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***UNESCO: culture
and national traditions***

***ЮНЕСКО: культура
и национальные традиции***

Национальная электронная библиотека

Правительство Российской Федерации утвердило Положение о федеральной государственной информационной системе «Национальная электронная библиотека». Соответствующее Постановление (от 20 февраля 2019 года №169) размещено на официальном сайте Правительства Российской Федерации.

По словам директора Департамента информационного и цифрового развития Минкультуры России Вадима Ванькова, принятие положения о Национальной электронной библиотеке означает новый этап ее дальнейшего развития.

«Во-первых, 100% обязательных экземпляров печатных изданий в электронном виде становятся объектами НЭБ и будут служить основой для формирования национального информационно-библиотечного фонда. Во-вторых, создаются возможности для использования этого фонда для доступа пользователей через интернет при условии заключения лицензионных договоров. При этом принятое положение предусматривает модели доступа к произведениям с оплатой за факт использования», — рассказал Вадим Ваньков. Кроме того, важным является утверждение методики отбора объектов НЭБ с участием экспертных советов, формируемых по приоритетным отраслям знаний.

Национальная электронная библиотека (НЭБ) — Федеральная государственная информационная система, обеспечивающая создание единого российского электронного пространства знаний. Она объединяет фонды публичных библиотек России федерального, регионального, муниципального уровней, библиотек научных и образовательных учреждений, а также правообладателей.

Основная цель НЭБ — обеспечить свободный доступ

граждан Российской Федерации ко всем изданным, издаваемым и хранящимся в фондах российских библиотек изданиям и научным работам, — от книжных памятников истории и культуры, до новейших авторских произведений. Кроме того, национальным проектом «Культура» предусмотрено, что к концу 2024 года будет оцифровано и включено в НЭБ 48 тыс. книжных памятников.

Фонд НЭБ является универсальным и включает различные электронные документы научной и образовательной тематики: книги, журналы, диссертации, книжные памятники и другие. В 2018 году он составил более 4,4 млн электронных документов. Количество зарегистрированных пользователей НЭБ достигло 103,8 тыс. пользователей.

Всего на базе более 10 тыс. участников НЭБ созданы и функционируют свыше 11 тыс. электронных читальных залов (в 2017 году количество библиотек-участников НЭБ составляло 4414, а количество электронных читальных залов, подключенных к НЭБ — 4783).

Проект НЭБ разрабатывается с 2004 года ведущими российскими библиотеками при поддержке Министерства культуры Российской Федерации.

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Electronic libraries: problems and prospects

Abstract. In this article, the authors refer to the Russian practice of forming a single digital electronic space of the library system, highlight features of the implementation of the National Electronic Library project, identify problematic issues and emphasize the benefits of the widespread implementation of programs and projects related to providing a large-scale and unhindered access of ordinary citizens and associations. students, scientists, regardless of their social status, place of residence, occupation, income and other social activities divisions to full-text sources.

Key words: Scientific electronic library, national electronic library, citation index, RSL, abstract.

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Электронные библиотеки: проблемы и перспективы

Аннотация. В данной статье авторы ссылаются на российскую практику формирования единого цифрового электронного пространства библиотечной системы, выделяют особенности реализации проекта Национальной электронной библиотеки, выявляют проблемные вопросы и подчеркивают преимущества широкого внедрения программ и проектов, связанные с обеспечением широкого и беспрепятственного доступа простых граждан и объединений. Студенты, ученые, независимо от их социального положения, места жительства, профессии, доходов и других социальных делений делятся на полнотекстовые источники.

Ключевые слова: научная электронная библиотека, национальная электронная библиотека, индекс цитирования, РГБ, аннотация.

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Electronic libraries: problems and prospects*

The development of modern science involves the use of the maximum number of approaches and institutional structures to solve the problem of low demand for the results of scientific research of researchers, as well as the monetization of their intellectual work. Accordingly, for the qualitative and fast transition to the information society and the economy, the Russian state must effectively respond to the current challenges of our time. These include the development of a system of scientometric indicators, at least digitalization of science.

Considering the problems of the Russian system of development of digital science, it is necessary to note the lack of qualified attention from scientific organizations, government and management institutions to this issue. This is due to the fact that today one of the indicators of the effectiveness of a scientist in Russia is a publication activity and the formation of various citation indices (as a rule, the Hirsch Index is used). At the same time, there is only one platform in Russia operating under the "Scientific Electronic Library" brand - the Russian Science Citation Index (RISC), and among foreign scientometric databases, Russian scientists need to be published in SCOPUS and / or Web of science. Hence, it refers the monop-

* © Лукьянцев А.С., Рябова Е.Л., 2018.

Электронные библиотеки: проблемы и перспективы

olization of the market, and accordingly, a multiple decrease in the chances of researchers publishing their works in prestigious scientific journals.

Another problematic situation, which concerns our research, is the limited availability of Russian scientific, publicistic and artistic texts in digital access to a wide audience. This problem is directly related to the first, since in the Russian environment, associated with the intellectual property and the monetization of the results of intellectual labor, there is a problem of a systematic approach. It is expressed in the fact that despite the wide demand of citizens, public associations, state and non-state organizations in the free and open access to the library systems of the country at the extraterritorial level, the state does not provide a broad platform for the formation of a complete electronic library system.

There is also an important issue that must be mentioned: competition between the projects of the National Electronic Library (NES) and the Scientific Electronic Library. The first project is state-owned and is implemented thanks to the operator of the Russian State Library (RSL) and is supervised by the Ministry of Culture of Russia, while the second is the product of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research (RFBR)¹, which is directly accountable to the Government of Russia and is an established limited liability company (LLC), i.e. a commercial structure.

The scientific electronic library implements the project of the Russian Science Citation Index (RISC), which is a bibliographic database of scientific publications of domestic researchers. At present, in Russia, the RSCI performs the function of a backbone institution that is responsible for analyzing and evaluating the effectiveness of organizations engaged in research work, as well as scientists, assigning them to individual Hirsch indices (authors citation index). Special

1 Charter of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research // URL: http://www.rfbr.ru/rffi/getimage/Updated_Russian_Found_Foundable_Study?objectId=14087 (10.11.2018).

attention here deserves the fact that the Russian Academy of Sciences takes as a basis precisely the indicators of the RSCI (i.e., the project of the Scientific Electronic Library) when evaluating the effectiveness of scientific institutions and organizations subordinate to it (in accordance with the decree of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences No. 201 of October 12, 2010)².

Despite the fact that NEB has in its fund a sufficient amount of scientific literature, the Scientific Electronic Library is the main player in the market for providing services including access to scientific publications (primarily in Russian scientific journals) on the portal elibrary.ru. At the same time, in elibrary.ru, there is practically no possibility to view and download full-text monographs, dissertation research, etc. Currently, the platform of the NB operator (nb.rf) of the RSL (rsl.ru) provides limited access to theses, manuscripts and open access to the database of abstracts.

What are the prospects for the development of the National Electronic Library project?

Synchronization of the platforms of the RSL, NEB and HAC RF could improve the quality of the preparation of future theses, research projects, analytical notes and other works of this kind. In this context, it is not about providing free access for Internet users and library audiences for possible incorrect borrowing (plagiarism) of existing ideas and projects, but for providing an opportunity of getting access to the results of research activities of our scientists.

Additionally, it is worth paying attention to foreign scientific research, dissertations, projects in various scientific fields, as the competitiveness of Russian science, first of all, does not

² Decree of the Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences No. 2010 dated October 12, 2010 Approving the Regulation on the Commission for Evaluating the Performance of Scientific Organizations of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Methodology for Evaluating the Performance of Scientific Organizations of the Russian Academy of Sciences // URL: /documents/directions.aspx?ID=9767952e-4821-4510-89d6-5f678677066d (10.11.2018).

depend on full import substitution in this area, but on the practice of testing the results of foreign authors' research by domestic scientists.

1. It is necessary to create a convenient web interface that will be comfortable to use both from personal computers and mobile devices. At the moment, in order to view certain content, the Neb.rf site requires that a special distribution kit be installed on a personal computer. This procedure significantly reduces the level of accessibility to NEB resources and does not provide an opportunity to increase the level of loyalty among the current audience of electronic resource.

First of all, the user-friendly interface, architecture and functionality of the electronic system for providing access to fiction, journalistic and scientific literature make sure that the site will be regularly demanded by users. The principle "not to multiply things without necessity" (Occam's razor) is perfectly suited to this situation, since it reflects the current reality in society. People require a simple but functional approach that is not unnecessarily intrusive and overloaded with excessive content, requirements and requests.

2. A major step in popularizing the NES will be the massive connection of the system to all rural, municipal libraries, which are the center of gravity for local communities.

The implementation of this initiative will allow to provide full open access to the necessary literature for residents of various territories, regardless of geographic location, population in a given territory, social status and financial situation. In addition, the opening of full-scale access to the National Electronic Library for small rural and municipal libraries expands opportunities for the development of local communities, which will contribute to creating a "third place" culture. In such spaces, residents of local small communities will have the opportunity not only to satisfy their need for knowledge, but also to create new opportunities for the realization of

their own competencies. As well as the exchange of information, both scientific and public, with foreign countries, with the global Internet space.

Next, we will conduct a SWOT-analysis of the development of the National Electronic Security in the domestic educational, cultural and research aspects.

SWOT analysis is a comprehensive method that allows you to identify and structure the strengths and weaknesses of certain processes, determine the possibilities for successful functioning of social systems in the field of business, politics, social design, etc.³

SWOT abbreviation of four words:

Strength - strengths: an internal characteristic of an economic player that distinguishes it from another.

Weakness - weaknesses: an internal characteristic of an economic player that is less pronounced in relation to another.

Opportunities - opportunities: characteristics of the external environment, which form the general background of the interaction of market players.

Threats - threats: characteristics of the external environment that reduce the likelihood of a favorable outcome of the transaction⁴.

To the same extent, SWOT-analysis is effective for application in the field of social sciences and humanities in the study of socio-political processes, economic science to determine the prospects for the behavior of players in market relations, and for design in the field of business, social ministry, etc. This method was chosen for this study due to ease of use and interpretation of data, a convenient interface for both the researcher and the user. Equally, SWOT analysis is convenient to include quantitative and qualitative data; does not require the use of complex mathematical and logical operations.

³ Bogomolov V. G. SWOT-analysis: theory and practice of application // Economic analysis: theory and practice. 2004. №. 17. P. 57-60.

⁴ Bogomolov V. G. Decree. cit. 58 p.

As a rule, SWOT analysis is presented in the form of a table. In this case, a SWOT analysis will be presented, which characterizes the peculiarities of the development of the National Electronic Library in Russia (Article by Lukjantsev and Ryabova “Ethnosocium and inter-ethnic culture” №1-2019”).

