

Once Again About the Clash of Civilizations

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Abstract. The article contains a number of arguments defending the idea that Russian civilization is independent and separate and explains the conclusion that the current confrontation between Western and Russian civilizations is essentially a civilizational conflict.

Keywords: civilization, culture, cultural differences, cultural code, identity, dialogue of civilizations, clash of civilizations

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Introduction

The article notes that S. Huntington's theory of the clash of civilizations, created at the end of the 20th century, is correct. Western civilization, seeking to extend the time of its hegemony, in essence, challenges all other civilizations, in particular Chinese, Indian, Russian, Islamic, African, Latin American.

Materials and methods

The article is based on the application of general scientific analysis and synthesis, comparative-historical, historical-genetic methods of studying written texts devoted to the problems of dialogue and the clash of civilizations, identities and cultural codes. These are the works of S.Huntington, I.Muteferrik, M.Ferguson, E.Hobsbawm, H.Mackinder, E.Weizsaker and A.Wiikman, V.Klyuchevsky, D.Likhachev, G.Belinsky, F.Dostoevsky, N.Trubetskoy, L.Gumilyov, A.Solzhenitsyn, E.Primakov and others.

Results

In 1993, the American scientist Samuel Huntington published the article “The Clash of Civilizations”, later he developed these thoughts in the book of the same name (6).

He argued that global politics is becoming multicivilizational. The main lines of the break run along cultural differences, at the same time, the main thesis of his reasoning was that the conflict between Western and Islamic civilizations is the essence of modern politics.

The book expressed the idea that the West will oppose itself to all other civilizations (West against the rest).

The West, Huntington wrote, conquered the world not by the superiority of its ideas, values, or religions, but by its superiority in the use of organized violence. Westerners often forget this fact.

After the period of great geographical discoveries in the last 500 years, the era of colonial conquest began, when the Western powers seized the territories of other peoples, and not just territories, but all their wealth. It was this imperialist exploitation that enabled the West to pull ahead. It has always been. During the existence of the Soviet Union, the United States and Western Europe were forced to act with an eye on the USSR, but after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the West ceased to be shy.

The events in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria and other parts of the world are a vivid example of this.

It is noteworthy that more and more European political scientists are striving to raise the idea of Western civilization to the shield. This idea manifested itself during World War I, when the struggle against Germany and its allies, the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, was conceived by English-speaking liberals as a war of Western civilization against Eastern despotism.

Huntington revived the ideas of Western civilization as a way to dramatize that a set of values is in danger from new threats: migrants, terrorists and liberal relativists.

After the end of the Cold War, many believed that this would help overcome the division of East and West – after all, there was no point in the existence of NATO. At the end of the Cold War, French President François Mitterrand even put forward the idea of a new organization – a European confederation, which would include Soviet Russia, but not the United States.

It is noteworthy that since the end of the 19th century, the principle formulated by the English writer R.Kipling has been established in political science, that the West is the West, and the East is the East, and they will never come together.

For most of the 20th century, the ideological confrontation between capitalism and socialism, the USA and the USSR, has always been at the center of events. It was only after the collapse of the Soviet Union that civilizational differences came to the fore.

Taking into account the thesis put forward by Huntington about the hostility of the West and Islam, the Iranian idea of a dialogue of civilizations became a kind of response to this new

concept¹, which at the end of the 20th century received its formalization in UN documents. This idea was largely undermined by the terrible terrorist attack in September 2001.

Subsequent events showed that the axis of world politics is the attempts of Western civilization, and above all the United States, to ensure its dominance by any means.

Quite indicative: since 1991, Russia, having abandoned communist ideas, switched to the rails of a market economy; it seemed that now the ground for contradictions had disappeared, but here the real essence of Western civilization manifested itself – to impose its vision, its views on everyone without exception, by any means. Изменение баланса сил на земном шаре в конце концов привело к тому, что американцы сделали вывод о том, что их главными противниками, препятствующими осуществлению идеи мирового господства, являются Россия и Китай.

The collapse of the USSR with renewed vigor emphasized the civilizational differences between the states of the globe ².

The German sociologist Max Weber suggested that Europeans had some kind of cultural advantage (1).

In 1731, Ibrahim Muteferrika asked the question:

Why did the Christians, who were once a despicable people, relatively small in relation to the Muslim population, insignificant, weak in nature and character, for some time now spread throughout the world, captured many countries and even began to clearly defeat the victorious Ottoman army of the Sublime Porte (2).

The same phenomenon was noted by the Chinese, who in the 15th century clearly overtook the Europeans in all respects, but then the years of rapid development gave way to stagnation.

M.Ferguson in his book "Civilization" noted that «the main source of power that distinguishes the West from the rest of the world has become 6 groups of unique institutions and ideas related to them:

- competition;
- science (a way of knowing, explaining, transforming nature, which gave the West, among other things, an overwhelming military advantage);

1 Dialogue among Civilizations. The Round Table on the Eve of the United Nations Millennium Summit. Available from: [https://unesdoc.unesco.org/in/documentViewer.xhtml?v=2.1.196&id=p::usmarcdef_0000123890&file=/in/rest/annotationSVC/DownloadWatermarkedAttachment/attach_import_d9c19a4b-e217-46d0-a35f-8e51f53094b3%3F_%3D123890eng.pdf&locale=ru&multi=true&ark=/ark:/48223/pf0000123890/PDF/123890eng.pdf#%5B%7B"num"%3A165%2C"gen"%3A0%7D%2C%7B"name"%3A"XYZ"%7D%2C32%2C685%2C0%5D](https://unesdoc.unesco.org/in/documentViewer.xhtml?v=2.1.196&id=p::usmarcdef_0000123890&file=/in/rest/annotationSVC/DownloadWatermarkedAttachment/attach_import_d9c19a4b-e217-46d0-a35f-8e51f53094b3%3F_%3D123890eng.pdf&locale=ru&multi=true&ark=/ark:/48223/pf0000123890/PDF/123890eng.pdf#%5B%7B).

