

10 years

Valdai | Discussion
Club

valdaiclub.com

Moscow, February 2014



NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA

Valdai Discussion Club Report

National Identity and the Future of Russia

*Valdai Discussion Club
Report*

Moscow, February 2014
valdaiclub.com

Author's Group:**Anastasia Likhacheva**

*principal author, junior research fellow,
Center of Comprehensive European and
International Studies, Higher School of
Economics*

Igor Makarov

*PhD in Economics, Lecturer, World
Economy Department, Faculty of World
Economy and International Affairs,
Higher School of Economics*

Contributors:**Pavel Andreev**

*Executive Director, International, RIA
Novosti; Executive Director, The Valdai
Discussion Club Support and Development
Foundation (Chapter 4)*

Alexander Gabuev

*Deputy Editor-in-Chief,
Kommersant-Vlast*

Ekaterina Makarova

*Lecturer, International Economics
Department, Faculty of World Economy
and International Affairs,
Higher School of Economics*

Project supervisor:**Sergei Karaganov**

*Honorary Chairman, Council of Foreign
and Defense Policy; Dean, Faculty of World
Economy and International Affairs,
Higher School of Economics*

Content

5	Forward
7	Introduction
10	Summary
13	Part 1. Today's Russians
13	1.1. National Character
15	1.2. The Values of the Russians
21	Part 2. Historic Identifications and Search of the Past Twenty Years
25	Part 3. Russian National Identity
28	3.1. Culture as a Foundation of Russian Identity
29	3.2. National Identity and Nationalism
34	Part 4. National Identity for the Outside World
37	Part 5. National Idea of Human Development
38	5.1. Man as an Absolute Priority
39	5.2. Education
41	5.3. The Sense of Being a Master of the Land
43	5.4. Acceptance of History
45	Part 6. Strengthening the Russian Identity
46	6.1. Support for the Creative
47	6.2. Socialization
51	6.3. Rule-Based State
52	6.4. "Institutions of Social Extension"
56	6.5. A New "Large-Scale" Project
58	6.6. Symbols of the Russian Identity
64	Appendix 1
66	Appendix 2

The authors express their gratitude to all experts who worked on this paper, those who took part in the discussion of national identity at the 10th Annual Meeting of the Valdai Discussion Club (September 2013), especially *Nikolai Zlobin*, President and Founder of the Center on Global Interests in Washington, D.C., *Natalya Zubarevich*, Director of the regional program of the Independent Institute for Social Policy, *Andrei Zubov*, Professor of Philosophy at Moscow State Institute (University) of International Relations (MGIMO) of the Russian Foreign Ministry, *Alexei Kudrin*, Chairperson of the Committee of Civil Initiatives, *Fyodor Lukyanov*, Chairman of the Russian council on foreign and defence policy, Editor-in-Chief of Russia in Global Affairs magazine, *Eduard Ponarin*, Director of the Laboratory for Comparative Social Research of the Higher School of Economics, *Alexander Prokhanov*, Prose writer and Editor-in-Chief of the *Zavtra* newspaper, *Toby Gati*, Senior International Advisor of Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld LLP, Timothy Colton, Professor of Government at Harvard University, and *Simon Anholt*, Independent Policy Advisor; to the participants of the situation analysis held October 29, 2013 for their valuable advice and critique: *Alexander Arkhangelsky*, Deputy Editor in Chief of the Information Broadcasting Division of the State Television Channel Kultura, *Olga Vasilyeva*, Deputy Chairman of the Public Project Administration of the Office of the President of the Russian Federation, *Lev Gudkov*, Director of Levada Center, *Andrey Kobayakov*, Chairman of the Board of the Institute of Dynamic Conservatism, *Sergey Kravetz*, Executive Editor of the Greater Russian Encyclopedia, *Alexei Miller*, Leading Research Fellow of the Institute for Scientific Information in Social Sciences (INION) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Visiting Professor at the Central European University in Budapest, *Sergey Miroshnichenko*, Director, Artistic Director of the Island Theater Studio, *Mikhail Remisov*, President of the National Strategy Institute, *Alla Salmina*, Senior research fellow of the Laboratory of Comparative Studies of Mass Consciousness of the Higher School of Economics, *Valery Tiskhov*, Academician, Director of the Etiology and Anthropology Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, *Valery Fedorov*, Director General, Russian Public Opinion Research Center VTsIOM, *Sergei Chapnin*, Executive Editor, Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, Secretary of the Commission of the Inter-Council Board of the Russian Orthodox Church on Church, State and Society. Our special thanks go to *Lev Lyubimov*, Deputy Academic Supervisor of Higher School of Economics for his invaluable advice and inspiration. The authors were not able to accept all the proposed ideas and objections, but they saw it as their duty to check and double-check all their reasoning.

The report is illustrated with graphs of figures derived from “Modern Russian Identity: Dimensions, Challenges, Responses,” a poll conducted in August 2013 by the All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center (VTsIOM) at the commission of the Valdai Discussion Club.

Foreword

Until very recently, it was assumed in the intellectual debate in Russia that Russia does not need to define its national identity or that a definition would appear all by itself. It was supposed to emerge from the people. But it never did. The nation has rejected its Soviet identity and never did reconnect to the pre-revolutionary one. Neither society nor the intellectual class has found an idea that would bring the country together and assure its progress. It has been “running in place.”

I’m convinced that only those who do not wish or cannot ponder the future of the nation, and do not associate themselves with it, would benefit from the fact that we’re neglecting our national identity and the unified idea that it would produce, along with the national strategy that stems from it. This situation serves above all the interests of those who prefer corruption and stagnation.

The realization that the country has been marching in place for the past six years and is sliding back, in part because we lack understanding who we are, what do we want to be and where we want to go shared by a majority of the elite, compelled members of the public Council on Foreign and Defense Policy at the end of 2012 to develop a strategy and to propose it to members of the public and the government. The CFDP has accumulated considerable experience in developing alternative strategies in the past, when the country was searching for identity, and was at the threshold of major change. That was in the early and mid-1990s.

Thus we began to work on Strategy XXI, a long-term project responding to the challenges of the world of today and tomorrow.

As part of this work we examined what is, can be and should be Russia’s national identity. It is one of the most difficult problems facing Russia, both in political and intellectual terms.

It was one of the main subjects discussed at the 10th Annual Meeting of the Valdai Club organized by RIA Novosti and CFDP.

While preparing the Valdai Club meeting, we analyzed almost all important works on the subject of Russian identity. We prepared reviews covering various aspects of this subject. Initially, it was assumed that a report on Russian identity would be drafted based on discussions held at the Valdai Club meeting, as well as before and after that, the question arose who should write a report on this very difficult subject, which would inevitably be target of criticism from all sides.

Those who initiated work on Strategy XXI (who were also organizers of the Valdai Club meeting) took a risk, but one that partially freed them of responsibility: to assign it to the same young people who were preparing materials for Strategy XXI, worked on papers that comprised it and prepared materials to be discussed at the Valdai meeting.

Most authors of this paper are less than thirty years of age. They are focused on the future and they are not held back by the weight of old concepts and phobias. Their most important quality is courage.

Those of the older generation – which included many prominent Russian intellectuals and

scholars – critiqued their work, gave advice, took offense and provided moral support. But responsibility for the final product – for its achievements and obvious – albeit different for every thinking person – failures, are those of its authors. I'm glad that they were, in my view, successful, even though I would have done it very differently. I foresee lots

of criticism, but the authors consciously challenge us to debate constructively this difficult problem facing Russian society and state.

Sergei A. Karaganov
Head of CFDP's Strategy XXI program
Head of the National Identity Project

Introduction

This paper is, first of all, an **invitation to a debate** by people with different interests, values and political views, who are united by the fact that they are not indifferent to the future of the country in which they live and which will be the home of their kids.

The paper does not attempt to describe the Russian identity in full and does not pretend to scholarly rigor. Its authors are young and they are fully aware that there are prominent Russian and foreign scholars who have devoted decades to the study of the Russian identity, with some scholarly entities analyzing it on a systemic basis. But this unfortunately turns out not to be enough for a broadly based discussion. We decided to make another attempt to provoke such a discussion.

Naturally, the paper is based on various studies and use data from sociological polls as well as ideas developed by Russian philosophers and social thinkers. However, we assume that today, attempts to discuss the Russian

national identity and strategy in a strictly academic sociological and philosophical framework, while being persuasive from a scholarly point of view and providing a foundation for an interesting debate in narrow professional circles, would not be productive from the political and motivational point of view.

Identity cannot be discussed in a purely objective key. Such discussions can't be conducted completely outside the context of either the personal experience of their participants or their sets of values. We are not embarrassed by this. This paper is based on a number of principles and axioms, which are not universal but stem from our view of the world.

First, we reject both pink and black hues in discussing us, the Russians. The Russian elite has always been inclined to explain failures by pointing to the ignorance of the people, the flaws of national character or our peculiar mentality. We assume that we are neither bad nor good – we are the way we are. We have





our strengths and weaknesses. It is important to understand this, and to encourage our good qualities while restraining bad ones.

Second, we're optimistic with regard to the future and see ways of attaining it. In particular, we're optimistic about constructive interaction between the government and its citizens. Nothing can be changed if we believe that "everything will be stolen by bureaucrats" or "everything will be frittered away by the drunken populace."

Third, we recognize that constructive engagement is preferable to conflict. Conflict as a driver of development has exhausted its possibilities in our country. Modern Russia needs peacetime heroes, and not constant preparation for war with a real or imagined foe. We must move forward, learn new skills and open ourselves to the world and work. Enough threats and fortress mentality.

Finally, our main assumption that the individual and his personal dignity take precedence over the state, its dogmas and national ambitions. There is no alternative to this in the modern world. Only strong individuals, working together with the state, will be able to bring prosperity to our nation.

* * *

Even though any definition will of necessity be narrow and contentious, we will not be able to discuss national identity, national idea and national values productively without

first defining the words we use, which is why we should first explain some key terms used in this paper.

Under National Character we mean a historically defined sum total of stable psychological traits of a nation, which define the customary forms of behavior and typical lifestyles of its people as well as their attitudes to work, other nations and their own culture.

The term Identity is a difficult one. It has been used very broadly and has become vague // *See critique of the term, for instance in Brubaker R., Cooper F. Beyond 'identity' // Theory and Society, Vol. 29, 2000* //. The Russian academic tradition often replaces Identity with the word Self-Consciousness // *V.A. Tishkov, Rossiysky narod: istoria i smysl natsionalnogo samosoznania, St. Petersburg, Nauka, 2013* //, but those two concepts are not synonyms. Identity implies a sense of belonging to a certain group, a unity with its members. National Identity in this case means the sense of belonging to a certain state or nation, which is shared with a group of people regardless of their country of citizenship.

Another difficulty in defining terms inevitably arises in the context of Russia when we use terms Ethnic Russia and the Russian Federation. We assume that these terms should be complementary, not opposites. The greatest man who ever spoke the Russian language and who in a large measure created it, poet Alexander Pushkin, used those two terms as fully synonymous. Today, the two terms cannot be split up and differentiated. When we discuss nation building, state and policy, it is prefer-

able to refer to Russia to mean the Russian Federation, since Russia has been historically and multi-ethnic state. But when discuss culture, language and tradition; it is better to use Russian meaning “ethnic Russian”, since the Russian culture is fundamental for all nationalities and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia.

Using the word Russian as both a noun and an adjective opens a world of linguistic possibilities. A Russian Tatar is a Tatar from Russia, as opposed to a Crimean Tatar. A Russia Jew is, in fact, a Russian Jew, and not a Jew from

or a mission. Only based on a national idea we can talk of a National Strategy employed to attain the national idea.

We absolutely reject the notion of National Ideology. There is no room of any kind of ideology based on dogma either in this paper or in modern Russia in general. Our country has fully experienced an ideological state and it would be suicidal to return to a similar political entity.

Speaking of the share of Asia and Europe in the Russian national identity, the paper assumes as given that we are carriers of an original culture which nonetheless is European in nature. It is a culture based on an Eastern European language and art that is an outgrowth of three main traditions: the Antiquity, Byzantium and Western Europe. At the same time, this country has a political and social culture that is unique, being neither European nor Asian, and is informed by its special history and geography.

We are neither bad nor good – we are the way we are. It is important to understand this, and to encourage our good qualities while restraining bad ones

the Russian Federation, when use the term to compare this group to, say, American Jews. Russian Russians are Russians who live in the Russian Federation, as opposed to, for instance, in Kazakhstan. Arguing about these kinds of linguistics is like engaging in a futile debate instead of building Noah’s Ark.

National Idea is the main goal of a community of men, united by a common national identity. A national idea is not a rational concept. It is understood by people not only as a goal for a certain project, but as a goal in and of itself,

The authors deliberately offer brief and somewhat simplified interpretations of complex philosophical categories and social phenomena. We understand that this approach could draw fire from specialists, but we are convinced that only this approach will allow us to attain the main goal of this paper: to initiate a freest and broadest possible discussion who we are and where we are going.

Summary

Historically, the Russian character is freedom-loving and long-suffering. We are open to other cultures and religions. We are brave and cordial. We are showy and talented. We have strong will power and know how to win. However, we have forgotten most of the qualities on this list in the course of the past twenty

one is anti-Russian and goes against history, since it undermines the state and pushes apart the people who have lived together for centuries and who have worked to build a great country.

The Russian culture is an extremely powerful unifying sphere for all the ethnic groups and religious faiths inhabiting Russia. In the future, when our civic virtues and culture flourish once again – and will not have to rely only on the 19th century, we may be able to build a nation on a cultural and civic foundation.

A Russian idea suitable for today's world is development of human capital

years. On the other hand, we allowed ourselves to promote the worst qualities of our national character: sloth, pessimism, predatory individualism, irresponsibility and total mistrust of others.

National identity has a well-defined international aspect. It has to respond to challenges and opportunities – but not demands – of the outside world. Russia will not be able to please everyone – and it should not try to.

The Russian identity exists and there is no need to reinvest it. Any attempt to replace the national identity with an ethnic or confessional

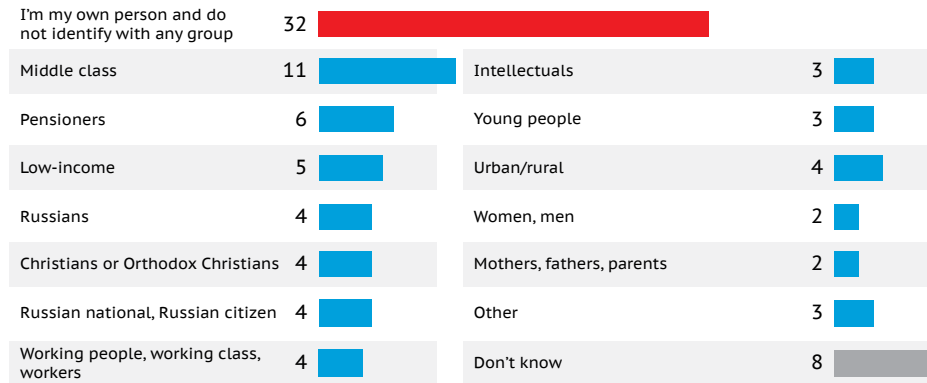
A Russian idea suitable for today's world is development of human capital. We must put an end to a centuries-old discussion whether



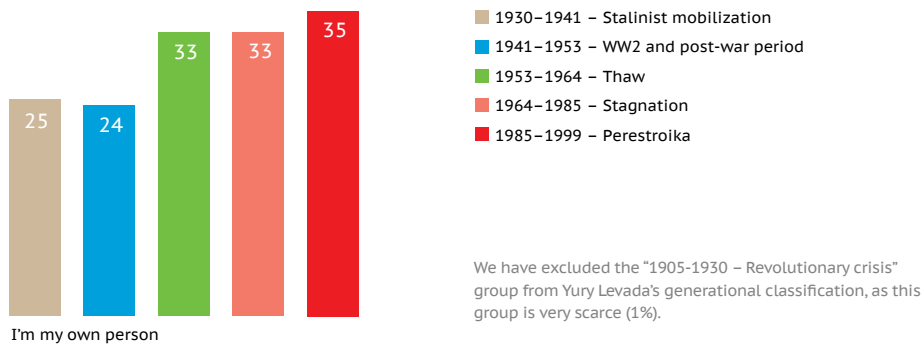
Unprompted self-identification

Which group or groups do you feel like you belong to?

% of respondents, maximum three responses each, open-ended question



According to Yury Levada's generational classification



The strengthening of national identity is unlikely to be effective without systemic support which symbols and shared myths provide

the state should exist for its people or the people for their state. The primacy of the individual must be affirmed. In the development of human capital there are three key aspects: education (the future), the sense of ownership of one's country (the present) and respectable acceptance of one's own history (the past). The strategy to bolster the Russian identity is above all necessary in the context of developing human capital. It should be based on encourag-

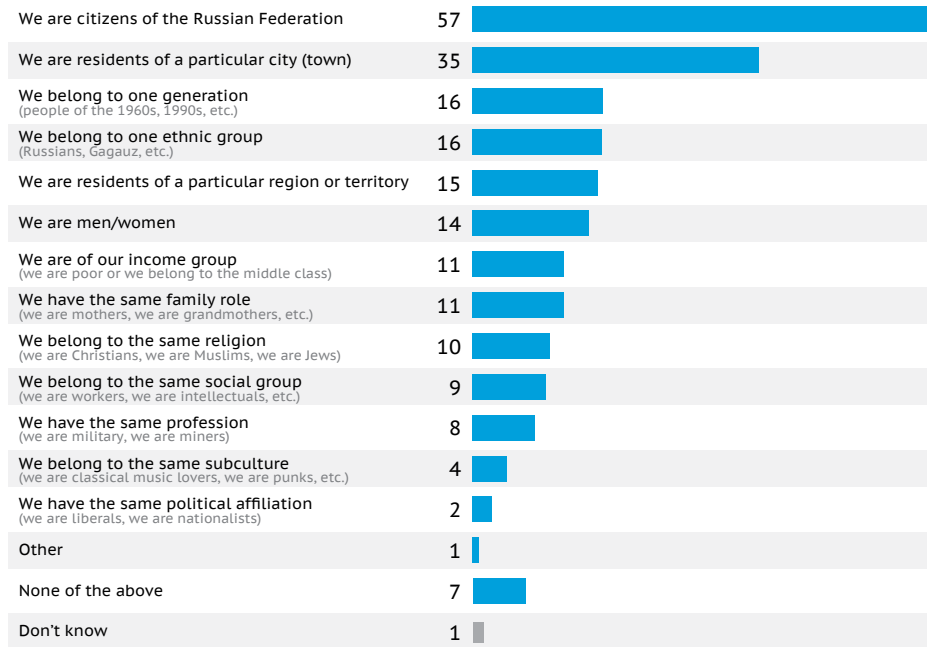
ing success and those who create it, socialization of citizens, building of a rules-based state, the use of culture, education and the media for social engineering and, as a quintessence of the national character, a much-needed "big project", the new development of Siberia and the Far East.

