the first systematized anti-Western idea. But this antinomy should be interpreted as a demand for independence or anti-intervention in the framework of “patriotism” rather than being a so-called antinomy. This antinomy also formed a crack in Ottomanism. Within this scope, non-Muslim elements were perceived as a tool for Western intervention and the ideology of Ottomanism, again with an external intervention, experienced a serious break-down during its first internal conflict. As a result of the fact that the number of non-Muslim elements in the empire was decreasing, the imperial consciousness adopted Islam as a new identity for itself. This ideology, which is depicted as pan-Islamism, should be considered as an ultimately western ideology, because the process in which Islam began to depart from being a religion to constituting an identity reference of a modern ideology sprang from western values.

What is remarkable even while defending pan-Islamism is that the ideology of Ottomanism is still argumentative and even defensible. Yet the idea of saving the state had been transformed into keeping what was left behind, with — on the one hand — the prominence of an Islamic identity and on the other hand, efforts made not to ostracize non-Muslim elements. This Islamic identity was anti-nationalist to an almost utopian degree. The internationalism of Islamic elements was brought to the fore along with the assertion that emphasis of differences was against Islam. At the same time, Arab, and especially Albanian national awareness processes developed and ultimately increased the power of the ideology of Turkism.

The use of the word *Turkism* occurred long after the national awareness of each constituent in the Ottoman Empire. The term seems to have emerged for the first time in the beginning of the 20th century, though it wasn't until the Balkan Wars and even World War I that this ideology began to receive general support, having to hide itself in Islamic thought. Despite the fact that *Turkism*, like *pan-Islamism*

has a “pan” feature, it had never been an effective idea. The internal reflection occurred as late as the era of the Republic of Turkey as a result of systematically attaching it to Westernization. Turkism and Westernism emerged altogether as modern forms of nationalism. The “pan” attribute of Turkism was eliminated at that point, and the idea of an equal and independent Turkish nation among the modern nations emerged, the ideology, as with former variants, claiming its imperial heritage and continuing the idea of “*comprehensiveness*” instead of “*exclusionism*” (the latter a basic feature of nationalism). In this sense, the modern Republic of Turkey and the project of Kemalism emerged as a mixture of concepts of “homeland” and “nation”, a model that is western-oriented but also uneasy about the West, that wants to become westernized but also wants to carry on the integrity of the state; that is related to Turkism but based on “citizenship”.

Concerning Russia, the first important fact was that, contrary to the situation with the Ottoman Empire, Russia was a country that had become increasingly powerful. In Russia, the systematic westernization progress beginning with the reforms of Peter I resulted in the increasing power of the Empire. During the 19th century, it is impossible to find a European concern in which Russia was not involved. Once again — contrary to the situation in the Ottoman Empire — in Russia central authority was established, and the opponents of autocracy annihilated. Besides economic growth, striking developments in the fields of education and culture occurred. Development of the aristocratic elite via the western educational establishment almost surpassed that of the West, not limited only to technical development, but an ultimately sophisticated level of improvement in social sciences and arts was also achieved.

The primary significant point regarding the subject of this study is the self-confidence of intellectuals in this “glorious” Russia. While Ottoman intellectuals were deeply occupied with “saving the state”, Russian intellectuals had the opportunity to deal with far more sophisticated issues. Another point is the aristocratic origin of Russian intellectuals. While Ottoman intellectuals were typical examples of petit bourgeois, Russian intellectuals were overwhelmingly of aristocratic origin. When examining the reforms of Peter I, and in particular the period of Catherine II when those reforms were institutionalized, an important fact emerges: In Russia, reforms had arisen and been carried out in a very strict, systematic and decisive manner from the beginning as opposed to the *hesitant modernization* seen in the Ottoman Empire. As a result, in Russia the systematic and extensive Western antilogy, from the beginning of the 19th century, was held to as harshly as the reforms themselves, something never to occur in the Ottoman Empire. This anti-West attitude in Russia primarily formed the question of who are “we” against Europe, and naturally formed the content of “we”. The process which can be regarded as “early conservatism” should actually be evaluated as an intellectual environment where the first modern attempts in forming the “Russian” identity are dominant.

On the other hand, the Westernist attitude seen in the same period and which can be defined as “early liberalism” is crystalized at the Decembrist sole of 1825 is clearly the sphere of dominance of the ideas that support the westernization process of Russia and desire for construction of a new social structure with western values. Taking these

ideas into consideration, collaboration via political struggle of the concepts “homeland” and “patriotism” rising in the West stands out. When analyzed, the participative political claims in terms of our subject – a political claim which is organized in the framework of a modern “homeland” concept – emerges. One can assert correctly that to state that the concept is similar to that of Ottomanism, since a western model of organization and participative politics is constructed upon the concept of “homeland” in both countries. This liberal essence went into quite a conflict with anti-Western sentiment in Russia. The major signs of this conflict can be observed in the debates of the 1840s’.

This debate, which is formulated as the *Zapadnik-Slavofil* antilogy, reveals the fact that the *Zapadniks* maintained their early liberal claims, but in spite of this, the early conservatism took a step forward in definition of Russian identity and this idea had become more systematic. What stands out here is that Russian identity is formulated as an identity of civilization rather than a national identity. Besides being an ultimately systematic formulation, this is a national state of consciousness which is a stranger to the concept of boundary and includes imperial constituents. Another (and a debilitating) feature of this definition which includes a kind of liberation is that it is unable to adopt an attitude against autocracy and elevates political apathy.

The changing in this attitude occurred due to the fact that aristocrat Russian intellectuals lost faith in Europe. That disappointment which especially A. I. Herzen embodies after the Crimean War resulted in the idea that Russian identity must be politicized. It’s clear that Herzen, a *zapadnik* who announces the bankruptcy of the west, ultimately increased the faith and awareness in Russian identity against the Western world.

The politicization of this faith and awareness of Russia occurred thanks to Danilevsky, the reenunciator of panslavism – which was achieved by combining German philosophy with French revolutionism. Danilevsky, in *Rossiia i Evropa (Russia and Europe)* created concepts of civilization at a sufficient level to become a pioneer for Spengler and Toynbee, and formulated the civilization concept of Slav-Russian civilization rising against Western civilization. Although this formulation mainly focuses on the theme of the unity of Slavs, the framework of Russian identity, which is the most advanced power in this civilization, would be the center of this union. Hence, what is mentioned here is the assertion that Russia, as the elder brother, or maybe even the father (rather than equal siblings), needs to establish this union and politicize as the new and superior civilization of the world. Western antilogy is again the main factor here, and again the boundary concept is nowhere to be found in those debates. Yet, according to this idea, Russia was an empire for a large population beyond its boundaries, too, and was in the position of demonstrating that.

This policy stopped and turned inwards with the internal disturbances as late as the Aleksandr III period. Although the “*autocracy orthodox church people*” trilogy, defined as the official ideology in the beginning of the century, is preserved just as it was, the inner reflection of the above mentioned policy occurred in such a way that a quick *Russification* policy coexisted. Yet, this trilogy as the formal ideology of a traditional empire, was slogging to hold the empire together during the era of nationalism.

Although policies and ideas in the framework of “homeland” continued its existence in this era, it was then acknowledged that Russia was different from the West and that difference was sublimed by all. That is to say, the power of those who defended the concept of even “homeland” in a western tone was broken. Against them, different ideas that generally emphasized the Russian identity grew stronger.

A separate stance among these debates can be defined as one of the last examples of imperial political mentality. K. N. Leontiev stands for the imperial cosmopolitanism over the tradition of being Byzantine and Roman. He agrees with the idea of an alternative against the West, and this would be Byzantine model. Leontiev also supports the idea of union of Slavs, not because he is in favor of Slavs, but because it forms the basis of a new non-Western system. This civilization debate had an impact on all the Russian intellectuals, including even the anarchists. For example, M. Bakunin asserted that socialism could only be established by the communities which are totally independent from the Western civilization.

Despite all those debates, the tendency of converting Russian empire to a “*Rus*” empire (territorial imperial-ethnic national/*Rossisky-Russky*) was ended by Leninism, which prefers politics to the concept of “homeland” that is organized in the framework of proletarian internationalism as a far superior identity, and that promotes the union of nations. With this ideology that acknowledges the right to self-determination by nations, “homeland” is asserted instead of “nation”. The dream of Decembrist movement, which is defined as early liberalism in the beginning of 19th century as it stood, came true a century later – an era in which all the elements were connected to each other by the ideology of socialism and the bonds of citizenship, and were patronized by the Communist party beginning with the Soviet Revolution.

When comparing the two countries; concepts of *empire, modernization, homeland, anti-reforms reaction* and *nation* emerge as key words. Despite the fact that both empires were traditional empires, their difference in political power in the early 19th century forms the basis of the difference between the two. While the Ottoman Empire lived through its classical period earlier and was exposed to modernization, Russia became an empire during the process of modernization. While the Ottoman Empire lived through the process of modernization in a pragmatic way, Russia passed through this process in a more severe manner. Anti-Western sentiment was therefore, as weak in the Ottoman Empire as it was severe in Russia. In this context, while the Ottoman Empire embraced the institution of empire, the nationalist state of consciousness improved far earlier in Russia. While imperial cohesion was becoming prominent in the Ottoman Empire, in Russia a frame of mind based on being Russian was most significant. While a Western model predominated in the Ottoman lands after the dismemberment of the empire, Russia carried on its anti-Western attitude and was able to emerge with an alternative model.

Looking at events today, both in Russia and in Turkey, the debate is still based on “homeland” and “nation”. Which of these concepts will become more significant in both countries will be defined in accordance with Westernization of culture, democracy and the nature of relations with the West, but primarily with the connections that they will establish with the dynamics of their own past.

**Shlomo Weber¹,
D. V. Davydov²,
T. Osang³,
M. Fujita⁴**

MIGRATION POLICY, LABOUR MARKET COMPLIMENTARITY AND ETHNOLINGUISTIC HETEROGENEITY⁵

While discussing the work of industries which deserve highly-qualified labor, one cannot but notice that different manufacturing technologies used in different countries impose different requirements on employees' skills and possibilities of mutual communication. For example, Japan is widely renowned by its achievements in automobile industry and high-technology consumer goods production, including household appliances and electronics that require high standards of performance precision and perfect quality control of output product. These industries are characterized by a high number of production stages where technological progress is achieved by means of applying a big number of small but significant improvements called 'kaizen' (See e.g. [3]). For these types of industries not only well-educated and capable workers but also rather active and fruitful cooperation between them is required. As a result under the influence of the conditions listed above, there forms a workforce with homogeneous level of education, common language and cultural background.

On the other hand, specialization in 'knowledge' production (software, in particular) may arise in the process of selection of talented and hardworking individuals from all over the world with absolutely different language and cultural background, as it was for instance in Silicon Valley, the USA. This success of the late 1990-s is usually ex-

plained by the experience variety of the scientists, engineers and entrepreneurs who were coming from many countries including India, China, Russia, and Israel. As Anna Li Saxenian states, co-founders in more than 30% of all companies started in Silicon Valley were immigrants from Asia [7]. Thus, ethnolinguistic and cultural diversity increased the feeling of employees' aims unity rather than disturbed it. Some works describe how happy the Silicon Valley employees were with the possibility to share information so often and intensive by means of multitudes of formal and informal contacts [6]. This exchange was encouraged even more by frequent change of workplace by some workers (the average contract of an employee in one company was about two years) and by peculiarities of this industry which is usually characterized by a phrase 'a company is only a mechanism that gives its employee opportunity to work'.

The nature of knowledge production defines the importance of cooperation between workers that possess different complementing knowledge and skills, and this differs greatly from the qualified maintenance of multistage technological processes [4, 5]. In general there are two sources of labor resources complementarity: internal heterogeneity that defines variety of talents within a group of workers in a manufacturing industry and external heterogeneity that emphasizes differences between the existing group of workers and newly employed in a particular industry. The first type of heterogeneity is thoroughly studied within interaction analyses of two countries [2]. In the model drawn in each country labor resources are heterogeneous and can be employed within the country to fulfill different (complimentary) tasks. At the same time the influence of such inner heterogeneity on the trade between two countries is evaluated.

In our case there is opposite situation: within a specific industry there should exist complimentary skills of locals from each of the two countries and incoming migrant workers. At the same time each of the three groups of workers is homogeneous (locals of country *A*, locals of country *B*, migrants *I*). Using special terminology, we observe heterogeneity in a relation to the three clusters of individuals and suppose that each cluster is absolutely heterogeneous inside [1].

Heterogeneity between countries *A* and *B* is represented by the three main parameters: degree of completability of labor resources between locals and migrants (for each country), population size in each country and the degree of cultural differences between locals and migrants (for each country). Cultural differences here are interpreted in a wide context and include all displays of diversity connected with language barriers, locals' prejudices against migrants, differences in habits and customs connected with culture, religion and so on. Attitude of local people from different countries to migrants can be explained by a wide number of

¹ Supervisor of the Laboratory for Studies of Social Relations and Diversity under the Russian School of Economics, professor of economics at Southern Methodist University (Dallas, USA), Ph.D. Author of over 100 scientific publications in Economics and Political Science, Economics, Public Economics, Political Economy, selected books: 'What Russia Can Expect from the Next US President', 'Boiler or Mosaic: How to Solve the National Issue in Russia', 'The Oxford Handbook of the Russian Economy' (co-editor) and others. Co-author of the monograph 'Economics of Linguistic Diversity'. Former Chair of the Economics Department and Johnson Center for Economic Studies at Southern Methodist University (1994–2004), academic director and organizer of the International School of Economics (Tbilisi, Georgia, 2007–2008).

² Leading research fellow of the Laboratory for Studies of Social Relations and Diversity under the Russian School of Economics, Head of Department of Mathematical Methods in Economics of the Far East Federal University, Dr. Sc. (Economics). Author of several scientific publications, selected books: 'Universal Solutions of Interval Tasks of Optimization and Control' (co-author), 'Interval Methods and Models of Decision-Making in Economics', 'Methodology of Economic Decision-Making in Terms of Subjective Uncertainty', 'Portfolio' investments in Resource Economics: Interval Approach' and others.

³ Professor of Economics Faculty at Southern Methodist University (Dallas, USA), Ph.D. Specialist in economic growth, international trade, economic development and inequality. Author of several scientific publications, selected works: 'Migration, Trade and Development' (with co-authors), 'Short and Long-Run Effects of Trade on Growth and Welfare', 'Endogenous Mortality, Human Capital, and Economic Growth' (with co-authors), 'Capital Good Imports, Public Expenditure, and Productivity Growth' (with co-authors), 'Exchange Rate Volatility in Latin America and its Impact on Foreign Trade' (with co-authors), 'External and Internal Determinants of Development' (co-editor) and others.

⁴ President and scientific director of the Research Institute of Economy, Trade and Industry (Tokyo, Japan), Professor of Konan University (Kobe, Japan), an associate professor at the Institute for Economic Research at Kyoto University, Ph.D. Co-author of monographs: 'Economics of Agglomeration: Cities, Industrial Location, and Regional Growth', 'The Spatial Economy: Cities, Regions, and International Trade'. A member of various international professional associations.

⁵ The work completed with the financial support of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, grant of the Russian Federation government, agreement № 14.U04.31.0002.

interrelated factors including historical, ethnical, religious, geographic and economic, united in our case into a single integrated parameter of ‘cultural differences’.

To find empirical dependences within the idea of labor resources heterogeneity described above we suggest that on the first stage both countries independently from each other establish the size of labor quota. The choice of each country has an indirect influence onto the net gain of the other country by means of market mechanism of migrants’ labor rate formation. Analyzing countries’ behavior in the choice of migration quotas we form hypotheses according to which a country with a higher level of labor resources complementarity and a lower level of cultural differences applies relatively higher migration quotas. Thus, in spite the fact that larger country can in general attract more migrants in face value, its relative migration quota can be lower than in a small country.

Together with statistic (cross-section) evaluation we also use panel presentation of the data that lets us include fictitious variables for some countries. The empirical results we have got prove the hypothesis about significant influence of cultural differences on migration quotas reduction, at the same time our supposition about relatively lower percent of migrants for countries that are larger in territory is only proved indirectly in the econometric calculations.

To test the hypothesis we offer to observe econometric model that includes all factors discussed above:

$$x_{it} = \mu_i + \gamma_1 C_{it} + \gamma_2 D_{it} + \gamma_3 E_{it} + \delta' X_{it} + \varepsilon_{it}, \quad (1)$$

where x_{it} – is a relation of the number of migrants to the number of employees in i -country during t period; C_{it} – is a measure that reflects the degree of labor resources complementarity between migrants and local workers in i -country during t period; D_{it} – is a measure of cultural differences between migrants and local workers in i -country during t period; E_{it} – population size of i -country during t period; X_{it} – is a vector of additional parameters that potentially influence the level of migration in i -country during t period. Component μ_i contains all unobserved characteristics of heterogeneity between countries persistent in time and components ε_{it} that are responsible for idiosyncratic accidental shocks are supposed to be independent, equally spread random variables.

According to our hypothesis we expect that the following parameters $\gamma_1, \gamma_2, \gamma_3$ will be $\gamma_1 > 0, \gamma_2 < 0, \gamma_3 < 0$. The main evaluation method is the usage of the standard model of fixed elements for the panel data. We also complete other specifications – evaluation of chance effects and the usual spatial (cross-section) regression in which all variables dependent on temporal component where replaced by the average t amounts.

During econometric evaluation of the equation (1) we use the data from a great variety of sources. Seven specification of the model have been offered and analyzed, they include different variables that reflect labor resources complementarity. According to the value of regression parameters that we got, the hypothesis about lower relative fraction of migration in the countries with higher population levels was not proved. On the contrary, on a 10-percent level of importance bigger countries have a tendency to form larger migration quotas. Degrees of cultural and linguistic proximity have positive influence on migration levels as it was supposed in the hypothesis. The degrees of labor resources complementarity used produce the expected sign in general. Control variables that reflect institution quality also have an expected sign in all specification models.

The tests that check robustness (simultaneous inclusion of several variables that reflect labor resources complementarity and cross-section model for average amounts in time) prove the original results in relation to the hypothesis. $\gamma_1 > 0, \gamma_2 < 0$ parameters in general have correct sign while our supposition $\gamma_3 < 0$ was not proved empirically.

Literature

1. *Esteban J.* On the Measurement of Polarization / J. Esteban, D. Ray // *Econometrica*. – 1994. – Vol. 62. – P. 819–851.
2. *Grossman G.* Diversity and growth / G. Grossman, G. Maggi // *American Economic Review*. – 2000. – Vol. 90, № 5. – P. 1255–1275.
3. *Imai M.* Kaizen: the Key to Japan’s Competitive Success / M. Imai. – N. Y. : McGraw-Hill, 1986.
4. *Kremer M.* O-Ring Theory of Economic Development / M. Kremer // *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. – 1993. – Vol. 108. – P. 551–575.
5. *Milgrom P. R.* The Economics of Modern Manufacturing: Technology, Strategy and Organization / P. R. Milgrom, J. Roberts // *American Economic Review*. – 1990. – Vol. 80, № 3. – P. 511–528.
6. *Saxenian A.* Regional Advantage. Culture and Competition in Silicon Valley and Route 128 / A. Saxenian. – Cambridge ; L., 1996.
7. *Saxenian A.* Silicon Valley’s New Immigrant Entrepreneurs / A. Saxenian. – San Francisco : Public Policy Institute of California, 1999.

Bernhard Wolf¹

RUSSIA IN THE MODERN GLOBALIZING WORLD

Currently, the question of Russia’s role in the globalized world and the prospects of its development in the context of global challenges is particularly acute. The crisis in eastern Ukraine and the ensuing mutual approval of the Western countries and Russia more destabilized the situation in the world economy. Formed in recent years the system of relations between Russia and the West is undergoing cer-

tain changes that affect the interests of both sides. For the forecast of future scenarios is appropriate a brief historical overview of the evolution of the geopolitical situation in the world.

Before World War I, Great Britain was the superpower of sea, has a huge colonial system, “where the sun never set.” The German Empire was also a continental superpower, which sought to dominate the world and looking for their “place in the sun.” Multinational Austria with a large territory at the beginning of the XIX century and claimed to be

¹ Professor of the Higher School of Economics (Ludwigshafen am Rhein, Germany). Sphere of scientific interests: globalization, geopolitics, regional currency unions. The developer of a large number of the author’s educational courses used in various educational institutions of Germany.

the superpower. France has sought to colonize Algeria and considered as part of its territory. In the era of Peter I, and then Catherine the Great's Russia managed to expand its territory and also claim to be a superpower. Relative to the side at this point remained China and the USA. Countries such as Brazil and India, have not played a significant role.

After World War II, which caused millions of casualties among both combatants and the civilian population, ended the era of some superpowers. France refused from Algeria, and with it, and from the claims for the role of a superpower. Britain gave independence to its colonies, and in fact left his last name "Great Britain" as the "Great German Reich" of Adolf Hitler. Under the influence of the United States the British sought to pursue its own policy, often contrary to the interests of the European Union, and to demonstrate the power and influence. But ultimately the United Kingdom has long been an economic and political "dwarf", albeit with a nuclear weapon. Austria now also a small country. And Germany after the Second World War has been reduced in size, divided into spheres of influence, and did not play a significant role in the world for many years. The main winners in that war were the United States and the Soviet Union. United States, acting as a superpower, its influence spread to Europe up to West Berlin. The Soviet Union under Stalin took control of Eastern Europe. They form two different economic systems that literally looked into each other's eyes in Berlin at the border crossing. Accordingly, opposition parties have been two military blocs – NATO and the Warsaw Pact, known as the "cold war."

The situation is hard antagonism between the two systems continued for quite some time, though it was limited to the time frame. There were new developments. Formation and distribution of information and communication technologies has significantly changed the world. Distances are all less important due to aircraft and other transport. Reducing the cost of transportation has led to a sharp rise in international trade. These processes were accompanied by the liberalization of international trade rules, undertaken by the World Trade Organization, which today includes almost all countries of the world, including Russia. In addition, there were regional and bilateral trade zone.

European Economic Community (EEC) since its inception after World War II was a successful area of world trade, which later transformed into the European Union has created a single currency area. From this more other Germany won thanks to its location in the center of Europe and the development of trade with neighboring countries. There was also the liberalization of financial markets, which in the absence of proper control of the state led to the global economic crisis of 2008–2009. Multinational corporations today have an impact, often surpassing the influence of national economies. International corporations, while remaining within the law, accumulated hundreds of billions of assets that exceeds the budgets of many states.

The Soviet Union ceased to exist in the early 1990s. Many participants of the Warsaw Pact became independent and took the path of market reforms, the transformation has begun a planned economic system to a market that also means market expansion.

At the moment in the world economy, a new alignment of forces. The important players are the EU and the US. The total GDP of the countries – EU member states slightly more than US GDP. US and EU together represent an

economic power, can not be compared with any other form of integration. Russia has vast natural resources, especially oil and gas, about 80% of Russian exports are commodities. Apart from military and space technology, the Russian industry is competitive enough. To improve competitiveness need super-ie large-scale reforms. With regard to technology and know-how, Russia lags behind not only the US and the EU, but from many other countries. The situation illustrates the indicators such as the number of patents. The United States ranks first among the leading countries as Japan, Germany, China and South Korea. Russia occupies 24th place. However, some military technology are confidential and not subject to patent registration. Currently, Russia and the EU is strongly dependent on each other – primarily because of oil and gas, which Russia has, very much needed in Europe. Potentially possible that "win-win."

After 1990, Russia experienced a phase of losing influence in the world. Transformation processes have deprived Russia as a leading power. Many former socialist countries, as well as former Soviet republics (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia), joined the European Union in the process of enlargement to the east. The countries formed from the former Yugoslavia, are also seeking EU. If they become also members of NATO, the current situation, objectively undesirable for Russia. Russia could not let the conservative American circles after the EU enlargement to the East expanded its sphere of influence in Europe to destabilize some of the former socialist countries, and thus extends the scope of Western influence. This creates a situation similar to "domino effect", which was observed in 1950–1960-years: a series of sequentially (Korea, Vietnam) chose the path of building socialism, instilling fear the ruling circles of the United States. Today, the reverse is desirable for the United States a "domino effect", which is that the country one after another out of the influence of Russia, which is especially clearly manifested in the Ukraine. In this situation, Russia could no longer remain idle.

Thus, Russia has nuclear weapons and space technology is in the area of attention of the United States. In addition, the Russian Federation – a member of the UN Security Council and, therefore, has the right of veto in the Council. Obviously, in economic and military terms Russia should seek to form new alliances and strengthen its influence. This was manifested, in particular, in an attempt to create a Eurasian Union with Belarus and Kazakhstan. There is a desire to create a unit that would be similar to the US and the EU as the major geopolitical entities types. In addition, the declared desire to work together to move towards cooperation with the European Union, provided that the relationship between Russia and the EU in the future normalized.

In late 2014, another event occurred that affected the geopolitical balance of power – a sharp drop in oil prices. It can be assumed that the decline in prices was highly desirable for some countries. For example, Saudi Arabia, to maintain close contact with the US has not reduced production after prices fall, as happened before in similar situations. The countries – exporters of oil and the oil companies would definitely want to confront increasing competition, which leads to an additional supply of oil on the market, but it is economically feasible only if the high price of the goods.

Thus, the encirclement of Russia in today's globalized world is diverse. On the one hand, cooperation between

Russia and the Western countries successfully developed over the years, and probably, in spite of the worsening political situation has some promise. On the other – Russia, of course, can get new impulses for a stable and successful development in the course of cooperation with the countries of Asia (China, India, South Korea, etc.), As well as with the countries of the former Soviet Union.

In the context of current events will focus on the problems of relations between Russia and Germany. It is clear that for Germany the question of cooperation with Russia is inseparable from the overall priorities of foreign economic policy. Germany to a certain extent have to balance the interests, first and foremost with the US position. The US role in the life of modern Germany is large enough. Members of the older generation remember well the US assistance in the process of economic recovery of West Germany after the war (the Marshall Plan). A kind of economic miracle that showed the economy of Germany in 1950–1960's, many experts explain the US aid. However, they often forget that this aid is far from disinterested, and was part of two systems. Germany on a plan of the United States should play a strategically important role in the military area.

Established tradition of relations of Germany and the United States and remain relevant at the moment, when the era of confrontation between the two systems for a long time in the past. Despite the fact that since the end of World War II, passed 70 years, Germany still feels guilt, while seeks to comply with certain political commitments to the United States. These commitments are constantly taken into account in the process of economic priorities, not only Germany but also the EU. Do not forget about the economic power of the United States, which is recognized by official Berlin's most important economic partner.

The current tensions between Russia and the US in connection with the crisis in eastern Ukraine could not leave aside the EU and in particular Germany. Therefore, Germany has become one of the initiators of economic sanctions against Russia and holds an official position, much closer to the US position. However, she is not welcome a large part of the population of Germany, including representatives of the intellectual elite. There is allocated a number of aspects. Firstly, by itself the US position is often criticized. Declaring the defense of democracy, human rights and respect for

international law, the United States periodically intervene in the internal affairs of a number of countries, including spending power military operations. Second, Russia's actions towards Ukraine recognized a significant part of the population of Germany justified and appropriate to the situation in the region. Therefore, the imposition of economic sanctions against Russia is considered to be meaningless, as is materially prejudicial to the EU economy, and in particular Germany. Third, the protest calls and the current nature of the relationship between Germany and the United States. Actions of the official Berlin is often interpreted as "slavery", that is the policy of total dependence on the United States. Among the latest developments is particularly revealing scandal in connection with the dissemination of information about the illegal wiretapping of German businessmen US intelligence agencies with the help of the German news service.

Thus, in the relations between Russia and Germany in the near future, two scenarios can be defined. The first involves retaining the current position of official Berlin, ie sanctions persist for some time. This does not mean cessation of economic cooperation. At the same time the volume of export-import operations and investments will be significantly reduced. Obviously, such a development would harm both parties. Such a scenario is not desirable, but it can not be excluded. The second option is that under the pressure of the public, representatives of business associations and the intellectual elite of the official Berlin to change its stance and will head for the lifting of sanctions. Under these conditions, the relations between Russia and Germany could get a new impetus for further development. Popularized the idea of creating a free trade area from Lisbon to Vladivostok could become a reality. Currently, certain formal reasons for the weakening and gradual lifting of sanctions exist.

Which of these scenarios become a reality show near future. Contacts with many representatives of the German public and the scientific elite show a positive attitude towards Russia. However, the need to continue economic and social reforms and achieve substantial progress in them is recognized uncontested. Therefore, further "convergence" between Russia and Germany is largely dependent on the implementation of the program of reforms in Russia.

A. V. Yakovenko¹

POLITICAL UPHEAVALS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON INTER-CIVILIZATION RELATIONS

Recent events in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) have been in the focus of international politics. Weak re-

¹ Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (since 2011), LL.D. (International Law), Professor. Since 1976 Mr Yakovenko has taken various diplomatic positions in the central office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and abroad. Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (2005–2011). Author of a number books on international space law and of over 200 scholarly publications on international relations and issues of foreign policy, science, education and culture. He is full member of the Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, member of the Russian Academy of Cosmonautics, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, member of the Space Council of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the International Institute of Space Law (IISL, Paris), International Academy of Astronautics (IAA, Paris). Mr Yakovenko is Honorary professor of Edinburgh University (Great Britain).

gimes in the Arab countries and the possibility of social and political upheavals have long been noted by the experts. The scale and speed of the changes in this region, however, failed to be foretold. These events alongside with the crisis in the world economy have become most indicative of the emerging international system that has entered a turbulent zone.

Transformation processes in the Arab world have resulted from a series of inherent factors, both objective and subjective ones. Mostly these factors are social, economic and political in their nature. The regimes were not able to meet the vital needs of their population; they were not prepared

to feel the 'wind of changes' in due time, and, first and foremost, they were not able to anticipate the need of changes toward bigger democracy and openness. These were aggravated by the chronic problems of corruption, inequality and unemployment. Globalization also played a certain role – its flipside was the striving of peoples to preserve their cultural and civilization identity.

The coming of the 'Arab spring' led to some hopes for radical democratization in the region, for the increasing well-being and prosperity in the MENA. These expectations were to remain theoretical, and they have not come true. Previous problems which were not resolved during the Arab spring were supplemented by new ones. Alongside with those players who abide by the constitutional rules, there appeared blatantly extremist and self-serving forces that are ready at any moment to use the vulnerable spots in the system of government and social life during the transition.

Changes of regimes have led to a loosening of the regional security system, to the emergence of pockets of armed conflicts and a new wave of extremism. The wave of protests in the Middle East has brought a 'second wind' for the terrorist groups. Their potential is strengthened by their contacts with criminal groups acting across borders, by drug and human trafficking and by arms trade. Terrorist acts in this region take place almost every day. Arms are sold without any control, and the number of militants is increasing. The region has become an arena of ethnic and religious conflicts, particularly serious and fraught with explosive consequences between the Sunnis and Shiites, stimulated by the events in Syria. The latter promote religious intolerance in the countries of the Middle East.

There are many questions which arise in connection with the methods used by our partners in the MENA region. Can their support for the change of regimes justify terrorist methods? Can it be considered fair in one situation to engage in fight with those whom you support in another situation? How can you make sure that the arms illegally delivered by you to the area of conflict are not turned against you? Which government is legitimate and which is not? When is it permissible to collaborate with authoritarian regimes? When is it permissible to support forceful overthrowing of these regimes? In which cases do we need to acknowledge the forces which came to power as a result of democratic elections? In which cases do we need to abstain from the contacts with them? What criteria and standards are applicable to these cases?

We must find mutually acceptable and honest answers to these questions, more so because Europe and America have more in common and fewer contradictions regarding the ultimate goals. This is because we all want stability in the MENA as well as in other regions. We want them to develop steadily on the way to democracy, prosperity, so that human rights in these countries are properly ensured.

If these are our shared goals, we must agree to the transparent and mutually understood rules which should guide all outside players in their practical activities. We must agree to support democratic reforms in the states which have begun making changes; we must not, however, impose on them some scale of values, and we must acknowledge multiple ways of development. We must agree to promote peaceful settlement of international conflicts and counteract violence through creating conditions favoring a broad dia-

logue with all national and political groups. We must consistently and firmly counteract extremism and terrorism in all their forms and demand that the rights of ethnic and religious minorities be ensured.

In fact, none of the cases of coercive interventions over the past decade has led to the desired results. Instead, they have created extra problems, aggravated the plights of civil population and distorted the natural course of events. The increasing number of pockets of instability caused by coercive operations intended to overthrow regimes, only leads to a dangerous widening of the turbulence zones and chaos in the international relations.

Libya is an example of this: it all started with the claims to protect civil population of the country from 'Gaddafi's tyranny.' Those favoring the concept of 'responsibility to protect' through coercion, praised the Libyan scenario as a model of effective crisis management. Crisis does not end in places where unwanted regimes are overthrown with the help from outside. It is only the beginning of crisis, and it can turn the country into a 'failed state.' Current events in Libya are a matter of grave concern, because the events are developing precisely in this direction. The goals proclaimed at the initial stage of the Libyan epic – the protection of civil population – have soon been put on the backburner. The country has plunged into chaos and tribal conflicts; some chieftains of the regions are eager to proclaim their independence. All this leads to the escalation of violence, victims of which are primarily civilians.