2 It is no coincidence that many Western political scientists, in particular N. Ferguson, emphasized that the USSR should be attributed to Western civilization. Civilization is a way of life that characterizes a social, cultural, political, sometimes linguistic, religious community (civilization is the largest unit of social organization, by the way, this is a French word). Starting around 1500, Europeans are breaking out ahead of all Eastern civilizations. No civilization of the past reached such a level as the Western: in 1500, future European empires occupied about 10% of the earth's land surface and covered about 16% of the planet's population. By 1913, 11 Western empires (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Russia, Great Britain and the USA) controlled almost 3/5 of the land and the same population and 79% of world production. This phenomenon still needs serious research.

- property rights (rule of law as a way to protect society);
- the medicine;
- consumer society (a way of life in which the production, sale and purchase of goods play a central role);
- work ethic (a moral concept and mode of action that arose partly in Protestantism) (4).

The English scientist reflects the point of view of the majority of Western political scientists who believe that the West will always be «ahead of the rest of the planet» and that its achievements are due primarily to the intellectual efforts of the elite. In fact, the rise of the West occurred largely through the capture of the vast wealth of Latin America, and then the colonization of many countries in Africa and Asia. The exploitation of the labor of local residents was colossal, which was reflected in numerous stories and novels and other works of fiction – slave labor actually cost nothing.

Museums in London, Paris, Berlin, which exhibit only a small fraction of the exported wealth, give an idea of the scope of the predatory operation that was carried out by the powers of the West in developing countries.

Noteworthy is the remark of one of my Arab friends, who, analyzing the current Libyan drama, argued that the West cracked down on M. Gaddafi primarily because he put forward the idea of compensating the imperialist powers for their former colonies. This is what angered the ruling circles in a number of European states most of all, because it is known that Gaddafi actually met all the demands of the West – he paid reparations for supposedly blown up planes, abandoned programs for the production of chemical and atomic weapons, etc. (5:66)³.

Western civilization was already in decline, it was the 5th century AD. This is now continuing: the population of the West is clearly degenerating, the elites of the West are gripped by fear of an ecological apocalypse, the West has lost confidence in itself. The last anniversary report of the Club of Rome reads: “The old world is doomed. A new world is inevitable!”⁴ The authors of the report of the Club of Rome in December 2017, E. Weizsijker and A. Wijkman, believe that the planet is degrading, authoritarianism and fundamentalism are on the rise, and speculative capital is triumphant.

Today’s crisis –

is not cyclical but intensifying, it is not limited by the nature around us, but includes a social, political, cultural, moral crisis, a crisis of democracy, ideology and the capitalist system⁵.

3 Many historians believe that the discovery of America is the main reason for the success of the West and that Western Europe without the New World “would remain ... a backward region of Eurasia, borrowing technology, adopting culture and receiving prosperity from the East” (this, in particular, writes F. Fernandez Armesto in the book “America. A History of Two Continents”, published in London in 2003:66). Perhaps, without American lands and African slaves, there would be neither the “European miracle” nor the Industrial Revolution.

4 Available from: <http://www.planet-kob.ru/articles/6832>

5 Ibid.

The authors believe that in the 80s of the last century there was a degeneration of capitalism, within which financial speculation became the main source of profit. 98% of financial transactions are now of a speculative nature: from 21 to 32 trillion dollars are hidden in offshore zones.

The main idea of the report is that a radical change in the paradigm of the development of our civilization is necessary. Hence the harsh criticism of capitalism, the rejection of materialism and reductionism, the call for an alternative economy, a new enlightenment, a holistic worldview and a planetary civilization. The degeneration of the West is clearly felt in European concerns about the Islamization of the continent: Breivik turned out to have a large following – in early February 2018, 28-year-old right-wing extremist Luca Traini was detained in Italy, who was accused of trying to kill six Africans in Central Italy. He was associated with neo-fascist parties.

The degradation of the West is manifested in a number of other aspects.

Russia is an independent civilization (along with Chinese, Indian, Western, Islamic, etc.).

A special character lies in the cultural code of Russians:

- an alloy of various nationalities, nationalities, beliefs;
- 1/3 in Europe, 2/3 in Asia.

By the will of fate, Russia found itself at the crossroads of world civilizations between Europe and Asia and was formed due to geographical, historical, demographic, cultural parameters as an inseparable integrity of the western and eastern sides, as an independent, unique civilization.

In the Eurasian space, for centuries, the two largest world religions – Christianity and Islam – coexisted as religions of two ethnic groups: Slavic and Turanian. Dialogue became the form of their interaction.

Throughout history, Russian civilization has emerged as a unique multi-ethnic, multi-confessional integrity and community. The Soviet people, as the heir to this civilization, represented a higher stage, because the process of mutual enrichment, merger developed rapidly and in an ascending fashion. Soviet civilization is a historically short form of an attempt to build a society on the basis of justice, to create a system that corresponds to humanistic ideals. The attempt was not entirely successful, but it is wrong and immoral to evaluate it completely negatively. It had a huge impact on world events.

