Radomir Bolgov · Vadim Atnashev ·
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Proceedings of Topical Issues in International Political Geography (TIPG 2022)

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TIPG 2022 Preface

Abstract This proceedings book contains the papers accepted for the International Conference "Topical Issues of International Political Geography" (TIPG-2022). The book focuses on specific aspects of contemporary political geography and international relations, as well as provides a platform for discussion and collaboration of academicians and experts in the fields of Political Geography, Human Geography, Globalization, Regionalism, Migration, Sustainable Development, International Relations, Geopolitics, Cultural Policy and other related areas of studies.

Keywords Political geography; Human geography; Globalization; Regionalism; Migration; Sustainable development; International relations; Geopolitics; Cultural policy

On December 23, 2022, the International Conference "Topical Issues of International Political Geography" (TIPG 2022) was held in St Petersburg (Russia). This proceedings book consists of the papers accepted by the Program Committee of the TIPG 2022. This book addresses the main issues of contemporary political geography and international relations, as well as provides a platform for discussion and collaboration of experts in the fields of Political Geography, Geopolitics, International Relations, etc. Participants from all over the world consider the controversies and challenges posed by globalization, focusing, in particular, on the ideologies of globalization and regionalism, migration crises, prevention of ethnic conflicts and measures to promote sustainable development. The content of the book may be interesting to expert community, academics and popular audience.

The Program Committee comprising of the recognized researchers from 15 countries had conducted a rigorous peer review. One of the unique characteristics of this book is that it gathers under conceptual umbrella Western and Eastern experts.

Sociological Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences is the main organizer of the event held in cooperation with Peter the Great St Petersburg Polytechnic University.

The previous proceedings of 2019–2021 contain the titles of parts I–IV and VI. Discussion has generated new works collected in the TIPG 2022 proceedings under this umbrella. By the way, TIPG 2022 discovered new directions for the studies. The titles of part V are new topics of TIPG.

The chapters of the Part I "International Relations" cover such issues of international relations as city diplomacy, parliamentary diplomacy, transport cooperation, oil and gas politics, etc. The main idea of the part is to discuss effects of global issues on the international relations and effects of international relations on the global issues. The geographic space is a background for this discussion. Some studies represent the international platforms as a context of politico-geographical processes (for instance, the European Union as a platform for countries cooperation). The chapters of the part discuss the international security issues related to the power distribution depending on the geographic location.

The chapters of the Part II "Ideologies of regionalism and globalization in historical context. Philosophy of politics" focus on the spatial aspects of two parallel processes – globalization and regionalism. The authors discuss the effects of globalization on the ideology, identity, and symbolics of the nations and communities. The authors discuss such trendy phenomena and processes as digital sovereignty, electoral geography, etc. The context of the part is designed by historical framework of geographical issues with the use of historical geographical approach to studying the politics.

Part III "Administrative Culture, Political Institutions and National Policies" moves from cases at the national level to the local one. The chapters cover such issues of domestic politics as maritime policies, government policies towards ethnic groups, ideologies of public serving, elections, etc. The part contains a set of cases for comparative analysis focused on national cases. The contemporary background is the COVID pandemic.

The chapters of the Part IV "Geography of Culture, Sport and Tourism" represent the culture as a factor of geography (for instance, international cultural exchanges, cultural policy, etc.). The chapters pay special attention to education as an instrument of cultural policy. What are the China's interests in the Russian Arctic tourism? What are the prospects of international cultural relations after the COVID-19 pandemic? The part is intended to answer these and other questions.

Part V "Conflicts and Security" discusses the international and domestic security issues related to the power distribution depending on the geographic location. The chapters study Western (Europe) and Eastern (China and Central Asia) countries cases, as well as non-traditional threats to national and international security, including migration security.

Finally, the chapters of the Part VI "Sustainable Development" present the studies of international organizations and countries activities in the field of sustainable development as well as theoretical issues (for instance, the concept of environmental security). The authors analyzed the cases of international organizations (the European Union), as well as national cases (for instance, China, Russia and the USA).

We would like to thank those who made this event possible and successful. We especially express our gratitude to the Program Committee members for their contribution to the event. We thank the authors for submitting their papers. We are proud to attract a great team of scholars from different countries and disciplines. We will work further to sustain and expand the TIPG community through joint research and collaboration.

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International Relations

The Northern Sea Route: Aren't Expectations Too High?

Yuriy Gladkiy, Vasiliy Martynov, Viacheslav Sukhorukov, and Irina Sazonova

Abstract The climatic fluctuations of recent decades and the processes of deglaciation in the Arctic zone have caused a wave of increased interest in the Northern Sea Route. Some authors associate it with the future of world transport; others consider it only a grandiose design. Among the obvious advantages of the Northern Sea Route (NSR) are a reduction in the length of existing routes to Europe and, as a result, a reduction in transport costs, ensuring better preservation of perishable goods, and improving the safety of ships due to the absence of maritime piracy and the refusal to maintain security fleets. The main emphasis in the article is on the less deeply analyzed shipping risk factors in the literature related to the ice situation and shallow waters of the Arctic seas, the unsatisfactory state of navigation support for ports, and their insufficiency to ensure large-scale flows of commercial shipping, with aggravated geopolitical conflicts, legislative obstacles, as well as the possible negative impact of the commercialization of NSR on the ecological environment. It is noted that the fate of the Northern Sea Route, in one way or another, is connected with the answers to the following difficult questions: How to interpret the ideas of "justified" and "unreasonable" internationalization of the Arctic? Will a vast deepsea region of the seabed appear in the central basin of the Northern Ocean as part of the navigable space? Does the Arctic need a comprehensive regime regulating the activities of states, following the example of the Antarctic Treaty? What is the optimal balance between national, regional, and broader international regulation of cooperation between states and their activities in the region, etc.? The threat of a strong depreciation of Russia's efforts to modernize the shipping route due to sanction restrictions, especially due to the Western countries imposed on Russia in 2022, is emphasized. In this regard, the authors see a real chance in the implementation of the NSR project in a "truncated" version in the cooperation of the efforts of Russia and China.

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1 Introduction

The list of publications covering the problem of the Northern Sea Route is "off the scale," which may give the impression that the topic is close to its exhaustion. The fallacy of this is confirmed at least by the fact that the ice route still does not even have single fixed routes. Depending on the physical conditions, they can, for example, run both north of the Novaya and Severnaya Zemlya archipelagos and in the immediate vicinity of the continental coast, which is why the length of the path ranges from 2.2 to 3 thousand km [14]. Many issues of hydrology, glaciology, permafrost studies, seabed tectonics, imperative environmental safety of Arctic territories, etc. need much deeper understanding.

Countries maneuvering between the principle of sectoral division of the Arctic and the principle of its internationalization remain far from reaching a legal consensus. The discourse about the existence of certain existential rights and obligations of the Arctic countries in the region is not finished. There is no single interpretation of the norms of international law governing the legal grounds for peaceful passage through the territorial seas of the Russian Federation and Canada. The 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea does not at all embody the entire international law of the sea (some of its norms continue to retain the form of international custom), especially since not all Arctic states have ratified this document so far. Thus, the only state from the Arctic states that has not "ratified" the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea is the United States. The list of "hanging in the air" questions can be continued.

It is not difficult to understand the authors of numerous publications in Russia that express pronounced optimistic views on the prospects for the development of the NSR, positioning it as a full-fledged competitor to the Suez Canal [15, 29 et al.]. On their side is the fact of global warming, savings in transportation costs, the growing activity of gas and oil companies in the Russian Arctic and Yamal, the presence of the world's most powerful icebreaker fleet, to which more than ten more are planned to be added to the existing nuclear-powered ships, etc. However, there is an underestimation of numerous factors limiting the implementation of the project. Among them, it is particularly problematic today to attract major global carriers to the activities of the NSR, which are able to participate in the drawing up of a schedule for the movement of ships along the Arctic route. Low demand for transportation will certainly reduce the expected benefits of operating the route to a minimum.

2 Northern Sea Route Survey: Methodology

The contours of the unfolding discussion on the Arctic agenda hardly need to be specified for specialists. They mostly coincide with the prospects for economic activity in the region, which have opened up thanks to the melting of the multi-year ice cover unprecedented in recent history. The prospects of exploration and production of hydrocarbon and other mineral resources, the expansion of fishing, and, of course, shipping are associated with warming. In parallel, the emerging serious challenges associated with the establishment and delimitation of the outer limits of the continental shelf of the Arctic states, the idea of "internationalization" of Arctic exploration, and the inevitable increase in anthropogenic pressure on fragile Arctic ecosystems are analyzed.

The implementation of almost any economic project in the Russian Arctic is unthinkable without the use of the Northern Sea Route [30]. In this regard, a whole "fan" of methodological issues arises, on the resolution of which the fate of the NSR will enlarge:

- How to interpret the ideas of "justified" and "unreasonable" internationalization of the Arctic?
- Will there be a deep-sea region of the seabed with an area of 2.85 km^2 in the central basin of the Arctic Ocean, which can become part of the navigable space?
- How to assess the task formulated in the Development Strategy of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation to contain the "unjustified internationalization of the Arctic"?
- Does the Arctic need a comprehensive regime regulating the activities of states following the example of the Antarctic Treaty? If not, what will the alternative system of international regulation and management in the Arctic look like?
- What is the optimal balance between national, regional, and broader international regulation of cooperation between states and their activities in the region?
- If non-Arctic states can participate in the development of the Arctic, then under what conditions, and also where is the balance of rights and responsibilities of coastal Arctic and non-Arctic states? [3, 16, 26, 27].

The topic of the Northern Sea Route, to one degree or another, is related to the answers to these difficult questions, although it, of course, includes many others related to the assessment of the impact of extreme natural conditions on the navigation regime, the problem of preserving vulnerable Arctic ecosystems (including issues of marine debris, oil spills, pollution from ships, transboundary movement waste, etc.), logistics solutions, and the problem of rescue operations.

The scientific literature on the NSR problem is abundant and diverse. Among the landmark works that are directly or closely related to the topic and contributed to the development of our methodological guidelines, we will mention, first of all, the works [4, 17, 25].

3 Research Results

3.1 Natural Restrictions, Environmental Concerns

There is a lot of convincing evidence that accurate forecasts of the state of shipping lanes in the Arctic in the mid- to late twenty-first century are difficult due to the complexity of complex accounting for a number of climatic, glaciological, hydrological, and other factors [15]. It is clear that the traditional extrapolation of the current shifts in the ice situation and temperature regime until the end of the century, even with the use of the most modern mathematical models, is unlikely to provide reliable long-term forecasts. Moments of uncertainty are created, in particular, by the poorly predicted process of water exchange between the Arctic and the North Atlantic due to ocean currents. Naturally, the warming will contribute to an increase in the temperatures of the surface waters of the Arctic (especially in the zone of influence of the warm Norwegian current) and accelerate the melting of ice in the western part of the Russian Arctic. The processes of melting of drifting ice can also be stimulated by the formation of wormwood in the estuaries of Siberian rivers, especially in the conditions of the polar day.

A completely different forecast of the development of the ice situation in the Arctic is associated with the statement about the inevitable cyclical trend of a decrease in the value of the solar constant, which, of course, will lead to a decrease in the supply of solar heat to the Earth. According to one of the authors of this position, the beginning of the deep cooling phase is timed to approximately 2060 ± 11 years, which threatens not only the deterioration of ice conditions in the Arctic but also the complete cessation of any work in this region [1].

In any case, inflated expectations from year-round navigation on NSR routes can be seriously shaken due to difficult to predict climatic fluctuations.

Of course, there are other natural limitations that can seriously complicate navigation processes. Among them is the shallowness of some seas. It is known that as a result of the postglacial transgression, the Arctic shelf was covered with water and only its elevated areas remained above sea level in the form of islands. Thus, the wiring of vessels (especially tankers) with a large draft will require very costly dredging operations from the Russian Federation, especially in the waters of the absolute majority of Arctic ports.

The real danger in the process of NSR development is the destruction of Arctic ecosystems. The limiting factors in Arctic marine ecosystems are low water temperature and a short period of photosynthetic activity of producers. Low water temperatures limit biological diversity. Oil spills may turn out to be a kind of Arctic "apocalypse" in this regard, both due to accidents of large-capacity tankers and its offshore production. Of course, today, this problem looks speculative, firstly, because of the small scale of NSR operation and, secondly, only one deep-water oil field is being developed in the Russian Arctic using the Prirazlomnaya drilling platform.

Humanity is well aware of one of the largest man-made disasters with a negative impact on the environment associated with the explosion on the Deepwater Horizon floating drilling rig in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010. Then, in 152 days, about five million barrels of oil poured out of the well into the gulf, and the spot reached an area of 75 thousand km^2 (Reference, Michel et al. 2013). Numerous underwater oil plumes up to 16 km long, up to 5 km wide, and 90 m thick were formed. As a result of the oil spill, 1770 km of the coast was polluted, fishing was banned, and more than a third of the entire Gulf of Mexico water area was closed for fishing [11]. The spill posed a real threat to more than 400 species of animals, including dolphins and whales. An increase in cetacean mortality in the north of the Gulf of Mexico has been recorded several times in comparison with the previous 2002–2009 years [8]. In addition, the man-made disaster caused enormous economic damage to both the United States and other Gulf countries.

Although the productive horizons of the Prirazlomnaya deposit, related to Permian-Carboniferous deposits, lie at intervals at a depth of 2300–2700 m, the extraction technology here is fundamentally different from the extraction process in the Gulf of Mexico. Since the depth of the sea at the deposit is small, only 20 m, it is installed directly on the bottom. Thus, all the wells of Prirazlomnaya are located directly inside the platform and do not come into contact with water, and its base is simultaneously a buffer between the well and the open sea. Deep-sea oil production is carried out in the Gulf of Mexico – the distance between the drill and the well can be hundreds of meters; they are connected by a complex intermediate structure.

Nevertheless, the implementation of the NSR project with a hydrocarbon "profile" is fraught with the danger of oil contamination of Arctic waters. At the same time, we are not necessarily talking about tanker accidents. Oil spills occur at any stage of production, storage or transportation of hydrocarbons. Potential sources of contamination may be leaks from underwater pipelines or storage tanks for petroleum products and well gushing during underwater exploration or production. Polar night, drifting ice, low temperatures, and extreme storms can aggravate the consequences of oil spills, which are more difficult to eliminate in the Arctic than in other regions. According to the authors of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) Report on the problems of oil spills in the Arctic seas, the only way to avoid the devastating consequences of such spills is to suspend the development of new offshore oil fields in the Arctic until effective ways to eliminate spills are developed [20].

3.2   Arctic Ports: Real State

The state of Russia's Arctic ports can be assessed today based on various criteria: their technical and technological equipment, the ability to handle the ever-increasing cargo flow, the availability of appropriate infrastructure, etc. In this regard, most ports remain perhaps the weakest link of SMR. Due to the lack of funds, the modernization of the technical equipment of the ports has not been carried out for

decades, dredging work has not been carried out on the approaches to them, and some ports on the estuaries of rivers have simply lost their significance.

Among the problems that can seriously limit the navigation capabilities of SMR, we note, first of all, the quantitative insufficiency of existing ports to ensure large-scale flows of commercial shipping. Of the 18 ports located in the Arctic basin of Russia, within the waters of the SMR, i.e., between the Novozemelsky Strait and the Bering Strait, there are only 5 – Sabetta, Dixon, Khatanga, Tiksi, and Pevek. In this capacity, the port of Igarka, located in the lower reaches of the Yenisei River, can also be considered, although legally it is not part of the Northern Sea Route. Thus, each of the six mentioned ports accounts for about a thousand kilometers of the SMR route, which is clearly not enough for navigation safety.

Legally, the "sea terminals" that are geographically remote from them are also included in the composition of these ports of ship parking places (e.g., the port of Tiksi includes the "sea terminal" Zeleny Cape, located in the lower reaches of the Kolyma River). There are also "port points" (small ports designed exclusively to provide "northern delivery"), but their number is small, and they cannot be considered full-fledged ports.

The second acute problem of all six ports of the Northern Sea Route is their shallow waters. Most of the modern large merchant ships simply will not be able to enter their mooring walls. So, for example, the maximum dimensions of ships for Tiksi are as follows: draft 3.9 m, length 129.5 m, and width 15.8 m. The characteristics of the standard "Panamax," the most common type of merchant marine vessels at present, are as follows: maximum draft 12 m, width 32.3 m, and length 294.1 m [9]. Such a vessel will not be able not only to enter the port of Tiksi but even to approach it. There is no question at all about larger vessels (post-Panamax, new-Panamax, etc.). The exception is the Dudinka seaport and the newest port of Sabetta by the time of construction. Information about the navigation characteristics of the ports of the Northern Sea Route is given in Table 1.

Two of the six ports – Sabetta and Dudinka – are suitable for the entry of vessels of the Panamax type. At the same time, the Sabetta port is specially built for the dimensions of the Panamax; its depths and approaches to the berths are provided due to expensive and complex hydraulic engineering works. Both ports are specialized; liquefied natural gas is exported through Sabetta; the port of Dudinka works to meet the needs of the Norilsk Nickel concern. In other words, the entry of merchant

Table 1 Characteristics of the Northern Sea Navigation Port Route [10]

Port	Maximum draft of the vessel	Maximum length of the vessel	Maximum width of the vessel
Sabetta	12	315	50
Dixon	8	100	20
Dudinka	11.8	260.3	32.2
Khatanga	4.17	136	17.5
Tiksi	3.9	129.5	15.8
Pevek	9	172.2	24.55

ships transiting the Northern Sea Route into most of its ports is physically impossible, and in those ports where these vessels can enter, their calls are meaningless from an economic point of view.

The third problem of SMR ports is the obsolescence of port equipment. Most of it (with the exception of Sabetta) has not been updated since Soviet times. Hydraulic engineering works in their water area have not been carried out since the 1990s of the twentieth century. A significant part of the mooring front has collapsed over 30 years of desolation. In the most recent years, something has been restored, but much has been lost forever. Of course, there are plans to expand the entire marine infrastructure.

3.3 Possibilities of Rescue Operations

The hydrotechnical and technological condition of the ports is closely related to the problem of rescue operations. Currently, rescue activities in the Russian Arctic are provided by the Northern Branch of the Maritime Rescue Service (part of the Ministry of Transport), based in Murmansk. Within the SMR route, there are year-round units of this service in the ports of Sabetta and Dixon; in the summer such units are located in Pevek and Tiksi. Thus, almost 6000 km of the Northern Sea Route account for four rescue units in summer and two in winter. Moreover, these units are deployed only in ports, and they can provide assistance only if the ship is wrecked either in the port or near it.

If the vessel is in an emergency on the SMR route, then the path of the rescue vessel can reach hundreds of kilometers, i.e., most often the maritime rescue operation will be delayed. Of course, the crew of an emergency vessel can be evacuated with the help of aviation, but it should be borne in mind that the vessel and cargo will be lost. It will be impossible to deliver a shipwrecked or lost course to the shore, especially at a time when the Arctic Ocean and its seas are covered with ice. And the vessel may lose its course due to a variety of reasons: from the unsuitability of the fuel and lubricants used for Arctic conditions and icing to the inability of the crew of an ordinary merchant vessel to perform their official duties due to very cold and windy weather, completely unusual for most people.

The construction of rescue stations between ports, currently proposed [28], is very difficult for financial reasons and is unlikely to help in solving the problem of rescue operations. True, such stations can be used for their own purposes by different departments (the Ministry of Emergency Situations, the Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Defense, etc.), but this will not make their construction and maintenance cheaper. At each such point, it will be necessary to keep several helicopters and airplanes, with pilots on duty on shifts, and personnel servicing aircraft equipment and the airfield (helipad).

They must have their own hydrometeorological service, snow-clearing equipment, a shift rescue group with appropriate equipment, a mobile and equipped medical team, as well as a radar group that provides tracking of ships and aircraft located

in the area of responsibility of this station. Reliable communication is needed that supports communication with ships and aircraft in the area of responsibility of the station on the one hand and the "mainland" on the other. Finally, such a station must have a self-service system that ensures its existence (fleet, warehouses, canteens, repair and construction, energy, and sanitary services). If, for example, hovercrafts or other sea vessels are included in such stations, then this will also require the organization of its own port facilities.

At the same time, the weather conditions in the Arctic are such that sometimes aviation cannot take to the air for weeks due to weather conditions, and ships without icebreaking wiring cannot go to sea for months. If a shipwreck happens at such a time (as it usually happens), then the benefits of the rescue station will be far from complete. The first inevitable disaster with a frozen foreign container ship or tanker will lead to a sharp decline in interest in the transit use of the Northern Sea Route, and two or three such disasters will make its use questionable [18].

3.4   Costs of Navigation Support

In modern conditions, navigation is provided mostly with the help of electronic navigation systems. However, in the conditions of the Arctic, their full use is not always possible and not everywhere. Mobile communication on the route of the Northern Sea Route currently operates very locally, only within a few settlements, respectively; there is no deployed mobile navigation here. Satellite navigation is functioning. Control and correction stations of the Russian GLONASS navigation system are installed on the coast of the Arctic Ocean seas, but the density of these stations along the route of the Northern Sea Route decreases from west to east. The GPS system also works.

There are great difficulties with hydrometeorological observations due to the small number of polar stations on the route of the Northern Sea Route and meteorological satellites over the Arctic Ocean. The number of polar stations was greatly reduced in the 1990s and subsequent years, and the creation of a hydrometeorological orbital grouping over the Arctic is just beginning. In February 2021, the first and so far the only satellite "Arctic-M" was launched, the official purpose of which is hydrometeorological support of navigation along the Northern Sea Route. At the same time, the launch of new satellites does not compensate for the termination of the activities of previously launched hydrometeorological devices. One should not lose sight of the fact that the orbital groupings of all space powers provide navigation along the more familiar sea trade routes for navigators.

A sharp decrease in the number of polar stations (almost half) reduced the quality of weather forecasts and negatively affected the organization of navigation activities of the Northern Sea Route. So, in November 2021, more than 20 vessels were stuck on the eastern section of the Northern Sea Route, and 1 of the main reasons for this was an incorrect forecast of the ice situation [19]. It is obvious that with the

current system of hydrometeorological observations on the Northern Sea Route, the number of incorrect forecasts is unlikely to decrease.

It will not be possible to quickly increase the number of polar stations – the closed ones have already collapsed. In addition, trained personnel are required to work at the stations, and the system of their training is also significantly deformed. The training of hydrometeorological specialists in secondary vocational education institutions has practically been discontinued.