In general, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- The NEB is a promising national project that promotes the reading, search and acquisition of new knowledge regardless of the area of residence, age, social status and material wealth. *The main principle of access to the NEB is the free access of an electronic device connected to the Internet (personal computer or smartphone / tablet).*

- The operator of the NEB is the RSL, which makes it possible to talk about the scope of the project and that its implementation is under the watchful eye of the federal government bodies. Accordingly, the concentration of government institutions on the development of the electronic library network expresses the state will and the need for the development of this sphere. *The most promising development would be to attract both public structures and independent investors, which is available to the editors of CULTURAL WORLD.*

- The development of libraries and NEBs enables small rural and municipal libraries to become “third places” that aggregate socially active residents of local communities around themselves, thus providing them with opportunities for knowledge, self-expression and communication. And, apparently, in many cases it is perhaps the only possibility of communication with the outside world, which, of course, needs the support of all the institutions of civil society. *The team of scientists and activists of the CULTURAL WORLD are ready for this work.*

- *At present, the NEB project should be integrated into long-term plans and development strategies of not only the interest-*

ed Ministry of Culture, but also the associated Ministries of Education and the Ministry of Higher Education and Science in order to increase the demand for domestic resources systems for education and science, as well as for authors posting the results of their intellectual work in free open (protected by Russian Law) access. Today, unfortunately, the response of public initiatives in the Russian library space is extremely slow, but this opens up prospects for all active foreign initiatives, which we propose to continue the discussion in the next issues of our publications.

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Comic Con Russia and IgroMir 2018*

A great contribution to the development of not only the Cultural World as such, the development of international communication, but also to the development of modern technologies in the information space makes exhibitions of such a format and scale as the presented “IgroMir” forum.

From 4 to 7 October 2018 in Moscow, in the exhibition center “Crocus Expo” (Pavilion 1), the annual game exhibition “IgroMir” was held, which for the fifth time shared the site with “Comic Con Russia”. The exhibition once again showed the world the best examples of modern creativity, new culture and innovative audience format. By tradition, these two events occupy four Crocus Expo halls (two for each event), where many different companies are located. But all in order.

“IgroMir” is the most long-awaited and most ambitious event in the CIS countries for fans of video entertainment in Russia. The event is annually attended by large game publishers, game developers, representatives of computer and gaming peripheries.

All visitors are provided with a unique opportunity to become acquainted with the industry’s latest achievements personally.

For three days, visitors to the game pavilions were entertained not only by the demo games but also by panel sessions with video game creators, meetings with industry’s stars,

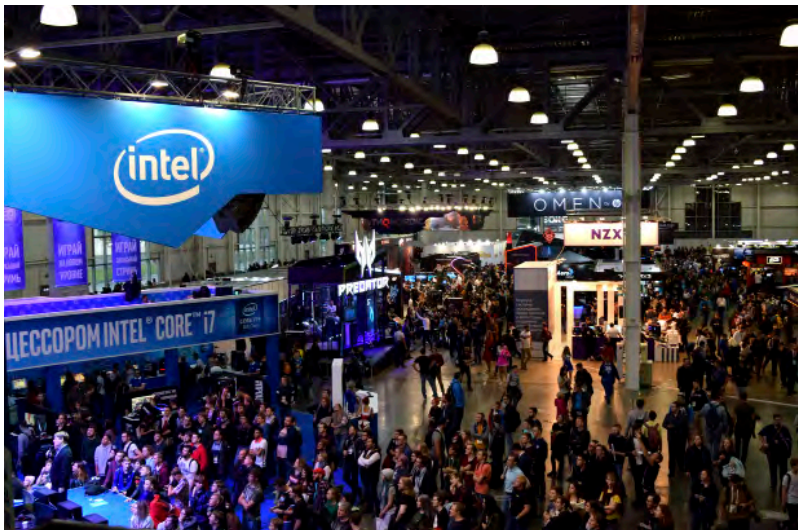
* © Брик Т.А., 2018.

matches in the spacious E-Sports zone, lots of bright cosplay, areas for graphic tablet artists, quizzes, live performances, hot “Just Dance 2019”, various quests, including those from Blizzard and MSI. There were a lot of prizes and gifts where only activity and ingenuity was important.

This year there were a lot of photo-zones. In some it was just possible to make a thematic photo, for example, “Metro: Exodus” offered a whole room, and at the stand of “Kingdom Hearts III” opportunities to take photos with characters and “Shooting Star keyblade”. Stand “Hitman”, and some others, offered to make a gif or a short video.

In the pavilions of Comic Con Russia, the area of board games besides quizzes and competitions, have been greatly reduced this year. But besides “Hobby World” other publishers were present.

Cosplay defile was held on two stages, in two halls. Every year dozens of cosplayers in a variety of images from the movies, TV shows, games and comics, attend the event. This year, of course, is no exception. But this has not been without innovations! Not accredited cosplayers could also take part in the



defile and go on stage. This fact deserves additional respect, as it allows to stimulate unexpected creativity, as something unprepared.

The team of “Saberfighting Art”, specializing in artistic fencing in the style of the movie “Star Wars”, spoke on the festival’s stages, demonstrating the skill of owning a light saber.

In addition, the stage was occupied by the invited guests. This year, the special guests of “IgroMir” and Comic Con Russia were actors Danny Trejo and Bryan Dechart with his wife Amelia Rose Blaire. On different stages, they talked with fans, answered the questions and simply creatively positioned themselves at the Russian Convention, after which they conducted autographs and photo sessions with the actors.

The author of the trilogy “Metro” Dmitriy Glukhovskiy, together with the company “Buka”, presented a new plot shooter “Metro: Exodus”. At the game stand, one could talk with the writer, ask questions, discuss prospects, get an autograph or a memorable photo. The formats of such meetings of the authors with the audience qualitatively stimulate both cre-



ative potential and the vector of fantasies, and constructive formations of both - authors and numerous youth readers and video audience.

M. Night Shyamalan brought an exclusive excerpt from the film “Glass” to Moscow. The installation of the tape was just over, so the shown frames were absolutely exclusive, unique for the visitors of “IgroMir”. The director also told some facts about the creation of work, about his creative vision, in particular, it was also about the civil, personal position of the artist in the modern world. For example, the fact that the film is really not only about superheroes, not even about superheroes, but about believing in yourself, in your own strengths, in certain moral ideals that are identical to the majority of mankind. Maybe even more dramatically about that it is impossible to bend under the opinions of others, it is important to defend their ideals and ideas even when the world around them has aversion, resistance and suppression, even if others reject this position. “You should not bend over under a changeable world, Let the world better bend over under us. One day it will bend over under us...”

The team of enthusiasts, which in 2017 announced the short film “Magic Above All,” finally presented its work to the audience. (This is a half-hour film that VGIK graduates who genuinely love Harry Potter shot for public money. To avoid possible copyright problems and problems with Warner Bros lawyers, the team had to think of their own universe, but one can feel in the work the spirit of the original source, the saga of Joanne Rowling) It turned out to be a full-fledged



full-length fantasy thriller, in which the themes of fanaticism and xenophobia are raised. The plans of the creators - the release of the artbook and comics in collaboration with the video blogger Denis Optimister. An example of such creative achievement, when in one team both creative and financial pillars merged - this is an example for many in today's creative youth environment and not only.

Another tradition was continued by Comic Con Russia - a limited edition of comic books with exclusive covers was released. For example, "Komilfo" Publishers has released the comic Deadpool destroys the Marvel Universe. Again "Deadpool Kills Marvel Universe Again" with three cover options. This tradition deserves high marks both among specialists and ordinary spectators.

The "Authors Alley" has not gone anywhere, either. The "Ninja Turtles" artist ("Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles") Mateus Santolouco, the colorist of a great number of comics Matt Hollingsworth and the artist of the "Green Arrow" Otto Schmidt became the invited guests. They also spoke to the guests of the exhibition. At their stands, they signed comics, sketched and talked to fans, and just caring and concerned viewers.

*Social projects
and information technologies*

*Социальные проекты
и информационные технологии*

Onorificenza al Maestro Valerij Gergiev

Il 1 febbraio scorso si è svolta a Villa Berg la cerimonia di conferimento dell'Onorificenza di Grande Ufficiale dell'Ordine della Stella d'Italia al Maestro Valerij Gergiev.

Direttore d'orchestra nei più prestigiosi teatri d'opera, sale da concerto e festival del mondo, Gergiev è una leggenda della musica mondiale. Quest'oggi, a insignire il Maestro dell'Onorificenza è stato il Presidente del Senato della Repubblica Italiana, Maria Elisabetta Alberti Casellati, in visita istituzionale a Mosca. Il Presidente, nel suo intervento, ha sottolineato il grande talento di Gergiev e ha ricordato il concerto da lui tenuto, nel 2016, presso le rovine dell'anfiteatro di Palmira, in Siria, città devastata dalle violenze della guerra.

Come sottolineato dall'Ambasciatore Pasquale Terracciano, il Maestro Gergiev ha fornito un importante contributo al rafforzamento delle relazioni in campo musicale tra l'Italia e la Federazione Russa, collaborando con i maggiori teatri italiani.

Al termine della cerimonia si è esibito l'ensemble Mariinsky Stradivarius.





По материалам ТАСС

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Modern approaches to understanding cultural ethnocentrism

Abstract. The article examines various aspects of the understanding of ethnocentrism as a social manifestation of self-identification. The main approaches to understanding ethnocentrism have been revealed, both in the historical and modern research field. The importance of defining ethnocentrism as an important element in interethnic relations is underlined.

Key words: culture, ethnocentrism, personality, self-identification, social life, society.

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Современные подходы к пониманию культурного этноцентризма

Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются различные аспекты понимания этноцентризма как социального проявления самоидентификации. Выявлены основные подходы к пониманию этноцентризма как в исторической, так и в современной исследовательской области. Подчеркивается важность определения этноцентризма как важного элемента межэтнических отношений.

Ключевые слова: культура, этноцентризм, личность, самоидентификация, общественная жизнь, общество.

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**Modern approaches to understanding
cultural ethnocentrism***

The concept of “cultural ethnocentrism” is realized in the space-time dimension of identifying what is happening with its own vision of the value of the present. Own experience of the value of a cultural sample is imposed on the assessment of others, acquiring forms of personal outlook. In this case, we can talk about the existence of cultural ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism becomes the psychological rule of the behavior of the individual, who evaluates and perceives what is happening through the prism of his own cultural experience.

More often in the mind of the individual, there is an underestimation of other cultural values, a desire to extol the values of one’s own culture, to evaluate it as correct, therefore, serving as a model for imitation¹. Anything that does not meet the normative criteria, customs, value rules, is perceived by the person as a base material, which should either be destroyed or treated as obscene to follow. Evaluation of one’s own culture from the standpoint of the absolute, assumes the

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1 Geertz K. Interpretation of cultures. Moscow, 2004.

viewing of one's own behavior as a model for imitation of the rest of the community². Own view of the world from the point of domination of a cultural model means underestimation of the values of other cultures, and actually leads to the formation of ethnocentrism.

The rigid division into Hellenes and barbarians took shape in ancient Greek culture in the IV century BC as the basis of the imperial and slaveholding ideology³. The expanding territorial seizures and the use of slave labor required a logical justification. For this it was necessary to find qualitative differences not only in culture, but also in nature, the essence of the Greeks and barbarians. This task was carried out by the great ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BC) in the book "Politics". Aristotle undertook to prove that "every state is a kind of communication, all communication is organized for the sake of some good"⁴. Demonstrating that the state aspires "more than others and to the highest of goods", Aristotle postulated the supreme justice of power, in particular the power of the Greek over the barbarian, the master over work. He did not trust the opinion of those who think that "the very power of the master over the slave is unnatural", for "by nature ... there is no distinction"⁵. After all, the power of one person over another, in his opinion, can only follow from the characteristics of the nature of both. "Inevitably we have to agree", Aristotle asserted, "that some people are slaves everywhere, others are not like that anywhere"⁶.

