

CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES: SCIENCE AND CULTURE BETWEEN THE JUST WORLD ORDER AND THE “ICE WAR”¹

This year, the Russian language and international vocabulary together with it were enriched by a new set phrase – the “Ice War”. This word combination is used to denote the state in which political, economic, cultural and even sports relations find themselves in Europe and in a considerable part of the world as a whole. The father of this term is Ivica Dačić, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia. It’s well-known that his Motherland was the first country in Europe after World War II, the peaceful inhabitants of which, their houses, hospitals, factories, bridges and cultural properties were massively bombed from the air. The results are great loss of life and material damage, which turned a flourishing country on the Balkan peninsular into a poor soul standing by the doors of united Europe.

Establishment of the new European order in this part of the continent, that followed the aggression, dealt a deadly blow on the monuments of the South Slavic culture, language and science in the primary center of Serbian statehood and cultural identity of this nation.

In his time, Dmitry Sergeevich Likhachov, who studied the influence of Bulgarian and Serbian written texts on Russian culture and literature of the 14th – 15th centuries, the so-called the second South Slavic influence, singled out “distinctiveness, expressiveness, adequate communication of the essence of the expressed with words”² as its special features. D.S. Likhachov wrote that the word “was the essence of phenomena. To name things meant to understand them”³.

I think that this characteristic given by the great Russian scientist engaged in cultural studies, can be applied to the “Ice War” term created by the head of Serbian diplomats, as to expressiveness and adequateness of description. Dačić is

¹ The paper was prepared as a part of the Fundamental Research Program of the Presidium of the RAS for 2018 “22. Analysis and Forecast of New Global Challenges for Russia”. Subprogram “Africa in New Global Realities: Challenges and Opportunities for Russia”

² *Likhachov D.S.* “Some Tasks of Studying the Second South Slavic Influence in Russia”. Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Soviet Committee of specialists in Slavic studies. Publishing House of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Moscow, 1958. p. 24

³ *Ibid*, p. 23

sure: “It’s not a cold war anymore, it’s an ice war, they even want to boycott the World Cup. From Serbia they require to speak on various issues – from incidents in the UK to the trade war with China. Further aggregation of relations between world forces and diplomats’ recalls are expected”.⁴

What are the reasons of transfer from the Perestroika (restructuring) and post-Perestroika euphoria with typical for it dreams about the common European house, where we are guaranteed a spacious and comfortable apartment with high-quality European-style decoration, to tough confrontation in political, economic, social and cultural spheres? How did it happen that after a quarter of a century of discussions of the lack of reasons for a cold war as a result of overcoming global ideological conflicts of capitalism and communism by way of our country’s refusal from the ideology of the latter, we found ourselves where we are today?

It’s necessary to say that there are more similarities than differences between the Cold War and the Ice War. Both are the War of Essences. Opposition in the previous one, the Cold War, was built on the foundation of the “capitalism-socialism/communism” ideology. It was a military expression of the competition between the two systems. Currently, there is no competition of systems. There is even no competition at the nation-state level. There is no need for Russia in its current post-Soviet state to compete with the West. It’s required for it to restore its economy, the population, improve its standard of living, restore the areas and sectors devastated by senseless reforms. These are the most important and most urgent tasks of its contemporary development. But the main thing is that Russia should preserve its cultural and civilization identity in order for all that to have a historical meaning, in order for Russia not to disappear.

The united West with the United States at the head destroyed its ideological opponent in the Cold War, i.e. the opponent that had its own global ideological project, aspiring to the role of an alternative cultural and moral core for a part of the mankind in the War of Essences.⁵ After the victory, the West disintegrated the

⁴ <http://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/5067865>

⁵ *Vladimirov A.* Report on the topic: “Hybrid Wars in the General Theory of War” at the “Hybrid Wars in the 21st Century”. Military University of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation. January 28, 2015. Moscow. p. 2.

alternative ideological and cultural as well as resource space formed by its opponent, the West annexed a part of it immediately, and dealing with the other part, development of which required serious additional resources and efforts lacking at the moment the Cold War ended, was postponed to the future.

Now, this future has come. The “Ice War” for the today’s West is nothing more than the “finishing off war” to murder the knocked down rival. But the fallen unexpectedly managed to get on his feet, focused and started dealing rather perceptible successive blows, fighting back. All efforts were engaged in order to save the reputation of the discouraged champion: blows below the belt, crooked referees, the united chorus of paid-for commentators and brawlers at the stands.