The strengthening of national identity is unlikely to be effective without systemic support which symbols and shared myths provide. The Russian history has a constellation of heroes. A Pantheon of such heroes and events, wonders of nature and points of cultural interest are our main symbols. They, rather than official abstractions, should be promoted in the first place.

Prompted self-identification

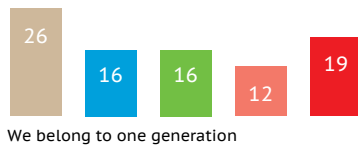
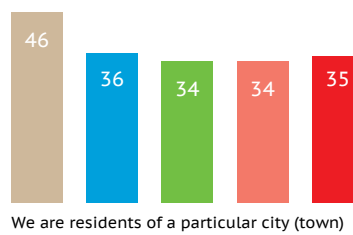
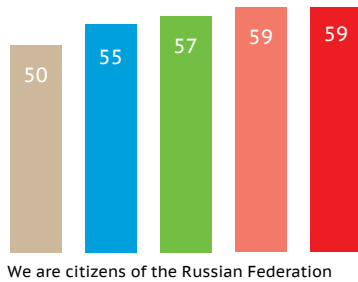
Which group or groups do you feel like you belong to?

% of respondents, maximum three responses each



According to Yury Levada's generational classification

% of respondents, close-ended question



1. Today's Russians

1.1. National Character

The term national character is open to criticism. There are schools of thought which do not recognize it as a scholarly term. This paper does not pretend to provide an exhaustive description of the common or specifically Russian character, especially since in addition

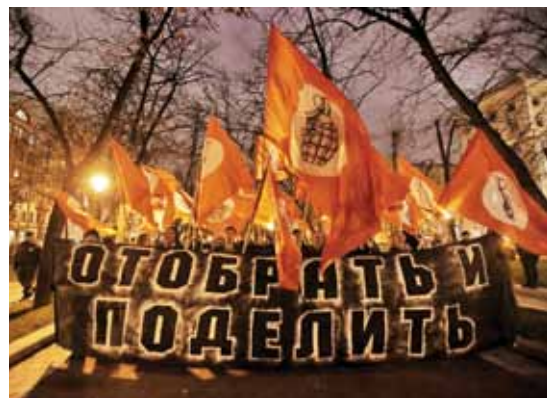
One of the most important traits of the Russian national character is a finely tuned sense of fairness. Another national trait is the proverbial patience

to methodological difficulties; it is hard to define it due to regional difference. Nevertheless, there are a number of common traits that are characteristic of a majority of people who identify themselves with Russia.

The Russian culture is defined by several poles. The Russian national character can be envisaged as a set of key pairs which we see as crucially important in developing a national strategy that would suit its people.

One of the most important traits of our national character is a finely tuned sense of fairness, which is a wider notion than justice in Western world. The place of such acting in a fair way is well above the law. The obverse of this coin is the lack of respect for the law, of legal consciousness and even of interest in developing one. For a Russian, the law remains extremely flexible and any bending of it can be justified by the higher requirements of fair rules. (The semi-criminal "rules" which prevailed in the 1990s, reflected of this mentality.)

What is worse, since fairness is held in such a high regard, reaction to injustice can be unjust-



tifiably destructive. Russian philosopher Boris Vysheslavtsev observed back in 1923, that there had been “injustice in Russia, but reaction to it was completely unexpected [disproportionate] and spontaneous. It was not a Western European revolution, which seeks to extend rights and struggles to create a new order, it was a spontaneous nihilism, which instantly destroyed everything that the people had been worshipping before, with the full understanding of the criminality of their actions, committed by ‘drunken paupers’ //B.P. Vysheslavtsev, *B.P. Russkiy natsionalnyy kharakter// Voprosy filosofii*, 1995 No. 6 (A paper presented at a conference in Rome in 1923.)//.

For all of its history, talent was the only form of individualism that was socially accepted

Our country is regularly saved from national revolts by another national trait, the proverbial patience. Russian patience has been tempered by many periods of misfortunes. During the 20th century alone, the nation lived through a revolution, a civil war, collectivization, Stalinist terror, the Great Patriotic War and the drop in the standard of living for the majority in the 1990s. The people can silently endure everything. But this long-suffering has an obverse as well. In its extreme, it becomes uncomplaining acceptance of inhuman conditions. In everyday life, it may turn into conformism and lack of initiative. For the people who have lived

through wars and GULAG, bureaucratic outrages are minor inconveniences, something they can bear.

There is no question that our people are gifted. Moreover, for all of its history, talent was the only form of individualism that was socially accepted. However, talent on a mass scale reduces the value of each individual achievement. We make discoveries easily, as a matter of course. We value the process of discovery and not its result. (In this regard, mathematician Grigori Perelman is a typically Russian phenomenon.)

Our ability to resolve non-standard situations is also related to the giftedness of our people. Things that are one-of-a-kind or unique are our specialty. But our ability to solve routine or standard problems is modest. The result is our famous motto: “If you want something unique, hire a Russian. If you want

ten identical objects, commission anyone but a Russian.” //A.A. Auzan, A.N. Arkhangelskiy, P.C. Lungin, V.A. Nayshul, *Kulturnyye faktory modernizatsii, Moscow, St. Petersburg, The Strategy 2020 Fund, 2011//*

We are a cordial people. Our soulfulness manifests itself in everyday life in our hospitality and high degree of openness. We are ready to accept other people’s norms at a national level. Historically, we have been extremely tolerant – much more so than the Europeans and, traditionally, the Americans, to say nothing of the Chinese and the Japanese. At the same time, our cordiality sometimes makes us





impulsive, unpredictable and rude. Our sincerity sometimes covers up lack of elementary manners.

We like large-scale actions, heroism, important accomplishments. When there is no real project to apply ourselves to, we may become dreamers, like Gogol's character Manilov or seek empty self-realization through self-destructive actions such as fast driving. Our showmanship can easily turn into a nationwide suicide derby.

It is hard to overestimate the respect for power in the Russian mentality. It comes from the need to defend ourselves from foreign invaders throughout our history. For a thousand years, defense has been our national idea. Hence admiration for the super-humanly heroic protagonists of ancient lays the cult of soldiers and a great number of brilliant generals. However, it would be a mistake to interpret this cult as aggressiveness and desire to beat up on the weak. It is simply that we know from experience in our long history that weakness is punished, and we want to be strong.

Russia has always respected the power that was confident and grand. True power is always magnificent and calm. This is the kind of power that is needed today. Currently we suffer from a national complex of weakness and vulnerability which we inherited from the fortress psychology and the failures of the 1990s. But it certainly can be overcome. We must not exacerbate it for political reasons by filling the ideas vacuum an artificial and primitive search for a foreign enemy.

Thanks to its history, Russia has developed around the need to defend itself against invaders. This is why sovereignty is such a sensitive subject. It is also why we are so brave, have such strong will-power and can achieve great victories. We are a nation of winners. But our love of freedom and courage are collective in nature, and they manifest themselves in reaction to threats from the outside. Internally, the country has always been comfortable with a strict hierarchy. We have proudly declared since medieval time: "I'm the Czar's man."

In order to become self-confident and strong we need to reshape our philosophy of development based on concepts and values that are consonant with this century. We must encourage the talented, the gifted, the hard-working and the self-confident – in short, the individual.

1.2. The Values of the Russians

Russian society is fractured and its ideological, religious and ethnic fault-lines continue to multiply. The elites have been active participants in this fracturing. The state has a negative image that is only becoming worse: we have endemic corruption, disrespect for human rights and widespread social vulnerability in place of a social safety net.

Over the past twenty years, the values of our citizens have changed dramatically, and not for the better. Soviet communism destroyed the Christian and universal religious morality. The Soviet morality and ideology were destroyed



in the 1990s. No new morality and ideology, which could have been a foundation for building a competitive new Russia, has emerged. This is why traditional religions in Russia are so important in order to introduce moral norms in society. Attempts by churches to compensate numerous social failings in one fell swoop have had the opposite effect: interest for religion has been waning after spiking in the early 2000s.

Among values of today's Russians material well-being and consumption take first place

Among values of today's Russians material well-being and consumption take first place – 55% in 2006 compared to 31% in 1986. Decades of shortages and then conspicuous consumption by the elites, as well as the promotion of upscale consumption by the mass media, have naturally transformed the nation of winners to a nation of consumers. Given the highly unequal income distribution, this leads to an even greater fragmentation of society and growth of social tensions.

An entire non-patriotic generation has been raised, who only marginally associate themselves with their country. They do not know its history and are not prepared to build their future here. The sense of community share with other citizens of the country has been lost. The proportion of those who want to be useful to society has declined fourfold in the 1986–2006 period, from 26% to 6%.

Even the importance of family and children has declined. While in 1986 //Results from 1986 are from a poll conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences under the direction of Prof. Levykin (a sample of 4,400 participants). Results from 2006 are from a poll by TsESSI (a sample of 1,200), conducted using the same methodology//, before the onset of major social and economic reforms, family and marriage were in first place among values of the Russian people, at 60%, followed by children at 55%, today the importance of family and children has declined, even though it remains high, at 53% and 45%, respectively.

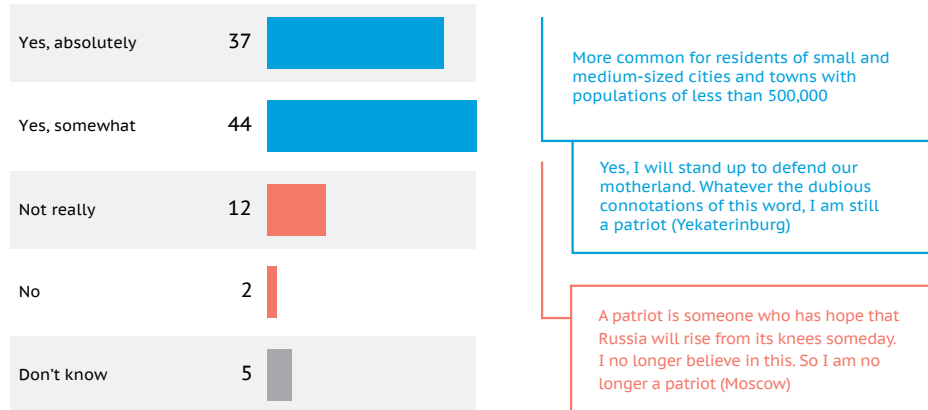
The attitude towards work has changed, as well. In the Soviet era work was viewed as a source of respect, social status and self-realization; today, the majority sees work as a source of material well-being. On the other hand, today, unlike the Soviet era, it actually can provide well-being. Meanwhile, the importance of an “interesting job” declined from 41% to 29%, while “respect of others” went from 27% to 17%. In effect, we have seen abstract values being replaced by material ones //L. Gudkov et. al. *Postsovetskiy che-lovek i grazhdanskoe obshchestvo* // Moscow School of Political Studies, 2008//.

The scale that measures determinants of personal success has also changed noticeably. The importance of work has declined, from 74% to 52%, while the share of Russians who believe that success depends on luck has increased, from 7% in 1986 to 30% in 2006 //Today's

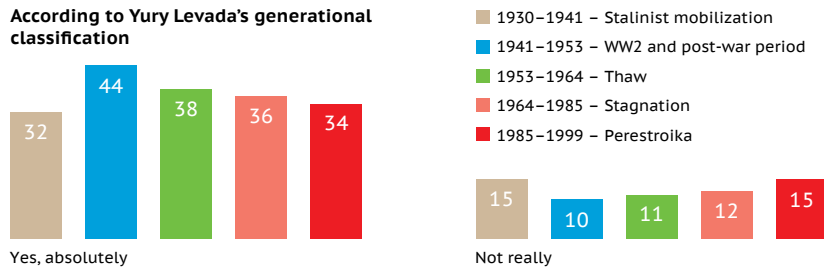
Russian patriotism

Do you consider yourself a Russian patriot?

% of respondents, one response



According to Yury Levada's generational classification



How would you define *patriot* and *patriotism*?

Patriotism is giving without expecting anything in return (Yekaterinburg)

A patriot is someone who will never emigrate even if they have the chance (Kaliningrad)

A patriot is someone who wants to change things for Russia's sake, to improve it (Moscow)

Professionals and the educated portion of the elite have lost hope to transform the government quickly and have seen the full depth of corruption, nepotism and lack of professionalism that prevails there. They have started to criticize not only the ruling class but society as a whole

Russians value much less than their Soviet counterparts such qualities as honesty and decency (63% in 1986 vs. 41% in 2006), compassion and goodness (57% vs. 27%), mutual understanding and mutual assistance (53% vs. 27%), responsibility (46% vs. 32%), prin-

ciplined positions (22% vs. 14%) and unselfishness (20% vs. 10%). Positive changes have been in the higher value ascribed to individualistic leadership qualities, such as determination in achieving goals (27% vs. 37%), abilities and talents (15% vs. 32%), initiative (21% vs. 25%), ability to compromise, flexibility (4% vs. 20%) and leadership (9% vs. 16%)//. This reflects important aspects of today's life, such as

lack of predictability and clannish closeness of the elites.

Professionals and the educated portion of the elite have lost hope to transform the govern-



Material well-being is followed on the scale of social values by the dream of living in a more just and rationally structured society

ment quickly and have seen the full depth of corruption, nepotism and lack of professionalism that prevails there. They have started to criticize not only the ruling class but society as a whole. They insist – correctly at times – that Russians are antisocial and fragmented, and instead of acting as citizens they act as pathologically profit-maximizing individualists. But they ignore factors that created this: the highly controversial Soviet period, than the collapse of the state and the turmoil and privations of the 1990s and then a period of tranquility which has now been transformed into apathy.

Nevertheless, society has not lost its ability to assess the situation objectively, which is evidenced by the obscenely low level of trust for all state entities and structures. The only exception is the President, whose absolute trust has fluctuated in the 60–70% range in recent years, and conservative institutions, such as the Church and the Military, who are trusted by around four of every ten Russians //L. Gudkov et al. *Op. cit.*; K. Rogov, *Politicheskie tsikly postsovetskogo tranzita Pro et contra*, vol. 16, Nos 4–5, June-Oct 2012//.

During the difficult 1990s people developed another important quality, self-reliance. Just as they had done many times in its history,

the Russian people proved its extraordinary ability to survive. But people are tired of constantly struggling to survive all by themselves. The accumulated exhaustion has logically translated into the desire to have a high level of social protection, stoking the age-long affinity for paternalism.

Society is able to assess the true extent of the natural wealth of the country while also gauging the extent of social inequality, giving rise to an emotional desire for more social protection with an ironclad logic: income from natural resources should be divided more equitably.

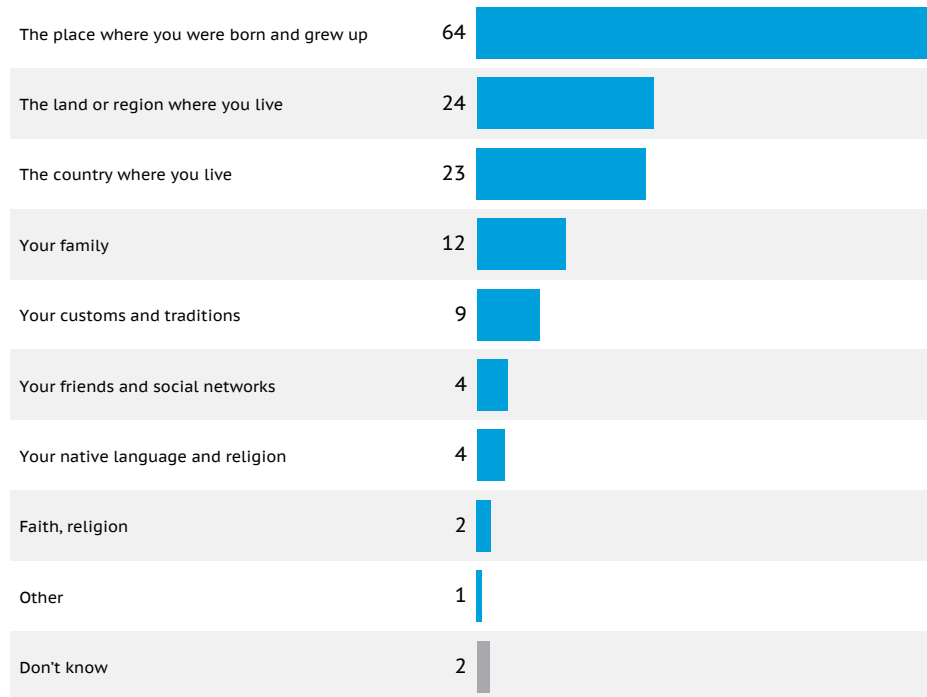
It should be noted that material well-being (along with good health) is followed on the scale of social values by the dream of living in a more just and rationally structured society (33%). This is effectively a demand for equal opportunity to realize one's talents and equality before the law.