Based on this, we have to state the lack of the necessary infrastructure and personnel of polar stations. Their restoration and development, vital for high-quality navigation along the Northern Sea Route, are doubtful in the coming years.

3.5 Geopolitics Versus Geoeconomics

Among the factors that can minimize the efficiency of the Northern Sea Route, geopolitics should be mentioned. It reflects the growing military and political importance of the Arctic – a zone of intersection of interests not only of circumpolar countries. A glance at the geographical map shows that the Arctic shipping routes encircle territories that are extremely important for Russia's strategic security. This circumstance leaves a special imprint on cooperation in the development of Arctic shipping with the leading countries of the world – Western, belonging to the NATO bloc, and Eastern, especially with China and Japan [31].

Already during the Second World War, the USSR authorities were aware of the fact that the extreme natural conditions of the North ceased to be a reliable shield covering the state after a sharp turn in international relations caused by the onset of the Cold War era. Minds were agitated by the directive of the Joint Committee of the US Military Command No. 432/D of December 14, 1945, which stated that "the only weapon that the US can effectively use for a decisive blow to the main centers of the USSR are atomic bombs delivered by long-range aircraft" [21, p. 115–116]. Military strategists proceeded from the fact that the policy of "massive retaliation," based on the use of strategic aviation, could most successfully be implemented through the most accessible "Arctic" directions (from Alaska, Greenland, Norway, etc.).

Accordingly, the Soviet Union began the construction of unpaved airfields in the Arctic in permafrost conditions. By the early 1960s, at least 16 such sites had been built (including the northernmost airfield in the USSR – Nagurskoye on Alexandra Land, part of Franz Josef Land) [22]. Some of them are being reconstructed today so that the restored runways can be used for refueling by strategic bombers Tu-22, Tu-95, and Tu-1602 [31]. The exercises of the armed forces of the Russian Federation, unprecedented for the Arctic, are being held.

The United States is also actively increasing its military presence in the region, practicing permanent military exercises together with its "northern" allies. They are developing tactics for conducting military operations in the Far North in the event of an armed conflict with a likely enemy. According to the Norwegian newspaper

Aftenposten, by 2024 the Royal Air Force will completely switch to fifth-generation F-35 fighters. Canada plans to deploy more than 70 F-18 fighters in the Arctic. The United States intends to upgrade the fleet of the 11th Air Army stationed in Alaska [2], etc.

Even for nonmilitary people, it is quite obvious that the main trajectories of launches of intercontinental missiles at the targets of the opposing sides and the most profitable routes for strategic bombers pass through the Arctic Ocean [12]. This is partly why the struggle for the Arctic is becoming more intense. For both NATO and the Russian Federation, the Arctic is becoming a strategic area of military activity. It is not difficult to see that the further militarization of the Arctic is changing the geopolitics and geoeconomics of the whole world, while the growth of the geopolitical potential of the region itself automatically leads to the stagnation of its geoeconomic role.

The sanction restrictions imposed on Russia by Western countries after 2014 affected not only the economy of the Russian North but also slowed down interstate cooperation in the Arctic. The implementation of projects in the field of exploration and extraction of mineral raw materials and fuel, as well as the development of transport, energy, information, and communication infrastructure, was discontinued. As if, the disputes over geological uplifts in the eastern sector of the Russian Arctic have suddenly become relevant, with which hopes for a legal justification of the ownership of water areas are associated. The prospects for cooperation in the Arctic have become even more illusory after the sanction measures of 2022 in connection with the events in Ukraine. Deliveries of high-tech products to the Russian Federation were blocked; sanctions were imposed against shipbuilding companies; three leading container lines Mediterranean Shipping Company, Maersk, and CMA CGM, which together have a world market share of 46.9%, left the Russian market; questions arose about Svalbard [10].

4   Discussion

The idea of the "overdue" internationalization of the Arctic, which is constantly propagandized in the scientific literature, is, of course, addressed primarily to the country with the longest Arctic coast – Russia. According to the new Arctic strategy of the European Union (2021), states, even those located in the Mediterranean basin, position themselves as Arctic players in high latitudes, claiming not only the European part but also the Arctic macroregion as a whole. Hydrocarbon resources of the Arctic (according to Art. 4 of the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea) are declared "the common heritage of mankind," and certain regulations and laws not only of the former USSR but also of Canada are qualified as "territorial claims."

The topic of the internationalization of the Arctic can be considered in different planes. Its supporters believe that the very idea of "inadmissibility of internationalization" is harmful, since it appeals, they say, "to instincts and fears" that are not based on a rational understanding of the processes developing in the region [30]. It

is possible that this is a somewhat simplified position, especially if we take into account the context of this article. Thus, the introduction of a national level of regulation on the NSR highway was carried out by Russia based on those legal mechanisms (the concept of historical inland waters, the method of direct baselines), which, according to some experts, do not contradict the norms and provisions of the 1982 Convention. We are talking about mechanisms based to a greater extent not on contractual but "on the usual norms of international law (the so-called international custom)" [14 , p. 142]. By the way, those who advocate the "internationalization" of the US NSR are not full parties to the Convention, since they have not yet signed it and cannot enjoy its privileges.

In Russia, this sea route is officially recognized as a national waterway. According to the law of 2012, a new concept was introduced – "the water area of the Northern Sea Route" and specific boundaries of this water area were established. It is believed that the interpretation of the size of the water area of the Northern Sea Route is associated with unavoidable historical, geographical, and environmental factors. It is no coincidence that the mentioned law assigns to Russia the functions of ensuring the safety of navigation, preventing and preserving the marine environment from pollution when sailing in the waters of the NSR. Its administration is responsible for issuing permits for vessels sailing along the Northern Sea Route, providing various kinds of information, organizing a radio communication system, etc.

Supporters of the "nationalization" of the NSR proceed from the fact that the Russian icebreaker fleet is the largest and most powerful in the world. Three new ships capable of breaking through ice up to 3 m thick have already been commissioned. Such icebreakers will allow Russia to redirect part of the world's traffic flows via the NSR in the foreseeable future. And using ice-class LNG tankers under construction, Russia gets the opportunity to supply gas to customers around the world, without being tied to existing pipeline systems.

Russia is creating nine emergency response centers along the route, which will be located from Chukotka to the Barents Sea. Each center will cost $18.5 million, and there will be rescue, firefighting, and helicopter equipment. In addition, Russia is building 15 new observation stations and 30 automated observation posts. There is a phenomenon in the fact that these centers should protect the local population and the environment. Emergency response centers will be activated when oil or harmful substances leaking into the water, etc. is detected on tankers.

In any case, the problem of internationalization of the Arctic remains open.

5 Conclusion

The thesis about the significant potential of the NSR as an alternative route for intercontinental transportation to the countries of East and Southeast Asia, as well as to the countries of Western Europe and North America, is practically not disputed by anyone (although it has its own convinced critics). This is, indeed, a "tasty" sea route from a logistical point of view, which, under successfully prevailing

conditions, can significantly change the geography of sea transportation in the second half of the twenty-first century. But admittedly, there are many reasons to believe that the expectations of this are greatly overstated due to the combination of the reasons mentioned above, on which the profitability of the project will depend.

Even with the elimination or mitigation of many shipping risk factors related to the ice situation, port infrastructure, and navigation support (satellite communications, electronic maps, hydrographic guarantees, unmanned aerial vehicles, etc.), there remains a permanent increase in trade tensions in the world (including between Russia and NATO countries due to Ukraine, the United States, and PRC), which introduces many uncertainties into the implementation of the NSR project. By the way, China's economic rise still does not foresee a change in global leadership in the foreseeable future, since the United States still has many institutional levers and mechanisms of influence on the world economy and, of course, on the Russian economy.

In this regard, the successful implementation of the project as a connecting trade bridge between the Russian Federation and the countries of Eastern (primarily China) and Southeast Asia, focused on the transportation of hydrocarbons, is much more likely [5–7, 13, 23, 24].

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Seek from Different Dream to Common Ground: The July Fourth Joint Declaration and South-North Korea Cooperation

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Abstract The South-North Korea Joint Declaration, which was held on July 4, 1972, was based on the three principles of independence, peace, and great national unity. It is significant, because it was the first agreement between the South and the North since the division of the Korean peninsula. It served as an occasion for the South and the North to negotiate and mutually resolve hostile situations. This also influenced the South-North Basic Agreement, which is an agreement about reconciliation, nonaggression, exchange, and cooperation between the South and the North, that was announced in 1992. The South-North Joint Declaration was issued by the heads of state of the South and the North in June 2000, and the South-North Summit Declaration was issued on October 4, 2007. The 50th anniversary in 2022, which reflects about the significance of the July 4, 1972 Joint Declaration, will also be meaningful in regard to preparing for a future orientated method for South-North cooperation. As a result, it is necessary to evaluate the historical significance of the July 4, 1972 Joint Declaration from various angles as well as seek and practice new relations that are in line with the times. It is emphasized in this paper how to materialize the methodology of the common ground by going one step further, which is in view of the fact that the South and the North had a different dream aspect in regard to their respective domestic and international environments, in order to explore this type of solution. This is due to the significance of the July 4, 1972 Joint Declaration, which can still be taken as a starting point for the movement for the reunification of the Korean peninsula.

Keywords The South-North Joint Declaration · July 4 1972 · Korean peninsula · Unification reunification

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1   Preface

The South and the North Korea issued a joint statement agreeing on the principle of independence, peace, and great national unity toward the reunification of the Korean peninsula on July 4, 1972. This declaration is also related to the history of various discussions in regard to the reunification of South and North Korea until this conclusion is reached. In addition, the international background of easing tensions, which was centered on the major powers, such as the Soviet Union, China, and the United States, played a role in regard to producing the result of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, so it can be said that it was a comprehensive product of the domestic and international environments.

The announcement of **the July 4, 1972** South-North Joint Declaration contributed to the easing of internal and external tensions in the 1970s by bringing about name changes in the South and North, and it decreased the realistic and physical distance between the dialogue. The continuity of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration is somewhat difficult, which is due to the security instability on the Korean peninsula and the security interests that are pursued by the South and the North, so there is always a need to improve the art of the dialogue and materialize South-North cooperation measures for future-oriented prosperity on the Korean peninsula. This is because the significance of the July 4, 1972 Joint Declaration can still be taken as a starting point for the movement of the possibility of the reunification of the Korean peninsula.

The results of the existing research are diverse in regard to the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration. They were interested in examining the internal and external aspects of the Korean peninsula and the specific content, significance, and limitations of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration [1–8]. Those interested in the specific contents, significance, and limitations of the South-North Joint Declaration include Ji-hyeong, K. (2008); Yeon-chul, K. (2012); Kwang-kyu, N. (2016); Kwang-deuk, P. (2014); Jong-hwan, S. (2004); Ji-ae, S. (2015); Sung-ho, J. (2007); and Yeon-yeon, S. (2003). Shin-jung, K. (2016) researches from the perspective of internal issues on the Korean Peninsula; Jung-jin, P. (2012) sees it as a security and insecurity dimension and as a conflict management dimension [9, 10].

However, the discussions about how the dialogue between the South and the North in regard to their reunification discussions that have progressed since the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration have only been partially conducted [8, 11], so discussions about what to do in the future and how to accomplish the suggestions are incomplete.

I therefore reviewed the significance of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration in this paper by adding a time series analysis that connects the past, present, and future, examined the half century since the declaration, and considered the direction of the next half century. How the South and the North's different dream was embodied in the July 4, 1972 Declaration is examined in this paper. In addition, the methodology of seeking a common ground in order to improve future-oriented relationships is proposed.

2 Actualization of a Different Dream

2.1 The Core of the Korean Peninsula Problem and the Foundational Stone for Solving It

The Korean peninsula issue can be approached from various perspectives. The geopolitical structural dimension, which is the issue of building a peace system [12], and the North Korean nuclear issue [13], which is the core of viewing the Korean peninsula problem internally and externally, can be explained in various ways by considering the world's historical and the East Asian order dimension [14]. Nevertheless, it would not be an exaggeration to say that the core of the Korean peninsula issue is basically the South-North relations from the perspective of the Korean peninsula itself, and the core of South-North relations is the issue of reunification.

One of the ground issues to be solved on the Korean peninsula can therefore be said to be reunification. However, this also raises the question of whether reunification is really a task in regard to the trend of the changing times. Seoul National University's Institute for Unification and Peace commissioned the Gallup Research Institute of Korea in July 2021 to survey the consciousness of reunification, and the response rate, which deemed that reunification was necessary, was 63.8% in 2007. However, it decreased to 50% from 2008 to 2020, and it reached 44.6% in 2021. 29.4% of the respondents said that reunification was not really necessary and not at all necessary, which was the highest level since the survey began in 2007 [15].

The support for reunification exceeded 90% in the 1990s, but public support for reunification gradually decreased until 2022. However, the issue of reunification on the Korean peninsula cannot be overlooked for the sake of peace on the Korean peninsula, so it can be said that the reunification of the Korean peninsula is one of its major tasks.

The issue of reunification in Korean society on one hand is a sharp political issue that reveals the political, historical, generational, and regional ideological differences in Korean society, but it is meaningfully related to national necessity that cannot be abandoned on the other hand due to the current socioeconomic factors, political attitudes, and perceptions of North Korea [16].

The South and the North both made efforts to reunify the Korean peninsula in various ways before the division of the South and the North and after the South-North solidification. The task of reunifying the Korean peninsula even now is also the key to promoting, changing, and developing South-North relations. The South and the North have therefore announced reunification plans in various ways throughout the ages, and they have pursued numerous plans to implement it.

Discussions on South-North relations and the issue of reunification are pursued in a peaceful way, which is at least through dialogue, and the foundation stone that was laid can be said to be the South-North Joint Declaration on July 4, 1972. This was the first agreement that was produced via inter-Korean dialogue. It was symbolic, because it was simultaneously announced in Seoul and Pyongyang.

This may of course have limited meanings considering the various aspects of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration. There is a procedural problem, because the South-North dialogue was conducted with an attitude of agreement for the sake of consensus as opposed to being based on the people's desire for reunification. Also, it was made public in response to North Korea's peace offensive. There is also a formal problem, because it is written in the names of Yong-ju, Kim and Hwy-lak, Lee in support of the will of their superiors. Also, it is unclear whether it is an official document or a private document. There is a problem with the content, which provided room for a different interpretation of the meaning of independence, peace, and great national unity, as a result of the agreement to build a cause. It has limitations, because it is not legally binding. It is a type of promise to take political responsibility and fulfill each other in good faith.

The South-North Agreement has been legally binding, since the enactment of the South-North Relations Development Act on April 20, 2022, which its enforceability as a norm has increased [17]. However, consultations between the South and the North were not reached based on the public consensus at the time of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, and there are disagreements and negative evaluations over the specific interpretations of the three principles of national reunification [4, 10].

Nevertheless, the agreement on the three principles of national reunification, which include independence, peace, and great national unity, that are emphasized in the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration can be said to be a principle that must be observed when the reunification of the Korean peninsula is considered under any circumstances. The experiences of the mutual exchange of opinions via working-level contacts therefore became the basis for the revitalization of the independent and peaceful reunification movement throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

In addition, it can be observed from the fact that the agreement about reconciliation, nonaggression, and the exchange and cooperation between the South and the North, which is the basic agreement between the South and the North, on December 13, 1991, stated that "the three principles of national reunification enunciated in the 4th July South-North Joint Declaration are reaffirmed," so it has become a foundation stone in regard to improving and advancing South-North relations. The Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula was signed in order to create conditions that are favorable for peaceful reunification on January 20, 1992.

The South and the North stated that "the issue of national reunification will be resolved independently by joining forces with each other" and that the summit talks were held "in accordance with the noble will of the whole nation for the peaceful reunification of the motherland," in the South-North Joint Declaration issued on June 15, 2000, which reflected the national consensus. National conviction was expressed, which stated that if the Korean people join forces with each other, Korea can open an era of national prosperity and a new era of independent reunification on October 4, 2007, in the Declaration for the Development of South-North Relations, Peace, and Prosperity.

The Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity, and the Reunification of the Korean Peninsula (Panmunjom Declaration, April 27, 2018) stated the national

firm's determination to "end division and confrontation as soon as possible, boldly open a new era of national reconciliation, peace and prosperity, and more actively improve and develop South-North relations" in 2018. It can be seen that the basic value system of South-North reunification, which has persisted since the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, is still called independence, peace, and great national unity.

It is necessary in particular to consider the history of the time when the South and the North were separated and entrenched due to international intervention, which they were inevitably forced to accept the Cold War situation under the ruling ideology and the realistic political terrain. It will then become clear how difficult it is to implement the problem of reunification peacefully and independently via great national unity, which is an ideal value to uphold.

The attitude of the neighboring powers toward resolving the North Korean nuclear issue, which include the issue of the reunification of the Korean peninsula, is taking a policy of maintaining their influence and interests via the status quo [18]. Korea can face the difficulties of independent reunification of the Korean peninsula in this respect. However, most of the divided countries that have already achieved reunification were divided by foreign forces, so there is a history of realizing reunification via elaborate unification strategies [19]. It will therefore be necessary to carefully design the reunification plan of the Korean peninsula that is in conjunction with the reunification strategy so that actual reunification can be achieved.

2.2 Changes in the Era of Toward "Unification" from Different Dream

It is necessary to examine what ideals and strategic practices the South and the North have been striving for in each era about the issue of reunification as a way to review the value of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, which is one of the major issues on the Korean peninsula. This will also be useful in order to understand the direction that the South and North regimes envisioned before and after the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration declared the value of reunification.

First, Syngman Rhee's regime basically advocated reunification by advancing North Korea, but it sought reunification via general elections, which were in accordance with constitutional procedures. Activities, such as the General Federation of Innovative Comrades (혁신동지총연맹) and the Socialist Mass Party (사회대중당), opposed the intervention of the United Nations and the great powers after the April 19th Revolution, and they discussed the theory of peaceful reunification that was based on the theory of national independence and reunification. The timing of Jang Myeon's regime was proposed as "a plan for peaceful free and democratic reunification through general elections between South and North Korea under UN supervision," but it was criticized in many ways. These discussions were outlawed after May 16, 1961, and no progress was made [20]. Chung-hee Park's regime also proposed the theory of reunification after peace [21].

Doo-hwan Chun's regime proposed a plan for national harmony and democratic reunification on January 22, 1982. The National Reunification Council was formed under the basic principles of democratic self-determination, the democratic process, and peaceful methods, which was composed of representatives of South and North Korea. It included the following procedure. A free referendum, the finalization and promulgation of the draft constitution, and the unification process of holding and forming general elections, which were in accordance with the unified constitution, were also proposed. A provisional agreement about basic relations between South and North Korea was signed as a transitional measure [22].

Tae-woo Roh's government considered the following procedures in regard to reunifying the Korean ethnic community of independence, peace, and democracy under the basic principles of September 11, 1989. The adoption of the charter of the National Community followed the following procedure via the South-North summit talks. The formation of the South-North Union, which included the restoration of the national community; the formation of the South-North Confederation, which included the restoration of the national community; and general elections were held that were in accordance with the provisions of the unified constitution in order to present the unification process in regard to forming a governance structure. The promotion of inter-Korean exchange and cooperation was recognized by viewing North Korea as a goodwill partner as well as presenting a vision of the future of a unified state in regard to forming a democratic state where freedom, human rights, and happiness are guaranteed [22].

Young-sam Kim's government, which proposed a plan for the reunification of the national community, agreed with Tae-woo Roh's government about the basic principles of independence, peace, and democracy. However, the following steps were implemented in regard to setting up the reunification process that included reconciliation and cooperation; the South-North Confederation, which was based on mutual trust being established in the stage of reconciliation and cooperation; and envisioning the holding of free general elections between the South and the North that were in accordance with the unified constitution and the simultaneous achievement of ethnic reunification and national reunification. In addition, Young-sam Kim's government presented a vision of the future of a unified state as an advanced democracy where freedom, welfare, and human dignity are realized [22].

Dae-jung Kim, Moo-hyun Roh, Myung-bak Lee, Geun-hye Park, the Jae-in Moon government, and the current government have basically inherited the plan for the reunification of the national community since then. President Young-sam Kim proposed the three-step reunification plan for the construction of the Korean ethnic community as for the plan for reunification of the national community, which is abbreviated as a plan for reunification of the national community on August 15, 1994. It can be said that it succeeded the Korean National Community Reunification Plan on September 11, 1989, which was announced during the Tae-woo Roh government, and it was supplemented and developed as well as reflected changes in the situation, such as the entry into force of the South-North Basic Agreement and the Joint Declaration on Denuclearization, which was adopted on December 13, 1991 [19].

The National Community Reunification Plan proposes an approach for reunification based on consideration of the realities of South-North relations, which have been plagued by fratricidal wars and long-term divisions. First of all, it can be said that it is a gradual and step-by-step reunification plan that seeks reunification after building mutual trust and establishing peace via reconciliation and cooperation between the South and the North. It aims to restore and develop the heterogeneous societies of the South and the North into one community, and it ultimately desires to realize a unified state of one nation and one country. The Korean Community Reunification Plan (한민족공동체통일방안), which was announced in 1989, saw the process of reconciliation and trust building as a natural process for advancing toward South-North Confederation. However, the National Community Reunification Plan (민족공동체통일방안) is characterized by the phased development of this process, and it has continued as the official reunification plan of the South Korean government to this day.

The reunification plan that is pursued by South Korea adheres to the basic philosophies and principles, and it presents the process of reunification and the future vision of reunification. The basic philosophy of unification is to pursue liberal democracy and the construction of a national community. The distribution of power after reunification should be based on human-centered liberal democracy as opposed to class-centered or group-centered ideology. Reunification is promoted under the principles of independence, peace, and democracy, which mean achieving reunification via the will and strength of the nation itself and via mutual consultation between the parties of the South and the North. It is not via war or the overthrow of the other side, but only via peacefully pursued reunification, which all members of the nation pursue a democratic integration method that is based on their freedom and rights [22].

The first stage was set for the stage of reconciliation and cooperation as part of the process of reunification, which the South and the North pursue peaceful coexistence by liquidating hostility, mistrust, and confrontational relations by easing tensions in regard to mutual trust, establishing reconciliation, and conducting practical exchanges and cooperation. As an intermediate process to institutionalize coexistence between the South and the North, the South-North Confederation, which is a transitional reunification system, was set as the second stage as part of the process of reunification. The last three stages include the completion of a unified state stage, which a political community is realized based on the common right of the people to live that was established in the South-North Confederation stage, and the two systems of the South and the North are completely integrated in order to complete a single state of one nation and one country.