One cannot ignore the regional aspect of the Libyan crisis: uncontrollable traffic of arms from this country and the fleeing of professional military personnel. These factors destabilize the situation in the neighboring countries. It can already be felt in Mali. This tendency can be observed in different regions of the world. The attempts to 'transplant' certain models of statehood and ways of development into other countries, to 'export' certain values bypassing local traditions and culture fail to succeed, as a rule; they tend to destroy rather than build. Now the Islamic state has imposed its activities onto Libya.

There are plenty of reasons for a maximally weighed-up approach toward the crisis in Syria, which is the most dramatic crisis in the region. It is apparent that following the events in Libya, it is thoroughly unconstructive to act on the decision of the Security Council in the sense of the so-called 'constructive indefiniteness' which leaves place for arbitrary interpretation of it for those willing to experiment with their interference. Any warrant issued on behalf of the international community must be precise and definite leaving no place for ambiguous interpretations. With regard to Syria, we consistently adhere to the dictate and supremacy of the international law and the UN Charter, and primarily to its clauses related to the non-use of force and non-interference with the affairs of sovereign states.

Serious concern is caused by the radicalization of Syrian opposition which is dominated by Islamic state, Jabhat al-Nusra and other terrorist groups. Their plan is to turn this country into their principal foothold in the Middle East with subsequent proliferation of terrorist activities into other countries. Jihadists are busy recruiting and training militants – not only in this region but also in European countries where they come back ready to employ their field experience and enlist new supporters of radicalism and violence. The conflict in Syria and plight of Syrian people are aggra-

vated by the regular clashes between radical groups which strive to divide spheres of influence, territories and resources. These factors contribute to the new pockets of hostilities and conflicts accompanied by denominational and cultural standoffs.

It is obvious that Western members of the Security Council did not try to make out the roots of the conflict in Syria and perceived it as yet another stage of the Arab spring. They dismissed the fact that the ranks of opposition are rapidly filled by foreign militants who have modern weapons, including those which had been shipped to them from the ravaged arms depots in Libya. With the conflict gaining momentum and with the radicalization of Syrian opposition, Western countries have come to realize the danger coming from the jihadists. Russia's firm and principled stand and her efforts in the framework of the UN Security Council, have made others think about the consequences of the conflict and, primarily, about the proliferation of radical Islamic extremism.

A qualitative twist in the settlement of the Syrian crisis happened in September 2013 when the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 2118 in support of the Hague decision of the UNO banning chemical weapons with its consecutive liquidation. Russian-American understanding of the need for convening peaceful conference on Syria together with the UN Resolution 2118 demonstrated the fact that political will and readiness to engage in the framework of the international law can translate into specific actions if supported by the international community.

The demand that Assad leave immediately against the will of a big part of Syrian society – his 'silent majority' – which still associated its security and well-being with the current regime, is equal to pushing Syria into the abyss of lengthy and bloody civil war. The role of responsible outside players is to help Syrians to avoid this development and to ensure the reform of political power in Syria evolutionarily rather than revolutionarily, through the national dialogue rather than coercion from the outside.

The core of the political settlement of Syrian conflict lies in the direct dialogues of all Syrian players based on the Geneva communiqué dating back to June 30, 2012, which targeted at a comprehensive political settlement in this Arab republic. For Syrian players, it is a unique chance to stop bloodshed and start discussing future organization of the country. In the circumstances when one can observe that the use of force against sovereign states and in violation of international law for self-serving goals has resulted in disastrous consequences, the Geneva process might become an example of streamlined collective work on settling a most difficult crisis through international law and through meticulous search for compromises. This is the only way to avoid the destruction of the world order based on the UN Charter which is to ensure freedom and independence of nations and which states that war as a means of settling international disputes is outlawed. It is necessary to do everything to ensure the primacy of international law in international relations, and to settle the conflict in Syria which will enable Syrians to enjoy peace, security and equality.

Russia is especially concerned over Christian population whose two thousand-year-long presence in the Middle East is threatened by the tension in the region. Today, more and more Christians numbering millions of people are persecuted, abused and discriminated and become victims of

inhuman tortures. Here are but some horrendous examples: after American invasion of Iraq in 2003, Christian population in this country downsized from 1,5 million to 150 thousand people. Hundreds thousands of Christians were forced to leave their homes. Those of them living in the areas under control of radical Islamic groups are constantly confronted with outrage, tortures, and forced conversion into Islam. Hundreds of Christians are kept as hostages by Islamic militants.

In this context, Syria is facing a critical situation: in this traditionally multiethnic and multiconfessional country, extremists who had received the green light and who had been used in the fight against President Assad, a unique model of peaceful and mutually respectful coexistence of different religions is destroyed. The rampage of terrorist groups in Syria and Iraq who declared the so-called caliphate, is accompanied by destruction of dozens of Christian churches and by a wide-scale flight of Christians from these countries. Christian population has, in effect, left the town of Mosul. On the lands of caliphate, jihadists commit atrocities, they throw the place into religious obscurantism: they kill Christians, including priests, burn them alive, sell them as slaves, rob and expel from their native lands.

Air strikes by Americans and their allies on the positions of Islamic forces, especially in Syria, where it is done by-passing the UN Security Council and without sanctions of the legitimate government in Damascus, can also have serious implications for Christian population. In this connection, international law and international consensus should be of top priority, while anti-terrorist operations must be supported by the respective resolutions of the UN Security Council.

The exodus of Christians from the Middle East is a process which can have most negative consequences for the structure of Arab nations and for the maintaining of historical and spiritual heritage important for the mankind.

From the very beginning of political upheavals in this region, Russia has claimed that the process of changes should not be yielded to the religious extremists. It has advocated peaceful and diplomatic settlement of crises by mutual efforts of the international community on strictly legitimate terms. It has stood for the advancement of reforms through an international dialogue, through peace and agreement between all religious groups – both Islamic and Christian.

It would not have happened if all transformation process problems on the vast expanses of the region had been solved by exclusively peaceful means – by a dialogue and without external intervention – this is what Russia has always advocated. Our position is principled and standing, it has never depended on self-serving interests and changes.

Russian Foreign Ministry conducts a purposeful policy consolidating international community for the protection of Christians. This subject is regularly debated on the initiative of Russia in the UN, in the Council for human rights, in the Parliamentary Assembly of the European Council, and in some other organizations on human rights.

To join forces for the fight against extremism and terrorism in the MENA must become a common goal. Some important steps in this respect have been taken with the adoption of Resolutions 2170 and 2199 of the UN Security Council. International community, however, must be able to effectively block all channels of support for ter-

rorists, including the Islamic state, Jabhat al-Nusra and similar organizations with the help of UN mechanisms. No less important task is to prevent jihadists from getting control over the minds and souls of young people, from recruiting them into their ranks. The initiatives of Christian and Moslem leaders in this region are very important, because they help to fight jointly against extremists of all sorts who defame and distort the lofty principles of the great world religions.

One more conclusion from the tragic events in the Middle East is to abandon once and for all the temptation to make entire nations into hostages of geopolitical ambitions by blatant intrusion into the affairs of sovereign states.

The events in the Middle East and in North Africa have found repercussions in European countries – they are closely linked to Europe, because for many opposition activists irrespective of their tactics of fighting against their governments, the continent is a refuge from political persecution. Besides, the events in the MENA promote radicalization of Western Europe. Islamic threat relocates from the turbulent regions of Asia and Africa to the trouble-free countries. A new type of terrorist organization has come to the foreground: it consists of small groups and even individuals, which does not require big financial support. European Union countries have turned into a biggest supplier of militant terrorists.

Europe of today is not capable of answering most of these questions. Their complex character lies in the radicalization of Europe; this process is directly related with the situation in the Middle East and in the Islamic world as a whole. Considering the fact that various forms of Islam have dominated many Arab and Moslem countries

for decades, sometimes with the direct help of the West, it would be naïve to expect that this tendency would not reach Europe.

Contradictions within Islam, such as those between the Sunnis and Shiite, which manifest themselves so clearly in the conflict in the Middle East, have poured onto the streets of European cities. This process can lead to some very undesirable social clashes. The terrorist attack in Paris may be a single act, but the shooting out in the Charlie Hebdo office can be echoed by another attempt to understand why young Moslems have not been able to integrate into Western society.

European governments have to look to a dialogue with the leaders of Moslem communities. Europe burdened by the maximalist approach toward the ensuring rights of man, has been trying to integrate Moslems through political correctness doing very little socially and economically. It is evident now that this approach resulted in appearance of the Moslem ghettos and Islamist groups.

Terrorist threat today is more complex and more expanded geographically. Counteracting it can be successful only under the condition of a profound examination of the problems of extremism and terrorism in the MENA in all their complexity. It is necessary to study the roots rather than the symptoms of the growing tide of extremism. It is necessary to openly discuss the consequences of wars and incursions of the past, the reasons for impasses of the talks on very old conflicts, including the one in the Middle East. It is necessary to consolidate international, regional and national forces, which can only be done with the abandonment of the policy of ‘double standards’ and from the attempts to fulfill self-serving geopolitical aspirations.

A. S. Zapesotsky¹

USA ARE READY TO FIGHT WITH EU TO THE LAST UKRAINIAN

I

The tragic events in Ukraine are perceived by many as a struggle between the West and Russia for influence. It lies on the surface. Gradually, however, it made clear that in fact there is a struggle the United States and Western Europe with the aim of complete submission to the upcoming battle with China.

¹ 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. He is Deputy Chairman of the Board of Rectors of St. Petersburg Universities and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress of St. Petersburg Intelligentsia. Author of over 2150 publications. Member of editorial boards of journals ‘Pedagogics’, ‘Issues of Cultural Studies’ (Voprosy Kulturologiji), ‘Literary Education’ (Literaturnaja Uchoba), ‘Partnership of Civilizations’, ‘Philosophy and Culture’ (Filosofiya i Kul'tura), ‘Philology: Scientific Researches’, ‘Pedagogy and Education’, ‘Philosophical thought’, ‘LITERA’, ‘Modern education’, ‘Simurg’ (Azerbaijan). Decorated with the Order of Friendship, medals ‘For rescuing a drowning man’ and ‘In memory of the tercentenary of Saint Petersburg’. Holder of ‘K.D. Ushinsky medal’, the Gold medal of the Russian Academy of Education. Decorated with a Diploma of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Bulgaria, medals ‘SIMURG’ of the Association of culture of Azerbaijan and ‘Academician Sapargaliev’ (Kazakhstan). Professor Zapesotsky was awarded the Russian Federal Government Prize (2007) and St. Petersburg Government Prize (2010) in education, he is laureate of the Gorky Literary Prize. Honorary Doctor of universities of the USA, Ireland, Ukraine and Poland. Academician of Paris Academy of Sciences and Arts, of the European Academy of Sciences and Arts (Salzburg).

II

To understand the real essence of what is happening, just look at the map around the EU. Western Europe – in a ring surrounded by conflict zones.

A few years ago the global scenario of creating the disaster zone was not clear. The greatest experts on geopolitics could not explain why the United States to destabilize Tunisia. In just a few years, they have invested about 200 million dollars in the program for the development of “civil society” in the country, while the delegation of congressmen continually people came there with one requirement: “Freedom on the Net.” They succeeded. Through the Internet, we prepared consolidated and brought the masses onto the streets “revolutionaries” deposed president loyal to the West. Next – Libya, Egypt, Syria... Wherever possible, pushed to the forefront in an inflationary conflicts of Western Europeans.

Gaddafi last decades of his life dedicated to become a friend of the West. Assad it has always been, Mubarak was

not even a friend, but something of a relative. US hit on their own, their not regret it. Now – everywhere chaos. Europe is suffocating from the refugees. And in the immediate vicinity of the growing US nurtured LIH.

A little earlier the West engaged in the artificial incitement of civil war in Yugoslavia. The main expected result – Kosovo's entry into the EU. I wonder: France can not assimilate a few areas of the Arab population in the major cities. Germany does not know what to do with the Turkish enclaves on its territory, the European Union is unable to cope with the cultural adaptation of Romania. That the EU would benefit from joining it in Kosovo?

And now – Ukraine. Here, in contrast to Tunisia, to destabilize the US spent only officially 5 billion dollars. Just tear off from Russia? For what? Include this area in the EU impossible. Only on the restructuring of technical standards for the vast scope of the European Union quasi we need hundreds of billions of dollars. In the EU there is no money, and they will not allow the United States. Use as a source of cheap labor and a market for their products? But for this, and the dictatorship of oligarchs controlled by the United States is sufficient. Russia because it does not impose anything. I go from power Yanukovich – have cooperated with the American protege Poroshenko as before – with the American protege Yushchenko.

What were needed shot in the back victories on the Independence terrorists? Why it took the burning of civilians in Odessa, sending trains with extremists in the Crimea, and Fascist battalions tanks in Donetsk? Why was the "Boeing" to shoot down the bus at Volnovaha destroy? After all, the peace and unity of the state in Ukraine could provide a few pieces of paper, promptly released from the walls of Parliament: on the state status of the Russian language and national-cultural rights of the inhabitants of the multinational country...

Then the "sanctions" would not be, there would be the strengthening of NATO and the EU for the devastating conflict with Russia. Meanwhile, the population of Finland 7% of Swedes. And the Swedish language in this regard has a status of a state.

III

Global geopolitical projects are not born overnight. In addition to the fermentation in the minds of elites, there are also vectors, arrayed history. At the same time the historical development of multivariate.

It is appropriate to recall that during the second half of World War II, when the scales tipped in favor of the obvious Soviet Union, Stalin suggested not to stop the capture of Berlin, to reach Gibraltar and in one fell swoop to ensure the complete triumph of communism in Europe. In addition to sufficient military power, such a project could be a huge support in the form of the communist underground in the German-occupied countries.

Stalin refused. He cared about the people, exhausted by war breaking stress and terrible losses. He cared about the country, which had to be rebuilt. In addition, there was a project of postwar cooperation with the United States, lasting peace, buried after the death of the greatest American President Roosevelt.

The starting point of the beginning of the Cold War, as it is known, is considered to be the famous Churchill's Fulton speech. Compared with today's resolution of the US

Congress speech of Britain in Westminster College (USA), March 5, 1946 it looks remarkably peacefully.

However, it was then the Soviet leadership was impressed by more than the explosion of the US atomic bomb in Japan. Fulton speech meant a radical change of policy of the West. USSR has paid the heaviest price for the common victory, dilapidated and lost 27 million lives, stopped considered an ally and proclaimed a new enemy. West is adopting a new concept of development, the USSR sulivshaya huge trouble, and for decades.

As you know, before the Second World War, the United States did not play a dominant role in Europe. Britain sought to push Germany to the Soviet Union, encouraged, Hitler. But the scenario is not fully implemented. Hitler created the "axis" with Rome and Tokyo, has become a global enemy of the duo of England and the United States. By the 1940s, it became clear that the era of the independent existence of nation-states and their situational alliances coming to an end. An era of global confrontation of alliances, empires of the new type. De Gaulle began to nurture the idea of unification of the continental states of Old Europe (EU), Churchill – Anglo-Saxon project Association of England and the United States, Stalin responded by Warsaw Pact.

In the end, it formed a rather complex configuration of the so-called West. US actually united with Britain, the European Union is not only covered "umbrella" of NATO, and took it under control in a number of key areas, but also stuck in the EU "finger" in the form of London – to complete the inspection. UK is able to block any decision by the EU, the United States evil. And few know that no NATO country can not appoint a defense minister without the approval of his nomination as US ambassador.

IV

In the future, however, one of the surprising outcomes of the collapse of the Soviet Union turned out to be some easing of US control over Western Europe.

Gradually began Russia's economic integration with the EU. The first benefits of this felt business in Germany, and then – in Italy, France and others. In Germany, the very serious discussion about the construction of a Greater Europe from Gibraltar to the Bering Strait, supported by many politicians and big business. As a result of EU integration in the future could get access to a huge market and raw materials from Russia – to Western technology and markets of the EU, both sides dramatically improved transport links with China, and on the basis of renewable energy sources. In place of a huge fleet, plying between China and Western Europe, we came to Trans-Siberian railway. Grows a new economic entity with a population of over 600 million. People, independent and competitive, next to the US and China. In this scenario, the United States has turned out to be not only the first, but not even the second...

The question arose: to what extent it corresponds to the interests of the United States, together with Britain seeking not just to control the EU, but also completely turn it into their trade and economic zone? In this regard, it should be understood that the difference in legal systems and production standards of the EU and the United States more than significant. Today it is no secret that the United States wants to realize the project of the transatlantic market forcing the European Union to play by its own rules, and not through mutual adaptation. And from the EU, this will require not

hundreds of billions, both from Ukraine, and trillions of dollars. To ensure the readiness of the EU to act to the detriment of their interests the US need to put it on his knees. We need to create a no-win situation, to draw in a lot of conflict around the perimeter, in fact – to win. What, in fact, the current policy aims.

Russian itself in this situation is not as important. Our country is at all times after the collapse of the Soviet Union showed the United States exclusive friendliness, incomparably more than friendly loyalty. Suffice it to recall the situation immediately after the terrorist attacks on the skyscrapers in New York, when Russia allowed the Americans to deploy new military bases in Central Asia, is accompanied by the question: “What else can we be helpful?”

However, the alarm bell sounded for the US, where Germany, France and Russia voted against sending troops to Iraq. After this, the Americans have been taken drastic measures to policy formulation in these countries under its unconditional control. In Germany and France, it has turned out, in Russia – no. Wiretapping Merkel and Strauss-Kahn prosecution – just the tip of a huge iceberg of secret life manipulation of the political elite in Europe by the United States.

V

It is essential that Russia in the past decade had its own project development, clearly articulated and do not fit into the Anglo-Saxon vision of the future. This Eurasian project. In the opinion of the ideologists of the Eurasian Union, the association directed ultimately against the EU and to integrate with the European Union.

For all countries of the Eurasian Union individually quick integration with the EU is possible only on onerous terms. Too much of a difference in levels of technological, social and mental development. But Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus and others do not want to repeat the fate of Eastern Europe, lost in the EU after the legal sovereignty and control over its own economy, the formation of political elites, who lost several generations of the working population.

Eurasian idea originally anticipated integration of a number of countries of the former Soviet Union with the aim of sharing the economic recovery to a level acceptable for further integration with the EU under the conditions of relative equality. Since Russia feels quite full branch of European culture, the establishment of the Eurasian Union is conceived as one of the stages of integration with the West. Togo, for which Russia has contributed to the destruction of the Berlin Wall, and that has not happened yet. The idea of the Eurasian Union was: “Do not get a” common European home “at once – will build gradually.” However, it appeared that not all need it...

VI

US influence on the EU’s policy today is huge, but nothing in the destiny of Western Europe is not yet determined. US ready to fight for control of the European Union to the last Ukrainian, kindle and maintain fire around him. But the future of Ukraine, the EU, as well as the project of Greater Europe from Gibraltar to the Bering Strait, also depends on the ability of national elites mainland EU to consolidate around its national interests and to resist American pressure.

Ahead – a dramatic event.

Junyong Zhang¹

CULTURAL DIALOGUE AND AN ALL-ROUND COOPERATION. WHY EURASIAN ECONOMIC UNION AND SILK ROAD ECONOMIC BELT ARE COMPATIBLE?

In November 2012, the Chinese Communist Party achieved a smooth leadership transition. The CPC central leadership has been attaching much importance to the relationship with neighbouring countries. After Xi Jinping came to his presidency just over a week in 2013, the first foreign destination he chose is Russia. During his Russia visit, Xi and his Russia counterpart Vladimir Putin vowed in their talks to enhance their countries’ comprehensive strategic cooperation. Putin stated that the two countries hold a similar stance on many major issues and enjoy extensive common interests and bright cooperation prospects.² The two sides agreed to make full use of their various cooperation mechanisms, and invigorate collaboration on large joint projects of strategic significance. Xi’s visit to Russia is a testimony to the great importance China places on its relations with Russia.

In September, 2013, Xi Jinping had a successful state visit to four countries in Central Asia. During his speech at Nazarbayev University, Xi proposed establishing a Silk Road Economic Belt. This aroused considerable interest among the international community and received a posi-

tive response from countries that might make up the proposed belt. Xi’s initiative represents the grand blueprint for deepened cooperation among Eurasian countries in the new era. Xi also came to attend G20 Summit held in St. Petersburg. In less than one year, the two leaders met six times in different occasions, it is very rare in China’s diplomacy.³ At the absence of leaders from major Western countries including the US, Britain, France and Germany, Chinese President gave full support to the Winter Olympic Games in Sochi, it was the first attendance by a Chinese head of state at an opening ceremony of a major overseas sports event. A new era has been unfolding as China and Russia develop their relationship as good neighbors, good partners and good friends.

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, almost all former members of the USSR signed the Treaty of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in December 1991. This agreement was the first step in a string of integration processes. Since the time of the formation of the CIS, the countries have made multiple efforts to establish various unions. However, there have many turns and twists as how

¹ Head of Department of Economic Science at Shijiazhuang Railway University (China), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor.

² http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-03/24/content_16340725.htm

³ <http://www.wantchinatimes.com/news-subclass-cnt.aspx?cid=1501&MainCatID=15&id=20141128000021>

to achieve integration. On 18 November 2011, the presidents of Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia signed an agreement, setting a target of establishing the Eurasian Union by 2015. The agreement included the roadmap for the future integration and established the Eurasian Commission (Modeled on the European Commission) and the Eurasian Economic Space, which started work on January 1st 2012. It was first proposed as a concept by the President of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, during a 1994 speech at a Moscow university.

Located between China and Russia, Central Asia is a region unavoidable for China and Russia to meet. Russia is adopting a strategy of "Pivot to Asia Pacific", which is clearly different from the one US is taking, as is more containment-oriented.¹ China neighbors three of the five Central Asian states and shares more than three thousand kilometers of borders with Central Asia. Due to this geography, the coexistence of China and Russia in this region is more than natural. Both Silk Road Economic Belt proposed by Xi and Eurasian Union underway among some of CIS states focus their attention on Central Asia.

There are quite a few researches on Eurasian Union by Chinese scholars as well as a new inspiration on Silk Road Economic Belt. While a new question arises, are Eurasian Economic Union and Silk Road Economic Belt compatible? Why? Different perspectives have been adopted by Chinese scholars on their researches on Eurasian Union. As early as 1995, an academic article on "Integration of CIS States: Reality and Future" was published on a journal. In the author's view, integration process of CIS states was stagnant without substantial improvement, while bilateral or multilateral connections are in progress at an accelerated rate. For some reasons, only three countries were taking pro-active measure to establish a Custom Union, which would facilitate free flow of goods and trade.² In November 2011, an analytical article on "Eurasian Union Proposal: Its Background, Objectives and Possibility" was published in Shanghai's journal "Current International Relation". The author viewed that the Russia had not gained a favor in dealing with the relationship between itself and the West, instead at the expense of strategic space pressed step by step. A re-orientation was both necessary and practical, as Asia-pacific region is booming. A four-step procedure will be carried out to achieve the integration objective by 2015. The author stated that there would be some obstacles ahead to be overcome.³

One can easily find that in 2013 and 2014, researches on Eurasian Union are at an ascending path. This can be attributed to the fruits that have been reaped on the all-round cooperation between China and Russia. In a 2013 article, one author holds the view that Eurasian Union is not to re-sovietize, that is to the contrary the U.S. has been clamoring. It is also natural that some scholars are positive while others are negative towards Eurasian Union. In fact, currently Ukraine crisis are bringing more uncertainties.

Even before Xi's proposal on Silk Road Economic Belt, there has been much endeavor on its study. While most researches focus their attention on issues such as Xinjiang's position and development, tourism development, energy co-

operation. Most views are more domestic rather than international. My view on Eurasian Union and Silk Road Economic Belt is that cultural dialogue and people-to-people communication is more important than trade and economy.

We can understand that both concepts are delivered at a speech by leaders in a university. It clearly illustrates that universities are good platforms to spread new ideas or concepts. With concrete actions, new ideas or concepts will be brought into reality. Whether Eurasian Union or Silk Road Economic Belt, both have sound fundamentals, they are not derived from void. Historically, the heartland in Eurasia was the most dynamic and prosperous region in the global economic landscape. There were vibrant trading activities, as west Asian merchants took horses, iron tools, linen and wool products from the West to the East, in exchange for silk, gemstone and spice. It lasted hundreds of years. Due to multiple factors, some countries in Eurasia are exploring the track to prosperity. Countries in Eurasia are in a critical state of economic and social development, shouldering the urgent task of economic reform and upgrading. With no access to the sea, Central Asian countries are paying high transportation costs due to their severe lack of modern rail and road networks. Those countries come to realize that one cannot develop itself in isolation. In order to translate the potential strengths in population, resources, and market and technology into development advantages, countries in Eurasia need to further expand all-round openness and cooperation. Epistemology is important because it is fundamental to how we think.

Both Russia and China attaches great importance to Central Asia, progress in either mechanism or proposal will be conducive to strengthening the relationship between the Central Asian countries and two neighbouring countries. The strategic partnerships relationship between former Soviet Union states and China has been established and enhanced. Stability and development are in the interests of all concerned countries. In order to deepen cooperation, Eurasian countries need to establish a new concept featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination, support each other. Both bilateral and multilateral cooperation should not be detrimental to the other party.

The initiative of the Silk Road Economic Belt is an open concept. Russia, Central Asia, South Asia and other countries and regions are welcomed to participate in it. Its foothold is communication, just as the five points Xi has advocated, namely policy communication, road connectivity, trade facilitation, monetary circulation and people-to-people exchanges. Eurasian Union is also a concept when it was first proposed in 1994. To reach its potentials, more countries in Central Asia and South Caucasus are expected to join in and cooperate. A possible outcome is that it can be comparable with European Union, which neither Russia nor China can pay less attention on. In China's view, Silk Road Economic Belt should span from Pacific Ocean to the Baltic Sea, and gradually move toward the set-up of a network of transportation that connects Eastern, Western and Southern Asia, with focus on economic and cultural cooperation. Eurasian Union is also an open system. Neither exclusive blocks nor zones should be delimited, with no access to other economic entities.

Silk Economic Belt is foremost conceptual framework which needs to be further enriched if it is to realize its full potential as an economic concept. It is a flexible form of co-

¹ <http://www.thewashingtonreview.org/articles/pivot-to-asia-us-strategy-to-contain-china-or-to-rebalance-asia.html>

² Integration of CIS States: Reality and Future, Studies on Eastern Europe and Central Asia, 1995 (4): 64-69.

³ Li Xin. Eurasian Union Proposal: Its Background, Objectives and Possibility. Current International Relation, 2011 (11): 4-10.

operation rather than integration. While the aim of the Eurasian Union is to facilitate free exchange of trade, service, finance and labour. Some pro-active measures should be taken to make the two compatible and complementary. From a long-standing point, cooperation and competition should be the main theme of the time.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, China has been pursuing an all-round openness; Silk Road Economic Belt is just one of those initiatives. For example, The China (Shanghai) Pilot Free Trade Zone has been established, with new zones to blossom in succession. In Boao Forum, China's Premier Li Keqiang pointed out that China is ready to draw up plans for a Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar economic corridor. Plans are afoot to intensify consultation on the Asian Infrastructure Investment, and to upgrade the China-ASEAN free trade agreement. Maritime Silk Road put forward by China is expected to be on the agenda.

China respects the development paths and policies chosen by peoples of regional countries, and will never interfere in the domestic affair of relevant countries. China will never seek a dominant role in regional affairs, nor to nurture a sphere of influence.

The launch of Chongqing-Xinjinag-Europe railway has opened a new transport and logistics route between Asia and Europe. Many scholars cite it as an example that China should upgrade its international logistics. While Russia is a country in transit, what China hopes is that Pan-Asian Railway can come into being as envisioned and planned. The Chinese government wished to propose that the Eurasian countries promote the building of the new grand Eurasia passage, and develop the Eurasian Land Bridge into a new growth pole that integrates transportation, oil and gas pipelines, telecommunication cables, logistics and trade, so as to boost regional cooperation. In fact, both South Korea and Japan have an earnest interest in the Eurasian Land Bridge, in which Russia will play a leading role.

Blessed with splendid cultures, the Eurasian countries enjoy dynamic people-to-people exchange. China and many other countries in Eurasia have hosted theme-year and theme-month events. The Eurasian countries need to uphold the principle of mutual respect, equality, inclusiveness and mutual learning, expand exchange in education, science, culture and press, and promote mutual understanding and friendship between our peoples.

Plenary Session

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

May 14, 2015

Theater and Concert Hall after A. P. Petrov of SPbUHSS

CHAIRPERSONS:

- G. M. Gatilov *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 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*
- V. A. Chereshnev *Chairman of the State Duma Committee of the Russian Federation on Science and High Technology, Director of the Institute of Immunology and Physiology of Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Medicine), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*

SPEAKERS:

- A. A. Akayev *President of the Kyrgyz Republic (1990–2005), academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kyrgyz Republic, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Senior Research Fellow of the Institute for Complex Systems Mathematical Research under Lomonosov Moscow State University, Dr. Sc. (Engineering), Professor*
- Reza Davari Ardakani *President of the Academy of Sciences of Islamic Republic of Iran, Ph.D., Professor*
- Shaukat Aziz *Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007)*
- O. T. Bogomolov *Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor, Honorary Director of the Institute for International Economic and Political studies RAS*
- Piotr Dutkiewicz *Co-director of the Centre for Governance and Public Management at Carleton University (Canada), Professor of Political Science*
- Nourhan El Sheikh *Professor of Political Science of Cairo University, member of the Egyptian Council Foreign Affairs*
- James K. Galbraith *Professor of School of public administration of Lyndon B. Johnson at the Texas university (Austin, USA), visit professor of chair of the general economic theory of the Moscow school of economy of Lomonosov Moscow State University*
- Ruben Guerrero *Plenipotentiary Ambassador of the United Mexican States in the Russian Federation*
- A. A. Guseinov *Director of the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Doctor of Philosophy, Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- M. S. Gusman *First Deputy Director General of the Russian Information Agency 'TASS', Dr. Sc. (Political Studies), Professor, Honoured Fellow of Culture of the Russian Federation*
- Ahmad Iravani *Director of the Centre for the Study of Islam and the Middle East (Washington, USA), Ph.D.*
- Thomas Kent *Deputy chief editor of Associated Press Agency (USA)*
- G. B. Kleiner *Deputy Director of the Central Economics and Mathematics Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, corresponding member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor*

- Grzegorz W. Kolodko *Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), Director of the Research Institute “TIGER” Kozminsky University (Warsaw), Doctor of Economics, Professor*
- Hans Köchler *President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), Professor at the University of Innsbruck, Ph.D.*
- V. A. Lektorsky *Chairman of the cognitive Theory sector of Philosophy Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Academician of the Russian Academy of Education, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor*
- A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov *Director of the Institute for State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, LL.D., Professor*
- E. I. Makarov *Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia*
- Seyyed Mostafa Mohaghegh Ahmadabadi *Professor of Law & Islamic Philosophy at Shahid Beheshti University (Tehran, Iran), Ph.D., Chairman of Department of Islamic Studies at the Academy of Sciences of Islamic Republic of Iran*
- Miguel Angel Moratinos *Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010), Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- Colin Berkeley Moynihan *Statesman, public person of Great Britain, Member of the House of Lords in the British Parliament*
- A. D. Nekipelov *Director of the Moscow School of Economics of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- H. M. Reznik *Vice-president of Federal chamber of lawyers, Professor of Department of legal profession and notariate in the Kutafin Moscow State Law University, Candidate of Sciences (Law), Honoured Lawyer of Russia, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- Vincent della Sala *Associate Professor of political science at the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the University of Trento (Italy)*
- V. S. Styopin *Head of the Section of Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and Law of the Department for Social Sciences (the Russian Academy of Sciences), Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- P. P. Tolochko *Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Academician of the NAS of Ukraine, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor*
- V. T. Tretyakov *Dean of the High School (Department) of Television of the Lomonosov Moscow State University*
- Taşansu Türker *Director of the Research Centre for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Associate Professor, Doctor of Faculty of Political Sciences at Ankara University (Turkey)*
- Jerzy J. Wiatr *Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997), Deputy to the Polish Parliament (Seim) (1991–2001), Dr. Sc. (Sociology), Professor*
- Junyong Zhang *Head of Department of Economic Science at Shijiazhuang Railway University (China), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor*

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Good afternoon, dear colleagues! The international Likhachov scientific conference are the world's largest annual humanitarian forum on a wide perspective of the humanitarian sphere, actual problems of the present. At this hall there are representatives over 30 countries, the largest scientists, philosophers, thinkers, diplomats, the state and public figures, the largest journalists of the present today. We aren't the state or government organization, we only University, and that here occurs – is part of scientific life.

Dear colleagues, allow me to tell some words on behalf of the Organizing committee. First of all it would be desirable to greet you and to wish to Conference successful work. The tradition of the International Likhachov scientific conference originates since 1993 when the academician, the outstanding researcher of the Russian culture Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov initiating carrying out at our University of Days of science became the first Honourable doctor of our University. Of course, 1993 – this time, extremely difficult for our country, the period when the chaos and anarchy in many respects reigned, but, nevertheless, scientists of Russia couldn't remain away from actual problems of the present. They didn't stop thinking about science and its opportunities in the solution of the largest modern humanitarian problems, including Russia which was then in tragic situation. We realized this idea of Dmitry Sergeevich, annually gathering here and devoting Likhachov conference to the most actual humanitarian problems of the present, meaning that it is problems and ideologies, both politicians, and economies, both law, and mass media – all that sates with dimensions concept of culture.

After Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov's withdrawal from life we with Daniil Aleksandrovich Granin on behalf of the Congress of the Petersburg intellectuals which was created by us at the initiative of the academician, addressed to the President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin in 2001 with a request to issue the decree immortalizing memory of the academician Likhachov. I have to tell that the Decree "About Perpetuating of Memory of D. S. Likhachov" was signed by the President of Russia in three days after we with Granin sent the letter. I think, it is the surprising fact of the Russian history that the Decree of the president concerning a humanitarian perspective, and is more concrete – concerning perpetuating of memory of the scientist-humanist it was signed in three days. In such reaction of the president Putin to our address I see continuation of long Russian, Soviet tradition which is extremely important for us – the fixed, aggravated, uneasy spiritual and moral attention to humanitarian problems of the present. Therefore both for us, and for the President of Russia to revere Likhachov's memory – it means not "to store ashes in a ballot box", and to support fire of knowledge, spirituality, moral.

Since then, from the moment of a release of the Decree of the Russian President, our annual scientific forum which was called "Days of science in the St. Petersburg Humanities university of labor unions" earlier, received the state status of the International Likhachov scientific conference. I emphasize, for today this world's largest annual action in the scientific and humanitarian sphere. I am very glad that there is a large number of our foreign guests, I am glad to traditional participation of the largest Russian scientists. Today in this hall of about 15 domestic scientists, members of

the Russian Academy of Sciences, outstanding, unique on the scale. I am glad to presence of heads of research establishments, professorates, representatives of the high school public, diplomats, youth and students that it is extremely important for us. In this hall there are best students of our University who should accept in the future from our hands a banner of service to ideals of science, spirituality, moral, Dmitry Likhachov's ideals. In this regard presence and participation of students in Likhachov conference have for us basic character.

Today there are representatives practically of all continents, except unless Australia and the countries of Oceania. This wide world context of carrying out Likhachov conference is extremely important for us. I am very glad that outstanding scientists from Iran, large statesmen from Pakistan joined us this year. I think that representatives of the countries whom I didn't call, won't take offense at me because, once again I will emphasize, today there are representatives more than 30 countries practically from all continents.

Likhachov conference are for today such what Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov would like them to see. Our Conference are free from administrative barriers, political influences and trends in the worst sense when thinkers, scientists, culture and arts try to use in these or those political interests. We essentially published all reports which to us arrived though often they came from representatives of the countries which even aren't participating in diplomatic communication with each other. For example, in our collection there are reports from representatives of the Arab countries, from representatives of Iran and Israel who at the diplomatic level practically don't conduct today dialogue.

I am very glad that there are representatives of a scientific, diplomatic, political community of those countries, with which at Russia at the moment the intense relations – it and the United States of America, it and the European Union countries, such as Poland, for example. It seems to me extremely important that we can conduct frank, sincere dialogue here and discuss the burning issues of world development. Probably, government officials, diplomats can not talk with each other, but it is extremely important that we continued communication because if we don't conduct dialogue, then it will be conducted only by guns and tanks, and we can't allow it especially as in recent years the situation in the world extremely became aggravated. It is very important for me that any of authors of 220 reports didn't allow in the work of any sharp attacks sent us to other countries. It means that we are really ready to valid and benevolent dialogue here. We are ready together to seek to make all the world better though not always and not everything it is given simply and easily. But whatever difficult was the situation in the world, there are people who are ready always, in the most difficult situations to state the belief honestly, essentially and kindly in relation to other participants.

Has to tell that thus that our Conference take place since 1993, there were cases when participants couldn't arrive to St. Petersburg for some reason of administrative character, personal employment or that is called as force majeure. Of course, forbade to participate to nobody, but sometimes absolutely unexpectedly there were important obligations. This year for the first time it happened so that the traditional participant of Likhachov conference couldn't come to us because it was killed in the homeland literally some weeks

prior to our meeting. This is the Ukrainian writer Oleg Buzina who lived in Kiev. We here won't make today any symbolical political actions about it, but, I think, we will arrive correctly if at the beginning of Likhachov conference to the first we give the floor to one of representatives of Ukraine, and we very much value our scientific, cultural, educational, economic contacts with this country. And if now certain persons in Ukraine refuse relationship with Russia, we will never not refuse this relationship.

I give the floor to the outstanding Ukrainian scientist, the historian Pyotr Petrovich Tolochko.

P. P. TOLOCHKO: – Alexander Sergeyevich, thanks for the invitation to participate in this forum, for me it always a great honor. And not because I state the revelations but because I listen to clever people here from this high tribune, I see young students from whom I am fed with energy, and it is very expensive to me. The subject of my performance and the report – “The Eurointegration drama of Ukraine” – is formulated rather softly, it would be possible to call “the Eurointegration tragedy”. In this regard I remember our old conversation with Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov. I consider myself it the pupil, I don't know, whether he considered me that, but we communicated much; it seems to me that the teacher is not the one who directly learns, and at whom study. And so, in this conversation, and it was time of disintegration of the Soviet Union, Dmitry Sergeyevich told: “Well, let all leave, but the East Slavic people will remain together”. As we see, it didn't turn out because builders of the general Europe had the bad project and its bad execution.

We, people, are so arranged that always we analyze consequences, but not the reasons. And consequences which are now discussed in the world that the world evil – is Russia, such-syakaya, and here about the reasons which generated our this Maidan and revolution, the educated Europe tries not to speak. Meanwhile both Europe, and the United States made two fundamental mistakes, trying to involve Ukraine in the European community. The first mistake that such Ukraine which developed within centuries, isn't necessary to them at all, is necessary to them other Ukraine. Therefore there was a thesis “a civilization choice of Ukraine”. I thought earlier that this invention of the Ukrainian political scientists and sociologists, appeared then that it isn't new any more as the colleague from Bulgaria told, they too had such slogan.

Civilization reorientation – extremely drama and tragic action. To me as to the historian, appear, that such can't be at all that the civilization choice was made by the Saint prince Vladimir Svyatoslavich equal to the apostles, and it for the millennia. But I was naive. It appears, for 24 years it is possible to recode public consciousness, especially youth which studied according to new textbooks. And as a result today it is considered: as if Ukrainians – it is the primordial Europeans nothing in common having with the Euroasian Russia, and it is possible to explain only with historical misunderstanding that we still not as a part of the educated European Union yet. It is a tragic mistake because it split Ukraine – both territorially, and spiritually. This “crack” passed often even on families. But not all can renounce memory of grandfathers and great-grandfathers and that our history which we lived. It what wasn't considered and, in my opinion, still isn't considered by our European

teachers and mentors. It is impossible “through a knee” to break the people.

The second mistake that they didn't consider one more circumstance: Ukraine in present borders – it not a primordial deep territorial and ethnic reality, is the country collected on march of history. It occurred before our eyes when during the Great Patriotic War attached Galicia to us, Bessarabia, Zakarpatye, and in the subsequent time and the Crimea, and to all this Lenin when forming the Soviet Union “killed” to Ukraine Novorossiya, the so-called Donetsk and Krivorozhsky Soviet Republic. Not accounting of this circumstance can lead to that as present Ukraine gradually gathered, so it can be scattered at the inept relation to those problems of construction of the general or great Europe which are proclaimed in the West today. It was impossible to go on Ukraine as elephant in crockery bench, and to press everything. For this reason today we observe the drama of Ukraine. It is separated, divided in the different directions. Today already at us and Orthodoxy, it seems, not such, is also desirable that it had with the general Orthodoxy, with the Moscow patriarchy nothing in common. And the Great Patriotic War not our war, but Stalin's war with Hitler. People (I am at loss for words because to me to come back to Ukraine), to put it mildly, not really heroic on which conscience there are a lot of victims among the compatriots are heroized.

The impression that it is not that Ukraine in which I lived before is made. I don't know, whether such Ukraine is necessary to Europe, but considerable part of Ukrainians uncomfortably to live in such country. Perhaps, it would be possible to realize this project of uniform Europe more humanely, it isn't so brutal and not with such breaks, emissions and losses for separately taken country, I mean Ukraine. Generally, optimistical I can't tell anything today but as the historian I remember and I know that Ukraine already was in Europe, 300 years was, and then by means of Bogdan Khmelnytsky was hardly on the lam from this educated Europe. I think that human life short, and life of the people long, and those times when the situation changes also Ukraine still will come, probably, without having rejected the European values, after all will return to the fundamental civilization values on which it grew and grew in unity with Kievan Rus'. In summary my such private definition: yes, probably, in the future it will be better, but as the great Russian poet Nekrasov spoke: “It is a pity only – it isn't necessary to live in this wonderful time – neither me, nor you”. Thanks.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, are present representatives of the most different branches of knowledge here, but there is one area of the scientific activity which is basic fundamental to all others – it is philosophy. I invite to a tribune of the outstanding Russian philosopher Vyacheslav Semenovich Styopin.

V. S. STYOPIN: – Likhachov conference became a unique platform where, first, the interdisciplinary analysis and, secondly, this analysis is carried out is always connected with practical offers. It in this sense unique business. And I think that all orientation of our meetings accumulates the main impulse of modern searches and reasonings on the future – the future of mankind, the future of a civilization. We live during a critical era. Now the type of

civilization development changes. That type which arose about 400 years ago, I call a technogenic civilization, it was preceded by traditionalist societies with their cultures. This type now dominates. In the course of modernization all traditionalist societies passed to a way of technogenic development, and now they practically didn't remain in pure form. There are two types of technogenic societies which interact today, they created a spiritual matrix on own basis, and it is special system of values.

I won't be able to open now all, but in my works it is. I will note the most important that is the extraordinary personality, creative activity; understanding of the nature as fields of resources for activity and as field which has to be transformed in activity; understanding of rationality as the major components of spiritual life which can organize the relations of people, it has to have both the right, and policy. And the highest achievement, the highest embodiment of rationality – the science giving knowledge of laws under which activities of people for transformation of the world have to be developed. This understanding of the personality as sovereign which not initially becomes a personality thanks to communication with a caste, a clan, estate, and can independently choose social communications, only at such understanding there is an idea of human rights. And this understanding of the power not only as the authorities of the person over the person that was widespread in traditionalist cultures and as the authorities of the person over objects. And all conditions of social life and social institutes act as such objects. Also the thesis about control over objects of the nature and social life is proclaimed.

These ideas developed absolutely alternatively, always had an alternative specification, but were that the general that connected various spiritual and political trends – from liberal and democratic to communistic and Marxist. Ideas of activity, the creative person, scientific and technical progress, development of economy by all were accepted and considered as the universal. It as an invariant, and now it remains. And when we speak about collision and interaction of national interests, it is obvious, and it is well-known that behind interests there are values. Structures of interests are isomorphic to structure of values, and there is the whole hierarchy – personal, group, exclusive, clan, ethnic and national interests. National are considered as basis. But this basis has deeper basis – these are those values which are determined by type of civilization development. And to the middle of the XX century everything was remarkable and good, all considered that there was a direction of future progress, happy future mankind. By the way, the idea of communism arose within this understanding.

And so it became clear what exactly these values and installations led mankind to global problems, ecological, anthropological crises generated, created weapons of mass destruction which bears threat to existence of the mankind as sorts. There was an unknown thing which was never realized that the mankind can be mortal. If this is so, under values which fix technogenic type of civilization development, is deeper layer, here it also is universal. Preservation of the biosphere as mankind habitats becomes the supreme value then. It is necessary to commensurate everything including economy, and then we will be able to see with it what in it there are defects, problems and what crisis situations can arise.

Here I allocated two problems. The first problem – it that was created in the middle of the XX century. The American ideologist of the market of the Bulgarian origin Victor Lebov introduced very interesting idea that mass media, promotion, advertizing, fashion have to provide a special condition of human consciousness, accustom people to spoil, wear out and throw out things. And the quicker we it will do, the better for economy because it will give rise to demand, and demand, in turn, will give a round to economic development, there will be a system with feedback. The great futurologist László wrote on this subject in the book “Makrosdvig” that is a way to environmental disaster. But demand now is the cornerstone of economic development, and it is necessary to think of it.

And the second problem – life on credit. When it is about individual, as they say, acts, it is good. Still Roults wrote that it is fair as we, obtaining the credit, we can the person it on average a class make him of a dosushchestvovaniye the member of middle class, and it will raise its status. But now the idea of the credit became idea of financing of corporations and states, and here everything looks absolutely differently because then the world currency is necessary, than is the currency of one country – the USA, and then it is possible to operate financial streams and to live on credit. If at the country of 17 trillion dollars of a debt, it is considered that it has to be almost garbage rating, and there the highest rating. And it too problem. These are all problems of modern market economy of which it is impossible to get rid in any way. It seems, what there can be scenarios here. By the way, the future only stsenarno, it never rigidly deterministic you will predict.

And here at the heart of all these problems, crisis situations values which problematization are exposed lie. And to create some new structure of values, to find out, in what direction it is necessary to move – these are deep meanings on which there can live the mankind. Once during the Renaissance era about two hundred humanists of the Renaissance laid the foundation of that matrix of values on which then the civilization roughly developed. Now the time of spiritual activity comes. It is convinced that spiritual revolutions always preceded political, and now such time.

I will tell a half-joking thing that our Conference, considering that scale in which they now increase, and a tendency of their development, perhaps, and will be for future historian something like those two hundred Florentine scientists who defined the direction of development of a civilization. In any case, in this direction we move in understanding of that such culture values as they can program people, in understanding of that culture – this main thing that defines both formation of homo sapiens, and education of the person, and the direction of his social life. It really a genome of social life, and so far it won't change, anything in social life won't occur. Therefore all problems of economy, policy are reduced to a problem of values.

That on Likhachov conference dialogue of cultures is discussed how to connect values, where to find the general how to solve a problem of national interests – is the back, we again come to idea of dialogue of cultures. And it with an ulterior motive, without it will turn out nothing because until we manage to find certain universal bases with which we will be able to commensurate all the rest, it will be difficult for us to agree, and it is necessary to agree. Someone removed one formula: if the XX century was an eyelid

of the conflicts and counteractions, the XXI century has to become a century of the person agreeing, but not clashing. And if there is no the person agreeing then there will be no other centuries. And so our task consists in facilitating process of appearance of the person agreeing.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, are present at our hall representatives of six foreign academies of Sciences today. And among them there is a president of Academy of Sciences of Iran mister Ardakani to whom I would like to give the floor. Iran, of course – the amazing country which, despite all sanctions (and sanctions the Western world applied the most rigid to Iran), didn't lose the identity and values.

Reza Davari ARDAKANI: – Allow to greet all attendees at the International Likhachov scientific conference, to thank organizers of this forum for opportunity which was given me and members of my delegation, to be present here. It is very pleasant to me to be among so dear and famous people. We perfectly know whom was mister Likhachov – the most famous Russian thinker. We are very well familiar with its works. We understand that one of problems of carrying out Likhachov conference consists in finding spiritual, cultural opportunities in order that in a certain degree to solve as well political affairs. As you know, the policy never was separately from culture and ideology. If we look at history, we will see that in each historical society where the thinking and culture were developed, at the high level there was also a policy. It can also be seen and on the example of our country.

It is thought that very big advantage of carrying out today's conference is that spiritual questions, questions of culture can closely be discussed and coordinate with various political aspects. It what, in our opinion, today the world and practically all world leaders most of all need. Many thanks that invited us to Likhachov conference that gave me opportunity to act. I wish success to Likhachov conference.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, to Conference a number of greetings arrived. With your permission I will give fragments of some of them. Madam I. Bokova, the head of UNESCO, addressing to us, writes: “The subject of Conference “Modern global challenges and national interests” is of great importance for UNESCO. It is especially actual now when the problems which collected for some decades of difficult political and human relationship became aggravated”. The head of Federation of independent labor unions of Russia, the chairman of the Board of trustees of our University M. V. Shmakov notes that “uniting millions of workers of Russia, the Federation of independent labor unions of Russia is interested in mobilization of intellectual resources of the leading scientists promoting the researches to judgment of tendencies of world development. In the conditions of strain of relations between work and the capital all sane people need to follow the principles of the international solidarity, to strengthen mutual cooperation and unity”.

The president of the Russian Academy of Sciences V. E. Fortov writes that “in fourteen years of the history our Conference became the largest forum of integration of scientists-humanists on the international standards to what also the problem and thematic scale of reports and discussions,

and high intellectual potential of participants, and a spiritual and moral nerve of the discussed problems testifies. Likhachov conference steadily cause interest of the Russian and foreign scientists, famous state and public figures, representatives of the creative intellectuals with an active scientific and civic stand united by understanding of global challenges of a modern civilization”.

The Minister of Labour and Social Protection of the Russian Federation M. A. Topilin claims that “the scope of current Conference, as always, is actual, got by spirit of the present, civic consciousness and social responsibility”. The Minister of Culture of the Russian Federation V. R. Medinsky writes that “for last years this representative forum became an important platform for discussions on rod problems of a human civilization. The intellectual foundation laid by Likhachov has enduring value”. The Chairman of the State Duma of the Russian Federation S. E. Naryshkin, welcoming us, notes that “finding the unique experience, the nations share with mankind all the best that created throughout the history. The mutual respect is so formed, there is a unity unlike, the world in which the culture and a civilization conduct dialogue is so created, enriching each other”.

To us also the greeting from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation S. V. Lavrov where it is noted arrived that “traditionally collecting in the Northern capital of famous philosophers, scientists and cultures, Conference became an authoritative humanitarian forum. Debatable subjects, the major for development of the world community are submitted for discussion”. Also the greeting and from the Russian Prime Minister D. A. Medvedev arrived: “I wish to participants of the International Likhachov scientific conference to work, exchange fruitfully opinions and to offer perspective ways of strengthening of the humanitarian cooperation based on universal values and mutual respect”.

I will read a small fragment from a greeting to Likhachov conference the governor of St. Petersburg G. S. Poltavchenko. The governor is glad to welcome all in St. Petersburg, in the city in which the great scientist, the real devotee of domestic culture academician Likhachov lived and worked. The governor notes that on the agenda of Conference the important and sensitive issues promoting deep judgment of heritage of the great Russian scientist are taken out and wishes success.

Fragments from some greetings are that. We will thank their authors and we will try to equal those hopes which are laid on us.

Now allow to give the floor to the representative the MFA of Russia to Gennady Mikhaylovich Gatilov.

G. M. GATILOV: – Dear participants of Likhachov conference, first of all I want to pay attention that it already the XV Conference, peculiar anniversary. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the last years was reliable as I dare to hope, the partner of the St. Petersburg Humanities university of labor unions in holding this important forum. Participation in this action is important for us not only from the point of view of formal support of Likhachov conference, that do the rector Alexander Sergeyevich Zapesotsky and his colleagues on the organization of this forum. For us it is still important to hear that participants, foreign guests what opinions pass an opinion on a present situation, the situation which changed in the world think at the moment. And,

naturally, we, listening to all this, we draw the conclusions and we try to put the made observations into practice. And the main thing, probably, now is that unites us and that separates us in the world.

Yesterday in conversation mister Moratinos introduced the idea that new mechanisms are necessary to find optimum solutions of the developed problems. In my opinion, very correct thought, new mechanisms, and from my point of view are really necessary, the uniform agenda for all international community has to become such mechanism. It is necessary to relieve the international cooperation of Messianism, attempts to approve some one system of values. In my opinion, such approach becomes more and more obvious. There shouldn't be double standards neither in carrying out policy, nor in an assessment of social, cultural events. And our general task if we want to overcome that difficulty in which appeared – it to respect variety of the modern world, to develop equal and mutually respectful dialogue without attempts to prove exclusiveness of the views to another. And such attempts, unfortunately, are at the moment undertaken, and all of you well know about them. Therefore it is just necessary to look for a common ground by means of what we through joint efforts will be able to resist to threats and to solve those problems which we face.

It seems, at first sight can tell that now such points aren't present, everything goes very badly, not in that party and when there comes the exit from this deadlock – difficultly to tell. But I don't agree with it accepted such pessimistic point of view because if to look more deeply, such common ground is, and we and try to work with our partners including first of all with West European and American, we find them structurally, in any case from our party such desire is. For example, the terrorism problem – now is a priority task of all international community. And we in Russia well realize it as not once were influenced by threat and consequences of terrorism. The same happens both to many other countries and in Europe, and in Asia, practically in all corners of the world. Therefore we have an understanding, and we try to find together solutions of this problem, to look how we can resist to this growing threat. Including on a platform of the United Nations concrete decisions which help the states to struggle with this evil are made.

There is a set of other questions on which at this difficult moment we after all find common ground and opportunity for dialogue. For example, together we agreed how to achieve chemical disarmament of Syria, as was carried successfully out; in common we look for answers how to fight against humanitarian disasters. All know that there was some time ago in connection with fever an Ebola in Africa, but we together with our partners could make a serious contribution to fight against this virus. I think, the culture – is that sphere which first of all is urged to unite the states, regardless of that occurs at them in the interstate relations. What now occurs in the Middle East? Destruction of Christian monuments in Syria, Iraq, and all countries of the international community pay very close attention to this problem. And besides on a platform of the United Nations, in the UN Security Council, in UNESCO concrete decisions which assume joint actions of the states on prevention of barbarous destruction of monuments of historical heritage are made.

Very much the problem of protection of Christians in the Middle East is particularly acute. Literally several months ago in Geneva passed the special meeting devoted to this problem which we initiated together with Lebanon. Vatican was actively connected to this subject. That is this subject too is to some extent uniting. But against positive decisions there are also problems on which we can't still find a common ground. First of all on a number of the regional conflicts. Unfortunately, there is a problem of glorification of Nazism which, apparently, is obvious to all, it is impossible to allow growth of glorification and a glorification of this phenomenon. We regularly lift this subject on all platforms, and we will continue it to do, but some countries consider that it not glorification and not encouragement of Nazism, and is simple satisfaction of the right of separate groups of society for expression of the opinion. It is unlikely such approach can be justified. One more problem – the attitude towards journalists. Here the same – double standards. One countries are criticized for oppression of journalists, and in others they can be killed, forbidden television channels etc. Such double standards for us are unacceptable.

This year we celebrated the 70 anniversary of the Victory. It was the major event. All saw how it passed in Moscow and other cities. This holiday is inseparably linked and with other important event – the 70 anniversary of creation of the United Nations which will be celebrated in some months. In fact, this Organization in spite of the fact that occurs now in the world, in the interstate relations is that unique platform where we can work with our partners in all questions – both political, and humanitarian, and social and economic. In principle it admits all our colleagues. And, of course, we will continue to support that the organization remained that mechanism which helps to look for the unifying agenda, maybe further with success to be used for the solution of pressing problems of the present.

In this plan we lean as well on non-governmental organizations, and on civil society, and that occurs today, Likhachov conference – it, in fact, part of this process. I hope that during discussion we will be able to be defined, in what direction we move and what means and mechanisms we can use further to look for and find answers to the vital issues of the present.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Thanks, Gennady Mikhailovich. I ask on a scene of the outstanding diplomat who achieved achievements in the solution of many global problems of the present, mister Miguel Moratinos.

Miguel Angel MORATINOS: – Dear students, my dear rector.

It's my third visit to this Humanities University in Saint-Petersburg. I have been honored to be awarded doctorate by your University, so I feel part of you. And with this sense of family let me address the topic of today Likhachov conference.

I have to recall all of you because sometimes we forgot that we are in a new world, this is 2015. We are not in 1915, one hundred years ago, when there was the first World War. We are, of course, celebrating the 70-years victory and we have to take lessons and knowledge of what has happened.

But today, here in Saint-Petersburg, we are in 2015 and we have to address the new world. The new world is complex, uncertain and global. Complexity is the key

concept because world of philosophers has already taught us that if you want to solve a problem and you cannot solve it, take an holistic approach from different angles of this new reality. Because today's reality in the 21st century is extremely complex. You cannot solve problems through military means, you have to understand economic, financial consequences, you have to understand cultural and educational impact, and you have to understand the globality and interconnection of this complexity. So that's number one.

Number two, we are in an uncertain world. It's a paradox: we want to be much more, more, more protected, we all want to be more, more, more secure, and at the same time we are feeling more insecurity. We are calling for more security and we are much more afraid. We have this sense of fear, threats, risk; we are at the society of risk. We don't know what is going to happen here or there, war, terror attack, natural disaster, the sense of conflict. So, we want to prevent our future but we don't know how to do it. And we know that we are not able to protect 100% our future, our interests.

And number three, we are in a global world, interconnected. Whatever happened here and there, in Latin America, in Nepal, in Asia, in Africa or Europe, we immediately know what was happened in a second. So that is the new world. How we are going to address the new challenges? Are we going to address them through national response? Or are we going to try to address them through a much more collective, international platform? And that is the key answer, how diplomacy and politics is being addressed in this new century.

Diplomacy history has shown that we had been evolving since 2500 years ago when they found in the ancient kingdom that is today Syria, a number of statues with the cuneiform scripture, what was the diplomatic behavior. And how diplomacy has evolved from bilateral talks to a much more complex system. The process led to what we have known as a balance of power, between countries and secret agreements that unfortunately led to war 1914. Then President Thomas Woodrow Wilson say no more bilateral alliances let's go for a collective security system.

And they brought up the League of Nations. And after the Second World War we decided that "we, the people" we should work together. Let's work together to avoid war and conflict

Unfortunately in 2015, the world is going back to this balance of power. We are abandoning the collective security system approach. We are not sure that together we are much stronger and we prefer to go into certain alliances, Europe against Russia, Russia and China against United States, etc. We are going back.

My dear friends, we don't want any more bipolar world. We don't want to know this new balance of power. What we need in this new world it's a new collective security system. It is through that system you can respond appropriately to the challenges.

Finally, I hope on this conference we'll be able to understand and to define and to try to understand each other. Again we have to advance in a collective search for peace and prosperity in the world. Thank you. Большое спасибо.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – It is given the floor to the academician Valery Aleksandrovich Chereshev.

V. A. CHERESHNEV¹: – Dear Alexander Sergeyevich, dear colleagues, friends, participants of the XV Likhachov conference, students, first of all allow to say hello from the Russian State Duma Committee on science and high technologies, from Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Presidium of the Ural office of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

It seems to me, the scope of these Conference very much approaches shape and scale of the identity of Dmitry Sergeyevich Likhachov, and him as to anybody, words of Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy who wrote are applicable: "Estimating life of great people, it is always necessary to specify only date of birth because they consign from us not to the past, and to the future and go only to remain forever". Dear colleagues, problems of a globalism reckon in the world literature usually since 1971–1972 when these questions were raised for the first time by participants of so-called Roman club. Scientists of Europe – political scientists, philosophers, physicians, biologists, demographers – gathered in Rome and started talking that the world is included really into a stage of a technosphere about which predecessors, and including Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky, our outstanding scientist and the academician warned. Also it is necessary to undertake some measures to deal with the problems of food, birth rate, an overpopulation, quality of water, ecology, climate change and, of course, war. One of the most global problems – a problem of war and peace. How to preserve the peace and to make so that there were no wars?

Argued on all this and calculated coefficient of quality of life – tried to increase something by a salary, to divide into middle class and so on – everything ended with anything. It is necessary to multiply nothing. There is one sign of quality of life – its duration and all. It is clear if life expectancy makes 75 or 84 years. And if I tell: 42 years, you ask me: really presently such happens? Yes. All Central Africa has such average life expectancy. That we had at the beginning of the XIX century. Generally infectious diseases and an allergy ruin the population. That is in global development everything has the regularities and the development.

The predecessor of a globalism as many consider, Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky is. The most powerful figure, outstanding scientist, Leonardo da Vinci of XIX and the XX centuries. He was born in the last third of the XIX century, died on January 6, 1945. I lived 82 years. It the first began to use global approach. I created SOPS – Coun-

¹ Chairman of the State Duma Committee of the Russian Federation Science and High Technology, Director of the Institute for Immunology and Physiology (the Urals Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences), Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Med., Professor. Author of many scientific discoveries and inventions, more than 700 scholarly publications, including 34 monographs, 14 books: Immunophysiology (Immunofiziologiya); Alpha-fetoprotein (Al'fa-fetoprotein); Immunologic and Genetic Factors of Reproductive Malfunction (Immunologicheskiye i geneticheskiye faktory narusheniya reproduktivnoy funktsii); Biological Laws and Human Viability: Method of Multifunctional Rehabilitation Biotherapy (Biologicheskije zakony i zhiznesposobnost' cheloveka: metod mnogofunkcional'noj vosstanovitel'noj bioterapiji); Socio-Demographic Security of Russia (Social'no-demograficheskaja bezopasnost' Rossiji); Demographic Policy of the Country and the Nation's Health (Demograficheskaja politika strany i zdorovje natsiji) and some others. Editor-in-Chief of 'Russian Journal of Immunology' (Rossijskij immunologicheskij zhurnal), 'Bulletin of the Urals Academic Medical Science' (Vestnik Ural'skoj medicinskoj akademicheskoy nauki), Bulletin of the Urals Branch of RAS 'Science. Society. Individual', 'Immunology of Ural'. 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). Honorary doctor of SPbUHSS.

cil for studying of productive forces, in 1915, on the eve of revolution. From SOPS 20 research institutes grew. Vernadsky headed Institute of radium and predicted development of nuclear branch in our country. All nuclear project – is Vernadsky, Fersman, Kurchatov, Crapes and other, already well-known scientists. Vladimir Ivanovich paid a lot of attention to science and education, understanding that one without another doesn't happen. As spoke Pies, education, of course, shines and lights also a beacon good, and the science also heats. Therefore it is necessary that in our educational institutions was light-and warmly. And it is good that it was in equal doses. And if sciences more – it is absolutely good because then the real expert, the professional is trained.

And so Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky in 1941 predicted even year of approach of the Victory. He told: we will suffer 3,5 or 4,5 years, and everything is normalized. So the scientist when in December, 1941 Germans were near Moscow wrote and went on Leningrad. At this particular time in Sverdlovsk where there was an evacuated Presidium of Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Vernadsky made the offer immediately to create in Presidium, along with others, the commission on restoration of the destroyed economy. He asked the academician Alexander Aleksandrovich Skochinsky to head this commission. It would seem, disorder full, and here the commissions... Here that the forecast, here means that the real genius who trusts in force of the people means and understands laws of global historical development. Unfortunately, he died without having lived five months up to the Victory. And today on May 9 – look at the Victory Day, in what turned. It is possible to track dynamics of development of this holiday. After solemn parade on June 24, 1945 at us in the country the Victory Day wasn't noted 20 years. There were modest celebrations, any parades, any decrees that is a public holiday, etc. Only in 1965 for the first time after June parade of the 1945th really noted the Victory Day. There was a decree that is the holiday etc.

Look, what dialectics: the holiday gradually gained strength, got stronger and in the last 20 years turned into the main celebration, into a reference point of Russia. Also we understand it today, also those who tries to erase this holiday, these events from world memory understand it; they understand that the Victory Day itself became the most powerful weapon. And though, of course, about the Great Patriotic War, about World War II many books, but main still ahead are written. Still even not all archives are opened. Here now, 70 years later, archives opened, and we learned that, it appears, the Red army participated and in the Iranian events of 1941. And how many still we learn? Not everything can be given out at once, it is necessary gradually. But we already know, as diplomacy, and scientists conducted active work to remove the enemy from borders of the Soviet Union not to allow to begin to war – in general the country wasn't ready yet. And therefore the ledger still ahead, but parallels in history can be drawn.

After all and the ledger about Patriotic war of 1812 appeared in 60–70 years after its termination. Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy didn't participate in it, he was born in 1828, more than in 20 years after war. But he participated in the Crimean war, studied the mass of documents, carried out huge research research and created the masterpiece – the historical novel, the grandiose epic “War and peace”. For it the writer was elected at once the corresponding member of the St.

Petersburg academy of Sciences and five times (by the way very few people know about it) from 1902 to 1906 moved forward on the Nobel Prize on literature, and in the 1909th also on Nobel Peace Prize. But Tolstoy wrote every time to committee: “I ask to remove from the nomination my surname because if the award is awarded – it is inconvenient to refuse, and an award, besides – it also money. And I consider that money – it that inflicts the biggest evil”. Here so Russia lost one more Nobel laureate. Read the last published Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy's letters and you learn what our literary genius corresponded.

I consider when the ledger about the Great Patriotic War is written (and it surely will occur), of course, the big section will be devoted to science which in the years of war proved very adequately. I will cite as an example medical science. Our medicine in the years of war restored 72% of wounded therefore said that war was won by wounded. On four-five times people came back to a system, 91% of patients too were returned in a system. Any of the being at war countries of such indicators had no. Even Germany with its discipline and all the rest returned only 60% of wounded to a system. I don't speak about other countries any more. So was, and our country generously presented, awarded scientists. In 1943, in the heat of war, even before Kursk fight the Academy of pedagogical sciences, in a year – on June 30 the 1944th – Academy of medical sciences was created. Here that such relation to science and return of science.