Let us stress it one more time: our society is not demanding direct financial support. This demand is sometimes made by some outrageously underfunded professions. But society as a whole wants Russia's wealth to be channeled to equalize opportunities by not lowering the plank but by raising it. They do not want the oligarchs' kids to be sent to a village school, but to raise the level of education obtained at village schools to that of rich urban ones. Above all, such demands concern health care and education, i.e., the physical and mental well-being of the nation.

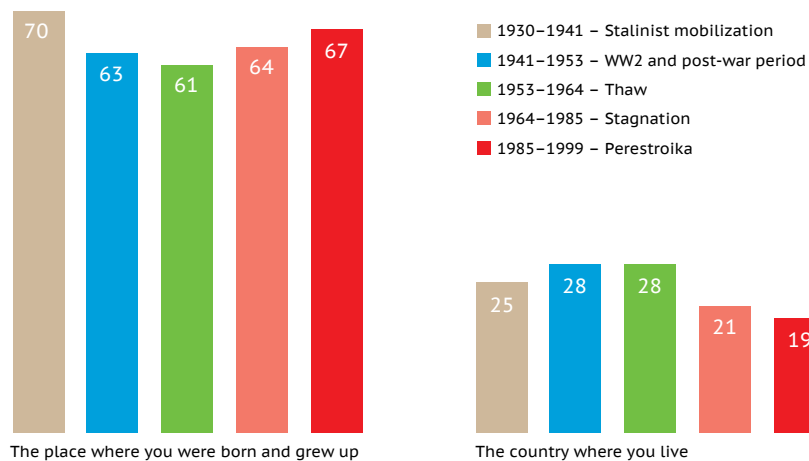
Defining “motherland”

What is your most immediate association with *motherland*?

% of respondents, up to two responses



According to Yury Levada's generational classification

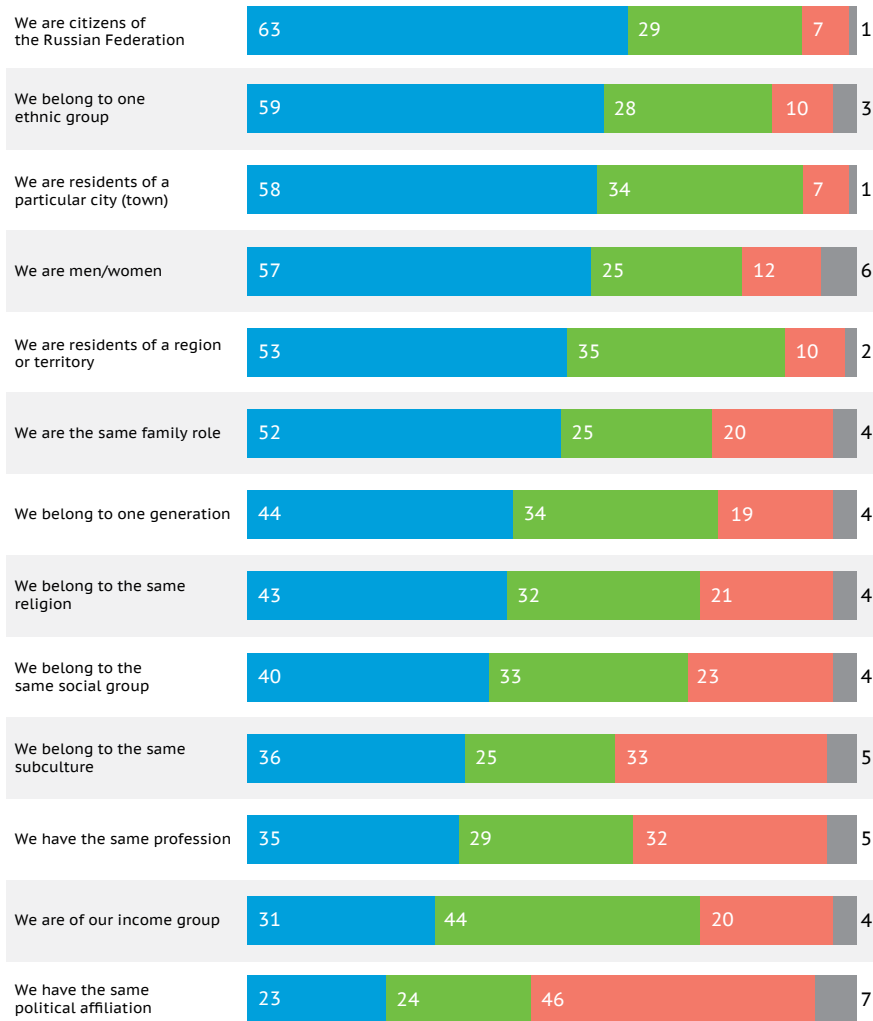


Identity as a source of pride

Are you proud to belong to the following groups?

% of respondents

- I am proud to belong to a group, and I feel that members of this group are better than others
- I consider myself part of a group but I am not proud
- I do not feel I belong to any group
- Don't know



Thus, despite objective problems and various dangers, we should not yet lose hope with regard to Russian society. The difficult situation as far as its values and norms is concerned

at the everyday, social and state levels has nothing to do with the question of national identity. It merely describes the current state of affairs in Russia.

2. Historic Identifications and Search of the Past Twenty Years

Russia's geographic position and special features of its development created a favorable ground for an active conflict between Westernizing and Slavophile ideologies, as well as for the view that Russia is unique and different from all other societies and states. The issue of the Russian idea and historic path has been raised by statesmen and thinkers since the 12th century. (See, for instance, Instructions for Children by Vladimir Monomakh //Over the past several centuries, a number of great minds tries to find an answer to contemporaneous questions of Russia's

development. They included A.S.Khomyakov ("Of the Old and the New"), R.A.Fadeev ("What Are We to Be: Russian Society in the Present and the Future"), P.Ya. Chaadaev ("Philosophical Letters"), V.S. Solovyev («L'idée russe»), N.A. Berdyaev ("Russia's Fate"), A.M. Maslennikov ("The Ideology of The Imperial Power in Russia"), L.P.Karsavin ("East, West and the Russian Idea"), Serafim (Sobolev) ("Russian Ideology") and, finally, the last Russian genius, A.I. Solzhenitsyn ("How Are We to Improve Russia) among others. For a review

of thinkers seeking an answer to what the Russian idea should be like see *Natzionalnaya idea Rossii in 6 vol., Moscow, Nauchnyy Ekspret, by V.I. Yakunin et. al./).*

Russia's geographic position and special features of its development created a favorable ground for an active conflict between Westernizing and Slavophile ideologies, as well as for the view that Russia is unique and different from all other societies and states

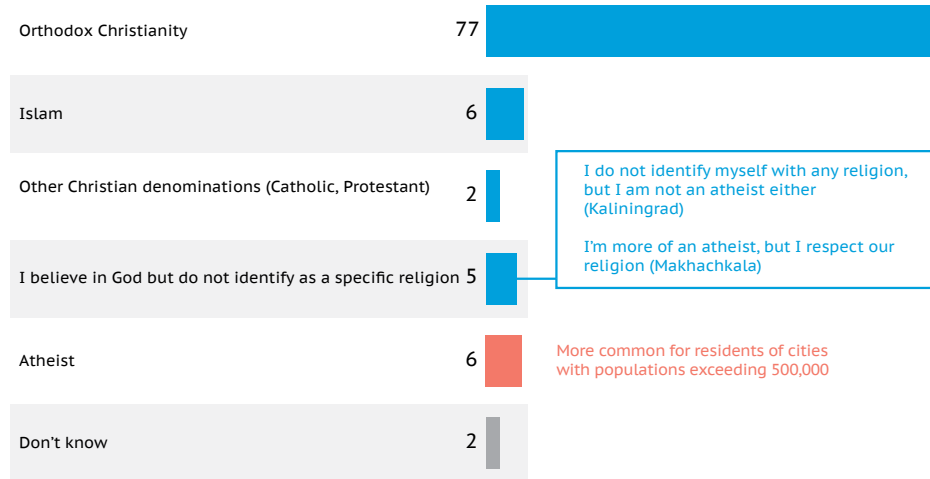
As an heir to Byzantium with its special spirituality Russia has been viewed within an **ecclesiastical** concept. The ecclesiastical idea assumes a communal spirituality and, consequently, the notion



Religious self-identification

What religion (confession) do you identify yourself with?

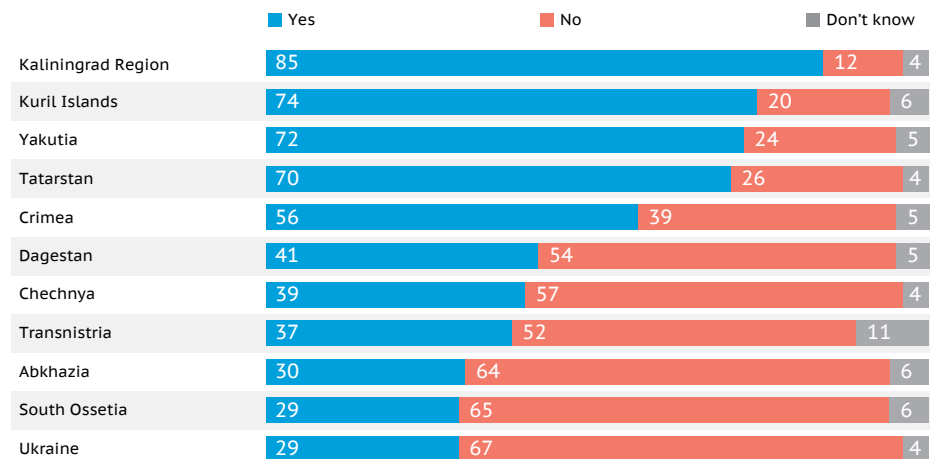
% of respondents, one response



Regional self-identification

Do you consider the following regions to be essentially Russian?

% of respondents, on response





of human brotherhood, which in the case of Russia entail communal brotherhood. This Byzantine Christian tradition has been seen as anti-Western, even though at the time when Russia adopted Christianity, Byzantium was the most advanced area of Christian Europe. The proponents of the ecclesiastical vision saw the West as the main, uncompromising foe, both ideological and political. The ecclesiastical vision entails a return to the concept of “Orthodoxy, Autocracy and Nationality” (or, in some other form, “Spirituality, Statehood and Ecclesiastic Idea”) as a basic building block of national identity //V.V. Lazarev, “O tzelosti russkoy idei”: <http://iph.ras.ru/uplfile/root/biblio/hp/hp2/3.pdf>//. Since this strategy and means of achieving it point to the past and lack a stable connection to reality, the use of the ecclesiastic vision in laying ideological foundations for the country’s development may prove difficult.

Supporters of the **Russian Doctrine** see the fact that Russia is “different and unlike any other country” as a key element in Russia’s historical success. This school of thought believes that the “Global Russian Project” should be advanced on the basis of dynamic conservatism. They envision room for reforming the existing state and society, but only in order to achieve the main goal: to preserve traditions //“*Russian Doctrine*” (Sergy’s Project): <http://www.velikoross.ru/doktrina/> //.

The authors of the Russian Doctrine envision three scenarios for Russia’s future:

- dissolution with the emergence of local sovereign entities. (In this case, they propose a “program of national rebuilding going as far partisan warfare”);

- stagnation, with the current state of drift and instability enduring (in which case they propose to use the ideology of national rebirth to establish a “proto-state”, which would eventually, in the course of history, replace the official one);
- transition to an ideology based on traditional principles of Russian civilization and development along those lines //“*Russian Doctrine*” (Sergy’s Project): <http://www.velikoross.ru/doktrina/> //.

Keeping in mind a certain Utopian quality entailed in the creation of a proto-state, and the on-going shift in society away from the idea of the Russian Civilization in the way the concept’s authors see it, it doesn’t seem that it will be able to play a significant role in developing domestic and foreign policy of the country.

Adherents to the **Neo-Imperial** or **Neo-Soviet** concept see the resurrection of the old Empire or the building of a new one as the main goal of Russia’s existence. This school, along with more moderate calls to take account of the “unconscious Sovietism” that survives in a large portion of the population includes radical appeals to create an “unconventional Empire, a world of worlds, or the USSR-II” //M. Kalashnikov, *Onward, to the USSR, Moscow, Yauza, 2003*//.

The **Nationalist** and **Ultra-Nationalist** school sees the key to success in recreating the Empire around the Russian nation. The Neo-Imperial movement wants the Great Empire to be restored mainly by force and want the nation to be mobilized against its enemies who threaten it from all sides. In other words, they want to embark on the same path that a quar-

ter of a century ago doomed the USSR. This school of thought is unrealistic, but it should not be dismissed out of hand. It is backed by a powerful, centuries-old idea which was the core of the nation and the state, i.e., defense against the outside threat. Finally, at a time when other sources of strength of the nation, such as spiritual and technological ones, are stagnating and even decaying, reliance on military power may have an appeal to many people.

A sharp contrast to the above-mentioned concepts is presented by the **Liberal Westernizing Movement**, whose supporters want Russia to adopt the democratic model of development

sia, stressing instead that the country is an “independent and self-contained civilization” //Eurasia Political Party: <http://eurasia.com.ru/basicprin.html/>.

- The range of ideological currents whose goal is to define Russia’s path and identity is not limited to the above-mentioned concepts, but they give a clear sense of the difficulty of making the national choice. The range of choices Russia can make in its attempt to define itself is extremely broad, including:
- integration into the Europe civilization or preservation of the special Russian civilization;

- Empire or nation-state;
- relative isolation or full openness;
- liberalism or paternalism;
- individualism or collectivism;
- mobilization or modernization;
- a political or Imperial nation //S.V. Kortunov, *Natzionalnaya identichnost: postizhenie smysla*. Moscow, Aspect press, 2009//.

The Russian identity has started to be recreated in the mass consciousness but it has not become strong enough and has not been reflected in a tangible strategy of the country’s development

primarily oriented toward European nations. The crises affecting Western nations have greatly reduced the appeal of this school. Moreover, one of the weaknesses of the Liberal Westernizing school is that they embrace an ideal without taking account of the situation on the ground, the state of society and the people, who have a very limited experience of democratic development and have been traumatized by 20th century history.

The **Eurasian** concept rejects both Sovietism and liberal Westernization as suitable for Rus-

The two decades that have passed since the collapse of the Soviet Union have burned the bridged leading back to the revival of the Soviet identity. The Russian identity has started to be recreated in the mass consciousness but it has not become strong enough and has not been reflected in a tangible strategy of the country’s development. Russia finds itself in a difficult position. After 1917, the Soviet identity was systematically imposed while the pre-Soviet one was



3. The Russian National Identity

The key question that needs to be answered before discussing identity is the question of its carrier. Are we talking about the country (Russia's path) or its citizens (and what makes one a Russian in the first place)? Traditionally the Russian political thought defined the state as the main subject of national identity. But in reality, the subject of national identity is not the state but its citizen.

The subject of national identity is not the state but its citizen

The Russian identity does exist. It is an identity which allows us to unerringly identify fellow-Russians based on facial expression. It cannot – and should not – be constructed artificially; one has to accept what already exists, encouraging its better qualities while also recognizing its faults and, most important, its strengths.

The question where we are going is the question of national idea, which needs to be formulated. The national idea will define national interests and strategy over the course of a time period of at least a full generation.

What brings people living in this country together? (As opposed to what Russia should be for the rest of the world.) What are they missing in today's Russia? What are the long-term interests of the Russian people? This is the only context in which the state should be active. It should be concerned with such tasks as creating public spaces, supporting culture and developing government policy in the area of education and national historic memory.

“What are our strengths” and “What are we fighting against”? These are the two questions that are most often asked when the question of the Russian national identity is raised. The answers to the former allow us to rise above





other nations in our own estimation, while the latter, to find a foreign foe and come together at least in the struggle against it.

The problem is that both questions contain a fundamental contradiction. Russian society

it is so important to encourage children and young people, who by the good fortune of history have avoided being so damaged // *Our older colleagues, S.A.Karaganov and L.L.Lyubimov, strongly advised us to include this idea in our text//.*

We are forever linked by our shared disasters. This inner flaw is characteristic of today's Russians. Unfortunately, it also forms part of our identity

is exhausted. It has had enough wars; it has fought long enough against enemies foreign and domestic, battling for ideas as well as for food. It is time to pose a different question: What brings us together? We have already mentioned our common cultural field. It just has to be revived and enriched with the development of contemporary culture.

Something else often goes unmentioned. We are forever linked by our shared disasters. Even if they ended up as victories, the profound shocks they created could not pass without leaving a trace on our national identity. In part, this explains a custom which affects all our generations except for the twenty year-olds and younger: to measure life against the norms of the "wartime era". For some it is the Great Patriotic War, for others Afghanistan and for tens of millions it is the collapse of the 1990s. This inner flaw is characteristic of today's Russians. Unfortunately, it also forms part of our identity. This is why

What we truly have in common, of course, is our country as a physical entity. Throughout its history, Russia's immense spaces and varied nature largely defined political, economic and cultural processes in the country. The values that moved Russian history forward and defined Russia's

greatness at different stages were formed in close connection with the natural environment. In the pre-Soviet period, nature and the country's expanses played an important role in such traits of the Russian mentality as devotion to the soil and the family hearth. Today, the connection between values and nature has been largely severed, but it can be re-established.

When discussing the national identity, it makes sense to define the main landmarks which transcend the boundaries of our national character and represent a synthesis of its traits, historical circumstances and morality: collectivism vs. individualism, democracy vs. authoritarianism and the need for "large-scale undertakings" vs. exhaustion from heroic deeds.

We are individualists. By and large, if we see a possibility to achieve our goals and solve our problems without outside help we would do so.



We have become communal in reaction to very difficult conditions under which the Russian State developed. An attempt to impose collectivism during the Soviet era was revealed to be a failure the moment official propaganda ceased. However, one of our traditional strengths has

ety is becoming more open and the revival of grass-root civic responsibility is not something new and liberal but a return to tradition. Not to orthodox obscurantism, but to the most humane ones which proved their suitability to the national character.