D.S.Likhachev defined Russia as a synthesis of Russian Slavic culture on the basis of Byzantium and Scandinavia in an organic combination with Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Tatar-Mongolian peoples, through which the culture of China and India was perceived.

V.G.Belinsky and F.M. Dostoevsky recognized that the fundamental feature of the Russian national character is the ability to assimilate all sorts of features of any national type. Russian culture and civilization have absorbed the best achievements of many neighboring peoples and nationalities. Such a process of mutual enrichment, in fact, creates the prerequisites for the restoration in a more active form of Russia's Eurasian role.

L.N.Gumilyov, who is called the great Eurasianist of our time, skillfully described the ideas of the age-old community, the interconnectedness of the peoples inhabiting the boundless spaces of Eurasia from the Baltic and the Carpathians to the Pacific Ocean,

believing that it is in Eurasia that peoples are connected not by one or another one-sided series of signs, but by commonality historical fates. Eurasia is a huge continent not only as a space, but also in a single historical and cultural sense.

Of exceptional importance is his concept of the complementarity of the peoples of Eurasia, their complementarity, which creates a fertile ground for dialogue, and this was reflected in his saying, which has become a textbook: "You cannot strive to make people like yourself, but you must learn to live in harmony with them."⁶

The diversity of landscapes of Eurasia has a beneficial effect on the ethnogenesis of its peoples. Everyone found a place acceptable to him. And with a wide variety of geographical conditions for the peoples of Eurasia, it has always been much more profitable to unite. Disintegration deprived of strength, resistance, ability to protect. To disunite in the conditions of Eurasia meant to make oneself dependent on one's neighbors, who were by no means always merciful and disinterested. Therefore, the political culture of Eurasia has developed its own original vision of development paths. The Eurasian peoples built a common state based on the primacy of the rights of each people to a certain way of life.

Thus, the rights of every person were ensured. As long as each nation retained the right to be itself, a united Eurasia successfully held back the onslaught of both Western Europe and China. When, with perestroika, this traditional and sound idea for our country was abandoned and they began to be guided by European principles (to make everyone the same), they mechanically transferred the principles of Western European civilization to the conditions of Russia, where geographical conditions and a different historical path were completely different, this turned into a tragedy. It is necessary and necessary to study other experience, but remember that this is ANOTHER experience and from it you can take only what will be useful for our conditions:

- it is impossible to preserve one's identity in a turbulent age of technological change without culture, which is «our common national civilizational code, reveals the creative principle in a person»;
- our focus on the future, the fusion of traditions and values ensure "the continuity of our thousand-year history";
- our goal is to save the people and the well-being of citizens;
- the mixing of blood contributed to the incredibly high level of Russian culture and special intellectual wealth.

Russia is an independent civilization. It belongs neither to the East nor to the West. Geography and historical processes have always caused this duality in assessments. The struggle between Westerners and Slavophiles is well known. Sometimes we are called European, sometimes Eurasian, sometimes Orthodox civilization, perhaps the term "Eurasian" is closer to the truth.

It should be borne in mind that for most Arabs, for example, we are still the West. For most Europeans, we do not belong to their civilization at all. For a number of centuries, the

⁶ Gumilyov L.N. Humanity is above all. The conversation was conducted by A.Sabirov. *Izvestia*, 1989, June 24. The interview was provided by the public organization "L.N.Gumilyov's Foundation". Available from: <http://gumilevica.kulichki.net/articles/Article45.htm>

Russian elite strove for Europe – at first they «cut through a window», then they wanted to go over with the whole team.

In this regard, it is appropriate to mention the idea expressed by our famous diplomat A.P. Kromarenko, that this thesis turned out to have great historical meaning:

Without the “Soviet challenge” there would be no post-war “socialization” in the Western European economy. America developed in the same vein as a result of F.D.Roosevelt and post-war government measures (3).

Beginning with Alexander Nevsky, who chose to be a tributary of the Golden Horde rather than lose faith and culture under the rule of the Teutonic Order, Russia has invariably opted for sovereign modernization in the long run, which ensured the country's independence and its right to historical creativity. Without this choice, the whole of European and world history would have been different.

Approximately the same thoughts were expressed by Vladislav Surkov in an article in Russia in Global Affairs magazine in April 2018⁷. He believes that an important milestone in asserting the independence of Russian civilization was 2014, when Crimea returned to Russia again: “This event is the completion of Russia’s epic journey to the West, the cessation of repeated and fruitless attempts to become part of Western civilization, to intermarry with the “good family” of European peoples.»

V.Surkov believes that for the 4th century Russia went to the East and for another 4 centuries to the West and did not take root either there or there. Both roads have been completed. Now the ideologies of the third way, the third type of civilization, the third world, the third Rome will be in demand.

Moscow in the late 1990s and back in the early 2000s tried to enter Europe, to become part of the West (we actively sought visa-free entry into the EU, which our oligarchs needed first of all).

