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МОЖЕТ ЛИ СОЛИДАРНОСТЬ СТАТЬ ГЛОБАЛЬНОЙ? УТОПИЯ ВОЗМОЖНА

В статье рассматривается вопрос, имеющий решающее значение для выживания человечества, сформулированный следующим образом: может ли солидарность стать глобальной? Между двумя полюсами оптимистичным и пессимистичным есть еще один аспект, заслуживающий особого внимания: это аргументы в пользу возможного. С этой точки зрения, которая была вдохновлена работой Ричарда Фалька [4], существует возможность глобальной солидарности человечества, однако вероятность того, что это произойдет не является обязательной. Автор обсуждает возможность и невозможность реализации идеи глобальной солидарности, которая стала особенно актуальной в контексте пандемии COVID-19, изменения климата и т.д. Главный аргумент состоит в том, что нынешнее положение дел, которое выглядит довольно мрачно, не предопределяет гармоничную систему международного сотрудничества. Это скорее конструктор, чем результат какого-либо «естественного закона». Более того, в истории известны эпизоды, которые доказывают, что солидарность не только возможна, но и достижима в социальной, региональной и международной сферах. Непреклонный скептицизм не проистекает из какой-либо критической проницательности. Современные проявления человеческого партикуляризма охраняются намеренно, чтобы сохранить статус-кво там, где существует социализм для богатых и капитализм для бедных.

Ключевые слова: *глобальная солидарность, международный порядок, утопия.*

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CAN SOLIDARITY GLOBALIZE? UTOPIA IS POSSIBLE

The article deals with a question of critical consequence for the human survival spelled out as: can solidarity globalize? Between the two poles of optimists and pessimists, there is one that deserves a particular attention: the case for possible-ism. In the view of this standpoint, which has been inspired by the work of Richard Falk [4], there is a possibility to globalize human solidarity, which does not necessarily imply probability it would happen. The author discusses (im) possibility of realization of the global solidarity idea, which has been particularly stressed in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, etc. The main argument is that the current state of affairs, which looks rather gloomy in terms of harmonious and cooperative international system, is not predetermined. It is a construct rather than a result of any 'natural law'. Furthermore, the history offers episodes that prove that human solidarity is not only possible, but also workable option for a societal, regional and international realm. The unyielding scepticism does not arise from any critical acumen. Contemporary expressions of human particularism have been cherished intentionally, in order to preserve the status quo where there is socialism for the rich and capitalism for the poor.

Key words: *global solidarity, international order, utopia.*

Introduction. At a glance, it seems that international solidarity as an idea and a principle has been among us for quite some time. At least, at a declaratory level... According to the UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner, "international solidarity is the expression of a spirit of unity among individuals, peoples, States and international organizations. It encompasses the union of interests, purposes and actions and the recognition of different needs and rights to achieve common goals. International solidarity is a foundational principle underpinning contemporary international law in order to preserve international order and to ensure the survival of international society." [18] Also, in his report to the Human Rights Council (A/HRC/15/32, July 2010), former independent expert Rudi Muhammad Rizki concluded that "international solidarity is a precondition to human dignity, the basis of all human rights, and a human-centred approach to development, and has a bridge-building function across all divides and distinctions. It encompasses the values of social justice and equity; goodwill among

peoples and nations, and integrity of the international community; sovereignty and sovereign equality of all States, and friendly relations among them.” [14] It seems that international solidarity encompasses all essential values of human civilization, but the analysis of each of the listed components and concepts would take volumes. Just to mention an example, one could hardly find a widely accepted definition of social justice.

In reality, it seems as if the majority of people live in a world *de facto* dominated by the TINA principle (*There Is No Alternative*) when it comes to political, economic and even cultural values (defined in accordance to the dominant Western worldview). This is, of course, not quite true, having in mind that the so-called pro-Western part of the world represents a minority (in terms of population and territory). What makes this argument sound correct is the dominant Western epistemology and the hierarchy of knowledge production. This article tries to avoid this trap and offer a different perspective of a border-thinker (in Walter Mignolo's terms), i.e. a one who thinks and analyses the world of today from the 'border region'. Truly, border thinking does not happen irrespective of modernity but in response to it, as part of real life struggles against the oppressive apparatus of the colonial matrix of power. Thus, "border thinking is the epistemology of the exteriority; that is, of the outside created from the inside" [10].