We are individualists. However, one of our traditional strengths has been individualism placed at the service of society and the nation

been individualism placed at the service of society and the nation. The goal of personal self-realization, the love of large-scale projects, the urge to develop and defend the Motherland and to increase prosperity and knowledge (so that our kids live better) invariably served to improve society as a whole. This kind of “service individualism” can and should be revived.

The discussion of democracy and authoritarianism is a complex one for a number of reasons. They include the flawed understanding of those concepts in Russia, as well as unquestionable convergence of those phenomena in the modern world. But if we look for one of the oldest, effective and successful political traditions in Russia, it would certainly be the tradition of zemstvos (country councils). At the same time, threats to security, which threatened the very existence of the Russian State, objectively encouraged concentration of supreme power and respect for the Czar. Today’s outside challenges are changing, soci-

The urge to undertake large-scale projects is integral to our nation. Russia is a country of boundless expanses. No other Russian writer felt it as strongly as Nikolai Gogol. In his description, few birds were able to reach the midway point of the river Dnieper. Those huge spaces informed a special way of life, in which scale is a necessary attribute. While the Knights of the Round Table could usually reach their destination in a day, heroes in Russian fairy tales had to travel at least three days and three nights. Gogol describes Russia as a speedy troika, a carriage driven by three horses, which swallows distances and seems to fly in the air as its coachman sings and the wind plays in the horses manes: “she’s off and there she goes, on and on.”

Uniqueness and scale are the main standards of Russian aesthetics. It is St. Petersburg, Russia’s Venice raised in the hard of the frozen north, the colossal Motherland on the Mamayev Kurgan in Volgograd, Peter the Great’s statue by Zurab Tsereteli in Moscow and the monumental head of Lenin in Ulan-Ude. Those works have different history but they all reflect Russia’s attraction to the gigantic. Every shopping mall newly opening in Moscow advertises itself as the largest in Europe.

A new feature today is restraint and access to more information. Society still values ambitious projects, but it has started to calculate their cost and usefulness. Without a dialogue and explanation what benefits this or that multi-billion project delivers to the public, it elicits no popular enthusiasm which is the goal of most such projects. The age of one-way communications has passed with the end of the 20th century.

Finally, we must honestly admit to ourselves that, aside from fighting to protect our sovereignty, we just like playing an important role in the world. There is nothing to be ashamed of about wanting to be a Great Power and we must not deny it out of hand. Such desire

ethnic division is a senseless and dangerous Utopia. An attempt to formulate a national identity through ethnicity and religion goes against the grain of the history of the Russian civilization. It may temporarily unite a portion of the population but it would undermine the very foundations of Russian society and the state. Ivan Bunin wrote: «...the people are like lumber. It can be fashioned into an icon or a stick, depending on who works this piece of lumber, St. Sergius of Radonezh or Yemelian Pugachev.» //I.A.Bunin, *Cursed Days*. Quoted by the 1991 Moscow edition, p. 54//. Any time society yields to chauvinism, be it Russian nationalism or the nationalism of smaller groups, it is a path leading to suicide.

In the long run, Russia will be some hybrid form of a civic and culture-based nation

does exist and three hundred years of Empire have been deeply lodged in the national value system. However, it should be developed in accordance with the spirit of the time – and even ahead of it.

3.1. Culture as a Foundation of the Russian Identity

Academic attempts to separate the issue of identity and nation into two groups, civic and ethnic, proved to be a failure in Russia. An

It is too early, to say the least, to discuss the emergence of a civic nation in a country that twice in the past one hundred years effected a revolutionary change of its political system and economic model and failed to build a law-based state. In Russia, the historically dominant culture has been the Russian culture. Russia has its minorities and they will always be there, but the trauma of the 20th century, with its criminal policy with regard to other ethnic groups (it would suffice to mention persecution and exile of entire nations based on their bloodlines and the division of the country into 15 national republics, which then underpinned their demand for independence), must not be carried over into the 21st century. The Russian national identity must be built based on the principle of common cultural space with bright eth-



nic additions that serve to enrich the main culture. The most obvious example of this is the coexistence of sauerkraut, salted herring, shish kebab and pilaf on our holiday tables.

We are neither a nation state nor an Empire. In the long run, Russia will be some hybrid form of a civic and culture-based nation. The connections which lie in the cultural space are codified in the great Russian literature, music, visual arts, architecture and cinema, the latter being the strongest melting pot for all who see themselves as connected to the Russian Federation. The original Russian culture emerged as a result of many centuries of intertwining great cultures, first the Antiquity and Byzantium, as a result of an invasion – the

to enrich them and to raise its own structure based on that foundation. The result has been the emergence of the original Russian nation and the Russian identity which existed in the Russian Empire. Under massive pressure, it was partially replaced by the Soviet identity which endured for less than one hundred years. Naturally, our unique culture has been lost, but the connection to it has been weakened. It must be strengthened again and bolstered by new works. When it is restored, it will in itself become the source of inspiration and enthusiasm and provide moral support for the people, society and the state.

Naturally, the Russian identity must be discussed in modern terms, understanding not only what the Russian culture and history have to offer, but what today a world demand is. Most heritage projects, be it the heritage of the Byzantine Empire or the Soviet Union, reek of moth balls. They are invariably backward-looking and have no power to rally the people.

Any confrontation between ethnic groups or nations and any oppression of such groups has to be declared a crime against the nation

Tatar-Mongol culture and, finally, the brilliant Western European culture of the modern age.

In the course of this complex symbiosis, the great Russian culture was formed in the 19th century, taking its rightful place in the world and continuing into the 20th century. As an amalgam of different elements can undergo chemical reactions and acquire new and improved qualities compared to the original components, so the Russian culture was able not only to combine disparate traditions but

3.2. National Identity and Nationalism

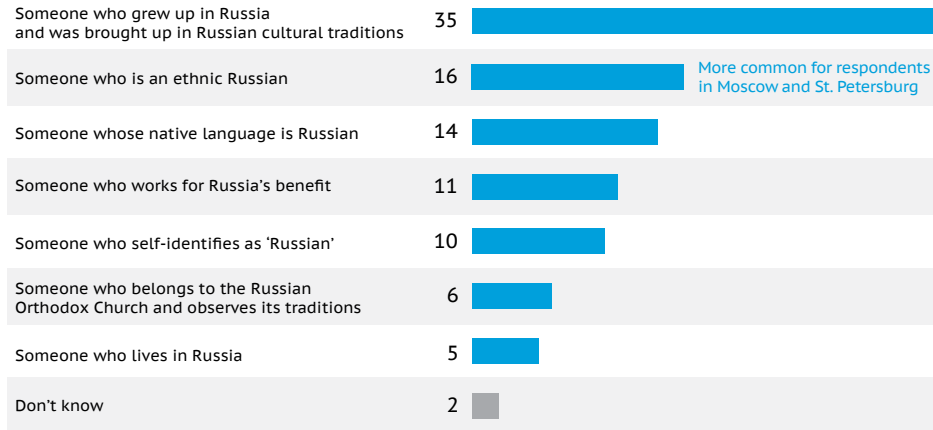
In light of the heightened nationalist hysteria seen in recent times, we need to pay special attention to separating national identity from nationalism. The Russian March has arrogated the term Russian, equating it, in effect, to the slogans of radical nationalists. Aside from the great danger that this idea carries for the future of Russia, it is also immoral from the point of view of the history and culture of the country and its people, which



National self-identification

Who would you describe as Russian?

% of respondents, one response



Russians are Slavs (Yekaterinburg)

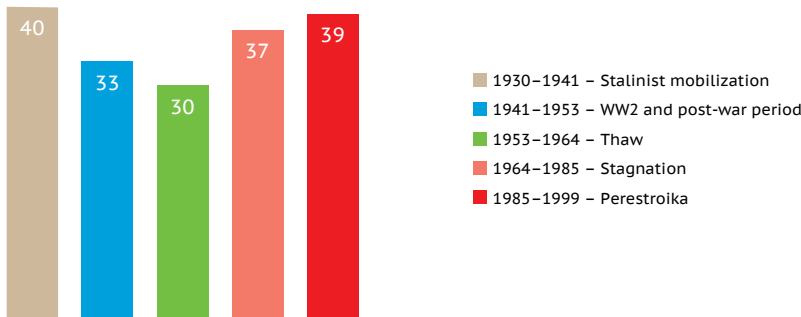
'Russian' is an ethnic category. A person with Dagestani roots may be a Russian citizen, but cannot be referred to as Russian (Yekaterinburg)

Muslims cannot be Russian. They can have a Russian passport and be Russian citizens, but not Russian (Kaliningrad)

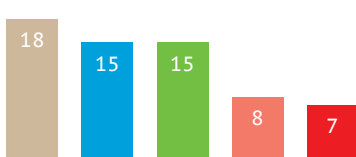
'Russian' is a nationality but also a mentality (Moscow)

It is a matter of how an individual self-identifies. However they refer to themselves – Russian, Chechen – is what they are (Kaliningrad)

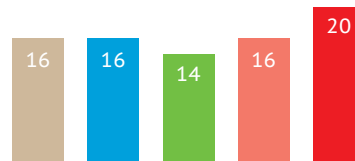
According to Yury Levada's generational classification



Someone who grew up in Russia and was brought up in Russian cultural traditions



Someone who works for Russia's benefit

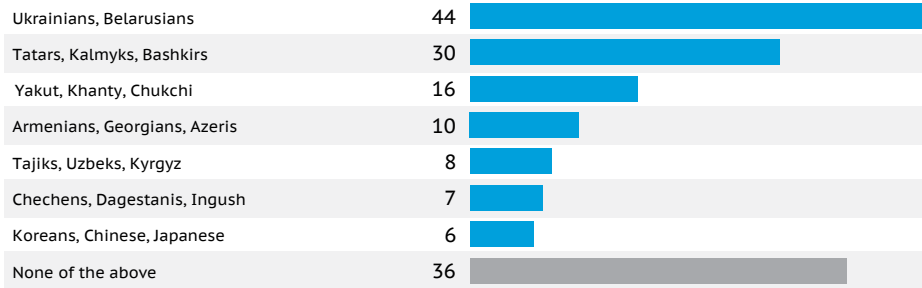


Someone who is an ethnic Russian

“Old” and “new” Russians

Which groups would you consider Russian if they have lived in Russia for many years?

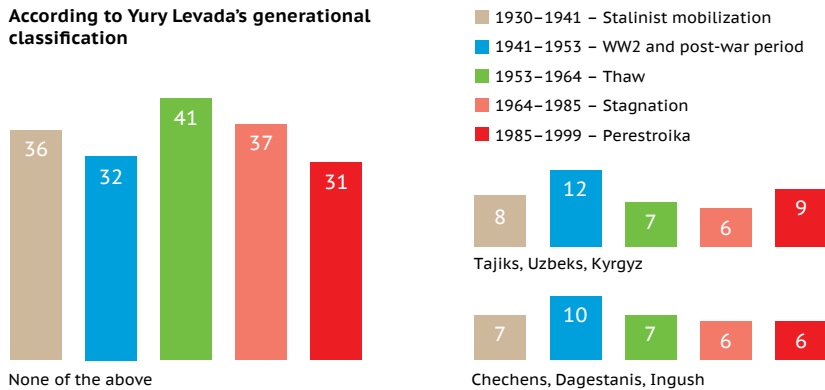
% of respondents, unlimited responses



We are close to Belarusians and Ukrainians, we have the same energy. We are comfortable with them. As for others, especially people from the Caucasus, we aren't comfortable with them (Yekaterinburg)

Tatars and Ukrainians are as Russian as I am. We are one nation. But I would never think of Dagestanis and all those people as Russians, no matter how well they speak Russian (Moscow)

According to Yury Levada's generational classification



The peaceful coexistence of many nations in our country holds an enormous potential for domestic competition that encourages improvement of all individual players

were created as a bouquet (not a melting pot) of many ethnic groups, their cultures and their bloodlines. Any confrontation between ethnic groups or nations and any oppression of such groups inhabiting modern Russia – and before that, the Soviet Union – has to be declared a crime against the nation. Problems

of the immigration policy can be solved and should be solved, and they should not be outsourced to street thugs in surgical masks.

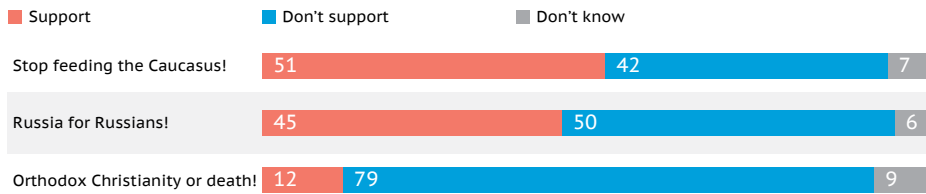
Russia has always been characterized by cultural and national openness, which became the foundation of the multi-ethnic state of the Russian civilization

//“We will be the first to declare to the world that we want to achieve our own prosperity not through the oppression.. of other nations but, on the contrary, we see that prosperity as stemming from the freest and independent development of all other nations and in a brotherly unity with them.” The Russian

Extremist slogans or the people's will?

Do you support or not support the following slogans?

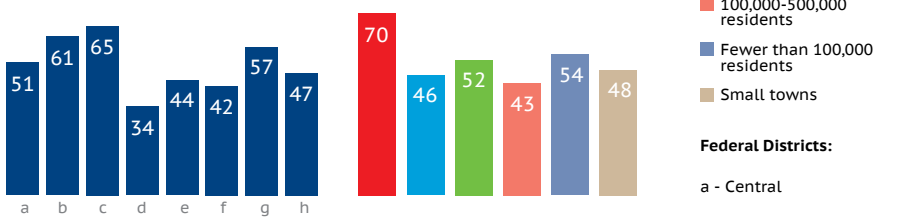
% of respondents



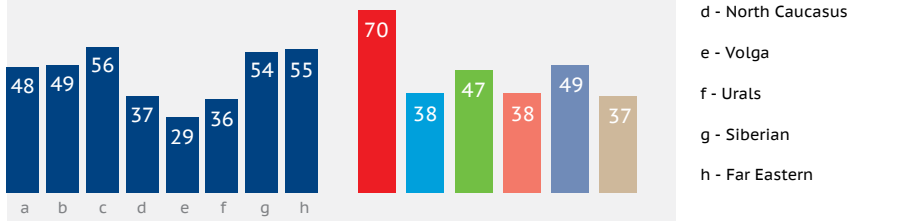
Geographical distribution

% of respondents who chose *Support*

Stop feeding the Caucasus!



Russia for Russians!



idea is “a living yearning from universal unity with full respect for national personalities.” *F.M. Dostoyevsky, Diaries*// You can be a Russian citizen, and therefore a Russian, while remaining a Tatar or a Yakut. Those proudly proclaiming that they are not Russians but ethnic Russians, Tatars or Lezgins are not real citizens; they merely cohabit in the country.

Pitting ethnic groups against each other is a crime also because those who do it are not ready to assume responsibility for their actions if the powder keg blows up in the end. Numerous polls showing that a majority of the population views Russian nationalism favorably, while those who live in national republics welcome

local nationalisms merely proves that people are disoriented. They so much lack a broader horizons that they fall victim of a primal fear and reject what had been building in their subconscious for centuries, namely the acceptance of the Other // *Child psychologists W. Lambert and O. Clumberg showed in a study that six-year old children are capable to identify foreigners based on their differences. Children 10-to-14 years of age are able to seen not only differences but similarities, and this requires more developed tools for observation and analysis. The study was based on the hypothesis advanced by our countryman L.S. Vygotsky. See Lambert, Clumberg. Children's Views of Foreign Peoples. A Cross-National Study. New York, 1967, p. 184–185*//.



Overcome by xenophobia, we forget that the peaceful coexistence of many nations in our country holds an enormous potential for domestic competition. In biology, business and world politics competition encourages improvement of all individual players. Russians need all other ethnic groups in the country, their culture and national traits which are different and better than ours, whereas smaller ethnic groups know that the development of Russia opens new opportunities for them as well, which they would not have on their own.

To accept the Other is to show strength and self-confidence. It is the best manifestation of the sense that one is the master in one's own country, which has always underpinned all of Russia's victories. Whenever this sense

was diluted, tragedies befell the country, such as internecine warfare, famines, uprisings and economic collapse.

Every man can choose from a variety of social roles he wishes to play, and the combination of such roles, not their exclusion, creates the mosaic of identity. In this mosaic, national identity becomes the fundamental tool of integration. Even now, whenever a foreigner asks us where we come from, most Russians and Tatars give the same answer: "From Russia". Being a Russian Orthodox, living in the city of Omsk and being a citizen are not mutually exclusive qualities. On the contrary, they are complementary in their essence. Nor would anyone seriously claim that national identity infringes on gender identity, for example.

4. National Identity for the Outside World

National identity has an obvious international dimension. First of all, it defines how one's national identity is perceived abroad, by the international public opinion and foreign elites. Second, the direct or mediated influence of the outside world and international processes which forms and transforms national identity.

If self-consciousness of a nation is not integral, it will be more susceptible to outside propaganda and its image will be more vulnerable to distortion

Both those factors are closely interconnected. If a nation approaches the issue of national identity consciously, it becomes conceptually integral to it, so that it is able to project its image internationally all the more successfully. If, however, self-consciousness of a nation is not integral, it will be more susceptible to

outside propaganda and its image will be more vulnerable to distortion.