Surely, the things said should not be taken literary, a fight in the boxing ring, knockdown and the “Ice War” are metaphors. However, the essence-modeling possibilities of the latter should not be ignored. Individuals form new concepts of the reality in metaphoric nominations, basing on the set images already present in their conscience.⁶

The end of the Cold War was marked by a number of processes and upheavals, certifying fundamental changes taking place in the global system. It’s well-known that wars don’t just end by victory of one of the parties and signing a peace treaty on the victor’s terms.⁷ As a result of world wars, victors determine the post-war world model, make the new world order legitimate via the renewed international legal regulation system, correct national laws of the losing side. They dictate the latter their rules of the game. In short, they use strategic fruits of their victory in war, including the right to seize and consume the loser’s resources.

Systemic processes have become the determining features for world system development in the late 20th century and early 21st century: internationalization, globalization and integration. They transform it in the direction of overcoming internal separating membranes of state borders and ideally turning (it seems that it’s still impossible to achieve in real world) it into the integrated one whole – giant

⁶ *Khorechko U.V.* The Metaphor of “War” in Scientific Historical Discourse (based on the materials of “The Full Course of Lectures on the History of Russia by S.F. Platonov”) // <https://moluch.ru/archive/31/3526/>

⁷ *Vladimirov A. I.* The Principles of the General Theory of War. Monograph, in 2 parts. Part 1. Moscow: 2012

economic macro-cell with the powerful nucleus of the center, surrounded by protoplasm of culturally and civilizationally alien to the center periphery, the role of which is to feed the nucleus, provide its further development and growth as well as protect from unfavorable effects of the environment and help healing internal pathologies.⁸

Various cultural and civilizational areas of the world started feeling the growing impact of desovereignization and other processes referred to the global governance category, after the end of the Cold War and the start of propagating the monopolar world order model. The global picture will be not only incomplete but also distorted if the ties between trends for constructing a stronger pyramid from elements of international and/or supranational governance of world economic processes, sectoral rules of the game and further cultural and civilization evolution are not taken into account.⁹

According to the prevailing in the West contemporary international relations theories, such governance supposes (at least at the declaration level) creation of organizational forms, mostly coming nearer to satisfaction of respective global social demands. But at the same time the governance theory supposes existence of objects and subjects of governance as well as clear goal-setting in the process. If there are no certain goals, tasks, and the tools to achieve both are not outlined, the need in governance does not appear. From the time of the end of the Cold War, the global governance agenda was determined by the countries aspiring to global leadership in the Cold War and bearers of “everything good against everything bad”.

The established global rules of the game were invariably interpreted in their favor. The introduced agreements strengthened their economic, political, scientific and cultural domineering in the world. Various international anti-corruption, environmental, anti-doping, anti-money-laundering, anti-dumpling and other measures and sanctions are systematically used very selectively. For example, the

⁸ *Fituni L.L., Abramova I.O.* Governing Laws of Formation and Change of World Economic Development Models // World Economy and International Relations. 2012. # 7. P. 3-15.

⁹ *Fituni L.L.* Change of World Development Models and Global Governance in Civilization Dimension // The East. Afro-Asian Societies: History and Modern Times. 2013. # 4. P. 18-29.

International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague in the course of its 15 years of operation officially brought 41 public suits, all of them against Africans, as results of investigations initiated by the Prosecutor.¹⁰ African leaders were outraged by such selective attitude of the supranational body of global governance and even dedicated a special summit of the African Union in October, 2013 to this issue. The heads of states and governments of the continent accused the ICC in biasness, calling it a tool of Western imperialism because they think that the attention of the Court to Africa is disproportional. Though the ICC has the global mandate, all nine national cases, investigated by the ICC before January, 2016, referred to African states. Until now, the Court punished exclusively leaders from weak states, ignoring crimes committed by richer and more powerful states. All imprisoned African political leaders turned out to be opponents of the West or lost its support by the end of their term in power. It should not be forgotten that all of them turned out to be the main corruptionists in their countries, besides being charged with war and political crimes. However, the Court at the same time leaves out accomplices and frequent initiators of corruption crimes – big Western business and politicians “developing” African resources.

The monopolar world model established after the Cold War started breaking down in the last decade under the impact of “new” global power centers. The power and influence redistribution process has been outlined on the globe. New poles of the forming polycentric international system have been brought forward. Certain countries, e.g. China, India, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico and others acquired a non-typical for them before economic power and geopolitical importance. At the same time, the West, which won the Cold War, started slowly losing control, at least over some of the world economy governance levers, which until now were at its disposal unconditionally.

Surely, it’s still early to say that “old” power centers are unambiguously deprived or will be deprived in future of their economic and geostrategic positions.

