

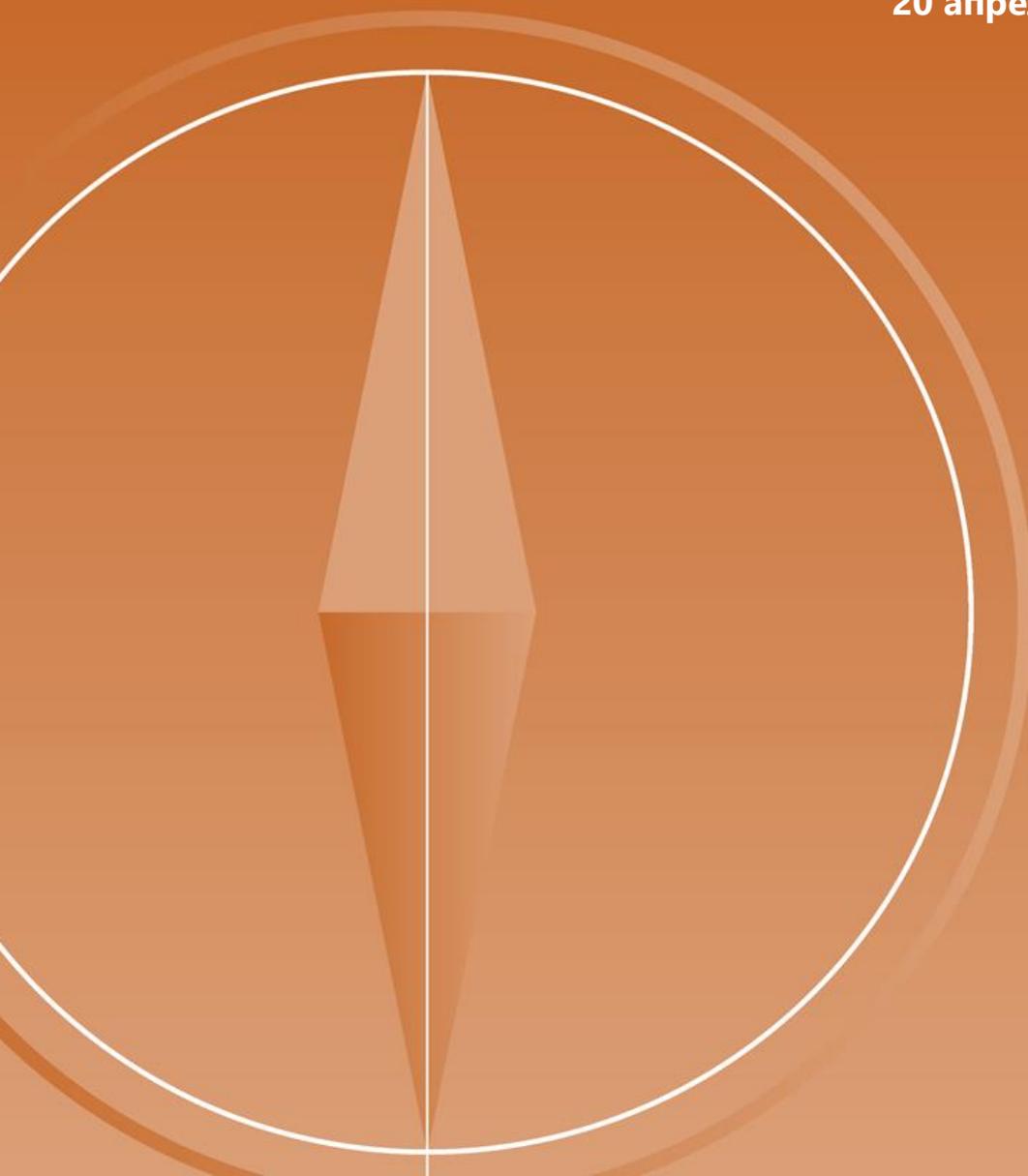
2021

ЦКЕМИ НИУ ВШЭ

**Лонгрид сессии XXII Апрельской конференции
НИУ ВШЭ на тему**

"Russian Visions of Regional and World Order"

20 апреля 2021 г. (15:30 – 17:00)



НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ ИССЛЕДОВАТЕЛЬСКИЙ
УНИВЕРСИТЕТ

Moderator

Iain Ferguson, Assistant Professor of Faculty of Social Sciences / School of Politics and Governance, PHD in International Relations (University of St. Andrews)

Session participants

- I. Ferguson (HSE University)
- A. Kazantsev (MGIMO)
- A. Krickovic (HSE University)
- S. Akopov (HSE University – St. Petersburg)
- R. Sakwa (University of Kent)