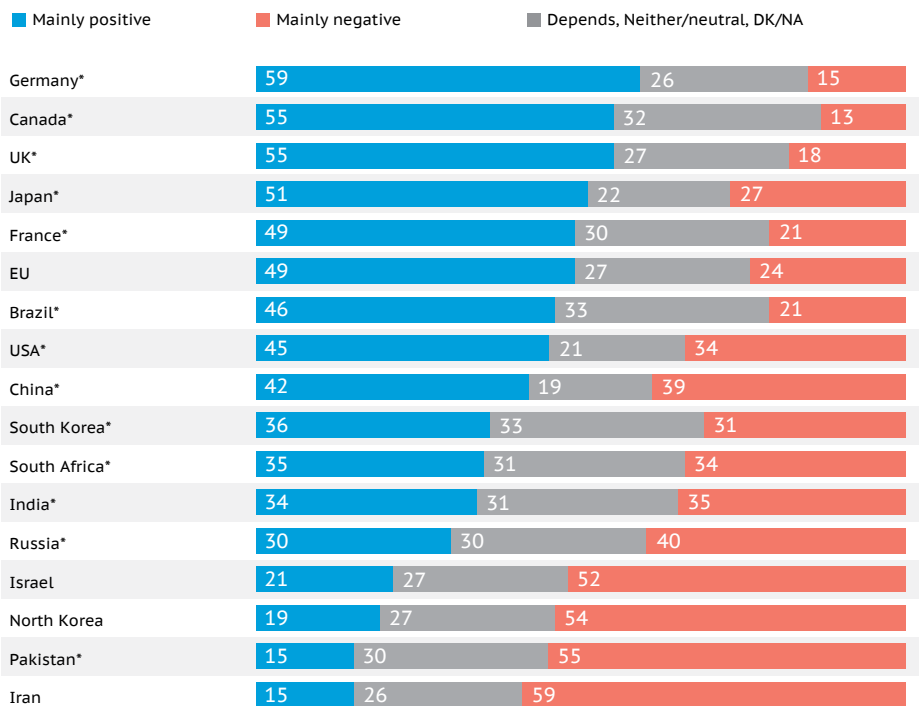
Technological progress in the area of communications and growing mobility of the people creates not only a single informational space, but cultural space as well (which may eventually become a single cultural and civilizational space). This narrows the gap between the ways a country is regarded around the world and its own view of itself (identity), prompting attempts of various groups to influence the former or the latter.

There is no need to spend time on well-known and documented instances when the media, including television, radio and the press, were used to shape the image of certain nations in the international public opinion. The unified "broadcast" space has a well-defined pro-Western bias.



Views of Different Countries' Influence

Average of 22 Tracking Countries, 2012-2013
% of respondents



*Average ratings exclude the target country's rating of itself

Source: [bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-22624104)
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-22624104>

More or less significant changes in the perception of a nation are possible only in a 40–50 year time period

The new stage of technological progress greatly limits the influence of the traditional mass media. They are surrendering their position as a monopoly tool for providing news and describing condition prevailing in other countries to human contact (including virtual contact by means of social media).

The picture of a nation that created in this manner is no longer artificially black and white but becomes naturally more nuanced. This impacts its image both inside and outside the country.

Russia is completing its transition and in this regard it is currently in a half-way house, so to speak. It is still important for us what people say and write about us in the foreign press. Sometimes it is important not because it may have political or economic consequences, but because it has the effect of a distorted mirror for us and our elites.

The negative view of Russia in a number of countries (totaling 40% of respondents in 2013 // *Here and infra data from a joint study by GlobeScan u PIPA commissioned by BBC, May 22, 2013* (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-22624104/>)) was almost equal to those who negatively view China (39%) and the United States (34%). However, in those countries such figures do not cause the same



National identity must correspond to challenges and opportunities, but not demands of the outside world. Russia cannot and must not try to appeal to everyone

pained reaction as among some factions of the Russian elites and in our media.

The international public opinion has a “mind of a seven year-old child” //A lecture by S.Anholt at RIA Novosti (September 20, 2013) http://ria.ru/valdaiclub_tenth_anniversary/20130920/964523988.html/. It is extremely superficial, inert and is formed by the full baggage of the history of the country and the history of its relations with other nations. It never sees the full picture at a given time, grasping only for those stills that are provided to each individual by the media and his circle of acquaintance. More or less significant changes in the perception of a nation are possible only in a 40–50 year time period.

The range of factors which determine how a nation is perceived in the world suggests that it is impossible to achieve an absolutely positive national image.

However, it is certainly possible to strengthen one’s own national identity and thereby enhance its acceptance and understanding in the rest of the world.

Much more important than the negative attitude to Russia is the low level of support it gets in the world. The percentage of people who support Russia, at 30% of respondents, is substantially lower than that of the United States and China (45% and 42%, respectively).

It is crucial that nearly one third of respondents have not yet formed their attitude to Russia. This is a sign that there is no sustainable, understood and accepted image of Russia outside the country. The world simply doesn’t know what to think of us.

Advertising campaigns and attempts to patch up holes in the image with periodic articles and television programs could achieve tactical successes, but from the strategic point of view, the image of a nation should strive to show the real state of national identity. We should improve our image by internally strengthening and developing the country and its people based on this identity.

National identity must correspond to challenges and opportunities, but not demands of the outside world. Russia cannot and must not try to appeal to everyone. To be understood and accepted does not mean adopting foreign or alien values. Let us be different. What kind of people we are should be decided by ourselves. But we should decide soon – and act.

5. National Idea of Human Development

The country is facing an acute need to work out a new development strategy following the revolution of the 1990s and the rebuilding of the 2000s, but any attempt to engage in it without a coherent national idea is doomed. The longer we wait, the more likely we are to lose our ability to act independently and to

first identifying priorities. A national ideal must be something that brings people together and possesses the power to rally them. Mobilization as a rule suggests a reaction to an outside challenge or closing the ranks under duress. However, the time for such mobilizations is passed. Russians need enthusiasm

and spirit, which can be achieved only if citizens regain the sense of participation in the life of the country and solidarity with those who live in our country. Accordingly, a strategy of strengthening the national identity is required above all in the context of creating a favorable environment and encouraging the subjects of positive change, i.e., citizens.

Strategy of strengthening the national identity is required above all in the context of creating a favorable environment and encouraging the subjects of positive change, i.e., citizen

choose our path on a sovereign basis. The only idea that is suitable for today's world and conditions in Russia is support for the individual.

The development of the individual is a comprehensive process, which can't begin without

Such changes should focus on three areas.

First, intellectual development and creation of equal opportunities in the global community of knowledge, not only in the Russian labor





market but in the international one as well. This area is Education.

Second, the strengthening of connections between the individual and the fruit of his labor (which has been almost always confiscated over the past eight centuries, first by the invading Tatars, then by the nobility, then by collective farms and the state distribution system and finally by hyperinflation and default in the 1990s) and his land. This entails developing of the sense of being a master. We must foster a sense of responsibility for one's own property. In other words, we must create a responsible citizen.

Third, the need for our citizens to be aware of their place in history. This can't happen without rebuilding a bridge with the thousand year-old history of the country, and accepting our past, with all of its often tragic and brilliant diversity. In other words, we need to develop a policy of historical memory.

We're convinced that this program will impact the future development of Russian society. Since we do actually want to be a Great Power (we have not rejected it, despite it all), then in the 21st century nuclear weapons alone are not sufficient. This status will have to be paid for, and not by blood but by hard work to improve ourselves.

5.1. Man as an Absolute Priority

The debate on whether the individual exists for the sake of the state or the state for the sake of the individual must be put to bed. The indi-

vidual – the Russian citizen – is paramount. It is not merely a question of values or national priorities. In the modern world, when change occurs at an unprecedented pace, while competition between countries shifts from the military area to the technological sphere and the field of ideas, only educated, active, talented and creative citizens can ensure a state's competitiveness // *The development of human capital as a national idea is the focus of Strategy XXI of the Council of Foreign and Defense Policy. It is more broadly developed in the work of its members. See Podberезkin A.I. National human capital, Moscow, 2011//.*

Reliance on the individual means that he can never be merely a tool for fulfilling the needs of the state or society. However, a fully developed personality is always skewed toward altruism. It is a kind of service, but a higher calling rather than servitude. It is not a duty but an inner need of self-realization. By this we do not mean mere charity, pro bono work or going into fields which suggest service to society, such as medicine and teaching. An entrepreneur who creates jobs and invests in research and development, an engineer who builds new machines and creates new materials and an artist – are the kind of people who, by achieving their own goals through their work, at the same serve society, improving it, making it more interesting and richer, while making the living environment more comfortable and pleasant.

It would not be enough to declare a slogan “All in the Service of Man”. It has to be fully understood both by the state and society. Paternalism has always been the foundation for rela-



tions between our authorities and society. A large portion of our population and the elites still believe that government transfers put the individual in debt to the state.

The responsibility of the state with regard to society should be in creating conditions for the people to improve their welfare independently in providing quality education and health care and supporting civic and creative initiatives

Moreover, this debt is not to be repaid by constructive activity which contributes to the common good, but by tolerating arbitrary actions by bureaucrats. This model of social contract is flawed, since it creates negative incentives for both sides: it holds the individual back in any constructive activity while putting no restraints on actions by the state.

The best and the brightest in Russia have always felt this and tried to escape the hand of the state. In Czarist Russia it could be done by moving to the East, to areas that were free from state control; in the Imperial Russia it manifested itself in the flight from the countryside to temporary jobs in cities and today many successful, educated and gifted people go abroad.

Disconnect between the individual and the state can be overcome only if the existing social contract is replaced. The responsibil-

ity of the state with regard to society should not be in sustaining its welfare as much as in creating conditions for the people to improve their welfare independently, i.e., in providing quality education and health care and supporting civic and creative initiatives, as well as in developing institutions, safeguarding the rule of law and preventing arbitrariness. On the other hand, the responsibility of citizens is to be actively involved in the process of any government reform, rather than observe it from the sidelines and criticize everything. It should not be a contract between an enlightened ruler and a client, based on the absolute authority of the former. Nor is it a contract between a “stationary bandit” and its passive victim, based on power and calculation. It is a contract between a state and its citizen founded on their mutual responsibility for the future of the country.

5.2. Education

The main sources of creativity are talent, education and energy. We have traditionally possessed all three. But today energy has run out, talents are either in the doldrums or have gone abroad, while the quality of education is going down. We must improve education and create conditions for restoring national enthusiasm as well as for the flowering of talents.

All participants in the educational system are in need of retraining, while reforming the system as a whole should be a national priority.

Above all, it is because there is a fundamentally new demand on education, which is different from the one that existed in the Soviet Union – and which didn't, in reality, exist at all in the 1990s. There is now a need for schools to develop an individual and for universities to form a professional. The most important skill in today's world is ability to learn. It is the only skill that can provide decent living over the course of a lifetime.

We have lost the competition to Asian countries in industrial labor, while competition with developed countries in creative spheres

The new technology-based system leaves us no alternative but to put the highest value on the creative, educated individual as far as society and the state are concerned

and in the service sector is intensifying. There is no room for lack of professionalism and low productivity. The new technology-based system leaves us no alternative but to put the highest value on the creative, educated individual as far as society and the state are concerned.

But the educational system must not be regarded as solely a production line for a competitive labor force. The teaching profession remains the main guardian of national values. It is at school that a child is first exposed to the Russian literature and the Russian and world

history. The primary school lays the foundations for the main values and forms the character, too. All ratings show that our kids finish primary school at the top compared to the rest of the world. But this enormous potential is negated by the failure of the middle school and the rest is either sustained or wasted at high school and in secondary education.

Improvements in the educational system are a long and multi-directional process. Here are its main principles:

- provide massive support for regions to bring schools there to a level no lower than the one that prevails in the capital, and to build up regions by means of raising their educational standards;
- improve training for all participants of the education process, including teachers, administrative personnel (head teachers and principals) and officials at government agencies in charge of education;
- create modern teaching conditions in order to build versatile character (including sports, the arts and modern textbooks linked to the Internet) and to provide professional education (labs, IT support and databases);
- restore the honor code at universities and support academic research;
- create specialized universities for those who want to acquire specific skills and learn a profession and those who want to attain a comprehensive liberal education and possibly become scholars or scientists. Such division may entail curricula of different length;



- improve language skills, since learning three languages is normal in the 21st century, which Switzerland and India amply prove. Russia's regions which do not have bilingual education should ensure that the level of English of their graduates is adequate to communicate freely and travel. After several years at college, they should be able to study in English. Ethnic republics should have their parliament or president decide whether English should also be a priority language for them, along with Russian and their local languages.

This is the briefest possible list, and each of the above-mentioned points will only be able

We must never forget that education is the main source of national inspiration

to meet the demand of the educational process when it is developed further and expanded, and also supported by with substantial investments. And, we must never forget that education is the main source of national inspiration.

5.3. The Sense of Being a Master of the Land

Many of our people have a very abstract understanding of what is meant by such statements as “the richest country in natural resources” and “the largest country in the world”, and they are often irritated and frustrated by them – because they do not believe that they

get anything out of it. We know that the country is immense, but we feel no connection to its vast spaces or, for that matter, to the country as a whole. We have a Motherland, but it somehow doesn't belong to us. How can we love it then? This is why some in the intelligentsia reject the term patriotism.

There are many reasons why Russians do not feel strongly that they are masters of their land:

1) Throughout Russian history, the rights to property and fruits of one's labor have never been strongly protected. A majority of people – the peasants – had no property at all. The right to property ownership is a relatively new concept in Russia, having arrived here in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century.

2) Ownership was eliminated in the Soviet period. Over the seventy years of communism we became used to the idea that we own nothing. Property belongs to an abstract entity, such as the state or the collective, which meant to no one.

3) Major property privatized during the 1990s is still not considered to be legitimate, as privatization was conducted also in the absence of a legal system, including no laws protecting of property. The effects of the moral trauma inflicted on society at the time linger to this day. Under these conditions, when property rights are violated, society views this with indifference and even joy. Lacking legal





protection and considered illegitimate by society from the moral point of view, property can be preserved only if it is wedded to power or if it is taken outside the country. It is the deep-seated cause of pernicious corruption and lack of patriotism among the elites.

4) The people are rarely involved in the management of the land. They believe that nothing ever depends on them. Decisions that affect all are taken by the few, who often ignore the opinion of the majority. The only mechanism which allows citizens to participate in decision-making is elections, but their legitimacy has been weakened by numerous violations and constant changes in the election law.

The sense of ownership is formed locally. A person can be a proprietor only where he lives, while everything else will be mostly artificial. We must create a foster the sense of ownership of one's land, building courtyard, street and city. This doesn't negate the sense of belonging to a larger country. On the contrary, it is your country because your own land and your business is based in the country.

The main channel for including citizens in governing the country should not be only national elections, but local self-government, as well, which is reflected in the structure of the word, in which the first syllable entail that both the government and the governed are the same, i.e., the citizens.

Local self-government is the school of democracy, bringing forth both politicians who are responsible to their voters, since at this level more than at any other politicians

depend on their voters after being elected, and responsible citizens that voters then become. It is the proving ground for management ideas which, if they are successfully implemented at this level, may be applied beyond the original region. It is a powerful engine of civic activity and a source of the much needed civic sense.

Finally, local self-government is a means for inculcating patriotism and the sense of being a master. When a citizen gets involved in managing his region, he becomes more strongly attached to it and is more likely to view it as a place where his children will live, as well. Local self-government is the main tool for giving back to the people their roots and restoring the traditions of zemstvos, rural commune and patronage which were interrupted by the Soviet period.

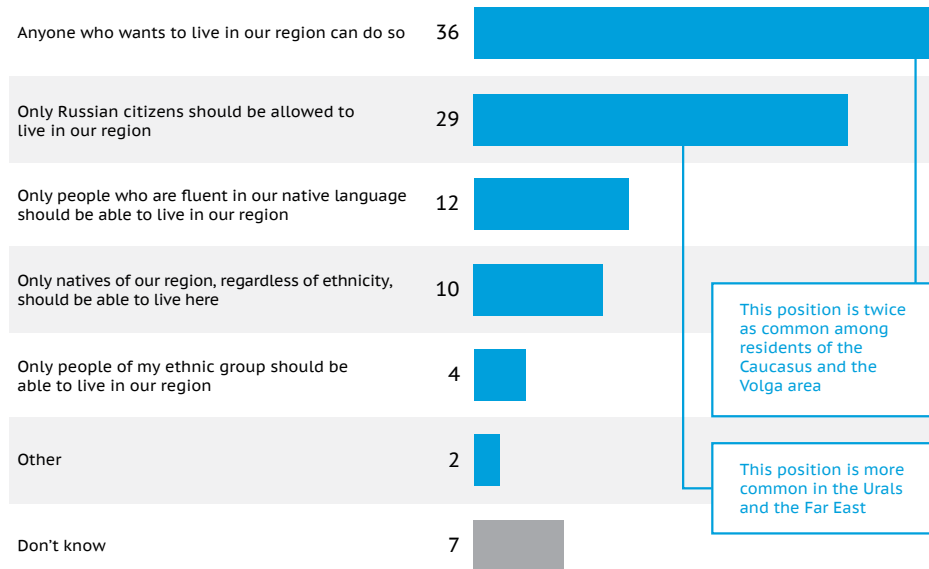
Activities of local self-government should be complemented by active independent associations of citizens (IAC) or non-government organizations, which have the same goals but are active in a more narrow sphere and across regions. The main role of the NGOs is to involve citizens in constructive activities to develop the country (as it is implemented locally), create new narrowly based identities, foster the sense of citizenship and develop the sense of being masters of their land and their lives.

Today, the sense of ownership should be given a new dimension. It is a sum of smaller, very local identities (one's own stairwell, building courtyard, neighborhood and, finally, city and region), which will add up to an identity

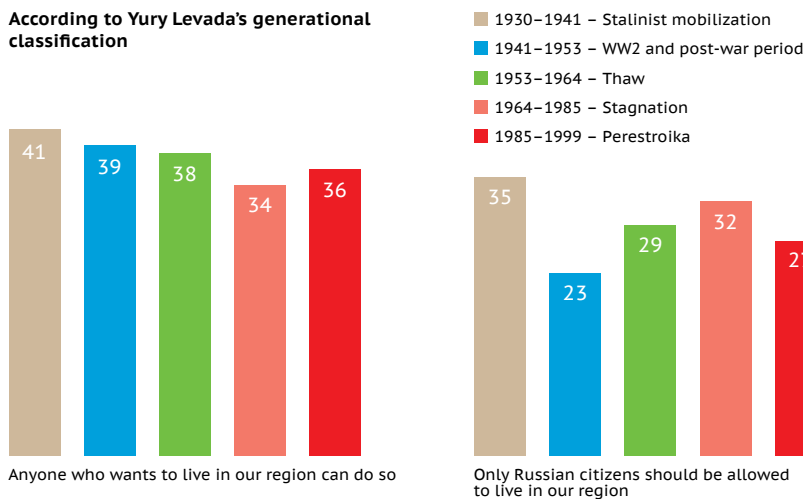
Who would you let move to your city?

