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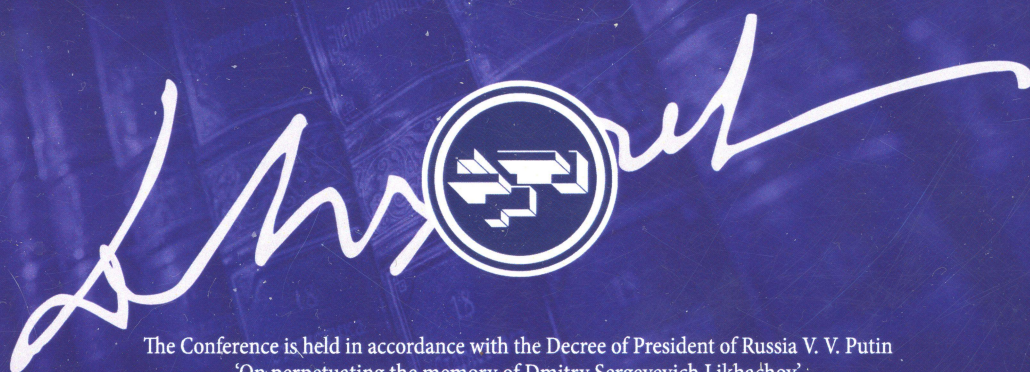
ST. PETERSBURG UNIVERSITY OF THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

under the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia



CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS

The 16th International Likhachov Scientific Conference
May 19–21, 2016



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

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*The conference, originally called 'The Days of Sci-
ence in St. Petersburg University of the Humanities
and Social Sciences' is the 24th in number
and the 16th in the status of the International
Likhachov Scientific Conference*

To implement the project 'The 16th 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 April 1, 2015 No 79–рп
and the tender held by the Association 'Znaniye' of Russia



**St. Petersburg
2016**

Scientific editor

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

Contemporary Global Challenges and National Interests: the 16th International Likhachov Scientific Conference, May 19–21, 2016. St. Petersburg : SPbUHSS, 2016. – 244 p., il.

ISBN 978-5-7621-0885-0

The proceedings of the Plenary session, Panel discussions and Round Table of 16th International Likhachov Scientific Conference are published in the collection. The Conference took place on May 19–21, 2016 in the St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences in accordance with the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation V.V. Putin “On Perpetuating the Memory of D. S. Likhachov”. Representatives of about 30 states took part in 16th Conference.

Among 66 authors of the collection – writer Daniil Granin, outstanding Russian scientists, members of the Russian Academy of Sciences: Chairman of the Committee on Science and Hi-Tech (the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of Russia) V. A. Chereshnev, S. Yu. Glazyev, A. A. Guseynov, A. S. Zapesotsky, V. L. Kvint, A. B. Kudelin, V. A. Lektorsky, A. G. Lisitsyn-Svetlanov, V. L. Makarov, A. D. Nekipelov, R. I. Nigmatulin, A. V. Smirnov, V. S. Styopin, V. A. Tishkov, and others; top-managers of academic institutions and scientific research centers, representatives of higher educational establishments, mass media managers, well-known state and public figures: Chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia M. V. Shmakov, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation G. M. Gatilov, Judge of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation G. A. Hajiyev, Chairman of the State Duma Committee on Constitutional Legislation and State Development V. N. Pligin, Vice president of the Federal Chamber of Lawyers H. M. Reznik, Director of the RAS Institute of Europe Al. A. Gromyko, Dean of the Higher School of Television at the Lomonosov Moscow State University V. T. Tretyakov, Ambassador of Russia to the UK A. V. Yakovenko, and others.