Russia has a special mentality. Mayakovsky said: «The Soviets have their own pride, we look down on the bourgeois.» A lot distinguishes us from European and Asian civilizations, although we have taken a number of features from both sides. At the same time, the mixing of blood, vast geographical expanses, the nature of peasant labor, and the continental climate left their mark on the character of the Russians. As a rule, they lived well with the conquered peoples and nationalities, Orthodox and Muslims and other religions fruitfully cooperated for three centuries. Commitment to the native land, the Fatherland, is in our blood: “Two feelings are wonderfully close to us. In them the heart finds food: Love for the native ashes, Love for the fatherly coffins” (A.S. Pushkin «Two feelings are wonderfully close to us...»).

Russia won World War II, but if rationality had triumphed, Germany should have won. Until now, many in the West find it difficult to believe that the Soviet Union was able to defeat Nazi Germany after the defeat in the summer of 1941 and 1942, to win the Battle

⁷ Vladislav Surkov. The loneliness of a half-breed. Available from: <https://globalaffairs.ru/authors/vladislav-surkov/>.

of Kursk. The well-known English historian and journalist, author of numerous books about World War II, Max Hastings, in an article dedicated to the 70th victory over Germany, wrote:

If Hitler had not attacked Russia and the Russians had not resisted with a stamina and a spirit of self-sacrifice that is unattainable in Western democracies, we might have continued to fight him to this day. It is highly unlikely that the British and American armies could ever defeat the Wehrmacht on their own⁸.

The crisis of Western civilization manifests itself in various forms. Patrick Deneen, a professor at the University of Notre Dame (near Chicago), has published *Why Liberalism Failed*. The author believes that

this beautiful concept failed because it was flawed at its very foundation, this doctrine assumes that a person goes to his goals without noticing the society around him, since liberalism allows him to break the ties completely, which makes him a man – a culture, a people, in general with other people, family, the idea of the common good (9).

The main conflict of modernity develops not so much between specific states, no matter how powerful they may be or may seem. This is a conflict between non-national structures of world governance and those political forces that remain committed to the historical memory and national identity of their peoples. The former seek to finally suppress the identity of peoples and the independence of states, to impose on them a single totalitarian system of a “democratic” (in fact, an oligarchic) order and a single primitive standard of consumer attitude to life and the world around them. The latter want to preserve state sovereignty, develop their political tradition, form their national economy in the interests of their country and their citizens, and not world capital, and remain in the field of traditional culture.

Globalization has given impetus to progress in a number of developing countries, but is stalling due to attempts at universalization and the imposition of a single cultural, political, economic, and social space. Reverse processes have begun – for the preservation of identity, one’s own culture – and, most importantly, there is an explosion of dissatisfaction with inequality, an unacceptable gap between rich and poor, injustice, rejection of methods of violence, interference in internal affairs.

Even yesterday, American leadership seemed unshakable to many in the world, and the White House was sure that it was forever, because the Americans, as President Barack Obama categorically asserts, are «an exceptional nation.» Therefore, Washington proclaims, America is allowed to impose its only correct model of democracy everywhere in the world by any means and demand from other, «non-exclusive nations», unconditional execution of orders from Washington. So it is in many ways in recent times and is happening, of course, not everywhere and not always. But this “rule” worked because it was based on fear, on an

8 Max Hastings for The Daily Mail. The Daily Mail. May 7, 2015.

elementary intuitive human fear of force, the use of which turns into submission, death, ruin, defeat, and this fear grew to the scale of entire peoples, states, continents. But now the map of the rulers of the world has begun to change, and this is recognized by sober politicians in the West.

The United States understands that new centers of power are now rising: individual states with growing economies, alliances of such states, and the dynamics of whose actions will inevitably narrow the space of undivided influence of the United States, and competition on the issue of shaping the contours of the 21st century world order will intensify.

There is a process of dispersal of global economic power and, accordingly, political influence, new major centers of power are emerging, primarily in the Asia-Pacific region. The most obvious fact is China's leap forward, which, thanks to unprecedented rates of economic growth over the course of three decades, has become the second, and according to purchasing power parity calculations, already the first economy in the world.

Another example is the success of the Iranian Republic, which, in terms of the level of education of its population, is quickly moving forward into the ranks of the advanced states of Asia and thereby proves the plurality of development models.

It is quite obvious that international relations at the present time are too complex a mechanism to be managed from a single center. A reliable solution to the problems of the modern world can only be ensured through serious, honest cooperation between leading states and their associations in the interests of solving common problems. Such interaction should take into account the multicolored nature of the modern world, its cultural and civilizational diversity, and reflect the interests of the main components of the international community.

Today, more than ever, we need to restore the culture of compromise, relying on diplomacy, which can be difficult, even exhausting, but which remains, in fact, the only way to ensure a mutually acceptable solution to problems by peaceful means. Russian leaders constantly focus on these tasks in their speeches.

Russia, being an alloy of various nationalities united around the Russian people, a synthesis of many religions, primarily Orthodox-Muslim, being in its deepest essence one of the branches of European civilization, at the same time has never merged with the West and has its own cultural matrix, its own spirituality.

Proposed several years ago by E.M.Primakov, the «Russia-India-China» formula will continue to operate in the future, since only Russia can play the role of mediator between Beijing and Delhi. This is especially relevant in connection with the fact that it is Eurasia that is destined to play a key role in future international affairs. Under these conditions, emphasizing and strengthening the Eurasian essence of our civilization is the most important task. And here the following three points are of particular importance.

First, a consistent, purposeful line to protect the community of Orthodox and Muslims in Russia as one of the main bonds of Russian statehood. This is all the more relevant since the number of Muslims will grow over time, and the constructive interaction and mutual understanding of these communities has been and remains a hallmark of our civilization.