The idea of above three step stage is to form a unified government and a unified national assembly via democratic elections that are in accordance with the unified constitution, which is prepared by the representatives of the South and North parliaments, as well as complete reunification by integrating the institutions of the two systems, in other words, reconciliation, cooperation, and going through the South-North Confederation stage in order to achieve a unified state. An advanced democratic state was advocated in the future of reunification, which all members of the

nation are masters, and the freedom, welfare, and human dignity of each member of the nation are guaranteed.

Three things were proposed for the future of a unified Korea, which included advocating an advanced democratic state where all members of the nation are masters and where the freedom, welfare, and human dignity of each member of the nation are guaranteed [22].

(1) Liberal democracy, which is a prerequisite for the construction of a national community, is based on the separation of powers, the rule of law, the parliamentary system, the market economy, and civil society on the basis of freedom and equality. A normative foundation must be laid that complies with these basic democratic principles in order for liberal democracy to function properly. (2) Economics is based on a market economy, so it should be a country where all citizens live well, a society that is warm to the underprivileged, and a country that contributes to the common prosperity of the international community. (3) National capacities should be strengthened externally in order to move toward a mature world state. It aims to be a country with an advanced welfare economy, solid national security capabilities, and a high cultural national strength.

It can be said that by summing up the South Korean reunification plan that is discussed above, it is to reconcile and cooperate under the principles of independence, peace, and democracy in order to form a two-system, two-government, one-system, one-government unification. How different is South Korea's reunification plan from North Korea's proposal?

North Korea, which maintains a leader-centered system with the universal characteristics of socialism, has the passed down leadership from Kim Il-sung to Kim Jong-il and then to Kim Jong-un. The 2019 revised constitution of North Korea also maintains the struggle for independence, peaceful reunification, and great national unity (Article 9), which inherited the reunification strategy of Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il. The perception of the reunification plan therefore basically has continuity. North Korea's policies have slightly changed in response to environmental changes, but there have not been any changes in regard to the goal of achieving communist reunification of the Korean peninsula via South Korea's anti-American independence and pro-North Korean communization. North Korea's reunification is a reunification plan that is premised on the South Korean revolution, and it means reunification under the banner of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

North Korea proposed the reunification of the enemy in 1960 by force based on the democratic base theory, which is based on the logic of one Korea. The US military is occupying South Korea and cannot pursue a communist revolution on the entire Korean peninsula, so North Korea's strategy toward South Korea is to first strengthen the revolutionary capabilities of the North Korean region and then complete a communist revolution of the entire Korean peninsula based on those capabilities [23]. The theory of democratic bases developed into the theory of the revolution in South Korea after the April 19th Revolution, which North Korea first proposed a transitional form of reunification called the South-North federal system during this period at the 15th anniversary celebration of the August 15th independence in 1960 [20]. The concept of independence, peace, and reunification was

basically proposed as a transitional form of reunification, which the political activi-ties and systems of the South and the North would remain intact.

The five principles of national reunification were also proposed, and the gist of the principles are as follows: (1) a resolution of the military standoff between the South and the North and the easing of tensions; (2) the realization of multifaceted cooperation and exchanges between the South and the North; (3) convocation of the Grand National Assembly, which is composed of people from all walks of life in the South and the North and representatives of various political parties and social orga-nizations; (4) implementation of the South-North federal system, which is also called the Koryo federal system, with the Koryo Federal Republic as the national name; and (5) accession to the United Nations under a single national name, which is the Koryo Federal Republic [20].

A federal system, which was called the Koryo Federal Republic, proposed a plan toward reunification where the two Koreas use a single national name in 1973. The sixth Congress of the Labor Party proposed the plan for the establish-ment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo on October 10, 1980, which advocated a federal system as a completed unified state as opposed to a federal system as a transitional measure. The principles of the federal system included (1) establishing a federal republic, which the South and the North implement their respective regional self-government systems with the same powers and duties on the basis of recognizing ideas and institutions. (2) The South and the North consti-tute the Supreme National Federation Council of the federal states with the same number of representatives, which the Federal Standing Committee is formed as its standing body in order to direct the regional governments of the South and the North [20].

North Korea also showed a change in the tactics of the federal system that pur-sued inter-Korean coexistence in response to changes in the international environ-ment in the 1990s. A federal system based on one nation, one country, two systems, and two governments, was advocated in a New Year's address in 1991. This tempo-rarily gives more power to the local self-government, but it will increase the func-tions of the central government in the future and unify the federal system. A low-level federal system was proposed in the 2000s, which was based on the prin-ciple of one nation, one country, two systems, two governments. However, the gov-ernments of North and South Korea retain their current functions and powers [21].

North Korea's reunification plan from the 1960s to present times is as follows. The South-North federal system, which is the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo, is a low-level federal system that uses a policy that alternates between a transitional reunification plan and a federal system in the form of a completed uni-fied state. A comprehensive comparison of the reunification plans of North and South Korea is shown in Table 1.

It is illustrated in Table 1 that the two Koreas proposed various measures accord-ing to the times. The question of who will lead the reunification in regard to consid-ering the reunification of the Korean peninsula; the method and model of reunification, which includes how to realize reunification; and furthermore, the

Table 1 The transition process of the South-North reunification plan

Category	South Korea		North Korea	
1948–1960	Syngman Rhee	Unification theory by free general elections between south and North Korea under UN supervision	Il sung Kim	Armed forces by the theory of national liberation, the theory of communization
1960s	Meon Jang	Theory of south-north free general elections (under UN monitoring)		South-North Confederation (1960)
	Chung-Hee Park	Theory of unification after pre-construction (1966)		
1970s	Chung-Hee Park	Declaration on Foreign Policy for Peaceful Reunification (June 23, 1973) Theory of pre-peace and post-unification (1974)		Koryo Confederation System (1973) five platforms for national reunification
1980s	Doo-hwan Chun	National Harmony and Democratic Reunification Plan (1982)	Il sung Kim	Proposal for the establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Korea (1980) (Unification Plan of the Koryo Democratic Federation)
1990s	Tae-woo Roh	Korean Community Reunification Plan (1989)		1 nation, 1 country, 2 systems, 2 federal system based on government (1991)
2000s	Young-sam Kim	Measures for the reunification of the nation community (1 nation, 1 country) (1994)	Jong-Il Kim	Low-level federation (2000)
	Dae Jung Kim			
	Moo-Hyun Roh			
2010s	Myung-bak lee		Jong-un Kim	The three charters of national reunification (three principles of national reunification, plan for the establishment of the democratic Federal Republic of Korea, ten platforms for great national unity)
	Geun-Hye Park			
	Jae-in moon			

procedural issue of reunification, such as the specific procedure regarding how reunification should be realized, should be discussed. There are many other details to consider. Table 1 illustrates a plan that was proposed by the South and the North in regard to resolving the issue of reunification of the Korean peninsula from within the Korean peninsula, but the measures that were proposed under the great system of reunification seem to resemble each other. The reunification plan of South and North Korea, which has been proposed in each era, should be able to read the meaning of the connotation of the protest in each era.

3   Action Plan of Seeking Common Ground

3.1   Common Premise for the Reunification of the Korean Peninsula: A Subsection Sample

It is obvious that in order to achieve the reunification of the Korean peninsula, the South and the North must move away from South-North confrontation without dialogue and South-North confrontation with dialogue and move toward the era of South-North cooperation with dialogue [20]. It seems necessary to have a premise that both the South and the North should pursue reunification in a practicable and common way in order to purse South-North cooperation with dialogue. However, what is that?

People generally search for problems based on past history, but I will go further from the desired future to reality and seek a connection with past history in order to form a consensus in this paper. This goes beyond South-North cooperation with dialogue. It emphasizes practice to produce results, and it emphasizes practical power, which is not just dialogue without action.

The results of the Reunification Perception Survey show that it is necessary to emphasize the need for reunification as well as educate about the economic, political, social, and diplomatic effects that reunification will bring [24].

The South and the North must first be able to mutually sympathize with the future vision of reunification and pursue realistic and ideal meanings at the political, economic, and sociocultural levels in order to accomplish this. In addition, the South and the North must make various efforts in order to heal and reconcile for the common future of the reunification of the Korean peninsula [25]. It is necessary to liquidate the tragic history of the Japanese colonial period and division on the political side and complete the construction of a modern nation-state. The South and the North must put an end to the attrition diplomatic war and the war of nerves between the South and the North and shift it to a policy that prioritizes the interests of the Korean peninsula. The South and the North must in particular play a bridge role in peace in regard to establishing a multilateral peace and security system in Northeast Asia and lead the common prosperity of Northeast Asia.

It is economically necessary to combine continental and maritime economies in order to achieve a shared prosperity while being linked to China's Belt and Road Initiative and Russia's New Eastern Policy. In addition, if the Korean peninsula, which has become famous for being a divided country in the world, is reunified, it will be spotlighted as an eco-peace tourism destination, and areas that have been stagnant in regard to development can be developed, such as the development of North Korea's underground resources, which will inject vitality into the entire economy of the Korean peninsula.

There are social antagonisms, such as the pain of separated families, which is due to the division, and the daily horrors that are caused by conflicts and confrontations. The level of welfare of the people can be continuously improved, but the cost of division is converted into the cost of expanding the social stability network. A

society where individual autonomy and creativity are valued can be formed and enjoyed via social and cultural richness and cultural pluralism. These changes will enable overseas Koreans living around the world to live with pride as members of the national community without suffering from division [21].

It would be basically meaningful to look back at the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, which became the foundation stone for South-North dialogue in order to sympathize with the future vision of reunification from these political, economic, and sociocultural aspects as well as to realize it concretely.

There was a time of South-North confrontation without dialogue for a long time leading up to the July 4, 1972, South-North Joint Declaration. Dialogue itself is of course not peace, but it is well-known that it is meaningful as a way to seek peace. The July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration opened an era of dialogue between the South and the North. There was dialogue, but the era of South-North confrontation was not over.

Cooperation must be mutually trustworthy in order for it to produce results via concrete actions, and it is all too obvious in order to maintain continuous exchanges in order to form them. The South and the North must primarily continue to travel back and forth humanly and materially for the reunification of the Korean peninsula. However, people and materials from the South and the North have not continued to travel freely for the past 20 years.

The fluctuations in South-North mutual exchanges changed in the South-North policy. Various South-North talks/agreements were adopted. The status of the adoption of the South-North agreements since 1971 are illustrated in Table 2, which presents a total of 258 cases so far that begin with South-North dialogue.

These types of human and material exchanges portray the meaning of South-North exchanges. It is clear that this type of human and material traffic, which is more than anything else, is the premise for the reunification of the Korean peninsula. The homogeneity of the perception of reunification, which is to be pursued in conjunction, should be expanded to homogeneity at the cultural, institutional, legal, and political levels via these types of exchanges. As a result, it will be necessary to expand the number of practical tasks in regard to South-North cooperation and constantly review the practical meaning of cooperation.

Table 2 Status of the adoption of South-North agreements (unit, case)

Year	71–92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	00
Number of agreements	40	–	2	1	–	2	1	1	18
Year	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09
Number of agreements	4	23	31	20	23	10	39	5	1
Year	10	11–12	13	14	15	16–17	18	19–21	Sum
Number of agreements	1	–	8	2	3	–	23	–	258

Source: Ministry of Unification. 2022 Unification White Paper, Ministry of Unification, Seoul, 286 (2022)

The number of agreements per year were adjusted due to the reclassification of agreements in 2019

3.2　Challenges of South-North Cooperation

The current reunification plans of the South and the North are compared in order to strengthen South-North cooperation in the future, which implications are looked for from there. A comparison between the plan for the reunification of the national community in South Korea and the plan for the establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo is presented in Table 3.

Table 3 illustrates that the division of the South-North Reunification Plan is very colorful. If there is one thing that South and North Korea have in common among the numerous divisions, it is that they are one nation and one country among the forms of a unified state. In addition, South Korea refers to a unified state of one nation and one country. However, North Korea refers to a federal state of one nation, one country, two systems, and two governments, so it does not exactly mean that the South and the North have a unified view. Nevertheless, there is an exact agreement between one nation and one nation. One nation and one country describe the aspect of a unified nation, so the South and the North will be able to concretize the direction where the South and the North can agree step by step from the point of agreement.

It is currently under two systems and two governments. However, it is difficult to continuously maintain the form of two systems and two governments within a completely unified one country, so it is necessary to change from two systems and two governments to one system, one government, one nation, and one country. Expanding the contents of the discussions starting with one that can be discussed on a common basis is a method that can therefore be used in order to concretely implement the task of reunification, while building mutual trust as opposed to proposing different reunification plans and confronting them.

It will also be necessary to set the time from the form of two systems and two governments to two systems and one government. There must be at the very least a direction regarding what to materialize and how to materialize them in a long-term future plan, but it seems that both the South and the North will be able to have the practical will to promote further reunification.

In addition, South Korea is a sovereign, peaceful, and democratic nation in terms of the principles of reunification, and North Korea insists on independence, peace, and great national unity. However, there will be parts that cannot be mutually agreed upon if the South and the North go into the specifics of what is independence and what is peace. The independence and peace sections use the same words, but it will be necessary to expand the common ground by analyzing the meaning of the words and the implications of the words used practically and politically.

The abolition of the National Security Law, which is the legalization of communist activities, and the withdrawal of US troops stationed in South Korea, which North Korea has put forward as preconditions for reunification, are also aspects that South Korea cannot realistically and actively accept. However, it would ultimately be a meaningful effort in order to reset the meaning of independence and peace, refine it as much as possible, classify the areas of mutual disagreement step by step, and check whether it is implemented step by step while drafting a long-term plan.

Table 3 Comparative table of South-North reunification plans

Category	South Korea's "National Community Reunification Plan"	North Korea's "Plan for the Establishment of the Democratic Federal Republic of Koryo"
Unification philosophy	Liberal democracy	Juche ideology
Unification principle	Independence, peace, and democracy	Independence, peace, and great national unity (south Korean revolution, seniority cooperation, exchange and cooperation after reunification)
Unification entity	All members of the nation	Proletarian class
Prerequisites	–	Repeal of the National Security law, legalization of communist activities, withdrawal of US troops from South Korea
Unification process	Reconciliation and cooperation – South-north union – Completion of reunification state (phase 3) * Priority on the construction of national society (national reunification-state unification)	Gradual completion of the federal state (institutional unification in later generations) * Priority for the existence of the national system (state unification-national reunification)
Transitional unification system	South-north confederacy – Summit talks adopt the "south-north charter of the south-north union" and operate the formation of the south-north union organization * Draft unified constitution by south-north agreement – Confirmed by referendum	–
Procedure for realizing a unified state	Democratic general elections between North and South Korea under a unified constitution	Political negotiations by the method of coalition
Form of a unified state	1 nation, 1 unified country	1 nation, 1 country, 2 system, 2 federal state of government
Organization of a unified state	Unity government, unified national assembly (bicameral)	Supreme National Federation Assembly, Federal Standing Committee
Future initiative for a unified state	An advanced democracy where freedom, welfare, and human dignity are guaranteed	–

Source: Research and Development Division of National Institute of Unification Education: Understanding the Unification Issue in 2022, Ministry of Unification, National Institute of Unification Education, Seoul, 195 (2022)

It is difficult to predict how the reunification of the Korean peninsula will take place in the future. However, it is not aimed at absorption reunification, which is due to political collapse or social turmoil on the other side, so it is necessary to be sincere in regard to formulating long-term plans for the future as much as possible and trying to comply with them.

It will be necessary to once again reexamine the meaning of the core values that are discussed in the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration as well as recall the attitude in regard to seeking a common ground, while dreaming of a prosperous future for the Korean peninsula after the reunification of the Korean peninsula as Koreans approach the 50th anniversary of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration in 2022 in order to reaffirm Korean's will for reunification and achieve the reunification of independence, peace, and national unity, while reaffirming Korean's will for reunification and mutual respect.

The principles of national reunification set forth on July 4, 1972, are as follows. First, reunification must be independently resolved without dependence on or interference from foreign powers. It is well-known, but the reunification of the Korean peninsula is in an environment that is very difficult to independently resolve, which relies on foreign forces or completely excluding foreign interference. The division of the Korean peninsula was conducted by foreign intervention and interference, so there are many possibilities for foreign powers to intervene and interfere in the reunification of the Korean peninsula whether the South and the North want their involvement or not. Nevertheless, the South and the North must declare to the world their willingness to resolve internal issues independently on their own and create an internal and external environment. It is necessary for the South and the North to systematically implement long-term plans for the future in addition to trusting, cooperating, and interacting with each other.

However, North Korea interprets the principle of independence as the withdrawal of US troops from South Korea and the exclusion of US interference, the principle of peace as the modernization of South Korea's military power and the cessation of military exercises, and the principle of great national unity as the abolition of the National Security Law and the legalization of the Communist Party [21]. South Korea's view of this perception is different. In other words, the South and the North agreed on the ostensible principles of independence, peace, and national unity in the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, but they differed in their views when analyzing the specific meaning of independence, peace, and national unity.

It is therefore necessary to specifically list the differences in the principles of independence between the South and the North as well as set step-by-step goals and solve them one by one in order to achieve the independence that is desired by the South and the North. The National Security Law, which originally started as an anti-communist law and was enacted in order to secure the security of the state and the survival and freedom of the people by regulating anti-state activities that endanger the security of the state, would have no reason to exist in a situation where the South and the North are united. The contents of the National Security Law after reunification will obviously contain different contents other than the current ones even if the National Security Law still exists after reunification.

Second, reunification must be achieved by peaceful means, which means without resorting to the use of force against each other. South and North Korea already experienced the Korean War, which expanded into an international war, not just an internal war on the Korean peninsula. The outcome of the war regardless of victory or defeat must be faced with indelible pain and terrible realities. Koreans know all

too well that after a war, it would take a lot of time and energy to build a new society economically, socially, and culturally. Reunification must therefore be realized by peaceful means and not by coercive absorption reunification that is based on the use of force. It is not easy to assimilate with people of other systems and cultures beyond the numerous systems and cultures that have been formed by the existing division even if reunification is achieved via peaceful means. In other words, it is necessary to expand cooperation at various levels via mutual exchanges in advance so that peaceful reunification can be achieved in order to achieve a consensus within the framework of one nation, one country, one system, and one government.

Third, Koreans must first promote great national unity as a nation by transcending differences in regard to ideas, ideologies, and systems. The identity of one nation is above all else the easiest aspect for South and North Korea to share. The fact that there is no large disagreement about the fact that Koreans are one people (nation) is also the basis in regard to explaining why the Korean peninsula should be reunified. However, the problem is that Koreans have the same sense of being one people (nation), so differences in regard to ideas, ideologies, and systems have arisen, which are due to decades of division, and the cultural differences that are cultivated by this cannot be solved to the extent that Koreans emphasize the sameness of one people.

Different cultural differences can lead to the question. Are Koreans really one people? Koreans need to expand exchanges and cooperation that can bridge cultural differences from nonpolitical differences in advance. In addition, a strategy is needed to list specific action tasks in order to check the level of the step-by-step performance.

If Koreans are to review the value of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, which was signed half a century after it was drafted, and reexamine the direction of the next half century, Koreans should be able to clearly divide the parts that each other agree with as well as disagree with.

It will be necessary to prioritize this by considering ways in order to produce meaningful results if Koreans agree to form one nation and one country via independence, peace, and great national unity. It is necessary to leave what is inevitable in the current situation after finding the same points with each other as it is and expect the atmosphere to mature. In other words, it is necessary to materialize the plan from the point of view that suits the current situation.

Achieving a great national unity beyond any ideological and institutional differences as well as pursuing independent reunification without interference or dependence on foreign forces via peaceful methods that are not by force are the objectives on the surface. However, Koreans cannot in reality immediately surpass the current ideology and system that sustain South and North Korea. It is then necessary to take measures so that there is no interruption in this regard, since expanding civilian exchanges that can be conducted under the current system is indispensable for the formation of great national unity and a unified nation regardless of the time period. The problem is that the dialogue regarding how to materialize the content around the principles is still unclear.

It is necessary for the South and the North to jointly cooperate in order to discover, implement, evaluate, and examine various issues in regard to determining their significance for the future reunification of the Korean peninsula. They both need to make efforts in regard to enhancing their will for reunification. The economic burden of the cost of reunification, the social and cultural burden of adapting to a new culture, and the positive message of pioneering a new future must be properly conveyed to society in addition to the political burden of reunification. It is therefore necessary for unification to economically and socially build a hardware foundation as well as prepare a software foundation in order to reform the laws and systems that are related to reunification and educate the people. In addition, Koreans must also strengthen peaceful public diplomacy by focusing our efforts on internal and external diplomatic relations that are surrounding the Korean peninsula in order to achieve the independence, peace, and democratic reunification that are pursued by the South and the North [21].

Expanding common points and continuously reducing differences will be an important practice toward reunification. It is necessary to start from a consensus about the future vision of reunification of the Korean peninsula; set the stage in regard to reducing differences that are based on issues, which are already mutually agreed; and then continue to manage them in order to approach reunification via examination.

4   Conclusion

The year 2022 marks the 50th anniversary of the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration. It can be said that this declaration plays an important milestone in regard to moving beyond the division and confrontation between South and North Korea toward reunification. This is because the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration has procedural, formal, and content limitations, and it is the South-North agreement in order to achieve reunification under the principles of independence, peace, and great national unity, which are the foundation stones of the principle in regard to pioneering the future of South and North Korea.

The declaration stated that the two sides agreed not to slander each other, not to engage in large or small armed provocations, and to take active measures in regard to preventing untoward incidents of military clashes in order to ease tensions between South and North Korea as well as create an atmosphere of trust. However, armed both large and small provocations and unintentional military clashes have continued for 50 years, which have undermined the atmosphere of trust.

Nevertheless, on December 13, 1991, via the Agreement on Reconciliation, Nonaggression, and Exchange and Cooperation between the South and the North, which is in accordance with the wishes of the people who have longed for peaceful reunification, they reaffirmed the three principles of national reunification that were enunciated in the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration. Both side signed the Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula in 1992 in order

to create conditions and environments conducive to peace and peaceful reunification. It was also stated in 2000 that in accordance with the noble will of the whole nation for the peaceful reunification of the motherland as well as let our people and the owners work together in order to independently resolve the issue of reunification. It was also expressed with conviction in 2007 that if our people join forces with each other, Koreans can usher in an era of national prosperity and a new era of independent reunification. Both sides pledged in 2018 to connect the broken veins of the nation and advance the future of common prosperity and independent reunification.