The endeavour of criticizing and challenging the idea of "one-size-fits-all" paradigms in economy, politics, culture and/or social sphere, and furthermore envisaging a better world of tomorrow calls for great (personal and collective) courage, particularly in the so-called border-regions and border-thinkers. No wonder, those who dare imagine and work for a different world are ridiculed or demonized as enemies of the "most perfect world of all". The critique is welcome and allowed mostly if it is not too radical (i.e. does not go deep to the root causes of the present inequalities and suffering) and if it comes mostly from the Western ('more civilized') part of the world. On the other hand, the dominant knowledge matrix have left us with no semantics and vocabulary to express new ideas without them being seen as empty phrases or to be dismissed as impossible utopias. In that sense, Keller is right pointing out that "even the language needed to express such a 'great transition' struggles to capture the requisite global solidarity. The notion of the global must constantly be distinguished from neoliberalism, the globalism that drives the individualism of capitalism. At the same time, a progressive, planet-embracing globality must be distinguished from modern universalisms that unify an empowered "we" against some not-quite-human race, gender, or nationality, or that homogenize human differences." [7]

Thus any critique or alternative is seen as an inimical act towards the existing utopia or as a ridiculous and non-scientific/non-academic way of thinking. The Borg's chant from the *Star Tracks: The Next generation* series "resistance is futile" is the subtle message sent from power centres. Militarization has been normalized on a global level, but starting from the bottom, from the school sys-

tem upwards. Elaborating this idea, Merje Kuus [8] deconstructs the existing *cosmopolitan militarism*. She particularly analyses how NATO uses globalist spatial imaginaries to frame military approaches to political problems as enlightened and good (as well as necessary). The promised cosmopolitan subjectivity produces a teleological narrative of a natural progression in which political actors gradually transcend their national contexts and come to see NATO as well as themselves as promoters of cosmopolitan peace (p. 559) [8]. In a nutshell, this legitimization process echoes Orwellian ‘logic’.

It is how the imagination of ‘another now’ - to refer to the latest book of Yanis Varoufakis [19], which is in the genre of science fiction - is kept imprisoned. The aim of this social construct (or maybe even a sort of a social contract) is to silence and discourage any thoughtful, rebellious and critical minds (and groups), who would challenge the state of affairs based on free market economy, liberal political system, membership to NATO and EU, etc. However, the history has taught us that it is impossible to achieve total obedience everywhere, any time and with all people.

Tony Judt [6] described modern captive minds (which, of course, exist both in the ‘West’ and in the ‘East’) in the following way:

“But the true mental captivity of our time lies elsewhere. Our contemporary faith in “the market” rigorously tracks its radical nineteenth-century doppelgänger – the unquestioning belief in necessity, progress, and History. ... But ‘the market’ – like ‘dialectical materialism’ – is just an abstraction: at once ultra-rational (its argument trumps all) and the acme of unreason (it is not open to question). It has its true believers – mediocre thinkers by contrast with the founding fathers, but influential withal; its fellow travellers – who may privately doubt the claims of the dogma but see no alternative to preaching it; and its victims, many of whom in the US especially have dutifully swallowed their pill and proudly proclaim the virtues of a doctrine whose benefits they will never see... Above all, the thrall in which an ideology holds a people is best measured by their collective inability to imagine alternatives. We know perfectly well that untrammelled faith in unregulated markets kills: the rigid application of what was until recently the “Washington consensus” in vulnerable developing countries – with its emphasis on tight fiscal policy, privatization, low tariffs, and deregulation – has destroyed millions of livelihoods.”

Global Solidarity as Seen from the Global South: The people from the so-called Global South (i.e. the non-Western world – i.e. something that has nothing to do with the level of development, education or wellbeing) have much to say about the past, present, and future of the world. Most of all, the non-Western part(s) of the world bear historical experiences and inherited knowledge of the lack of global solidarity. Being on the ‘recipient side’ usually means being given a lower profile, disrespected and even discriminated both in practice and in terms of knowledge epistemology (if not totally subdued). The crumbs of charity, assistance and empathy is what is usually seen as ‘solidarity’ with less fortunate ones.

Strangely, even the ones who used to live in an acting utopia of former Yugoslavia have almost forgotten the unique experiences of socialism with a human face, non-aligned foreign policy, self-management and the culture of peace they grew up with. The free and universal health care along with the free and equally accessible education and retirement systems were all based on the solidarity principle. Also even today's traces of intrinsic solidarity (among the elderly generations) with the Palestinians, Iraqis or any other oppressed groups comes from the school system based on values of non-enmity and antimilitarism, global solidarity and belief in international law.

