

SCTMG 2023**International Scientific Conference «Social and Cultural Transformations in the Context of
Modern Globalism»****NEW RUSSIA IN THE EMERGING NEW WORLD ORDER**

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Abstract

The article gives some considerations about consequences for Russia of the ongoing destruction of the unipolar world and a formation of a new world order. The authors believe that a vector of search for a national idea, providing historical prospects of the Russian civilisation, has changed. The authors refute a view of intellectuals who defend liberal values and consider what is happening in domestic politics and spiritual life to be a temporary misunderstanding. The situation is analysed by a method of comparison, and parallels are drawn between present circumstances and Russian circumstances 100 years ago, as A. Chumakov writes in his book "Philosophical steamer". The untenability of arguments about reasons for the emigration of our compatriots – a complete lack of civility in Russian society of that time and up to the present day – is revealed. It is shown that a problem of emigration of the population, intellectuals among them, lies in an economic disadvantage of Russia, in a discrepancy between distorted political ideals of the migrant and a real situation in the country and abroad, and many other reasons.

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1. Introduction

A dynamics of global social development in the last year has acquired a synergetic steepness: the Russia's special military operation in Ukraine has shaken the world order, its economic, financial, political, moral and spiritual, cultural and educational components to their very foundations. A vector of a search for a national idea that provides historical prospects for the Russian civilisation has changed. It has become obvious that a role and a place of Russia in the modern world is adjusted by strategic vectors of the multipolar world order, determined, of course, by conceptual foundations of the national ideology of the Russian statehood and civilisation. Leading political scientists and philosophers of the country are unanimous – the Russian ideology has its own specialness in a conceptual architectonics of the emerging polycentric world (Bilalov, 2022).

2. Problem Statement

The work solves the following problems in the course of the study. What was an impact of the Special Military Operation on vectors of Russia's development? What are real circumstances of the socio-political life of the country in the last two years? We are particularly concerned in this article with the state of the spiritual life of the country.

3. Research Questions

With all the prevalence of the ongoing changes both inside and outside the country in the public consciousness of the Russian society, a certain layer of the population, mainly consisting of intellectuals, is quite noticeable. It disagrees with such vector of history, defending liberal values, and considers the changes taking place in domestic politics and spiritual life as temporary, almost misunderstanding.

4. Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this work is to examine the reaction of a certain layer of Russian society, primarily the intelligentsia, to current changes both within the country and abroad. This layer of the population does not agree with the chosen vector of development, defends liberal values and considers changes in domestic policy and spiritual life as temporary and, possibly, erroneous. The work is aimed at analyzing the reasons for such perception, its impact on public consciousness and potential consequences for the future development of the country.

5. Research Methods

To answer these questions, we will use not only our own observations, media information, but also data from scientific literature, as well as long-term conclusions of publications of the author's team. When one observes a peculiar exodus from the country of the so-called cultural intelligentsia and their subsequent criticism of Russia's policy from abroad, one cannot help but remember historical associations with the period of post-revolutionary Russia. That time, something similar happened to prominent

representatives of humanitarian science and writers of the Fatherland who emigrated from the country. However, the attitude towards them both then and after all these years was and still is twofold: some sympathise with them, others condemn them. O. Masloboeva writes that "Passengers of the famous "Philosophical steamer, who continued abroad fruitful creative activity and became widely known cultural figures in the West, could thus overcome the tragedy of their fate, because they did not lose the spiritual and intellectual ties with the soil of their native culture" (Masloboeva, 2023, p. 21). And the philosopher convincingly substantiates his thesis on the basis of the concept of "life-knowledge". It in its time was put by Slavophiles as a basis when forming Russian organicism and later "was perceived and developed by thinkers of the "Philosophical steamer" as the soil of Russian culture. Its deep assimilation allowed them to fruitfully continue their philosophical work in exile" (Masloboeva, 2023, p. 42).

However, there is an opinion that a couple of dozens of emigrants out of several hundred were able to prove themselves, and only a few out of these dozens were satisfied and happy with their achievements. In general, they lived ambiguous lives and created not so much according to the moulds that had been chosen and already established in their homeland. They created according to how and where circumstances turned. Karsavin's ideas, known in Russia in the doctrine of Eurasianism, gradually faded away and did not find a fruitful continuation. "Even more definite relations with the main religious and philosophical forces of the Russian emigration were not developed" (Khoruzhiy, 2021, p. 17). And there are many such examples.