Numerous South-North talks have been conducted since the July 4, 1972 South-North Joint Declaration, which still reaffirm independence, peace, and great national unity, so it is necessary to repay attention to the historical, realistic, and future value of the declaration. However, it is necessary not only to dwell on the value of it but diversify the ways in order to concretely to realize its contents.

It is therefore necessary to establish a time stage and examine specific measures, so the South and the North can form a consensus on the future vision of prosperity in regard to the Korean peninsula and conversely implement it. A way to create a new vision for the future as well as realize the statue dream that confronted the South and the North in the past is to reduce differences via the realistic practice of commonalities and differences. Only when the differences that are proposed as a step-by-step plan for reunification spread to political, social, cultural, and ethnic identities can the value of reunification be multiplied.

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Development and Prospects of Russian-Chinese Cooperation in the Oil and Gas Sector

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Abstract This paper is devoted to the development and prospects of cooperation in the oil and gas sector of Russia and China. It examines the role and importance of oil and gas in the relations between the two countries, examines cooperation in the oil and gas sector of Russia and China, analyzes project activities, and highlights the features of this cooperation. The conclusions were made about joint cooperation. Special attention is paid to the prospects of this interaction.

1 Introduction

Nowadays, oil and gas overlord in the international consumer energy market. We cannot deny the fact that these resources, unlike other energy sources, carry weight on the political situation in the world, on political relations, and on the development strategy of countries. The current dynamics in relations between the leading countries [1, 2] creates the threat of a decoupling. Oil is the most important energy resource, accounting for about a third of the world's energy consumption. It is also important to note the fact that the economic situation of entire countries depends on oil prices and therefore the citizens' living standards. Natural gas differs from oil and coal in its greater number of benefits for the environment. Its importance in the world economy is continuously growing due to high effectiveness in the energy and industrial sectors of economy [3].

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2 Development of Partnership Between Russia and China in the in the Field of Oil Production

Relations between the Russian Federation and the China are already reaching their third decade in terms of their engagement, and both countries are strategic partners to each other. During all these years of interaction, more than 300 contracts were signed, and most of them are related to the energy sector. Oil and gas always were the largest objects of the Russian-Chinese energy cooperation agreements. It is also safe to say that the oil and gas industry will not lose its importance in the near future.

Russian-Chinese oil cooperation began slowly, intermittently, at the end of the 1990s. The attempts of the Chinese companies to buy Russian mining companies failed, since the Russian side banned foreign companies from buying important state objects related to the extraction of territorial resources. However, since 2005, China has managed to get a share in a number of similar projects. After the strengthening of Rosneft's position on the international oil industry, cooperation between the two countries strengthened. In 2009, Rosneft signed a deal with CNPC (China National Oil Corporation), under which China provided long-term loans totaling $ 25 billion, for which Rosneft agreed to pay 300 million tons of oil [4]. In the autumn of 2013, Rosneft and Sinopec signed a multipage agreement on the decision to export 100 million tons of oil from the country over 10 years from 2014, increasing Rosneft's exports to China by half [5]. The fast pace of Rosneft's development was a key factor in the successful, relatively smooth, and optimized process of concluding agreements with China and promoting Russian-Chinese projects. This interconnection has led to new exploration and mining methods. For example, in 2013, a common enterprise was established to develop the resources of Eastern Siberia – the Srednebotuobinskoye field.

Negotiations on the oil pipeline and the development of oil and gas fields on the territory of the People's Republic of China began in 1996 with the signing of an agreement between the governments of both countries on cooperation in the energy sector. During the visit of former Chinese President Jiang Zemin (2001), agreements were reached on next issues: obligations for the purchase and supply of oil and a strict project plan for the future of the Russian-Chinese oil pipeline and oil price determination. After that, only in 2011, the Western Siberia-Daqing oil pipeline was launched with an annual throughput of 15 million tons of pure petroleum products [6]. In addition, the Eastern Siberia-Pacific Ocean (ESPO) oil pipeline was built, with a branch to Daqing (China). Ultimately, for 2011, Russia supplied 19.7 million tons of oil to China, 19.84 million tons of oil in 2013, and 22.11 million tons in 2014 [7]. Moreover, additional crude oil exports were carried out through the Skovorodino-Mohe pipeline. Russia's obligation was to ensure export supplies to China in the amount of 46.1 million tons of petroleum products worth about $ 60 billion [8].

Another common project of Russia and China is the construction of a petrochemical and oil refining complex in the Nangang Industrial Zone in Tianjin, China. Rosneft and CNPC, with financial shares in the project of 49% and 51%,

respectively, will build this Tianjin plant for processing oil coming through the pipeline system from Russia. In 2014, China and Russia agreed on a feasibility standard, and in April 2016, CNPC Vice President Wang Chunsai announced the project approval and the expectations of private investors and companies to confirm state economical support for the project [9].

However, since 2014, cooperation has decelerated. Despite the fact that Russian governments have repeatedly offered Chinese companies to invest in oil production in Russia, due to international sanctions, Rosneft was unable to sell a share of the Verkhnechonskoye field to Chinese companies [10]. The introduction of sanctions by the United States and the European Union in 2014 created a good reason to make a pause for the Chinese leadership, as they try to maintain a balance in relations between Russia and the West. As a result, the purchase of large mining assets in Russia was postponed for an indefinite period, despite their obvious attractiveness and compatibility with the overall strategy of China's international diversification. Russia reacted to this delay by offering these assets to other international players, with a special focus on India. In June 2016, a consortium of Indian companies, Oil Indi, bought 23.9% in Verkhnechonskoye, and at the end of October 2016, the Indian ONGC Videsh acquired 11% for the amount of $ 930 million [11]. These deals seem to confirm the Russian president's intentions to build and increase a closer energy interconnection with India, which were outlined during a state visit to New Delhi in December 2015. In addition, in our humble opinion, this situation is a kind of reminder and diplomatic warning to China that it does not have such a big influence on Russian oil industry. It should be noted that after the implantation of sanctions, there is a caution of Chinese companies in negotiations with Russia regarding transactions. Despite this, Russia is favorable to China and shows its trust. For example, during the search for a company to outsource oil drilling, Gazprom Neft preferred the Chinese company Zhongman Oil and Gas Corporation (ZPEC), refusing a contract with a more experienced company from the United States, US Halliburton. In our opinion, the reason for the termination of the contract was the events of 2014.

Having confidence in Rosneft and Igor Sechin's personality and influence, the Chinese side did not abandon his new project concerning work on the Russian shelf, especially in the Arctic and in deepwater areas. So consequently, Rosneft signed an agreement with China Oilfield Services Limited (COSL) to provide equipment and labor for drilling two wells on the Magadan shelf (2016). It is important to note that it is in the northern waters that China sees the greatest incentive for long-term investment in Russia oil industry, since Arctic oil, although more expensive, can become a geostrategic political incentive for closer cooperation between Russia and China against the United States. In addition, Chinese shipping companies have started investing in both Arctic tankers and icebreaking ships. In general, the interaction between Russia and China in the oil sector is determined by China's stable consumption of Russian oil, against the background of insufficient domestic production, as well as its desire to diversify oil supplies. As for Russia, it continues to use its vast eastern resources.

3   Development of Partnership Between Russia and China in the Gas Sector of Economy

Simultaneously with oil, China also produces and consumes natural gas. Despite the engagement between the two countries, gas cooperation is even less developed than cooperation in the oil sector. In 2007, China became a net importer of Russian natural gas for the first time. China is unable to meet the growing demand for gas at the expense of domestic production, and on the other hand, Russia has the world's largest natural gas reserves and can actively supply it to its closer Asian partner. Russia and China have been negotiating new gas contracts and the construction of a gas pipeline since the mid-1990s, but there was not any progress until the middle of 2000s, so as a result, gas supplies remained just on paper due to disagreements between the countries over price. It seems so curious that the first active partnerships between Russia and China regarding the purchase of gas were based not on the resources of Eastern Siberia but on the Sakhalin resources, which are closer to the territory of Japan and Korea. Sakhalin Energy and CNPC collaboratively signed a special agreement on exploration work, as well as development work on oil deposits in the coast of Sakhalin Island in 2003. In addition, in 2004, CNPC began negotiations with ExxonMobil (Russia) on the probability of gas supplies from the Sakhalin-1 station in the long term. ExxonMobil and its partners (including Rosneft) eventually agreed on a deal to export gas from the Sakhalin-1 project with CNPC in 2006 [12], the main condition of which was the flow of gas through the pipeline to Northeast China. Unfortunately, the full obligations under the contract were not fully implemented, but at the same time, Gazprom started to sell gas from the Sakhalin-2 project. Only a few cargoes were sold on the basis of the 2006 contract, since the bulk of the Sakhalin-2 project production goes under the contract to customers from the markets of Japan and South Korea.

In addition, in 2006, Gazprom and CNPC negotiated the opening of two new gas pipelines (Altai and the Power of Siberia) from Russia to China. Despite to the long negotiations, by 2011, these gas pipelines existed only on paper, since the officials could not come to a conclusion on the pipeline route. However, in 2014, an agreement was reached for a 30-year period, involving gas supplies totaling $ 400 billion. This agreement was the biggest for Gazprom in its history of existence. The construction of the Power of Siberia gas pipeline is planned for a period of 4–6 years, which, by 2019, it was put into operation. Despite the opening of the gas pipeline, during the implementation of the project, next problems were identified: difficulty in attracting loans from Chinese financial institutions and great disagreements on the final price for gas supplies.

Another fact of gas cooperation should be noted – liquefied natural gas (LNG). This is artificially processed gas, mostly methane, which is more convenient to store and transport, because the building of a gas pipeline is unnecessary. In 2014, Novatek sold a 20% stake in the Yamal LNG plant located on the Yamal Peninsula in the city of Yar-Sale to the Chinese CNPC. Six months later, an agreement was reached, which resulted in a purchase and sale agreement for the supply of three

million tons of LNG per year, which is 18% of the total amount of the plant at 16.5 million tons per year, with a deadline of 20 years [13].

Since the signing of agreements on the export of LNG and pipelines in May 2014, relations between Russia and China in the gas sector have continued to develop steadily, but we cannot deny its slowed pace. From an environmental point of view, the faster China switches from coal to natural gas energy consumption, the better, so the sooner China and Russia agree on large-scale cooperation in the field of natural gas selling, the more environmentally sustainable China's enterprises will become.

4 Outlooks for the Development of Relations Between Russia and China in the Oil and Gas Sector of Economy

Russia's energy strategy directly depends on the development of oil production in the eastern part of the country and identifies the Asia-Pacific region as the main consumer market for exports. Cooperation between the Russian Federation and China in the oil sector can be realized in two ways. The first way involves rapid trading as necessary. The second way is to conclude a long-term agreement on oil supplies, where prices for China are expected to be lower than the real ones on the global market. The study shows that the Russian officials and companies chose the second way. As previously noted, Russia has to supply oil to China until 2030. For the first time in history, Russia overtook Saudi Arabia in terms of crude oil supplies to China (2017), with a daily indicator of 1.05 million barrels. This can be considered a minor success after a difficult period of economic sanctions, which started from the beginning of 2014.

In our point of view, the exploration of Arctic waters, the search for reserves, and the construction of factories can be considered a prospect in the development of the oil sector. In the Arctic, Russia's traditional oil deposits are estimated at about 13–15% of the world's total reserves (134 billion rubles) [14]. China also has its own ambitions in the Arctic regions, but due to a weak fleet, it can only accomplish this in tandem with Russia, and Russia does not have enough financial resources, so the cooperation with China is the most attractive development option. In addition, this partnership will contribute to the creation of a significant number of jobs and projects, the development of industry, improving the demography situation of the Russian Federation, and increasing GDP. An example of cooperation is the Center for the Study of the Arctic territories created by the joint forces of Harbin Polytechnic University and the Far Eastern Federal University (2016), where the impact of cold on various materials is studied, the impact of loads of engineering-class structures on ice and ships, and the design of platforms for the production of hydrocarbon raw materials in the shelf zone is being developed. A significant event in the Arctic was the drilling of oil wells in the Sea of Okhotsk by Rosneft with the help of the Chinese company COSL, which puts the rig in the sea, investing money in the result; as a

result, the Ulberikanskaya-1 well was created. It should be noticed that there are many events in Russian-Chinese oil relations, such as geodetic studies of the Arctic, drilling of wells, the opening of the Russian-Chinese University of the Arctic, an increase in oil supplies, and in the future the construction of an oil refinery.

As for the gas sector, the legendary "Power of Siberia" can be called the most important and successful project in it. This project was completed in 2019 and stepped into its active period from 2020; five million cubic meters of gas were exported to China, expecting an increase to 38 million cubic meters of gas by 2025 [15]. Be the way, China plans to build the southern section of the gas pipeline on its territory up to Shanghai. This construction will increase the number of jobs on such projects and give an impetus to the development of Russian-Chinese gas relations. The second project ("Power of Siberia-2," formerly "Altai"), affecting three countries, Russia, Mongolia, and China, in our opinion, is in the state of development, since China is currently interested in building the southern branch of the "Power of Siberia" to Shanghai. With regard to the Yamal LNG plant, it should be remarked that the Chinese side owns 20% of the shares of this plant, which allowed it to purchase three million tons of liquefied gas from the Russian side annually for 15 years. All in all, this agreement obliges Chinese investors to subsidize this project, which will strengthen further cooperation in this area.

5   Conclusion

Russia, by its significant natural resources and vast experience in the gas and oil consumer markets, can provide domestic energy demand of many countries, as well as be the world's main exporter. China, experiencing an "energy hunger," becomes dependent on imports of energy and other resources. In our opinion, the cooperation of these countries has a number of nuances. For example, Russia depends on the volume of export supplies, since they affect the degree of profitability; significant economic growth rates in all directions of China depend on growing imports of energy resources. Based on the above theoretical and factual material, we can make a conclusion about the controversial nature and unpredictable results of partnerships between Russia and China. The oil sector is developing quite slowly, and the gas sector is still, unfortunately, absolutely unprofitable. It seems to us that China benefits more from this cooperation, but Russia's huge Arctic deposits can change the situation in the opposite direction.

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An Analysis of the Impact of China: US Relations on Hong Kong's Status as an International Financial Centre from the Perspective of Realistic Constructivism Theory

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Abstract In recent years, Hong Kong has been regarded as a "frontline battleground" in the China-US game. To this day, the United States continues to put pressure on China over parts of the Hong Kong issue. As a country with important economic interests in Hong Kong, the US policy toward Hong Kong is also an important part of its China strategy and strongly affects China-US relations. So, will the China-US game substantially affect Hong Kong's status as an international financial centre? This paper presents a qualitative study on Hong Kong using the framework of the realist constructivism theory of international relations and finds that although Hong Kong will be subject to a certain degree of external shocks caused by the US sanctions, they will not actually cause Hong Kong to lose its status as an international financial centre.

1 Introduction

The promulgation and implementation of the "National Security Law" in Hong Kong have provided solutions to incidents such as endangering national security and disrupting social order in Hong Kong in recent years. The United States and its allies have also implemented a series of countermeasures against China. As a

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country with important economic interests in Hong Kong, the US policy toward Hong Kong is also an important part of its China strategy and strongly affects China-US relations. So, will there be great friction between China and the United States over the Hong Kong issue, and will the two countries make Hong Kong an international financial centre? In contrast to traditional studies of China-US relations, this paper innovatively applies the newer theory of reality constructivism to interpret China-US relations. As a theory possessing an integrative role, realistic constructivism blends realism and constructivism to argue how power and identity interact with each other and act on international relations through rules, using material power as a basis, social conceptual identity as a framework and international rules as a bridge. It is found that while US sanctions will cause some degree of external shock to Hong Kong, they will not actually result in Hong Kong losing its status as an international financial centre. This paper believes that the realistic constructivism theory can be used to interpret China-US relations and the United States' attitude and influence on Hong Kong.

2 The Impact of Realistic Constructivism on China-US Relations

As the name suggests, realistic constructivism is a fusion of realism and constructivism. Barkin tried to combine realism and constructivism. Realistic constructivism is mainly used to interpret the relationship between ideas, power and the social construction of international politics, supplementing existing international relations theories [1]. It can also be understood that realistic constructivism is a form of constructivism of realism. In general, realist constructivism not only advocates that international politics is the product of social construction but also emphasises that power in international politics cannot be surpassed.

On the one hand, realist constructivism accepts the constructivist hypothesis of "interactive construction of identity, identity defines interests and behaviours", and supposes that national interests are first determined by national identity. The first step is to understand "who am I and what do I want" [2]. National identity not only presupposes who the actors are but prescribes behaviour independent of the distribution of power. However, regardless of national identity, the most fundamental interests a nation pursues remain survival and development [3]. Whether a state can stand on the international stage, and how far it can develop, is still limited by its comprehensive national strength. Therefore, identity and material power jointly shape the national interests and foreign behaviour of China and the United States [4]. At the beginning of China's founding, due to the huge differences in social systems, cultural concepts and political beliefs between China and the United States, it was difficult for the two sides to increase their sense of identity and carry out strategic co-operation on this basis. In addition, both parties consider the other to pose a huge security threat to them [5]. After that, the normalisation and long-term

stability of China-US relations were due not only to the joint response to the threat of the Soviet Union but also due to China's active acceptance of Western values in the process of reform and opening up, and the United States hoped to adopt a "contact strategy" to influence China's social formation.

On the other hand, realistic constructivism replaced that in the formulation of international rules; it is inevitable that great powers have the greatest right to speak [6]. For example, the existing international system reflects the United States' strengths in setting international rules. But the international community is not static. The interaction between states constitutes the entire process of the international community. Due to the interaction with the international mediation rules, the rules themselves will also affect or even change the distribution of state power. Just as China's rise is benefiting from current international rules, a new pattern of power distribution has been formed in the relatively stable China-US relation international system. Realistic constructivism not only compensates for the oversimplified static theory of neorealism but also rejects the pessimistic attitude of offensive realism theory. This enables realistic constructivism to explain China-US relations and the attitudes of both sides on the Hong Kong issue in a more comprehensive way. It is also a realistic choice between China and the United States on the Hong Kong issue.

3   Hierarchical Analysis of China-US Relations on Hong Kong's Status

This research adopts a hierarchical approach to analyse the development trends of Hong Kong's international financial centre in the context of the China-US change. It begins with a macro-analysis of the current state of China-US relations and assesses the extent of the impact of China-US relations on Hong Kong's international financial centre. Secondly, it then moves on to a specific examination of Hong Kong's status as a financial centre. Through an interpretive analysis of the relevant literature, the unique advantages of Hong Kong as an international financial centre are explored.

3.1   China and the United States Cannot Easily Retaliate Against Each Other

Realistic constructivism supposes that the most fundamental interests of a country are still survival and development. From a sovereignty standpoint, neither side poses any serious challenge to the other's sovereignty [7]. On the one hand, the Hong Kong issue has nothing to do with the core interests of the United States. The actual reason for the United States interfering in the Hong Kong issue is that after the Cold War, as the only superpower in the unipolar world, the United States often changes

most parts of the world based on its own values to adapt to the status quo of the international order it maintains. Minor adjustments in the distribution of power by the United States do not alter the relative positions of power of the countries concerned, which are perfectly compatible with the status quo policy. In the actual operation of the United States on the Hong Kong issue, its propaganda only dares to use economic sanctions such as cancelling the special treatment of Hong Kong in trade and "damaging Hong Kong's freedom, democracy and human rights", "endangering Hong Kong's semi-autonomous status and its actions" and other diplomatic and public opinion levels attacking China. On the other hand, although the United States has been hyping up interference in China's internal affairs over the Hong Kong issue, it has not explicitly denied China's sovereignty over Hong Kong. Moreover, the impact of these practical operations on Hong Kong is minimal. Economically, Hong Kong's advantages such as the low tax rate, advantageous geographical location, and freely convertible currency will remain unchanged. At the political level, the international community has witnessed the successful practice of "one country, two systems" in the return and governance of Hong Kong, which is also one of the important reasons for the persistence of this system.

3.2 China and the United States Do Not Pose a Serious Challenge to Each Other's Sovereignty

Realistic constructivism holds that the diversity and constructability of national identity determine the variability of national interests [8]. The study of national identity must be carried out in many ways. First, national identity is not monolithic. When facing the same competition, there may be different identities. As the main promoter of Western liberal values, the United States thus set the goal of defending the principles of "democracy, freedom and human rights" and constructed its own "world policeman" identity in the rest of the world against any challenge to this established universal value. For example, on the Hong Kong issue, the United States accuses China of democratic and universal values, thereby seizing the moral high ground and implementing the concept of liberal hegemonic governance. But when it comes to Afghanistan, the United States believes that China can play a key role in ending the conflict there. From this point of view, China and the United States still have many parallel or common interests in many security affairs. Second, national identities are multifaceted. In the eyes of Chinese and American officials, scholars and the general public, the identities of the other side are changeable and complex. Since the end of the Cold War, China has pursued a strategy of peaceful rise. China's view of Confucianism as an expression of its cultural identity also shapes China's identity as a great power that will develop mainly through domestic economic development and peaceful means. "Peaceful rise" also shows that China still maintains its status as a great power under the existing international order rather than

reestablishing a new international order. In terms of economy and military power, China is only economically strong, the military still pursues a defensive national defence policy, and its foreign policy is relatively peaceful. The interaction between China and the United States with other countries in the Asia-Pacific region also seeks to establish economic ties with China, and Hong Kong's role in this reflects the main window between the mainland and the international market and the main bridge to undertaking international industrial transfers, while many have a relationship with China. Cooperative countries in the Asia-Pacific region still maintain close ties with the United States, both economically and militarily. Although it seems that competition and confrontation are still the mainstream of the game between China and the United States, it must not be denied that China and the United States still regard each other as opportunities for their own development and partners for practical co-operation, which also hedge the negative factors in the bilateral relations to a certain extent. At the same time, it has also decided that in China-US relations, both sides will not easily impose substantive sanctions or retaliate against each other.