The judgments of the Chinese on the Huns were subjective in character to the superiority of personal culture over the alien culture. "These barbarians look like animals, and there-

2 Gofman I. Imagine yourself to others in everyday life. Moscow, 2007. 546 p.

3 Ionov I.T. Tiklikicheskie phenomenon in the development of civilizational consciousness // Civilization. Climbing and scrapping: Structure-forming factors and subjects of the civilizational process. M., 2003. P. 116-118.

4 Aristotle. Policy. Book I (a), I, 1.

5 Ibid. Book II, 3.

6 Ibid. Book II, 18.

fore their friendly speeches are worthless”⁷. The superiority of one’s own culture over others led to the formation of the concepts “one’s own”, “another’s”. Identification of cultural values brought people closer, and vice versa, the absence of common values led to the rejection of extraneous culture. Similar processes have occurred throughout the history of mankind. This is found in the most diverse nations of the world: from the Eskimos in the North, from the South African people of Bantu, from the San people in Southeast Asia.

The erection of one’s own culture into an absolute, the creation of a positive image for imitation was of a natural nature necessary to create an identified space. “Its” was of an excellent character, “someone else’s” personified with low-quality and not high-quality material. With this format of world outlooks, an indisputable authority of one’s own culture arose, neglecting the world view of other cultures. The Absolute formed a conviction of excellence that did not allow to see the distinctive features of other cultures that, in the civilizational plan, could have their own criteria for assessing social progress.

K. Sitaram and G. Cogdell emphasized the importance of the hierarchy of public order in the East and the caste structure of society in South Asia in each specific spatial and temporal dimension⁸. To Europeans such public system systems seemed ridiculous and terrible. At the same time, Asians categorically did not perceive the horizontal system of management of society adopted in Europe. Up to the present time, the attitude of the West and the East towards the social order has a different nature of value judgments.

D. Campbell and supporters of his views revealed the main characteristic signs of ethnocentrism⁹. Researchers concluded

7 Ter-Minasova S.G. Language and Intercultural Communication: Textbook. M., 2000.

8 Sitaram K., Cogdell R. Fundamentals of Intercultural Communication // Man. 1992. № 5.

9 Campbell J. The Hero with a Thousand Faces. 2008.

that the subjectivism of assessing the cultural values of their culture is nature of naturalness and correctness, and what happens outside its cultural field has the character of non-validity and irregularity. The customs and traditions of one's own culture are universal and must be accepted by other cultures. Absolute priority of the ethnic group of their own values, suggesting mutual support and assistance. The selfishness of one's own convictions, which, for the purposes of adaptation, can act for the benefit of his group, showing disrespect and dislike of others perceived as "strangers". Emotional-sensual perception of "one's" against the backdrop of manifestations of patriotism and heroism.

Migration processes taking place in modern Europe, create the conditions for the manifestation of egocentric attitudes of one culture over another. The penetration of the East is accompanied by the desire to establish its own rules of conduct, which collide with Western values, sometimes leading to disastrous consequences for the latter. The events in Cologne once again underline the ambiguous nature of the relationship between different cultures.

In one case, the carnival is perceived as a negative example of the manifestation of the cultural tradition on the part of evaluating the "alien". For example, the description of the Carnival in Cologne by the Russian journalist Muravleva N.V.: "Thousands of people gathered in the square chant slogans in a state of ecstasy; they walk down the street in one direction, dropping out of the pubs and singing songs. You are in Cologne end of the second millennium – the city in which time has stopped. One and a half million people who have fallen out of reality, forgot about their burghery, economy and respectability, fell into a pagan orgy, wander drunks through the streets, kissing strangers, sticking to girls and falling asleep in other people's beds. This is Cologne, who changed his business face to the laughing face of the medieval jester. The German is out of control, crossing the road to the red

light, dressed in the cassock of a Dominican monk, forcing any foreigner, waving to the best of his ability, to collapse after a citizen of civilized Germany in a dirty tavern, swing there at a table filled with beer and yell songs. ... Only six marks, and whether you are the president of the company or a simple scavenger – drunkenness and revelry will equalize you. Noble Frau, student-honors pupils, mothers of families turn into street girls. ... A person lives a soul that goes somewhere deep, now his soul is a stomach, a huge stomach, which must be filled with sausages, pies, pour beer. A new soul – a stomach – eats, it devours these moments of the holiday, which lives only a few days – and can not get enough. Now the main thing for everyone is to eat, drink and have sex”.

At the same time, the description of the Cologne Carnival in the German reference literature interprets it as “... one of the oldest carnival festivals in the Rhine region, an integral part of the picture of the culture of Germany. On the eleventh day at 11 o’clock in the afternoon, preparations begin for the carnival, which takes place in the last week before the great fast. The festivities begin in the so-called “women’s Thursday”, when women seek to cut off as many ties as possible from men. In the following days, costume balls and street carnival processions in different parts of the city are held in the city. The apogee of the holiday is “crazy Monday”. On this day, a citywide carnival procession takes place in the central part of the city, its participants in colorful suits ride on open cars or on horseback, throw sweets and bouquets of flowers into the crowd, shout traditional carnival greetings...”¹⁰.

In this case, the cultural tradition is perceived as a fact of manifestation of national identity.

The concept of ethnocentrism is ambiguous in the con-

10 The Rhine Carnival in Dusseldorf // Central City Library of Nizhny Novgorod.
URL: <http://www.gorbibl.nnov.ru/karnaval>

text of intercultural communication. Some researchers are inclined to assert that ethnocentrism is associated with the manifestation of the dominance of one culture over another, which takes the character of nationalism, and even racism. This assessment is manifested in the tendencies of rejection of other ethnic features, overestimated self-esteem and underestimation of other cultures¹¹.

The modern human community has entered the stage of globalization, when the processes of integration and preservation of national uniqueness are in close economic, political and cultural interaction. Globalism creates conditions for the interpenetration of cultures, at the same time, ethnocentrism can perform a positive function of preserving the national and cultural identity. This allows you to preserve the cultural characteristics, integrity and specificity of a particular people or nationality.

Ethnocentrism can manifest itself more or less depending on the level of cultural domination. Collectivist cultures are more prone to ethnocentrism than individualistic cultures.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that when analyzing ethnocentrism, it is necessary to consider a whole range of social conditions that influence the formation of interethnic relations. Tolerant, benevolent attitude to the manifestations of another culture in society, allows us to judge that in this society conditions remain for the equal development of all ethnic forms of organization of cultural identity. Militant ethnocentrism manifests a different form of relations between cultures, assuming the dominance of one culture

11 Sozayev K.G. The influence of ethnocentrism on interethnic relations in a multiethnic environment // *The Urals Scientific Herald*. 2016. № 2. Vol 6. P. 152–153; Berezina A.V. The influence of the processes of globalization on the formation of ethnocentrism // *Historical and socio-educational thought*. 2015. № 6-2. Vol 7. P. 152–155; Ostrazhkova N.S, Nagornova A.A, Galiullina Yu.R. The problem of ethnocentrism in intercultural communication // *Linguodidactics and intercultural communication: topical issues and research prospects*. 2013. P. 132–136; Kovrigin V.V. Problems of the scientific status and objectivity of ethnocentrism // *Scientific thought of the Caucasus*. 2014. No. 1 (77). P. 66–68.

over another. As far as the culture of interethnic relations is developed in the society, the possibilities of manifesting ethnocentrism will remain so.

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Geopolitics, human rights

Геополитика, права человека

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Market or Labour Power: How to Overcome Rent

Abstract. Globalization does not necessarily lead the to a world system of capitalist economies. Under the prevailing conditions of disempowerment of labor, capitalism is too weak to transform rent-based underdeveloped economies. Globalization is driven by currency devaluation which transforms new comparative advantage into cost competitiveness. The major check on devaluation, full employment does not work in most cases. In order to globalize capitalism, labor in the South would have to be empowered. At the theoretical level a neoliberal understanding of capitalism as against Keynesianism blocks an understanding of the importance of mass consumption for maintaining capitalism. At the political level, mass movements where they exist in the South are captured by secular nationalism or cultural nationalism. An increasingly fragmented multipolar system emerges where rent seeking is promoted by governments.

Key words: globalization, rent, Keynesian macroeconomics, international relations, class struggle, development.

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Надвигающаяся угроза глобализации ренты и защиты капитализма трудом

Аннотация. Глобализация не обязательно ведет к мировой системе капиталистических экономик. В преобладающих условиях нехватки рабочей силы капитализм слишком слаб, чтобы трансформировать слаборазвитую экономику, основанную на ренте. Глобализация обусловлена девальвацией валюты, которая превращает новое сравнительное преимущество в конкурентоспособность затрат. Основная проверка на девальвацию, полная занятость не работает в большинстве случаев. Чтобы глобализировать капитализм, труд на Юге должен быть наделен полномочиями. На теоретическом уровне неолиберальное понимание капитализма по сравнению с кейнсианством блокирует понимание важности массового потребления для поддержания капитализма. На политическом уровне массовые движения там, где они существуют на юге, охвачены светским национализмом или культурным национализмом. Возникает все более раздробленная многополярная система, в которой правительства поощряют поиск ренты.

Ключевые слова: глобализация, рента, кейнсианская макроэкономика, международные отношения, классовая борьба, развитие.

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Market or Labour Power: How to Overcome Rent*

1. The root of the controversy in the theory of profit: neoliberals against Keynesians

Rent is an income which is appropriated by political means, to the difference to profit which is earned by competitive enterprises on perfect and anonymous markets. Some rents are based on the scarcity of natural resources such as the scarcity of non-reproducible land, especially in locations like city centres, or the limited availability of highly productive mineral or oil deposits. In other cases scarcity is produced by political measures. Neoliberal (and Marxist) economics assume that capitalist systems can eliminate nearly all other incomes but profit and wages and rents based on scarcity of natural factors of production.

Neoliberal economics and Marxist economics share a definition of profit, where profit is a rest left over when the inevitable claims of competing economic actors, labour, and holders of noncapitalist assets of monopoly character have been satisfied. Whenever such claims are destroyed, profit increases. With perfect competition and the absence of state intervention in favour of particularistic interests, rent is expected to be eliminated. Rent is destroyed therefore in Marxist and neoliberal thinking if barriers to market competition

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Надвигающаяся угроза глобализации ренты и защиты капитализма трудом

are removed as much as possible,

Kalecki's (1942) theory of profit, one approach among other similar ones of Keynesian origin, claims that not all potentially or actually available surplus is appropriated as profit. Profit is smaller than surplus. Capitalists can appropriate profit if they have spent money for investment goods. The productivity increase achieved through this investment is irrelevant for profit. Only relevant here is the labour income created through this investment. For demonstration the usual simplifications are made: all consumption goods are consumed by workers, workers do not save, owners of business receive also an income for their consumption to be considered as a wage for management activities, imports equal exports and government spending equals taxes (Elsenhans 2015: 7-19). The producers of consumption goods can sell their consumption goods at a higher price than the salaries they paid directly or indirectly in the production of primary products and used up capital goods, if there are workers who received wages in the production of "other" products. With no government deficit, and no export surplus, the only possible sector is the production of new investment goods (gross investment minus amortisations). As investment goods producers are familiar with the technologies used in consumption goods production, they shift to using their own investment goods in their own consumption goods production, if prices for investment goods do not allow profits similar to the ones in consumption goods production.

In a Keynesian world profit does not emerge as something which is left, but as the result of business spending on investment. Despite low wages and low incomes to monopolistically held assets like natural resources, profit can be zero (or even negative – in crises) if the economy is not on a growth path which is driven by net investment. In crises, established producers will use market imperfections such as barriers to entry against new suppliers in order to maintain high prices

for decreasing quantities in order to increase their surplus by political means, hence rent. The increase of rent in crisis is normally tolerated by labour, as it appears as a means of maintaining jobs. Capitalism is fundamentally unstable because depending on the negotiating power of labour, and tends in case of crisis to allow the more powerful ones to appropriate surplus as rent.