The following people are among the foreign authors of the collection – Duchess of Abercorn (United Kingdom), President of Kirgizia (1990–2005) academician A. A. Akaev, Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007) Sh. Aziz, Princess of Saudi Arabia Basmah bint Saud bin Abdul Aziz Al Saud, Ambassador of Azerbaijan to the Russian Federation P. Bülbüloğlu, Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997) J. Wiatr, President of Geneva International Peace Research Institute (GIPRI) G. Galice, banker Bruno Desgardins (Switzerland), Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of Finance of Poland (1994–1997, 2002–2003) Professor G.W. Kolodko, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Spain (2004–2010) M. A. Moratinos, Ambassador of Spain to the Russian Federation (2008–2011) J. A. March, Lord C. Moynihan (Great Britain), Ambassador of Iran to the Russian Federation M. Sanayee; members of foreign Academies of Sciences: A. N. Danilov (Byelorussia), V. Prodanov (Bulgaria), P. P. Tolochko (Ukraine); Professors: S. R. Ameli (Iran), C. Varga (Hungary), J. Galbraith (USA), P. Dutkiewicz (Canada), V. Ingimundarson (Iceland), H. Köchler (Austria), M. Kukoč (Croatia), N. Mosaffa (Iran), T. Rockmore (China), V. della Sala (Italy), J. Sapir (France), T. Türker (Turkey) and others.

The President of the Russian Federation V. V. Putin has highly evaluated the role of the Reading saying in his welcoming speech that at the forum, which “has become a really big event and a wonderful tradition in public, spiritual life of the country... the agenda of the meetings always includes the most urgent humanitarian, civilization problems having exceptional importance for the present and the future of Russia”.

ББК 72

ASHOK SAJJANHAR , <i>Secretary of the National Foundation for Communal Harmony (India)</i> INDIA'S ACT EAST POLICY – CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES	118
VINCENT DELLA SALA , <i>Professor at the University of Trento (Italy)</i> THE EUROPEAN UNION AND ITS MANY CRISES	121
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> GLOBAL FINANCE, NATIONAL INTERESTS, AND THE MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT	124
A. V. SMIRNOV , <i>Director of the RAS Institute of Philosophy, Corresponding Member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (Philosophy)</i> IS ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION PROJECT FEASIBLE TODAY?	129
V. S. STYOPIN , <i>Head 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> TRANSMUTATION OF VALUES AND INTERESTS AT THE CURRENT STAGE OF CIVILIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT	131
V. A. TISHKOV , <i>Head of History and Philology Division, Russian Academy of Sciences, Scientific director of the RAS Institute of ethnology and anthropology, full member of the RAS, professor of history and anthropology. Honored Scientist of the Russian Federation</i> ETHNO-CULTURAL COMPLEXITY WITHIN THE CURRENT GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT	136
P. P. TOLOCHKO , <i>Director of the Institute of Archaeology of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, academician of the NAS of Ukraine, foreign member of the RAS, Dr. Sc. (History), Professor</i> UKRAINE: WEST EUROPEAN FUTURE WITHOUT EAST SLAVIC PAST?	138
TAŞANSU TÜRKER , <i>Director of the Research Centre for Eurasian, Russian and East European Studies, Associate Professor, Doctor of Political Sciences Faculty at the Ankara University (Turkey)</i> QUESTIONS ON CRISIS OF MODERNITY, SEARCH FOR IDENTITY AND DEMOCRACY ON THE SHORES OF THE WEST	142
CSABA VARGA , <i>Professor emeritus of the Institute of jurisprudence at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Peter Pazman Catholic University (Budapest), Ph.D.</i> GLOBAL CHALLENGE, RULE OF LAW, AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST (Debating Universalism/Particularism in the Euro-Atlantic Civilisation)	146
JERZY J. WIATR , <i>Minister of National Education of Poland (1996–1997), deputy to the Polish Parliament (Sejm) (1991–1997, 2001), Dr. Sc. (Sociology), Professor</i> INTERNATIONAL CONFLICTS IN THE 21st CENTURY AND THE CULTURE OF PEACE	150
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, Honored worker of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation</i> GLOBAL CHALLENGES OF THE DAY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	152
A. S. ZAPESOTSKY , <i>President of St. Petersburg University of the Humanities and Social Sciences, corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Sc. (Cultural Studies), Professor, Scientist Emeritus of the Russian Federation</i> THE USA STRUGGLING FOR CONTROL OVER THE EUROPEAN UNION	154
JUNYONG ZHANG , <i>Head of Department of Economic Science at Shijiazhuang Railway University (China), Dr. Sc. (Economics), Professor</i> CURRENT CHALLENGES FOR RUSSIA AND CHINA UNDER GLOBALIZED CONTEXT	157
Plenary Session “CONTEMPORARY GLOBAL CHALLENGES AND NATIONAL INTERESTS”	161
Participants: A. A. Akayev, S. R. Ameli, Sh. Aziz, P. Bülbüloğlu, V. A. Chereshnev, P. Dutkiewicz, J. Galbraith, G. M. Gatilov, S. Yu. Glazyev, D. A. Granin, A. A. Guseynov, G. A. Hajiyev, G. W. Kolodko, A. B. Kudelin, V. L. Kvint, V. A. Lektorsky, V. L. Makarov, J. A. March, M. A. Moratinos, A. Moussa, C. Moynihan, A. D. Nekipelov, R. I. Nigmatulin, H. M. Reznik, T. Rockmore, A. Sajjanhar, V. della Sala, M. Sanayee, M. V. Shmakov, V. S. Styopin, V. A. Tishkov, P. P. Tolochko, V. T. Tretyakov, T. Türker, A. S. Zapesotsky	
Panel Discussion “INTERSTATE COOPERATION IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM”	188
Speakers:	
G. M. GATILOV , <i>Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (moderator)</i>	
Shaukat AZIZ , <i>Prime Minister of Pakistan (2004–2007)</i>	
Piotr DUTKIEWICZ , <i>Director of the Centre for Governance and Public Management at Carleton University (Canada), PhD;</i>	
Gabriel GALICE , <i>President of Geneva International Peace Research Institute;</i>	
Al. A. GROMYKO , <i>Director of the RAS Institute of Europe, Doctor of Political Science</i>	
Miguel Angel MORATINOS , <i>Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Spain (2004–2010), Honorary Doctor of SPbUHSS</i>	
Amr MOUSSA , <i>Secretary General of the League of Arab States (2001–2011), Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt (1991–2001)</i>	
Colin B. MOYNIHAN , <i>Statesman, public person of Great Britain, Member of the House of Lords in the British Parliament</i>	