Secondly, against this background, the importance of emphasizing and enhancing the role of the titular nation of Russia, the Russian people, is growing, which should be the

pivotal line of all national policy. In every possible way encouraging the cultural development of all nationalities and confessions, nevertheless, it should always be borne in mind that the unifying and cementing foundation of our civilization is the Russians, on whose shoulders lies the historical responsibility of preserving our civilization.

In this regard, even atheists should recognize the importance of Orthodoxy in ensuring the interests of both the Russian state and civilization.

Thirdly, we must clearly realize that it is Russia's historical responsibility to maintain not only good relations, but also the widest cooperation, including economic cooperation, with the former republics of the Soviet Union, with the exception of the Baltic states.

Of course, we are not talking about the restoration of the Soviet Union, in today's conditions it is impossible, nevertheless, and the creation of a Eurasian Union like a confederation or something similar should be one of the priorities of our policy.

Naturally, Ukraine should also be one of the links in this association, whose authorities are now trying to disrupt mutual understanding with Moscow in an attempt to assert their independence. These attempts go against the mainstream of the historical process. Ukraine, like Belarus, is civilizationally very close to Russia, and the current attempts by the Kyiv authorities to dissociate themselves from us are ultimately doomed to failure.

Back in 1990 A.I. Solzhenitsyn in the article «How can we equip Russia?» wrote that it is imperative to maintain the closest ties between Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan.

Unfortunately, all these historical postulates are better understood by our opponents, sometimes better than we ourselves. In particular, the notorious Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Assistant to the President of the United States, consultant at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in the 1990s, professor of American foreign policy at the Advanced School of International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, in the article «Premature Partnership», published in 1994, stressed that the main task of the United States is for Russia «to be able to define itself simply as Russia» and not to extend its influence and leadership to the former Soviet republics⁹. This he called «the assertion of geopolitical pluralism within the former Soviet Union.» He made a special emphasis on Ukraine – «without Ukraine, Russia ceases to be an empire, but with Ukraine ... Russia automatically turns into an empire.»

With the collapse of the Russian Empire and the all-Russian foundations of identity, identities began to emerge among Ukrainians, in Belarus and Transcaucasia, once regions of a single country.

To identify the South Russian population, they began to actively use the ethnonym «Ukrainian», discarding the old concept of «Little Russian». The Ukrainian idea was actively adopted by the Bolsheviks. The Soviet leadership introduced Ukrainian identity into the mass consciousness, at the same time comparing it with the Russian one and emphasizing that Ukrainians are an independent nation.

As a guide, Lenin's theses on the national question were taken, which emphasized the need for state consolidation into separate republics of territories with a population speaking

9 Brzezinski Z. Premature partnership: Abstract / RAS Institute for Scientific Information in Social Sciences; V.V. Alexandrov. Moscow, 1994.

the same language. At the same time, his identity with nationality was proclaimed. Self-consciousness, as the most important component of historical codification, was not taken into account at all.

We can cite the opinion of Eric Hobsbawm, who in his work «The Nation and Nationalism after 1780» noted that

the communist regime began to independently and purposefully create ethnolinguistic national-administrative units. Create where they did not exist before and where no one seriously thought about them. For example, the Muslims of Central Asia or Belarusians.

The idea of the Soviet republics of the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Tajik or Turkmen «nation» was more of a purely theoretical construction of Soviet intellectuals than the original aspirations of any of these peoples (7:119, 263, 264)

The accelerated construction of a new history, the substantiation of ethnic socio-cultural and other identity, while denying and purposefully discrediting the past, was accompanied by a serious conflict potential. As a result, the consciousness of the population of many post-Soviet countries is fragmented, contradictory and fragmented: consolidating principles are weak, local identities prevail (8).

We are bound by long-standing strong ties with the Ukrainian people, and we must literally restore our fraternal cooperation brick by brick, although this may take years: the common historical fate of our peoples leaves us no other choice.

Today's Ukraine and its authorities are somewhat reminiscent of Russia in the 1990s. Then the people who came to power in the Kremlin tried to change the character of Russians, to integrate into the West. The result was several economic disasters, which we are not able to fully overcome even today¹⁰.

On February 7, 2019, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine approved amendments to the constitution regarding the country's course towards membership in the European Union and NATO. From now on, in the preamble of the Constitution, the wording about «the European identity of the Ukrainian people and the irreversibility of the European and Euro-Atlantic course» is fixed.

In addition, Article 102 of the Basic Law is supposed to prescribe that the president will become «the guarantor of the implementation of the state's strategic course» for membership in the EU and NATO (previously P.A. Poroshenko has repeatedly stated that the final decision on this issue will be made at a referendum).

It is noteworthy that one of the founders of Russian Eurasianism N.S.Trubetskoy, in an article «On the Ukrainian Problem» written in 1927, argued that «Ukrainian culture was

10 Unfortunately, those who came to power in Moscow in the 1990s did not read S. Huntington's books *The Clash of Civilizations: Torn Countries: The Failure of the Change of Civilizations*. For a torn country to redefine its civilizational identity, at least three conditions must be met. First, the political and economic elite of the country must enthusiastically accept and support this aspiration. Second, society must at least tacitly accept (or strive for) a redefinition of identity. Third, the predominant elements in the host civilization (in most cases the West) must at least be willing to accept the convert. The process of identity redefinition can be long, intermittent and politically, socially, institutionally and culturally painful. At the moment, this process has not been successful anywhere" (Huntington S. *Clash of Civilizations*. Moscow, 2020:227).

an individualization of the all-Russian culture» and that Ukrainians and Belarusians should associate with Russians on the basis of the organizing principle of their common Orthodox faith.