The history of the "Philosophical Steamer" and biographies of the emigrants testify to the fact that it would be wrong to say that all emigrants caught charms of civilisational advancement in the West. Undoubtedly, Russian scientists and writers joined the creative life, gave lectures, wrote articles and monographs, published newspapers, and participated to the best of their ability in public life, connected in one way or another with events in Russia. Researchers are unanimous; successful creativity accompanied those who were thoroughly and inseparably connected with their native culture and Russian soil.

Much is now known about the tragic history of science in young Soviet Russia. In this article, we are interested in something else: reasons for the departure of intellectuals. Among the reasons for these difficult pages of the history of our fatherland discussed in the literature, the first is the weakness of the intelligentsia. They did not take advantage of fruits of the revolution, not only did not take advantage of subordinating the power under its influence, but also they could not adapt and become in demand by it. The deepest circumstances, in our opinion, are still factors of the class struggle, the alarming, on the verge of a survival situation when the Bolsheviks retained the power. There are also other factors: a struggle with religious clergy, later with kulaks, etc.; actions of authorities, which were perceived by society even then mostly negatively, and they received a generally negative response in history.

What now? Let us analyse the situation by a method of comparing a number of indicators, trying to compare and draw parallels between present circumstances and Russian circumstances of those times. A main argument given nowadays, as well as 100 years ago, as A. Chumakov writes in his book "The Philosophical Steamer" about reasons for the emigration of our compatriots, is an insufficient level or complete absence of civilisation in Russian society at that time and today. The author is convinced that our problems in the social development will continue "until we are firmly on the path of civilised development. In this case, the main focus will be put first of all determining the essence of a truly rule-of-

law state and a degree of development of civil society: "*Man with his inalienable rights and dignity, the real separation of powers and equality of all before the law*" (Chumakov, 2022, p. 42).

However, it is interesting to note that when discussing this book (The Philosophical Steamroller) at the Department of Psychology and Philosophy of Dagestan State University, students pointed out that an issue of human rights, an issue of freedom in general, namely freedom of speech and self-expression, are limited by interests of certain elites, whether ideological or economic. The Basque separatist movements in Spain, the Front for the National Liberation of Corsica in France, the Irish Revolutionary Army in Northern Ireland, movements of various trade unions, and similar communities try in every possible way to limit themselves to solving their own problems rather than to the freedom needs of all citizens. At the same time, students voiced other circumstances besides the problem of freedom as a reason for the craving of part of the young generation to move to countries of the golden billion. "They do not care about political injustice, they are looking for economic prosperity and the opportunity to realise their potential, or they are fleeing from various problems in their homeland, such as serving in the Russian army".

A comparison of quantitative indicators is also of scientific interest. Today, the media voice different figures of those who have left the country in the last two years. There are probably more than a million people. It seems to us that circumstances in terms of the quantity and quality of emigrants, reasons and factors are different then and now. 100 years ago there were far less than a thousand of them with the same population of Russia. Therefore, on the basis of archival materials of the Russian State Archive of State Archives and Information Service of the Russian Academy of Social Sciences, lists for expulsion included 74 people as of 3 August 1922 and 174 people as of 23 August, including: 77 people in Ukraine, 67 people in Moscow, 30 people in Petrograd. According to calculations obtained from the materials of the Archive of the President of the Russian Federation, there were 197 people on the expulsion lists. From the documentary materials stored in the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of Russia, it follows that 228 people were "candidates" for expulsion. At present it was possible to reveal information about the fate of 224 people who, in one way or another, suffered as a result of repression in 1922–1923. One may also note that we are talking about people that were more or less significant in science, artistic creation, social science, etc. Today they are representatives of pop culture and shows, actors and troubadours of neoliberalism, uneducated and intellectually immature young people, citizens of conscription age.

In recent years, liberal ideas in the country have been increasingly negatively evaluated. There is a lot of evidence of this. In particular, in the above-mentioned discussion of the book, the following question was raised: What ideals of humanism and universal values were claimed by the migrants who left the USSR with the ideas of internationalism for the United States, a country of a racial segregation? According to the participants, involved in the discussion of the book, the problem of emigration of the population, including intellectuals, lies in economic disadvantage, in a discrepancy between distorted political ideals of the migrant and a real situation in the country, and many other reasons. Speakers spoke about an image of Russian society perverted by liberals, whereas people have such strong sense of justice in the entire post-Soviet space.