3.3 Hong Kong's Status as an International Financial Centre Is Steadily Developing

In recent years, with the downward development trend of China-US relations, geopolitical tensions, local social unrest in Hong Kong and the gradual rise of trade protectionism, combined with the impact of COVID-19 pandemic, the impact of global economic and trade activities and the increasing uncertainty of global economic development, Hong Kong's status as an international financial centre has taken something of a hit. Hong Kong's international financial status, however, after several challenges, under the system guarantee of "one country, two systems" and backed by a huge market in mainland China, still is defending its position. And according to research by Yan Liang, while many US companies are concerned about the National Security Act, over 70% say they would not consider leaving Hong Kong [9]. Although the implementation of the law may have an impact on Hong Kong's civil liberties, Hong Kong's free business environment based on the rule of law remains attractive and therefore remains a highly sought-after financial centre. Academic David Mever also agrees that the protests in Hong Kong are unlikely to cause it to become an unstable business environment or prompt financiers to move to safer financial centres [10]. Unless violence becomes widespread, it is unlikely that companies will pull out of the Hong Kong market, as this would only harm their financial operations. In March 2022, the latest global financial centres index rankings, Hong Kong continues to maintain the position of the world's third, Asia's first, once again proved in the global leading position in the field of finance.

3.4 Guarantee of the "One Country, Two Systems"

The "one country, two systems" guarantee provides Hong Kong with great institutional guarantee and flexibility. It has enabled Hong Kong to adopt a more international and modern financial system and provides a wider range of investment products, thus providing a win-win situation for foreign, China mainland and local capital. First of all, Hong Kong's institutional advantages not only promote the two-way economic and trade ties between the mainland and Hong Kong but also act as a bridge between mainland China and the rest of the world, playing a pivotal and unique role. In China's 14th Five-Year Plan, it clearly proposed that it would support Hong Kong in strengthening its role as a global offshore RMB business hub to deepen connectivity between the two places [11]. On the one hand, mainland China's strong economic growth engine and development opportunities are highly attractive to overseas investors. More and more overseas capital hope to enter the mainland's capital market through the connectivity mechanism between Hong Kong and mainland China. On the other hand, Hong Kong has maximised its advantages as a free port, effectively attracting a large number of overseas funds to park in Hong Kong and providing unlimited liquidity for Hong Kong's financial market. In addition, the Hong Kong International Financial Centre is not only a springboard for foreign financial institutions to enter and invest in China but is also the first stop for Chinese financial institutions to internationalise [12]. Hong Kong follows the principle-based supervision principle of financial regulation, which provides principled guidelines for the operation of the financial market and allows financial institutions to formulate their own operating rules. This provides a relaxed operating environment for financial institutions and is conducive to the innovative development of the financial sector. The combination of a sound business environment and China's macro-policies has also maintained the stable functioning of Hong Kong's financial system.

3.5 China and the United States Are Increasingly Interdependent

Under the current international system, multilateralism and economic globalisation have become the mainstream of development, and the economies of various countries are showing a situation of "lips and teeth" [13]. Economic and trade relations used to be the "ballast stone" and "propeller" of China-US relations. Although the status of China-US economic and trade relations has been greatly challenged after the Trump administration's trade war against China, it is still one of the pillars of relations between the two countries [14]. According to the US Census Bureau, Hong Kong was the largest source of the US bilateral trade surplus in goods last year, at

$26.1 billion [15]. Up to now, China is still the United States' largest trading partner, and Hong Kong, as an important international entrepot trade centre, still plays an active role in the intermediary of China-US trade. For example, in 2017, Hong Kong's outbound exports of Chinese goods reached HK $2226.8 billion, of which HK $277.5 billion was re-exported to the United States, accounting for 12.5% of China's total. Among the HK $115.7 billion worth of US goods re-exported to other destinations through Hong Kong, the value of goods re-exported to China was HK $73.2 billion, accounting for 63.2% of total US re-exports [16]. For the international community, Hong Kong remains different from China's leading financial and technology centres such as Shenzhen or Shanghai because of its more liberal economy and competitive tax and currency regimes, as well as its good location. This is also the main reason why Hong Kong can become and can maintain its status as an international financial centre [17]. From this point of view, China and the United States are not like the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, which consisted of two systems that were opposed to and isolated from each other. Instead, the two countries are highly interdependent economically. Even if there is trade friction, it will not directly lead to the occurrence of the "Cold War model" of the polarised world pattern in history.

4 Conclusion

From the viewpoint of realistic constructivism, this paper holds that the United States' policy toward Hong Kong will change with the interaction of Chinese' and United States' interests. Today, China-US relations clearly contain multiple elements of co-operation and competition. This relationship can range from full co-operation to unreserved competition. Even in the midst of competition, China and the United States continue to maintain substantial economic ties. If the United States does not hesitate to impose sanctions on Hong Kong's status as an international financial centre, it is likely to ignite a powder keg under China-US economic relations. This potential conflict could jeopardise not only bilateral trade and finance but also other areas of co-operation. If this happens, the "Thucydides Trap" will engulf not only the two confronting countries, China and the United States, but the entire world, as the US-Soviet "Cold War" successfully promoted globalisation and ended in a non-violent manner. Based on theory and historical experience, the United States' Hong Kong policy will continue to be carried out steadily under the overall China-US relations and will not be separated from the broad framework of the United States' China policy. Although Hong Kong will be affected to a certain extent by the external impact caused by the United States' sanctions, it will not actually cause Hong Kong to lose its status as an international financial centre.

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Decision-Making Process in the EU Foreign Policy: The Role of Informal Subprocess

Artūrs Lugovskis and Dmitrii Popov

Abstract The European Union is an integrated association with its own foreign policy, whose nature is as unique as the association itself. This article focuses on the study of the role of the informal factor in the process of the EU foreign policy decision-making. The article proposes the author's approach, which implies the conceptualization of the EU foreign policy using the terms formal and informal subprocesses within the decision-making process. The applicability of this approach is illustrated through studying the role of the European Round Table for Industry (ERT) and the NGO Southeast Europe Leadership for Development and Integrity (SELDI) in the EU foreign policy decision-making. The advantages of the proposed approach, such as greater flexibility, criteria-based inclusiveness, and systematization, in general, are proposed to further studies of the EU foreign policy.

Keywords European Union · Foreign policy decision-making · Foreign policy · Non-state actors · Nongovernmental institutions · European Commission

1 Introduction

The European Union is an integrated association of 27 states that are closely interlinked by common legal norms binding on all union members; a single market, in which goods and services, people, and capital move freely; and a single foreign policy. The member states of the association went a long way under the European integration process, which eventually led not only to the formation of a unified economic system but also united the states in the political sphere. Some researchers

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have even conceived the idea whether the European Union is evolving into some semblance of state [27, 35, 49]. Referring to the Montevideo Convention [37], we can find that the EU really succeeded in getting close to a near-state status: a permanent population, a certain territory, capacity to enter into relations with other states – all these are the essential EU attributes, at least de facto. Probably, only the item about its own unitary government remains debatable.

It is clear that the EU integration progress has made significant progress, but what the integration processes are yet unable to achieve is to establish a single central government. Wallace draws attention to this, saying that the EU is a system of governance without a government [48]. Naturally, this "global" feature of the European Union is reflected in its foreign policy. We are already well aware that the institutional framework of the EU foreign policy process, despite its original similarity to the institutions of state actors, does not support the principle of separation of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial [6, 29]. Instead, the European Union conforms to the institutional balance concept, which ensures compatibility of a wide range of powers within its separate institutions [6, 30, 50, 51].

The researchers note that unlike a national government as the chief center of political and economic power in the state political system, the focus of the EU main political force is at the core of complex processes of tripartite relations between the bureaucracy of the EU institutions, political elites of the EU member states, and the leadership of community-based and private sector organizations and groups that compete with each other in building their own influence over decision-making in the EU institutions [29]. Notably the decision-making process in the EU goes, to a certain extent, beyond the scope of official institutions, which is also mentioned by some scholars [33, 34]. Thus, the focus of this research article is to conceptualize the foreign policy process of the EU.

In the thematic literature, the notion of informal factor, which affects the process of the EU foreign policy decision-making, is rather restricted, in one way or another. The theory of informal governance describes the shift of the official decision-makers from the official EU structures toward the informal arena, where consultations are held, including those with business representatives and other stakeholders [25, 34]. Moreover, according to the stipulations described below, this process is self-sufficient, and its formalization in the official structures is required only to consolidate the legitimacy of the decision, which is fully developed and discussed in the framework of informal institutions. The models of informal relations between the EU politicians [40], as well as the informalization of the decision-making process [1], describe only the informal process of the dialogue between officials, while the participation of non-state actors is not included.

The approach taken in this paper combines the features of the theories of both informal governance and informal models, such as the Merkozy model, underlying the author's interpretation of the core of the informal factor in the process of the EU foreign policy decision-making. This approach divides the EU foreign policy process into informal and formal subprocesses.

In this paper, the informal subprocess of foreign policy decision-making process is understood as the summarized impact of non-state actors on the foreign policy

decision-making process, which is exerted through some informal mechanisms or channels linking non-state actors with stakeholders, as well as the use of informal channels by the EU officials to catalyze the decision-making process. However, within the framework of this approach, the informal subprocess is not ultimate, since the final decision is made by the formal EU institutions. Such informal, unregulated, or partially regulated intercommunion between the EU officials and structures and non-state actors is only supplementary to the official mechanisms of the development and decision-making by the EU.

The formal subprocess of foreign policy decision-making represents the second structural unit in the consolidated EU foreign policy process and implies the normal functioning of legally established power institutions of the association with their formal right of the final word in the decision-making process. The implementation of the formal process of political decision-making is ensured by the appropriate legislative instruments and institutions, and all contacts of the officials are framed by formal procedures. The advantage of this approach is its greater flexibility, since the decisions that are discussed in informal interaction arenas are not self-sufficient and the final decision is still up to the formal institution. Moreover, the informal process under this approach is somewhat broader and may involve not only the bureaucracy and senior officials of the member countries but also the interests of NGOs and large businesses. Upon clarifying the research questions and methodology, relying on a comparative analysis of some theories, including the informal factor, the author's approach to the analysis of the process of the EU foreign policy decision-making will be described. Further, in the course of examining the relationships between the EU institutions and various non-state actors, as well as identifying some informal channels, the applicability of the author's approach to the analysis of the EU foreign policy will be demonstrated. In conclusion, the practical and theoretical importance of this approach will be assessed.

2   Research Questions

Research question A: Can concepts describing the role of the informal factor in the EU foreign policy decision-making be systematized by developing a single framework for them?

Research question B: What are the existing test cases that prove the applicability of the approach developed on the basis of a comparative analysis of research publications?

3   Methodology

The author's approach to the systematization of concepts describing informal processes in the framework of the EU foreign policy was based on a comparative analysis of the theoretical frame of research works. The analysis showed similarities and

differences in a number of statements made in these studies. Then the criteria were formulated, such as inclusiveness of non-state actors, completeness of the process, etc. Incorporating the examined theories of informality into a single concept was based on combining all the identified criteria aiming to conceptualize disparate theories within a single scientific category – the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy process.

The case study method is used to analyze the role of the Southeast Europe Leadership for Development and Integrity (SELDI) NGO in the EU foreign policy decision-making process. This method was either used to study the impact of the European Round Table for Industry (ERT). The activities demonstrated a significant level of informal relationships with the EU institutions achieved and kept up by these organizations. At the same time, the emphasis was put on the importance of these relationships in terms of shaping the EU foreign policy, where the above organizations are said to play a certain role. The applicability of this method is explained by the fact that it allows us to view specific EU actions within the framework of its foreign policy and hence to assess the applicability of the developed approach that divides the EU foreign policy decision-making process into two parallel subprocesses. Also, it should be noted that the problem discussed in this article builds upon the statement that both formal and informal EU institutions are equally important and interdependent.

4   Analysis

4.1   Informal Subprocess of the EU Foreign Policy Decision-Making Process

In the theoretical domain, there are many concepts that somehow describe the role of certain "informality" in European politics, defined individually by each author. The analysis of these theoretical provisions allows us to assess how, in general, researchers view the nonclassical, opposite to official, nonformal process of the EU foreign policy decision-making.

The gist of the term "informal process of foreign policy decision-making" is explained in the work by Karin L. Johnston, PhD, senior research associate in the Foreign Policy Program at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies (AICGS). She does not provide the underlying rationale and theorization of this category but uses it to describe the phenomenon that exists in the state system of the Federal Republic of Germany. This phenomenon is that due to bureaucratic competition and lack of information and time, the informal groups of decision-makers often try to bypass formal institutional structures by creating informal practices and networks to accelerate the decision-making process or to overcome bureaucratic constraints [33].

   In their study, Thomas Christiansen, Andreas Follesdal, and Simona Piattoni clearly identified the uniqueness of the EU – the functioning of an exclusive institutional and legal framework that structures relationships between the members of the association. According to the authors, the chief matter of the EU integration process is the formalization of interstate relations, so it is not surprising that researchers should focus on formal procedures and institutionalized arenas for decision-making [25]. However, the researchers are convinced that there has never been a systematic, large-scale study of the informal aspect, the influence of informal actors, or the informal decision-making process in the EU. For these reasons, the process of informal governance made the subject of their research interest.

   Researchers define the informal governance as a process of decision development by the authorities. These are not made by a single hierarchical structure, such as a democratically elected government, but instead result from interactions between multiple public and private, collective and individual actors (the so-called informal networks) [25, 29].

   At the EU level, arenas of interaction of informal governance actors appear either spontaneously or are sponsored by the European Commission [2, 25].

   According to the researchers, the EU feature that makes the presence of informal governance so visible is that the EU has a nonhierarchical institutional structure [25]. Moreover, the EU has no direct enforcement capacities. In the context of the EU policy development, informal governance is implemented for overcoming the excessively rigid and inflexible formal rules and procedures of the EU. Given time, informal networks may tend to become institutionalized, in order to strengthen their role in the political process [25].

   Informal governance in the EU is assessed ambiguously by the authors of the article. First, it creates a dilemma for the legitimacy of the association. On the one hand, the presence of informal governance allows for tangible political results, despite the cumbersome decision-making system in the EU. But on the other hand, informal governance poses a serious threat to the legitimacy of the union, as over-reliance on informal governance can lead to lobbying abuse by businesses and other stakeholders, as well as to provoke distrust of the EU.

   According to the authors, the fact that informal governance operates within the EU reflects the growing inability of democratically elected legislative assemblies and governments to collect the information and control the resources needed for the effective policy-making in modern societies [25, 34].

   At the same time, informal governance helps to set the stage where the formal institutional mechanism acts in the decision-making process. According to the concept proposed by the authors of the article, informal governance operates via informal relationships that take place outside the official structures.

   The main issue of concern to Dr. Mareike Kleine, assistant professor in the EU politics at London School of Economics, is the inconsistency of informal governance with regard to the legitimacy of the decision-making process.

   The author agrees with the statement that the primary aim of informal governance is to support and to account for the interests of actors that would otherwise be ignored [34].

At the same time, Kleine believes that closeness and nontransparency of informal governance opens the door to manipulation and abuse, which will inevitably affect the decision legitimacy in a negative way. However, the use of informal governance also gives politicians greater flexibility, allowing the states to achieve a high level of cooperation that would otherwise be unsustainable [34]. This position is almost identical to that expressed by Christiansen, Follesdal, and Piattoni in their article.

The author concludes that the influence of informal governance on the legitimacy of domestic and foreign policy decisions is an empirical problem. Therefore, any positive effect possibly produced by informal governance on the political decision legitimacy depends on whether formal institutions of power have access to the information discussed within informal structures [34].

From this viewpoint, the phenomenon of informal governance is described in Kleine's study in a way as if the EU formal structures intentionally give space to informal approach to the decision-making process. This is also confirmed by the fact that the European Commission deliberately allows non-state actors to consultations within the informal process [2, 34]. The characteristics of informal governance provided by Christiansen, Follesdal, and Piattoni are somewhat different. In their study, informal governance is said to have more natural roots and is rather determined by the decentralized structure of the EU.

Given the complex relationship between informal governance and legitimacy, we should be more cautious about the calls to abandon informality and increase the transparency of political processes, Kleine believes. Her analysis shows that these efforts will be fruitless, at best: the actors will find other and probably even more hidden ways to bypass the formal rules [34].

Interestingly under the informal governance phenomenon, the author views the fact of systematic deviations from formal rules as part of the EU political system. Such deviations, if they are considered acceptable to all parties involved in decision-making, can help in strengthening the links between actors.

According to the arguments of the above authors, informal governance is actually a holistic decision-making process. In this case, informality means stepping over the boundaries of official institutions and factoring them out of the decision-making process. However, other authors suggest the existence of certain informal political models.

For instance, Magnus Schoeller, Mattia Guidi, and Yannis Karagiannis analyze the informal political model of the Merkozy duumvirate that emerged during the Eurozone crisis. This informal model is named after German Chancellor Angela Merkel and the former French President Nicolas Sarkozy. The Merkozy model describes the special relationship between the top officials of Germany and France, who had a great impact on the most important issues in the EU decision-making process [38, 39].

The authors of the article focus their research on explaining the nature of this phenomenon, applying the theoretical provisions of neoliberal institutionalism. According to this theory and in the context of international negotiations, institutions help to solve the problem of lack of information, organizational issues, etc. [26].

It should be mentioned here that currently most scholars view international institutions as a set of rules intended to govern international behavior [47].

John J. Mearsheimer defines institutions as a set of rules that stipulate the ways in which the states should cooperate and compete with each other. Further, Robert Keohane defines institutions as persistent and connected sets of rules (formal and informal) that prescribe behavioral roles, constrain activity, and shape expectations [36].

Within the scope of the Merkozy model, researchers note a contradiction: despite the high level of the EU institutional development, which should ensure the solution of any international issues, the practice of applying informal interaction is still in place. In the context of the described model, formal institutions of the association were not necessary and effective during the European debt crisis; moreover, they were considered as an obstacle on the way out of it [40].

This statement is also consistent with the conclusions presented by Mareike Kleine, regarding the futility of avoiding informal contacts – apparently, the need for informal governance or some informal models of interaction exists not only in solving everyday issues but increases in crisis situations.

Relying on the study of Adrienne Héritier [28], the authors use two different approaches to explain the Merkozy phenomenon. According to the first, the Merkozy model is seen as a negotiation strategy of the Federal Republic of Germany: Germany used bilateral informal interaction to strengthen its position in multilateral negotiations [40]. Under the second approach, the researchers argue that the Merkozy model is a decentralized informal institution [24], which represents a response to growing uncertainty caused, rather than mitigated by the centralized EU institutions [40]. The researchers note the increased demand for such a response just during the crisis, since the economies of European countries needed rapid and effective measures, which could be extremely unpopular among the general public [40].

Consequently, such informal contacts are part of informal governance in the EU, which is perfectly consistent with the ideas of Christiansen, Follesdal, Piattoni, and Kleine about this phenomenon: flexibility, speed, and low-cost decision-making are exactly what characterizes the Merkozy duumvirate model.

On the other hand, this model is probably not so close to various theories of informal governance: first, it is unlikely that the position of France and Germany, even if consolidated position of the two largest European economies, can present an almost nonnegotiable final decision of a democratic EU, because of the large number of the EU actors, interacting and having the right of veto. But the theory of informal governance states that the decision is de facto already taken outside the formal structures – further, it only assumes the required legitimacy through official institutions. Second, we do not see non-state actors in the Merkozy model, neither private nor groups.

The case of informal relations in the context of political decision-making, presented by Edoardo Bressanelli, Christel Koop, and Christine Reh, is even more revealing. The researchers argue that legislative decision-making in the EU is increasingly shifting toward the informal secluded arenas, which ensures the early adoption of laws.

The researchers introduce the term informalization, which, according to their logic, means that part of strictly regulated decision-making procedures is transferred from the EU collegial bodies to a less regulated informal process.

The content of informalization is shown by the authors in the evolutionary and historical context. The powers conferred on the European Parliament over the past few decades (the role in the European Commission appointments, general budgetary powers, the power to veto the EU trade agreements, as well as the partnership with the EU Council in the context of decision-making procedure) have allegedly allowed the EP to gain significantly more weight as a pan-European supranational decision-making institution [1]. This, in turn, has greatly simplified the ordinary legislative procedure – currently, the EP and the EU Council usually adopt laws in the first reading, while the number of second readings has greatly reduced and the third reading is practically unused in the EU decision-making process [1].

The study identifies two reasons that made these changes possible: the entry into force of the Amsterdam Treaty, which provided a formal opportunity to adopt the law in the first reading, and the informal system of trilateral meetings (trilogue), when compromises between the various EU institutions are agreed [1, 8]. The authors of the study concluded that this informal policy of decision-making was successful: the number of agreements in the first reading increased from 29% in the Fifth Parliament (1999–2004) to 85% in the Seventh Parliament (2009–2014); currently, almost all laws adopted by the EU are pre-debated under the trilogue [1].

Thus, it becomes clear from the authors' conclusions that the over-formalized and over-institutionalized decision-making process does not benefit the effective work of the EU. The informalization process falls within the frame of understanding the informal decision-making – members of the EU authorities do not undertake consultations with non-state actors but only use the informal process of interinstitutional "dialogue" in order to develop a decision as soon as possible within the formal structures.

Figure 1 shows the theoretical units underlying the synthesis of the author's approach.

In general, the theorists described various informality concepts of the European decision-making process, as follows: the theory of informal governance, which considers the development of decisions through the interaction between multiple public and private, collective, and individual actors, completely outside the frames of formal structures; the Merkozy duumvirate model, which describes the informal interaction between the heads of two states, without participation of any non-state actors; the concept of the EU informalization, which assumes that an over-formalized decision-making process significantly complicates the effectiveness of this mechanism and therefore the system cannot actually exist without a certain share of informal contacts in the decision-making process.