The current Ukrainian politicians did not learn this lesson, but our Chinese partners understood it well, they did not break the civilizational root of Chinese society through the knee, but pragmatically linked Chinese traditions with the scientific and technological achievements of the late XX – early XXI century)¹¹.

Western political scientists, and even some officials, have repeatedly said that Russia is “too” a big state. For example, former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright explicitly stated that the Americans should take Siberia from Russia.

It must be clearly understood that this line of thought and action is constantly preserved in the minds of many leaders of Western civilization.

In January 2019, one of these Kremlinologists, Janusz Bugajsky, published an article in the influential Washington newspaper *The Hill* with the remarkable title “Managing Russia’s Disintegration.”¹² He not only calls to prepare for a possible scenario of the collapse of the Russian state, but also strongly recommends that the West contribute in every possible way to this collapse and bring it closer by all possible means. Bugajsky advises the US to promote «self-determination of Russia’s disparate regions and ethnic groups.»

Washington should promote regional and ethnic self-determination within the Russian Federation: the collapse should be justified logically – while the expert explains which region of Russia should gain independence, and which should be annexed to Finland, Ukraine, China and Japan. This is the opinion of a leading analyst at the American Center for European Policy Analysis, which is funded by leading enterprises in the American military-industrial complex and US government agencies¹³.

Today’s turbulent, turbulent events, perturbations and crises in international relations are largely determined not just by rapid technological shifts, but also by the West’s unwillingness to accept the loss of world dominance (the British Financial Times called this the onset of «uncertainty times» a few months ago).

Russia’s special military operation in Ukraine does not mean that Russians and Ukrainians do not belong to the same civilization. We have much more in common than differences. This was best demonstrated by the Little Russian writer N.V. Gogol, who better than others showed the main character traits of both Russians and Ukrainians. All his works are written in Russian.

Ukrainians and Belarusians and I make up one historical community, we have a common history, destiny and mentality.

The fact that the West managed to push Russia and Ukraine together is its undoubted success, but it does not at all deny the obvious truth that we belong to the same civilization (some Western researchers call it Orthodox).

11 Unfortunately, even the most intelligent politicians in Ukraine do not fully understand historical trends. Similarly, the deputy of the Verkhovna Rada, who registered as a presidential candidate in the elections on March 31, 2019 and who is considered a politician loyal to Russia, said in an interview with the *Deutsche Welle* website on January 23, 2019 that Ukraine’s civilizational choice is Switzerland or Singapore.

12 Bugajski Janusz. Managing Russia’s dissolution. . Available from: <https://thehill.com/opinion/national-security/424511-managing-russias-dissolution/>.

13 Kornilov V. Russia is divided between Finland, Ukraine and China. RIA Novosti, 01.18.2019. Available from: <https://ria.ru/20190118/1549518050.html>.

According to the correct expression of V. Surkov, the unnatural and counter-historical disintegration of Russia was stopped at the beginning of the 21st century, and it again became a community of peoples, gathering new lands around itself¹⁴.

The correct political course of our country will become an effective means of survival and exaltation of the Russian nation. Over time, our country is becoming more and more attractive to other states. A distinctive feature of the modern Russian state is trust – according to the old Russian tradition, it rests on frank communication and interaction between the ruler and citizens.

Such an evolution indicates that disappointment in Russia's European choice and its new Eurasian orientation were the result of a long and painful process, a reaction to the development of the international situation, and not a consequence of the initial anti-Europeanism of Putin or the Russian elite as a whole. The policy of the West after the collapse of the USSR, Moscow was actually put in a hopeless situation; she was faced with a choice: to completely submit to the geopolitical goals of the United States and its allies, to abandon its own approaches to security, or to reorient itself from a pro-Western to some other policy. But, as Vladimir Putin noted in his Address to the Federal Assembly in February 2019, "Russia cannot be a state if it is not sovereign. Some countries can, Russia can't." And she chose a course to create her own center of power in Eurasia

The course towards turning Russia into an independent Eurasian center of power and world influence is now becoming the official policy of the Kremlin and the main line of thought of most Russian experts on foreign policy strategy. Vladimir Putin, who in 2000 discussed with Bill Clinton the possibility of Russia joining NATO, when taking office in May 2012, said that "the historical perspective of the state and our nation today depends", in particular, "on our ability to become leaders and center of attraction for all of Eurasia. In September 2013, during a meeting of the Valdai International Discussion Club, he noted that «Eurasian integration is a chance for the entire post-Soviet space to become an independent center of global development, and not a periphery for Europe or Asia»¹⁵.

In the conditions of the growing division of the modern world, new problems and challenges will become more and more relevant; it is they who will demand the unification of efforts for the survival of mankind.

14 Vladislav Surkov, the presidential administration's chief intellectual, a decade ago called the need to "not fall out of Europe, cling to the West" as an essential element in the construction of Russia. Today, he announces the end of "repeated and fruitless attempts to become part of Western civilization" and predicts her 100, maybe 300 years of loneliness. Former Westerner Sergei Karaganov writes about Russia's depletion of the "European pantry" and establishes an entire intellectual movement that develops the concept of "Greater Eurasia", in which Russia will take a central place (Lukin A.V. The idea of Greater Eurasia. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*. 03.04.2019. Available from: https://www.ng.ru/ideas/2019-03-04/7_7523_ideas.html).