According to A.N. Chumakov, Russia lacks democratic institutions and the people's understanding of their own rights and freedoms, whose acquisition requires forming civil society in these people. "For the victory of democracy, i.e. the power of the people, it is necessary at least to form civil society, which is a reverse side of the coin of democratic society" (Chumakov, 2022, p. 245). But even in this case, there were objections. The following idea was also expressed: civil society has an opportunity to influence something only in a politically weak regime. An opinion even of large public groups, to a small extent and sometimes not at all, influences political decisions of a strong state apparatus. Let us recall protests against an introduction of US military forces into Iraq, which did not actually influence the decision of the leadership in any way. Unrest over various economic and civil reforms aimed at reducing freedoms, even after mass protests in the case of a strong state apparatus, will not affect a decision of the ruling elites. And in favour of civil society in Russia, we can cite an example of Bloody Sunday, which took place after the defeat in the Russo-Japanese war, and protests and strikes that followed it. By the way, people who say that there is no civil society in Russia and that the Russian people are essentially a slave nation often forget about mass peasant uprisings that have occurred throughout Russian history. What is there to say, we had four revolutions in the last century.

6. Findings

The world began to change long before the SWO. The departure from the former rationality: goal-oriented rationality and scientism, inherent in classical civil societies, and a transition to a new rationality (value rationality – M. Weber) since the second half of the twentieth century, influenced culture and other spheres of social life. These are politics, the history of public administration, where a model of "public management" was replaced by a model of "public management", oriented towards "rationality not so much as the realisation of a set goal, but as a process of coordinating goals of various actors": the state, social and economic actors, the state and the society. A liberal principle according to which everything that is not forbidden is allowed in the political practice of the Western democracy often led to a kind of aggressive freedom, clashing interests of different people and groups. On the contrary, a cultivation of "positive freedom is associated with a responsible attitude to the activity, goals and objectives of individuals and does not turn politics into a diffusion of private interests. In such culture and society, individuals willingly and consciously develop pre-determined relations of mutual recognition. Indeed, a political decision is not something external, but is a result of solidary common opinions and actions.

In general, A. N. Chumakov adhered to the classical concept of civil society, and he concluded all his numerous articles and editorial columns in the RFO Bulletin with the same statement: "*And besides, I think that Russia should have a civil society!*" (Chumakov, 2013, 2021). He was referring to European and North American types of civil societies. Rather, he was consistent in defending and empirically updating the content of civil societies from the position of liberal democracy.

However, many representatives of philosophical and political science believe that the time of classical civil societies of European type has passed even for the countries of European civilization. It is already necessary to talk about and justify civil societies of a regional type. There were not only polemical discussions on this subject at conferences, but there are also relevant articles in scientific literature (Bilalov, 2009). At the same time, the authors of regional civil society consider national culture

with its key elements – mentality, traditions, customs – as its basis and significant determinant. They rightly noted that "Both an outcome of the global transformation and the whole prospect of human evolution will be largely determined by a level of historical self-consciousness, a state of spirituality, a size of a cultural layer of peoples and regions of the world" (Tagirov, 2023).

In Dagestan, significant changes have also occurred in recent years, owing to which a citizen in "the socio-cultural environment of Dagestan becomes able to communicate with representatives of other subcultures adequately, without awkward situations, intercultural misunderstandings..." (Akhmedov, 2018). Researchers of local civilisations, proponents of a polycentric world, a regional type of civil society insist not only on a reliance on the ethnic and the national in spiritual life, but also on the integrative role of ideology arising from origins of the past, from an identity of peoples. Such ideology is necessary for a unity of training and education, for the patriotic upbringing of pupils and students, for their awareness of the civilisational development of the country and national republics (Zalibekova, 2023).

7. Conclusion

The issues raised in the article are ambiguous in their solution. A traced supposed logic of consequences of attempts of the military solution to the denazification of Ukraine, a recovery of domestic culture and education in recent years, normalisation of intra-social relations in Russia are quite relevant. A problem of emigration of the population is also not simple; in fact, it is very difficult to understand and to find a solution to it. The formation of civil society alone does not help to stop an outflow of the active part of the population. Personal problems, political instability, economic downturn, and many other reasons may be behind a person's desire to leave his or her native country, and, as a rule, they rarely stand alone. However, the authors have endeavoured to present their findings in a more or less unanimous format.

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