¹⁰ See *ICC case information sheets* for each defendant on the website [http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/PIDS/publications/...](http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/PIDS/publications/) For example, <http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/PIDS/publications/KenyattaEng.pdf> etc.

As the history shows, the period of “economic decline” of any superpower was fairly long until now, except in cases of its crushing defeat at war and following it total looting. At the same time, it was never linear. And the descending powers themselves apply maximum efforts to stay afloat and make the rise of rivals more difficult if not prevent it.

The “Ice War” is one of such consolidated attempts. It has its special feature: though the victory in it is intended finally to provide a new amount of resources to preserve the domineering position of “old players” in the forming world order system, currently this task can be solved without a direct armed conflict with the opponent. Social and humanitarian technologies are becoming the main tools of the “Ice War” – including in culture, science and even arts, reformatting the cultural, historical and civilization matrix of the opposite side, bringing unacceptable damage to it at the same time. Humanitarian technologies are confirmed by new forms and kinds of struggle – psychological actions against the enemy population, operations with employment of social networks, political manipulations, disinformation, etc.¹¹

The “Ice War” is directed at suppression of the opponent’s will, his subordination and turning into a tool to achieve one’s own goals. Today, when a direct armed clash with an opponent of the same power is fraught with irreversible breakdown and critical damage for old players, the will suppression component becomes almost the main weapon of confrontation in the new type war. The task of opponent’s will suppression is solved by consecutive wide-range increase of pressure on the opponent in all areas – economy, politics, culture, science and technology, sports.

The most important component on this way is psychological pressure not only from the outside but also from the inside. The people are taught to get used to the thought that generally accepted standards of justice, law, morals are not working in case of their country. Decisions may be taken without a court of law

¹¹ *Abramova I.O., Polikanov D.V., Fituni L.L.* The Internet, Transformation of the Society and Network Warfare. // In collection of works: Russian Strategic Research. Moscow, 2002. P. 136-150

and without proof, property can be confiscated at will both from natural persons and a sovereign state, courts of law and arbitration courts use different legal approaches in similar cases, similar international precedents can be at will acknowledged either legitimate or illegitimate. All those separate acts of aggression in the context of the “Ice War” acquire an ominous meaning as a complex wide-range aggression with the purpose to break the will for resistance at first and dispose of the victim later.

As the recent past and the present show, the desired result is more easily achieved by way of winning the elites, whose well-being depends on their being regarded with favor by old players, over to their side. However, if they don’t manage to do that for some reasons, the social life chaotization process is launched in the country. Political systems and rules existing in it are announced unfit and worthless, and not obligatory for observance. The consequences of that are generally known. We’ll give just one example – Syria, though surely others come to mind at once as well.

The changed geopolitical environment and strengthening of Russia’s positions in the world, Russian Federation’s leadership in a number of defense technologies, convincingly demonstrated in the President’s speeches, inclines the states opposing the Russian Federation and influential non-state players to forced advance at our country in the directions, where recently they managed to achieve critically important success by studying the Russian society and its undermining from the inside with a complex of managerial, political, economic, social and cultural technologies.

The increase of the humanitarian knowledge’s (science’s) role became evident already by the end of the previous century as the fundamental principle of the established confrontation, not inferior to but in long historical periods exceeding achievements in military technology and equipment in strategic importance. In recent decades, the West on the whole and its social science in particular mastered contemporary “hybrid” warfare technologies to be used in humanitarian space.

These threats grow at a big rate. There is significant lagging behind in many aspects in Russia because of underestimating humanitarian defense space and insufficient provision of our humanitarian home front.

Adequate counter-measures are vitally required for the future of the country. Deep fundamental developments, allowing to understand the mechanisms of world development, revealing the psychology of big masses of people and individuals present opportunities for their creative governance in the interests of well-being growth and development of the Motherland, and at the same time allow to successfully resist attempts to undermine and weaken the Russian society. This in essence is equivalent to the task of providing national security and defense potential of our country.

Such knowledge based on strictly scientific analysis, free from manipulations with the data depending on the state of affairs and rushing after unnecessary “scientometric indicators” in humanitarian sciences can in strategic perspective protect the society from the known today information and psychological war means, ideological sabotages, creation of dividing lines and chaos in the Russian society and managing it.

Underestimate of such threats, which are real, and inability to concentrate forces, formulate and adequately provide scientific and technological developments in the humanitarian field, allot the required resources and the required for that efforts, made the Soviet Union, which had giant technological possibilities and military parity with the West in the past, an easy victim of the latter. In the end they led to disintegration of the country.