15 Director of the Center for East Asian and SCO Studies at MGIMO MFA of Russia A.V. Lukin, in an article published in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* on March 4, 2020, emphasizes that in order for Russia to become a true Eurasian center, it is necessary to develop a clear strategy, and "not use the Western direction of foreign and foreign economic policy situationally." Secondly, it is necessary to formulate and actively pursue policies that would be aimed at rapid economic growth. Thirdly, it is necessary to pursue a skillful, balanced policy towards Beijing. And fourthly, an active line in Eurasia is important so that other states of the region recognize Russian leadership. . Available from: https://www.ng.ru/ideas/2019-03-04/7_7523_ideas.html.

As for our line in the future world, the Eurasian essence of our civilization requires the establishment of the broadest ties not only with Europe, but also with Asia. Unfortunately, we cannot get rid of the fact that Russia is a country of extremes, which was already noticed by Vasily Klyuchevsky. This is due, according to this eminent historian, to three reasons:

- firstly, the vastness of our territory (which was especially pronounced in the 19th century);

- secondly, it is the continentality of our climate – long, cold winters and relatively short hot summers;

- thirdly, this is the nature of peasant labor (and until the 20th century, peasants made up the bulk of our population): very intensive work during field work in summer and autumn and a long winter period of preparation for new sowing.

By the way, Alexander Herzen also wrote about this in his *Past and Thoughts*: he said that we are not people of *juste milieu* – the “golden mean”.

That is why some of our scientists said that our historical development goes in a spiral.

These trends can also be traced in modern Russian history. In the late 90s and early 2000s, it was argued that we are part of the European civilization that the main thing for us is to almost unite with Europe, in any case, to get visa-free entry to the states of the European Union.

Starting from the 10s of the 21st century, they began to talk much more about the Asian direction of development of our country. In the face of tougher sanctions from European countries, we must make a priority course to the East, that is, Asia.

However, we must not forget that a third of our country is in Europe, and 2/3 – in Asia, and that the Eurasian essence of our civilization requires us to have the widest ties with both Europe and Asia. In future international relations, the Eurasian orientation will manifest itself even more clearly, but we must understand that the project that our Chinese friends are promoting – «One Belt – One Road» – and which we want to match with our plans for Eurasian integration, is not being used, to put it mildly, with support from neither the United States nor India. The latter is especially important. That is why, proposed many years ago by Eugenij Primakov, the formula “Russia–India–China” becomes in demand and relevant, since only Moscow can play the role of conciliator between Beijing and Delhi. This is precisely the peculiarity of our Eurasian civilization.¹⁶

16 The idea of Eurasianism is spreading more and more in Russia. Emerging after the collapse of the Russian Empire in 1917, this concept postulated Russia as a Eurasian state shaped by a deep history of cultural exchanges between people of Turkic, Slavic, Mongolian and other Asian nationalities. In 1920, Prince Nikolai Trubetskoy, one of several Russian émigré intellectuals who developed this theory, published *Europe and Mankind*. It contained a sharp critique of Western colonialism and Eurocentrism. He urged Russian intellectuals to free themselves from their obsession with Europe and rely on the “legacy of Genghis Khan” to create a great Russian-Eurasian state covering the entire continent. Trubetskoy's Eurasianism was a recipe for an imperial renaissance without communism, a harmful, Western imported doctrine, in his opinion. Instead, Trubetskoy emphasized the ability of a revived Russian Orthodoxy to provide cohesion across Eurasia, “meticulously caring for the believers of many other religions practiced in this vast region.” The banner of Eurasianism was raised by L.N. Gumilyov, who in his works argued that ethnic diversity is the driving force of world history. According to his theory of ethnogenesis, an ethnic group under the influence of a charismatic leader could develop into a “superethnos” – a power spread over a vast geographical area.

Eurasian geopolitics, Russian Orthodoxy and traditional values shaped the image of Russia during the reign of V.V.Putin.

He has repeatedly emphasized that Eurasia is an important geopolitical zone: in 2013, he declared that the “genetic code” of Russia and its many peoples would be protected from extreme Western-style liberalism. In July 2021, he announced that “Russians and Ukrainians are one people.” On the eve of the special operation on February 24, 2022, he called Ukraine “a colony with a puppet regime, where the Orthodox Church is under attack,” and NATO uses its territory to attack Russia.

The world’s lack of enthusiasm for Western sanctions against Russia highlights the concern of most countries of the world about the escalation of the conflict between Western and Russian civilizations, which possess the largest stocks of nuclear weapons (of the 10 most populous countries, only the United States insists on economic sanctions – neither Indonesia nor China, neither India, nor Nigeria, nor Brazil are going to follow the West). The recent despicable and vile Russophobic actions, as Jordanian-American Joseph Massad wrote on 11.03.2022, show that the nature of American or Western European political culture under fascism or liberalism is not so different when it comes to heaping racist contempt and fabricated fantasies of chosen enemies.¹⁷

In order to somehow justify their hypocritical policy in the West, the thesis of the struggle between democratic and autocratic states is actively promoted, while the latter include all those countries that do not want to follow American policy.