But passed years, and today the science wallowed in reforms. Two years are conducted reforms, and we designate the main problem as reform of management of science. Here that it is necessary to do first of all because the control system doesn't work. It should be changed, certainly. But experience of reforming of Academy of Sciences confirms that it is impossible to act rashly, one decree or the law of anything can't be made. It is possible only gradually, on a substantial scale modeling, creating pilot projects and gathering positive experience. Because we see that on ruins the first the thistle grows, and business can not reach cultural plants at all. Therefore it is necessary to revive an educational system of the managerial personnel which we lost. In this case we either lie, or we run, on one side, at full tilt, and the rhythm, golden mean, system isn't present. And it is necessary to do, revive, change and lift on higher level, considering that most of Russians aren't greedy to the power. And in it the tragedy not only their, but also the authorities, so, both concrete business, and Russia in general. We understand that each talent including talent of the head, it is necessary to cherish, grow up, look after him to trust and check that lack of talent incidentally didn't appear above. Besides, we perfectly understand that, as well as any talent, talent of the head we will easily wound and is defenseless. Therefore, that to save this talent, it is necessary to have endurance, courage, tranquillity and steadiness of the astronaut or sapper, but not fervor of the genius reformer, in love with the child. If we don't understand it, we will remain on a roadside of historical process with the compelled invitation to senior positions of foreign experts.

Here on what it would be desirable to pay attention. We have to understand: than the big force and confidence is gained by our real and pragmatic world, the more we can count, measure, calculate, shortchange in family, state, scientific, educational, any other relations, the it becomes clearer and more obvious to each of us value in life of that

it is impossible to count and measure but without what there is neither person, nor the state, neither a family, nor creativity, destiny. And here it is already (about what spoke today) about the high moral, spiritual beginnings, about patriotism. And a surprising thing which now interests experts: more than 30 states participated in World War II, and the brightest, the sincere, touching soul songs about war where? In the Soviet Union. Not in Italy – in the homeland of the opera, not in France. It means that war was national, war was sacred. And everything, going from heart, characterized those who generally participated in it who defended who brought a victory and who most of all incurred losses. And, of course, all these heart-felt songs – “Dark night”, “On a position the girl...”, “I returned home”, “Katyusha” – it is possible to list in tens and in hundreds. They it is better than any bravura marches lifted fighters in attack, approaching a victory.

The summer of 1945 was connected not only with the remembered Parade of the Victory, but also with the celebrations devoted to the 220 anniversary of Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Noted grandiosely: in Leningrad within two weeks there took place conference which came to the end in Moscow. 123 scientists from 19 countries of the world led by the Nobel laureate Maria Scladovskaia-Curie from France participated in it. And at a final meeting in the Bolshoi theater the Nobel laureate, the outstanding chemist from America Earvin Lengmyur said: “That country which has such science is grandiose, majestic”. It is possible to add Peter I’s words which he said to it, signing the Decree on creation of the St. Petersburg academy of Sciences and arts on February 8, 1724. Addressing to the Ruling Senate – and we understand today that he addressed first of all to us, his descendants – he said: “I have a presentiment that Russians sometime or maybe during lifetime of ours, will shame all educated people the achievements in sciences, indefatigability in works and greatness of strong and loud glory”. In the summer of the 1945th this time came.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, allow to invite to a tribune of the International Likhachov conference the prominent statesman of Pakistan mister Aziz.

Shaukat AZIZ: – So, we discuss present calls today, and I will list some of them as I see them. The first call which faces mankind – this distribution of extremism and terrorism that anyway makes impact on life of all people. And I think that the world for the present up to the end didn’t understand why it occurs, what root reasons of growth of this phenomenon. In my opinion, we passed one of such key factors – this impoverishment, deprivation of groups of the population something. It can be the insufficient level of a salary, opportunities to express the views or simply freedoms. And when people appear in such situation when them deprive of something, they are more subject to pass to extreme actions. We now have a number of events which are anyway connected with irrational behavior, terrorism. All these manifestations need to be studied attentively. And I see at least one of the reasons which stand behind these phenomena – it is the deprivation caused by deprivation of these people of possibility of satisfaction of the most necessary vital needs. And it not the safety issue, is a question how to cope with deprivations in which there live these people how to correct a situation to eliminate this

reason and by that not to allow manifestations of extremism and terrorism. It anyway influences all of us. And many of us were in a varying degree the victims of manifestations of extremism.

The second call – is deficiency which is widespread in the world. We speak about financial deficiency, about other types of deficiency, and I see deficiency of leadership – too an important factor. We have many politicians, but it isn’t enough leaders. The good leader is capable to lead, can answer present calls, even if for a determined political price which he is compelled to pay. Leadership – it that is necessary for us to cope with problems. This quality the chancellor Schröder and other politicians possess, for example; some of them, even having suffered defeat on elections, nevertheless argue the point of view. There are many examples when people after all show the leadership skills, make the correct decisions, then the correct policy is possible. That is leadership is very important, and we observe its deficiency. The policy won’t make the person the leader automatically, it has to be such initially.

The third call – is the status and current state of global economy. We see growth, development, but, nevertheless, the abyss between the poor and rich nations increases. And we have to balance somehow this growth and development that the poor didn’t become even poorer and rich – is even richer. It is necessary for us that the whole world developed in a certain balance, and then we will be able successfully to cope with global problems. Of course, to improve economy, even in one country, reforms are necessary. And it often means additional pain, additional efforts or some discontent. Nevertheless we have to reach a consensus and in the country needing it to overcome unwillingness to carry out reforms which will allow economy to develop more successfully.

The fourth call which was already mentioned here by other speakers, is connected with a new world order. We see some elements of this new order – this emergence of the new countries in the global plan, growth of influence of some countries. China, for example, became very strong player. Today the United States of America, Russia, China and Europe – the strongest players. Besides, the developing, again arisen countries form various blocks, participate in them. Such variety in itself is quite good, but it is necessary that there was an exchange, interests of each other admitted, problems were solved in common, but not separately. Readiness to listen to other people is necessary. Nobody has monopolies for wisdom, all of us anyway think, but it is necessary to combine our efforts better to understand each other and to adapt for new life.

The fifth call – this state of environment, climate. We do insufficiently to cope with environmental pollution, global warming. Anyway, but it will influence more and more our life, especially life of generations which will come for us. We have to combine efforts in the solution of this problem.

The last, the sixth, a call which I would like to call – this human, humanitarian development. It includes also the health care, education, questions concerning aging of the population and support of elderly people; questions of motherhood and the childhood – in what conditions are born children, what care is provided to them. Of course, all this demands investments, but these are investments into future generations. It too a call as in response to these investments we will receive the future in which there will live the

new healthy generation. This activity is necessary because if we have a healthy population, we will be able to cope with other problems more successfully.

I want to finish the performance by thought that it is time to combine efforts of all leaders, all politicians, only thus we will be able to find solutions of these calls and problems.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, I now will afford small derogation from formal conducting Conference. The matter is that all our guests – people very bright, interesting, making in the life some unusual acts. And I want to tell about one very unusual act of our following speaker. This person in 1980 was young, but very strong athlete. He was the member of a national Olympic team of Great Britain on rowing, carried out functions of the helmsman. In 1980 the countries of the West made the decision to boycott the Moscow Olympic Games. And the prime minister of Great Britain Margaret Thatcher – the politician, very influential in the country – then didn't recommend to the British athletes to go to Moscow. And this person convinced the command to go. And she not simply acted, and took the 2nd place and received silver medals of the Moscow Olympic Games. Time passed, and Margaret Thatcher not only recognized correctness of this person, but also helped it to take on advantage high places in political structure of Great Britain.

Of course, I as to the owner of today's meeting would like to tell that this person – the friend of Russia. I don't know, but it actually and not important. First of all he is a citizen and the friend of the country that is more important. And that is still very important – this is the person for whom dialogue of cultures is the principle of his life. And to this person, business to the dialogue of cultures which proved commitment, I now want to give the floor. Lord Colin Moynihan, I ask you.

Colin Berkeley MOYNIHAN: – First of all I would like to thank Alexander Sergeyevich, the rector of this University, that invited me to participate in Likhachov conference. The academician Likhachov, of course, is known for the researches in the Russian culture, he lived in St. Petersburg and was some kind of keeper of national culture, the person providing preservation of heritage. Considering the purpose of today's conference, there is a wish to remember how one of participants of a forum last year told that if the person doesn't know history of the ancestors, it has no spiritual house where it can come. As all this defines our today's and tomorrow's existence, our life, we need to scoop lessons from history. And nobody can arrive to such city as St. Petersburg, without having remembered anyway its heritage, culture.

Despite all difficulties existing in today's world which concern, say, emission of methane in the atmosphere, other problems, we have to combine efforts in order that development of new fields, new resources was carried out safely. It is easier to achieve it if we are at one. We have to recognize that the Arctic territory, at least for 50%, and even is more – it after all the Russian water area and therefore, of course, Russia has to play a key role in development of the Arctic. We should understand it and to combine efforts to help your country. Especially I mean scientists who can make the significant contribution to development of the

Arctic. Even with its huge potential it is difficult to do Russia alone. It is necessary to find balance between interests of economy and interests of protection of the nature. It will be easier to be made if we combine efforts within the Arctic Council with other countries, neighbors of the region of the Arctic, including Great Britain where we try to strengthen already existing relations and to understand how they could be developed further. I want to emphasize that despite everything, communications exist.

The academician Likhachov emphasized importance of dialogue between the different countries that allows to clear our understanding also. Cold war was the difficult period, but we could leave it. The end of cold war was useful for all parties. Nevertheless there are some difficulties. These are problems of the sovereignty, historical confirmation and legal fixing of certain borders and territories which else are disputable. The so-called soft power which gains the increasing value is also very important. It is activity of various social groups, movements, mass media. We consider that all this will help us to understand correctly Russia, and – it is correct to Russia to understand the West. As here it was told, we need new mechanisms.

I arrived after parliamentary elections, perhaps here, you heard about them. We have certain fears concerning economic development of Great Britain, but, nevertheless, we know about difficulties which exist and in other countries, for example crisis in Ukraine, other problems. We too have a similar problem – it is Scotland which wants to separate, and we try to overcome it. But, nevertheless, the victory of Conservative party of Great Britain was based not on radicalism, strengthening of a role of this party, we simply gave it one more chance for forming of more correct course of further advance of our economy, a country government on the principles of respect and justice. Dialogue – is very important mechanism, especially when we see certain distinctions. Beginning dialogue, we try to clear a situation. There are some more problems on which some countries can't come to consent. But it is good that there are people who, despite it, make efforts for dialogue forming. At us as you remember, two ears and one language, one mouth therefore we have to be always ready to listen more than to speak. I think, it will allow us to overcome disagreements, misunderstanding. We have to be guided by cooperation search, but not emphasize distinction.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, allow to give the floor to the outstanding Russian economist and the organizer of science academician Alexander Dmitriyevich Nekipelov.

A. D. NEKIPELOV: – Dear colleagues, students, for me a great honor to take part in Likhachov conference. I do it not for the first time and always with the great pleasure. I would like to look at a problem which is taken out in the name of this forum, from the economist's position. All of us well remember when in the Soviet Union reorganization began, it became clear that further our country will join number of the countries which economy will function, and already then started functioning, on the basis of the market principles. Serious changes happened in the political sphere, in the direction of democratization of public life. And then at many of us the feeling began to arise that the whole world, and we including, passes into certain essen-

tially new state. Opposition of two systems is complete, all world economy anyway, with known regional features is based on actions of a market mechanism, in the political sphere too there is a certain convergent process. Also were such as now it is represented, a little bit naive representations that we entered the period of rather easy development without any obstacles and are doomed to moving from good to the best.

Unfortunately, we see, and it very distinctly sounds at our today's forum that life went in significantly more difficult way. It concerns both economic, and political, and in something even the cultural sphere. On a surface there were forces which existence was difficult even to be imagined in those days. It concerns both interstate questions, and problems on the international scene. Also it became clear that the problem of national interests again moved to the forefront, as well as geopolitical problems. When I told that to me would be interesting to look at it from the economist's position, I meant that long-term, even multiten years' discussions which are conducted in economic science, the economic theory in fact and to problems of dynamics of economic interests. We very often operate with these terms and, certainly, we will operate with them further, but thus we can not always accurately define the concrete content of concept of interest that behind it stands.

In economic science very much attention was paid and paid to this question, continuous discussions are conducted. The concepts which are more or less satisfying all exist and concerning individual interests and an individual choice. And infinite discussions which are defined by complexity of the problem, concern group interests. And our society – both global, and megasociety, and society of the certain countries – consists of a huge number of groups and therefore adoption of group decisions is impossible without understanding of that as well as on the basis of what it becomes, without it is very difficult to understand the occurring events.

There were as if two directions in interpretation of group social interests earlier. One tried to project that approach which was created concerning individual interests, namely to present business in such a way that group, just as the certain person who is able to range, build various public states on importance degree. But then, in the late fifties, almost like a bolt from the blue, the theorem of the outstanding American scientist, Nobel laureate Kenneth Arrow of opportunity was heard, sometimes it still call the theorem of impossibility. It showed that transition of members of group from individual to group preferences is possible only in that case and with such condition if in group there is a dictator. In other case it is impossible to pass to jellied system of group preferences. Other approach consists in attempt to consider a problem of a public choice not in terms of group preferences by analogy with individual preferences, and in terms of coordination of interests, that is instead of possibility of ranging of importance of various states finding of a certain point of coordination of interests.

And here in the economic theory, to be exact in theories of market economy, the general balance is somewhat an ideal. And it is valid, a market mechanism – the most powerful mechanism of a social choice, but there is a big problem which too is well realized in the economic theory. It is that the market, unfortunately, isn't able to catch all complex of individual preferences, and catches only that characterizes

each of us, using Adam Smith's words, as "economic people". But anyway, in this area the situation is very mobile. And even if it is possible, leaning on some assumptions, to imagine a certain analog of public balance in the market, balance of this sort in wider sphere, and then appears that we get to a certain system of circular tautological reasonings when to define a condition of coherence of interests, it is necessary to agree in the beginning on rules by which we will do it.

This known logical tautology, so to speak, was noted by many researchers, but thus it is represented that actually this known tautologichnost is not the certificate of a certain failure in our thinking, and reflection of a real situation in this area. Really, in many cases with what creation of these or those formal groups begins? From adoption of certain authorized documents, that is the decision on how decisions will be made further is originally made. I say that today we – I mean our planet – is visible, we are in such situation when many from acting, and it is generally rather reliable, rules of relationship are called into question, and new, unfortunately, aren't created up to the end. And this situation is interfaced to serious risks. Also it is necessary to understand these risks which all of us face, and it is necessary to understand our responsibility, and it is necessary to understand that the task consists in that we through joint efforts some of these principles revived, new created, and, above all – further them observed.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, allow to give the floor to the most famous Polish economist, the intellectual, professor Grzegorz Kolodko.

Grzegorz W. KOLODKO: – I would like to tell some words concerning world economy because there is a lot of questions. Some speakers spoke about calls, problems with which fight in the modern world is conducted and will proceed in the future. I wrote the book under the name "Where there is a world: the political economy of the future" in which I tell that isn't present the good future for our world within new liberal capitalism, but also it isn't present and within the state capitalism. We in our part of the world – in the states of the former Soviet Union, in the Central, Eastern Europe, in particular in Poland – already understood that it is necessary to solve economic problems on the basis of market economy. Now there is a crisis of world economy. It is possible to tell that it is crisis of market economy because the world economy is market. But crisis American – is crisis of neoliberal capitalism, and, for example, crisis which proceeds in such countries as Venezuela, or in the south of Ukraine – it, of course, crisis of the state capitalism.

Looking in the future, I consider that we have only one way – it that I call in the books a new pragmatism. The new pragmatism – is the theoretical concept and a proposition of economic policy, policy of economic growth and development, it is possible to tell, eclectic which on the basis of social market economy speaks about balances of the present. It not only economic balance of production, sales, investments, export, import, the budgetary fluctuations and to that similar, but also and balance in social sense, inclusive economy. From this point of view the section of the income – is very big problem. Of course, Russia will be difficult to achieve progress if the issue of unevenness of the in-

come isn't resolved. The same can be told about China, the United States of America where Jeanie's coefficient more than 40 – is very big call for social and economic policy, it is simply already unsafe. There is still the third balance – ecological – between us and the nature. And only within approach to this fluctuation, balance from these three points of view, it is possible to think and make something good for the future.

But now in world economy the biggest problem both with political, and from the institutional point of view – how to use strategy of development and coordination of economic policy in the world. There is G20 in which Russia takes part, it is G43 because there, besides 28 countries of the European Union, 15 more countries participate more precisely. It is possible to tell that these countries make 80% of production of world economy and there live 80% of the population of Earth. In this group coordination on safety issues, environment, the economic growth, repartition of the capital, migration of people is conducted, the mechanism of permission of economic processes is created.

The biggest call today – how to use coordination of economic policy in the world because globalization is inevitable. It already is and will proceed. And now a question how to use this new pragmatism in coordination of world and other processes. There is an offer to do it within a new pragmatism, but not within neoliberal or state capitalism. The state capitalism exists, and not only in Ukraine or in Venezuela, but also in Saudi Arabia and here, in Russia. Also it is necessary to leave from such economic system, economic policy in the direction of a new pragmatism because on this basis it is possible to resolve also the existing problems, and what can arise in the future.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – It is given the floor to the outstanding Russian jurist professor Andrey Gennadievich Lisitsyn-Svetlanov.

A. G. LISITSYN-SVETLANOV: – Good afternoon, dear colleagues. It is very pleasant to me to be present here and to raise some questions connected with the right. The subject of our forum concerns national and global. The right initially arose and developed as especially national phenomenon. Only at a certain stage when there were equal states, the principle of “Par in parem non habet imperium” was created (“Equal over the equal has no power”). Then there is an international law, the processes which are beyond national begin. And respectively there is a question: how to balance the national interest expressed in the right with those international tendencies which exist?

And here the international law is created. What it was at first? The brightest source which speaks about it – is great work of Gugo Grotion “The right of war and peace”. That is initially there is a right of war. It creates the institutes: casus belli, that is the right, an occasion to start war, the right of war. Ideas of war are put. In an ideal – it is ideas of knightly war which, however, weren't always observed. From the point of view of global processes practically it was the European right operating between the European states, it didn't take other territories in which wars were waged into consideration at all. It proceeded long enough, but came to crisis. Today we already heard quotes from the epic “War and peace” when in 60 years after Napoleon's invasion by Tolstaya told, what happened that is opposite

to the essence of the person – Napoleon's troops passed Neman. Therefore, development and creation of the international relations on the basis of force started falling, and practically that right of war which existed throughout several centuries, failed completely during the First and Second world wars – it is impossible to call them knightly wars. It were tragedies, crimes.

But other institute of old international law – “Pacta sunt servanda” remained (“Contracts have to be observed”). That is the idea of integrity of those obligations which assume the states was put. Whether was it enough? No. And here again, notice, Big Europe together with the young country – the United States of America – puts a new law and order on the international scene. When we speak about national and international, again we come back to that civil center on the basis of which the international law during the post-war period was formed – it is Big Europe, including the Soviet Union, and the United States. Whether the rest of the world took active part in this process? Probably, no. Now we speak about serious crisis of the international relations, and respectively and is right. What to do is farther? We had a right of war, there was a right of the world. What new right will be?

The legal world map changes. If in all given examples we told about Europe and related to it civilizations – North American which formed a law and order, now the card was completely changed. All of us tell time about China, about India, the enormous markets, forgetting about the Arab East. We speak about several billion population of the globe – more than a half. From the point of view of a civilization the culture of China and India historically much more surpasses even European civilization. But we forget that also other countries develop. Let's look at figures simply. If the population of Indochina makes now about 100 million people, and in 2016–2017, I think, it will pass through this border, it is nearly a quarter of the population of all Europe, the European Union. As we see, there are absolutely new realities, the new legal card.

Therefore, discussing the problems connected with further civilization development, national interests and the international balance of these interests we have to proceed from those new realities which objectively exist. Realities have the manifestation and from the point of view of economy of figures, both from the point of view of mentality, and from the point of view of traditions, and from the point of view of commitment of the history, culture. I think that these questions will be a subject of discussion at our further meetings.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, it is given the floor to professor Evgeny Ivanovich Makarov.

E. I. MAKAROV¹: – Dear participants and guests, reputable presidium. First of all allow me on behalf of the founder of the St. Petersburg Humanities university of labor unions – Federations of Independent Trade Unions of Rus-

¹ Deputy Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia, the scientific director of the Center for monitoring and analysis of social and labor conflicts in SPbUHSS. Chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of St. Petersburg and Leningrad region (1991–2000). Deputy (2000–2004), assistant (2004–2012) of the Plenipotentiary Representative of the President of the Russian Federation in the North-West Federal District. An author of several publications on trade union issues, including: “Labour relations and trade unions”, “Labour conflicts. History, theory, methods of monitoring”, etc. Active State Advisor of the 2nd class.

sia – to greet you on the XV International Likhachov conference which are traditionally carried out in the days coinciding happy birthday University and in anticipation of day of foundation of our remarkable city. Labor unions of the Russian Federation attach great value of this, first public, an initiative – to the Likhachov conference which over the years turned into an important scientific and cultural event of the international scale. The structure of participants, debatable questions discussed on a platform of Conference, certainly, are actual, mention deep, I would tell, fundamental problems of development of our society, dialogue and interaction of cultures. I and my colleague, the chairman of Federation of independent labor unions of Russia Mikhail Shmakov, are sure that the current Conference which are taking place in very intense and dynamically changing international situation, as always, will serve strengthening of peace and harmony, conflict prevention and decrease in intensity. I thank you in time which you gave for participation in this important and necessary action.

Addressing to our dear foreign participants, I want to remind the quote of Winston Churchill who somehow told: “Russia – it even not the country, Russia – is the secret wrapped in a riddle and covered by impenetrable secret”. You, dear guests, unlike Churchill, have a chance to open a secret, to solve a riddle, to reveal secret. I wish you to make it during stay in our city.

Some words about the report which I prepared for today’s Conference. It is devoted to new political reality, informal interstate association of Brazil, Russia, India, China and the Republic of South Africa (BRICS), is more exact than that part of this new international phenomenon which belongs to the trade-union movement. There is nothing surprising that from nine years of existence of BRICS in different formats the trade-union component works the sixth year. In the report I open those motives which forced the national trade-union centers of member countries to form this new format of interaction – a trade-union forum of BRICS. I speak about the actual agenda which formed base for contacts in this format, about what subjects touched at the state level were conformable to trade-union positions that we support, than are concerned, on what we pay attention of leaders of the countries.

The special attention is paid to idea of transfer to the social and labor sphere of the countries of BRICS of so-called integrated model of social partnership at all levels of presence of business and labor unions which is more than hundred years the fundamental basis of activity of the International Labour Organization working at a tripartizm basis. In our opinion, this approach will allow to mobilize the human potential of a good few of the globe for its sustainable and fair development. The report contains the answer to the criticism which is distributed to those who actively advances idea of strengthening of BRICS. I pay attention that BRICS can’t be treated as alternative to other international organizations as is the informal association deprived of bureaucracy, based on the general understanding of future peace arrangement, constructed on respect of the political, state sovereignty and non-interference to affairs of each other. BRICS – is innovative attempt to construct more fair model of the relations deprived of patrimonial injuries of an Anglo-Saxon frame of reference.

In July of this year in the capital of the Republic of Bashkortostan to Ufa the BRICS Summit will take place,

and in the same place in the same time the trade-union forum will be held. Presidency of the Russian Federation in this interstate association gives to the Russian labor unions successful opportunity to put forward trade-union initiatives which realization will allow to change significantly quality of social dialogue within BRICS and in a certain degree to advance realization of the main ideas of this association.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, a number of journalists large, famous around the world takes part in work of the International Likhachov conference. And I would like to invite to a tribune of professor Mikhail Solomonovich Gusman.

M. S. GUSMAN: – Dear Alexander Sergeyeovich, dear colleagues, friends, for me a great honor to participate in Likhachov conference. As I was told by Alexander Sergeyeovich, the section connected with journalism with our professional activity, is for the first time put into operation of a forum. This in itself speaks about what role plays today’s journalism, our profession in the modern world. Probably, it too isn’t casual because infinitely dear and favourite Dmitry Sergeyeovich Likhachov very validly treated journalism though a little bit I was afraid of journalists. And they adored it. It very seldom refused to journalists and was always the welcome guest and on pages of our newspapers, and in an air. Though its congenital step and a certain scrupulousness always somehow constrained it, but he really was the favourite of our community. Therefore that in Likhachov conference there was a section connected with journalism it is natural and organic.

You know, the subject of our section “Information Calls of the XXI Century and Freedom of Mass Media”, in my opinion, is really actual. At this hall there is an intellectual elite of Russia and not only Russia, the most part of the world. Probably, it is impossible even to calculate collective IQ of all attendees at these Conference. And therefore hardly I will be original if I tell that we live in an information age, new information technologies. And here I wouldn’t like to seem the reactionary and the conservative, but in these modern information calls, technologies, in my opinion – a look of the person who goes in some decades for information journalism, very big danger is concealed. It seems to me, these modern information technologies cause the necessity of that we, maybe, even at the most responsible, important international venues, including the United Nations, tried to develop some rules of interaction in the modern information world more and more.

We habitually say today Facebook, Twitter words, all this is very modern, is actual and connected with everyone. We began to call social networks mass media though, in my opinion, they those aren’t, and I essentially share concepts of “mass media” and “social networks”. So far as social networks, I consider, serve first of all as means of communications and that are, and mass media aren’t at all. This certain confusion in minds, in my opinion, is very dangerous because today society in general not up to the end understands a certain threat which is concealed in information technologies. Of course, here we speak not about household, and about the professional, public level of use of social networks, from the point of view of their use in the most different, sometimes the far unseemly purposes. We

live in a century when hacker attacks can lead to the most awful consequences and have the most terrible effect. If we don't agree about rules of the game in this modern information world in time, I strongly am afraid that we are waited by big troubles. You understand when there were first cars more than hundred years ago, on them there were no numbers, and on streets there were no street signs. And only after accidents became frequent, there were traffic signs and when cars began to steal, there were registration plates. Today I have such feeling that we use modern information technologies as those first owners of cars, without rules on streets and without registration number by the cars.

It is possible to give one million examples showing what dangers in a such situation can arise if not to try to be protected and protect itself from it. The simplest example. Here my ancient colleague and the close friend Volume Kent – one of heads of outstanding news agency “Associated Press” sits. We are familiar with it some decades, and he won't allow me to tell lies. In a year before last as a result of hacker attack the site of their agency was hacked and there was a message that in the White house there was an explosion and the president Obama is seriously injured. And this absolutely false message was picked up by thousands of mass media around the world. Unfortunately, even my native agency TASS from which if it is honest, I least of all expected it, too came across this forgery. The message hung, maybe, some tens seconds or a couple of minutes, but managed to fly about the whole world. Even on this example it is visible what terrible consequences and what dangers can be are concealed in it.

We speak about a freedom of speech much, but in it threats too are concealed. Last year we noted century of Feather world war. But hardly somebody knows that last year it would be necessary to note century of World War I of information war. If the person who is interested in history, and in particular journalism history, opens the press of centenary prescription, he will see that the first flash of information war occurred then, during World War I. Yes, then there was no nuclear weapon of television and the neutron weapon of the Internet yet, but already there were cavalry attacks of newspapers and rather powerful artillery of radio. I say it to that, unfortunately, today when we note century of World War I and we try to draw some conclusions though many say that aren't capable to draw conclusions from wars, information wars proceed, and modern information technologies which rose them on service, pose special threat and danger. I wouldn't want to look an alarmist in the performance, but these fears, brought me into this hall, on Likhachov conference today.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – As the following our guest from the United States of America, the economist James Galbraith, famous in the world community, will act.

James K. GALBRAITH: – It is very pleasant to me to speak here, at Likhachov conference. To me one episode from a world history was remembered: in the fall of 1963 the president Kennedy asked my father to go the ambassador to the Soviet Union, on what he agreed. There are no doubts that the president had some purpose, but conversation didn't proceed. Also 25 years, and also other leader that the new era of the international relations came were required. And then this opportunity was missed. It is clear

that those who lives in America, continue to observe that we still call the tradition based by Kennedy and Reagan who defines our approach to cooperation. It especially is correct if we say about long-term cooperation, about society, that we can make to increase chances of success. I was very impressed when in the newspaper I read article of the famous scientist, the academician Bogomolov devoted to this conference. He wrote that the social criticism means, nevertheless, some correction, receiving, allows to accept various approaches, to keep various traditions and by that to create system of values which would be not one-sided, but comprehensive and various.

In this regard I will continue to adhere to idea that it is necessary to communicate more with ordinary people somehow to fight against promotion, to keep advantage. And establishments or associations which allow more democratic representation, participation of people in similar processes, give the chance to balance interests of the government which, according to many people, aren't always optimum. The problems connected with effective nationality anyway concern all of us. Especially if we speak about process of restoration and strengthening of democracy. My own very modest contribution, in particular in the sphere of science, is that I tried to slightly open a veil, studying economic statistics. It, it is possible to tell, very prosy task, but, nevertheless, I had an interest in this sphere. I wanted to define something, to make to emphasize importance of these or those changes in society which are visible from statistics and allow to dispel certain myths.

It is work in which I was engaged some time, and now it already covers the whole world, leads us to certain interesting conclusions. I will mention some of them. The first: growth of an economic inequality which we observe everywhere. It is aspect of financial globalization. It not encouragement in itself for successful hard work or the acquired talents, and concentration of financial resources, financial power. The second: global aspect or scale of this process which is besides connected with that fact that the financial power concentrated it has an opportunity to influence the most remote regions. And sometimes this influence is expressed in a boomerang effect, not in what is initially declared or is the purpose. And the third: it that the tendency doesn't seem to any constant, irretrievable, unchangeable. It, maybe, sometimes changes not so quickly as it would be desirable. Nevertheless the political will can change this tendency, this process if we combine our efforts and if there are enough forces for this purpose. The history – is very long process, and not everything in it was fair as mister Martin Luther King spoke about it. And I trust it. Nevertheless I also know words of William Oran zha who told: to continue some action, it is optional to hope for the best.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, I invite to a tribune of our guest from Mexico who works in Moscow, mister Ruben Alberto Beltran Guerrero.

Ruben GUERRERO: – Dear sirs, I would like to express gratitude to the rector and his colleagues for pleasure to address you. I will sound five points which reflect that I prepared for this conference. The first: relationship between the countries doesn't exist in any vacuum. Sometimes we estimate the relations between the countries in a

certain communication which was formed or exists. I will offer concrete situations. In particular, this year we celebrate the 125 anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Russia. It is very important date. And we are sure that the relations between our countries can't be estimated only directly for this period. It is historical process: they started developing still before were established officially. When we established them, even there was no Soviet Union yet. Now it is other country, but we remain partners, friends and very much we are proud of it. If your country participates in globalization, you won't be able to choose only that is pleasant to you in this process. You can't tell that this party of globalization is pleasant to you, and this isn't present. It is necessary to develop such strategy that you could be integrated into globalization process in the best way.

The second: if the country wants to reach a certain level of development, it is necessary to depart from macroeconomic indicators as they say that we have more than such resources or such macroeconomic policy is most effective. There are things which aren't estimated in figures and directly aren't connected with welfare of the population. First of all development has to be aimed at improvement of human welfare, at youth which is the human capital. Because the biggest richness of the country – it is also the human capital. In Mexico live 120 million people, and average age of the population – 27 years. Therefore the future of my country – in youth. All our policy has to consider it that there were certain benefits, a certain advantage, first of all for development of youth.

The third: reforms are necessary that to improve something in a certain sphere. And that to make it, it is necessary to make a certain agenda, to bring together people and to tell: here such agenda, let's it carry out. It is pragmatism approach. I want to emphasize that today's government made some kind of Pact of Mexico City: it efforts of the government on association of all sectors of society which have to participate in formation of this agenda. It isn't enough to carry out reforms only by means of politicians. Support of a general population as they will realize these offers, this agenda which finally is defined in policy is necessary. 20 months later after coming to power of the incumbent president it made efforts to begin legal, cultural, educational, power, political reforms in the country. All these reforms have to give some kind of impetus, incentive to our society, our country better to be integrated into a modern international situation. Of course, both GDP, and a gross national product, and other key indicators are important, but we have to correspond to globalization calls more and more. As I already spoke, we can't one-sidedly enter this process. Such growing young economy as Mexico, won't leave from it, we need to be integrated.

The fourth: the economy is important for development. Mexico is one of the most open economies in the world. We have many trade agreements, the market makes about 1,4 billion dollars. 30% of all export of Latin America are the share of Mexico. It is quite big share. We try that our economy became more open and was integrated into the world.