2. Profits depend on rising mass incomes

Following the Bortkiewicz (1907) criterion, any new technology reduces unit costs of production and therefore income per unit produced paid out either to labour or to business. New products may create new incomes but require also additional demand if these products do not just replace already known products (in which case the criterion of reducing costs per unit would apply). As long as the better off are not able to protect their incomes from competition by “market imperfections” (and always only temporary scarcity of new skills), higher labour incomes for minorities can exist only if physical or psychological burdens of their work is more important than in average work. Even critical Marxists admit that under perfect competition entrepreneurs cannot increase their consumption beyond levels at which new entrepreneurs (financed from bank credit) or other entrepreneurs would be ready to perform the identical managerial task (Luxemburg 1923 [1912]: 88-92).

Rising mass incomes will make previously too expensive technologies competitive which save on direct labour but embody more highly skilled labour in the form of more expensive capital goods so that the total amount of incomes paid out increases.. Capitalism creates a market through investment goods production provided that labour costs increase. The (bankers’ and Lenin’s, 1972 [1899]: 42f.) idea of replacing mass demand by accelerating accumulation would, however, be characterised by increasing shares of investment spending in

total spending. In each period of production a growing share of national income would be used for investment, as (mass) consumption does not increase. Either the rate of increase of income in relation to the rate of growth of the capital stock decreases with the result of stabilising the rate of growth of the capital stock by a rise of the capital output ratio (and a decline in capital productivity), or the increase in national income would have to follow the ever-increasing rate of capital accumulation with ever increasing rates of growth of income and labour productivity. Rising mass incomes are therefore a condition for the emergence of profit.

The historical analysis of the emergence of capitalism in north-western Europe demonstrates the importance of high mass incomes in the centre of the industrial revolution of Britain in relation to other regions of Britain and in relation to the technically perhaps equally advanced regions of high civilisation of Asia (Broadberry and Gupta 2006: 26ff., Crafts 1985: 144, Allen 2009: 14, 43).

Profit depends on the specific social and political conditions, ultimately on the empowerment of labour. Such empowerment is best secured in case of labour being scarce. Labour is scarce for capitalist entrepreneurs if it produces a surplus. This depends technically on the level of productivity, and economically on the demand conditions for profitably selling this product.

3. Profit structures the capitalist society more deeply than neoclassical economists assume

Profit depending on mass incomes decisively structures a capitalist society. If labour is scarce and able to get rid of politically imposed fetters, any capitalist entrepreneur (owner of investible resources) can attract additional labour only by offering better material conditions, less work, less dues or better pay. If he cannot mobilise additional labour by political power (e.g. slavery), he will be able to provide such con-

ditions only on the basis of innovations which sell well. Provided that demand is high enough, he will continue to hire labour until the saturation of markets drives down prices and his profit rate. In case of full employment, those who are engaged in non-innovative activities can keep their labour from migrating to the innovative activity only by offering also better pay. Even activities where there are no productivity increases will increase pay. Wages will converge to an average (with taking into account differences in physical and psychological burdens). The mass of workers will experience similar living conditions.

This similarity in living conditions is the basis of the underprivileged seeing themselves as homogeneous and organising themselves for improving their conditions. Classes on the basis of objective criteria may have existed for millennia, but classes perceiving themselves as classes with identical interests have only sporadically emerged in precapitalist times when conditions of exploitation became absolutely unportable.

The new political power of labour supports high levels of employment, and high levels of employment assure the participation of labour in the fruits of technical progress. The search for labour pushes the cost of the non-innovative exploiters and increasingly denies them access to surplus. The bourgeoisie has access to the surplus on the basis of its spending on investment goods, and the individual bourgeois has access to his share in total surplus on the basis of his capacity to introduce more efficient technologies for products for which there is a demand now and in the case of rising mass incomes. There are extra profits for innovators which Schumpeter calls innovation rents (Schumpeter 1961: 112), but they disappear in the wake of competition and capital accumulation by the innovative entrepreneurs provided that there is enough demand for their products. So the pressure of labour imposes the emergence and strengthening of the

bourgeoisie and destroys the economic basis of non-innovative exploiters who thrived on rent.

4. Rent emerging from unequal specialisation and the integration into the world market

The special conditions for profit indicate that these conditions may not always be realised. Without going into the details of the history of precapitalist modes of production, I argue that high shares of food in total consumption and therefore in total production render improbable the realisation of such conditions. Agricultural production depends on the availability of land which is scarce. With demographic growth marginal product of agricultural labour declines and tends to become lower than the vital minimum income of labour, the cost of reproduction.

The tendency to the emergence of marginal populations which produce less than their cost of reproduction (Elsenhans 1994: 394-402) is intensified by the integration of such societies into an already capitalist world. Productivities in the leading industrial economies grow at extremely different rates from next to nothing in hair cutting to immeasurable amounts in vehicle production (from coach production to car production). An economy not having experienced any innovation will lag behind the leading economies to different degrees. Standard cloth production in Bangladesh is as productive as in Western Europe, but car production is not. Low international labour costs therefore may allow export production of cloth in Bangladesh but not car production.

An increase in local demand for wage goods may lead to the diversification of demand, including a demand for simple cars. If car production is not internationally competitive at the given exchange rate, increasing mass incomes will lead to spiralling imports and balance of payment difficulties. Increasing mass demand will be possible only in case of massive trade barriers or massive devaluation. Such deval-

uation may lead to losses in foreign exchange due to saturation of markets for competitive exports, if the price elasticity of their international demand is low. Such a result can be avoided by taxing exports (Balassa 1974: 178). The economy no longer loses income from abroad in case of further devaluation to levels where new products become internationally cost-effective. With customs duties and devaluation rent emerges.

Diverging lags in productivity in relation to a dominant system of relative prices are described in the analysis of structural heterogeneity. Structural heterogeneity is the basic characteristic of underdevelopment: productivities as measured in world market prices are heterogeneous (Amin 1973: 186). Slight changes of demand for products in branches with high lags in productivity will not trigger off investment in these branches: Market regulation does not lead to investments in those activities which are required for the gradual expansion of mass demand.

The mechanism of decentralised steering of the economy characteristic of capitalist economies is not applicable. But taxing highly productive branches and subsidising branches which are not yet competitive can push the economy in this direction.

Differences in productivity are obviously the result of differences in productivity growth. But to the difference of capitalist countries they are not made good by changes in the relative prices. Such economies are dominated by a world market price system which does not reflect their capacities of capitalist growth in the technically lagging economy.

Structural heterogeneity (Aydalot 1968: 42) manifests itself in the emergence of opportunities for politically manipulating prices, hence for rent appropriation and rent allocation. Potentially well selling products can be charged with fees in order to subsidize activities considered as strategically important for restructuring the economy'. Consumer rents

appropriated as export taxes on tropical products with price and income inelastic demand on the world market are one example. Local content rules through which foreign companies can use only part of their export earnings for the purchase of foreign inputs constitute a subsidy for local producers paid out of the surplus these companies earn from their export activities.

Invariably this type of interventions consists of resources taken from companies operating on (mostly distorted) markets, and be it only because of highly skewed income distributions, and channeling these financial resources into not yet profitable uses by a government or government like agency which is free from the duty of earning profits.

Rent seeking, whether it is in the West or in the not capitalist countries of the global South, has probably cultural roots in pre-capitalist structures because rent, the political appropriation of surplus, is characteristic of all precapitalist societies. But politico-economic structures in both cases lead to rent seeking independently of socio-cultural heritage when there is surplus which neither labour nor capital can appropriate as wages or profit. Rent is maintained because rent and the corresponding structures for appropriation and distribution of rent are useful for managing structurally heterogeneous economies.

5. Rent as a danger and an opportunity

The requirements for capitalism are more complex than only privatization. If the conditions associated with the Keynesian view of profit do not exist, there will be rent-based structures under the appearance of capitalist market relations just as the immense literature on the limits to economic liberalization and democratisation describes with remarkable absence of any insight in political economic structures (because this literature is dependent on an ultimately neoliberal modelling of economic processes, even if such mostly Anglo-saxon authors

are morally critical of neoliberalism).

Structural heterogeneity is the result but also the basis of continued underdevelopment as it precludes a proper functioning of the market. Overcoming underdevelopment requires therefore also more complex strategies than removal of state intervention in order to push the economy into the direction where the capitalist mechanism of rising mass incomes supporting net investment spending and therefore profit can start to work.

Underdeveloped structures have been analysed by all relevant development approaches as being characterised by the simultaneous existence of a surplus of labour and a surplus of financial resources (Lewis 1954). These financial resources are not appropriated by capitalist entrepreneurs to a sufficient degree because these capitalist entrepreneurs are not able to increase investment spending as long as there is no market for selling the increasing production. Too many potential consumers do not dispose of purchasing power, so that employment growth is too limited in order to create such purchasing power ("vicious circle").

The challenge of overcoming underdevelopment is therefore the appropriation of available or potentially available surplus by political means and its channeling into uses which contribute to direct the economy to new capacities of production for satisfying mass needs and to new employment opportunities (Elsenhans 1997).

The original version of state and investment for restructuring the economy had been formulated by Rosenstein-Rodan (1943). The objective is simultaneous investment of surplus made available by political appropriation as rent and the investment of these resources in a variety of branches following new demands in consumption because of additional employment, increasing individual incomes of the lower strata and the start of a local production of investment goods on the basis of initially low quality requirements and increasing batches of

production because more equal income distribution (Elsenhans 2015a; 199-211).

The political management of large surpluses appropriated by political means would have required highly disciplined managerial classes (Elsenhans 1996: 200-213). The really existing state classes did not meet these requirements initially for lack of management capabilities and later on increasingly because of moral decay.

Creating mass markets which would alleviate the managerial challenge by increasing already existing mass demand via income redistribution was difficult as long as an increasing demand for food could not be satisfied from increasing local food production. Agrarian reforms with redistribution of land to smallholder families could have internalised the gains from already highly productive work time on the farm and combined this income with low productive work. The rent would have emerged as good yields from only a share of total labour time of the smallholder family and would have been appropriated as income by the smallholder family. If this income was not sufficient for the survival of the smallholder family, the smallholder family would mobilise additional worktime with perhaps very low additional yields in order to provide sufficient subsistence for survival (Dasgupta and Ray 1987: 177).

With the disappearance of most raw material rents except oil and gas in the wake of the Western neoliberal offensive after the Volcker shock and the outbreak of the Third World debt crisis in 1982, comparative advantage of typical underdeveloped countries shifted from some raw materials to labour-intensive manufactured products. Some of them did not require much skills but faced rapidly declining income and price elasticities, when the global South had replaced Northern production and increased its share in the world market. However catching up in new technologies, even high technologies especially via of foreign direct investment of

Western companies, allowed upgrading the technical level of exports, even allowing some countries reaching highest levels and to overtake at least some of the industrially developed countries. Invariably success in this strategy depended on devaluation of the currency below purchasing power parity in order to become cost effective (Elsenhans 2002: 66-73). Such rates of devaluation are possible if a large and growing share of the new consumption of admittedly poorly paid export workers is supplied from local production and kept, either by natural or administrative obstacles, from being sold locally at the much higher world market prices. Income potentially available from these mass consumption goods producers is appropriated by political means (blocking exports), and distributed by market means: additional export workers earn wages in local currency from which, however, they cannot buy their necessary means of subsistence from the world market, but very well on the local market.