A. V. Smirnov¹

IS ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION PROJECT FEASIBLE TODAY?

This discourse is composed considering the following four issues:

- Why is the Islamic civilization project worth speaking about?
- Does Islam want to offer its civilization project today?
- Did the Islamic civilization project exist historically and was it attractive?
- What are contemporary Islamic theories lacking in order to become a civilization project?

Issue one: why is the Islamic civilization project worth speaking about?

Answer: globalization is the time of the full-court press of the Western civilization project threatening with cultural leveling. As languages are disappearing en masse, cultures are also starting to disappear en masse. This is obvious. It will be enough to remember Martin Heidegger and his “Black Notebooks” in order to confirm that philosophers have been speaking about that for a long time. Culture’s disappearance does not necessarily mean its extermination, as disappearance may also take place in the form of external preservation. It’s important that culture is being marginalized: it becomes to be understood exclusively as original everyday life, not as a core of the world outlook and philosophy of life determining a man’s self-understanding and his attitude to another man, society and the world. Culture turns into a museum of special forms of cooking, garments, playing music (such terms as “ethno-cuisine”, “ethno-music”, etc. are already in use; it’s interesting that the European culture phenomena are usually lacking the “ethno” prefix: it seems that the fate of the culture common to all mankind is in store for them and this is another way of marginalizing non-Western cultures), it stops being the phenomenon shaping an integral man.

Only a culture relying on its own civilization project can hold out in globalization times. However, the project should be attractive in order for the culture exactly to *hold out*, resist disappearance and marginalization. It is quite interesting to speak about Islam because in this case it is possible to raise an issue of its own civilization project.

Issue two: does Islam want to offer its civilization project today?

Answer: we can hardly doubt it. In several years, Iran will be celebrating the 40-year anniversary of the Islamic Revolution, which launched (now we can speak about it with a big degree of assurance) a new age in the history of contemporary Muslim states being the age of attempts to carry out the Islamic civilization project practically.

There are two main vectors of such attempts revealed in the Sunnite world. First, these are traditional Islamic regimes of the Arabian peninsula which are now implementing certain reforms and striving to show the world an attractive aspect of the Islamic civilization project. It is no secret that these states are striving to expand their influence far beyond the Arabian peninsula in order to put their vision of civilization arrangement into practice on other territories.