And last, fifth point: Russia and Mexico have to expand cooperation more often to participate in various forums, joint programs. We are included, in particular, into OPEC, and also into "The big twenty". We together with

Russia participate in work of the International trade organization, we try to advance our points of view within the UN and other international organizations. It everything means more extensive dialogue. The country has to be ready to break some barriers, difficulties in order that this dialogue was expanded and took place more successfully. Times of the bilateral relations passed, not because they are insufficiently good or unfair, simply their time left. We have a multipolar reality. And we have to take advantage which it gives: to expand our cooperation, to capture more and more participants in this process. And especially important it becomes in a year of celebration of the 125 anniversary of our relations with Russia. Tomorrow I will go to Baikounur, and I am very proud of that in the near future Roskosmos will launch the Mexican satellite.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I give the floor to the outstanding philosopher, the Honourable doctor of our University, the academician Abdusalam Abdulkerimovich Guseinov.

A. A. GUSEINOV: – I would like to concentrate on the general subject of our anniversary Conference – global challenges and national interests. Focus of consideration is extraordinary exact – national interests. It is an important factor of global processes, on them make contradictory impact, in many respects national interests are the opposing force and became some kind of global challenge of the modern world.

National interests and national factor in general (as a part of forces which define social development) play much more important role, than we think and than it is reflected in our literature, are more powerful factor and make the powerful motivating impact.

Today the interesting certificate was heard: Pyotr Petrovich Tolochko from Ukraine gave conversation with Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov who at the time of disintegration of the Soviet Union told: "Let all others leave, but three Slavic republics will remain together". It was confident in it. Also I thought and even Alexander Isayevich Solzhenitsyn developed the concept. But they were mistaken. This example testifies that our idea of the nation, the national movements, their force not always corresponds to that occurs actually.

Now two approaches to the nation prevail: the nation is understood, on the one hand, as an ethnocultural community accessory to which is defined by the birth and education, with another – as a political community accessory to which is defined by nationality. Of course, it is unilateral representations, but they not false. And even, these definitions connected together don't give a complete idea. It is now important not to rethink rather, and to problematizirovat a question of the nation.

I want to pay attention to two moments. The first: the nations arise as a form of the human post-class community, that is instead of the class organization of society. Emergence of the nation coincides with formation of the democratic states. The national, democratic, bourgeois state – is different formulations of the same phenomenon. Emergence of the nation is connected with democratic processes, human rights, transformation of society from semi-formed in educated, people from citizens – in citizens. That is the concept "nation" realizes two postulates from the well-known slogan of the French revolution "Freedom, equality and a brotherhood" – freedom and equality.

But the nation – it not only a post-class historical community, but also a certain spiritual community which historically comes to a place of the religious. That is this post-religious spiritual association of people. It is found in those historical experiences where the nation is divided confessionally. The basic principle consists that the national unity is higher than religious, political distinctions. The same principle is shown, so far as concerns international policy, but there it is presented in other form – national distinctions the unity of the Catholic, orthodox or Muslim world is more important than religious unity, whether it be. Everywhere we observe similar tendencies. It means that the nation – an extremely important spiritual community. The nation personifies aspect in which the third concept of a triad of the French revolution – a brotherhood is realized.

What is freedom and equality – it is clear. The brotherhood is connected with formation and development of the nations and finds itself when it appears that service to the people, the nation – high public motive. In this sense the nation as the carrier of higher spiritual beginning, something by which people before emergence of the nations were guided, is connected with idea of public justice. The nation assumes a duty in these limits to realize public justice which was transferred, say, in religious utopias to the other world. If we put forward idea that the nation benefit – high motive of public behavior (for example, patriotism), arises a question: in what this benefit consists? Thereby we start seeing a certain nonnational prospect, according to which nation – this not last word in the history. Means, it is necessary to develop such concept of the nation which doesn't bar the way of development, provides an exit to other sphere to that in our researches we pay not enough attention.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Our following speaker – the foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the outstanding scientist Askar Akayevich Akayev.

A. A. AKAYEV: – 2015 is critical, key for world economy which only started being restored after world financial and economic crisis of 2008 and great recession of the 2009th. On this way world economy, having begun restoration in 2012, in 2013 I showed growth rates of 3,5%, in 2014 – is slightly lower, 3,3%. But it very much disturbed prominent experts of the world who were divided into two camps. Optimists speak, it was casual failure and in 2015 the world economy will achieve of rates again, they is reached 4% or maybe more. Experts are based that leaders of the developing world – economies of China, India – surely move ahead high rates – 7% and more. The main engine of world economy – the United States of America – pulled out and followed a way of sustained economic growth with potential rates of 3%. Pessimists say that recession will proceed and in 2015 rates of world economy will fall lower than 3%. Uncertainty in development of world economy which developed in 2014, is defined not by economic factors, risks, and exclusively growth of geopolitical intensity about what at the world Dallas forum it was told that not economic, but geopolitical risks will serve as a factor of destabilization of world economy and in general to stability in the world.

Pessimists pointed to the weakest link of world economy – it is Eurozone economy where stagnation proceeds. Our group which is engaged in computer modeling in the

Moscow State University found out that the Eurozone economy in 2014 experienced bifurcation. This condition of unstable balance when any positive shock can push economy to rise if it is transitional and steady growth, and any small negative negative shock of demand can push Eurozone economy to recession and lead to repeated recession. The problem consisted in earning positive shock. We found out that only the intensity discharge on the European continent – final cancellation of mutual economic sanctions as Russia for the Eurozone is the third largest trade partner can serve as positive shock. Only cancellation of mutual sanctions and trade and economic cooperation with Russia can serve as positive shock which will lead Eurozone economy to rise and transition to a trajectory of a sustainable development.

It is one of the key factors which caused that political leaders of the European Union, the German chancellor Angela Merkel and the president of France François Hollande, took in February, 2015 a peace initiative on settlement of crisis in Ukraine. We believe that the European analysts, experts also informed the leaders. Though sanctions of the West cause extensive damage to economy of Russia, our computer model shows that they can cause a much bigger loss to Eurozone economy as it is in a condition of bifurcation that can push the European economy to recession.

In particular, the French economist Jacques Sapir counted that in 2014 because of mutual sanctions Germany lost 0,5 percentage points of growth (with a growth of 1% it is of great importance), France – 0,25, Hungary – 0,8, Poland – 1%. Jacques Sapir and other experts (in particular, our computer models) showed that in 2015 losses of the Eurozone would be much more if strengthening of sanctions proceeded. But wise political leaders of the European Union in the person of the chancellor and the president of France anticipated this step. We observe that the number of supporters of a discharge of intensity grows in the European zone, the European countries. The last forecasts of experts testify that the Eurozone after all will feel positive shock. This year the economy of the Eurozone will grow to 1,5% whereas in 2014 there were 0,8%.

I provided these data in confirmation of the thesis formulated by the academician Vyacheslav Semenovich Styopin. He told that in the XXI century only the agreeing leaders will play a creative role (we observe it on the example of leaders of the Eurozone). The farther, the more has to be such agreeing leaders playing a creative role. The European zone overcame bifurcation towards growth, passed to steady growth rates. It will facilitate also a fate of Russia: the Russian economy will experience easy recession, and rise will begin. All this will promote steadier high growth rate of economy.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The following speaker – the representative of civil society of Russia, the Honourable doctor of our University, the lawyer Henry Markovich Reznik.

H. M. REZNIK: – I will pick up a message of two of our outstanding philosophers: Vyacheslav Styopin – that the XXI century has to be a century of the people agreeing, and Abdusalam Guseinov who reminded Clausewitz's phrase: "The country has no eternal friends and eternal enemies, and there are only eternal interests". The nations in the state

have to understand that their activity promotes rise on higher supranational level.

What now occurs in Russia? The drama situation is developed – the conflict was entered by two nearby countries. In this sense completely I support that Abdusalam Abdulk-erimovich told. Mistakes are peculiar also to great people. Both the academician Likhachov, and the writer Solzhenitsyn proceeded from the wrong thesis that Ukraine, Ukrainians and members of the party Great Russia as called them, developed as one ethnos. Empirically it isn't confirmed. All historical researches testify that, generally, culturally, ethnically they were formed differently.

The present stage of an aggravation, political turbulence is very dangerous. Propagandists, journalists, scientists and in general representatives of the scientific world will be mobilized to rally round the country leaders which made a certain decision. The truth isn't simply distorted, it is trampled, and in this situation hatred is incited, any critical word is perceived as hostile. Any opponent is defined as the representative certain "the fifth column". This awful situation develops as my friend V. T. Tretyakov fairly noticed, and, unfortunately, isn't softened.

The main thing for scientists, to what they devote life (I in spite of the fact that I work in legal profession 30 years, the person "hurt" by science) – truth. We are committed to the truth. Freedom of opinions is possible, but there can't be freedom of the fact. When intentionally or mistakenly the facts are twisted, the truth is suppressed, it revenges through a certain period (can be, at once or through tens and hundreds of years). At lie – short feet, at the truth – long hands. Now in Ukraine we observe a result of wrong idea of development of two different nations, chains of errors of two states: both Ukraine, and Russia. It is an inaccuracy of our policy in Ukraine and policy of the Ukrainian management which was more and more aggravated.

In 2015 we celebrated the 70 anniversary of our Victory. It is a live holiday because people who defended our independence thanks to which we live are living. I as Jew am not abandoned by feeling that I could not live if the father a month before the Leningrad blockade would be sent not the rector of conservatory to Saratov, and, for example, to Kharkov, we wouldn't manage to be evacuated. Magnificent idea – an immortal regiment. It was given, maybe, by the only independent TV company in Tomsk. But this company was closed because it independent, defends the value of a freedom of speech and freedom of mass information.

What results took out the people from World War II? They were terrified to that can make the totalitarian state with people that the most educated nation which is considered itself as civilization top can create with the country and the world. From this there were international contracts, Covenants on Civil and Political rights, the European convention on protection of human rights.

Than the situation of forcing of hatred, multiplication of lie is dangerous? Now awful appeals of deputies of the State Duma about an exit of Russia from the Council of Europe, from under jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights sound, the norm on a priority of international law over national laws is called as diversion. It is abnormal.

I think that in the period of political turbulence our task as scientists increases – we have to "rake over the coals". Now everyone has an opportunity to express before multi-million audience not. Therefore it is necessary to explain

to students, simple people, provisions of the Constitution. There is no conventional principle and norm of international law which wouldn't be enshrined in the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

The international contracts if contradictions with the national legislation are found, are subject to application, they are priority. The contract assumes that, having signed it, the parties, the states, agreed it to execute. There is the Vienna convention on the right of international treaties. The country can withdraw from the international treaty if it doesn't suit it. What in a modern situation responsible statesmen offer? We signed the international contracts, we won't leave them, but also we won't begin to carry out.

The periods of turbulence, aggravation between the states shouldn't cross out the main achievement which needs to be developed in the following direction: above national laws, the sovereignty of the countries there are rights and freedoms of the person. Russia which joined the European convention declared: "We agree that our legislation, right application was mainly limited to the international standards". I as the European, I want to tell: only the advance and a personal freedom can provide in the long term stability of the international development of all countries.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Plenary session began with Pyotr Petrovich Tolochko's performance about Ukraine and proceeded Henry Markovich Reznik's performance about human rights (but at the beginning of his performance the subject of Ukraine too sounded), mistakes of Solzhenitsyn and Likhachov.

Mistakes of Solzhenitsyn and Likhachov, from my point of view, are connected with what Karl Marx couldn't expect. I want to tell some words about it in connection with Ukraine and a problem of mass communications.

I, as well as Henry Markovich, consider myself the European (and in the early nineties I was also American). However I love Russia and always I considered what to live in Russia – happiness. If not Russia, I, perhaps, would like to live in the USA (the country of different nationalities, cultural roots etc.).

Henry Markovich, I would accept your reasonings on the European Court of Human Rights and European Parliament, if not the next moment. Any court can be accepted if it is sure for 100% that it in relation to you will be fair. I am not sure that the European Court of Human Rights is much more fair, than Russian in relation to the Russian citizens that this court will show exclusive adherence to principles when it is a question of interests of the West and Russia and the more so about European Parliament. It is difficult structure, at the narrow-minded level there are many questions that such the Council of Europe or parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe from which Russia is expelled and don't grant a vote. People from other branches of knowledge would like to understand it. It isn't excluded that, having understood, we will come to the same point of view, but there can be also other point of view. Really human rights – important value, and we would like that in the Russian practice this value is more increasing it was approved.

Some words about Ukraine. Pyotr Petrovich made the observations concerning Ukraine, Henry Markovich – the. Distinction seems that Pyotr Petrovich considers that Ukrainians aren't uniform ethnos, and Henry Markovich that Russia and Ukraine are different ethnoses. I would ac-

cept both points of view, but I consider that Ukraine isn't ethnos in general, in complete understanding. There, probably, had to pass the processes uniting various ethnic groups, religious faiths that would create a basis for real national unity. In my opinion, the anti-Russian moods and a mythical way to the European Union – not a basis for national unity. It isn't enough to proclaim in newspapers the movement in the European Union and even to sign the contract to become the uniform nation, especially European, other conditions are for this purpose necessary.

I would also like to tell some words about these conditions. Pyotr Petrovich exclaimed surprise that to Ukraine very quickly there were such metamorphoses. Raises doubts that they happened to all Ukraine. I think that these changes affected rather small social group which in this case received the power. It is unlikely Donetsk, Lugansk, Dnepropetrovsk, Odessa are uniform in this rush together with Kiev and Lviv today. There more difficult processes proceed after all. I don't think that in Ukraine there is a uniform nation. Of course, Ukrainians have essential differences from us today, though in Russia if we look at Tatarstan, Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kamchatka, too there is a question of the uniform nation. But it nevertheless is though there are considerable distinctions in the territory of huge Russia. I doubt that it is less than distinction between, let us assume, Moscow and Tatarstan, than distinctions between Moscow and Odessa or between Moscow and Donetsk.

In what Likhachov, Solzhenitsyn and that wasn't expected by Karl Marx were mistaken? They didn't expect, in my opinion, radical change of the capitalism which occurred in the second half of the XX century and almost not studied by fundamental science. The main point that production at the present stage of development of capitalism is made not on production, and in the heads of people. Subjects find the consumer cost which can be very small, but people pay for them the huge price in shops. In shop a French perfume costs 80 euro, on production – 1 euro. The difference in 79 euros – is sense which is created in the heads of people. In it difference of our era from Marx's era. We call it information revolution, but actually the center of gravity of production moved from factories to the heads of people.

Means of mass communications make meanings in the heads of people. As a result people have meanings to which they didn't come by knowledge, comparison, reflection. With them work at absolutely other level – at the level of subconsciousness. As a result the Bugatti car which costs at plant about 25 thousand euro, is on sale for 1 million euros. There were technologies of manipulation with mass consciousness. Likhachov and Solzhenitsyn didn't think of it though they already observed mass manipulations – both Stalin, and Hitlerite, and there are a lot of others.

In the XX century advertizing at first advertized coffee, then created images of politicians, and now mass media enter our consciousness and form it. In Ukraine it was possible for some years if not for some months, to create representation in the heads of millions of people that Ukrainians are the special nation – ancient ukra which once created Ancient Rome. Any who studied history, knows that Ancient Rome was created not by ancient ukra. The myth took root into mass consciousness that the Ukrainian – is the western European. Then, in some years, the understanding will inevitably come that these reflections disperse from real-

ity. In the same way Russians in the 1990th years decided to become Europeans. We were at the beginning of that way on which there is Ukraine today. We too were guided to the west, though didn't say that we will become part of the European Union. Then it appeared that our real objective qualities absolutely others, than meanings (in many respects even fine) which at us appeared in the early nineties. There was a revolution, but it not in freedom of the Internet (there is no freedom), and in freedom of manipulations with human reason. It is huge danger which as it seems to me, we still should realize.

Henry Markovich, I thank you for interesting performance, we have to see multidimensionality of a situation. The word is given the floor to our guest from Canada Piotr Dutkiewicz.

Piotr DUTKIEWICZ: – Thank you, Alexander Sergeyevich. Dear colleagues, it is an honor to be present at this conference today. This is not my first conference at your University – I think this is the fifth, and I always greatly enjoy being together here with my colleagues and intellectual friends. We – professors – are not accustomed to such concise manner of having five minutes for the presentation. We usually talk long and occasionally sound boring. So let me therefore shorten my remarks to five or six paragraphs as rest of the presentation is already on your website. My main thesis is such that today we are talking about looking at each other in the best case through the eyes of the customs officer, and in the worst case through the eyes of the military, who is strategically planning how to destroy each other. My thesis is taking different path of reasoning.

My thesis which I want to prove during the remaining few minutes is the following: in macro-political and macro-sociological terms, we (West-East-South and North) are all very similar to each other as we face the same set of problems. Thus my first point is: regardless of the quality of the regime, be it a democratic regime, authoritarian or dictatorship – all countries now face the similar domestic problems. They are the same because we are just at a loss as to how restore order, how to collect taxes, what to do with the middle class, how to reduce differences in income, how to accommodate immigrants and so on and so forth.

My second point is that all countries, regardless of their political system face the challenge of managing their own countries and their deep problems are not coming from outside – they mostly start at home. Conflicts imposed from the outside are rarely nowadays. Major international problems start with domestic issues, local problems in each of our countries that in turn are becoming internationalized. Why is it so? There are two possible explanations. The first, which has been offered by the Bulgarian sociologist Ivan Krastev, suggests that, in principle, over the last 80 to 90 years, there has been cyclic reorientation of our relationship to the market and the state. And in the end after the last crisis of 2007 the majority of citizens came to the opinion that we should neither trust the market nor the state. We should trust the market a little and have a little trust in the state.

The second part of the explanation is the idea of a well-known macro-sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, who explains it by growing a gap between power and politics growing in recent decade. Politicians can promise what they want, and in fact, in the framework of the nation state they have less

and less leverage to fulfil these promises. Thus this gap between the political planning and the reality of power leads to another process: not only a citizen does not trust the market and does not trust the state, they cease to trust their own capacity to understand or deal with multiple problems they face. As a result – regardless of national specificities of national states – they are becoming less manageable and their citizens more disappointed (to the point of direct clash with the state).

My third point. In such situation, if states can't solve many of their own problems, the question of power arises: what is power, what is a strong power, what is a strong state. Some say strong institutions form a strong state. Others say a strong army creates a strong state. Others say a good economy makes state strong. What we see is the phenomena of power disappearing from the state and moved to external power holders (i.e. international financial institutions and organizations, big corporations etc.) This is what I call externalization of power. But – rarely – even very small countries have a force to impose their rules of the game. Greece is a small country, Syria is a small country, but the European community will have big problems with Greece and the whole world is having problems with little Syria.

This externalization of their own problems makes large and small countries comparable from the point of view of their power potential. The third idea. If what I said above is correct then it is logical that the politicians are feeling a need to increase the level of sovereignty, so can will be able – again – “rule”. If we are more sovereign – the logic goes – then we can limit our risks – both internal and external. That's fine, but as the gap is between power and politics grows (Bauman), then they can't reach 100% sovereignty in the context of globalization, because we are all connected and heavily interdependent. Moreover, there is a danger that the extreme level of sovereignty will lead to the fact that the ruling group, the ruling elite will be sovereign in relation to their own society, their own citizens. And this is happening in many countries around the world and is increasingly visible in western liberal democracies. And then the question arises: what is sovereignty? What is a sovereign state? And here is my fifth point: it appears that those who are able to impose their agenda to others are those who may say that there are “more sovereign”.

Why do you think that democracy is good? Why do you think that neoliberalism is the salvation of the whole world? Why is liberalism a good ideology, or bad? The capacity (or the ability) to impose “an agenda” is now beginning to be a key element of the country's sovereignty. Because it gives us the boundaries of thought and framework of thinking thus it provides the framework of behavior. And fifth, the last issue, is what to do with such issues that we face. So far many conflicts are based on the imposition of the model on others. For example, in the West we see liberal-democracy as the only model that we accept. Others (mostly in the East and South) telling us that first it is not a universal model and, secondly, we are far from we preach to others. And we continue this dialogue for many years now which is not very productive as we try to impose the model and you reject this model (for a variety of reasons that are culturally determined). It turns out that the solution could be different.

My own position is that there are no universal models that can fit every state. The Chinese and the Russians are

trying to do something different that West and I just think that they have a right to experimenting. Also there is a big difference – for instance Chinese do not impose a model, they impose a process. And this process itself would need still to prove its viability. So, we shall not select models, imitate them, and replicate these models in a global scale. Instead we can offer a certain process which you can disagree with – but if you are in it, then you will get all the benefits of this process, which are connected on the one hand with the globalization, on the other hand with the regionalization of conduct. So, in my opinion, to stop looking at each other each other with the eyes of the customs officer – in the best case – I suggest that instead of the model we will discuss different processes and the viability of these processes, which can be very different, will prove the truth of these ideas. That is the future of peaceful coexistence. Thank you very much.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Our guest from Turkey mister Taşansu Türker is invited to a tribune.

Taşansu TÜRKER: – I would like to talk about the concept of civilizations. What does it mean in political sense how it is used in the history and now? The nations develop in a contradiction with each other. Identity – the changeable concept which is differently understood by different people at different times.

At the time of the Roman Empire one emperor and political responsibility governed was uniform and uniform. (Later, during the Education era, empires, for example German, Ottoman, Russian, etc. started arising. And process started developing in a different way.) Now it is already impossible, because at each country, the region the culture, the approaches. We call it system of the countries states. After the Westphalian world of the state became sovereign, but, nevertheless, they are participants of all world system among other states. Borders of the state are sacred, nobody has to break or change them. Then we have to accept that we recognize all borders. It is impossible to say that one border admits, and another – No.

What happened to this idea? The Soviet Union, the big country owing to what stability was lost broke up. This fact had negative consequences, this some kind of loss from organized system when we recognize other states, traditions, borders. Collapse of the USSR was beyond system. The world history faced a number of such phenomena which, though occur infrequently, nevertheless considerably change a world picture, affect the whole regions. Now we observe certain tendencies of centralization, these are supranational changes. Some countries which joined this movement approach more and more (on the basis of racial distinctions, religion, language – bases can be different, but, nevertheless, this process takes place).

The following item of my reflections – is political motivation, opportunity and ability of this or that nation to self-organize, organize others round itself. The state changes the character, this not one state, and some countries, for example the European Union. Also the opposite tendency – regionalization is observed. It is possible to allocate a number of the new regional centers. This tendency develops in parallel with centralization. Russia after disintegration of the Soviet Union certain time was in confusion, then we began to observe association processes. The similar phenom-

ena were studied by many scientists, for example Danilevsky in the 1860th years according to which the partial Universe Installed within one union, the huge region which defines process of streamlining, the centralized development is allocated.

Today the vacuum centers influencing change of structure which unite regions are around the world formed and earlier weren't united by joint activity. Some regions suddenly "come to life", depending on in what process they participate. The similar vacuum centers influence an environment, seek for use of force, create the conflicts – as a result everything starts moving. There is such expression "The bad world better, than good war". But if to look more pragmatically at these changes, maybe, they can lead to creation of steadier new system. Perhaps, as a result of these changes we will find something really functioning, viable. Such changes in the history repeatedly led to improvement of a situation in spite of the fact that there were also negative consequences. It is necessary to study as much as possible the similar regional centers of the power, to involve them, to connect to different processes to avoid the conflicts. The regional organizations, directly, and not just through the center communicating with each other, will allow us to avoid the new conflicts.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – It is given the floor to professor of University of Innsbruck mister Hans Köchler.

Hans KÖCHLER: – My message touches upon a subject of a world order and national interests which can be lit taking into account that here it was already said, and a question how national interests can be defended with advantage, despite a global situation. We have to try to avoid misunderstanding or the conflicts that will become possible if we carry out distinction between the nation and the state.

National interests, their value in today's global discourse can be compared to the national sovereignty. The national sovereignty means the sovereignty of the state (which generally now enter into the UN). The state can consist of the different nations. Therefore any person can tell: "I – the citizen of such state and at the same time belong to a certain nation within this state". Exist the state in which only one nation, and is the countries, including European where some nations. In Europe there are a lot of countries, non-uniform on the ethnic structure, all of them are multikulturalna. That is called today as national interests in an international peace, actually – the sovereignty of community of the citizens representing the different nations, but within one state. Thus, it is collective will of people who live in a certain territory within the concrete recognized state, it carries out the uniting role of all ethnoses in its territory. Of course, the state has to promote observance of their rights, allow them to develop, provide their rights for cultural and other types of identity, including language.

Such polycultural empire already was in the history, for example Austrian where the small people, in particular Slovenes, etc. were presented. Already then there was a multiculturalism. The question now is how to keep national interests of the concrete state, despite the happening changes, in particular a global world order. So far it still unipolar. There is a tendency of the global state which extends national interests as universal for all mankind. Under the law of universalism there is a dominating state and process

which causes a number of the conflicts because not all are ready to accept such situation. If there is a dominating state which imposes or speaks about a prevalence of the interests in all corners of the world, the small countries are compelled to stack the interests in a framework of this general structure. But, nevertheless, they aspire to expanding limits of the interests, to increase the role.

Thus, national interest can be understood as collective interest of all ethnoses which live within one state. Such state on the planet not one therefore it is necessary that it recognized the rights and possibilities of others, also within this state it has to provide equality, equal interests and the rights of the small groups and ethnoses. We can provide the rights, only if we recognize the rights of others. It is impossible to approach it egoistically, claiming that only my rights are important, and others – No. Such system won't work. We won't be able effectively to live and work within such structure.

I suggest to specify the concept "national interests", to include in it joint global interests which anyway influence a situation. In the global world all of us are interdependent and have to treat with understanding to need to consider interests of others, in particular if we speak about environment. If one state intends to adopt certain laws that its population didn't suffer from negative impact on environment, to introduce restrictions on negative impact on ecology to provide health of the citizens, it won't be able to make it alone. We won't make progress in this direction if we don't unite with others. For example, if we want to get rid of toxic material, of course, it is possible to take out it to Africa or on other sparsely populated territory, but it is necessary to do it within concrete arrangements.

It is also necessary to consider such aspect as quality of the international relations. The United Nations which is standing up for the equal rights tries to carry out this principle. In particular, the charter of the UN says that all states which are members of the UN are equal in the rights. And only when we recognize that are important not only our interests and the rights, but also is right others, we will be able peacefully to coexist in our difficult world.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The patriarch of domestic economic science academician Oleg Timofeyevich Bogomolov is invited to a tribune.

O. T. BOGOMOLOV: – I want to touch upon a subject which already sounded from this tribune but which opinion the different points of view pass. A few years ago the Davos economic forum was held under the motto "Great Transformation and Formation of New Models". The president of a forum Claus Schwab told that capitalism in its modern look doesn't answer realities, the world round us any more. Therefore it had a thought to discuss, in what direction there will take place evolution and elimination of shortcomings which came to light during global crisis of 2008-2009. I started being interested in this subject, to read literature and to watch discussion which already began by then.

To what society we will come? In Soviet period one of leaders of our state told that we don't know society in which we live. And today such formulation of the question can be carried to Russia and a number of other countries. We speak about national interests, but what type of society arises, what evolution and in what direction happens. The phi-

Iosopher Ervin László wrote that social evolution reached such phase which it would be possible to call cardinal shift in social development around the world. This shift is connected with a number of processes which we call revolution now: scientific and technical, information, geopolitical. That is cardinal changes in the device of life on our planet are made and followed by a number of consequences. First of all changes, especially in the field of equipment, development of science, open new opportunities. But as they occur quickly enough, the human consciousness can apprehend not everything, there are distempers and the destructive phenomena. The most important that the authorities too don't know how to react to the happening changes. This subject, seems to me, deserves that it needs to be discussed, besides, to reflect on those models or processes which wait for us as a result of objectively happening deep revolutionary shifts in all activity on our planet.

In Soviet period we spoke and even pursued those who published books on the subject "plan and market". It was ostracized. During reorganization too there was an interest in market processes and changes. Told the following: either market, or plan and planned economy. However today the processes happening in many countries of the world testify that the role of the state contrary to opinion of ultraliberals increases. Statistically, for the last century the role of the developed states of the world increased in redistribution of a national product or gross domestic product from 10–16 to 60%. That is the state directs economic process more and more. On the other hand, it is impossible to do without the market. Experience of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries testifies that the market solution of many problems is necessary also the market – the integral component of development.

Today in literature discussion concerns what role in economic system has to play the state and what spheres and areas the market of the competition and private interest has to direct in the development. Many believe that influence of the state has to increase obviously, but at the same time it has to direct development of the market relations, differently there will be a corruption and other problems decomposing society. I paid attention that interest to that expressed last century increases – theories of convergence. There is a rapprochement of various economic systems and in modern capitalism, and that occurs after disintegration of the Soviet Union, in refusal of many parties of the socialist organization of production, that is increase of attempts to connect the market relations, command heights and the directing role of the state. Disputes are conducted round today what part is assigned to the state, where limits of its impact on economic processes. It is one of problems which excites a number of scientists.

But there is also other problem. The state has to influence economic processes because without this influence we will face and world economic crises, and many problems in the certain countries. But what has to be influence of the state? It can be state machinery which protects interests of well-founded segments of the population and to which it isn't important as there lives the bulk of people. There is a question of social orientation of policy of the state. If the state pursues policy in interests of rich part of society, society won't be strong, won't be able normally to develop. A problem of social orientation of economic policy as it seems to me – one of the sharpest today.

It is about that the person, his abilities, intellectual development, culture played the increasing role in economic policy and convergent society. Today when we speak about convergence, we mean not only theoretical concepts. A number of the countries creates society in which are considerable social orientation of development, a role of the state. In particular, it belongs to the northern countries of Europe where there are free medicine and education. Contrastly the liberal policy in Russia which seeks to make both health care, and education, and many other branches commercial looks, that is subordinated to a profit. And people suffer from it. Germany after the end of World War II made many efforts to give to the development social orientation. I don't speak about China, Vietnam and a number of other states any more. Thus, the convergent model of public organization becomes the fact, but not an exception.

Likhachov conference have to help to answer a question: how to pull together the organization of public and economic life? Strengths and the western civilization, and that which we, unfortunately, didn't manage to create – the socialist principles, free medicine and – the main thing – the directing role of the state. We have to think not only of today's problems, but also volume how to meet the future, to what society we have to come and that it will be for society, what its main characteristics and properties.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – It is given the floor to professor Mohaghegh Ahmadabadi from the Teheran University.

S. M. MOHAGHEGH AHMADABADI: – My report is devoted to human rights and national interests. Now we can observe establishment of the laws limiting human rights. Everything began with the Universal declaration of human rights adopted by the UN. If we look at a situation from the point of view of philosophy, it is possible to observe a transnational tendency. The idea of the national sovereignty serves as an obstacle to observance all accepted international by community of human rights. Therefore it is necessary to soften idea of the sovereignty. Supporters of this idea believe that it is impossible without establishment of a new world order in which the idea of the sovereignty will be removed for human rights.

There is the following question: how the new world order can be formed? Pragmatists, those who pursues policy, believe that the question of human rights has to be left as an internal affair of each state. The principles of foreign policy are already inapplicable to human rights.

We compare two approaches: human rights – it either the international sphere, or the internal sphere of the state. And in this case exchange of information and transfer of thoughts, than simply philosophical reasonings are more important. Most of scientists consider that the concept of human rights goes back the roots to the famous philosopher of the XVIII century Immanuel Kant. It built human rights to advantage and postponed establishment of such world order for that time when people operate the state – then the greatest world will come. It is the only way which it designated – to the great world. Kant also wrote about the republican state in which the law defines nation life, parliaments are capable to guarantee a lasting peace. In the report I in detail discuss a question of how it is possible to combine human rights and national interests in any conflict situations.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – To a microphone our guest from Italy Vincenzo della Sala professor is invited.

V. della SALA: – Michelangelo Buonarroti told once that it is difficult to understand the truth, when already too late. Paraphrasing, it is possible to tell that a science role – not to open the truth, and to make the contribution to knowledge. Perhaps, this knowledge will allow to prevent a natural disaster, economic crises, war. And I hope that my modest contribution too will allow to expand our knowledge.

The USA negatively influence other countries. I want to pay attention to some moments. First, in many reports intensity which is observed now in the world and as it will be coordinated with national interests is discussed.

The European Union can be regarded as the model showing ways of improvement of these interactions. One of problems which we observe in model of the European Union – that there not everything well functions and in this regard something needs to be undertaken. Dialogue, cooperation are necessary, it is important to know and remember history. The history in some sense can become an obstacle for dialogue, it is necessary to overcome this obstacle, to use history to expand dialogue. Then we will cope more successfully with the international problems.

The European Union represents model which overcomes the conflict of the sovereignties, by means of common interests and history. The European Union can hardly be discussed, without referring to historic facts, disregarding history. Nevertheless it is some other model, it is sent to the future, especially to the post-historical future to which we go.

Perhaps, commerce will allow to solve problems. In particular, the European Union creates the uniform liberal market in which commerce – is process. It will allow more effectively, to interact despite all distinctions within such association. It is an important message for all others that it is possible to develop in this direction. Nevertheless, to achieve success, it is necessary to consider also interests of other groups in the historical or geographical plan.

Partially intensity in Ukraine is caused by that the European Union represents itself as something out of history, overcome history, looking forward, and Russia remained within history. Mister Barroso told once: “Unfortunately, there are still states which still bogged down in the history”. He meant Russia and Ukraine. This different vision of how it to move further. In a case with Russia such basic values as natural, energy resources with which this country is rich are meant.