Figure 2 shows the structural elements of the author's concept of an informal subprocess.
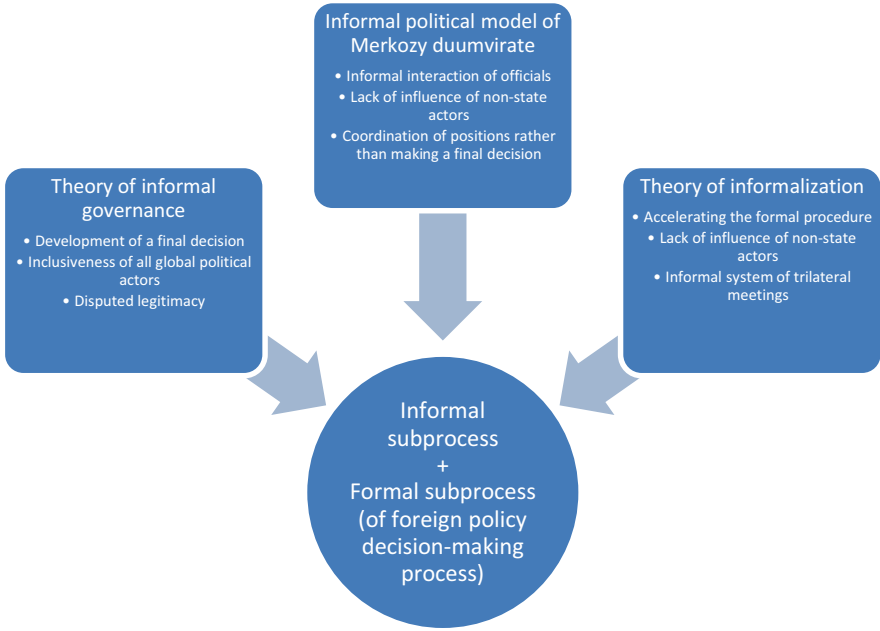
Fig. 1 Theoretical units that served as the basis for the author's approach to the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making process
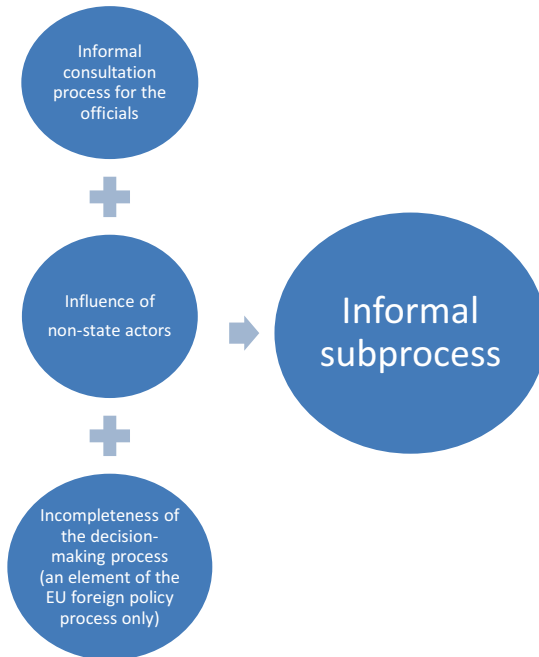
Fig. 2 Structural elements of the author's approach to the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making process

4.2   Case Analysis

As mentioned earlier, the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making covers a set of informal relations, which nevertheless have a certain influence on the final decision taken by the EU official institutions. The informal subprocess also includes the actions of non-state actors that can influence the course of the decision-making process.

The cases presented below illustrate a certain mechanism of relations between the EU and non-state actors, which allows the latter to exert a certain influence on the most important foreign policy issues of the decision-making process.

4.3   Case Study of the European Round Table for Industry

In the context of influencing the EU foreign policy process, activities of the European Round Table for Industry (the ERT) provide an excellent case demonstrating the applicability of the informal subprocess concept.

The ERT is an informal organization that brings together the heads of the largest TNCs in Europe. The top items on the ERT agenda are as follows: promoting the process of European integration and encouraging national governments to take action in the interests of transnational companies in Europe through contacts at the pan-European level – with the Council of Europe, the European Commission, and the European Parliament, as well as with European governments at the national level [22].

A very revealing description of the ERT activity can be found in the literature. As noted by Olivier Hoedeman, representative of the Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO, a nonprofit organization that studies corporate lobbying in the EU), the ERT is not just a lobbying group; it has become an integral part of the EU, since the integration process in Europe was facilitated in many ways by the ERT activities [32].

The most relevant step to contribute to the European policy was taken by the ERT in 2020 amid the global-wide spread of a new coronavirus infection. The ERT forwarded a letter to Angela Merkel, the current EU president, where the key tasks identified by the ERT were intended to stabilize the situation in Europe. In particular, the letter expressed concern about the increasing protectionist measures and outlined support for the EU recovery instruments, among which the significant role of the Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF) was mentioned separately, as well as the need for the soonest settlement of the EU-UK relations to avoid a "hard" Brexit [23].

On October 1 and 2, 2020, a special session of the EU Council was held; the session agenda contained some of the activities proposed by the ERT (European Council, Council of the EU 2020). In this regard, it is obvious that the ERT has a certain influence in the EU structures, as clearly stated in the CEO report. Moreover, the ERT members say directly that, unlike most other corporate lobbying groups in Brussels, the ERT does not lobby for individual draft laws but promotes a

large-scale agenda [5]. Keith Richardson, former secretary-general of the organization, described the ERT activities as follows: We do not deal with industry issues. We do not deal with national issues. We only handle the very big issues [5].

The ERT's access to European commissioners is undeniable, the CEO report says. Besides, the ERT also enjoys privileged ties with members of the European Parliament, which is gaining more strength [32]. Combined with the long-standing links inside the ERT between member companies and the national governments of the countries hosting the TNCs databases, access to the Brussels bureaucracy has been a critical element of the ERT's lobbying success and concludes the report on the ERT lobbying mechanism [5].

Thus, it can be noted that the ERT has certain influence on the EU decision-making through informal contacts at the level of the European Commission and the European Parliament. In addition, the logic of the report indicates that the ERT members have influence on the national governments in the states where the largest European TNCs are based and therefore on the EU Council, whose members are top representatives of the EU member states. All this illustrates the exceptional role of the ERT in the affairs of the EU internal and foreign policy, which, in turn, confirms the applicability of the informal subprocess category to this case.

However, to understand what mechanism provides such contact, we need to study its role within the informal subprocess of the European Commission in more detail.

The respective literature indicates that the key aspects of the EC informal relation activities are governed by several regulations: the Protocol on the Application of the Principles of Subsidiarity and Proportionality [19] (hereafter the Protocol) and the Inter-Institutional Agreement (IIA) on Better Lawmaking [10] (hereafter the Agreement).

In the research community, there exists an opinion that the links with non-state structures are of great importance for the EC [2]. These links are developed and sustained in order to share information with this EU institution, and the content of the abovementioned legislative acts is related to this aspect, i.e., the EC can conduct broad consultations when formulating legislative proposals, if necessary.

Within the scope of these consultations, the EC adopted general principles and minimum standards for stakeholder consultation to structure and optimize the feedback received [10]. This regulation stipulates, inter alia, that the consultation process with the EC should be clear, easy to follow and to make the public aware of it, open to anyone with potential interest, etc. [10].

The commission also conducts such consultations as part of the "impact assessments," a special mechanism providing a preliminary analysis of the relevance of a specific legislative initiative, as well as its implications if adopted successfully (European Commission 2020). An impact assessment is conducted for draft laws that are expected to have a significant economic, social, or environmental impact [2], such as legislative proposals, financial programs, recommendations for negotiations on international agreements, etc. The findings of the impact assessment are summarized in a report submitted for reviewing by the special responsible authority [13].

Thus, the EC consultations already represent something in between a formal and informal subprocess of decision-making, since on the one hand, there is a regulated process of interaction between formal European institutions and officials with non-state actors, civil society, business representatives, etc., and on the other hand, all interested parties have access to consultations with the commission, which is an extremely broad interpretation, actually equivalent to the statement that "lobbying for any interests at the European Commission level is extremely regulated, easily accessible and understandable."

What is even more important for understanding the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making, the Protocol and the Agreement do not really require consultations [10, 19]. The wording accepted in these regulations only specifies such a possibility, but not a necessity. Thus, the EC may not conduct a public discussion on any initiative at all.

It is noted that in the case the EC does not conduct consultations, they are apparently conducted implicitly and not publicly [2]. Thus, even if the commission did not initiate open consultations, the stakeholders were nevertheless included in the mechanism of interaction with the EC, which is nothing more than an informal subprocess of decision-making.

Apart from the open consultations and consultations on impact assessments, the commission has also established a more general "structured" dialogue with civil society organizations, including NGOs, which takes the form of meetings held at least once a year [2]. These meetings are held between the relevant Directorate-General and the advisory body of an NGO or other nongovernmental or community-based organization.

However, as mentioned earlier, there is no specific set of rules to determine what organizations are eligible to dialogue with the commission; relations between the EC and non-state actors are usually informal.

The procedure and conditions that provide access to the commission for various NGOs and stakeholders are very vague and can be understood very broadly. While non-state actors are in no way part of the EU formal structure and are de jure independent of the association, a whole network of NGOs involved in social policy have financial and operational links with the EC. This is their potential point of contact with the commission and, at the same time, a restriction on their own activities [2]. An example of such NGO is the Social Platform, which unites the entire network of NGOs in the EU member states [41].

As part of non-state actor financing, the commission notes that social NGOs contribute to participatory democracy in the EU by ensuring structured civic dialogue with the EU institutions [2]. At the same time, it can be concluded that by effectively operating such a network of NGOs united under the single structure of the Social Platform, the EU opens up an opportunity to influence civil society, the electoral mood of the member states, and indirectly, the political situation in the member states of the association [11]. This mechanism can also be used, with varying success, to collect information on domestic processes in member countries. Thus, the informal relations between the European Commission and non-state actors may obviously comply with the needs of the EU foreign policy.

Coordination between non-state actors and MEPs via parliamentary intergroups also presents an effective mechanism within the informal subprocess of the EU decision-making [2, 4].

The parliamentary intergroup is an informal cross-party grouping of MEPs formed around certain interests [21]. They represent some kind of informal structures, i.e., they are not formal bodies of the European Parliament, and may not use the EP logo and paraphernalia [20].

The activities of intergroups are directly linked with NGOs, since the latter get an opportunity to influence somehow MEPs who attend their meetings [2, 4]. NGOs can receive certain information from the members of intergroups and also share information with them.

Thus, the mechanisms described above are part of the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making. This is true, since both in the frame of the EC consultation instrument and in the context of the interaction between parliamentary intergroups, the EU officials operate informally, outside the official arenas; various non-state actors also have access to these mechanisms. Moreover, given the apparent connection between these semiformal or informal structures and the official EU institutions, it would not be absolutely correct to assert that all the most important decisions are de facto made within the frame of the informal subprocess. The EU is a democratic association that has more or less legitimacy among its population; hence the formal subprocess is no less important component of the EU foreign policy decision-making process. However, this statement needs to be verified in a special study.

The mechanism of interaction of non-state actors with the European Commission and the European Parliament is shown in Fig. 3.
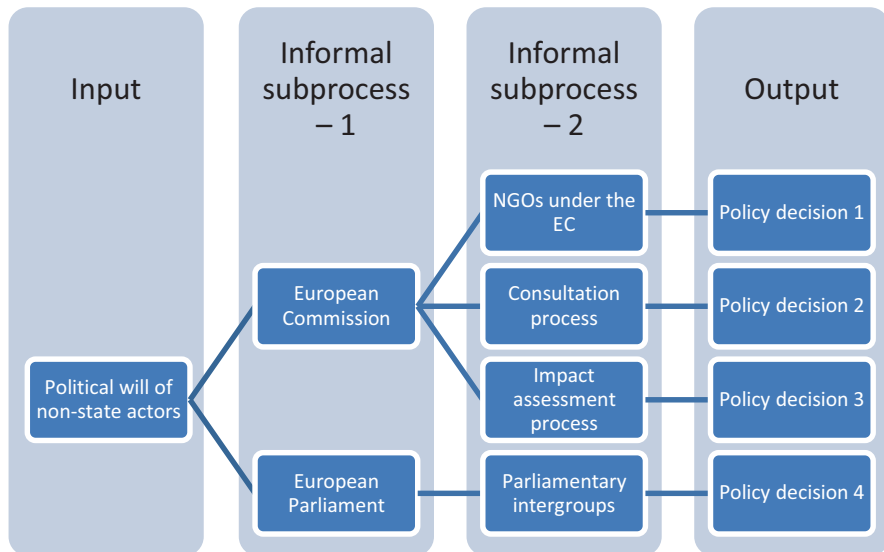
Fig. 3 Mechanism of interaction of non-state actors with the European Commission and the European Parliament

4.4   Case Study of the Southeast European Leadership for Development and Integrity

To illustrate the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making, the case of interaction between the EU institutions and NGOs is quite indicative. In this regard, we will discuss the relationship between the European Commission and the Southeast Europe Leadership for Development and Integrity (SELDI), which was described in detail in the scientific literature [31].

The SELDI's activities are focused on the civil society development, democracy, and anti-corruption in the countries of Southeast Europe. The instruments include assessing the regional corruption situation and publishing reports on the corruption status (SELDI 2020). The SELDI convenes regular meetings for civil society members, representatives of government agencies, and the EU (SELDI 2020).

The connection between the organization under review and the European foreign policy is partly answered on the SELDI main page – its website and projects have been funded by the EU since 2012.

As noted, the commission entered into a partnership with SELDI in 2012 upon the results of the EC open consultation mechanism under the "Support to regional thematic networks – Civil Society Facility Framework Partnership Agreements and associated Implementation Grants" program [31].

It should be noted that while the EU foreign policy agenda is not yet broad globally, it focuses on the neighboring regions – the CIS, North Africa, and, naturally, the Balkan Peninsula [3]. One of the points of interest for the EU foreign policy in Southeast Europe is its expansion by accepting new members into the EU. However, the Balkan countries differ greatly from the EU states and hardly meet the Copenhagen criteria [18].

In order to develop civil society and bring various socioeconomic and political parameters of the candidate countries from Southeast Europe in line with the EU standards, the EC has established a special interaction platform called the Civil Society Facility (CSF) [14] within the framework of the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance (IPA) [15].

The EC applied the open consultation mechanism to establish partnerships with regional nongovernmental organizations in 2012, aiming to achieve common goals for good governance and meet the political criteria for the EU membership [15]. In accordance with the decision taken by the EC Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations within the CSF framework, the SELDI was tasked with promoting democratic values, the rule of law, and, in particular, anti-corruption policy [31]. Under the CSF project "Civil Society for Good Governance and Anti-Corruption in Southeast Europe," SELDI's goals are described as follows: contribute to supporting the EU integration process by strengthening democratic values and structures, the rule of law, human rights, and social integration; promote a more dynamic civil society in the region by actively participating in public debates on democracy and the rule of law, and with the capacity to influence policies and decision-making processes for good governance and anti-corruption [12].

In view of the partnership with the EC Directorate-General for Enlargement and the nature of their relationship, the NGO under review has a number of opportunities to lobby its interests under the EU procedures, as well as at formal and informal events or meetings, which answers directly the research question B.

Stefan Karaboev, an analyst at the Center for the Study of Democracy, reports on the possibility of indirect SELDI's participation in shaping the EU foreign policy. First, the consultation procedure serves as an instrument of influence, when the members of the EC mission meet with political and civil figures of the countries of the region [31]. Such meetings are held within the frame of the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism (CVM) [16]. However, specific information about the content of the meetings is not published.

Second, these are interaction events or conferences where all stakeholders meet: NGOs, politicians, and the EU representatives. The agreements reached during these events are also very rarely published [31]. In 2020 alone, three similar events were held. The situation with the hidden economy in the regional countries was discussed by Nand Shani, team leader of Employment and Social Affairs Platform (ESAP) and the SELDI representatives at the conference "Hidden Economy in the Western Balkans: Challenges and Lessons for Economic Recovery and Convergence" [43]. During the event "State Capture: Bridging the Gap between Diagnostics and Practical Solutions in the Western Balkans," Viola von Cramon-Taubadel, member of the European Parliament, noted that the EU should play a more active role in aid management for the countries of the region, as well as promote the use of unbiased finding data and criteria for assessing and solving the problem of state capture [44]. Giulio Venneri, head of the Centre of Thematic Expertise (CoTE), Rule of Law, Fundamental Rights and Democracy, Directorate-General for Neighbourhood and Enlargement Negotiations, European Commission, emphasized that clear rules and close relationships with civil society in the region are essential to prevent organized criminal networks from accessing politics [44].

Thus, the EU is greatly interested in the internal situation of Southeast European countries. Stefan Karaboev emphasizes the importance of establishing informal contacts between representatives of the EU and NGOs: the SELDI members contact the EU representatives to receive feedback when necessary, and the organization reports and statements, in turn, are used regularly in the EP white papers to inform MPs about the status of corruption in the Western Balkans region, the state of civil society, and other indicators [31].

The SELDI Second Regional Anti-Corruption Policy Forum, Countering Corruption and State Capture in Southeast Europe, is an event that attracted special attention of the EU representatives [45]. During the 2-day event, they took the floor four times: Sabine Zwaenepoel, chapter coordinator, Accession Negotiations to the EU, DG NEAR; Alain Servantie, member, SELDI International Advisory Board; former advisor, DG Enlargement, European Commission; Nicola Bertolini, head of Cooperation at the Delegation of the EU in Skopje; and Ivo Vajgl, MEP, rapporteur for Macedonia [45].

In her presentation, Ms. Tsvaenpol noted the importance of NGOs as a tool for monitoring and assessing the fight against corruption in candidate countries [45].

According to the EU representative, the role of civil society in putting pressure on local authorities is also key, since pressure from Brussels alone is insufficient [45]. These statements shed light on the characteristics of the EU-SELDI partnership, in which the EU supports the work of the organization through funding and other support measures and in return can use the SELDI capabilities as a tool of impact on the socioeconomic and political environment of the countries of Southeast Europe.

When studying the SELDI's role in the EU foreign policy, it becomes obvious that the SELDI holds a significant place in lobbying the EU policies and institutions. This is achieved through the partnership with the EU under the CSF and the Instrument for Pre-accession Assistance, as well as through the conclusion of the EU-SELDI Framework Partnership Agreement. These regulations ensured sustainable cooperation between these parties and largely contributed to the development of informal contacts between their representatives.

Despite the fact that such cooperation provides certain benefits to both parties, it is interesting from the viewpoint of promoting the EU interests in the countries of Southeast Europe. The EU activities in the region present an evident demonstration of the EU foreign policy methods. These methods include making use of civil society from neighboring countries and nongovernmental organizations to create the EU-favorable social and political environment. According to the approach adopted in the present article, the described mechanism fits perfectly into the content of the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making, clearly confirming the presence of a certain lobbying mechanism used by its institutions.

The use of various informal and semiformal consultations by representatives of the EU and the SELDI is the most striking feature, an indicator of the course of the informal subprocess. This is also evidenced by the absence of any official reporting on the results of such consultations, "getting the feedback" mentioned in the interview earlier, as well as applying SELDI's statistical information by the official EU structures.

Since the nature of the EU-SELDI relationship, particularly its transparency, raises some questions, it seems that part of this relationship is hidden within the informal subprocess. On the one hand, the interaction of actors involved in the development of the EU foreign policy decisions and the harmonization of their positions with a view to early adoption of draft laws should be ensured within the informal subprocess. But on the other hand, history knows a lot of examples when informal channels of a contact become "exposed," showing a whole layer of lobbying relationships in the EU [7] (in particular, cash for laws): the case involving the MEP Zoran Thaler [9], corruption scandal over the EU Consumer Rights Amendments [46], etc. Apparently, the informal subprocess is not only a kind of catalyst for the formal subprocess, a forced recourse for the parties lacking the necessary resources to solve the task – time, knowledge, and finance. It also represents a somewhat "blank spot" in public relations, since its content cannot be made widely public. Hence, we are unaware whether specific informal channels are being developed to optimize the decision-making process or whether they become part of some corruption machine that undermines the process of healthy development of the society and the state.

Fig. 4 Channels of the EC
influence on the SELDI
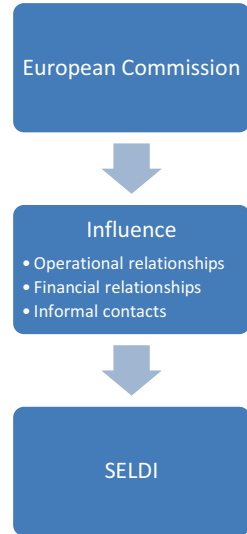
However, as demonstrated by the SELDI and the ERT cases, the informal sub-process plays an important role in shaping the EU foreign policy, simplifying the complicated formal procedures, saving time, circumventing formal constraints, and achieving greater efficiency.

Figure 4 illustrates the factors and channels of influence exerted by the European Commission on the SELDI.

5 Conclusion

Relying on the analysis presented in this article, the following research questions were answered:

(a) Can concepts describing the role of the informal factor in the EU foreign policy decision-making be systematized by developing a single framework for them?

The answer to this question is positive and is based on a comparative analysis of concepts describing the role of the informal factor in the EU foreign policy decision-making process.

The adopted approach described in this article allows us to comprehensively assess all the informal relationships emerging in the process of foreign policy decision-making, both between the officials and with non-state actors: business, civil society organizations, pressure groups, etc. Moreover, this approach does not transfer the whole decision-making process to some informal arenas of interaction, where the final decision, according to the informal management concept, is made. Instead, it is suggested that the analysis of the EU foreign policy decision-making

process should rely on both subprocesses, formal and informal, being equal in importance and interdependent parts of a single whole.

(b) What are the existing test cases that prove the applicability of the approach developed on the basis of a comparative analysis of research publications?

The cases applicable to the approach describing the informal subprocess of the EU foreign policy decision-making refer to the experience of the European Round Table for Industry and the nongovernmental organization SELDI in their interaction with the EU formal institutions, primarily with the European Commission and the European Parliament. It is argued that lobbying for the interests of non-state actors, as well as the informal process of interaction between the EU officials and representatives of these organizations, is somehow connected with the activities of the abovementioned EU institutions. The informal subprocess in these two cases includes the participation of non-state actors, informal interaction of the EU officials. At the same time, it does not exclude the EU official bureaucratic procedure from the process of making foreign policy decisions, where the interests can also be aligned, the legitimacy of decisions be ensured, etc.

Thus, the author's approach is designed to account for all the above factors, as well as for the convenience of their systematization. Informal factors have a strong impact on the foreign policy decision-making process in the EU within the informal subprocess, since the focus of the EU main political force is at the core of complex processes of tripartite relations between the bureaucracy of the EU institutions, political elites of the EU member states, and the leadership of community-based and private sector organizations and groups that compete with each other. Failing to take into account the informal subprocess, the comprehensive analysis of the process of foreign policy decision-making in the EU is impossible. We hope that this approach may form a basis for further research into the specifics of foreign policy decision-making in the EU or its counterparts.