Second, there is the notorious Islamic State (IS). Crazy IS actions are known to everyone, and it is absolutely evident that they fail to fall into the pattern of not only civilization, but barbarism either. Those actions disseminated by mass media fall out of all classifications thought out by mankind to systemize good and evil (and even criminal) actions.

There is no doubt in that. The problem is that it is impossible to bring the IS phenomenon to such actions only. The IS would have not only lost its mass support long ago, but it would have hardly originated in such a form it exists now, unless it exploited the mass psychological condition, which, in my opinion, has been characterizing Muslim communities since the second half of the 20th century, most ruthlessly and shamelessly. I mean the phenomenon, for which the term “Islamic conscience” (*Al-Sahwa Al-Islamiyya*) is usually used in literature.

What is Islamic conscience? The translation does not fully give the idea of the Arab term and it would be better to convey it using the words “sensitivity”, “ability to feel acutely”, etc. This is a mass psychological phenomenon, a kind of “collective unconscious” typical for Muslim states. First of all, the Islamic conscience is expressed externally in the wish to wear the Muslim clothing, maintain the Muslim look, follow the Muslim standards in everyday life, communication, etc. However, the Islamic conscience presumes not only copying the external forms of life arrangement in a classical Muslim society, it is aimed at much more: at following the whole system of classical Muslim life arrangement.

Where does this mass psychological striving come from? The answer to this question is clear and it is not a secret: the whole system of Islamic religious doctrine and world outlook creates a firm conviction of a Muslim that Islam provides the best arrangement of both the earthly life and the afterlife being more successful than in case of neighboring adherents of different faiths. As for the afterlife, let its Islamic competitive advantages be discussed by those, who have to do it according to their status and profession. As for the successes of Islam in arranging the earthly life, that is, exactly the Islamic civilization project, it is not beyond our powers to judge whether it was historically offered by Islam, attractive for its followers and successful.

Issue three: did the Islamic civilization project exist historically and was it attractive?

Answer: there is no doubt that classical Islam offered an integrated civilization project based on the developed ideological system determining the global view and attitude of a Muslim in all significant details. This project included the worked out ethics emphasizing the necessity of a well thought-out and exclusively personal decision of a

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Muslim which serves as a driving force for practically any of his deeds. This understanding clearly opposed in the part of ethics the Islamic civilization project to the pre-Islamic (al-Jahiliyyah) collective project. Islamic ethics are worked out in detail as a classification of rules and prescriptions, regulating the relations of a man with another man and a man with God. The ethics system is directly fused with the Islamic law, though it is far from being identical to it. The Islamic law was an important life regulator in the classical Muslim society. Social relations, economics and special economic forms typical to Islam, finally, politics and forms of political systems were worked out in detail in classical Islamic sciences and found their embodiment in the life practice of a Muslim state and society.

Was the Islamic civilization project attractive? I'll quote Alvar Paul, a well-known Christian author of the 9th century, who lived in Cordoba: "Many of my fellow believers read poems and fairytales written by Arabs, study works of Muslim philosophers and theologians not to disprove them but to learn to express themselves in Arabic more correctly and gracefully. Where can we find at least one who can read Latin comments to the Holy Scripture? Who among them studies the Gospel, Prophets and Apostles? Alas! All Christian young men, who stand out thanks to their talents, know only the language and literature of the Arabs; they read and study Arab books zealously; they spend a lot of money in order to collect big libraries and they announce at the top of their voices that this literature is worthy and amazing. If you tell them about Christian books, they answer disdainfully that these books are unworthy of any attention. Woe is me! Christians even forgot their language, and hardly one in a thousand can be found, who can write a fairly good letter in Latin to his friend. On the contrary, there are uncountable numbers of those who can speak Arabic extraordinary well and write poems in this language more beautifully and artfully than Arabs themselves".