Yugoslavia was far from a perfect country (or a state system). Yet it was the closest realization of the ideals of the Paris Commune – or at least, that was the official and dominant narrative, which was present also in the educational system. The Yugoslav leadership took a position of thinking beyond the two dominant mantras during the Cold War period: i.e. the Western capitalism and individualism and the Eastern state socialism and collectivism. The peace researcher Hakan Wiberg once compared Yugoslavia (with its internal diversities and contradictions) to a flawed butterfly that was not meant to fly – but it did not know that, so it flew for several decades [17]. Decades later, the Yugoslav successor states and elites (mostly with corrupted and blood-stained hands) almost overnight embraced the TINA principle and introduced a new politics of memory with an aim to make any past achievement and legacy obsolete and non-inspirational. The so-called international community has been insisting on the heavy feeling of guilt, shame and self-blame for the bloody conflicts of the 1990-ies. Instead of imprisoned imagination, here one can talk of killed imagination (and utopia). The public health system (once one of the best in Europe) is now collapsing under the pressure of the COVID-19 pandemic, while the private sector is gaining profit from human misery. The privatization of public services is nothing new, as the new liberal democratic system was established on the ground of the false premise that public good is a collectivistic idea, thus obsolete and non-liberal one. The desert of post-communism is a result of promotion of privatization of the collective and public goods at the expense of the (alleged) personal freedom and liberty [5]. The transition process produced *nouveau riche* on one hand, and a vast majority of poor citizens, on the other.

How to interpret and change the world? With a 'blasphemous' intellectual position, one can hardly talk on behalf of the majority in the region. The majority, especially among the Western educated and/or oriented younger generations, de facto have readily joined what Jan Oberg rightly dubs Military-Industrial-Media-Academic-Entertainment Complex (MIMAEC) [12]. The story of academia and knowledge production is a particularly sad one. Antonio Gramsci would have much to say about today's hegemony, domination, intellectual and moral leadership – and about the pervasive obedience [3]. The problem is that few of the younger scholars have even heard of him and his ideas, because they are

too dangerous and incompatible with ‘our strategic goals of joining NATO and EU’. There is an organic relationship between knowledge and power, and that historical symbiosis is evolving and mutating. There is nothing novel under sun about that – what is interesting is the almost total mesmerizing with Western values and absence of any revolt against dominant forms of knowledge. Epistemic disobedience is hardly possible given its high costs in terms of societal prestige, material and career benefits. All empires have produced knowledge that is compatible with their imperial interests, but today’s knowledge takes form of disposable knowledge, in the words of Hamid Dabashi, which is produced at US and European think tanks. It is interested knowledge manufactured purposefully and then saturating into the public domain. This is ‘fast knowledge’ produced on the model of ‘fast food’ [2].

Under such circumstances, for many of us it is of utmost importance to evoke Karl Marx’s warning from 1852: “Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living.” [9]. It seems that the nations of former Yugoslavia, for instance, have given up the positive and even heroic achievements of their predecessors, and instead embraced the traditions of the past generations in the West as guidance for the allegedly inevitable (bright) future. Instead of seeking friends and showing empathy and solidarity with the ones who are in a more miserable position, they have been confronted with enemies at home and abroad (in the non-Western parts of the world), take part in imperial endeavours of our new colonial masters, and teach the children that war is peace and peace is war. However, a group of younger researchers of ex-YU origin and with Western education have recently launched the project *Yugosplaining the World*. The idea is Gramscian in its essence: “Yugosplaining in our work is meant to counter forms of westernsplaining, to which we have long been subjected.” [16]. These voices dissent against the collective erasures, as they put it “denials of anything good in our past, analytical refusals to engage with complexities of Yugoslav history(ies), forgetting of the Yugoslav global role, simultaneous exclusions and inclusions of Yugoslavia from the rest of the post-communist world (as convenient for particular meta-narratives of liberal triumph, NATO expansion, EU integration etc.)” [16].

Yugoslav version of self-management (in economic, political and societal terms) used to be a school of participatory democracy and mutual solidarity among the members of the community/communities of Yugoslavia and with the wide world. Today, it is egoism, competition and self-interests that are the driving forces for the new generation of ‘entrepreneurs’. The real challenge is: how to work subversively, especially from within academia. Planting the seeds of critical thinking and dissent is essential, and yet possible: step by step, day by day, patiently and stubbornly against the mainstream.