6. Political forces to address

All three strategies of development are based on rent. In their microeconomic design, rent appropriation and rent allocation are protected from corrupting uses to different degrees. It can be argued that privileging market mechanisms wherever possible reduces corruption and therefore misallocation of rents. Export oriented manufacturing combined with redistribution of assets in agriculture proved to be the most efficient strategy in such different ideological settings as South Korea, Taiwan and the People's Republic of China. The more equal distribution of income, the higher the multipliers from the spending of additional export workers as the local share in their consumption is higher.

By equality of consumption the launching of a local sector of industry is facilitated, which is oriented to mass needs and what I call a popular sector of industry, motor of the transition to capitalism.

It is now common argument that in most cases the so-called middle classes of the South are not dynamic as expected in cultural theory of modernization (Ouaisa 2014: 13). They are aspiring to rent collection. Imposing on them rates of devaluation corresponding to the international competitiveness of new branches necessary for economic diversification would split these middle classes. Those with less access to international money at the previous high exchange rate would opt for acquiring international money by selling locally manufactured products on the world market on the basis of by international standards, cheap labour. Such a split in the middle class would greatly facilitate the task of a centralised government in case it would be committed to long-term development (Elsenhans forthcoming 2019).

Political stability is provided in many of these rent-based countries by two mechanisms: some crumbs trickling down from the rent controlled by the rich and acceptance of the impossibility of overcoming the existing structures which is greatly supported by Western academia and its analysis of the transition to capitalism and the capitalist growth process.

Hence the struggle over the precise definitions of the mechanisms which produce rent and determine its ambiguity, as a source of financing investment and as a mechanism discouraging capitalist growth, is important for increasing the space which opposition movements in the South need in order to promote policies for overcoming underdevelopment.

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Catalonia self-determination: idea and incarnation

Abstract. The article describes the difficult road of Catalonia to political self-determination. The author links the problem of self-determination of the region with the design process (recovery) Catalan identity on the basis of a special version of nationalism. He distinguishes cultural and economic stage of motion of Catalonia for self-determination, which created the preconditions for the transition to his final stage. Author suppose, that the final stage of this process is the political stage.

Key words: Catalonia, self-determination, autonomy, identity, nationalism, Catalan language, Catalan culture.

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Самоопределение Каталонии: идея и ее воплощение

Аннотация. В статье говорится о сложном пути к политическому самоопределению. Автор увязывает проблему самоопределения этого региона с процессом конструирования (восстановления) каталонской идентичности на базе особой версии национализма. Он выделяет культурологическую и экономическую стадии движения Каталонии к самоопределению, которые создали предпосылки для перехода к завершающей стадии этого процесса – политической.

Ключевые слова: Каталония, самоопределение, автономия, идентичность, национализм, каталанский язык, каталонская культура.

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**Catalonia self-determination:
idea and incarnation***

Spain has long been faced with the problem of Basque and Catalan separatism. But these two things so opposite in nature that sometimes it is hard to imagine that they exist within the borders of one state. In contrast to the militant separatism of the Basque Country Catalan separatism politically correct and phlegmatic¹. Try to find out what the origins of this phenomenon.

Historically the Catalan lands (cat. Països Catalans) were the zone of distribution of the Catalan language in the North-East of Spain, in the South of France and on the Italian island of Sardinia, and also in Andorra. The term came into use in the postwar period, perhaps by analogy with the established term “pays Basque”. In Spain it is controversial because of the threat of Catalan separatism.

In turn, the modern Catalonia is an Autonomous community (Comunidad autónoma) and historic region of Spain encompassing the northeastern Spanish province of Gerona, Barcelona, Tarragona and Lleida. As Catalonia was legalized after the adoption of the Statute of autonomy on 18 December 1979, having received the constitutional right to establish their own government. It is the successor to the Cortes (representative Assembly), which existed in Catalonia since 1359, and consists of a Parliament and Executive Council. President of

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Самоопределение Каталонии: идея и ее воплощение

1 См.: Данилевич И.В. Автономизация Испании // Полис. 1995. № 5. 127 с.

autonomy is elected for four years. In 1980, an Agreement was concluded about the Convergence and Union (*Convergència i Unió*) between Catalonia and Spain, which recognized the special status of this region².

The Autonomous community of Catalonia occupies a triangular area in the North-East of Spain and borders with France and Andorra to the North, province of Aragón on the West and Valencia province on the South and East. Catalonia is the richest and most industrialized part of Spain. Education of Catalonia has been informed of the Principality of Aragón, and it has played an important role in the history of the Iberian Peninsula. So, with XV century it was the centre of the separatist movement, but have been intermittently under the «heel» of the Spanish authorities. The history of this national region is rich and full of collisions. Catalonia was one of the first Roman possessions in Spain. Occupied in the fifth century ad, Visigoths, it came under the rule of the Moors in 712 and at the end of VIII century, it was conquered by Charlemagne, who included it in his Kingdom on the rights of the brand, managed by the count. The Francs suzerainty over Catalonia was merely nominal, and was abolished during the reign of count Borrell (died in 991).

From 1137, when the count Ramon Berenguer IV of Barcelona was betrothed to the Aragonese Queen Petronila, Catalonia and Aragón were United under the rule of a single dynasty. Because of that Catalonia monopolized the trade in the Western part of the Mediterranean sea and procedures XIII - XIV centuries, and the Catalan interests dominated the Union with Aragón until 1410, when the male line of the counts of Barcelona stopped. Dissatisfaction in Catalonia with the new Aragonese dynasty intensified and reached its peak after 1412 by calling during the reign of John II full-scale revolt ended, however, unsuccessful (1462-1472).

2 CM.: Bernecker W.L., Eßer T., Kraus P.A. Eine kleine Geschichte Kataloniens. – Frankfurt, 2007; Seidel C.C. Kleine Geschichte Kataloniens. – München, 2007.

Finally, after the wedding of the son of John II Ferdinand with Isabella of Castile (1469) was the unification of Catalonia with Spain, and after that Catalonia has gradually become a secondary Spanish provinces. Although it retained its formal independence, the national Parliament and privileges in matters of tax collection, in the XVII century has sharply escalated a conflict of interest with the province of Castile, which, together with the decline in the prestige of the Spanish monarchy, led to a sharp rise in separatist sentiment. In 1640 Catalonia revolted against Spain and tried to go under the patronage of the king of France Louis XIII, but after fierce resistance, the rebellion was suppressed to 1650. In the war of the “Spanish succession”, the Catalans have declared their support for the Archduke Karl and actively resisted the adoption of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain. However, in 1714, Catalonia was completely conquered by the power of the Bourbons, when king Philip V abolished the Constitution and abolished preserved until the institutions of Catalan autonomy.

Catalan separatism has revived in XIX century thanks to the support provided to movement of the carlists. The revival began in the 1850s, when it was taken serious efforts to revive Catalan as a living language, adoption of it in areas such as the press and the theatre. Catalan nationalism became a serious force after 1876, when the result of the defeat of the carlists movement for autonomy was headed by the Catholic Church. In 1913, Catalonia has achieved a limited degree of self-government, but the very act of autonomy was repealed in 1925 by the dictator Primo de Rivera, who saw in all these manifestations of Catalan separatism.

Shortly before coming to power in Spain of the popular front for the reactionary policy of the government of Primo de Rivera led to the formation of influential Republican coalition in Catalonia, the prominent role which played the autonomist party, Esquerra. In the end, the Esquerra won

a landslide victory in the municipal elections of 1931, and two days later its leader announced the creation of a Catalan Republic. A compromise was reached with the Central government regarding the approval of provincial autonomy, and in September 1932 the Statute of autonomy of Catalonia was backed by law. In 1932, for a short time, was created the General Directorate for the needs of the Catalan administration.

Catalonia played a prominent role in the history of Republican Spain in the Civil war 1936-1939.. Victory in the civil war and the coming to power of the nationalists in 1939 meant for Catalonia's loss of independence, because the dictatorial regime of General Francisco Franco for decades pursued a repressive policy toward Catalan movement for self-determination³. The establishment of democratic rule in Spain after Franco's death led to the provision of the province in September 1977 limited autonomy. Full autonomy was given to the region in 1979 with the creation of the Autonomous region of Catalonia, whose government consisted of the generals (Executive Council headed by the President) and a unicameral Parliament. However, these are only factual, while we are interested in the origins and specificity of Catalan nationalism and separatism as a complex phenomena.

Catalan nationalism as a generator of regional separatism

What, in fact, is the main feature of Catalan separatism and what caused it? If we talk about national identity, Catalans never felt Spanish, or rather Castilian, components of the General population of Spain. Catalan language independent and has practically nothing in common with Spanish (Castilian), but close Provençal language, common in the South of France. It is also spoken in the Spanish province of

3 CM.: Brinkmann S. Katalonien und der Spanische Bürgerkrieg, Geschichte und Erinnerung, - Berlin, 2007.

Aragon and the Principality of Andorra he is the only official state language.

In France, the Catalan language is the local dialect, but in Spanish Catalonia this language has the state status along with Spanish. Moreover, in public schools and universities of Catalonia are taught in Catalan language. And despite the fact that native Catalan in the Autonomous community there are 65% of the almost seven million of its population.

It should be noted that the language policy Generalitat since the restoration of Catalan autonomy has always been active and aggressive, and had his goal of normalization and expansion of the use of Catalan language. Since 1983 it has been 30 adopted regulations to facilitate the introduction of Catalan in administration, public service, education, toponymy, etc. In the end, December 30, 1997 it was officially declared that Catalan is “own language of Catalonia” than emphasized its role as a means of national identity. Without calling into question the ratio of Catalan and Spanish (Castilian) at the official level, this law effectively provided the Catalan, the language of a dominant position within the authority.

Thanks to the active policy on the introduction of Catalan in the fields of education, culture and social activities, the latter strengthens its position and expands the number of its adherents, long ago turned into the language of the majority of the population of Catalonia. It is with a linguistic question associated with the formation and development of such movements as the Catalan nationalism, with the advantage of cultural and linguistic nature. Let's try to trace its historical roots.

As the motion of the Basque, the Catalan national movement has its roots in the middle Ages. At the present time there is a change of scientific doctrines — written major new works, which completely revised the history of the Iberian Peninsula. Catalan civilization is regarded as Castilian equal, but oppressed by tyrannical neighbours. In the books we are talking about the so-called “Catalan arc” from Valencia to

Sicily. However, the Catalan nationalists claim to all these lands. Their claim extends only to the “Catalan countries” is actually the land of Catalonia, Valencia, some border regions of Aragon, where they speak Catalan, as well as Northern Catalonia, that is, the French Roussillon and the Balearic Islands and the city of Alger in Sardinia, where they still speak the Catalan dialect.

By the way, “Catalan idea” was accepted in Balearic Islands (in the 1970s there was a movement calling for the independence of the Balearic Islands), but the Valencian didn’t support the Catalan claims. Constant clashes between Catalan and Valencian politicians led to the fact that when the Spanish government issued the text of the European Constitution to a referendum, it was published in Spanish and languages of the Autonomous regions: Galicia, Basque, Catalan and Valencian. The translation into Catalan and Valencian languages were identical but the early one was written “Catalan language” and the beginning of another — “Valencian language”.