The problem of model of the European Union consists that Europe – it not only a kingdom of god of commerce. There are also other points of consideration of our difficult world, in particular history where still there are historical barriers which disturb trade process. On the one hand, commerce, the general values, with another – isn’t possible to refuse national interests completely. Various groups have the interests and try to extend them to others.

We live in the world which is filled with myths. We try to solve problems on a global scale. Probably, it is necessary to create the uniform myth which will suit all or will reflect interests of all. Then we will be able really to move forward on the way of association of our interests and overcoming of difficulties which divide us.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The outstanding Russian philosopher academician Vladislav Aleksandrovich Lektorsky is invited to a tribune.

V. A. LEKTORSKY: – Today many interesting reports, short, but substantial were heard. Global challenges and national interests – a subject very interesting and, in my opinion, one of actual. National interests, interests of certain countries, regions always existed, constantly there were difficult relations between the different countries, the conflicts, the unions, associations, great empires in the history which played the and positive, and negative role, then they broke up. Interrelations between the countries were established and 100, and 150 years ago. What the new occurs now? Or this continuation of what was?

Process which is called globalization, arose relatively recently, a little tens years ago. The new context puts new problems, and even those problems which seem similar that was earlier, actually get other sense.

What is the globalization? These are not simply common problems which always were and somehow decided or didn’t decide, and a turning point in the history of mankind. The person costs on the edge of an abyss: or it will fly up even above, or will fall in an abyss. There was a new situation which never was earlier. First of all this distribution of the market relations on all countries of the world (multinational corporations, a number of the supranational organizations, since the UN, the Declaration of human rights, international law etc.), and the most important – is new technologies, information and communication means which now cover the whole world and conditions in which people lived thousands of years pull down. There is a demolition of the bases of life of the person. It in a varying degree concerns all countries of the world, that is the soil on which there are people crumbles under the feet.

With what it is connected? The Internet – great discovery which allows to come out provinciality, of locality to join to that becomes around the world, but it at the same time, in that form in what it is now presented, and threat (today spoke about it much) because habitual standards of behavior, ways of discussion, ways of discussion – everything consigns to the past. It is possible to do anything, to manipulate consciousness and not to bear any responsibility for it. The indispensable condition of an act – is responsibility, that is the person has to bear responsibility that as a result will turn out. And on the Internet it is possible to do anything, to create under an assumed name, to write god knows that. Some people consider that the Internet means the end of literature. No filters exist, censorship (as a way of elimination bad from good) is cancelled.

When there was a globalization and about it began to write (two-three decades ago), in scientific literature the opinion was expressed that the idea of national interests lost any sense, it is an anachronism. In particular, in Russia about it I wrote a number of political scientists: “What national interests?! Now worldwide globalization extends”. Globalization leads to that the national culture is undermined in effect because there is a mass culture which is identical everywhere, since the USA and finishing with China or Japan.

Globalization in the form in which it now exists, in some sense is inevitable. But in that look in what it is carried out, globalization undermines the culture bases, not

only traditional which in the east there is a lot of (in the Middle, Far East), but also European. Any culture is based that there is a truth and lie, there is that is possible, and that it is impossible to do and if between the truth and a lie the border is washed away that it is easy to do by means of the Internet if it is unclear that it is possible to do and that is impossible where it is good and where it is bad, then it is possible to live somehow. It is a call not only to traditional, but also all cultures, in particular European.

Due to the globalization, new technologies which now actively develop, the idea of transformation, design of the person, his brain, mentality, a corporality, the transperson, post-person etc. is discussed. We think how to make so that the person didn't fall in an abyss, and, on the contrary, flew up by means of that is already made. Also we come to a conclusion what it is necessary to lean that always does the person by the person not to *raschelovechitsya* – to use resources of traditional culture.

The traditional culture exists in national forms, development is impossible without national forms of culture, the national state. National interests – it is protection, geopolitical, economic interests and culture in general. Everything that creates national identity, is based on culture. Without culture existence of the nation loses any sense. Therefore when we speak about protection of national interests of Russia, it is about protection of the Russian culture, science, art that it wasn't changed for mass culture and show business that now occurs everywhere.

The question is how national cultures have to behave in a similar situation. They can't but be included in globalization process. Means, it is necessary to find ways of response to this process because isolation, self-isolation is senseless, it is death. To find resources, answers to those calls which now arise. It will work well or not – a question open. Different cultures, different regions in this sense differently react. One of such reckless ways of reaction to globalization – the international terrorism, this new phenomenon (in such look it wasn't earlier) too a globalization product.

In order that the person survived and that it was possible to answer calls of globalization, it is necessary to address to culture, to use resources of traditional culture, but to adapt it to that occurs now. Different cultures in this sense can appear in various situation. And, maybe, cultures which to us seemed traditional, will be able to find resources, answers to these calls which in other cultures are absent.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – The famous American journalist mister Kent is invited to a tribune.

Thomas KENT: – Esteemed colleagues, I'd like to touch here on a fairly narrow question that we'll be able to discuss in more detail in the fifth section tomorrow. The question is whether journalistic ethics can be relative. Is there an international ethical system that should be accepted by all journalists? Or do journalistic ethics depend on the history and culture of each country? This issue is quite important now that the products of journalists increasingly cross international borders. Should all journalists try to work in accordance with some set of international norms? Or should they just write in their own national and cultural contexts, not trying to figure out how their work might be perceived by an audience on the other side of the planet? In my paper I discuss this issue in the context of a pro-

ject I'm directing for the Online News Association, an international organization of online journalists. It's called the Build Your Own Ethics Code project, and its goal is to help new journalists, bloggers, and journalism organizations create new codes of ethics that meet their specific needs. After two years of work, the participants in the ONA project have come to the conclusion that some principles should be common to all journalists. On other principles, honest journalists from different countries and cultures may disagree. You can probably easily identify the points we consider obligatory for all members of the profession. Among them: tell the truth, correct your mistakes and avoid conflicts of interest that can harm the integrity of you and your company. At the same time, other principles may vary depending on country and culture... and even within a culture. The project identified more than 40 issues on which journalists can legitimately hold different opinions. For example, can an investigative journalist hide his identity, or should he openly identify himself as a journalist? When a journalist interviews an official, should he agree to provide in advance a list of all his questions? Should a journalist report the names of people accused of crimes before they are convicted? Especially in the digital journalistic space – well, Michael Solomonovich Gusman (TASS) knows this very well – there are many new ethical problems. Under what conditions should news organizations delete articles and photos from their online archives? How can they verify the authenticity of photos and videos that appear in the Internet? Codes of ethics also vary greatly according to journalistic organization. My agency, The Associated Press, has a code of ethics that's very specific and not at all relative. I believe we can agree that any journalistic organization should carefully consider its code of ethics, ensure respect for it, and clearly explain its beliefs to readers. Society has the right to know the ethical beliefs of those who prepare the news that they read. Thank you.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Yunyong Zhang is given the floor to professor.

Junyong ZHANG: – I represent National university of means of communication (People's Republic of China). In the activity we try to improve functioning and transport infrastructure. Besides, we realize the project of a so-called Silk way for the purpose of improvement of the message between our country and the European Union. China has quite extensive network of the high-speed railroads, seeks to provide faster way of travel by land. Russia and China could expand the good-neighbourhood cooperation in this area if your country actively participates in this program.

In 2013 presidents of People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation met six times that seldom meets in diplomatic practice. The Chinese president Xi Jinping also came to Moscow for participation in celebration of the 70 anniversary of the Victory.

Since 2000 China and Russia try to close completely the questions connected with disputed border territories. China and Russia understand that if between the countries the world will be established and there will be good-neighbourhood, cooperation, both countries will benefit from it as will receive considerable incentive for development, basing cooperation on economic interests. At our countries complementary economies: China needs natural resources, Rus-

sia is rich with them therefore both countries could benefit from cooperation expansion.

After the Soviet Union broke up, in Central Asia some independent states were formed. But not all from them effectively develop. The Silk Way project developed at our university is urged to help development of these countries. This project besides that it will connect China to the European Union as mister Xi Jinping told, has to capture also the Central Asian republics (which too could receive benefit and actively participate in this project). The university provides platforms for discussion, studying of new ideas, additional practices within this project. We try to resolve the existing open conflicts on all extent of "A silk way". For this purpose it is necessary to form a number of the centers along this way and in addition to equip, train people who will provide their functioning, to improve communications between them.

Such economic project will allow to solve many other problems, directly with it not connected. In particular, it makes active interest in studying of Russian. In China more and more people learn Russian, and the Russian students show a great interest to Chinese. It is one of examples of how in our joint activity the specific project promotes development of different branches.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – It is given the floor to the remarkable Russian journalist Vitaly Toviyeovich Tretyakov.

V. T. TRETYAKOV¹: – In the performance I first of all will react to that heard here. The Italian colleague told that, maybe, it is necessary to develop uniform mythology and on it all to live consistently. The uniform mythology and actively is developed for a long time by television. I against existed uniform world and even uniform European ideology and mythology because it is imposed. It is clear, by whom it is created to whom it is imposed, in this case – Russia. In this sense I treat those who (contrary to Henry Reznik's opinion) supports an exit of Russia from Parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe. So the television in this sense is very important. The Internet won't force out television, as a way of distribution of information, a signal – not the most important. It is important that is transferred, and the image is created by experts.

Modern global challenges and national interests – the subject of Likhachov conference so sounds. National interests – quite ambiguous term. If to understand national interests as interests of the countries, one of the main global challenges of the present are national interests of some countries (in any case in that treatment in which they interpret these interests). First of all it is national interests of the USA which for some reason exist in any corner of the world. Or, for example, national interests of Canada, the state, small on population, which has the national interests

in Europe. I don't represent, what national interests Canada can have in Europe, but, nevertheless, Canada is included into the Organization for safety and cooperation in Europe (OSCE). Or return situation: how North Korea threatens national interests of any of the European countries? I don't say that in Northern Korea everything is remarkable, it is that someone interferes with others affairs.

Besides, I wanted to tell some words about an inequality of the countries. It is solidary with many regulations stated by Piotr Dutkiewicz on the sovereignty etc. The absolute inequality of the countries at repeated repetition of is observed that all countries are equal. The UN includes already more than 200 countries. In such situation always there is a hierarchy. But if this hierarchy admitted that there are main countries, minor and insignificant, it would be official (a peculiar Table of ranks of the best and the worst). But just those who presents to an evil axis apply for a role of the author of this list.

At such number of the countries business not only that they aren't equal. Also it isn't necessary to pretend that equality can be reached and the more so that it is now. I in this sense don't accept the UN though I understand its importance for Russia until, the new model won't be found yet. I consider that there are harmful countries. (When insects far, you all the same, are they or not. When they start getting into your house, these are already harmful insects. But they are necessary for biological diversity of the world.) I represent an ideal situation: once a year collective meeting of men of science, for example academicians, makes the list of the countries pursuing harmful policy of the different countries. It would be useful, by the way, and for journalists. Always touches me when journalists in the charters (I am the professional journalist and by training, and by the nature of activity) on a meeting eventually agree that it is necessary to write the truth. Mother taught me to it in the childhood, even when didn't suspect that I will be a journalist.

We today from time to time mentioned wars. On the one hand, nobody makes a declaration of love to war, with another – anybody even hypothetically doesn't raise a question of that, wars are necessary or not. One of speakers told today that, it is possible including military lead to emergence of the conflicts. I consider that a half of the conflicts which happen on Earth, is untied by strangers, in particular those who sticks the nose in affairs of the different countries. But it is better for other half of the conflicts to allow to occur and come to the end. Some wars quicker and solve problems than when well-wishers interfere with their permission with the smaller victims, in particular from Europe which unleashed all world wars known to mankind (people who are grandfathers, great-grandfathers of present European pacifists). Grandsons of these mongers of wars learn the rest of the world as it is necessary to fight against war.

It would be interesting to hold conference on a subject, whether it is possible to get rid of wars in general. War is a limit stage of crisis which not to avoid. But whether it is necessary to refer all wars to number bad and by that to set the tasks which in principle aren't solved? In it, often false, pacifism, peacefulness the modern states, first of all western as they the most powerful armed hypocritically minimize the military intervention by means of the state armies, but maximize by means of private armies. Now

¹ Dean of the High School (Department) of Television of the Lomonosov Moscow State University. Author and presenter of the programme 'What is to do?' ('Chto delat?') (TV 'Culture' ('Kultura') Channel). Author of a number of journalistic, scientific and educational works, including the following books: Russian Politics and Politicians in Health and Disease: Glimpse of Events of Russian Life, 1990–2000 (Russkaya politika i politiki v norme i patologii: Vzglyad na sobytiya rossiyskoy zhizni 1990–2000), Do We Need Putin After 2008? (Nuzhen li nam Putin posle 2008 goda?), How to Become a Famous Journalist: A Course of Lectures on Theory and Practice of Modern Journalism (Kak stat znamenitym zhurnalistom: kurs lektsiy po teorii i praktike sovremennoy russkoy zhurnalistiki). Laureate of TEFI Award, of the 'Golden Pen' award of the Union of Journalists of Russia, he is decorated with the Golden Badge of Honour 'Public Acknowledgement'.

medieval private armies revived. These problems too need to be studied.

I against hypocrisy and hypocrisy at the description, lighting and the analysis of the international events. I understand that it is difficult to call the men who are going to go to a striptease for moral behavior (I mean the world community which got used to live thus). Nevertheless it is necessary to try at least theoretically once honestly to discuss some problems and global challenges.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Vitaly Toviyeovich, your performance has to be comprehended. Professor of Cairo university madam Nourhan El Sheikh is invited to a tribune.

Nourhan EL SHEIKH: – We very much are interested in a subject which is discussed on Likhachov conference. Now we can speak about a contradiction or the conflict of interests, but not civilizations – so we understand the intensity which arose today. The conflict of interests is caused by the American strategy which is based on three pillars.

The first pillar – the USA want to control all energy resources, their movement and to enter all energy markets as the main competitor. It is shown and in strengthening of their presence in the Caspian Sea, in the Middle East, even in the south of China – in the South China Sea where they are going to come.

The second pillar – from the point of view of America interests justify many conflicts, including the conflict in the Middle East, from where I arrived. Perhaps, some can explain with these reasons and that occurred in Ukraine as there they extend to the east Europe. Some kind of this expansion of the American domination, in particular military. This process also assumes creation of an additional rocket board which is directed, in particular, against Russia. All this creates a safety dilemma. They try to increase the power, force, but other countries in counteraction have to increase the defense capability also.

The third pillar – this advance of democracy (in understanding of the USA) and human rights. They advance this slogan, in particular, using technologies of color revolutions. “The Arab spring” captured a number of the Arab countries. These revolutions were urged to protect human rights, democracy, but already destroyed three countries in the Arab world: Libya, Syria and Jordan. They prevent us to assert our basic right – to live and develop in the world. More than 2 million Iraqis were lost as a result of military invasion. I don’t think that it was made for the purpose of protection of human rights.

At last, in the global plan strategy which is advanced by the USA, leads to division of the world into two camps. One group of the countries agrees with approach that the USA help them therefore don’t object to their hegemony. Other group of the states continues to resist, being not concordant with such domination, they want to live in the world for all. Protecting the national interests, the culture, Russia, China and many other countries try to defend the interests, despite obvious pressure. We have to allow to develop to our people and the population of neighboring countries as they want, but not as to them dictate because of the ocean. We have to create such system which will allow to develop all. Therefore participation in this forum is represented very important.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – It is given the floor to professor Jerzy Wiatr.

Jerzy J. WIATR¹: – First of all I want to tell that is happy to be in Russia in days of celebration of the Great Victory, I consider it a moral duty. We, Poles and Russians, live during the special period of our general history. For the first time throughout many centuries between Poland and Russia there are no conflicts of national interests, and I would like to emphasize it. In interests of Poland to have good stable relations with the Russian Federation therefore we have to restore them.

The second moment directly connected with a subject of our conference concerns national interests. National interests lead to the conflicts: that enters interests of one nation, optional is in limits of interests of other country. It is the natural law of international policy. The such conflicts can be resolved on the basis of compromises.

The only way to leave crisis in Ukraine about what it was already told and in the Polish, and Russian sources – to compromise. If someone believes that one country can impose the will another, it is the naive and dangerous point of view.

The relationship based on national interests is difficult, but it is much better, than the ideological conflicts which we observed earlier. The ideological conflicts at the time of cold war were fundamentally important. The U.S. President George Bush said that it was fight for souls of mankind. And in this case it is already difficult to come to consent and reconciliation is impossible. Cold war came to the end with deep reevaluation and revision of ideas, still before the president Gorbachev became the leader (I consider that the president Gorbachev for it deserves the Nobel Prize).

There is one form of prosecution of national interests which is very dangerous – hegemony peace-making. It means that one state can dictate the will any other that deeply contradicts national and common interests. I am the optimist therefore I hope that hegemonic tendencies won’t win.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – I invite to a microphone of our guest from Washington mister Ahmad Iravani.

Ahmad IRAVANI: – I would like to thank all who organized this conference, in particular Alexander Sergeyevich and his colleagues. It is reasonable to offer to act to the person who is going in for religion at the end of plenary session (as such people accumulate knowledge, try to analyse them and to take out lessons).

In the performance I want to touch upon a subject of national interests which represent a call and are put under doubts. The concept of national interests is a source of contradictions since it became popular. The concept “national interests” ceased to define the purposes of foreign policy of the state. There are different interpretations of this concept.

During the XX century the situation, foreign policy of the states changed. It is necessary to consider global

¹ Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997), deputy to the Polish Parliament (Sejm) (1991–2001), Dr. Sc. (Sociology). Author of scholarly papers on sociology of politics, including the monograph *Social Studies of Political Relations* (Sociologija politicheskikh otnoshenij). Honorary rector of the European School of Law and Administration in Warsaw, Honorary professor of the University of Warsaw, Honorary Senator of the University of Ljubljana, Doctor *honoris causa* at *Oles Honchar Dnepropetrovsk National University*. Professor Wiatr is decorated with the Order of Rebirth of Poland (Order of Polonia Restituta) of the 2nd degree.

transformations of the last two decades which completely changed a picture to the world. For example, emergence of new characters which demand identification as participants of process, the national interests try to present, especially it is characteristic for the Middle East and Africa where there are new phenomena and the movements. All this represents development of the concept “national interests”. It is the new level of a difficult picture of the modern world. The new centers consider that have to defend the interests. We are engaged in studying of questions as the religion became an important component, in many respects defines national policy, in particular foreign policy of various states now, what role she plays and that it is necessary to consider in this regard.

In my report definition of the concept of national interest is given. All definitions of this concept are traditional, but they differ because in different degree consider innovations, changes which happen on the international scene. Also four main calls which face us are described and concern national interests. First, it is about an erosion of territorial borders of the state, national, supranational and super-national levels of the power. Secondly, today we live during information era which differs on the speed and volume to exchange of information, new technologies are used. Thirdly, climatic changes also influence this perspective and represent some kind of call. Fourthly, development of extremism in different parts of the world influences all other aspects. This phenomenon isn't limited to the concrete country or the region any more and crosses borders, it extends in the influence and covers more and more the countries. Also the terrorism leads to emergence of new wars, expands military counteraction of a number of the countries and influences other calls. The terrorism represents serious threat and a call recently. As terrorist attacks which we observed, aren't single any more, and are cyclic. It becomes as initiators of acts of terrorism declare, in interests of religion, upholding of religious views. And those who participates in terrorism, try to bring under it an ideological basis which will allow them to justify rigid methods of influence.

In the report I also try to comprehend a new source of the conflict: as it is possible to use religion – as a source of the conflict or the world to prevent manifestations of terrorism and to justify with that the Islamic countries and communities. I wish great Russia prosperity, the world and progress!

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – It is given the floor to professor Georgy Borisovich Kleiner.

G. B. KLEINER: – The keynote of today's performances concerns combinations global and local. I would like to concentrate your attention on one effect in which the global tendency observed now in the developed western countries, in my opinion, doesn't coincide with a tendency which is widespread in Russia. Many western countries, subjects of economy, the organization changed the direction of the activity aside, departing from the direct purposes of commercialization. There was a huge number of the phenomena which contradict the commercialization purposes (I don't say about volunteering, crowdsourcing or that the largest owners of the states earned by fair means give them on charity, but not on the family), for example to the sanction against ideological opponents. Supervision over this process allows to draw a conclusion that economies of the Western world depart from commercialization and incline to noncommercial result.

What occurs in Russia? In our country process goes in the opposite direction so far. Passing in the 1990th years to market economy, we put commercialization in the center. Round this center our economic practice and the economic theory also continue to rotate. Money as process – a starting point and result. Such point of view on economy as it seems to me, has to be overcome. And in this aspect coincidence of global and local tendencies is desirable. The theoretical basis for this purpose is the monitorism – the theory according to which both the factor, and result are measured by money that allows to compare different things. It very conveniently and became the reason of formation of many models, theories and practical recommendations.

What it is possible to oppose or, is more exact, what can replace a monitorism partly? In search of this direction of science the look addresses, especially in this University, to cultural science. I have a dream (and it seems to me that it isn't so far from an embodiment) – that the cultural science became a gage of results of work. Not the price as quantitative commercial expression, and value. This difficult question isn't resolved simply by vote, the market. But in a combination of such phenomena as society, the state, economic entities and other participants of economic activity, we can count that the cultural science will become that base on which also the new economic theory, and new economic practice will be constructed. I hope that here where outstanding thinkers repeatedly acted, there will be a birth of the new economic theory – a kulturonomika which connects cultural science and economy.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues, plenary session approached the end. Tomorrow discussions will proceed: we, having known our positions better, we will discuss at section meetings. I think that it will promote success of Likhachov conference. Thanks!

Round Table NATIONAL MODELS OF THE VITAL DEVICE AND INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS (“Is the West the best?”)

May 15, 2015
Conference room of the hotel “Radisson SAS”

CHAIRPERSONS:

- G. M. Gatilov *Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary*
- Reza Davari Ardakani *President of the Academy of Sciences of IR Iran, Ph.D., Professor*
- Miguel Angel Moratinos *Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010), Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*
- P. P. Tolochko *Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Academician of the NAS of Ukraine, a foreign member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor*
- V. A. Chereshnev *Chairman of the State Duma Committee of the Russian Federation on Science and High Technology, Director of the Institute of Immunology and Physiology of Ural Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Academician of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Medicine), Professor, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS*

SPEAKERS:

- Shaukat Aziz *Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007)*
- Anton Bebler *Professor of faculty of social sciences of Ljubljana University (Slovenia)*
- Piotr Dutkiewicz *Co-director of the Centre for Governance and Public Management at Carleton University (Canada), Professor of Political Science*
- Nourhan El Sheikh *Professor of Political Science at Cairo University, member of the Egyptian Council for Foreign Affairs*
- Michel Faillettaz *Consul General of Switzerland in St. Petersburg*
- Valur Ingimundarson *Professor of Contemporary History of the Faculty of History and Philosophy at the University of Iceland, Ph.D.*
- Ahmad Iravani *Director of the Center for the Study of Islam and the Middle East (Washington, USA), Ph.D.*
- E. V. Kharitonova *Senior Scientific Researcher of the Institute of African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Candidate of Psychological Sciences, associate professor*
- Grzegorz W. Kolodko *Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003), Director of the Research Institute “TIGER” Kozminski University (Warsaw), Doctor of Economics, Professor*
- Hans Köchler *President of the International Progress Organization (Vienna, Austria), Professor at the University of Innsbruck, Ph.D.*
- D. V. Mosyakov *Head of the Center of studying of Southeast Asia, Australia and Oceania of Institute of oriental studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of historical sciences, Professor*
- Colin Berkeley Moynihan *Statesman, public person of Great Britain, Member of the House of Lords in the British Parliament*
- A. P. Nazaretyan *Chief Scientific Researcher, chief of the Centre of mega-history and system forecasting at the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Professor at the International University “Dubna”, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Candidate of Psychology*

H. M. Reznik	<i>Vice-president of Federal chamber of lawyers, Professor of Department of legal profession and notariate in the Kutafin Moscow State Law University, Candidate of Sciences (Law), Honored Lawyer of Russia, Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i>
Vincent della Sala	<i>Associate Professor of political science at the Department of Sociology and Social Research at the University of Trento (Italy)</i>
Ya. G. Shemyakin	<i>Chief researcher of the Centre of culturological researches of Institute of Latin America of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of historical sciences</i>
A. B. Tsinker	<i>Director of Institute of the CIS countries and Eastern Europe, vice-chairman of Coordination council of the organizations Russian compatriots (Israel), Doctor of Philosophy</i>
Jerzy J. Wiatr	<i>Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997), deputy to the Polish Parliament (Seim) (1991–2001), Dr. Sc. (Sociology), Professor</i>
A. S. Zapesotsky	<i>President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, corresponding member of the 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</i>

G. M. GATILOV: – Dear friends, I am glad you to welcome on our section. Before we pass to discussion of the subject which is taken out in the name of section I would like to give the floor to Alexander Sergeevich Zapesotsky.

A. S. ZAPESOTSKY: – Dear colleagues! Many mass media asked us about accreditation of journalists, but we decided that it you shouldn't do. It is important for us that scientists could discuss here freely various problems and exchange opinions. It is clear that all of us are citizens of the different countries and we think first of all of interests of the fatherland. But at the same time we are the representatives of the scientific world interested in detailed discussion without effective gestures and political statements. Our task – to look for a common ground because it is available disturbing signs of that the world not simply comes back to cold war, but can come down and to "hot". Especially dangerously to that in all difficult situations which arise in the world, also nuclear powers or that closely came nearer to possession of the nuclear weapon participate. None of us don't want return of former opposition and risks therefore I call you for detailed and benevolent discussion, respect for the different points of view that in this hall not the set of monologues, and full and substantial dialogue sounded.

We see, for example, as it is difficult to conduct dialogue to a number of the states today. In particular, difficult relations were created between Russia and the countries of the West, Israel and the countries of the Arab world and in the Arab world between his representatives. To me it is thought that within our discussion it is necessary to overcome these contradictions, to set an example of how the scientific world can conform to requirements of time, it is quiet and correct to discuss difficulties of today's life. If we, scientists, are able to show it, likely, and to politicians it will be easier to agree. At all variety of our opinions I would like to express satisfaction with how correctly I passed our dialogue yesterday. I think that we will follow further this line.

Being the rector of the Petersburg University, I want to tell that we at University intend to carry on tradition which was always important for Russia – respect for various religions and faiths. In St. Petersburg there are temples of all leading traditional religions of the world. There was a place both for mosques, and for synagogues, and for Catholic temples, and for the Protestant. And, of course, here always there is a place for various scientific ideas of those scientists which validly concern to the colleagues. From myself I will personally tell that our University always at your disposal, not only during Likhachov conference, but also in any other time. If you arrive to Russia and you will want to stop by in St. Petersburg, I always with pleasure will accept you and I will be happy if someone from you wants to give lectures to our students. And, certainly, we will wait for you in May of the following for the about XVI years the Likhachov conference dated for days of Slavic writing and culture. It is our tradition. I thank you!

G. M. GATILOV: – Many thanks, Alexander Sergeevich, for your parting word. At us as you truly told, very representative section therefore, I think, will take place really interesting conversation.

The subject of our section raises the questions which cause brisk discussions at international venues. Presently all are more distinctly shown signs of the competition between various civilization and cultural traditions. Representatives of some of them try the, from their point of view, to extend an attractive civilization cover for the whole world, I even would tell, to impose the principles and concepts and thus to create a situation when other countries would go in that course which is offered to them. But such actions, from our point of view, are only capable to aggravate cross-cultural and interreligious contradictions, increase risks of the conflicts because of cultural identity and in general undermine efforts on formation of steady system of global development. We remember how a few years ago the United States

of America intended to democratize the Middle East and to introduce the values there. And now we see that there actually results from such approaches.

In this regard I ripened need of development of uniform rules of conduct on the international scene. It is necessary to respect also already existing rules, first of all what are fixed in the charter of the UN and other international legal documents of global character. 70 years ago, creating the UN, her founding fathers dreamed of the organization which would unite all people, became some kind of supporting framework of the interstate relations, equal cooperation and dialogues in interests of all states and possessed necessary powers for adequate response to all variety of risks and threats. One of advantages of the United Nations is that the states are capable to lean on the coordinated standards of behavior, to agree about joint response to threats of global safety. But so was not always and, unfortunately, in recent years all of us are more often we recede from it, the formula "I do as I want" quite often gets the best. Double standards result, in particular, revolution in Ukraine is considered normal business. And the same events in Yemen which compelled the president to leave the country – it is bad, the president should be returned. It seems that there is the real erosion of international law and the international relations in general.

Irrespective of the fact which useful decisions are made by the world community, between them and real life there is a barrier of political expediency and geopolitical interests. We have to remember that similar barriers often simply don't exist at terrorist groups which work out of any legal framework. All this adds a serious negative element to the situation developing on the international scene. I consider that it is necessary to bring to people in the societies that point of view which they won't be able objectively to receive through the mass media or will receive it in extremely prejudiced look. Mikhail Solomonovich Gusman rather interestingly spoke about it, by the way, yesterday. As for us, we are ready to open and transparent dialogue and if it is required, and to fight of ideas. It is important that and in the western societies it wasn't created obstacles in informing citizens on the alternative points of view. All of us know that it doesn't occur there.

In the prevention of the conflicts, especially because of cultural and religious identity, also religious figures can play a big role. We support the initiatives of Christian and Muslim leaders in the region of the Middle East directed on standing together against attempts of extremists of any colors to profane and pervert the high moral principles of world religions, the common moral denominator always existing at the main world religions, demanded in questions of world politics and the international relations. He plays some kind of role of a compass and/or a reference point with which verify the actions those who makes political decisions. We in Russia have a saying "Not in force God, and in the truth". We feel value of these words in the everyday life constantly. Some time ago in the Russian expert political and religious community the idea of the concept of introduction into the modern international relations of a vector of moral values, justice and the truth and the thesis was discussed that this idea could be developed now in addition.

Moral and foreign policy – concepts not simply compatible, but also going hand in hand. It is the extremely im-

portant that problems which the modern world faces, were solved on the basis of justice as as soon as the moral is lost, there is an injustice, there are ideas which don't promote a solution, and on the contrary, exhaust it deep into. We consider strengthening of the moral basis of the international relations as part of big-time politics. Also such approaches as tolerance and tolerance are still important, too yesterday it was told about it during Plenary session. They are literally built by difficult history and if to follow an example of Russia, our multinational and multi-religious country couldn't reach harmony between representatives of the numerous people and ethnoses, cultural and religious traditions. We wouldn't manage to create such state without tolerance and tolerance. Continuous creation of interciviliation consent on the basis of tolerance was a necessary condition of forward development and the existence of our country. It caused that special role which Russia can play in interface of interests of all states irrespective of their cultural and civilization distinctions that, actually, and is a key factor of the solution of our common burning issues of the present.

Dear colleagues, during our discussion it will be given the floor to all who will wish to take in it part. Already there is the first person interested to act – mister Akop Pogosovich Nazaretyan. Please.

A. P. NAZARETYAN¹: – A few days ago at the State astronomical institute of Shternberg the meeting of scientific different specialties – physicists, astronomers, anthropologists, psychologists took place. Preparation of the address of scientists for politicians was one of questions. Two circumstances are the basis for this address. First, series of the calculations which are carried out independently from each other by scientists in the different countries – Australia, Russia, the USA – showed that approximately in the middle of the XXI century there will come the so-called point of singularity. It is the phase transition to evolutions of Earth which doesn't have precedent not only in the history of mankind but also in the history of evolution of the biosphere. Will occur or a collapse (the beginning of the descending branch), or break in some new zaplanetary space stage of development.

Secondly, in the last two years a number of planets in the Universe, including in our Galaxy, very similar to Earth in all respects is found. Already nearly half a century goes intensive search of signs of activity of extraterrestrial civilizations in the Universe. But the so-called paradox of Fermi "Silence of space" which is formulated in the form of a question remains in force: "And where they?". Because no signs of activity, at least indirect, existed. But recently indirect arguments of that all planetary centers of civilizations die away sooner or later – or at a biosphere stage, or at the stage comparable that we call the anthroposphere ampli-

¹ Chief Scientific Researcher, chief of the Centre of mega-history and system forecasting at the Institute for Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Professor at the International University "Dubna", Dr. Sc. (Philosophy), Candidate of Psychology. Editor-in-chief of 'History of Psychology and Sociology of History' journal. He is the author of over 350 scholarly works published in USSA, Russia, USA, Japan, China, Western Europe and Latin America, including: "Intelligence in the Universe: the origins, formation, prospects", "Aggressive Crowd, Panic, Rumours", "Psychology of Spontaneous Mass Behaviour", "Civilizational Crises in the Context of Universal History", "Anthropology of Violence and Culture of Self-Organization", "Evolution of non-violence: Studies in Big History, self-organization and historical psychology", "Nonlinear Future" and others. He is a member of World History Association.

fy. They don't maintain development of technologies and sooner or later themselves destroy.