Without personal freedom and self-awareness of the pandemic of inequality that has preceded the COVID-19 pandemic for so long, there can be no collective action in solidarity and for a common goal. The promotion of various forms of global solidarity is a luxury of rare (yet courageous) people able and free enough to appeal for global cause of solidarity. There is an obvious discrepancy of thinking of what global solidarity really means, and if it is impossible on a local, national or (only) global levels. Some thinkers argue that “inasmuch as human solidarity does not globalize, it fails to exist. A solidarity of the human is by definition global, for this species has long been spread around the globe. Human solidarity – not divisible into colored fragments denoting countries on a world map or into solidifications of one human collective over against another – is necessarily planetwide.” [7]. No matter how truthful this position sounds, one should or better – must not disregard and disrespect the crucial efforts on a micro level, where human life takes place on a daily basis and where ideas of humanity is first learned and cherished. They may not be visible and acknowledged widely but they are not less important than any global initiatives. Solidarity grows from within small communities, and only then expand and embrace wider spaces of our Earthland [13]. But those small heroes often need moral and intellectual support, to say the least. The resistance against social injustices is well-alive despite the grim general picture of the world, and it lives in the small pockets of (any) society. It calls for a trigger to be awakened – such as mass tragedies and misfortunes. Even the once war-ravaged part of former Yugoslavia still has the potential to provide for an outburst of mass solidarity in a time of need (be they floods, earthquakes, or something similar). Bearing in mind that all these apparently natural catastrophes are in essence a result of social decay and structural violence embedded in unjust and repressive institutional arrangements, this is obviously not enough. Solidarity could be sustainable only if institutionalized and yet not alienated from the people the system should serve at first place.

It seems as if the smaller the world becomes, the less we know about each other. Even the region I used to belong is not a real region anymore – it looks more as a battlefield of various geopolitical forces. People are self-absorbed with the daily effects of the ‘Leviathan’ in their neighbourhoods, and the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence. There could be no solidarity, regionally or globally, without getting to know each other.

Love and Solidarity in Time of COVID-19. In April 2020, Arundathi Roy [15] hoped that the pandemic was a portal, i.e. a gateway between one world and the next. Indeed, the world is changing even faster than we thought, but there is no guarantee that the results would be on the positive side. The COVID-19 pandemic, and particularly the vaccines issue is just an imminent test for everything else: if we manage to disempower Big Pharma, then anything else will be possible. Our common struggle for a better world should be carried out on many levels and in many forms. We should combine Gramsci’s notion of counter-hegemony

(the creation of an alternative that would confront the dominant cultural hegemony and MIMAEK that have penetrated deeply especially in the educational system) in preparation for radical political change with Varoufakis' warning that the world is moving towards techno-feudalism. Obviously, this is (again) a time of monsters and we need to synthesize the feelings of pessimism and optimism, and to transcend them in a Gramscian way: while our minds may be pessimistic, we should mobilize as many people with strong and optimistic wills as possible.

What should be our common and most urgent goals in this endeavour? Palestine and the pandemic management come first to mind: these urgent affairs combine the local with planetary! Stop for Israeli apartheid and making COVID-19 vaccines (and eventually cures) a global public good. The next step should be universal health care, along with the universal basic income. The global civil society (not the one deliberately created and funded by power centres in order to promote liberal agenda – or better, to sustain the status quo) is to reclaim its independence from any limitations imposed by the 'geopolitical logic' and 'realism'. Free market, neoliberal status quo, militaristic interventionism 'for the sake of humanitarianism, and R2P' – are not outcomes of any natural laws; they are all man-made and their sustainability depend *inter alia* on current hegemony of knowledge.

Wo/men should re-shape the world with the bottom-up approach. Many of us are at the age that does not allow us to seek the impossible as the youngsters in 1968 – but many of us have witnessed 'miracles', realistic utopias on a smaller or a wider level. As someone coming from the academic community (which is hardly a community at all) I would like to see scholars engaged out of the rigid and mentally unhealthy position of seeking career for the sake of career ("publish or perish" is just an expression for that apparently nice cage that keeps the most capable and brilliant minds out of the real life and struggle for Good and Justice. Any of us could start with one's own doubts, ambitions and embedded obstacles, because "Theory is always for someone, and for some purpose" [1. P. 126-155]. Let's then work on a different theory of everything, let's reimagine and adopt sense of possibility, because There Are Thousands of Alternatives (TATA) principle should be our guiding star. By labelling something as utopia we immediately give up the sense of possible-ism. Actually, we have no other choice but to embark on the path fuelled by necessity and desire, without being ashamed by our inherent need to dream and work for a better world. Radmila Nakarada is right arguing that the question "Can solidarity be globalized?" is simultaneously "a question of to what extent have we deciphered the world in which we live, where we can locate the hidden energies of resistance and collective action, and whether the clear articulation of new theoretical insights, beyond ethical and political appeals, can become a "material force," a transformative contribution to the emergence of movements devoted to the recreation of spaces of collective action and solidarity." [11] While being guided by TATA principle, there is just one thing we are not allowed to disregard: the bio-political imperatives that imperil human survival and ecological balance call for unprecedented cooperative energies turned loose.

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