Another key factor in the folding of Catalan nationalism as a mass movement is the development of national culture. Thus, a key prerequisite for folding of Catalan nationalism as a mass organized movement has become a “radical renewal” (“Renaissance”) of Catalan culture in the first half of the 19th century. After 1830, under the influence of European romanticism all the intellectual and creative movement unfolded in Catalonia around the literature and history who actively sang medieval Catalan tradition. In the end, the Catalan language – which, incidentally, has never ceased to be written and spoken, have acquired a new status thanks to this “cultural renewal”. In 1833, the University of Barcelona, closed since ascension to the throne of Philip V, has again opened its doors. In the same year, the Catalan poet, Aribó wrote his famous Patriotic “Ode to the Motherland”. The process of “regeneration” (Renaixença) of the entire Catalan culture as a whole began. Poetry was in this period especially fruitful: Rubio

and Ors, Verdaguer and subsequently Margal returned to the Catalan language the status of the literature language. So, in 1859, Barcelona City hall has organized a “Flower festival” to promote the best poets. In turn, the Catalan historians in his writings glorified the history of Catalonia, its political institutions and political status which it enjoyed before the beginning of the XVIII century, before the Bourbons established in Spain the unitary state.

At the end of XIX century cultural “catalanism” was supplemented by political nationalism. The Catalan bourgeoisie supported it more actively and less identified himself with the Affairs of the Spanish state, for the policy of the Central government in Madrid less took into account the interests of the development of the textile industry in Catalonia. In 1892, at Manresa has developed a political platform demanding autonomy for Catalonia with Catalan as an official language. Established in 1901, the Catalan party – “Regionalist League” (La Liga Regionalista) - structured the Catalan national movement, the main theorist of which was Prat de RIBA, published in 1906 book “the Catalan nationality” (Nationalitat La Catalana). The 1920s marked the emergence of this trend, as “left catalanism” presented the names of Francesc Macià and Luis Companys.

Shortly after the establishment of the “Second Republic” (14 April 1931), Macià proclaimed in Barcelona, the creation of the “Catalan Republic”. However, under pressure from the new Republican government from Madrid, the Catalans were forced to take a step back, rejecting the idea their own state. In exchange, they gained the right to establish Autonomous institutions: “Generalitat” (first such institution was established in the procedures XIV century), and then making fixing these changes to the act – Statute of autonomy. From now on, Catalonia also had its own government, administration and budget. However, the victory of Franco destroyed all these institutions, and most of the Catalan movement during

the dictatorship strongly persecuted and repressed.

In the end Generalitat was restored only the decree of the new democratic government of Spain on 29 September 1977. At the head of this institution became a prominent figure of the Catalan movement Josep Tarradellas, returned from the Franco links to Suarez personally, and triumphantly returned to Barcelona. A few days earlier, September 11, in honor of the national holiday of the Catalan “Diada”, which for the first time celebrated openly, hundreds of thousands of people marched with the Catalan flag (la “seynera”) through the streets of Barcelona, marking the restoration of the Statute of autonomy. Two years later the restoration of autonomy was finally legalized by the Spanish Cortes.

The first elections to the Catalan regional Parliament gave a majority to unite moderate nationalists “Convergencia I Unio”, the leader of which Jordi Pujol will lead the Generalitat for 23 years. His policy will be to “knock-out” concessions from the Spanish government in Madrid, which ultimately led to a progressive expansion of competence of the Catalan institutions. This strategy was effective, especially when formed the Central government party had a majority in the Cortes, which encouraged members of the “Convergencia I Unio” to enter into negotiations with representatives of other parties. In such situations, the head of the authority Jordi Pujol mainly managed in exchange for support to win concessions from the former Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar. However, Puyol has provided such support and its predecessor, the socialist Felipe González, bringing Catalonia known benefits – such as the agreement of Madrid for the “Mediterranean conference” in Barcelona in 1995.

Due to this, many political experts have repeatedly pointed out the striking fact that the formation of the Spanish policy is often in the hands of the Catalan nationalists.

The result of many years of efforts of politicians on 18 June 2006 referendum in Catalonia was approved by her new sta-

tus, greatly extending the prerogatives of the Autonomous community and the recognition of the Catalans as a separate “nation without a state” associated with Spain. Pre-law status was adopted by the Catalan Parliament and after discussion in the Spanish Parliament submitted to the court themselves Catalans. Of course, as a result of discussions in the Spanish Parliament of Catalonia to claim maximum autonomy was somewhat curtailed. In particular, the Spanish government left behind a part of the taxes collected in Catalonia, and retained control over airports and sea ports in the autonomy. However, despite the protests of the supporters of Catalan independence Catalans voted for a new status.

Thus, initially moderate nature of Catalan nationalism has managed to implement its minimum program, achieving all your goals in addition to one – restoration of Catalan statehood. In this case, does the meaning of the Catalan nationalists continue to fight for the realization of the separatist project, or better satisfied with the achieved results?

Anyway, today even the most radical supporters of Catalan independence prefer not to go beyond the political discussions and legislative procedures.

In the dialogue with the Central authorities, the Catalans avoid maximalist demands and sudden movements, preferring to follow the procedure. The degree of Catalan nationalism is largely, if not primarily, due to the fact that the Catalans just don't want to cut the branch on which you sit: the attacks do not combine with the struggle for international recognition and economic preferences. Whether the Catalans are more emotional, this advantage would be compromised: economic growth sits uneasily with the attacks.

In contrast to Basque nationalism, which manifests itself very aggressively in the North-West of the Pyrenees on both sides of the Spanish-French border, the Catalan nationalism is confined to the Balearic Islands. So, in Northern Catalonia, in France, home to about 350,000 ethnic Catalans who do not

even dream about the independence, which have their counterparts in Spain.

However, changing the attitude of the Catalans to the idea of independence and the perception of most of the Catalan autonomy in the rest of Spain. In 1970, this idea was supported by 5 % of the electorate, but according to modern surveys conducted by the Center for the study of public opinion in the Spanish government, 20% to 30% of the voters positive about the Outlook for independence, and 40 % would like a referendum on this issue.

This changed the attitude of Catalonia and of the Spaniards. Catalan society due to the increasing linguistic and cultural identity is seen as suspicious. On the other hand, do Catalans feel known neglect on the part of the Spanish state, which is known to cause tension in the relationship of the metropolis and autonomy.

Along with this, the Autonomous status of Catalonia, reinforced in 2006 on the basis of the decision adopted by the Spanish Cortes, not made less relevant questions about the place of Catalonia in Spain and the system of international relations that also affects the status of autonomy in the structure of the Spanish state.

The triumph of the policy of regionalization. Catalonia in the space of “Europe of regions”

The Catalan capital Barcelona was an ancient economic capital of the Iberian Peninsula, Madrid was the capital of financial and administrative. But if Madrid successfully upgraded, then Barcelona clearly lagged behind in infrastructure development that has long allowed it to benefit from the decentralization of the economy, development of services and tourism.

However, thanks to years of efforts Catalonia is currently the most developed economic region in Spain: accounting for only 16 % of the total population of the country, the Catalans produce 23% of the gross national product. At the

same time, the prospect of secession of Catalonia from Spain is quite controversial from an economic point of view: for 54% of the Catalan production is Spanish, and only 46 % on the European markets.

However, the opportunity to benefit from favorable economic and tourist situation remains in question, especially in connection with weak infrastructure development and lack of government investment in comparison with other Spanish autonomies. Catalonia have to rely on their own strength and leverage. The most significant of these are cultural identity and linguistic originality⁴.

As a result, Catalonia today shows a commitment to some form of strong and mixed, but not a radical separatist nationalism. This nationalism has deep historical roots, but nevertheless is closely connected with political and economic processes of modern and contemporary art.

In the early New time the Catalans were famous Mediterranean trading nation with its own government, subordinate to the Kingdom of Aragon. In procedures XIV century it was part of the Catalan-Aragonese Confederation, which also included Valencia, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily and the Neapolitan Kingdom. From 1516 it became part of the Spanish monarchy and came under the rule of the Habsburg dynasty. As a result, the Catalans felt “at home” in Spain, the Mediterranean and throughout the Habsburg Empire, actively participating in their social and economic life. At the same time, the Catalans were forced out of Latin America, and the Latin American colonies eventually became Castilian. This, along with other factors, led to the decline of the Catalan economy until the early 19th century, when Catalonia, together with Basque lands involved in the process of industrial development of Spain.

Under pressure from the centralized Spanish state at the

⁴ Hoffman Ch. Language, autonomy and national identity in Catalonia // Smith D., Wright S. (Ed.). *Whose Europe? The turn towards democracy.* – Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999. P. 48-78.

end of XIX century is beginning to emerge Catalan nationalism. The latter was strongly associated with obedience processes of economic and political modernization. The decline in the international prestige of Spain's stress these feelings only. The emerging bourgeoisie of Spain and its national regions increasingly felt cramped by medieval Spanish government, which was also subject to upgrading. To the end of XIX century the need for regional self-government felt and the Catalan bourgeoisie. And although the Catalan economy has grown more dynamically than the economy of the rest of Spain that does not affect the extent of representation at the European level. Catalonia increasingly inclined to protect its own market from the negative influence of common Spanish processes. Due to the growth and activity of the Catalan working class under the influence of European processes, the Catalan bourgeoisie needed support from the Spanish state. This, in turn, determined the ambiguity is proposed and it supports the national project.

As a result, in 1970-80-ies of the Catalan nationalists supported obedience requirements of the return to democracy. As a result, in 1978, was restored Generalitat and in 1980 hosted the first regional elections that were won by the party "Convergencia I Unio". Since then, the authorities in the autonomy was a coalition of two moderate nationalist parties, which sought greater autonomy for the region. And though their true purpose remained not fully clarify, there was every reason to suppose that they sought to restore the status of Catalonia until 1714, that is, the transformation of her "self-governing nation" in the framework of weakened and firmly integrated into Europe the Spanish state.

Many years the head of Catalonia Jordi Pujol has never questioned the belonging of Catalonia to the Spanish state, and especially did not demand independence. But, seeing the Catalans as a nation, he has actively established international relations, trying to promote your region and to get him recog-

dition at the international level on par with Spain.

Strategy of Catalonia assumed, therefore, the implementation as possible regional expansion in political and economic fields. In the end, triumph to actively participate in European integration and, in contrast to the early Catalan nationalism, the desire to uphold the principles of free trade for the region⁵. Europeanization from the point of view of modern Catalan regionalism is seen as a way to achieve their goals, and Europe itself is seen as a space in which can be realized regional autonomy and the free trade regime. Therefore, the Catalan regionalist movement does not seek to achieve Catalan independence in the EU.

Thus, the policy of “regional government”, held in Catalonia, aims to contribute to its economic and cultural development. And for good reason: Catalonia is a transboundary region with strong attraction to France and to the Mediterranean. During the reign of dictator Franco against Catalonia Madrid carried out the strategy of “protectionism” significantly weakened in the period 1960-ies. Since 1990-ies Catalonia shifted to economic openness and close cooperation with EU countries. In 1990, revenues from foreign trade have provided Catalonia 41 % of its GDP, which exceeded the overall Spanish average (39 %)⁶.

In the relationship of Catalonia with the European Union clearly dominated by economic interests. Trade with the EU amounts to 2/3 of total volume of trade exceeds the volume of trade with the rest of Spain⁷. The inflow of foreign investment weakened somewhat, however, in 1991, is Catalonia attracted 43 % of the total volume of attracted Spain’s foreign invest-

5 CM.: Clavera J. El debat sobre el lluire canvi: le cas de Catalunya davant la integracio // Pares i Maicas M., Tremblay G. (Ed.). Catalunya, Quebec. Autonomia i Mundialisatio. – Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1990.