The Russian Constitution guarantees the right of citizens to travel and choose their place of residence. However, sometimes the presence of different ethnic groups and cultures in a place can breed conflict. Do you think this problem needs to be addressed in your region?

% of respondents, one response



According to Yury Levada's generational classification



of the world's largest country most bountifully blessed with talents and resources.

5.4. Acceptance of history

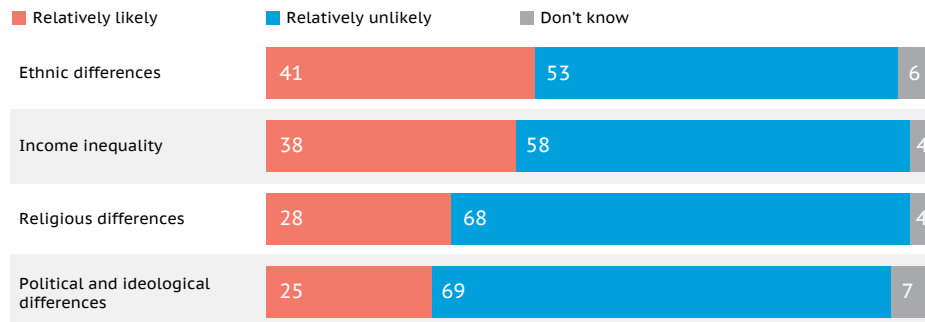
Due to a number of historical reasons, such as a dramatic period which included the Civil

War, purges, the Great Patriotic War and the notorious attitude which made some subjects off limits, a majority of our people have a very limited personal historical perspective, which breaks off three or at most four generations back. Largely because of this, the history of our country is viewed by many as abstract and

Ticking time bombs

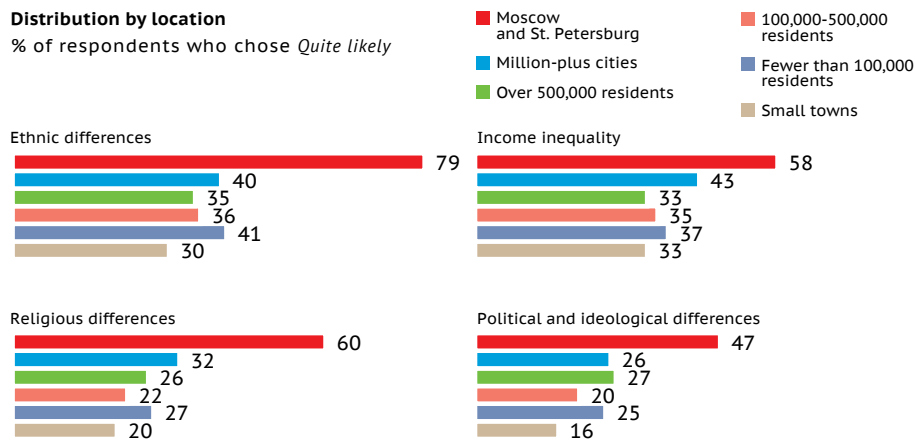
Do you think that conflicts, clashes or mass protests are likely or unlikely in your city or town for the following reasons?

% of respondents



Distribution by location

% of respondents who chose *Quite likely*



The history of the country as a whole must be made personal. We must build a virtual Pantheon of Heroes

not interesting. It would be difficult to bring back the family histories of millions of families but we should assist people in this undertaking. Moreover, the history of the country as a whole can and must be made personal. We must build a virtual Pantheon of Heroes. Russia's heroes were not only defenders of the Motherland and war heroes. Russia also had a peacetime history which is currently virtually ignored. This peaceful history was built by many great men and women (See Appendix 1).

The policy of reviving the historical memory which could bring people closer together and restore national solidarity is a multifaceted process requiring participation by the state, the academic community and journalists. The media and educational institutions will also be indispensable //The reader may be interested to read a specialized report of the working group on the policy of historic memory under the leadership of A.I.Miller focusing on the policy of historic memory, which proposes a comprehensive strategy for its implementation and fully corresponds to the philosophy underpinning this paper. The Report was prepared within the framework of the Strategy XXI program of the CFDP.

6. Strengthening the Russian Identity

The strategy of strengthening of the Russian identity is intimately connected to the Russian national idea and strategy. The main object of this idea is the country's citizens. Such a strategy is certainly not linear. Let us list its main components, using the logic of defining national identity.

It is important for Russia to effect a intensive socialization of its citizens

Let us recall that National Identity is a sense of belonging of a person to a state or a nation, which is shared by a group of people regardless of the country of citizenship.

A foreign threat is an extremely power factor bringing the nation together, but, fortunately, the time of immediate threats to our borders has passed. This is why we should rally not around a common tragedy but in order have

common achievements, since no one wants to share common stagnation. Backing success and the individuals who achieve it is the first step in this direction.

In order to share something in common one needs to be a member of a certain group of people. Divided people will find it hard to share something as a matter of principle. This is why it is important for Russia to effect a intensive socialization of its citizens.

But to be socialized and integrated into society and a full range of different processes taking place in the country and the world would be a rash undertaking without a clear set of rules. Nothing will happen in the absence of a rule-based state.

A person may feel a sense of belonging only when he or she feels that there is something that brings people of the same nation





together. As mentioned before, in Russia it is the cultural space. This is why support and development of culture in the broadest possible sense with the help of the media, education and the Internet is the only way for our nation to be regenerated.

We must support Russians who strive to build and to create

People yearn for some kind of great achievement, a large-scale project, a real breakthrough and not a Potemkin village, something that takes one's breath away. It should be a project about which every participant can say that at last at last he or she is doing something worthwhile. It should be something imbued with romanticism, yet is not empty fantasizing, something that is for the ages, but without the horror of the GULAG, and something that doesn't degenerate into wanton waste of government funds or violence against the people. We have such a project right under our noses. It is the new development of Siberia and the Far East. It is a new opening to the Great Ocean which today has more promise than ever before //See. S.A. Karaganov. et. al. "Toward the Great Ocean or the New Globalization of Russia"/ S. A. Karaganov, editor, Moscow.: 2012. (http://vid-1.rian.ru/ig/valdai/Toward_great_ocean_eng.pdf)//.

When we speak of national identity, we can't ignore the role of symbols. Russians are full of sarcasm toward most of their official national

symbols, while there are very few unofficial ones. But they share deep devotion toward what they hold as truly sacred. This includes not only religious symbols but civic ones, as well. Paying close attention to the latter is an important component of bolstering national identity.

Moreover, symbols are needed not only for domestic use but to transmit national identity abroad. It is doubtful that vodka, fur hats and caviar could continue to serve us well in this respect.

6.1 Support for the Creative

It is impossible all at once to change the system of power and the people's attitudes, and to create a favorable investment climate from Kaliningrad to Vladivostok. What we must do is support Russians who strive to build and to create, and try to set up a kind of viral marketing to spread the new identity. We should adopt not the elite principle, which is typical of the Imperial identity and on which today's Russia excessively relies, but the principle of meritocracy, which the capital, regions, towns and villages alike desperately need.

A creative core does not only mean self-starting young people who would be able to compete in the global labor market but will nevertheless want to stay in Russia. It includes also cultural and intellectual elite, the intelligentsia, teachers, scholars, entrepreneurs and farmers; it is highly skilled workers, doctors and nurses. This core will be the source of that good that will spread forth. Of course all of them will be working for

themselves and living their own lives, but the fact that they can create as much as a dozen other people can, or even a thousand of others, should be specially incentivized. Encouragement should come from favorable public opinion, effective laws, tax breaks, etc. – they must not feel that they are fighting against a deaf system but that they are welcomed.

In Russia, this core has always been in danger of being crushed by a less talented or fortunate mass. Unfortunately, envy is one of our major traits, which, when it is encouraged by a deliberate policy or even absence of any coherent policy, can turn into a destructive force. Only with powerful support – which in the Russian tradition and current context means state support – this core has a chance of not only to be accepted but to become respected. Such cores

century, we must start repaying the bloody debt. The gifted, the talented, the enterprising, the diligent and the hard-working must be supported. The monstrous energy employed in eliminating the working peasantry, the intelligentsia, the clerics, the nobility and millions of ordinary citizens whose only crime was to stand out of the crowd and be different, should now be turned in the opposite direction.

6.2. Socialization

National identity can't be constructed from the top down on orders from the state. Twinning millions of smaller identities into a single whole is a complex process, which can't be set in motion by hands-on management. In fact, such management can easily destroy it.

The role of the state is to create a sphere for human interaction where smaller identities can be formed and to nudge people toward each other

must be created and supported by financial, legal, cultural, propaganda and educational means. They should become the cornerstone of government policy. Naturally, the mission of the state includes also providing assistance to those who are less fortunate due to old age, ill health or circumstances.

In the 20th century, the best and the brightest were eliminated by millions. In the 21st

At the same time, identity can't be formed in and of itself, in an abstract debate by citizens. The reason for this is simple: no venue for such a debate exists. Identities are threads which link one individual to others and through them to the Motherland. A fine fabric woven from those threads is the basis for forming such an identity.

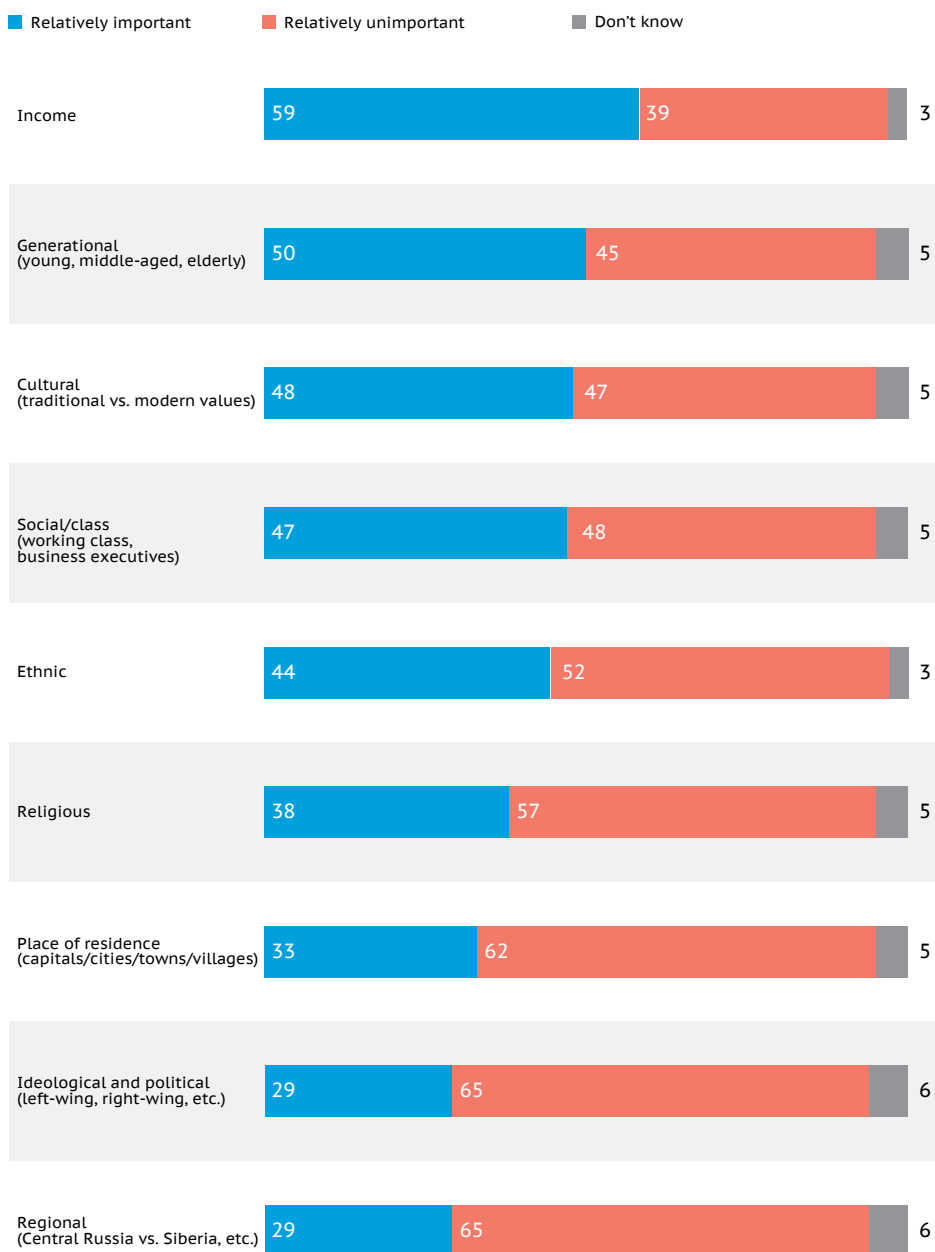
The role of the state is to create a sphere for human interaction where smaller identities can be formed and to nudge people toward each other in order to make sure those threads start connecting them. It should send signals and provide symbols to society, which would help people come together. It should also seek and develop points where this com-



Dividing lines

Which kinds of differences between various groups do you see as important or unimportant?

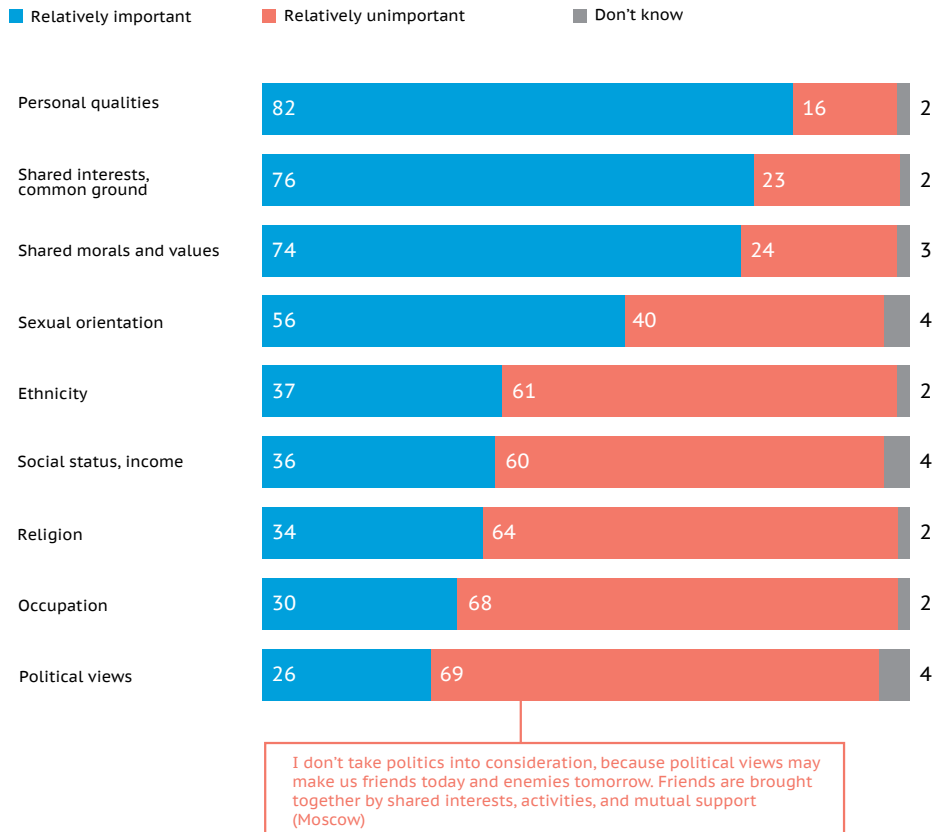
% of respondents



Social bonds

How do you choose friends and acquaintances? What qualities do you value most?

% of respondents



ing together can occur, above all, the Russian language and culture. It must refrain completely from sending signals and imposing symbols which would divide various social, ethnic and religious groups.

The role of society and its intellectual elites is to use this sphere and not turn away from it. They should formulate ideas which arise in the course of civic discussion, the best ones of which the state should then implement.

Russian society is deeply divided. Individuals are rooted in their families, friends and the home and nothing and no one else matters. There are very few strong identities. The religious and ethnic identity is static and strictly

defined. These identities may be useful as engines of creative activity, but their role will always be limited. At the same time, professional, civic and even hobby-based identities remain very vague.

A project that could take the country out of its depression could be to create as many active identities as possible. This can be achieved if we build platforms for active people to engage in interactions. The most obvious examples of such platforms are local self-government and independent organizations of citizens, or non-government organizations.

Professional identities can be revived by developing professional associations whose

purpose is to support professional debates (but not trade unions which in their current form function exclusively as means of distributing social goods). Such platforms should be completely unbureaucratized and must function without the intermediation of any officials, except as individuals.

But the main task remains to promote respect for work. We must pay special attention to occupations that are crucially important for today's Russia, i.e., teachers and medics.

izing the population. It remains the only remaining state institution which all Russians attend. Both students and parents are socialized, either voluntarily or forcibly. Parents-teachers committees are today the area where most Russian are socially active, since around 2% of citizens participate in such committees //L. Gudkov, et. al., *Op.cit*//. Rural schools play a particularly important role. They are often not just a place where kids get their education, but the main cultural center bringing together all generations.

A project that could take the country out of its depression could be to create as many active identities as possible

Those two professional fields were severely damaged in the 1990s, even though they are very strongly united by professional ethics, share common values and speak the same language in every corner of the country.