We know that our civilization already repeatedly was on the verge of self-destruction, the last time about half a century ago. Now, in the XXI century, war isn't necessary in order that the civilization exterminated itself. There is a mass of other ways. In particular, we returned to a situation of the ancient Stone Age when the side between war and peace, between the weapon and other technologies is washed away. It is unclear that it is more terrible on destructive force – the tank or the modern fancy computer. The great English poet Eliot wrote: "quite so also the world – not explosion, and a whimper comes to an end". If in the XX century the world could end with explosion, now, in a century of "knowledge of mass defeat", the history of a planetary civilization can come to the end with a whimper. Unfortunately, politicians of it don't realize. Now in the Center of megahistory and system forecasting of Institute of oriental studies we prepare some offers for the Russian government of how to change accents of foreign policy activity that it became more effective. Those politicians who the first will manage to be released from personal, party and national ambitions and to come to a problem of preservation and restoration of stability of global geopolitical system, will get big advantages both in actual, and in a long-term plan. If the policy remains such what it now, that is focused on national interests of the countries, the human civilization won't worry the XXI century. The English astronomer Martin Rees published the book "Our final century" ("Our last century") in which he estimates our chances to worry the XXI century – 50:50 10 years ago. We then gave the same assessment, but in the second decade of the XXI century, unfortunately, the geopolitical system went racing. Everything became prompt to worsen. As the psychologist, I can tell that the whole world is struck by powerful mental epidemic to which the modern philosopher and the political scientist Peter Sloterdijk gave the name "mass complex of a katastrofiliya" – melancholy for small victorious wars, for sharp events and experiences. It is worse, than fever the Ebola and all other infections because mental epidemic is much worse realized. If in the next years it isn't possible to make sober sharply politicians in all corners of Earth – in Russia, America, in the Middle East and so on, to switch them from patriotic slogans which inherently are defense, to global cosmopolitan outlook, on problems of preservation of a world civilization, most likely, it is necessary to recognize that Martin Rees differed in big and unjustified optimism, as well as we 10 years ago.

G. M. GATILOV: – Thanks a lot. Now I want to give the floor to mister Anton Bebler.

Anton BEBLER: – I will stop on one of subjects of our discussion. In the last two years there were four crises anyway connected with Ukraine. Two of them burst in Ukraine and two can be defined as the interstate conflicts. At each case it is some aspects, but I will tell only about one aspect of the conflict between Ukraine and Russia. We proved from strength when the status of the Crimea and Sevastopol was changed. The European Union and other countries accused us that actually we made aggression, violated the charter of the UN, the Helsinki agreements and some more other interstate arrangements. The fact of change of

the status of the Crimea is called differently. In documents of NATO it is qualified as aggressive action, the Ukrainian government – as aggression and annexation. And in the Russian Federation it is described by the word "reunion". Reunion with the Russian Federation. The difference shows in terms, what significance is attached to this event.

On the "Crimean" subject, naturally, expressed not only politicians, but also members of the media. In particular, said that the action of the Russian Federation concerning the Crimea returns in the European relations policy from force position that the period of peaceful development on the continent comes to the end with restoration of spirit of cold war, and it was made by the Russian Federation in the form of return of such policy. But we can claim that the policy from force position never disappeared, including in Europe, and in actions of the European states outside the continent. I won't mention colonial wars which were waged once. In recent years there were attacks from France and Great Britain against Libya and Egypt, Great Britain against Iraq etc. It were acts of the armed approach. And the list of examples when strong-arm tactics from the USA was used around the world, rather long, I won't reproduce it. But the statement that return of the Crimea to the Russian Federation – this action from force position, is deprived of the bases. In Europe already there were agreements when territories came back from one country to another, there were also wars, for example in Slovenia. Manifestations of policy from force position in Europe proceed. Both the Ukrainian government, and the authorities Georgia resorted to it.

The second statement consists that reunion of the Crimea was represented by the first carriers of change of the state status in Europe. But in the XX century it is possible to observe two options of change of interstate borders on the continent. The first was carried out after World War II when borders of Italy and Austria were moved. Change by the second option happened after the end of cold war: falling of the Berlin wall, democratization of the socialist block and disintegration of the Soviet Union. At that time four states disappeared from the map of Europe – the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union, the Federal socialist Republic Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. Instead there were 29 states, 23 from which gained the international recognition. The others in essence are also the European states, but weren't generally recognized yet. I counted more than 40 transfers of interstate borders in Europe for this period. And changes of border between Russia and Ukraine on the Recop – only one of many cases.

But the first violent change of borders between the states after World War II was made by European countries when the Turkish army attacked Cyprus, took part of its territory and founded the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. This state exists still. Other violent change of border and the status of the whole state happened in the center of Europe: GDR was actually annexed by the Federal Republic of Germany, the western border of GDR disappeared and the new eastern frontier of Germany was established.

It is possible to draw a parallel between reunion two Germany and reunion of the Crimea with Russia. In both of these cases we have the agreement of two states caused by the right for self-determination. Both reunions were realized without the victims, according to article 8 of the Helsinki act and were supported by the majority of local population.

Of course, there are also distinctions, but now I speak about the general features.

In Europe there is a precedent which result was an emergence of the independent state, but it was made violently. In 1999 NATO made attack to the Federal Republic Yugoslavia. Of course, the Crimean case has certain analogies to Kosovan. Both was violation of territorial integrity of the states, office with use of force, without the permission of the UN Security Council. But in both cases the principle of self-determination according to the Helsinki agreements was implemented, and changes were supported by most of the population that referenda confirmed. And, above all distinction between two of these events – absence and presence of the victims. If the Crimea reunited with Russia without bloodshed, the office of Kosovo costed several thousand lives. Significantly and that reunion of the Crimea caused nobody economic damage.

Thus, when we speak about change of the status of the Crimea, it is necessary to do it in the context of comparison with other events occurring on the European continent.

G. M. GATILOV: – Many thanks, mister Bebler. I have only one note. Russia isn't in the conflict to Ukraine, and helps to find a way of resolution of crisis in the southeast of the country. In Ukraine there are different political forces: on the one hand, parties of war, with another – those who wants to achieve peaceful settlement. I think that during our discussion we still will return to this question.

Word to Elena Vladimirovna Kharitonova. Please.

E. V. KHARITONOVA¹: – As I represent Institute of Africa, I would like to remain within the perspective concerning this continent. In the countries of Africa we see the concentrated manifestation of those shadow administrative factors which are present and at other regions of the world. Among participants of Conference the same opinion, in my opinion, madam Nourhan El Sheikh adheres. In a form it, certainly, the conflict. But which? Conflict of interests? Or ideological war which is denied by mister Wiatr? Or this reflection of certain processes of globalization which include not only development of communication and transport technologies, but also concentration of control facilities and decision-making in one point?

That we call deficiency of leadership, can be considered as levels of management which can be found on the African continent. These levels. The first – world outlook, it can be shown in the form of influence of mass media, formation of ideology, system of valuable reference points. It that mister Wiatr, quoting Bush, calls “fight for souls of mankind”. We

¹ Senior Scientific Researcher of the Institute of African Studies of the RAS, Candidate of Psychological Sciences, associate professor. An author of more than 170 scientific publications, including: “Communication barriers: theory and practice (in the context of interpersonal and intercultural communication)”, “People in the corporation. Corporate culture in modern Russia”, “Zimbabwe is at a crossroad. Strategic “niche” in Russia in the multipolar World”, “Effective business communication in international business: the principle of “tuning” (On the example of Chinese diplomacy in Africa)”, “People in the organization (to the question about “anthropology” of Russian business)”, “About some criteria for international comparisons (On the example of the region of Africa to the south from the Sahara): experience of empirical research (to search of methodology and evaluation of comparative approaches in international comparisons)”, “China in Africa: is there is something to learn?” and others. Director of the Russian-African fund of scientific, cultural and business cooperation, a member of the Business Council Russia-South Africa, member of the coordinating Committee on economic cooperation with African countries.

know that this fight is reflected in many religions. The second level of management – financial and economic. We see how it in all completeness is realized in the form of sanctions in relation to Russia and the Russian countersanctions. Activity of the International Monetary Fund, various non-profit organizations than which becomes more increasing belongs to the same level. NPO – it not that other as a way of financing and support through grants of ideologically built activity, textbooks etc. Financial and economic influence is present at the countries of Africa constantly – in the form of humanitarian aid and creation of conditions which generate need for such help. The third level – the military: in the form of arms supplies, special military operations which are performed in the territory of this or that state.

As example of attempt to be exempted from financial and economic and world outlook influence Libya which sad destiny to all of us is known can serve. This destroyed state. Libya, without being the nuclear power, I tried to go beyond these three administrative contours, but I got under military influence. One of the moments was connected with that Muammar al-Kaddafi wanted to leave from under influence of a financial system of the West by means of issue of “gold dinar”, humanitarian projects, in particular, of the Great man-made river. The matter is that in a subsoil near the Nubian Desert huge reserves of fresh water were found, and by means of the Israeli technologies aqueducts were projected and under construction. It had to exempt Africa from financial and economic dependence on the West.

Attempt of association of Africa – and in the financial and economic relation, both in respect of safety, and for the solution of social problems which exist in very sharp form there was actually made. All this was stopped by rough military means. Nevertheless it was, certainly, the hybrid war including discredit of the leader, mass of information messages about a dictatorship about human rights violation. All this gives us an idea of model of the western impact on regions which fall within their scope of interests. I agree with the colleague El-Sheyj that is much bigger, than the cultural and civilization conflicts, today's reality are defined by the conflicts of interests even if they are represented as fight of ideologies or even cross-cultural dialogue. Behind it all should look for economic interests, in particular, the aspiration to possession of energy resources, and isn't so important, in what form they are embodied.

G. M. GATILOV: – Thanks for performance. The economic component of events in Libya isn't so widely known, mass human rights violation was formal justification. The same thesis is now used everywhere, including concerning Syria and still a number of the countries with the modes, objectionable I Will sink down.

Now I give the floor to mister Hans Köchler.

Hans KÖCHLER: – Within several decades after World War II there was a balance of forces in the two-polar world which was kept by two global superstates. Destruction of this balance of the USA was explained with advantage of the ideology. Under the same pretext of the USA apply for global leadership and use this situation to legitimize the actions in the spirit of war from force position. As a result we have full destabilization of a world order and military intervention in several countries, including

Iraq, Libya even earlier – the Balkans. All this consequences of political vacuum. Some of the Arab political movements in the countries of the Middle East achieved success, but their ideology disperses from official liberal ideology of the western countries. It concerns also my country – Austria, and in general the majority of the countries of Europe. Our ideologists believe that the western model of relationship between the individual and society differs from that in other civilizations. The individualism spread in the USA and Western Europe, already led to that we constructed "consumer society". The main idea – to enjoy life, disregarding consequences. Therefore we shouldn't be surprised, what not all countries of the world agree to such extreme form of individualism.

But we are haughty. We insist on the and we dispatch missionaries to train and retrain those who has other systems of values and in a different way sees relationship between the individual and society.

In the planetary scale of balance forces aren't present more. Now we are in process of approach to the multipolar world, but so far it unipolar. The UN in such conditions can't normally function because it was created after World War II as the organization of collective security which cornerstone the principle of controls and counterbalances without domination of any forces is. Now this security system ceased to work, and the countries arrive as consider it necessary for their national interests which disappear behind a mask of the ideological competition.

Today, in 2015, we see, what even the strong country has to get approval from the UN Security Council, differently its actions will be interpreted in a negative key. The security council by means of the veto can prevent these or those actions of any member state of the UN. Therefore I consider that the real balance of forces on a global scale won't be reached yet, the UN won't be able normally to work. Even more important that such states as the Russian Federation, China and other growing global superstates, coordinate the policy and operate in common on the international forums. Eventually it will lead to new balance of forces, and then the UN will be able to function better.

Some remarks concerning Ukraine. Last century the part of Ukraine was included into the Austro-Hungarian empire. And several months ago the prime minister of Austria proposed that Ukraine accepted the neutral status. It would mean that it shouldn't renounce the ambitions to join any international union or the regional organization. In this regard I will tell about experience of Austria. After World War I Tyrol was given to Italy. But this area is occupied not by Italians, but Tyroleans who speak German. It led to the long period of the intense relations and even civil resistance. Eventually the conflict was resolved by means of the agreement between Austria and Italy in which the status of a full and real autonomy of Tyrol was provided. The arrangement between two sovereign states became a solution.

In the same way it is possible to consider parts of east territory of Ukraine in which now there was a conflict situation. My concept of Ukraine – the state arranged on a federal, but not unitary basis.

And the last. When we speak about the right for self-determination, often we adhere to double standards. I consider that if in a certain territory people who ethnically differ from other population of the country live and have other traditions, and most of these people support political indepen-

dence, in this situation the principle of self-determination has to be applied. But this decision has to be made within all state, and differently the principle of preservation of integrity of the territory loses the force. We saw how the population of Scotland solved, whether they should separate from Great Britain while inhabitants of other regions about it weren't asked.

G. M. GATILOV: – I thank you, mister Köchler. Very interesting reasons, especially the example of Tyrol showing that similar problems can be solved by peaceful manner. I think that in a certain degree it is possible and in Ukraine.

As for the United Nations, I absolutely agree with you: she is often not capable to solve any burning issues. But still madam Thatcher said that the UN – this reflection of all nations, that is us therefore we can demand from this organization only that we introduce in it. And still there is a wish to remind the words told in due time by the second UN Secretary General mister Hammarshyold. He told that the UN is created not in order that the mankind got to paradise and in order that didn't roll down in a hell. From this point of view the organization nevertheless carries out the tasks though I absolutely agree: it needs to be reformed, and to make so that it answered and to the developed world realities, and those calls which the mankind at the moment faces more effectively.

I invite to a tribune of mister Shaukat Aziz.

Shaukat AZIZ: – The mankind faced various calls – diplomatic, economic etc. What contribution we can make in the solution of these problems?

The first. It turned out so that we live in the unipolar world, but the majority considers that multipolarity is necessary for steady growth. Thus we hope that transition to the multipolar world will happen peacefully, without blood and violence. How to make it? At the moment, when the group of the strongest countries or even one country solves for all, we can't change anything. This distortion automatically leads to weakening of the United Nations that doesn't allow to resist to development of some dangerous conflicts effectively. We, being citizens of the world, have to recognize it.

The second. We observe very disturbing tendency to growth of extremism and terrorism menacing to people in many regions of the world. Terrorist groups are formed by the different principles. We need to be focused on this danger and together to be engaged in everything in a solution. Terrorists come unclear from where, make the terrible actions and disappear in the unknown direction. They have no concrete habitat that considerably complicates their search. It is necessary that the whole world realized this danger and I estimated all its gravity.

The third. I think that is important to develop partnership between Russia and China as this cooperation would become a good counterbalance to the West. If it isn't, it will be very difficult to achieve the balanced multipolar peace. Therefore I hope that Russia and China will continue cooperation, will expand the contract on gas (it was very important step). It is the key moment of safety and stability in the world.

The fourth. In today's geopolitics use of military force doesn't achieve the objectives. Other types of influence therefore we have to seek for development of our econo-

mic potential are important. At strong developed economy we will be able successfully to resist to calls, including the military. It is necessary to make efforts on all directions.

And the last. A resolution of conflicts in conditions when the United Nations is already not so strong as earlier, becomes difficult business. Therefore we have to look for new approaches and methods. It is necessary to confer more powers to other international organizations, but also the UN can't be dismissed. The large countries, such as Russia, can play a significant role in strengthening of the UN, investment with its additional opportunities and powers that this organization became more effective. Now the Security council often makes tendentious decisions that can lead not to overcoming of problems, and, on the contrary, to their multiplication. Thanks for attention.

G. M. GATILOV: – I thank you, mister Aziz. The following acting – mister Piotr Dutkiewicz. I ask you.

Piotr DUTKIEWICZ: – I would like to share some thoughts. In recent months, more and more often we hear accusations against the West's double standards regarding the situation in Ukraine. To these reproaches should take a closer look closer. I think that is inappropriate to talk about double standards, because this approach is becoming the norm in international relations, and we must admit it. There was a change in the rules: the transition from the Code to a particular case, a precedent. We are increasingly deviate from continental Europe to the rights of the British system of law that each case is considered as a precedent, the basis for the new regulations.

Let's look at the Ukrainian conflict in terms of other cases. Canada follows the rule that we consider important: the country should have the right to defend themselves. This concept is a certain way "embedded" in the approach the UN Security Council. I think in the case of Ukraine, it could be argued that in the Crimea could happen bloody conflict if Russia had not intervened and prevented him. My suggestion is that the concept of responsibility, you can add the right to prevent escalation of the conflict, if it is clearly brewing, and it is possible to avoid a more or less peaceful means. No need to wait until there will be massive human rights violations, which will give an unconditional basis for intervention. Recognition of conflict prevention, in my opinion, is such an element that could be use as a justification for such actions as correct.

G. M. GATILOV: – I thank you, mister Dutkiewicz, for your short, but capacious comment. I would add your theses. Yes, it is necessary to protect, but it is also necessary to bear responsibility how you do it.

I give the floor to madam Nourhan El Sheikh.

Nourhan EL SHEIKH: – I have some questions which I would like to set and whenever possible to hear answers from the scientists who are present here. What today the most important conflicts which influence stability on a global scale? We can consider that the Ukrainian conflict, whether is it civil war? For example, on the Middle East the conflicts often lead to various complications. Today intensity in the relations between the West and Russia in big degree depends on a situation in Ukraine, and this conflict can't be resolved without cooperation with Russia.

And second question: whether we when that balance of forces about which mister Kyokhler told is reached have to wait? Or it is necessary to be focused on about what mister Aziz spoke – on the general calls? The whole world faces crises and terrorism so it is, maybe, better to concentrate attention on these problems? Possibly, it will lead to that the USA will change the policy and will become more tolerant concerning Russia. What opportunities are available to take the corresponding steps within the UN? Of course, we understand that the UN isn't the central point of decision-making, there are also other centers. How easily we can maneuver to affect the Pentagon, the Congress of the USA? When we speak about Ukraine, all is reduced to that is characters. One more question – as far as we can influence change of policy in the United States? Or we are compelled to wait until there in 2017 the president is replaced?

G. M. GATILOV: – Thanks a lot. Mosyakov Dmitry Valentinovich, please.

D. V. MOSYAKOV: – Thanks a lot for opportunity to make a speech at such interesting forum. I would like to return to the problems connected with crisis of modern model of globalization and with alternatives to this crisis.

How globalization thought? By what in general all this process was assumed? Many western authors describe it as something uniform and uniform. From their point of view, globalization is process of formation of liberal political model and liberal economic model, that is development of private economy and a mass culture on the basis of the western standards in those countries which participate in globalization.

Experience of the countries of the East shows that this option of globalization was not realized. Moreover, there absolutely other model now is actually realized. First of all it can be told about political processes: the liberal model practically anywhere in the east doesn't work. Moreover, if we look, what countries showed the highest rates of economic growth (and it is China, Vietnam, South Korea, Singapore), we will find out that all this the countries with authoritarian political regimes which substantially control a situation in society, understand clearly the purposes which they want to achieve, realize the national interests and, generally, rather consistently develop on this way. In these countries it is practically not felt even a hint on the movement towards liberal political model. Economic progress within process of national development was also made by those countries which didn't go on the way of development of private economy.

China, Vietnam, South Korea, Singapore and others quickly developing countries substantially practice the mixed economic model: on the one hand, private interest is used, with another – all key companies are under control of the state. For example in South Korea under the direction of Pak Chong Hee market reforms began with that all private banks were closed, export of the capital is stopped, five-year plans are accepted, the main economic directions where the state will use the efforts for development are defined. The same can be told about Singapore during a time of premiership of Li Chuen Yu. Those main directions in which Singapore achieved success – first of all the heavy industry, oil processing and so on – besides are in hands of the state. And today the state substantially regulates economic processes.

At last, the third process – formation of a mass culture, creation of a certain sociocultural field for globalization. There are difficulties because separate city striations in the countries of the East are substantially integrated into a framework of this culture while the vast majority of the population remains extremely far from new standards. This deep internal contradiction undermining a modernization vector in these countries. Therefore the conclusion arises: crisis of the modern world is connected with that today's option of globalization doesn't suit the country of the East.

Domination of the United States and development of global economy in their interests is more and more challenged in the east. However all is visible more distinctly that the modern model doesn't suit also the United States too. The problem is that in due time within process of modernization direct control of the countries of the West over development of the countries of the East – through system of colonies and protectorates was substantially provided, in the conditions of globalization there is no such supranational body which would control processes of political development in the countries of the East. If process of modernization covered practically all spheres – from a way of thinking before agrarian production, process of globalization is connected with rather narrow social circles. In the east it is possible to see how near up-to-date plant the peasant processes the earth a traditional plow.

In this regard there is a question: what's next? What model will succeed present which already now causes a lot of the conflicts? In my opinion, the idea of convergence quite reasonably was stated at Plenary session yesterday. The peace prospect of development in the global plan – is gradual evolution of model of globalization from option in which win mainly United States and other countries of the West, to more balanced model which would consider also the experience which is saved up in the countries of the East. These countries, from my point of view, are already now ready to offer the new principles of future model of the global world device.

G. M. GATILOV: – Thank you very much. An interesting view through a prism of the economic relations of interstate system. Really, the new economic centers in developing countries change a ratio of forces in the world.

Now mister Jerzy Wiatr acts.

Jerzy J. WIATR: – I have two comments on double standards, touched by Piotr Dutkiewicz. I agree with the statement stated here that the morals in policy are important. But, accepting it, we really have to aspire to avoiding double standards. However in the western press it is possible to see often how the same people welcome separation of Kosovo from Serbia and at the same time accuse Russia of accession of the Crimea. Or we condemn both of these acts as unacceptable, or we accept both, differently the morals are replaced with ideology and substitution of concepts. Therefore when I write about international policy, I try to avoid moral estimates and to represent a picture from the point of view of the conflict of national interests as it with bigger probability will allow to find approaches to overcoming of the conflict and reconciliation of the parties.

In general concerning the Crimea I agree with Anton Bebler's comment, but would like to add it. First of all, about an internal situation on the peninsula. It is known

that the Russian-speaking population of the Crimea in the 1990th years generally sought for reunion with Russia, regional elections which won the pro-Russian forces in particular testify to it. But the Russian Federation undertook 20 years nothing in this direction, and accepted a situation such as it developed: The Crimea appeared as a part of Ukraine, maybe, against the will of most of its population. I analysed this situation. Russia maintained the kind relations with Ukraine, it was more important, than to satisfy wishes of local population in the Crimea. But everything changed when Yanukovich's power failed. Of course, we have to recognize that the Ukrainian government was corrupted and in general unworthy, but such radical measure as overthrow, was unjustified. As a result nationalist forces and semi-criminal groups raised the head, it induced Russia to declare that after the Maidan the situation cardinally changed.

The situation really changed, it can be confirmed with concrete data. Nevertheless the West welcomed the anti-Russian forces which came to the power in Kiev. To understand it, we have to return to collapse of the American hegemony. After the end of cold war of the USA long dominated in the world, had sufficient potential to dictate the will. From this position they solved also the Kosovan conflict. In Russia at that time there was a period of easing, chaos and uncertainty therefore its protests weren't heard. Then war in Iraq was launched. The brilliant strategist Zbignev Bzhezinsky then told that Bush's administration made a catastrophic mistake. As a result of the Iraqi war hegemony of the USA began to weaken. At the same time Russia was restored, again took a place among the strong countries and began to oppose the USA. This factor has key impact though it is considered that the West still is the dominating force. Nevertheless this force is already called into question.

Kiev wanted to use a dominant position of the West. The understanding of it allows to understand also actions of Russia – radical change of the relations with Ukraine and determination to reunite with the Crimea. Generally it is result of that after the Maidan the alignment of forces radically changed. I can't tell that I completely approve it, but, being the analyst, I try to understand the reasons and I see this communication. I consider that now there is a possibility of a compromise, but the decision has to be beyond the local conflict. Acceptance by the western countries – the United States, the European Union – legitimate right of the Russian Federation has to become part of this compromise. I mean that Russia too has national interests, and they have to be recognized by all parties. Moscow has to declare it. Perhaps, the congress in Vienna would allow to agree finally about the world and how the balance of forces in Europe, especially in that, as for the relations between the large countries will be formed. Legitimate rights of all countries need to be respected, then it will be possible to resolve not only this conflict, but also more wide range of questions.

G. M. GATILOV: – I thank you, mister Wiatr. Now I would like to give the floor to mister Valur Ingimundarson. Please.

Valur INGIMUNDARSON: – I would like to continue discussion about the intensity which arose in the interna-

tional relations. What it is possible to make that the Ukrainian conflict stopped? The German experts too think of what opportunities for this purpose are, what status Ukraine can receive. Whether we will apply in this case the Bosnian option? However, in Bosnia not all develops well, but, perhaps, in Ukraine creation of a such autonomy will be more successful.

As for office of the Crimea, it, in my opinion, passed rather safely. Here it is necessary to consider all factors. If most of the population supported this process, it is quite justified. In the history there are precedents when similar issues were resolved by means of plebiscite, for example, in Quebec, East Timor, other post-colonial educations. Results of a referendum in Kosovo weren't recognized in spite of the fact that the majority voted for independence. That is this process of office of the territory quite difficult, and in this case, of course, it is necessary to consider interests of Russia. A referendum in such cases – the best technology as allows to learn public opinion, nevertheless it not the universal, not only way.

The office of territories is considered as threat to the national sovereignty therefore the governments aren't inclined to be reconciled with it. But if the right for self-determination exists, it is necessary to develop also the corresponding mutually acceptable rules of its realization. Serbia recognized Montenegro but when Kosovo tried to go in the same way, was refused under the pretext of that for such office there are no the established rules. If territories are divided according to the mutual arrangement, it usually happens easily and quickly, as in cases to East Timor, the Southern Sudan, etc. But when the countries participating in this process can't come to consent, it is necessary to resort to the help of other countries, the international organizations. A case with the Crimea just from this category conflict, in this situation it would be possible to be guided by rules in which all steps on settlement have to be stated. Therefore such rules need to be developed not to allow the similar conflicts in the future.

G. M. GATILOV: – It is given the floor to mister Shemyakin Yakov Georgiyevich.

Ya. G. SHEMYAKIN¹: – My performance will be partly a remark and continuation of that subject upon which Elena Vladimirovna Kharitonova touched. I in many respects agrees with it, the only thing, perhaps, that wants to be added: after all within this perspective it is impossible to underestimate civilization factors by no means. Because the first contour of management about what you speak – it, in general, ideology of human rights which is used everywhere, and for some reason it is put in the forefront. Just I would also like to mention this perspective.

The Universal declaration of human rights of 1948 is the cornerstone of modern option of ideology of human rights. And those who analyzed the text of this document,

¹ Chief researcher of the Centre of culturological researches of Institute of Latin America of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of historical sciences. Author of 200 scientific publications, including books: "Europe and Latin America: Interaction of civilizations in the context of a world history", "History of world civilizations. The XX century", "In search of sense. From history of philosophy and religion", etc.; articles: "To a question of methodology of civilization researches", "A border fancy: sociocultural projections", "BRICS in the light of civilization approach", etc. Member of editorial council of the scientific magazine of Lomonosov Moscow State University "Historical magazine: scientific researches".

in particular the American scientists, noted that it, undoubtedly, a product first of all the western civilization political legal tradition. Participation of representatives of other civilizations in its creation was almost imperceptibly and practically didn't leave any mark on the text of the Declaration. In particular, Glen Johnson, professor of Vassarsky college, in the anniversary edition of UNESCO wrote that preparation of the Universal declaration revealed considerable philosophical distinctions in understanding of human rights. However it is possible to note that the questions discussed at that time, and the points of view which found reflection in a final version of the Declaration, concern mainly a traditional European philosophical perspective.

Traditions in the field of the natural, positive, and also Marxist right strongly originate in evolution of the European legal philosophy. Non-European philosophical legal traditions which could offer other or additional conditions in the field of human rights, were seldom mentioned during the taking place debate. Even those members of the commission on human rights which, generally, both formed the text of the Declaration and represented the non-European countries, mostly had traditional western preparation or received it in the establishments created by representatives of colonial European powers in their own countries. Though sometimes also there were links to the ideas relating to non-European traditions, such as Confucianism or Islam, the general orientation on the European traditions in most cases dominated during discussion which preceded emergence of the Universal declaration of human rights.

So, that interpretation of human rights which is given in the Universal declaration, is limited to a framework of a certain civilization tradition. Perhaps, it is simple the matter is that the West in the person of the thinkers the first guessed these ideas? After all let's be consecutive. If these ideas are really universal, their treatment can't be simply limited to a framework of one civilization tradition. It would mean ignoring of real variety of the world of people. Absolutization of the western tradition about which I speak, is generally caused also by deeper reason connected with the general installation of founders of the text of the Universal declaration. Being inspired by idea of unity of mankind that, in general, it was quite clear in those conditions, they at the same time considered its variety obviously insufficiently. At such approach inevitably there is a danger to identify the universal beginning in life of people with characteristic features of that civilization which dominates on the planet. But the fact of such domination doesn't turn "western" into a synonym "universal" on the planet anywhere at all. The main, so to speak, lack of this universal text – is underestimation of a real variety of the human world.

In this regard, by the way, it was poorly developed a subject of guarantees of the declared rights that is quite natural as these guarantees are inherently caused in a bigger measure by a concrete situation of these or those countries and regions, that is that factor of variety. Whether in connection with the situation which developed then there was a need for further development, expansion, deepening of ideas of human rights and, certainly, about guarantees of these rights during interaction of various civilization traditions? Actually already then it was put and still the problem of a real universalization of these representations as a result of overcoming of civilization limitation at interpretation of the concept of human rights which was stated in the Universal

declaration continues to remain on the agenda. And, naturally, it is possible only as a result of real dialogue of bases of civilization traditions. Generally, task superdifficult, but, nevertheless, more than actual. It is necessary to tell that if to take a picture in general, on evolution steps, here this task is accurately traced. In documents of the UN the question of the importance of this organization, especially in activity of UNESCO that is quite natural because cultural spheres are more sensitive to realities of variety of the world of people is raised. Without recognition of its cardinal importance in general any conversation on culture is pointless.

Well and, of course, expansion of structure of the UN at the expense of the new states as a result of crash of colonial system played a role. The same Glen Johnson whom I mentioned, noted that change of the majority in the UN is explained by shift of priorities between the Universal declaration, performances, resolutions and the subsequent declarations in the field of human rights. Shift of priorities in activity of the UN and within the certain countries happened and happens in two main directions: this expansion and deepening of the social rights and an *aktsentirovka* of the importance ecological and the cultural human rights making perspectives. It should be noted that, nevertheless, this tendency develops very slowly, and on the way of expansion of interpretation of human rights constantly there are some obstacles.

In this regard I will remind one curious circumstance. Even at vote in the text of the Universal declaration on Art. 23 approving the right for work which as a result was adopted, one state voted against. The United States of America were this state, by the way. And this tendency, so to speak, of very guarded relation to attempts of expansion of the social rights remained, including in Western Europe. There are such documents as the European social charter (it is signed within the Council of Europe in 1961, it is reconsidered in the 1996th), the European charter on the basic social rights of workers (1989) which directly concern the social rights. Unlike the European convention on protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms (1950) they, generally, weren't incorporated in uniform legal system of the EU. By the way, Henry Markovich Reznik in the performance at plenary session mentioned this Convention as about an unconditional sample which should be followed in everything. This, so to speak, ideal embodiment of ideology of human rights.

In this regard I want to read some articles of the European convention on protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms in order that it was clear about what there is a speech.

Article 8. Right for respect of private and family life: "1. Everyone has the right for respect of its private and family life, its dwelling and its correspondence. 2. Intervention from the public authorities in implementation of this right isn't allowed, except for a case when such intervention is provided by the law and it is necessary in democratic society in interests of national security and a public order, economic well-being of nation, for prevention of disorders or crimes, for health protection or moral or protection of the rights and freedoms of other persons".

Article 9. Freedom of thought, conscience and religion: "1. Everyone has the right for freedom of thought, conscience and religion... 2. Freedom to practise the religion or belief is subject only to restrictions which are provided

by the law and are necessary in democratic society in interests of public safety, for protection of a public order, health or moral or for protection of the rights and freedoms of other persons".

Article 10. Freedom of expression of opinion: "Everyone has the right freely to express the opinion. This right includes freedom to hold the opinion and freedom to receive and distribute information and ideas without any intervention from the public authorities and irrespective of frontiers. The present article doesn't interfere with the states to carry out licensing of the broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises. 2. The implementation of these freedoms imposing duties and responsibility can be interfaced to certain formalities, conditions, restrictions or sanctions which are provided by the law and are necessary in democratic society in interests of national security, territorial integrity or a public order, for prevention of disorders and crimes..."

Article 11. Freedom of assembly and associations: "Everyone has the right for freedom of peaceful assemblies and for freedom of association with others... 2. Implementation of these rights isn't subject to any restrictions, except what are provided by the law..."

Conclusion following: The convention on protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms – is the document which, unlike the Universal declaration of human rights, accurately defines conditions under which these rights are limited. The main criterion, as you can see, consists in safety of the relevant state.

In summary it would be desirable to add that the concept of human rights now demands reconsideration in that context about which it was already told. And I suggest to include the right for identity in number, the register of fundamental human rights. Certainly, it not a universal master key; the statement of this right as one of the main makes sense only if is considered together with the rights for life and for freedom. But, nevertheless, that the right for freedom means? Only that person who has a core in soul can make a free, conscious choice, realizes himself. And anything else, except that tradition within which it was created can't be this core.