6 Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d’Industria i Energia. Quaderns de competitivitat. La internacionalizatio. – Barcelona: Generalitat, 1992. 57 p.

7 De Jouvenal H., Roque M.-A. Catalunya a l’Horitzio 2010. Prospectiva miditerrania. – Barcelona: Enciclopedia Catalana, 1993 ; Ministerio de Economia y Hacienda. Informe de Comercio Exterior. – Barcelona, 1990. Vol. 1.

ment. And 2/3 of these investments came from EU countries⁸. Foreign companies played an important role in the Catalan exports, and a special role was played by small and medium enterprises “family” type⁹. Thanks to their activity, Catalonia has been able to export high quality products to the EU regained its once-lost status as a “trading power”. So Generalitat took on a truly missionary function, as advocates for Catalan exports. Annually reducing export prices, he held conferences and developed business projects together with representatives of the Catalan business. Especially the active support of exporters was carried out by the magazine “Made in Catalunya”. Pujol, in turn, spoke of the importance of exports as “the problem of national survival”.

And since Catalonia has traditionally been a tourist region, special attention was also paid attention to the development of tourism, which has become one of the key sources of income for the authority.

Representation of the interests of Catalonia in Europe. The success of the policy of “Trans-regional cooperation”

According to the modern concept, formulated by the General Directorate of Catalonia, it does not have its own foreign policy, but implementing policy, “international presence” (“una presencia internacional”)¹⁰.

With the aim of forming a Catalan lobby in Brussels Generalitat actively interacts with the various business structures and specialized institutions of representation. The first official international organization representative offices of interests of autonomy became a “Catalan patronage for Europe” (Patronat Catala Pro Europa). The latter is a private corporate

8 CM: Petschen S. Kataloniens Internationale Politik Zum Auswaertigen Handeln einer spanischen Comunidad Autonoma // Kraemer R. (Hrsg.). Regionen in der Europaeischen Union. – Berlin: Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlag, 1998. P. 142-158.

9 Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament d’Industria i Energia. P. 25-32; de Jouvenal H., Roque M.-A. Catalunya a l’Horitzio 2010. P. 65-67.

10 CM.: Eßer T., Stegmann T.D. (Hrsg.). Kataloniens Rückkehr nach Europa 1976–2006: Geschichte, Politik, Kultur und Wirtschaft. - LIT Verlag, Münster, 2007.

structure, with one side defending Catalan interests in Brussels, and on the other disseminate information on policies and programmes of the EU. This structure was created in Spain in 1982, and its aim was development of a common position of the Madrid and Barcelona from the point of view of their representation in the European arena. Realizing clearly that the position and interests of regions and “stateless Nations” are often ignored, Catalan lobby seeks to act in this area in cooperation with the Spanish government. Patronage has its own office in Brussels, which monitors the policies of the European institutions. Not contact in their activities directly with the Spanish government, he is actively engaged with the representation of Spain in Brussels.

The representation of Catalonia in international relations was not monopolized by Generalitat. And although there was a “Directorate for international relations”, subordinate to the head Generalitat. She has carried out coordinating functions in the framework of priority directions of activity. The implementation of specific functions was transferred to the various departments, agencies, chambers of Commerce and public-private enterprises.

In addition, there are more than 30 representative offices of Catalonia abroad, mainly in Europe but also in new York, San Francisco, Tokyo and the Maghreb. These offices are not actually Generalitat, but private companies, professional communities and unions of entrepreneurs with open participation. The scope of activities of representative offices covered such issues as tourism, investment, export and cultural policy.

Along with the official institutions of great importance to represent Catalan interests has COPCA (Consortium for the promotion of trade interests of Catalonia), created in 1988, has created its own representation in Europe and in Asia. In turn, in Brussels, “European Catalan patronage” (Patronat Catala Pro-Europa) has all the information about Catalonia and actively builds links with European institutions.

The Institute of Mediterranean studies also acts as a means of enhancing the prestige of Catalonia since the creation of the eponymous forum, which annually gathers prominent cultural figures (from the award of the most prominent of these special “Catalan awards”).

In representation of the Catalan interests abroad of great importance was the opening of the “House of Catalonia” in Paris.

In turn, in the field of interregional cooperation, Generalitat of Catalonia, also demonstrates an enviable activity. In the end, his effort Catalonia has become an integral part of the Euroregion together with the neighbouring French departments of Languedoc-Roussillon and MIDI-pyrene, the center of which was the city of Perpignan.

She is also a member of the Association “Four motors for Europe”, which she founded in 1988 in Stuttgart, together with the land, Baden-Württemberg, the Italian province of Lombardy and the French Department of Rhone-Alpes. In this case we are talking about the emergence of large-scale cooperation between these regions and their active cooperation in such fields as education, culture, social politics, economy and territorial development.

Along with this, Catalonia is a member of the “Working community of the Pyrenees”, created in 1983 at the initiative of the Council of Europe and the regional Council of Aquitaine. In the end, regions such as Aquitaine, Languedoc-Roussillon, MIDI-Pyrenees, Aragon, Basque Country, Navarra and Andorra are also integrated into this community in the Aragonese town of Yak. The goal of the community is economic development, development cooperation, environmental protection and the development of communications.

Another Association, which includes Catalonia – “Latin Arch” - deals exclusively with the issues of territorial development and protection of local interests in the EU, bringing together a group of managers of the Catalan, Spanish, Ital-

ian, French and Portuguese territorial management bodies.

A special place in foreign policy of Catalonia is the policy in the field of culture. Thus, in contrast to Quebec, Catalonia is not seeking to build in the “world language community”. While there is a programme of exchanges in education and Catalan language program at the University. The EU supports these efforts as part of its policy to support minority languages. Considerable political capital was extracted from the decision of the European Parliament from 1990 to recognize the Catalan language one of the official languages of the EU. Generalitat seeks to provide active influence on the formation of cultural policy of the EU and is looking for ways to protect Catalan culture. In Catalonia, a law was passed that defines the quota of films produced in the Catalan language.

As a result, these years of activity Catalonia turned his back to the Iberian Peninsula and turned its face to Europe, but rather to Europe than to the Europe of Nations. While the 2003 elections in the autonomy put an end to years of reign of the “center-right” represented by Puyol. Winning the “left” are put in charge Generalitat Pascal Margal, the former mayor of Barcelona. The latter is a staunch supporter of the progressive transfer of powers to the regions in “Europe of the XX1 century”.

In turn, after the collapse of the left coalition in power autonomy, Pascal Margal, is obliged to appoint date of early election, decided not to run for a new term. The result of the past elections of 1 November 2006, the coalition of the Socialist party, Initiative for Catalonia and Esquerra Republicana party, has kept in total power.

In the end, the socialist José Montilla became the first un-born in Catalonia at the head of Generalitat. Born in the province of Córdoba, the son of an immigrant from Andalusia was the Minister of industry, tourism and trade in the socialist government of Juan Zapatero. In his post he does a lot for the de-

velopment of “Trans-regional cooperation” in the framework of the existing Euroregion¹¹.

Anyway, thanks to the active engagement of Catalonia “politics of presence” strengthens the national identity of the Catalans, and the region is now perceived abroad as only one of the Spanish regions. The need to legitimize itself as a nation explains the active character of the advertising campaign of the Olympic Games in Barcelona in 1992. And in answer to the rhetorical question, “Where is Barcelona?” the correct answer was “in Catalonia but not in Spain.”

Along with this, travelling head Generalitat in Europe, and his visits to North and South America have become an integral part of the concept of “international presence”. Using these trips, Jordi Pujol undoubtedly increased their political weight. His political opponents accused him in this regard, the intent to monopolize “the Catalan national feeling” and become the sole representative of the interests of Catalonia in the world.

The inclusion of Catalonia in the system of international relations proceeds not unproblematic. A well-known tension between the Central government caused the issue of the right of Catalonia to conclude bilateral agreements with other Spanish regions. In 1993 the constitutional court of Spain in its ruling recognized the Balearic Islands to conclude agreements with foreign States on the issues of coming-conductive in its own (internal) competence.

An important legal question is not only the problem of international activity in Catalonia, but the question of the political relations between Barcelona and Madrid. In the early 1990-ies there was a rapprochement Puyol with the socialist government of Felipe Gonzalez. After the elections of 1993 in the Cortes of the Spanish socialists failed to win the support of the faction of the *Convergencia i Unio*, the voice is entirely controlled by Puyol that allowed Gonzalez to create a “minority government”. In 1996, by agreement with the Catalan

11 Jullian M. *Civilisation espagnole*. – Paris: Hachette superieur, 2007. P. 86-89.

deputies, the government was formed, headed by the conservative popular party of José María Aznar, for which “conservatives” had to pay the known weakening of the mechanisms of centralization.

Themselves party-political contacts with Europe are important for Catalonia with the points of view of strengthening its “international presence”¹². Convergència I Unió is an active participant in the international Christian democracy, thus received in 1993 the post of its Vice-President. While Convergència I Unió in international party building positions itself opposite the people’s party. Convergence, which is part of the “bipartisan” government of the tandem in Catalonia, is part of the international liberal international. By strengthening its positions at the international level, the partisan politics of the Catalan elite wants to maximize its influence on Spanish policy, while continuing to be an active player in the international arena¹³.

Thus, Catalonia is seeking to improve its status, by strengthening their cultural and linguistic identity, expanding the status of the Mediterranean region, and with the benefits of the status of the region not a state, but has its own Executive and Legislature, expanding cultural contacts with organizations such as the UN and UNESCO.

Within Spain raises issues about the extension of the economic component of autonomy (e.g., the transfer of control of autonomy of the railway communications, migration and fiscal flows). Also raises the question of the reform of the Spanish Constitution, which regulates the Statute of Catalan autonomy¹⁴.

12 De Winter L. Ethnoregionalist Parties and European Integration at the 1999 European Elections // *Europe at the Polls: The European Elections of 1999*. – New York – Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002. P. 130-145.

13 Keating M. *Le Monde pour Horizon: Quebec, Katalonien und Schottland in der internationalen Politik* // Kraemer R. (Hrsg.). *Regionen in der Europaischen Union*. – Berlin: Berliner Debatte Wissenschaftsverlag, 1998. P. 85-91.

14 CM.: Aymerich R. *Autonomie ou independence ? // Le Monde diplomatique*. 2007. December. P. 1-4.

Thus, the Catalan regional separatism, which began as a national, gradually transformed in quasi-public, economic and cultural-linguistic separatism. Catalonia has not forgotten the days of General Franco when Spain was a unitary state, and the Catalan language was banned. But now, when any public institution of Catalonia people are cheering each other with Catalan «bon dia» instead of «buenos dias» in Spanish, separatism moved to the economic sphere. Catalonia is one of the most industrialized regions of Spain and pays it to the budget much more than it receives back. Jordi Pujol almost got it right to spend on the 30 % of the collected taxes of autonomy. Thus, the real status of Catalonia is so high that technically you can do without independence.