Islam further fulfilled its promises as to the success of the civilization project, when the Muslim states were evidently superior culturally and economically to Europe up until the European Renaissance. Even though the Muslims knew about those wonderful discoveries and achievements of European thought, which the European culture owes to the Renaissance and scientific and technical boom following it, on the whole, at the level of mass psychology, the former assuredness in the success of the Islamic civilization project generated a kind of calmness in Islamic intellectual circles and it was preserved under its own momentum for many more centuries. As Muslim authors often say, a distinctive and sudden change took place after Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt (1798–1801). When Europeans started throwing their weight about in Muslim lands, it actually became impossible to keep the former calm assuredness in the Arabs' successfulness. The 19th and the 20th centuries were a period of sobering, when the Islamic intellectual world started looking for answers to the questions "Who is guilty in our civilization backwardness?" and "What should be done to overcome this backwardness?".

Arab and Muslim countries, while liberating from colonial and semi-colonial dependence, tried various models of state systems and socioeconomic development in the 20th century. However, they were models brought from the outside anyway being different versions of the European civilization project, no matter if it was Westernization or socialist orientation. Abolition of the Caliphate as a result of Kemal

Ataturk's revolution in Turkey in the beginning of the 20th century became a great shock for the traditional Islamic conscience. Though in practice, if the Caliphate did exist as the only proper political system for Islamic world Ummah, then it could exist only during the rule of the first four pious Caliphs. However, it has always played the role of the ideal for Islamic conscience, without which the whole system of Islamic world attitude is unthinkable. Already during the classical times, the Caliphate turned into something more like a symbol; but symbols are sometimes more real and powerful for culture and mass conscience than the actually existing realities. Reaction to the Caliphate's abolition followed immediately. Abd ar-Raziq and a number of his followers presented a theory of Islam's secular character as an exclusively spiritual phenomenon, stating that political and social life should be arranged without looking back at Islam as the ideology system. However, there were not so many of them. A significant part of Muslim intellectuals answered Caliphate's abolition with a whole range of theories, which are nowadays traditionally defined using a general term "political Islam". Their essence can be brought down to Islam being a complex phenomenon, in which socioeconomic and political sides are inalienable from ideological and spiritual. One should admit that the authors of such theories are hardly mistaken stating that. I'd look at these structures on the whole as an attempt of Islamic intellectuals to oppose something to the vanishing Islamic life arrangement, an attempt to fix at least in theory what is already non-existent in practice.

Thus, the mass development of Islamic conscience, which can be followed at the level of public psychology, collective unconscious, supported by ideological provision in the form of the whole range of Islamic political theories, establishing the complex character of Islam as a system of civilization arrangement, is a reality of the second half of the 20th century and the early 21st century. It is exactly this mass phenomenon exploited by IS ideologists and rulers. However, if we want to assess the character of the processes, which led to IS appearance, correctly, then we have to take into account this colossal mass psychological process taking place during the 20th century in Muslim states and which was brought about by existentialist longing for their own Islamic civilization project.

Issue four: what are contemporary Islamic theories lacking in order to become a civilization project?

Answer: I think that they are lacking two fundamental things being an existentialist component and working out of the rationality issue.

It is not accidental that contemporary Islamic life arrangement theories are called political Islam. Their authors confine themselves to discussing the issue of the forms of Islamic political rule, which should be brought into life in modern states. In essence, this is just an attempt to reanimate the old forms of the political system, without paying attention to their real civilization contents. It is absolutely not accidental that advocates of those theories failed or at least brought about mass rejection of the most part of the Islamic world in Sunnite states, where they got an opportunity to try them in practice, no matter if it was a short Islamists' rule in Egypt after Husni Mubarak's removal from power or the Islamic State in a number of contemporary Arab countries. The ugliness of attempts to carry out the Islamic civilization project in the current forms, proceeds exactly from this aspect – insipidness of civilization contents.

What can be understood under the existentialist component of a hypothetical Islamic civilization project? Here is what Fadwa El Guindi says about it in one of her books¹: “One can locate the rhythmicity of interweaving spatiality and temporality of Islam in scripture. When combined with Muslim life, as described in the various chapters, a Muslim web of life is revealed that has been developing out of a creative idea since the seventh century. Moving in and out of the five daily prayers (salat) establishes a particular quality to the pattern of the day. It creates a distinctive Muslim rhythm, which is established by this interweaving of daily prayers in daily life. More than any other daily practice or task, intermittently praying throughout the day weaves a rhythm of fluid, interwoven temporality and spatiality that makes daily life of and for a Muslim distinctive and unique” (p. 137).