E. V. KHARITONOVA: – I would like to add some words. We say that many actions including aggressive, are carried out under noble slogans of introduction of democracy and protection of human rights much here. F. Fukuyama in the book said that liberal values and values of democracy are a wreath, so to speak, of human creation in areas of policy and public organization. At the same time now, for example, there is such concept as a cargo cult. I don't know, whether somebody heard about it. This term arose as follows: in the years of World War II the American plane made an emergency landing on one of the islands of Melanesia. And locals with great pleasure accepted gifts from Americans in the form of sweet drinks, chocolates etc. Then pilots repaired the plane and departed, and the natives who were in time to get used to it constructed the model of the plane of a reed and continued to worship to it.

Here the already many mentioned that the democracy needs some reconsideration. We speak both about the present, and about history. Still Aristotle said in due time that it is the good form of government until turns into demagoguery and phrase-mongering. Without being the ardent opponent of democracy, and being the person belonging to a world

civilization I would like to tell that worship of modern democracy definitely reminds that to a cargo cult. To that Yakov Georgiyevich Shemyakin spoke, I want to add that really continuous violations and human rights, both a freedom of speech, and freedom of personal privacy we can observe, including, in very civilized European countries. I think, for everything these facts are known. For example, persecutions on the BBC in England after exposure of the Iraqi program when data that at all and there were no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq were published. Perhaps, and actually wasn't. That is to speak, unconditionally to declare that somewhere the freedom of speech is, and somewhere it isn't present, probably, too safely and it is uncontested.

G. M. GATILOV: – For performance mister Michel Faillettaz is invited.

Michel FAILLETTAZ: – Thank you very much, Mr. President. As the representative of a small country (Switzerland) allow me to make a small contribution. As a young diplomat I was posted in Tehran in 1975, I then went on to the Yugoslavia. So I feel quite concerned about the discussions that we have had today that have referred to these various countries. A small country like Switzerland depends on a world environment that is safe and predictable. We can not really influence the actions of our big neighbors, let alone the biggest nations in the world. This environment should be guaranteed by strong international institutions like the UN for world security or the WTO for the organized trade in the world. And in Europe, on institutions like the OSCE that have existed for about 40 years. Yet, the OSCE did not prevent a conflict in Kosovo, nor did it prevent a dispute in Georgia and it didn't prevent the conflict in Ukraine either. So these institutions need to be reinforced. War, let alone a nuclear war, is not an option will never be one.

The G 20, the G 8 are institutions that are efficient, but efficiency does not bestow legitimacy as the President of the UN General Assembly of 2010, Mr Josef Deiss, said in his speech. So again the UN should be stronger and that's a point they you made yesterday Mr Chairman and this is the point that I made in my paper when I submitted it. What changes are possible, what changes are needed, this is the big question. Small nations can propose but it is only with the support of the big nations that they can be implemented. As the former prime-minister of Pakistan just said, we need strong leaders and I can only approve him. We need also to have confidence in countries that no double standards are applied and that no hidden agenda dictate their very conduct. And finally on to Switzerland and its neighbors: Our neutrality was confirmed at the Vienna Congress in 1815 and we are very grateful that Russia and Tsar Alexander 1st were very much active to help us having our neutrality granted by the then major world powers. We are a peaceful, federal state that wishes to live in peace externally with its neighbors and internally with a population sharing three different languages.

G. M. GATILOV: – It is given the floor to the political scientist from Italy mister Vincent della Sala.

V. della SALA: – My comments will concern performances of A. Bebler, P. Dutkiewicz and some other participants. The first: being the expert in the sphere of policy,

I carefully approach use of concepts because we use them sometimes not absolutely as it is necessary for an explanation of globalization, the sovereignty etc. If to speak about globalization, it is the fragmented process, but not something like that uniform and easily applied. We speak also about the unipolar, multipolar world. Besides not everything is so unambiguous. If there is no accurate, deliberate plan how to change a situation to the best, and some separate attempts are simply made, then we go deep into a situation when our interests aren't considered even more, and we don't manage to achieve the balanced peace. That is such impression is made that at us the orchestra which has no conductor turns out, and it complicates a situation. Someone told at plenary session that we have a deficiency of leadership. And so this concept, I think, doesn't allow such leaders to appear.

The second: at plenary session the ambassador of Mexico told that we can't one-sidedly enter globalization because one is pleasant to us, another isn't pleasant, that is it is difficult to tire out again this genie in a bottle as anybody, in fact, doesn't operate it from the uniform center. And process develops, and it includes a number of other processes. Also there is no one center, and one country has no opportunity to control or prevent globalization process, even difficultly to coordinate it. Even if to change to the best all these establishments and the organizations – "The big twenty", the international organizations existing on a constant basis and to that similar – this process not to stop. A question how to the countries to keep the sovereignty? The genie got out of a bottle, and process of globalization goes. What structure we as a result will receive, what we will create? We have to at least try to operate somehow this process, to direct it.

The third: process of globalization will be connected with the conflicts until there is a world consisting of the national states, that is the real world. Nevertheless we have also some idealistic world, there are groups of people who want that the situation with protection of human rights became better, advance some idealistic slogans, but it is quite difficult to apply all this on places.

Some words about Ukraine. I consider that from the European Union it was irresponsible to declare that Ukraine will be able to join it soon. Such statement is irresponsible because doesn't consider domestic policy of the European Union which has no aspiration to further expansion now irrespective of, there is at Ukraine a desire to join or not. Now improper time for expansion of the Union to include there also Ukraine. This statement is irresponsible because this idea can't be realized. There is more: the conflict between Ukraine and Russia concerns the European Union. It is necessary to consider that, most likely, the USA aren't so interested in deeper participation in destiny of Ukraine. They already not so are interested in this country, this conflict, they simply took the part of Europe as have no concrete decision. And the European Union, in turn, nods to America to attract it to the solution of the concrete conflicts. I consider, we need to mature in this regard. We have to look really at a situation and consider it as adult, wise people.

G. M. GATILOV: – Thanks, mister della Sala. I think that if events in Ukraine went in other way, the country, maybe, already and was in the European Union because then there were negotiations as you know, and everything

was possible. Now, of course, situation absolutely another. It is given the floor to mister Reznik Henry Markovich.

H. M. REZNIK: – I will be hooked for concept of convergence which was mentioned here by the colleague Dmitry Valentinovich Mosyakov. It is known that in due time about convergence our great compatriot Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov wrote, reflecting on the world, intellectual freedom and progress. To speak about convergence at an economic level as it seems to me, in general it is unproductive because these economic models from the ideological sphere went to area of pure technology. There are different models which change, and in the democratic states, for example, there are periods when decisions are made, other question – reasonable they or not, and presence of the state at economy amplifies. There are such situations when it is staked on private business. And in general I would tell that, probably, the process happening in the last some centuries in the economic sphere can be defined as competition, so to say, of liberal and social ideas. Badly when one idea completely devours other idea.

At plenary session the academician Bogomolov told that now presence of the state at economy is rather noticeable, and illustrated it for some reason with such example that to 60% of taxes raises the state. That is, as it seems to me, it was the argument which isn't absolutely confirming it the thesis (with which I in principle agree) because in this case it is about distribution, but not about participation in production. Happened so that the states in due time as we know, really resorted to it. For example, activity of the president Roosevelt in America, or model of the state corporation in South Korea; as a matter of fact, now we have such stage. All this, in general, really is defined by a reasonable choice of strategy and, I repeat, pours out in that taxes can decrease or increase. About what convergence it is possible to speak here? In general, as it is represented to me, the direct task of each government consists in creating such situation that the rich didn't steal and poor honestly worked and that poor not especially envied the rich.

Now some words relatively already other sphere – the sphere cultural, valuable. Whether convergence is possible here? I answer – it is impossible. It doesn't mean that there has to be a state of war between different systems of values. We with lord Moynihan remembered yesterday anniversary – this year 800 years of the Great charter of liberties which was accepted in 1215 are executed. And for the West as concepts not regional, but social, these values – the basis on which society developed, is those values for which as it is represented to me, in general it is possible to go to fight and even to be lost. I in the report very attentively analysed about what spoke to me, and for this purpose it wasn't necessary to read articles of the European convention.

You know, British have such proverb: "To learn taste of a pudding, it is necessary to eat it". I have one advantage, and, maybe, it and a shortcoming in comparison with attendees because narrows the sphere of my reasonings a little: I in the European Court of Human Rights give six years lectures on observance of Art. 10 of the Convention on protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms – this right for freedom of expression of opinion. And in this regard what accents are placed? The matter is that all norms which are written down in the European convention, are formulated in legislations and constitutions of all countries

which are included into the Council of Europe. I already paid attention that these norms are and in the Constitution of Russia because the conventional principles and norms of international law are a component of legal system of the Russian Federation and have political character.

In what business? Why with such difficulties the Council of Europe was formed and with such work the European countries went under jurisdiction of the European court? All have public interests: these are interests of state security, territorial integrity, health of the population, public moral – everything is formulated. But when say that public interests and human rights – *ravnopolozhenny* that is values identical that the balance consists in balance – it wrong from the point of view of just European right, because norms on human rights that, by the way, follows from International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, these are norms principles. And public interests which are, and they aren't invented and really very important in order that in society there was a law and order that society developed, are restrictions of these principles. Here it is necessary to place very important emphasis: these interests have to be as it is written down in standards of the European convention, not only are provided by the law without fail, but also are accepted and necessary in democratic society.

The European Court of Human Rights to which I give a firm positive mark, shows us how decisions in concrete cases have to be made. Absolutely correctly the colleague Dutkiewicz said that in general the solution of each question in the European court case, and it optional precedent which creates new norms. The European court shows us, how difficult piece justice. You know that according to Art. 10 "Freedom of expression" extremely seldom judgments are made *konsensusno*: 7: 0 in Chamber – it is a rarity, most often 5: 2 it is also not single 4: 3, because this matter exclusively difficult. And the states which are included into the Council of Europe, strongly take offense when some decisions are passed thus: in general by the law it was provided, but you know, children, you were fond here, it is impossible to limit human rights so.

You know, who the leader among the European countries which don't like the European Court of Human Rights? What country now focuses attention on holding a referendum and to leave from under jurisdiction of the European court for the reason, what it how the head of this country is expressed, establishes judicial imperialism? Great Britain – here that country which 800 years ago accepted *Ioann Bezzemelny's* Charter, which anniversary we this year have to note. The mother Russia too doesn't lag behind: when the European court refuses to recognize political motivation in the first business of Khodorkovsky, we clap to it and when he passes the decision that it is impossible to violate so a private property, the right of minority shareholders, we, of course, make a helpless gesture.

The matter is that when the decisions violating human rights, decisions on the interstate relations are made all this concerns national interest. In general it is necessary to think, whether it is valid decisions which are made by people in power, correspond to national interests? I have absolutely reasonable judgment that is not about national interests, and about features of development of thought in some national imperious heads. And therefore I can only tell that the western civilization can't reconcile to mass human rights violations which happen in other countries though they don't

treat it. But there are different countries, for example, powerful China, what with it will make? Therefore events on Tiananmen Square were swallowed, and genocide which was arranged in Yugoslavia by Milosevic, – No. And still it should be noted that the powerful blow to international law was struck by invasion into Iraq. Why? Because in the head of the specific president of the United States of America whether something closed, whether the offense for the father emerged – different versions were invented in this respect. Generally, the lie was the basis for this invasion into Iraq. I repeat, it was very powerful blow to international law. But after all it is better when in the head of the government there are cynical pragmatists, than religious fanatics.

In summary I will note that it was pleasant to me in our discussions: that we didn't get deeply into history, didn't dig somewhere in a classical antiquity and didn't remember any ancient campaigns. Why? Because to me very much to liking Norbert Wiener's phrase: "The farther deep into, the weight is less". We have to solve rationally those problems which arise, to discuss. And, of course, criticizing each other, we shouldn't claim that someone from us is better, someone is worse, and it is simple to say that we others, so far others. After all I think, freedom and dignity of the personality will gain recognition worldwide. But I won't manage to live in this wonderful time, certainly. Thanks.

G. M. GATILOV: – Thanks a lot, Henry Markovich, I in many respects with you agree and very glad that you gave an example of the United Kingdom because it really proves that justice – is a matter very difficult and, as if we resisted, after all the politized. And I agree that A. S. Zape-sotsky in the performance told: yes, both the European Court, and the Council of Europe – is all organizations politized and it is necessary to reconcile to it.

H. M. REZNIK: – Gennady Mikhaylovich! I can tell specifically, according to what decisions of the European court the countries entering into the Council of Europe are indignant. Sometimes it reminds even some childhood. Therefore when controversial issues are discussed, unfortunately, very often the representative of Russia is compelled to make consensus decisions on affairs, painful for our country. Why? Because court this independent. And it has to be that. Such courts has to be more, and now by an example of the European Court of Human Rights, the Council of Europe there is a whole world, but only on human rights. Are already created the Interamerican court on human rights, the African court on human rights and the people. And it is very actual. By the way, the question of creation of Islamic and Asian courts on human rights is discussed. There have to be bodies in which it is possible to come and discuss the interests. The right and court – it as it seems to me, necessary tools of the modern world.

G. M. GATILOV: – Allow to state some words on this perspective. Citizens of Russia make many complaints in the European Court of Human Rights, including private, to us inquiries constantly come and we answer them, coordinating with all departments, giving the argument etc. I agree with the opinion which is already expressed here that if we assumed obligations under conventions and participation in certain organizations, are obliged to carry out them. If we don't want it to do, it isn't necessary to leave in a huff and

to say that we won't execute them, it is necessary to do it in a civilized way, for example by an exit of the agreement. But until then provisions, charters need to be observed.

A. P. NAZARETYAN: – Henry Markovich began the performance with the statement that convergence in the field of values is impossible, and finished with that it is necessary and will be carried out actually (due to acceptance of uniform system of values).

In the theory of systems the law of hierarchical compensations which says works that growth of a cumulative variety of system is provided with unification of the bearing substructures. In order that the system developed, a variety of substructures has to be limited. This law works in physics, chemistry, linguistics, sociology etc. If domination of universal values, the rights isn't provided, there can be the following situation: we build the state, and nearby there lives the tribe, for example, of Apaches. As well as to all traditional tribes, them it is necessary to come to a war track periodically. Or we civilize it, we adapt for our system of values, or we will have to arrange in a reservation. The optimum scenario of preservation of a civilization assumes that bases will be accepted, differently interaction will be conflict.

H. M. REZNIK: – Important point: the countries which recognize its jurisdiction appeal to court. It is a contract question if the countries consider that the court to which they trust is formed and where can solve the problems, they in it address. If don't trust – No.

G. M. GATILOV: – It is given the floor to mister Tolochko Pyotr Petrovich.

P. P. TOLOCHKO: – Both yesterday, and today at our forum the subject of Ukraine sounds. A refrain passes thought that is the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Let's be honest: it is the conflict not between Russia and Ukraine, and between interests of Russia and interests of the EU, NATO and the USA. I don't understand, what interests the USA can have for 12 thousand kilometers from the border, but quite I realize interests of Russia. The conflict already got ugly forms, and after all it could not be. On February 21, 2014 V. F. Yanukovych with mediation of the European ambassadors signed the act of capitulation and agreed to hold early elections. If our mladorevoluyt-sioner and their euroamerican mentors would have enough patience, the conflict wouldn't be in general, the Crimea would remain as a part of Ukraine and on Donbass there would be no war. But they didn't want to wait, as detonated the subsequent crisis.

One of the acting told that a problem of the big countries – to prevent the conflicts. I would tell more specifically – not to interfere and not to "warm" the conflicts. But the conflict in Ukraine was "warmed", in particular mad-am Nuland distributed pies on the Maidan and acted from high tribunes. The conflict in the Southeast resulted. Originally the Southeast (where live 8 million Russian-speaking people) made demands of preservation of Russian and economic and territorial independence. They were called terrorists, declared anti-terrorist operation and sent to this region of army. But the euroamerican mentors had to tell that it isn't necessary to do it, it is necessary to solve the

conflict peacefully. This war already claimed tens of thousands of the lives. Now still there is a chance peacefully to agree. Leaders of Donetsk and Donbass declare that don't want to be disconnected from Ukraine, ask only the federal status for the areas. After all Europe is organized on federal principles (it is considered that it is good). Why for Ukraine it is bad? Leaders of Donbass made such statements, it seems to me, not without influence of Russia (that is Russia took place the part of a way). Now have to fulfill the obligations of the country of a Norman format, or Europe and the USA. They have to prompt to the wards that those entered direct dialogue and tried to solve the conflict peacefully. How differently to conduct negotiations if there is no direct contact? In the territory of Ukraine there was a conflict of global interests of Russia and euroamericans – here and there has to be an outcome. I am sure that future victims can be avoided and this center of intensity in Europe will go out by itself.

G. M. GATILOV: – Mister Ahmad Iravani is invited to a tribune.

Ahmad IRAVANI: – I want to begin the performance with the note concerning policy of double standards, morals and moral. Islamic revolutions which I observed, and other revolutions around the world – it is part of essence of the power. If the person receives the power, he is ready to sacrifice a lot of things for the sake of the power. For example, communistic, socialist parties, the Islamic, democratic governments – as if we called them – everywhere protect the power. So, in Syria Russians, Americans and others, but the price – lives of Syrians take part in the conflict. They speak about the national interests. Here it is necessary to carry out distinction – analyzing internal problems of the certain country, it is possible to draw a conclusion that these countries more democratic and people have more opportunities for realization of the rights there. But the situation is far from an ideal. In the USA the black population still suffers, the situation is far from an ideal. In the countries in which the freedom of speech and freedom in general is broken, in power there are dictators who play democratic games – there a situation another.

Today, in a century of informatization, positive tendencies were outlined: the movement towards civil society, non-profit organizations and many people are created come from abroad to protect the right for expression of the opinion. Many countries can't embody completely this aspiration to freedom, but the countries which want to limit access for the citizens to information, aren't capable to make it any more.

G. M. GATILOV: – To a microphone mister Alexander Tsinker is invited.

A. B. TSINKER¹: – I as the deputy of the Knesset from 2000th years often visit the countries of Europe by invita-

¹ Director of Institute of the CIS countries and Eastern Europe (Tel-Aviv), the vice-chairman of Coordination council of the organizations of the Russian compatriots in Israel, Doctor of Philosophy. Deputy of the Knesset of the 15th convocation (1999–2003). Conducts research and expert and analytical activity in the field of studying of countries of Eastern Europe and the CIS, a subject of the expert analysis: international relations, the CIS countries and processes of war and peace in the Middle East, interference of slavich-christian and jewish cultures and mentality in the CIS countries and Israel.

tions of the Ministries of Internal Affairs for the purpose of the analysis as issues of integration of big groups of the population of the countries of the former Soviet Union are resolved. It should be noted that than further, problems of self-isolation are more and more aggravated with that. We observed it in many countries of Europe, in particular in France recently.

When one of speakers spoke about integration in the modern world, it should be noted that globalization of a mass culture isn't realized. And than further, that the situation only worsens.

I head the center which is engaged in studying of electoral systems. We repeatedly visited Ukraine since "orange" revolution of 2004. Polemic, including on the Internet is constantly conducted. I asked a question why in Ukraine there was a problem with Russian – after all there lives a large number of Russian-speaking people. I was answered: "Imagine if in Israel spoke the Arabic language". I want to notice that from the moment of formation of the state in Israel two state languages – Arab and Hebrew. Why Ukraine, considering a large number of the people speaking Russian is afraid of it?

I want to address to jurists-lawyers. Recently as a part of international mission of observers (into which Europeans generally entered) I visited Nagorno-Karabakh. In the press wrote about non-recognition of results of elections much. But 24 years there is this territorial education in which there live people. There are two alternatives: or gangsterism when unclear who directs this territory, or elections in the course of which choose the power (from all supervision across the CIS the most transparent elections passed in Nagorno-Karabakh). And if tomorrow the Minsk group or representatives of other organizations wants to solve the problems connected with this unrecognized republic at least is with whom to speak, behind the power there are people which chose it. Our organization went there not to recognize this republic, and to look as technologically pass elections. Honor laws on elections in all countries identical, they are perfectly written. In this republic even the opposition didn't declare falsifications that, generally, is often observed in other CIS countries. In Nagorno-Karabakh it is impossible to resolve an issue if the head (by the way, already there really everything passes the sixth elections lawfully) doesn't participate in negotiations. How it is possible to solve a problem, when there is no the representative of the country? It would be interesting to jurists.

G. M. GATILOV: – It is given the floor to mister Grzegorz Kolodko.

Grzegorz W. KOLODKO: – That occurs, is defined by essence of the countries and reasons of political safety. Today there came chaos time when we expect a new world order. It not the end of cold war. The new order is established because there are phenomena which it was a few years ago impossible to provide, in particular it "the Arab spring" and the Ukrainian syndrome, financial and economic crisis in the USA.

Russia should remember measures which it took at the end of existence of the Soviet Union. Then GDP of the Soviet Union was three times more, than GDP of China, and now a situation the return. The Polish economy is three times more now, than economy of Ukraine (earlier Ukraine

was three times more economically strong, than Poland). This directs at certain reflections.

The European Union looks at China, at war, Saudi Arabia supported by the USA, and other centers of instability. And here we shouldn't follow short-sighted leaders who define policy. The conflict between China and Taiwan shouldn't be kindled as sanctions, deterioration of an economic and political situation are possible. About Samos, the dictator of Nicaragua, it was said that he can be the son of a devil or the witch. But it is our witches or a devil. These villains were patronized by the strong countries in due time. Such situation it has to be finished, it shouldn't be welcomed by the USA and Europe which fight for democracy.

Now there came the period of irretrievable globalization. Globalization assumes that we are interdependent, interconnected and have to solve problems together in policy, culture, economy etc. We have to look for answers to questions of the organization of a new world order. From this point of view it is necessary to consider ways of achievement of positive balance between the market and the state intervention. It is necessary to bring this problem with national to the international level that is much more difficult than that we do now in Europe, and that we did at the time of cold war.

It is necessary to think over the project, design of a new world order. Russia has to be considered as the important party which makes the contribution to formation of model of a new world order. Russia has both resources, and military force, it remains the member of council Bezopasnosti of the UN. The economy of Russia now is less, than the economy of Brazil, respectively is less and its contribution to the world GDP. Nevertheless the pragmatism has to take a corruption place. All discussions have to lead to creation of necessary institutes and organizations which will help to develop measures for recovery from the crisis.

We spoke about democracy, economy in Russia and Poland. Now we reflect on how to operate modernization, democratization, including in my small, but great country of Poland. We achieved a certain success if to compare a situation in Poland to a situation in Hungary, in Ukraine or in Russia. Of course, there can be many opportunities for manipulations, deception, fondly to believe that everything will be solved automatically. We have to realize that such the economy based on knowledge and honesty. The market economy has to be included in a new world order.

G. M. GATILOV: – It is given the floor to mister lord Colin Moynihan.

Colin Berkeley MOYNIHAN: – First of all I want to touch upon a subject of double standards and national interests. The double standard – this application of the different principles in an identical situation. People call into question national interests (data of School of the international relations) more and more. Politicians around the world have to interpret, more accurately announce the purposes, ambitions which they are going to reach in the field of national interests. We try to leave from the unipolar world and to pass to the multipolar world. Reality such is that now we live in other world, especially if it is about social levers and interactions. These means gave more power to each individual. Politicians have to consider it in the actions, besides,

we have to involve mechanisms for closer interaction within the international relations.

Some words about the international relations and Russia. There have to be more moments which unite us, than that divide us. Now all are excited by a problem of the international terrorism. We together with Russia have to continue fight against this evil that will make our relations more important. Besides, the question of the conflicts in Syria, Iran and other countries is on the agenda.

The Arctic question is also very important now. It is necessary to isolate separate problems and to solve them gradually. In such situation it is better to look for the general, than to be focused on distinctions. Meetings in Sochi which took place this week, will promote too progress in search of the correct decision. We live in the world in which there are many problems. They can't be solved in the uniform way, it is necessary to consider a variety by search of decisions, using dialogue and cooperation. All will win if approach in common the solution of problems to look for a common ground, than to be focused that divides us.

G. M. GATILOV: – Mister Miguel Moratinos is invited to a tribune.

Miguel Angel MORATINOS: – I with interest listened to performances and I want to tell the following in connection with Ukraine and the European Union. I completely agree with the Italian colleague of della Sala who spoke about responsibility of the European Union in the statement of the opinion. The EU has to recognize that it had no real intentions to include Ukraine in the European Union. It was a mis-statement. But such situation is inadmissible because people have to approach responsibly statements of this sort, especially those who make statements on behalf of the organizations, the unions, reflect opinions of those who makes decisions.

On Likhachov conference the good atmosphere which promoted productive discussion of problems was created, questions of observance of human rights, etc. were brought up. My fears are caused by that in spite of the fact that we meet every year, the general situation only worsens. Between the West and the Islamic world it isn't possible to find the general common ground. Each conference is held in a situation which becomes more difficult. Perhaps, we do something not and have to concentrate on decisions and offer concrete measures which can be applied in the Middle East, will help to solve the conflict between Israel and the Arab world. It is necessary to stop further development of terrorism. Efforts of the Western world and other participants of dialogue have to be focused that we solved the Ukrainian crisis, a situation in Yemen, Libya, Iran.

Such relations will completely change a paradigm. It is necessary to concentrate efforts on those moments which will help to improve a situation, to overcome confrontation. Every time when we meet (not very well where – in Europe, here, in Moscow, Madrid), we state complication of a situation. Our colleague Aziz told that even if military means will be applied, bin Laden is killed, losses will be filled, others will come to their place, "Al-Qaeda" will continue to extend. How the similar organizations ("The Islamic state" were called, etc.), something is necessary more effective, differently we won't correspond to those aspirations, ideas

which were advanced by Likhachov. Unfortunately, yet it isn't possible to reach improvement of a situation.

In particular, on Likhachov conference conference the offer to reform the UN was stated. This process goes more than 15 years, but, unfortunately, cardinal reforms wasn't carried out. The new multilateral forum which would be devoted to a question of transition from unipolar to the multipolar world is necessary. What it is specifically necessary to do? What steps will be effective? We shouldn't allow that Pandora's box was open that will aggravate a situation, can lead to a war etc.

G. M. GATILOV: – It is given the floor to mister Chereshev Valery Aleksandrovich.

V. A. CHERESHNEV: – I want to tell some words about the Crimea. I have many relatives in Sevastopol, and since 1950, more than 60 years, annually visit the city in which I studied. My friends, captains of the first rank who served many years after association of Russia and the Crimea told: "The brilliant decision was made. We worried when on the Maidan declared and is glad claimed that Russian will disappear in the Crimea and Sevastopol and it is time to bring an order: full Ukrainization etc.". That would occur, Odessa on May 2 when 48 people were burned showed. In Sevastopol 80% of the population – Russian-speaking, 10% speak the Tatar language, 20 thousand are made by armed group and the Black Sea fleet.

Today spoke about Nevsky Avenue, called it the prospectus of stability etc. But at the same time it is the prospectus of conservatism and belief. Very few people know that about ten times renamed Nevsky Avenue. The first time before revolution – Nikolayevsky Avenue in honor of Nicholas I. Then it was called the prospectus on October 25, then – Revolyutsii Avenue. In 1948 the Leningrad Soviet made the decision that Nevsky Avenue won't rename any more because the people don't perceive new names.

Section subject – "National models of the vital device". The natural science is a powerful component of any vital device. At a meeting said that Russia often makes non-standard decisions. Creation of Academy of Sciences was one of such decisions. Peter I in the illiterate country where there were only two higher educational institutions (and both had a church focus: Spassky schools in Moscow and Kiyev-Mogilyansky academy), I made the decision to create Academy of Sciences. The tsar of 25 years bore this idea, four times met Leibniz, visited the London royal society (Royal Society), the German and Parisian academies (Peter I was elected the academician of the German and Pa-

risian academies of Sciences). He made the decision to create everything at once: both university, and lyceum, and academy one decree. But where to take shots? From Europe: Peter I invited 17 young foreign scientists, 13 academicians, 4 graduated in a military academy and declared them the St. Petersburg academy of Sciences. Then war of interests as didn't elect ours etc.

In the most hard times the Academy of Sciences showed that follows the charter, rules and makes non-standard decisions. By the way, it showed also the London royal society which in the 1930th years contrary to everything elected Kapitza the full member (not honourable and foreign). An example was set by Russia: in 1843 the St. Petersburg academy of Sciences elected lord Roderich Impi Murchison, the full member of the London royal society (who on the basis of researches of minerals in the Urals came to a conclusion that in the history of Earth there is a Permian Period; in 1945. The Parisian academy of Sciences approved this name), the academician. As the full member it received an extra charge of the ordinary academician until the end of life. Last year his memories of stay in Russia were published. Two years Roderich Impi Murchison conducted field works, met geologists and simple people. It described the life, midges, winter, the Russian people and so forth. Three times the researcher met Nicholas I, uncountable number of times – the president of Imperial academy of Sciences Sergey Semenovich Uvarov.

Roderich Impi Murchison, in particular, writes: "In the middle of such people the thought of not opportunities and difficulties disappears. There was a weather dry or wet, hot or cold, never was any grumble. And only one word was the only answer of these courageous, simple, remarkable, beautiful people always – it 'is possible'". Everything can be achieved and reached, it is only necessary to set the noble, high purposes and them to reach desire of all society.

G. M. GATILOV: – On this positive note we finish our section. I want to thank all participants (all 23 persons acted) for interesting messages. Our discussion was open and frank and showed that there are various opinions in the field of development of the international community and the relations between the states. There are problems which should be solved. But at the same time there are exits by which we have to be guided, and solutions of tasks which we can achieve through joint efforts. Special gratitude as the person state and holding administrative positions, I want to express to academicians, to scientific community which is interested treats all events in the world and tries in return to help us to solve problems. To new meetings!

INDEX OF NAMES

- Akayev A. A. 14, 186
Akufo-Addo Nana 17
Ardakani Reza Davari 21, 175
Aziz Shaukat 24, 179, 202
Bassam Abu Abdullah 27
Bauer Tamash 29
Bebler Anton 31, 200
Bogomolov O. T. 35, 190
Chereshnev V. A. 177, 212
Davydov D. V. 159
Dutkiewicz Piotr 41, 188, 203
El Sheikh Nourhan 43, 195, 203
Failllettaz Michel 47, 207
Fujita M. 159
Galbraith James K. 48, 184
Gatilov G. M. 52, 175, 198, 200–201, 203–205, 207, 209–212
Goligorsky Yu. 55
Grinberg R. S. 58
Guerrero Ruben 61, 184
Guseinov A. A. 65, 185
Gusman M. S. 68, 183
Hajiyev G. A. 70
Ingimundarson Valur 71, 204
Iravani Ahmad 74, 195, 210
Kent Thomas 78, 193
Kharitonova E. V. 201, 206
Kleiner G. B. 80, 196
Kolodko Grzegorz W. 83, 181, 210
Köchler Hans 85, 190, 201
Lamba Alka 89
Lektorsky V. A. 92, 192
Lisitsyn-Svetlanov A. G. 94, 182
Littlejohn Gary 96
Makarov E. I. 182
Malakhov V. A. 99
March Juan Antonio 101
Mohaghegh Ahmadabadi Seyyed
Mostafa 104, 191
Montes Manuel F. 106
Moratinos Miguel Angel 114, 176, 211
Mosyakov D. V. 117, 203
Moynihan Colin Berkeley 119, 180, 211
Nazaretyan A. R. 199, 209
Nekipelov A. D. 123, 180
Osang T. 159
Papadopoulos Marcus 126
Popovich Nenad 129
Prodanov Vasil 133
Reznik H. M. 136, 186, 208–209
Sala Vincent della 139, 192, 207
Sapir Jacques 142
Shemyakin Ya.G. 205
Styopin V. S. 145, 173
Tarpley Webster G. 147
Tishkov V. A. 151
Tolochko P. P. 153, 173, 209
Tretyakov V. T. 194
Tsinker A. B. 210
Türker Taşansu 156, 189
Weber Shlomo 159
Wiatr Jerzy J. 195, 204
Wolf Bernhard 160
Yakovenko A. V. 162
Zapesotsky A. S. 165, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 179–187, 189–196, 198
Zhang Junyong 167, 193

Scientific edition

CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

The 15th International Likhachov Scientific Conference

May 14–15, 2015

(СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ГЛОБАЛЬНЫЕ ВЫЗОВЫ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ИНТЕРЕСЫ

XV Международные Лихачевские научные чтения

14–15 мая 2015 года)

Выпускающий редактор *И. В. Петрова*
Художественное оформление *А. М. Бриль*
Технический редактор *Л. В. Климкович*

ISBN 978-5-7621-0840-9



Подписано в печать с оригинала-макета 10.09.15. Формат 60x90/8
Гарнитура Times New Roman. Усл. печ. л. 26,75. Тираж 300 экз. Заказ № 127

Санкт-Петербургский Гуманитарный
университет профсоюзов
192238, Санкт-Петербург, ул. Фучика, 15