A similar development model but on smaller scales though frequently with more tragic consequences was repeated in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, Georgia, the Ukraine and a number of other countries. The systems of external target society (country) governance are perfected all the time.

The hybrid warfare is transferred into humanitarian space. This is assisted by the so-called social engineering, a branch of science that has been developing in the West for several decades, and expanding technological opportunities of direct

transborder impact on the target object, over the heads of national governments. Influence in global humanitarian space, protection and promotion of one's values are the obligatory conditions for joining and being among the powers aspiring to an independent role in the forming polycentric world.

It is possible to avoid the destructive impact and turn evident failures of the past backwards on some hybrid warfare fronts in humanitarian space, if the system of scientifically verified humanitarian knowledge, fundamental and applied social sciences giving keys for understanding development vectors and the society's demands are formed in advance as well as a set of certain means and mechanisms to efficiently affect their formation in the required direction and in due time.

At the same time, the sphere of culture is almost the main area to be protected and capable to provide victory in the "Ice War". Today, there is unprecedented attacks on the Russian spoken and written language. Scientists are made to publish their best works, first of all, in highly ranked foreign journals, i.e. in foreign languages. Thus, our academic literature is automatically devaluated by the efforts of narrow-minded officials, rushing after easily measured financial efficiency indicators.

It's important to provide adequate and timely financing as well as provide technologies for humanitarian research and development (foreign relations, economics, sociology, political science, history, language, culture, etc.), protecting the public space of Russian civilization and "Russian world" from threats both inside the country and beyond it. The primary task on that way is overcoming the wide-spread trends and approaches, proceeding from the idea as if any knowledge, initiative, publication, etc. from abroad are *ceteris paribus* "more valuable and significant" than similar domestic ones, and the value of Russian humanitarian research, in the opinion of Russian officials, is determined by acknowledgement of these achievements or approaches by some Western "experts".

The supremacy of English-speaking space in the academic circles leads to the fact that young scientists are focused on publications abroad from the beginning of their activities in science, and thus they are washed out of the Russian

academic circles and in future they continue their academic careers abroad. This actually breaks the continuity of generations, helps “brain drain” from the Russian Federation and leads to real destruction of Russian science, which is a direct threat for national security of our country.

Russian culture as a concentrated expression of Russian identity is the main defense line in the “Ice War” battles. There is no Russia without it. It confirms the society’s development level, its creative forces and opportunities for further growth. Studies of technological aspects of inter-cultural communications are the most important and urgent task. The managed acculturation, or to be more exact, cultural expansion should be put on the level of the most important foreign policy priorities.

I’ll give an example of due, in my opinion, attitude to one’s cultural riches and national language. It is said in the first item of the official working document of one British organization titled without unnecessary modesty “Britain’s Place in the World: A Force for Good?” that the United Kingdom has been considered an irreplaceable global player with the great history of participation in world affairs since the ancient times. It has a wide range of priceless economic, military, diplomatic and cultural values, including the English language, which strengthens the role of the country in building the international system of post-war rules and as an active force when problems are solved all over the world. It’s necessary to increase these values in order for them to serve as the basis for positive inclusion of the United Kingdom in world affairs.¹²

There is a strict system built in this country for using “soft power” in its national interests. There is a special Committee on Soft Power and the UK’s Influence in the Parliament (the House of Lords). By the way, sport in the Committee’s documents is unconditionally referred to British soft power tools. As we can see, London is ready to toughly fight for them.

It seems to me that it is also urgently required for us to make support and creative use of the cultural component in academic and popular diplomacy more

¹² Report “Britain’s place in the world: a force for good?” Thursday 9 – Friday 10 November 2017 | WP1597. P.1

systemic. Working at the fundamentals of the state's cultural policy was finished more than three years ago, but some problems were revealed over that period, the roots of which are in basic approaches to the cultural development issues. As it is known, the President ordered in the end of the last year to develop a draft Federal Law "On Culture" by July 1, 2018. V.V. Putin said at the meeting of the Presidential Council for Culture and Art that prominent figures in the field of culture should directly participate in working out of the new law, which guarantees its efficiency. The President also thinks that the draft law should be widely discussed by the general public. He also ordered to make provisions for conducting a meeting of the State Council of Russia or the Presidium of the State Council of Russia in 2018 on the issues of preservation and development of traditional people's culture.¹³

It seems to me that the first and the second will be the most important steps for renewal and revival of academic and cultural policy in our far from simple times.

¹³ <http://tass.ru/kultura/4931340>