“There is no doubt that a Muslim feels and lives Islam and experiences time and space in interweaving rhythm. This is what immigrants in an adopted homeland must miss – Islam’s rhythm. They might be missing it despite regular praying at home and in mosque, fasting, participating in Islamic community life” (p. 123).

What creates this temporal and spatial rhythm making the Muslim life existentialist pattern according to El Guindi? Let’s point to the fact that the matter lies not in performing the ritual obligations, as the Muslim immigrants follow all the ritual prescriptions in the states to which they moved. The essence is in a different matter difficult to be articulated, yet more powerful, felt by a Muslim as the authentic reality.

What can be understood under rationality, which should support the Islamic civilization project? This should be discussed separately. I will mention two examples only. A modern Moroccan philosopher Muhamad Abid Al-Jabiri develops the Arab mind theory comparing it with the Western (Greek) mind and opposing them to one another in his well-known work “Critique of the Arab Mind” (in 4 volumes, 1982–2001). I will also mention M. Arkun who develops the Islamic mind theory².

If an Islamic civilization project can be successful today, it will be only attained in case of basing on existentialist and rational components. There is still no such Islamic project which would take this into account and could have a chance to be successfully brought into life in practice. Will it be done in future? We’ll see.

V. S. Styopin³

~~TRANSMUTATION OF VALUES AND INTERESTS AT THE CURRENT STAGE OF CIVILIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT~~

~~National interests vary depending on the historical development stage of a certain society type. Their transformation is most radical, if the fundamental values determining the civilizational development type are modified. The modern age of aggravated global issues caused by man-made civilization raises the question of selecting new development strategies more strongly. This, in turn, implies a critical analysis of the value base and the interests of specific societies which have taken the path of man-made development.~~

¹ By Noon Prayer: the Rhythm of Islam. Oxford ; N. Y., 2008.

² For more details about Al-Jabiri and Arkun and their theoretical constructs see: Фролова Е. А. Дискурс арабской философии. М., 2016 (Frolova E. A. Discourse on Arabic Philosophy. M., 2016).

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~~Interaction of countries and world regions during globalization is still being deployed in line with the already approved strategies: expanding market economy and accelerating technological progress.~~

~~In recent decades, the global market has started demonstrating the trends of the new division of labour. A frequently used metaphor has become their expression as follows: China is the world’s factory, the USA is the world’s scientific and technological laboratory and Russia is the supplier of raw materials and a depository of raw materials resources.~~

~~Indeed, this formula is generally simplifying and schematizing, like any metaphor. However, it captures some of the main trends of the last decades. Anyway, the said positions are included in the national interests of China and the USA. As for Russia, there was a time when its place in the world economy as a market actor engaged in extracting raw materials was perceived as an expression of its national interest.~~

~~There was a stage when the statement “Russia is a great energy superpower” expressed the understanding of the future of the Russian economy. This statement basically meant continuation of increasing oil and gas production and transportation thereof to the world market supplemented by high-tech nuclear energy production. It was believed, although not particularly articulated, that everything else necessary for the country development (including new technologies) was more profitable to buy using the income derived from exports.~~

~~The current situation of falling world energy prices and increased competition in the market of crude hydrocarbons has demonstrated the vulnerability of such strategies. It was also found that the acquisition of new technologies at the~~

Scientific edition

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(СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ГЛОБАЛЬНЫЕ ВЫЗОВЫ И НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЕ ИНТЕРЕСЫ

XVI Международные Лихачевские научные чтения
19–21 мая 2016 года)

Выпускающий редактор *И. В. Петрова*
Художественное оформление *А. М. Бриль*
Технический редактор *Л. В. Климкович*

ISBN 978-5-7621-0885-0



Подписано в печать с оригинала-макета 28.09.16. Формат 60x90/8
Гарнитура Times New Roman. Усл. печ. л. 30,5. Тираж 300 экз. Заказ № 109

Санкт-Петербургский Гуманитарный
университет профсоюзов
192238, Санкт-Петербург, ул. Фучика, 15