The restoration of university student associations is an important task as well, not as social groups but of students as cultural actors. We must revive the nearly forgotten students' traditions. Young people are the engine of the country's development. They should be brought together into a single creative force, which will have a great potential, one that has not been engaged today.

Nor should we neglect the powerful and system-building role of public schools in social-

First steps have already been made in developing the schools' potential for socialization. A recently adopted set of Federal educational standards (which in effect reflect society's demands on the school system) stress that every student must undertake social projects. All we need is to engage this component.

We need to develop platforms for leisure activities, setting up clubs for people with such hobbies as music, cinema, local history, the environment, etc. and developing amateur athletics. It is of great importance to develop urban spaces and to transform cities, which are home for a growing proportion of Russians, into a friendly environment promoting human socialization rather than pushing people away and toward their television screens and computers.

The proposed ideas aim to revive creative collectivism and, especially, solidarity which has always been a special strength of the





Russian people and which has all but disappeared. Except now it will be a new kind of collectivism, different from the one that was cultivated in the Soviet Union. That one was artificial and its result was failure. It will not be an imposed collectivism in which the weak keep the strong back. It will be a voluntary and mutually beneficial collectivism, which will allow the strong to join their efforts and

Both the elites and society agree that ensuring the primacy of the law is necessary

thus become, with active support from the state, even stronger, pulling up the weak along the way. It will be a collectivism which will arise due to the need for self-realization of the individual – who is always motivated, be the desire to serve – and therefore represents the highest form of individualism.

6.3. Rule-Based State

We can't aspire to any kind of a competitive economy or effective society and management in the 21st century without a strictly defined set of rules that would be codified and shared by an overwhelming majority of society – in other words, without a rules-based society. Both the elites and society agree, albeit for different reasons, that ensuring the primacy of the law is necessary. After two decades of experimentation, it has become clear that the

only way to overcome the lack of legitimacy of property, which makes business jump into bed with power, provides an impetus for taking property out of the country and reduces investment, is to establish a rules-based state. A deep flaw of the entire system is the absence of an independent arbiter in any issue, which breeds a sense of defenselessness and uncertainty about the future. It affects a millionaire entrepreneur who is trying to play by the rules as much as a young asthma patient who can't be sure that his illness would be recognized by the local draft board and he would not be drafted. This is how we speedily arrive to assume that men are natural enemies to one another.

Building a rule-based state should not be reduced to another rewriting of the Constitution and creation of new controlling entities and law enforcement agencies. Even as matters now stand, our legal system produces such an extremely low percentage of not-guilty verdicts that it should perhaps be renamed the convictions system. Practically every criminal code needs to be made more humane and relevant.

However, widespread acceptance of rules can't be imposed by means of government reforms alone, especially given our highly corrupt system. Most important, we will need to involve citizens in the judiciary system. Taking into account current inadequate protection of individual rights and freedoms, we need a legal literacy campaign for the population that has no precedent in Russian



history. It should be almost like the literacy campaigns after the revolution, except covering the field of law. Even in the monstrous conditions of the time, Aleksander Solzhenitsyn in his *Gulag Archipelago* complained that prisoners had no notion of their legal rights //“One of the principles of our prosecution consists of depriving the suspect of the very knowledge of the law”; «Were it but the

**Fairness must no longer be above the law.
It must become synonymous with law**

suspects had been taught a few lessons of prison science first!» (“GULAG Archipelago” vol.1)///. This campaign should take the form of more intensive courses on the basics of the rights of citizen at school as well as on a non-credit basis at colleges and at the entities of local self-government. A Reference Book for citizens should also be published and widely distributed, comprised of a list of the principal legal normative documents and statutes and a description of the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

One of the aspects of creating a complete citizen should be a transformation of Russia’s traditional demand for fairness, which is an integral part the Russian identity, into a legal form. Fairness must no longer be above the law. It must become synonymous with law. It will not be some imported foreign notion in the Russian national identity but a manifestation of its natural evolution.

6.4 “Institutions of Social Extension”

6.4.1. Culture

Culture is our main resource for mending our numerous fault lines. In a large measure, ethnic and class conflicts do not stem from the fact that some dance Caucasus national dances and others dance Russian ones, or that some drive Bentleys while other take the metro. It is rather a conflict between culture and lack of culture. Our inner gauge which tells us how to behave in a given situation is fashioned in the cultural field.

In the Russian history, the role of philosophers has traditionally been played by writers and poets. The age of survival at the end of the 20th century undermined the cultural habits of the “world’s best-read nation”, but the accumulated experience of culture remains massive. Fortunately, Russia has largely escaped the open intellectual and cultural splintering which we see in many developed and, especially, developing nations, even ones that have an ancient history.

Russian society is often described as “two nations speaking different languages,” but in fact it is polarized to a much lesser extent than, for example, Chinese society. Against this background, the difference between Russians can be compared to that between 9th and 11th grade high school students. And yet, Chinese engineers who design amazing highway interchanges or engage in the economic colonization of Africa would never say that a

half-literate food vendor is from a different nation.

We should compare ourselves not to others but, primarily, to ourselves. It must be admitted that the cultural level of society, and especially of its elites, is at present remarkably low. This manifests itself most readily in the mass culture, and we can't reduce the problem to an assertion that mass culture is a priori bad. The opening ceremony of the 2012 London Olympics, which presented the evolution of mass culture in music, where Britain led the world

to create cultural platforms, such as national or international festivals (especially taking place in the regions), creativity centers for children and adolescents and tax relief to private companies and NGOs working in the cultural sphere. Whatever expands the horizons of reason not only creates value-added also contributes an "added future" for the nation.

Politicians at the highest level, heads of leading mass media organizations, journalists and teachers must possess "a high level of cultural intuition", to use the words of Pavel Florensky. It will not be limited to high culture alone, but culture in the broadest sense. There is only one way to develop such intuition: to become immersed in culture.

The Russian language is not just the main means of communication but, at the same time, it is the core of Russian culture.

We need a cult of the Russian language, making proper usage and grammar part of being well-mannered, so that errors become morally unacceptable. The first step in this direction should be taken in the area which directly depends on the state. Announcers on state TV channels should once more provide the standard of the language, whereas announcements on train stations and in the metro should avoid incorrect usage and stupid phrasing.

It is not enough to restore and promote classical culture, just as in the early 20th century, it was not enough for those who cre-

The age of survival at the end of the 20th century undermined the cultural habits of the "world's best-read nation", but the accumulated experience of culture remains massive

in the 20th century, showed perfectly well how mass culture can be diverse and how it can be admired by every generation and cultural layer of society on all continents.

The state must not give order to culture but it must participate in defining what is considered to be good taste and professionalism. At least large-scale public events and projects which have the backing of state entities should not be a display of blatant bad taste accompanied by lip-syncing. Once again, as in the case of socialization of the population, the main contribution by the state will have to be





We need a cult of the Russian language, making proper usage and grammar part of being well-mannered

ated the Russian avant-garde which become the global avant-garde, as well. We need to create modern culture, and to develop all of its forms, which are extraordinarily diverse today. Besides literature, music, painting cinema (art cinema, as well, not just for-profit projects), this should include digital forms of creativity, media-formats, light installations, landscape design, architecture, street art – in other words, everything that taps into the people's creative potential and adds new meanings and emotions. In addition to the obvious benefit for the country, in its industrial cities, with their rusting gray landscapes, this is the only way to inspire young people and all active inhabitants.

6.4.2. *Polite Society*

How polite people are, i.e., everyday culture, largely defines our mood and social environment and continuously broadcasts norms and principles, either completing or damaging the cause of high culture. After the era of historic transformations, profound crises and life-and-death situations, it has been almost completely forgotten. And yet, politeness permeates everything: it impact the upbringing of children and work ethic (since it is rude to be late for work or miss deadlines), as well as rules of coexistence and even the level of

stress, in which Russia confidently tops global rankings.

But before we start discussing good manners: we need to start by banishing rudeness. In this case, the government has a far greater responsibility than

the average citizen. Every traffic accident which involves a bureaucrat's driver serves to cement the attitude that each driver is a king of the road and do has not to obey simple norms of courtesy. Moreover, contrary to the common view, it is not necessary to respond to boors with rudeness. International as well as Russian practice confirms that the policy of zero tolerance can be quite effective. The center of Moscow, which used to be clogged with illegally parked vehicles, instantly started to breathe much easier when parking meters were inevitably imposed on everyone.

The Russian people, for all its originality, live by the laws of social development that are common to all nations. When they find themselves in a clean environment, people tend to litter dramatically less than in a dump //*In sociology, the classic example of this is the broken window theory*//. In a company of people where everyone smiles, others tend to be much friendlier than in a group of Gloomy Gusses. There is no doubt that a campaign of implacable politeness could greatly change the mood of the people.

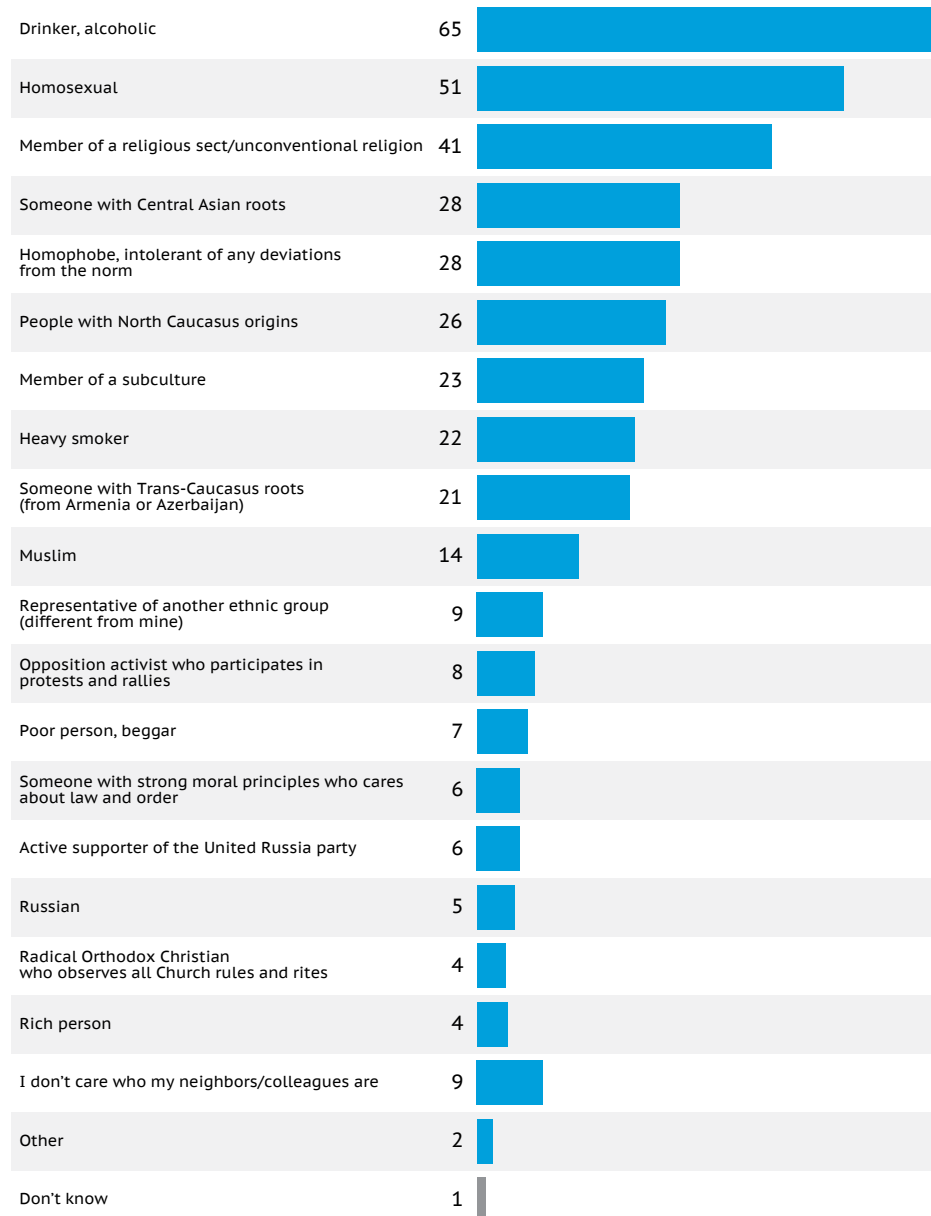
6.4.3. *The Media*

Today's mass media are, in effect, the main means of involving Russians in the life of their

“Unacceptable neighbors”

What kinds of person would be most unacceptable as a next-door neighbor or co-worker, someone you see every day?

% of respondents, unlimited responses, close-ended question



country. It defines the quality of social dialogue, while norms and rules broadcast by the media are the most accessible signals to society. Therefore, the basic requirement is to provide total openness on a competitive basis. Debate must be honest. Since we don't have another social platform, the media and the people who are responsible for formulating its editorial policy bear additional responsibility. Television has a special role to play here. For 90% of Russians, television is the main source of news and information about the outside world and the principal leisure activity //<http://www.rg.ru/2013/02/20/televidenie-site.html>/. Three quarters of Russians watch television daily.

In this regard, state-owned or partially controlled broadcast services and media resources can strengthen – or weaken – the national identity. Since they have such a wide audience, they can have a truly explosive influence on xenophobic attitudes or can mount nationwide relief efforts, as a charity campaign during the Far East flooding in 2013 demonstrated.

Federal channels should have not only editorial policy but philosophy, as well. And while editorial policy has to be different for Channel One, the Russia channel and NTV, philosophy is a different thing altogether. If the state participates in the work of the media either by funding them or on an institutional basis, it has the right to impose certain requirements (which must never violate the Constitution, however). For instance, all media outlets which are in any way connected to the state must adhere to the rules of the proper Russian language.

A free Internet is not only a place to “spread pornography and extremism”, it is a scan of Russian society and, at this point, one of the few independent arbiters of Russian society – even though it is an arbiter whose ability to punish or exonerate is limited to the court of public opinion). The Internet should never be boxed into the straightforward and familiar framework of the 20th century media. For now it is a completely free space in which society can see its flaws. It is a necessary process, just as in medicine, you never put an arm in traction without first making sure that the bone is fractured with the help of an x-ray scan.

6.5. A New “Large-Scale” Project

In Russia, people are inspired only by great projects. Prince Oleg nailed his shield to the gates of no less a city than Constantinople. In the Imperial Russia, state projects used to be defined on a grand scale: Russia needed access to the sea or a new capital. St. Petersburg, built on swamps, became one of the brilliant capitals of the world. The Trans-Siberian railroad was built with the slogan: “Onward, to the Great Ocean”. The Soviet Union used to conquer the outer space and tame the Virgin Soil. The nation lived from one major event to the next, always waiting for a new record. Even in the 1990s, despite economic blight, we managed to find room for a mega-project when the church of Christ the Savior was rebuilt, with everyone pitching in.

Russia now has a mega-project called Sochi 2014. Up to a certain point, it played a con-



solidating role. In 2012, 68% of the population felt proud that Russia would be hosting the games. But then, this percentage began to decline due to the information seeping out about corruption during the construction of Olympic facilities. Nevertheless, at least 45% of Russians still believe that large expenditures on image-building projects are justified.

However, mega-projects are not the only manifestation of the Russian love of scale. Their ability to bring people together is based also on the fact that they inspired the best

Kazan railroad and the bridge to the Sakhalin Island, aspire to be new consolidating projects. But they are not the right fit, either. First, they are too localized, and second, since they are likely to be unprofitable, a wasteful luxury in light of growing problems in the Russian economy. The age of super-expensive projects that do not pay for themselves even over a long run is coming to an end.

A more realistic candidate for the role of the new Russian dream is the idea of the Eurasian Union. It does not require massive expenditures but it also lacks the necessary challenge. It harks back too obviously to the past and is not especially appealing for the younger generation.

Siberia, the Far East and the Arctic is not even a mega-project. It is a meta-project. It is a key step toward fulfilling Russia's historic mission as a bridge between Europe and Asia, which our country has long considered itself

And yet a real project exists that is capable of bringing Russians together and restoring their enthusiasm – or at least encouraging the active part of the nation. It is the new development of Siberia //This paper

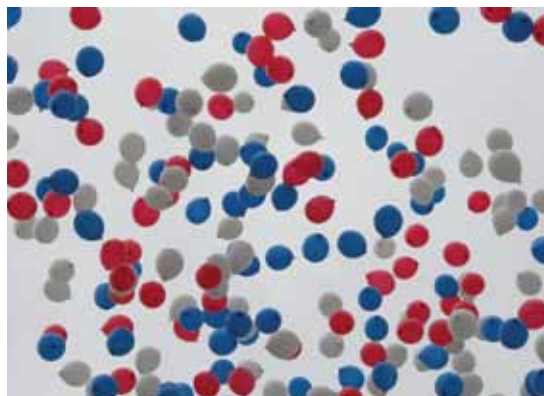
uses the term Siberia in its historical context: it is the Russia territory located east of the Urals// and, in time, of the entire Far East.

individuals, presenting an example of service to society, which is always an inner need felt by every man. An impetus to serve is not present in sports. The Olympics is no more than a show, and it can never equal the building of a new capital, the construction of railroads or electrification of the entire nation. In any case, it will come to an end soon, leaving another gaping void in the niche where great undertakings are needed.

It is a very romantic notion. We can hardly imagine a more exciting spirit than the new development of boundless territories lying east of the Urals. But, at the same time, it is a very pragmatic idea. Russia's eastern regions border on Asia-Pacific, which contains some of the most dynamically growing nations of the world. It is paramount for us to attach ourselves to their economic growth and to

Several infrastructure projects which are being contemplated, such as BAM-2, the Moscow-





catch their wind in our sails. It will give a new impetus to the Russian economy, whereas if we ignore this opportunity we risk becoming isolated from key international processes and confirming our role as a raw materials appendage. It is not only a losing role, but it also wounds the pride of Russia's elites.