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Theoretical and Methodological Approaches to the Analysis of the EU Transformation Process

Aleksei Vovenda and Ekaterina Mushenko

Abstract The aim of the paper is to present the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the analysis of the European Union transformation process according to the theoretical concepts of the European integration. The analysis takes into account institutional and legal aspects (federalism, functionalism, neofunctionalism, and the so-called communication approach). The article analyzes the models and mechanisms of the territorial and spatial organization of the EU. The article refers to the term "transformation," which is the most suitable to describe the changes taking place in the system of the European Union. The term "transformation" refers to the comprehensive process expressing sequence of actions with the interaction of various actors. A direct influence of the pluralistic nature of the actors on the transformation process is emphasized. Transformation is a comprehensive process, which ensures studying complex systems, especially political ones like the European Union. Hence, the EU member states serve as "political entities"; the legislative framework, shared strategies, and development paradigms comprise those elements and management mechanisms required for the overall functioning of the political system. The research is based on the systematic approach of the EU transformation process which manifests itself in the specifics of the EU supranational institution, the interaction of the EU member states, the implementation of "common policies" of the EU, etc. The key milestones of the modern integration and disintegration EU crises are revealed.

Keywords European Union · International organizations · Political integration

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1 Introduction

The evolution of the European Union system is a complex, dynamic, and differentiated process. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that as the number of the EU member states has increased, its territorial and spatial structure has changed. This required constant modernization or creation of new spatial models for the development of this integration union. On the other hand, diversity and pluralism of political models of power and management, economy, and socio-public organization of the EU member states have led to the need for a serious modernization of the EU institutional system, as well as to the development of new mechanisms for political decision-making.

In this context, the term "transformation" most comprehensively reflects the nature of the changes that are taking place in the European Union system.

Transformation is "... a universal process, the expression of a specific sequence of actions and the interaction of many actors acting as a tool for modifying the approved parameters of various systems" [3]. An important feature of this process is that the universal character of the system transformation is given by those actors who interact in it, i.e., there is direct influence of the pluralistic nature of the actors on the transformation process.

The pluralistic nature of the actors taking part in the transformation process suggests that all social, economic, legal, cultural, and political systems can be involved in this process. The comprehensive nature of the transformation process makes it possible to explore complex systems such as the European Union.

The following study has paid special attention to the political aspects of the EU transformation, which manifests itself in the specifics of the EU supranational institutions, the interaction of the EU member states, the implementation of "common policies" of the EU, etc.

In this regard, it is advisable to define the concept of a "political system." A French political scientist R. Aron, a prominent representative of the school of political realism, defines a political system as "... a set of political entities that maintain permanent relations with each other...which is determined by the organization, the interrelationship of the components, the interaction of the elements, and control mechanisms" [1 , p. 184].

According to the above definition, it can be concluded that the European Union is a complex political system, with its own specifics and nature. The role of "political entities" is played by the EU member states and political, economic, and other institutions. The legal framework, common strategies, and development concepts constitute those elements and management mechanisms necessary for the functioning of the system as a whole.

2   Materials and Methods

The research is based on the systematic approach of the EU transformation process which manifests itself in the specifics of the EU supranational institutions, the interaction of the EU member states, the implementation of the "common policies" of the EU, etc. The key milestones of the modern integration and disintegration EU crises are revealed. This approach is very illustrative as the integration and disintegration crises have occurred within a very well-established EU system.

The following research methods have been used:

– Historical-genetic method has made it possible to identify and trace the key changes in the transformation process of the EU political system.
– Source analysis, which involves a comprehensive study of various theoretical concepts of the European integration, taking into account their institutional and legal aspects (federalism, functionalism, neofunctionalism, and the so-called communication approach).
– Comparative analysis, which involves consideration of the key models and mechanisms of the territorial and spatial organization of the EU.
– The method of induction, which allows to draw a conclusion about the general patterns based on the particular facts. The method has been used to identify the patterns of the member states' actions in the EU political processes against the background of the modern integration and disintegration crises.

3   Discussion

Political entities or actors involved in the EU transformation process have a number of distinctive features. At least three types of actors interact in the multilevel structure of the EU: collective, represented by separate sovereign states; supranational, represented either by groups of states or by formed governmental and nongovernmental organizations. The third type of actors or agents involved in the process of political transformation should include individuals, i.e., politicians responsible for making particular political decisions.

The process of political system transformation is a complex and often a conflict phenomenon since all actors involved in this process adhere to a certain strategy of behavior designed to ensure the achievement of certain goals and objectives. There is often a conflict of interests and tension between the actors, which negatively affects the positive development of a political system.

The indicators of a political system development include the formation of its political field, a political regime, and a degree of its elements integration. According to Y. L. Kachanov, "a political field is a relatively closed area of political relations

and events, developed from the political relations between specific (individual and collective) agents and institutions at the particular time and in certain places" [7 , p. 10]. Political relations between actors or agents of a political system imply the presence of certain political practices that are formed in the process of cooperation between agents. They are characterized by both positive and negative results, depending on the degree of political loyalty of the agents to each other, the level of their political communication, the similarity of their interests, as well as the spatio-temporal circumstances that have direct influence on the design of the static nature of the political field.

In turn, a political regime can be defined as "the integration core of a political system functional subsystem, which forms the mechanisms for selecting legitimate subjects for political participation in the implementation of the state policy. It determines the regulation of the functional phases for political decision-making. A political regime also sets the ways of implementing political decisions, mechanisms for monitoring their implementation and possible correction" [11, p. 22]. A political regime is a set of methods and forms of implementing political relations in the society, in particular, the exercise of the political power; therefore, it is the way of the entire political system functioning.

The political system transformation is a complex and multilevel process. Depending on the level of development of a political system, the transformation process involves introducing qualitative changes in the structure of a political system. The structure of a political system is described by a complex of a system's elements, as well as the way of their organization [10]. In accordance with this definition, it is necessary to identify a number of key aspects which ensure theoretical and methodological analysis of the EU transformation process. Firstly, it is the analysis of this process according to the main theoretical concepts of the European integration, which considers their institutional and legal aspects. The second aspect includes the main models and mechanisms of the territorial and spatial organization of the EU.

There are several conceptual approaches to the analysis of the European integration process. It is necessary to elaborate on four main concepts: federalism, functionalism, neofunctionalism, and the so-called communication approach.

The concept of Western European federalism, represented by A. Spinelli, A. Etzioni, and K. Friedrich, is based on two main statements. Firstly, it is the idea of the unification of Europe and, secondly, the idea of the separation of powers between central (supranational) and local (national) governments based on the principle of subsidiarity. A. Spinelli characterizes federalism as "contractual rejection of centralism, structurally formed power dispersion between various centers whose legitimate powers are guaranteed by the constitution" [9, pp. 42–43].

The need to unite Europe into a single integration mechanism is explained, according to the representatives of this concept, by the fact that further development of the European states, both politically and economically, socially and culturally, is limited within state borders. The borders are at the same time too narrow during the development of modern globalization and integration processes.

However, despite the central idea of uniting Europe into a single integration mechanism, federalists emphasize the importance of the distribution of powers between supranational and national governing bodies. The powers between the union and the nation states should be distributed according to the principle of subsidiarity. The essence of this principle, in political terms, lies in the fact that tasks should be solved at the lowest, local, remote from the center level since that is where their solution is the most efficient and flexible. The center, in turn, must perform those tasks that can be solved more effectively by joint efforts than by local self-government bodies or states separately. This principle has subsequently become one of the fundamental ones in the development and creation of legal mechanisms for the functioning of the supranational EU bodies.

However, it should be emphasized that the concept of federalism was not initially considered as a single theoretical and conceptual basis for the construction and development of the European integration process. Another key direction in the study of the European integration was the theory of functionalism, represented by an English researcher D. Mitrani. In his article "Peace and Functional Development of an international organization" published in 1943, he writes about the reasons for the failure of the League of Nations model and concludes that the creation of a single political integration association or organization should be initiated gradually and follow from mutually beneficial cooperation of the states. According to Mitrani, the states while jointly solving certain tasks should come to the conclusion that it is necessary to create a kind of supranational institution that will coordinate their activities and contribute to the effective solution of a particular task. From his point of view, the integration process should develop "from the bottom up," and it will be most effective if the initial objects of this process are sovereign states.

According to Mitrani, the League of Nations was defeated because the states found in it a threat to their sovereignty. He did not consider it necessary to create a new global international organization after the Second World War, offering to promote the development of cooperation between the states, which ultimately would lead to the creation of some kind of an integration unit.

Functionalism assumes that gradual interstate cooperation is the main tool for achieving the goal, i.e., for the political integration of states into a broader entity or association, for solving a number of political, economic, and social problems, followed by the gradual "withering away" of the state sovereignty. An important feature of interstate cooperation is that relations between the states should be built not vertically but horizontally, i.e., it is necessary to create certain structures that will coordinate cooperation between the states in certain areas.

This approach can be applied to the process of transformation of the EU political system, but it contains a number of shortcomings that have already been reflected in the process of the European integration. Firstly, there is a large decentralization of the activities of international structures created to solve certain kinds of tasks of sovereign states. As a rule, these organizations are regional, which makes it impossible to coordinate the actions of the states to solve a particular task throughout Europe, as an example, regional organizations existing within the Barents and the Baltic regions, such as the Council of the Baltic Sea States, the Arctic Council, etc.

Secondly, gradual and long-term cooperation usually does not refer to the distribution of part of their sovereignty. Moreover, it should be emphasized that the process of the European integration has already demonstrated the complexity of the problem of transferring part of their political, military, and economic competencies by the EU member states. As an example, we can refer to the problem of the emergence of unified European armed forces, which has been discussed for a long time.

The traditions of functionalism are preserved in the concept of "neofunctionalism." The representatives of this direction are E. Haas and L. Lindbergh [8]. This concept is based on the idea that cooperation between states in a particular area, whether it is politics, economics, or social, can cause a chain reaction in other areas, which in turn will lead to the formation of a multipurpose cooperation requiring coordination and management through the creation of specialized supranational institutions.

According to E. Haas, states should start cooperating on individual economic projects since, for their implementation, states do not need to abandon their political course; only a common interest in achieving a certain economic benefit from cooperation is required. Consequently, the states themselves will be interested in developing and strengthening cooperation with each other, and that in turn will contribute to the development of the integration process. It is necessary to create specialized supranational organizations which states could transfer a number of their executive powers to in order to achieve specific goals.

In his book *The Unification of Europe*, E. Haas defines integration as "a process in which the expectations and political activity of actors are delegated to a center whose institutions have or want to have power over existing nation states. The ultimate goal of the political integration will be the creation of a new political society that will be based on the institutions that exist today" [6, pp. 145–149].

Neofunctionalists note that the process of the integration of the European countries into a single supranational entity has a probabilistic nature and depends on a number of factors, which include the political system of a state, its economic potential, as well as the direction of its foreign policy and the national interests.

K. Deutsch, the founder of the transactionalism theory or, in other words, the communication approach, made an attempt to generalize the statements of the above theories, taking into account their advantages and disadvantages and introducing fundamentally new positions.

According to K. Deutsch, an integrated society is a society which ensures peaceful coexistence of its members. Hence, Deutsch comes to the conclusion that an integrated society is "... a security community which ensures real confidence that its members will not physically fight with each other, seeking other ways to resolve their differences" [2, pp. 126–129].

The idea of security becomes central to the theory of transactionalism, which is often referred to as the theory of the security community. According to K. Deutsch, there is a need for creation of a certain "security community," which will include states that have achieved a significant level of integration with each other and have realized the need for a certain unity.

It should be emphasized that, unlike the theory of federalism, transactionalism emphasizes the crucial role of sovereign states in the integration process. That is because the development of the integration processes in a particular region, in particular in Europe, depends on their activities and viability, which, in turn, is a reflection of modern international political processes.

K. Deutsch identifies two main ways to achieve a higher level of political integration within the security communities. The first way implies the creation of a security society by merging independent political units into a common supranational association endowed with a certain type of general governance. Deutsch defines such an association as "amalgamation." It implies that sovereign states, "dissolving" in such an association, transfer part of their powers to central institutions and governing bodies in the process of political decision-making and developing political consistency. In this context, the process of political integration is considered as the result of overcoming and largely "simplifying" the sovereignty of national states. This depends on many factors and conditions, in particular, the loyalty and support of the population in the process of forming new political institutions, the expectation of certain benefits from the integration process, unity awareness, etc. As a result, a certain complex system of interstate and interpersonal relations should develop, which will become the basis for "amalgam integration."

The second way, which Deutsch defined as "pluralistic," comes down to the fact that the states participating in the integration process retain their identity and independence in making political decisions. Therefore, unlike the first approach, there are two or more centers for making such decisions. The integration process, in this context, is not time-consuming; the interests and values of the integrating units should simply not contradict each other. The "pluralistic" nature of society itself, as well as the development of communication networks between various political circles, will only contribute to the development of the integration processes.

Within the study of the European integration, the theory of transactionalism occupies, like the abovementioned theories, a dual position. On the one hand, we can say that the European Union is beginning to acquire the features of an "amalgam security society." This is evidenced by the fact that more and more attention is paid to the issues of the EU common defense policy and the adoption of common mechanisms to combat terrorism, both in legal and practical terms. However, on the other hand, the EU society has not completely transformed into an "amalgam security society" against the background of the current consequences of the global economic crisis of 2008 and the European migration crisis of 2015.

The "pluralistic" nature of the integration process manifests itself in this context, requiring consistency and the absence of contradictions in the interests of the European states. The problem of common European security has become one of the manifestations and results of the complex and crisis nature of the European integration process. Its transformation requires not only the consistency of the positions and actions of the states, partial delegation of their sovereignty to supranational bodies, and external circumstances of an economic and social nature but also timing for necessary changes and modernization of the existing political system.

In this regard, speaking about the theoretical and methodological analysis of the EU political system transformation process, it is advisable to characterize the models and mechanisms of the territorial and spatial organization of the EU.

Currently, there are several concepts designed to explain the process of changing the spatial structure of the EU political system. The most crucial of them include the concepts of "Greater Europe," "new geometries," "new regionalism," and "new dimension." It should be emphasized that the development of these concepts has been facilitated by the emergence of new forms and models of the development of the territorial and spatial organization of the EU. It can include "triangles," for example, Germany, France, and Poland form the Weimar Triangle; "zones" (the Baltic Free Trade Area. However, this agreement between Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia became invalid after the countries joined the EU); and "groups," for example, the Visegrad Group, which includes Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and, Slovakia; as well as "arches," "networks," etc.

M. Emmerson, the head of the special program "Greater Europe" of the Center for European Political Studies, was the author of the "Greater Europe" concept. It should be noted that this concept has a multilateral and universal character and can be applied both to the study of the spatial and institutional structure of the EU and to the analysis of the European integration process as a whole. In his book *The Wider Europe Matrix*, Emerson proposed the following scheme of Greater Europe: the EU-the Russian Federation-the Greater Middle East (the area of the Islamic world (excluding Israel) from North Africa to Central Asia, the Persian Gulf, and Afghanistan)-North America. He singled out these regions, because each of them in its own way influenced, in his opinion, the future policy of the EU [5, pp. 56–73].

According to Emerson, the concept of "Greater Europe" fully reflects the process of the transformation of the EU political system both at the institutional and spatial levels [4]. The European Union should give a more specific definition to the future strategy of actions in the direction of its self-development within this concept.

The concept of "new geometries" has deep historical roots. Its essence lies in the regional development of certain border formations, which subsequently unite into a single integration unit. As an example, we can refer to the creation of margraviates at the turn of the Frankish state (Tuscan, Spanish), which later became the basis for the formation of the frontier states (the Kingdom of Arles, or the Kingdom of Burgundy, the Kingdom of Bavaria, etc.). With the development of trade, the role of cities as separate territorial units, which were trading platforms and financial centers, increased. Subsequently, "belts of cities" began to emerge, defining the geometry of trade routes. As an example, the Hanseatic League of Free Cities was formed.

Subsequently, the first European nation states began to develop in the "buffer" zones between the city belts. Such "buffer" zones helped strong unions (belts) of cities to separate themselves from unstable dynastic centers, being their external borders. The former "belts of cities" or margraviates were the basis for the formation of the frontier states of Luxembourg, Belgium, Switzerland, and Austria.

Such historical integration processes, which have a pronounced regional character, have contributed to the development and transformation of the European spatial structure in a regional way. The idea of developing regions, and subsequently

Euroregions, becomes one of the central ones in the process of transformation of the territorial and spatial structure of the EU.

The concept of "new regionalism" is emerging, which is designed to determine the role and influence of a particular region on the development of pan-European integration processes. According to the classification of Professor A.S. Makarychev, the most significant vectors and models of the regional spatial organization of the EU are the following: Mediterranean, Northern (cooperation within the "Northern Dimension" policy), Barents-Euro-Arctic (uniting cooperation within the regional organizations such as the Arctic Council), Central European (Visegrad Group), the Black Sea (the Black Sea economic cooperation), and Vostochny (cooperation within the Eastern Partnership program).

It should be emphasized that the development of such vectors of the regional spatial organization of the EU, on the one hand, contributes to the decentralization of the integration processes throughout the union but, on the other hand, promotes competition between the regions, which has a beneficial effect on the integration process as a whole.

4   Results

The analysis has revealed that the ideas and provisions of the abovementioned theories on the European integration in one way or another have been reflected in the transformation process of the European Union political system. However, the consensus on the choice of one universal theory to justify the transformation process of the EU political system has not been reached up to date. Firstly, this is due to a number of shortcomings of the theories themselves, their incompatibility in certain statements with the practical implementation of the transformation process, as well as due to the impossibility of their validation. Secondly, the transformation process of the EU political system is also influenced by the evolution of this political system, which has a complex institutional and spatial structure. Changes in the geopolitical structure of the EU, the involvement of new states in the integration and disintegration processes in Europe, are one of the most important factors influencing the evolution of the transformation process of the EU political system.

Despite the diversity of the theoretical concepts and models of the EU integration processes, there is currently no single universal approach to the study and analysis of the transformation process of the EU political system. This, in turn, makes it difficult to choose a single vector for implementing the EU domestic and foreign policies and complicates the development of cross-border cooperation between the EU and its neighbors. Today, the crisis nature of the transformation process is also confirmed by the process of legal consolidation of certain mechanisms for further development in the statutory documents of this integration unity. Such contradictions between the EU member states can subsequently lead to negative phenomena, namely, the tensions between the states, disintegration (Brexit), economic losses, and further weakening of the political system of the European Union.

5 Conclusion

Transformation of the EU political system is a complex and multilevel process. Depending on the level of political system development, the transformation process involves the introduction of qualitative changes in the structure of the political system. A political system is an assembly of elements, as well as the way of their organization. A number of key aspects which should be involved in a theoretical and methodological analysis of the EU transformation process have been identified in accordance with the above definition.

The authors have made an attempt to demonstrate that the diversity and pluralism of political models of power and management, economy, and socio-public organization of the EU member states have led to the need for a serious modernization of the EU institutional system, as well as for the development of new mechanisms for political decision-making.

The research is based on the complex analysis of the theoretical and methodological approaches to the analysis of the EU transformation process, and most importantly on the fundamental sources of the theoretical concepts of the European integration, which allow for a deeper study and understanding of the EU political system, especially its security or vulnerability to modern crises.

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City Diplomacy Within the Framework of Modern Cross-Border Cooperation

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Abstract The aim of the paper is to present the key characteristics of a city diplomacy phenomenon within modern cross-border cooperation. Modern megacities with their complex structure are interesting objects to study not only as centers of economic development, trade, technology, and intercultural dialogue but also as actors largely influencing the development of processes at the macro-regional and micro-regional levels. The dynamics of the development of municipal and business contacts, as well as the implementation of projects, allows to conclude that the twinned ties will continue to strengthen in the long term. The analysis takes into account the theoretical and practical aspects of the modern development of twin cities partnership and especially its increasing role in the interstate cross-border cooperation within the modern crises. Today, speaking about strategic integration projects within interstate partnership, it is important to consider the role of large cities – centers of business life and innovation. New urban infrastructure is formed; new conditions are created for the implementation of major international business projects; investments are attracted; innovative educational technologies are developed to train future experts on topical issues of modern urbanism and effective management of a modern city. The research is based on the systematic approach of the city diplomacy process which manifests itself in the specifics of the twin cities cooperation, development of the common investment and cultural projects, increasing role of twin cities as actors of the international relations, etc. The key milestones of the city diplomacy evolution are revealed.

Keywords City diplomacy · Cross-border cooperation · Twin cities · Paradiplomacy

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1   Introduction

Modern theory of international relations gives special emphasis to a legal status of modern cities, to their role in international relations, and the world economy. Modern major cities and megapolises with their complex structure are of specific interest not only as centers of economic development, trade, technology, and intercultural dialogue but also as actors largely influencing the development of processes at the macro-regional and micro-regional levels.

The term "twin cities" is extensively studied by both domestic and foreign scientists. In general it can be defined as "cities which have established stable friendly relations on a voluntary basis; the fact of twinning is confirmed by a normative legal act, i.e., the agreement on the establishment of twinning relations. The purpose of such an agreement is a wide range of issues beyond the framework of traditional interstate interaction" [11].

The development of twin cities partnership dates back to the signing of the treaty between British Coventry and Stalingrad in 1944. On April 28, 1957, at a congress in Aix-les-Bains (France), despite all the difficulties, the World Federation of Twin Cities (WFTC) was founded. It was designed to promote cooperation and friendship between cities of different states and their populations, regardless of race, language, religion, and political beliefs [7, pp.121–127]. The federation has developed cooperation between cities of different countries in the fields of economy and culture, science and education, medicine, and environmental protection. The last Sunday of April, by the decision of the WFTC, adopted in Paris in 1963, was declared the World Day of Twinned Cities. The cooperation of cities in the first years of the WFTC was limited to the expansion of twinning relations with other cities of the world, correspondence with them, and the leaders of the organization.

Nowadays the development of such partnerships is characterized by various forms of business and cultural interaction, the implementation of projects for improving the quality and accessibility of the urban environment, including the "smart city" and the "green" economy.

Today, speaking about strategic integration projects within interstate partnership, it is important to consider the role of large cities – centers of business life and innovation. New urban infrastructure is formed; new conditions are created for the implementation of major international business projects; investments are attracted; innovative educational technologies are developed to train future experts on topical issues of modern urbanism and effective management of a modern city.

2   Materials and Methods

The research is based on the systematic approach of the city diplomacy process which manifests itself in the specifics of the twin cities cooperation, development of common investment and cultural projects, increasing role of twin cities as actors of

the international relations, etc. The key milestones of the city diplomacy evolution are revealed.