Contents

- I. Ferguson (HSE University): Russia’s “State civilization”: the dilemma of a Political Religion? P.3*
- A. Kazantsev: Between Russia and China: Central Asia in greater Eurasia. P. 3*
- A. Krickovic: Greater Eurasia as a “Third way” Alternative to Western Liberal Globalization. P.4*
- S. Akopov: Theorizing Sovereignty as “Organized loneliness”: Existential approach to Sovereignty of Russian “State civilization”. P.5*
- R. Sakhwa’s comments. P.6*

I. Ferguson (HSE University): Russia's "State civilization": the dilemma of a Political Religion?

The paper focuses on conservatism in the Russian foreign policy culture and the potential for future reform and improvement of the Security Council (UN). So, it provides a review of basic contradictions between Russia and SC UN. Focuses on ideological contradictions.

"Defend and resist" – paradoxical line of behavior in relation to Security Council.

Russian self-identity and legitimization partially based on the historical points, such as being main winner of the WW2. But times has changed, and SC gets fragmented.

Nowadays Russia seems to make choice in favor of further defense of the model of "State-civilization". Nevertheless, that attempt to legitimate itself works only in domestic scale and does not fit the international identity.

A. Kazantsev: Between Russia and China: Central Asia in greater Eurasia.

It is common for Central Asian states to be precepted as passive subjects of Eurasian integration. Nevertheless, that paper approaches them as active ones.

Chinese economic influence in region is becoming more and more profound. EEU-China agreement represents the will of Russia and China to cooperate in a region. In addition, there's attendance

to cooperate in sphere of security and anti-terrorism struggle. But what do Central Asian states want themselves?

Mostly they are balancing between huge powers (just because of multi-vectoral foreign policy). It is represented by tight cooperation with both Russia, West (NATO, for inst.), Islamic world etc. ("Spaghetti bowl" of international organizations).

There are differences between CSTO and EEU formats. In addition, Central Asian states do not support Russian policy on Ukraine and Georgia. Kazakhstan rejects any economic unification in basis of EEU. So, Russia and Kazakhstan have diametral opposite vision of particular perspectives of EEU.

To conclude, Russia does not ignore the interests of Central Asia States. There are three main scenarios of the future of the region:

- 1) Russia and China solve the most problems.
- 2) Russia and China do not solve the most problems, Central Asian nations are rotating towards the West.
- 3) Discord between China and Russia, continuation of multi-vector policy and practice of playing on contradictions.

A. Krickovic: Greater Eurasia as a "Third way" Alternative to Western Liberal Globalization.

The paper is about the modern states (both developed and developing ones) and the way they react to the liberal globalization (on example of Brazil, Japan, Russia).

"Russia is a Firestarter (bandwagon) of anti-liberal globalization."? It seems like no. Russia just offers an alternative way

of that globalization and wants to be involved. The main problem is caused by Ukraine, Georgia, etc.

In a multipolar world Russia may be an option for those, who don't want to make a choice between East and West. Just because of the energy export – oriented economy, Russia has a huge room for material support around the globe.

S. Akopov: Theorizing Sovereignty as “Organized loneliness”: Existential approach to Sovereignty of Russian “State civilization”.

The paper is dedicated to term of sovereignty and political identity. It approaches “horizontal” and “vertical” “models of loneliness” in IR. It examines three main examples of “loneliness anxiety” and Sovereignty as a political ideology and its implications on Russian foreign policy.

Negative loneliness (in psychology), as well as positive loneliness are philosophic terms. Model of Vertical “Politics of loneliness” is implied to Russian idea of “State-civilization”. The paper operates such models, as:

- Historical uniqueness
- Collective memory
- Fear for losing its power
- National pride
- Cult of sacrifices
- Spiritual unity
- Concept of narrative

- Historical experience of isolation
- Russia – “Third Rome” concept

Generally speaking, that kind of loneliness may be a threat both for the world and for Russia – brain drain, interventionist foreign policy, etc.

R. Sakhwa (comments):

Loneliness is a phenomenon of modernity and post-modern era.

When it comes to S. Akopov’s point, it is needed to address the question in a more exact way. Is it a challenge for international order?

Motivatorism is a door to failure and puts the state in a victim position.

There is a «division of labor» between Russia and China in Central Asia – security is for Russia and economics is for China, but it has an attendance to decrease.

Non-Aligned movement is no more non-aligned, it is more about opposing the Western vision of globalization.

Ending quotes

Anything which goes out of UN world order's borders is revisionism, even telling "Let's make the world better."

Richard Sakhwa

Being non-aligned is an act of diminishing of your options and its increasing at the same time. (in a context of post-soviet Central Asia)

Andrei Kazantsev

Центр комплексных европейских и
международных исследований НИУ ВШЭ

www.cceis.hse.ru