The development of Siberia, the Far East and the Arctic is not even a mega-project. It is a meta-project. From the symbolic and philosophical point of view, the development of our eastern territories is a key step toward fulfilling Russia's historic mission as a bridge between Europe and Asia, which our country has long considered itself – just take a look at our national symbol, the two-headed eagle. But this mission has long been ignored in practice.

The taming of inaccessible frigid lands is an extremely powerful and beautiful Russian myth. High-tech development, achieved by the force of the mind and not by massive manpower, will become a powerful catalyst for the domestic science and industry.

Curiously enough, the idea of developing Siberia relates to the idea of developing the Individual and encouraging the best members of society. In the 21st century, development no longer means mass migration and the painful tilling of virgin lands with bare hands by millions of coerced people. These territories possess a unique human capital. Native Siberians largely avoided the horrors of serfdom and collectivization; they were less affected by Stalinist repressions. They are the descendants of a free people who have

never been part of social hierarchies and have not been broken by countless misfortunes. They are the kind of people the new Russia needs. The development of territories east of the Urals will tap their creative potential and therefore will give a new impetus to the development of the country. As success builds upon itself, the region will attract people from the central regions of Russia seeking to find them and apply their talents.

6.6. Symbols of the Russian Identity

The official symbols of post-Soviet Russia have been fully established. The old Soviet flag has been forgotten by the majority, and most people have accepted the new one. The national emblem is recognizable. There are some problems with the new text of the old national anthem, but it is merely a question of time and effort. By printing the words of the national anthem on stationary and textbooks used in primary schools will create a generation who would know the national anthem by heart. But in order to create a generation that love the anthem we need a succession of victories which would make people want to sing their national anthem.

At present, the only victories that have been achieved are in sports. But it is a shifting foundation for bringing the nation together. Victories in sports are ephemeral and their effect is short-lived.

To encourage people to love symbols is a tall order in the 21st century. No doubt that the early reaction to any attempt to impose the



love of the national anthem would be a series of parodies on YouTube. But it is not a major problem in and of itself. We should not forget that Russians have always poked wicked fun at everything official. Folk culture, consisting of naïf drawings, traditional short songs and a myriad of political jokes during the Soviet era,

Russians dislike symbols but they are very strongly devoted to what is sacred to them. Such sacred objects and concepts are not exclusively religious

has always been sarcastic, which was also an outgrowth of the phenomenal patience of the Russian people. Similarly, Russian intellectuals derive a masochistic pleasure from quoting what writer Saltykov-Shchedrin wrote about Russia more than one hundred years ago.

Official symbols can and should be popularized, but they are not the main means for strengthening the national identity at the level of symbols. Russians dislike symbols but they are very strongly devoted to what is sacred to them. Such sacred objects and concepts are not exclusively religious. The Flag Day has no meaning for most, whereas Lake Baikal and Pushkin are much more than just symbols. The flag has been changed three times, whereas Pushkin and the Lake will endure forever.

We must transition from official symbols to real ones. The Pantheon of Russian heroes

and great events, the wonders of natures and cultural wonders is what Russia's true symbols real are, both actual and potential. Those symbols, rather than official abstractions, should be promoted on a priority basis.

Something has already been done in this regard. For instance, two recent nationwide contests have received considerable publicity, "The Name of Russia" (2008) and "Russia's Top Ten" (2013). They entailed choosing national symbols from a number of historic characters and architectural monuments. Unfortunately, both contests revealed not only that Russian society lacks common symbols, but that it lacks the desire to rally around a number of images that could have functioned as such symbols.

In many respects, the cause of the failure was the wrong format in which those contests were presented. Using a voting system that is open to all may not be the best solution, and in both cases it predictably led to controversies. Past mistakes must not be repeated. National symbols should be prioritized by the enlightened part of society, by the most respected persons, those who have earned the right to set moral norms by their life work.

Russian history is rich in heroes. Their great deeds were accomplished on the battlefield, in labs, in expeditions, in churches or with a pen or a violin bow. They protected people, built an empire, developed lands and covered the country in glory. Russia needs more than



one name. It needs a Pantheon of Names. We have had rulers and generals, composers and writers, artists and directors, teachers and doctors, travelers and space explorers, scientists and patrons of the arts and industrialists. We have thousands of whom the entire country can be proud. (Appendix 1 contains an approximate and, of course, incomplete list of

natural wonders, such as the Niagara Falls in the United States or Mount Fuji in Japan. In Russia, the image that is in keeping with the most important traits of the national character and can fulfill the role of a symbol is the above-mentioned Lake Baikal. It is an extremely beautiful and majestic wonder of nature, a symbol of wide-open spaces and a

National symbols should be prioritized by the enlightened part of society, by the most respected persons, those who have earned the right to set moral norms by their life work

those who should be included in the Russian Pantheon.) This Pantheon must be memorialized on the pages of textbooks, on television screens and in the names of streets and cities. We must know and honor our heroes. Only then will Russia produce new ones.

We are neglecting not only Russian history but Russian nature. In recent times, there has been only one attempt to create a living symbol. It was the widespread use of the image of the Russian bear in the mid-2000s. But it was promptly appropriated by a specific political force, i.e., the United Russia party.

Russia is one of the very few countries that lack any natural symbols, both abstract, existing at the level of images – such as the maple in Canada or the kangaroo in Australia – and specific, in the form of existing

major reservoir of fresh water, a key resource of the 21st century. Once Lake Baikal is declared Russia's national symbol – which can be written in the legislation – and accorded numerous accolades as is customary in international practice, it will take a place of honor among images that come to mind for Russians and foreigners when our country is mentioned. Regarding plant symbols, the strongest image which passes through the whole Russian culture and history is a birch. It also might be promoted.

The use of Russian natural wonders' potential as symbols could become a broad direction of state policy in the area of state symbols. A new category of sites should be created, National Monuments of Russian Nature, which will include Lake Baikal. (The approximate list of such sites is contained in Appendix 2.) This status will entail protection by the state, which includes not only physically protecting them but also promoting them in the media as Russia's natural symbols and creating favorable conditions for ecotourism.

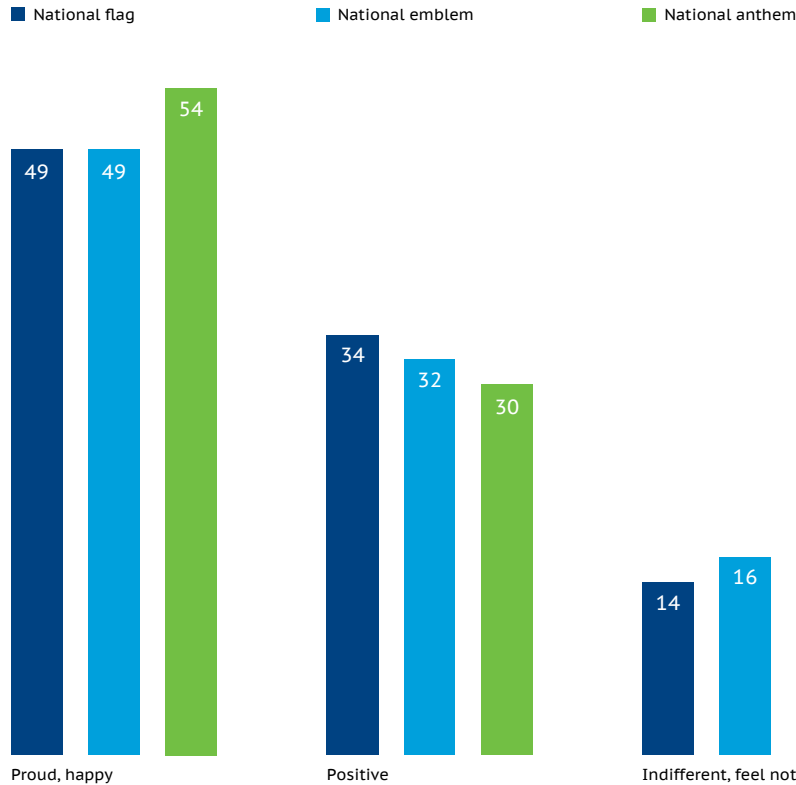
Along with creating a list of natural National Monuments, we need to transform the net-

Attitudes toward Russian symbols

How do you feel when you see the following Russian state symbols?

% of respondents, one response

The three most popular responses (the others accounted for no more than 3%)



The use of Russian natural wonders' potential as symbols could become a broad direction of state policy in the area of state symbols

work of national parks. First of all, their number should be increased. Today, Russia only has 43 national parks. Second, they should be promoted and adapted for organized mass tourism. The US experience in this respect is instructive, as American national parks are magnets for tourism, favorite vacation spots for residents of neighboring communities,

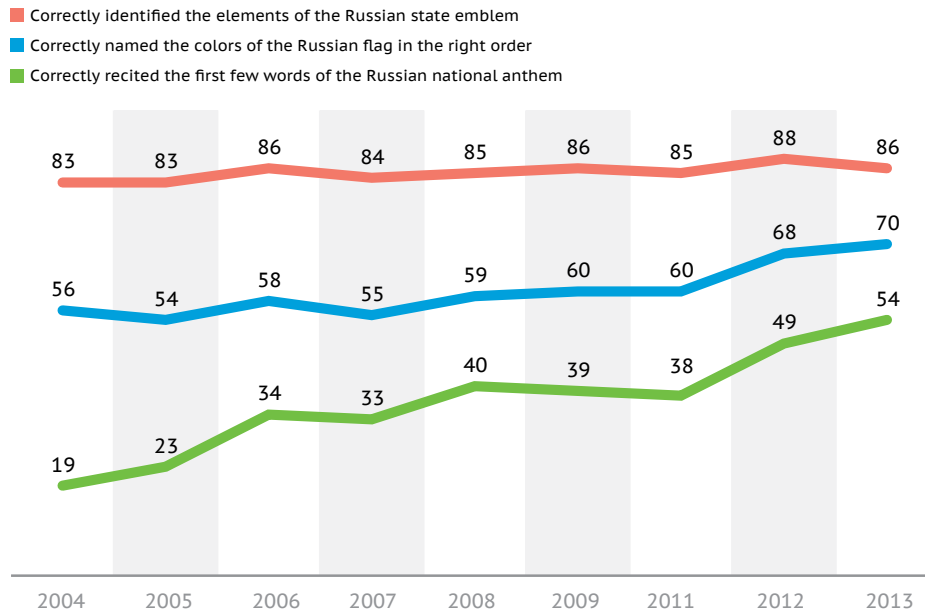
locations for movie shoots and an inspiration for artists.

The woman is an enduringly sacred image for Russians. Our pride in their heroism is complemented by their bravery, which the Russian folklore describes as “stopping a galloping horse and entering the burning house.” These are not empty words. In the 1960s, when in Manhattan the pinnacle of success for most women was to be a secretary, plenty of Russian women were already doctors, engineers, scientists and even ministers and diplomats. Russian women carried on their shoulders not just a horse from a burning house, but they took upon

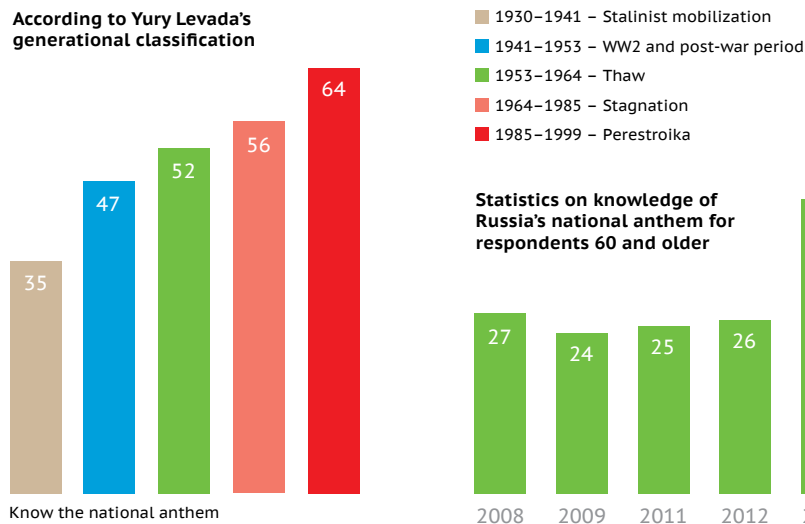
Knowledge of Russian symbols

Please name the colors of the Russian flag in the right order. Please describe what is depicted on the Russian state emblem. Please recite the first few words of the Russian national anthem

% of respondents, open-ended questions, one response for each



According to Yuri Levada's generational classification





themselves the responsibility for Russia in the 20th century, when millions of men were killed in the course of successive decades or became alcoholics when the country collapsed. Russian women never lost their confidence.

Russian women are faithful, devoted and loving. These qualities, which are best portrayed in literature in the image of Pushkin's Tatyana, are what makes the family sacred in Russia and ensures that family values are paramount.

As men in Russia were dispensable throughout the 20th century, women came to exemplify the quality of being a Russian. Women define the uniqueness of the Russian people and are the main conduits of the Russian identity.

Important, Motherhood is associated with the country itself. Russia is a "dear mother": there are different mothers and some are far from ideal, but every mother is special and beloved by her kids.

Appendix 1.

The Pantheon of Russian Heroes

This material was prepared as part of the paper of the working group on historic memory of Strategy XXI under the direction of Alexei Miller, Leading Research Fellow of the Institute for Scientific Information in Social Sciences (INION) of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Visiting Professor at the Central European University in Budapest

The traditional Pantheon of Military Heroes, the defenders of the Fatherland, should be preserved: Dmitry Donskoy, the Conqueror of the Mongols, Alexander Nevsky, the Conqueror of the Teutonic Knights, Alexander Suvorov, the Universal Victor, Mikhail Kutuzov and Bagration, the Conquerors of Napoleon, Zhukov, the Victor in World War II. The same goes for cultural figures – Rublev, Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Turgenev, Chekhov, Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Tchaikovsky. They should be supplemented with leading figures of the 20th century, both those who stayed in the country after 1917 and those who went into exile: Blok, Eisenstein, Kandinsky, Mayakovksy, Malevich, Chagall, Berdyaev, Mandelstam, Tsvetaeva, Akhmatova, Bunin, Bulgakov, Platonov, Shostakovich, Prokofiev, Rachmaninov, Skryabin, Rostropovich, Nabokov, Shalamov, Pasternak, Simonov, Tvardovsky, Solzhenitsyn, Brodsky, Tarkovsky, Shukshin. There are few countries in the world who have produced such a constellation of moral leaders and creative minds.

In addition, there should be scientists, humanists, teachers and engineers, as well: Lomonosov, Tatishchev, Miller, Novikov, Karamzin, Klyuchevsky, Mendeleev, Pavlov, Sechenov, Euler, Zworykin, Sikorsky, Kondratyev, Chayanov, Semenov, Kapitsa, Landau, Kurchatov, Korolev, Sakharov et al. We should especially honor those who carried out their mission in spite of difficult circumstances, becoming symbols of human spirit, such as Florensky, Vavilov, Vernadsky, Archbishop Luka (Voyno-Yasenetsky) and Sakharov.

Russians whose names are connected to the Church, culture and patriotism should be drawn from earlier historical period: Sergius of Radonezh, Seraphim of Sarov, Metropolitans Makarius and Philip (Kolychev), Dionisius, Ivan Fyodorov and Simeon Polotsky.

The Pantheon will naturally be dominated by ethnic Russian figures (even though most Russians carry the blood and genes of other nationalities inhabiting the Kingdom of Muscovy, the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation), but it should take steps to include representatives of other nations, especially those who were linked to Russia by their history and form its part.

Other figures to be included are as follows:

- leading reformers – Peter the Great, Speransky, Vorontsov, Witte, Stolypin, Alexander II (who carried out the moral obligation of freeing the serfs and laid the foundations of a new system of education and human rights).

- leading entrepreneurs, and not only patrons of the arts such as Tretyakov, Shchukin, Morozov, Mamontov and Bakhrushin. We must pay special attention to entrepreneurs in their main role of establishing productive enterprises and reformers of the economy. This list includes the Alekseevs, the Ryabushinkys, the Krestovnikovs, the Soldatenkovs, Prokhorov and Putilov. This is important in order to affirm the spirit of entrepreneurship and to add legitimacy to private property. We should extend the list to cover today's business people, stressing that the tradition is now reviving, e.g. D.B.Zimin.
- politicians on different sides of the ideological spectrum who were not implicated in terror or corruption, to include Lavrov and Plekhanov on the left and a large number of honorable Russian liberals such as Herzen and Chicherin, as well as such rightists as Struve.
- great medics, from Pirogov and Pavlov to Bokeria and Fyodorov.
- explorers, such as Kruzenshtern, Bellingshausen, Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, Przhevalsky and Miklukho-Maklai, as well as cosmonauts Gagarin and Tereshkova.
- in each region, the national Russian Pantheon should not only be connected to a specific place, such as Chekov to Taganrog, Zvorykin to Murom and Platonov to Voronezh, but it should also be supplemented with prominent locals, especially local entrepreneurs and politicians.

Appendix 2.

Russia's Natural Symbols

The list is based on natural sites included in the UNESCO World Heritage and the Strategy XXI chapter on regional policy

List of natural wonders that are proposed to be awarded the status of National Monuments of Russian Nature

No.	Site	Region	Federal District
1	Lake Baikal	Buryatia, Irkutsk Region	Siberia
2	Valley of geysers	Kamchatka	Far East
3	Golden Mountains of Altai	Altai	Siberia
4	Mount Elbrus	Kabardino-Balkaria, Karachay-Cherkessia	North Caucasus
5	Curonian Spit	Kaliningrad Region	North West
6	Wrangler Island	Chukotka	Far East
7	Putorana Plateau	Krasnoyarsk Region	Siberia
8	Lena Pillars	Sakha	Far East
9	Lakes of Karelia (Ladoga, Onega, Vygozero, etc.)	Karelia	North West
10	Virgin Komi Forests	Komi	North West

ISBN 978-5-906757-03-6



9 785906 757036