In the end, the Catalan separatism today has become much more powerful. By the way, the actual political potential of Catalan separatism is far from exhausted. Even among the respectable politicians here living idea of “Catalan countries” – Catalonia, Valencia, parts of Aragon, Roussillon, the Balearic Islands etc. And in some of them the idea of a “great Catalonia” finds a ready response. The recognition of Kosovo’s independence has stirred up supporters of regional self-determination across Europe. One of the first who congratulated the Kosovars independence, were the leaders of the separatists of Catalonia, Brittany, Corsica, Belgian Flanders and Basque legal sense. In Catalonia – the left and the right, in terms of attitude to independence of the Serbian province were unanimous. The local Catalan government demanded from Madrid to recognize Kosovo’s independence, which is quite a worrying sign for the future of Spain. The Spanish “state of autonomies” is on the verge of massive change, one of the generators which is able to act as Catalonia, have confirmed their intention in a referendum in November 2014. All this shows that the potential of Catalan separatism, flexibly and skillfully using the mechanisms of cultural policy, as well as factors of regionalization and glo-

balization in the process of designing a new Catalan identity, is far from exhausted and can be implemented in the foreseeable future.

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Germany, France and Eastern Europe in the situation of choosing the path

Abstract. “Political leaders and elites of Europe in the situation of choosing the path” written by S.V. Biryukov and E.L. Ryabova is devoted to the very serious problems relevant not only for the Russian political science, but also for the general political and practical policy of Russia, Germany, France and Eastern Europe.

Ultimately, the authors’ accentuation of significant transitional moments of political and socio-economic development of various European societies and states allows a deeper understanding of the political prospects not only of individual countries, but also of the EU as an institutional structure as a whole. Thus, summarizing all the above, it can be stated that the monograph by S.V. Biryukov and E.L. Ryabova merits attention of the expert and power-political communities, and it will also be of interest to the general reader.

Key words: politics, political science, Europe, society, political leaders.

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Германия, Франция и Восточная Европа в ситуации выбора пути

Аннотация. Монография написанная С.В. Бирюковым и Е.Л. Рябовой посвящена очень серьезным проблемам, актуальным не только для российской политологии, но и для общей политической и практической политики России, Германии, Франции и Восточной Европы.

Авторы акцентируют своё внимание на значительных переходных моментах политического и социально-экономического развития различных европейских обществ и государств, что позволяет глубже понять политические перспективы не только отдельных стран, но и ЕС как институциональной структуры в целом. Таким образом, суммируя все вышесказанное, можно констатировать, что в монографии С.В. Бирюков и Е.Л. Рябова заслуживает внимания экспертного и властно-политического сообщества, а также будет интересна широкому кругу читателей.

Ключевые слова: политика, политология, Европа, социум, политические лидеры.

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**Germany, France and Eastern Europe
in the situation of choosing the path***

*Review of the monograph by S.V. Biryukov
and E.L. Ryabova “Political leaders and elites
of Europe in the situation of choosing the path
(France, Germany and Eastern Europe)”*

International publishing house “Ethnosocium” continues to publish academic works on important political issues for the entire scientific community. The monograph **“Political leaders and elites of Europe in the situation of choosing the path”** written by S.V. Biryukov and E.L. Ryabova is devoted to the very serious problems relevant not only for the Russian political science, but also for the general political and practical policy of Russia, Germany, France and Eastern Europe.

The associated with large-scale political and socio-economic challenges political and historical situation requires the political elites of the EU countries to formulate their re-

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response, taking into account the needs and interests of their societies and countries. The search for these solutions cannot be opportunistic both for the leaders of the countries from among the present and former leaders of the whole European Union (Germany, France and Italy), and for its “periphery” countries - these two sides are trying to find the way of reaction, based on their own political experience and the peculiarities of the situation in which they are.

In the present work its authors, recognized experts in this field, analyze the course and intermediate results of the extensive transformation processes that are taking place nowadays in Europe and determining the political future of entire nations. The authors are absolutely right when they argue that the elite is not a set of status features, but first of all it is the implementation of a certain mission related to the solution of the important tasks of social and political development. In this case, we are talking about political strategies and specific programs of change, on which ultimately depends not only the career of individual political leaders and so-called «ruling class», but also the political prospects of entire countries and peoples. In turn, the quality of the elite’s political choice presupposes the achievement of a certain value consensus between the elites and those who are prone to accept their motives and orientations in the field of European policy.

In particular, the current German policy may soon lose its familiar “core” and “center of the gravity “. It means serious changes not only in the political life of Germany, but also the prospects of the whole EU. In France, as a result of months of protests and the spontaneous movement of “yellow vests”, there was a situation of political stalemate - when neither the government nor the opposition, nor the leaders of the mass protests do not see specific ways to solve the problems that led to the modern crisis. The public resource on which the institutions of the Fifth Republic are based today is seen to be at

least noticeably diminished, if not exhausted. Current President of France Emanuel Macron is now in search of truly extraordinary solutions. Eastern Europe is now experiencing the rise of the “conservative wave”, differently embodied in the policies of the leaders of various countries. The latter are designed to formulate a response to cultural, migration and broader socio-economic challenges that go beyond the usual “liberal agenda”. Such a situation contains both large-scale challenges and qualitatively new opportunities for the political class of modern Austria and Hungary. A special kind of political regime established in Hungary by Viktor Orbán and its political party, and new political agenda declared by young Austrian Chancellor S. Kurtz and supporting him inter-party coalitions constitute questions still to be answered by researchers and experts.

The authors of the monograph are right in saying that the fundamental diversity of factors influencing the political choice of leaders and elites of different EU countries. Their view that political country studies have yet to reflect the complex and contradictory nature of the political transformations that have engulfed the EU also seems justified.

The diversity of political trends, which are manifested today in the European countries studied by the authors, can really cause in the foreseeable future a change in the model of development of the European Union, taken today as a basis. The opinion of the researchers about the partial interception by the European “liberal establishment” and its political representatives of the slogans of forces in opposition to pro-European priorities is now seriously confirmed. The consolidated class of politicians who believe that European integration in its current form is their historical choice and mission, gradually got rid of the shock due to the offensive by the “right-wing populists” (Brexit, the election of US President Donald Trump at the end of 2016, the recent electoral

and rating rise of the “Alternative for Germany” and Marine Le Pen in France) and relatively successfully restores its previously lost positions.

Ultimately, the authors’ accentuation of significant transitional moments of political and socio-economic development of various European societies and states allows a deeper understanding of the political prospects not only of individual countries, but also of the EU as an institutional structure as a whole. Thus, summarizing all the above, it can be stated that the monograph by S.V. Biryukov and E.L. Ryabova merits attention of the expert and power-political communities, and it will also be of interest to the general reader.

Abstracts

Lukyantsev A.S.
Ryabova E.L.

Electronic libraries: problems and prospects

In this article, the authors refer to the Russian practice of forming a single digital electronic space of the library system, highlight features of the implementation of the National Electronic Library project, identify problematic issues and emphasize the benefits of the widespread implementation of programs and projects related to providing a large-scale and unhindered access of ordinary citizens and associations, students, scientists, regardless of their social status, place of residence, occupation, income and other social activities divisions to full-text sources.

Key words: Scientific electronic library, national electronic library, citation index, RSL, abstract.

Shchuplenkov O.V.
Shchuplenkov N.O.

Modern approaches to understanding cultural ethnocentrism

The article examines various aspects of the understanding of ethnocentrism as a social manifestation of self-identification. The main approaches to understanding ethnocentrism have been revealed, both in the historical and modern research field. The importance of defining ethnocentrism as an important element in interethnic relations is underlined.

Key words: culture, ethnocentrism, personality, self-identification, social life, society.

Hartmut Elsenhans

Market or Labour Power: How to Overcome Rent

Globalization does not necessarily lead the to a world system of capitalist economies. Under the prevailing conditions of disempowerment of labor, capitalism is too weak to transform rent-based underdeveloped economies. Globalization is driven by currency devaluation which transforms new comparative advantage into cost competitiveness. The major check on devaluation, full employment does not work in most cases. In order to globalize capitalism, labor in the South would have to be empowered. At the theoretical level a neoliberal understanding of capitalism against Keynesianism blocks an understanding of the importance of mass consumption for maintaining capitalism. At the political level, mass movements where they exist in the South are captured by secular nationalism

or cultural nationalism. An increasingly fragmented multipolar system emerges where rent seeking is promoted by governments.

Key words: globalization, rent, Keynesian macroeconomics, international relations, class struggle, development.

Puzyrev K.S.

Catalonia self-determination: idea and incarnation

The article describes the difficult road of Catalonia to political self-determination. The author links the problem of self-determination of the region with the design process (recovery) Catalan identity on the basis of a special version of nationalism. He distinguishes cultural and economic stage of motion of Catalonia for self-determination, which created the pre-conditions for the transition to his final stage. Author suppose, that the final stage of this process is the political stage.

Key words: Catalonia, self-determination, autonomy, identity, nationalism, Catalan language, Catalan culture.

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Key words: politics, political science, Europe, society, political leaders.

Аннотации

Лукьянцев А.С.

Рябова Е.Л.

Электронные библиотеки: проблемы и перспективы

В данной статье авторы ссылаются на российскую практику формирования единого цифрового электронного пространства библиотечной системы, выделяют особенности реализации проекта Национальной электронной библиотеки, выявляют проблемные вопросы и подчеркивают преимущества широкого внедрения программ и проектов, связанные с обеспечением широкого и беспрепятственного доступа простых граждан и объединений. Студенты, ученые, независимо от их социального положения, места жительства, профессии, доходов и других социальных делений делятся на полнотекстовые источники.

Ключевые слова: научная электронная библиотека, национальная электронная библиотека, индекс цитирования, РГБ, аннотация.

Щупленков О.В.

Щупленков Н.О.

Современные подходы

к пониманию культурного этноцентризма

В статье рассматриваются различные аспекты понимания этноцентризма как социального проявления самоидентификации. Выявлены основные подходы к пониманию этноцентризма как в исторической, так и в современной исследовательской области. Подчеркивается важность определения этноцентризма как важного элемента межэтнических отношений.

Ключевые слова: культура, этноцентризм, личность, самоидентификация, общественная жизнь, общество.

Хартмут Эльсенханс

Надвигающаяся угроза глобализации ренты и защиты капитализма трудом

Глобализация не обязательно ведет к мировой системе капиталистических экономик. В преобладающих условиях нехватки рабочей силы капитализм слишком слаб, чтобы трансформировать слаборазвитую экономику, основанную на ренте. Глобализация обусловлена девальвацией валюты, которая превращает новое сравнительное преимущество в конкурентоспособность затрат. Основная проверка на девальвацию, полная занятость не работает в большинстве случаев. Чтобы глобализировать капитализм, труд на Юге должен быть

наделен полномочиями. На теоретическом уровне неolibеральное понимание капитализма по сравнению с кейнсианством блокирует понимание важности массового потребления для поддержания капитализма. На политическом уровне массовые движения там, где они существуют на юге, охвачены светским национализмом или культурным национализмом. Возникает все более раздробленная многопартийная система, в которой правительства поощряют поиск ренты.

Ключевые слова: глобализация, рента, кейнсианская макроэкономика, международные отношения, классовая борьба, развитие.

Пузырев К.С.

Самоопределение Каталонии: идея и ее воплощение

В статье говорится о сложном пути к политическому самоопределению. Автор увязывает проблему самоопределения этого региона с процессом конструирования (восстановления) каталонской идентичности на базе особой версии национализма. Он выделяет культурологическую и экономическую стадии движения Каталонии к самоопределению, которые создали предпосылки для перехода к завершающей стадии этого процесса – политической.

Ключевые слова: Каталония, самоопределение, автономия, идентичность, национализм, каталанский язык, каталонская культура.

Зорин В.Ю.

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