Behind the hypocritical talk and today’s actions of the so-called collective West, Vladimir Putin 03.16.2022, there are hostile geopolitical goals. They do not need, they simply do not need a strong sovereign Russia, and they will not forgive us either our independent course or the fact that we are defending our national interests.

According to Putin, Russians are characterized by their readiness to always help a friend – and this is a universal value for all peoples and representatives of all faiths in Russia ... and the best confirmation of this is the way our guys fight, how our guys act during this military operation: shoulder to shoulder, they help, support each other, and if necessary, then, like a brother, they cover with their bodies from a bullet on the battlefield. We haven’t had such unity for a long time.

All this caused a frenzied anti-Russian campaign in the West. As noted by the famous American scientist of Iranian origin Hamid Dabashi, in essence, this amazing wave of Russophobia means “denigrating an entire civilization”:

Classical European and American Russophobia rears its head and reconnects with its fascist roots, demonizing Russians with breakneck speed and insidious tenacity; we Muslims who

¹⁷ The Gulf News newspaper noted on 03.05.2022 that people in the third world were surprised by the intensity of emotions shown by Western leaders and the media regarding the conflict between Russia and Ukraine – such a humane reaction has never been observed in relation to conflicts in developing countries, because it was about conflicts among the “uncivilized” citizens of the world: the world has never seen such a hypocritical campaign as it is now. . Available from: <https://gulfnews.com/photos/news/gulf-news-overnighter-fun-drive-2022-tilal-swaihan-experience-in-pictures-1.1646489324652>.

are still fighting Islamophobia in Europe and the United States are sadly familiar with the mechanism of how renewed Russophobia manifests itself¹⁸.

The strengthening of radicalist tendencies in the West, the unprecedented strength of the Russophobic campaign indicate the danger of revealing fascist sentiments, especially considering that the West strongly encouraged the revival of Nazi organizations in Ukraine.

In this regard, the coming period in international affairs will be difficult, because the West is not yet able to give up its claims to world domination. It is likely that the West will follow Russia into confrontation with China.

Conclusion

This, in fact, is about the biggest turning point in the history of the 21st century – this is the confrontation between the Russian (it is sometimes called the “Eurasian” or “Orthodox” civilization) and Western civilizations. The outcome of this conflict situation depends largely on our success in Ukraine. In this case, we can say with confidence that the Western coalition against our country, which the Americans have been putting together for so long, will fall apart: the inhabitants of Western countries are not used to putting up with economic victims.

Our success in the Ukrainian operation will, in fact, deal a colossal blow to the West’s claims to world domination.

The West, primarily the United States, also took up arms with attacks on the PRC, although the Chinese civilization is already 5,000 years old, and America as a state has existed for a little less than 250 years. Today we are witnessing a confrontation between Western civilization and the rest of the world, which, by the way, S. Huntington warned about. In essence, the harsh anti-Russian campaign in the West means the desire of the current elites, who do not quite adequately assess the existing balance of power, to reverse the course of the historical process and by any means preserve their past dominance.

But these desperate attempts are doomed to failure: the idea of Western political scientists that all nations will eventually try to be like the West and strive to imitate it is being shattered by reality.

Most of the world – even Western political scientists are forced to admit – remains indifferent to attempts to punish Russia and even sympathizes with Vladimir Putin (it is noteworthy that only 37 countries out of 200 considered it possible for themselves to join the anti-Russian sanctions, and the largest oil exporters of the Persian Gulf – Saudi Arabia

18 Al-Jazeera website, 04.21.2022: “Malignant anti-Russian sentiments in Europe and, accordingly, in the United States date back at least to the Napoleonic Wars, when Russia was portrayed as the barbaric antithesis of “Europe”. In a fictitious document known as the “Testament of Peter the Great” (forged in the early 19th century and repeatedly revived every time there was a war in the Crimea), the Russian emperor is attributed with the desire to conquer Europe and subjugate its people. The same delusional phobia will later be recycled for the Arabs and Muslims who “reclaimed Europe.” Available from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/search/21.04.2022>.

and the UAE – in a tough form refused to increase oil production, despite the colossal pressure from Washington). Some call it a global culture war. However, the majority of the world's population is not satisfied with the terrible Western machine of social inequality. Residents of Asian, African, Latin American countries want to be guided by their own views and values, and not adapt to Western ones.

This obvious truth is gradually beginning to be recognized by some American political scientists: David Brooks, in an article in *The New York Times* on April 8, 2022, noted that Western values are not world values – “in fact, we are complete cultural outcasts in the West.”

Joseph Henrich, a Canadian research scientist (Professor and Head of the Department of Human Evolutionary Biology at Harvard University), makes approximately the same conclusion in his book “*The Strangest People in the World*”: “We are strange people, very individualistic, fixated on ourselves, focused on control ... we focus on ourselves – our qualities, accomplishments, and aspirations – rather than our relationships and social roles.” It is now obvious to everyone that Protestant Europe and the English-speaking countries have moved away from all other world cultures and now act as some kind of “foreign cultural peninsula”. And this gap is becoming more and more tangible.

The rejection of Western liberalism, individualism is gaining strength in various regions of the globe. As David Brooks has noted, “The criticism that so many people make about the West and American culture – that they are too individualistic, too materialistic, too indulgent – is not wrong.”

That is why the success of our military operation in Ukraine will inspire the majority of people around the globe to more courageously defend their independence, the right to determine their own policy and destiny.

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