The following research methods have been used:

– Source analysis, which involves a comprehensive study of theoretical approaches to the city diplomacy phenomenon within the modern trends of the international relations development, taking into account the discussion about the legal capacity of modern megapolises.
– Historical-genetic method has made it possible to identify and trace the key changes in the development of the twin cities movement.
– Comparative analysis, which involves consideration of the key models and mechanisms of city diplomacy evolution within the modern trends of international relations and crises of the world economy.
– The method of case study allows, using the example of the development of the twin cities of Russia and China, to show their strategic importance in strengthening complex interstate relations, the development of important investment projects for the urban economy, as well as further discussion about the formation of the legal capacity of modern megapolises.

3 Discussion

The term "paradiplomacy" was introduced in the 1980s of the twentieth century by an American scientist I. Duhachek and D. Derian, a researcher in the field of global security. Paradiplomacy refers to the participation of subnational units in the international relations through the establishment of formal and informal, permanent and temporary relations with foreign actors in order to achieve a certain set of tasks through various strategies in the international arena [6, pp. 76–78].

I. Duhachek considers the changes that are taking place in federal relations, in which regions begin to conduct active international activities, and proposed to designate this activity of the regions with the term "paradiplomacy." In his opinion, paradiplomacy consists of "political contacts of various states, which are formed through contacts of subnational authorities not only with commercial, industrial or cultural actors of foreign countries, but also with various external relations agents of national governments" [1, 25–33].

D. Derian used the concept of "paradiplomacy" in the study of classical diplomacy transformation. Unlike I. Duhachek the starting point for D. Derian is not the region as an actor, but the activity itself in the international arena. Therefore, by paradiplomacy, they mean the international activity of any actor other than the state: region, transnational corporation, mass media, nonprofit organizations, etc. [1, 25–33]. This approach, however, has not found significant support among other researchers since it adds uncertainty to the concept of "paradiplomacy."

The theoretical development of a paradiplomacy concept is driven by the changes in a very structure of international relations in the modern world. On the one hand,

we can see the increasing number and importance of non-state actors, among which the cities and regions within the national states are rather prominent. On the other hand, the state is still the primary driving force of the international relations and world politics, and, despite all changes, this situation is unlikely to change quickly. Thus, other actors have to adhere to the "rules of the game" set by the states, although the role of the "new actors" gradually increases and the states also have to take this into account.

The factors influencing the development of paradiplomacy are usually divided into internal and external.

First of all, for the development of paradiplomatic relations, there should be a local ethnic community which is self-aware and promotes its values within the framework of state policy.

At the same time, institutional bodies are relevant for successful implementation of community's activities.

In addition, a state position is important, namely, its approval and the availability of tools for the development of twinning, that is, the possibility for cities to build relationships in international expansion. A state should not prevent the establishment of friendly ties [2, 25–51].

The presence of potential partners abroad who are interested in developing cooperation with (in case of Russia) a particular subject of a federation is considered as an external factor. These partners can be subnational units (subjects of other federations, regions, autonomies), sovereign states, international organizations, diasporas, etc.

To understand the possibility of establishing close contacts, it is necessary to consider the concept of a "global city," introduced by D. A. Savkin. According to the researcher, in the modern world, a city is becoming an international political actor, a soft power for strengthening ties between countries. It is a "focus of the most important impulses of the country development and the formation of civil society, the formation and improvement of state institutions, international organizations, foreign policy structures, interstate political and economic relations, cultural exchanges" [10, p.3]. Thus, it turns into one of the most significant tools of diplomacy.

In the context of globalization, a city becomes a separate and independent participant in the world arena and directly interacts with other actors. A city as a phenomenon of modern society and as a carrier of spiritual heritage under the conditions in the making of civil society is a full-fledged participant in international politics. On this account, researchers distinguish two parallel processes of establishing international relations – centralized diplomacy and paradiplomacy.

The sister city movement acts as one of the forms of establishing paradiplomatic ties. Town twinning is established at the level of agreements that enshrines their economic, sociocultural, scientific cooperation, the development of tourism. However, twinning ties that are established in accordance with the state international policy exist independently, and the cities are full-fledged actors in international relations [8].

Despite the fact that twinning is an official act, it is quite a natural historical process. A twinning agreement only confirms and consolidates the historical, cultural process of rapprochement. Historical cultural, trade relations, the presence of expansion in the past, migrant ties, the factor of geographical location, and even the commonality of problems for cities that may be located even on different continents can serve as factors of rapprochement. A city can have an unlimited number of twin towns, for example, St. Petersburg is a sister city for 91 cities.

In the Russian political science, twin cities are considered as cities of various states that have established permanent friendly ties for the exchange of life, history, and culture in order to achieve better mutual understanding and strengthen friendship and cooperation between peoples. In turn, in the foreign political science, twin cities are close in their meaning to sister cities, which are considered as long-term cooperation relations between two cities in different countries, through which cultural, educational, business, and technical exchanges are carried out.

It is noteworthy that in addition to the terms "sister cities" and "twin cities," a term "friend cities" exists. The difference is that the relationships between friend cities do not have a regulatory framework. We can say that "friendship" is the first stage of the twinning process. It is the community of ideas that becomes the foundation for intercultural discussion and strengthen such ties at the official level for fruitful cooperation at different levels in different fields of a society:

– In the field of local self-government.
– In the field of economics and trade.
– In the field of education, training, and exchange of experience.
– In the field of culture, sports, and cooperation between public organizations.
– In the field of healthcare.

An important element is youth cooperation, student exchange, facilitation of tourism, and developing economic and business ties. Twin cities also provide humanitarian assistance to each other in case of any disasters.

Cities establish twinning relations in different ways. The first one is a "top-down" process, when representatives of two cities meet and become friends, after which they involve activists in their twin cities activity program. Another process is "from the bottom up," when a separate group of residents or specialists of cities (teachers, businessmen, journalists, women's clubs, public organizations, and other groups) create an organizing committee themselves, which initiate the development of a twin cities program. For example, in many cases, family schools, higher education institutions, and sports clubs initiate such partner programs.

To establish communication with local authorities in a particular city, as well as to ensure the availability of information, it is necessary to involve businessmen, leaders of nongovernmental associations, the youth, and others. It is also relevant to involve various ethnic groups of the population or at least to provide information in order to take part in programs.

Partnerships between cities are an important element of cooperation between countries, which promotes active communication and the development of contacts

between people outside official relations. Partnerships are especially effective when they are initiated by specific civic activities.

It is worth agreeing with the opinion of A. Gorbunov that a lot can be achieved as a result of fulfilling the tasks set for the sister city movement supported by the administrative apparatus [4]:

1. The development of municipal partnership between cities, regions, republics, and other entities in other countries will receive a new incentive, which will contribute to strengthening economic, cultural, and educational ties not only at the international level but also between the largest communities.
2. A whole range of opportunities for official representatives and residents of cities and regions of the Russian Federation for cultural exchange through participation in long-term international cooperation programs ensures more involvement in the twinning movement.
3. The foundation is laid for creating conditions that will contribute to achieving and strengthening the development of the economy and various spheres of public life.
4. By means of the twinning movement, local communities will have the opportunity to learn how to jointly solve program targets through mutually beneficial cultural, educational, municipal, business, professional, and technical exchanges and projects.
5. The twinning movement will contribute to more active development of interregional and international relations.

In order for sister city relations to be established and implemented in practice, it is necessary to create a city brand and bring the mission of cities closer together, to find something common that can contribute to the implementation of common processes.

Such relations are usually based on three sectors – local government, business structures, and the general public (nonprofit organizations, volunteer citizens, etc.).

Thus, today we can talk about the increasing role of cities in the world politics; they actively interact with each other and develop joint activities, which causes the emergence of the term "urban diplomacy" [3]. It implies the development of cultural, educational, technical, trade, economic, and other ties between cities of the world.

In this context, partnership of large cities and megapolises is considered of fundamental importance, demonstrating real interest of the city authorities in strengthening mutually beneficial cooperation. Thus, today large cities are becoming an important element of strategic and complex development of interstate cooperation, for example, between Russia and China.

By the end of 2021, the trade turnover between Russia and China had increased by 35.8% and amounted to a record $ 146.887 billion. The trade turnover between Russia and China in the first 8 months of 2022 increased by 31.4% and amounted to $ 117.205 billion [12]. A predominant category of the Russian exports – oil and petroleum products (more than 80%) – serves the needs of industry and the

population of China megapolises. In turn, it should be emphasized that the main Chinese exports and goods imported into Russia are also mainly focused on major cities with large population. This explains the fact that many Russian cities from different federal districts have agreements on the establishment of twin town relationships with Chinese cities. In this context, Beijing, Shanghai, Qingdao, and Chengdu are the twin cities of St. Petersburg. Shanghai has agreements on the establishment of twin town relations with St. Petersburg (1988) and Vladivostok.

Traditional forms of partnership between twin cities includes cooperation in the field of education and culture. For example, we can mention the events within the framework of bilateral years, as well as the "Shanghai Week," "St. Petersburg Week," "Year of Friendly Youth Exchanges between China and the Russian Federation," and some other regular events, which currently also take into account the negative consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic. Special attention is also paid to investment activities (e.g., building construction).

Thus, on February 11, 2022, the Chinese business forum "St. Petersburg and Shanghai: Prospects for Cooperation" dedicated to trade and economic cooperation and the development of the pharmaceutical industry was held in mixed online and offline modes. The event took place within the Eighth Festival "Chinese New Year – A Cheerful Spring Festival." The participants received a video greeting from the governor of St. Petersburg, Beglov A.D., and the mayor of Shanghai, Gong Zheng [9].

Currently, special attention is paid to the development of a "smart city," which contributes to fostering twin city relations between St. Petersburg and Shanghai.

A smart city is a uniform urban management system based on energy-saving and energy-efficient technologies and computerization of production processes. In China, smart city technologies have already been largely implemented, for example, in the Guangfucheng residential complex in the capital of Yunnan Province, Kunming. Beijing and Shanghai are moving toward "smart cities." In the Russian Federation, such projects as Innopolis in the Republic of Tatarstan and the city of Tsiolkovsky in the Amur Region can be distinguished. In St. Petersburg, in January 2016, an interdepartmental commission under the city government responsible for the implementation of the project "St. Petersburg – a Smart City" was formed. A smart city is a unified urban management system based on energy-saving and energy-efficient technologies and informatization of production processes [5].

In China, the principles of the "smart city" have already been significantly implemented, for example, in the Guangfucheng residential complex in the capital of Yunnan Province, Kunming. Beijing and Shanghai are also developing as "smart cities." This projects are divided into four subprojects: "smart authorities," "smart economy," "smart citizens," and "smart services."

There is a prominent position considering the cities' interactions and paradiplomacy in general as concepts not belonging to the sphere of international relations as these concepts do not have any political substance. This view reduces the international relations sphere to only political interactions. This is a respected position.

However, we wish to address other types of relations – cultural, economic, mental, religious, etc. – that are also considered to be a part of international relations sphere as well, because they not only cross the national borders but also have their influence on societies and through them, on the governmental relations, although, usually on a larger time scale.

In addition, the current situation in the world (as of 2022–2023) presents a significant challenge for all the paradiplomatic spheres, including city diplomacy, as many ties were destroyed. However, we believe that connections in culture, economy, and other spheres can be seen as the layer that would make restoration of relations much easier in the future. The history, e.g., of Cold War, shows that relations and mutual interest in these spheres, although unable to overcome the influence of political decisions directly, can form a basis for future relations.

We do not think that twin cities movement can stop political unrest and annihilate hostility. But it can be the way that allows societies see each other as equals and deserving respect.

4   Results

The analysis has revealed that the city diplomacy can bear a wide range of various activities: municipal, business, professional, educational, cultural exchange, etc. Friendly twinning ties ensure joint economic projects and establishing business and professional contacts. However, most often the cooperation covers educational, cultural, social, or sports areas. Thus, at present, the opportunities of cities as international relation participants are constantly expanding, which happens regardless of the size of their population or economic activity.

The relations between cities play an increasingly important role in the system of international relations. In the modern world, most cities are not independent and are considered sovereign subjects of the international law. Despite this, they maintain active relationships with each other and develop multilateral cooperation, which has been called "urban diplomacy." Such diplomacy is designed to develop cultural, educational, technical, trade, economic, and other relations between cities of the world. In turn, one of the most well-established forms of urban diplomacy is developing long-term twinning ties between cities. However, despite a wide number of agreements between cities, there are still scientific discussions regarding the concept of twin cities.

The concept of "twin cities" has become widespread in the Russian political science. At the same time, in the foreign political science, "sister cities" or "twin cities" are the closest terms in meaning. Despite the absence of significant differences between these two concepts, foreign scientists additionally distinguish the concept of "friendly cities" or "friend cities," which imply stable relations between cities in the absence of official agreements that regulate such relations. This term also denotes the first stage of the cooperation between cities.

5 Conclusion

The concept of city diplomacy as part of the whole idea of paradiplomacy, the international efforts by non-state actors aimed at solving specific tasks, grows in importance in the context of globalization, regionalization, increasing economic interdependence, and related traits of the modern world. However, the paradiplomatic actions are not something totally parallel or independent from the "official" state diplomacy, politics, and directives. The growth in relations between cities is usually driven by favorable relations between the respective states as shown above in the case of relations between St. Petersburg in Russia and Beijing, Shanghai, Qingdao, and Chengdu in China.

In turn, the deterioration of relation between states negatively impacts the relations between their regions dramatically. The example is the suspension or complete termination of sister city relations by a large number of cities (mainly in Europe) with Russian cities in 2022. Although understandable, such actions clearly show that the paradiplomatic relations between regions are still a part of a complex of international relations in their intergovernmental meaning.

However, it can be seen as harsh reminder for those believing in the swift demise of the Westphalian system as based on the relations between nations and states. This system changes dramatically but its core is still the same.

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Geography of Political Relations of the St. Petersburg Parliament with European Partners: Historical Experience and Prospects

Anastasiia Zotova and Sergei Poltorak

Abstract In the paper, the authors investigate international relations between the parliament of St. Petersburg with the states of Europe. For more than 20 years, the St. Petersburg parliament has accumulated rich experience in all-round interaction with various European states. The developed and adopted legal framework allowed St. Petersburg to effectively interact with foreign investors. This process was mutually beneficial. It ensured the safe development of foreign business in St. Petersburg. Owing to international relations, thousands of jobs were created in the metropolis, new scientific specialties appeared in connection with the introduction of advanced technologies into production, and cultural ties began to develop at a qualitatively new level. All this contributed to mutual economic benefit and a better understanding of the mental characteristics of the different peoples of Europe and Russia. With the strengthening of the sanction policy, many mutual achievements were destroyed, which significantly slowed down the dynamics of relations. The purpose of the study is to analyze the positive experience of interaction, which, under favorable political conditions, can revive the lost experience of effective cooperation between St. Petersburg and European countries. In the paper, the authors used published and unpublished sources about the reception of delegations from European countries in St. Petersburg and statistical information about the economic cooperation between St. Petersburg and European countries. The authors come to the conclusion that the experience of cooperation of the St. Petersburg parliament with 36 European countries and with European international organizations is the best basis for revising the current state of relations and using the existing opportunities for further mutually beneficial cooperation.

Keywords Europe · Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg · International relations

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1   Introduction

The development of strong international relations of St. Petersburg is facilitated by the outstanding historical and cultural heritage of St. Petersburg, its world fame, the status of the "second capital" of Russia and the main center of the Baltic Sea region, the favorable geopolitical position of St. Petersburg – its location near the borders of the European Union – high level of education and culture of the population of St. Petersburg, and significant scientific potential of the city.

Until recently St. Petersburg carried out trade with more than 200 countries of the world. Among the leaders in terms of supplies of export products from St. Petersburg were the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Belarus, the People's Republic of China, the United States of America, the Kingdom of Denmark, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Republic of Kazakhstan, Republic of India, and Italian Republic. The main exports from St. Petersburg were mineral products, machinery, equipment and vehicles, metals, and various metal products.

St. Petersburg ranks first in the Northwestern Federal District and second in the Russian Federation in terms of exports. St. Petersburg is a port city. It is the leader in terms of transshipment of containerized cargo on the Baltic Sea and in the Russian Federation. Almost half of all containerized cargo transshipped in the seaports of the country is carried out in St. Petersburg. St. Petersburg is a major railway junction, which includes 431.5 km of railways. The city is a major sorting center for foreign economic cargo transportation. Petersburg is a major air hub. Pulkovo airport has a capacity of over 18 million people a year.

The geographical position of St. Petersburg largely contributes to the fact that the city for more than 300 years has been a link between Russia and other European states. In the complex and contradictory conditions of modern international relations, the role of the St. Petersburg parliament – the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg – is growing. This legislative body takes the initiative in adapting Russian laws in relation to the international legal framework. Taking into account these circumstances makes it possible to develop an optimal algorithm for the interaction of the Russian Northwest with the countries of Europe. During the first two decades of the work of the St. Petersburg parliament, a significant legislative framework was developed to protect the financial resources of investors. According to the oldest member of the St. Petersburg parliament, Plenipotentiary Representative of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg on international issues V.S. Yagya, the legislation developed in St. Petersburg not only guaranteed the protection of investments but also created the conditions for providing large discounts in the taxation process [1].

An important feature of the St. Petersburg parliament was its primary focus on cooperation with European countries. In this paper, the authors analyze the historical experience of building relations between St. Petersburg legislators and European colleagues.

2   Methods of Research

In this paper the authors used such scientific methods as analysis, synthesis, comparison, and deduction. The paper presents published and unpublished sources, statistical information about the economic cooperation between St. Petersburg and European countries, as well as Internet sources about the reception of delegations from European countries in St. Petersburg.

Such methods as analysis, comparative method, generalization, and systematization helped to trace the dynamics of cooperation between the authorities, business, culture, health, and education of St. Petersburg with the countries of Europe.

3   Results of International Relations Between St. Petersburg and Europe

3.1   Relations Between the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg and International Organizations in Europe

Petersburg has established twinning and partnership relations with 42 cities of the EU countries at the present time. The Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg has been actively cooperating with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) for more than 20 years. This organization in 1995 was one of the first to send its delegation to the Mariinsky Palace. The delegation was led by Deputy Secretary General of the Assembly Pentti Väänen [2]. On June 13–15, 1997, a delegation of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly headed by the chairman of the assembly, Javier Ruperez, visited the St. Petersburg parliament [2].

Over the course of time, from the late 1990s to the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the process of interaction between the St. Petersburg parliament and the OSCE had been continuously developing. Chairman of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg V.S. Makarov met with an OSCE delegation on March 19, 2014. The delegation included representatives of a section "Europe, Central Asia, and the Council of Europe." The delegation was led by section director, Head of the Political Department of the Swiss Foreign Ministry Artur Mattli. The meeting was attended by Consul General of Switzerland in St. Petersburg Michel Fayetta. V.S. Makarov reminded the guests that February 2014 marked the 200th anniversary of the start of Russian-Swiss diplomatic relations. On behalf of the authorities of St. Petersburg, V.S. Makarov expressed interest in strengthening bilateral relations. The main topic of the conversation was the political crisis in Ukraine. A. Mattli noted that in times of crisis, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe traditionally plays an important role in stabilizing the situation. Switzerland, as the country chairing this organization in 2014, could receive the status of an international observer in Ukraine. A. Mattli noted: "Today, there are opportunities to negotiate and resolve the crisis in a peaceful way, including with the help of the

OSCE mission" [3]. V.S. Makarov stressed that Russians and Ukrainians were two fraternal peoples. In essence, that is a single people since the time of Kievan Rus. However, the nationalists were pushing the inhabitants of Ukraine to a civil war. At the same time, V.S. Makarov noted: "Thanks to the efforts of the Russian leadership, the unity of all authorities, political parties and movements, our country managed to prevent a civil war in Ukraine. The people of the Republic of Crimea and Sevastopol, by voting in a referendum, almost unanimously determined their own fate. I am convinced that history will show the correctness of our country in this matter, and Russia's position will find understanding among Western partners" [3]. Unfortunately, the initiatives born during that meeting did not play the desired role in stabilizing the political situation in Ukraine, as evidenced by the events of this year. At the beginning of December 2022, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation S.V. Lavrov announced the severance of relations with the OSCE and the loss of the meaning of the participation of the Russian Federation in the Munich Security Conference. The positive experience accumulated by the St. Petersburg parliament turned out to be conserved until better times.

Almost from the first months of the work of the parliament, its deputies began to establish ties with various structures of the Council of Europe. As a result, on October 18–20, 1996, the guests of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg were the delegation of the Assembly of the Council of Europe, headed by the Chairman of the Assembly Mrs. Leni Fischer [2]. On June 20–21, 2005, the deputies of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg invited a delegation from the Council of Europe. A seminar "Integration and Rehabilitation of the Disabled Population" was held at the Mariinsky Palace. After that, in honor of the distinguished guests, a dinner was given on behalf of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg [4]. On May 24, 2007, in the Red Hall of the Mariinsky Palace, a meeting was held between deputies of the Legislative Assembly and a five-member delegation of Council of Europe experts on human rights. The guests discussed the activities of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg [5].

On May 17, 2012, Deputy Chairman of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg S.A. Andenko and Plenipotentiary Representative of the Legislative Assembly for International Relations T.Ya. Zakharenkova met at the Mariinsky Palace with Keith Whitmore, chairman of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, and Andreas Kiefer, secretary general of the Congress. The head of the municipality "Svetlanovskoye" A.V. Korablev also took part in the conversation. S.A. Andenko told the guests about the current activities of the Legislative Assembly and the principles of organizing local self-government in St. Petersburg and in Russia as a whole. In turn, the leaders of the Congress of the Council of Europe spoke about their activities, noting the importance of exchanging the experience of representatives of regional authorities of different states [6]. It should be recognized that the cooperation of the St. Petersburg parliament with various structures of the Council of Europe over the following years did not use the existing potential. The generally difficult relations between the Russian Federation and the states of Western Europe also had a negative effect. As a result, on January 17, 2023,

the President of Russia V.V. Putin introduced the bill, according to which the international treaties of Russia and the Council of Europe ceased to have effect.

The Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg gained experience in cooperation with such a regional international organization as the European Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions. On July 27–29, 2009 the delegation of this organization visited the city on the Neva. Deputies of the parliament of St. Petersburg organized a program for the visit of the delegation, conducted excursions for its members, and presented memorable gifts [7]. From September 7 to 9, 2002, the deputies of the Legislative Assembly organized a visit program to St. Petersburg for the delegation of the Nordic Council, headed by the Chairman of the Council Outi Oyala [2].

Since 1998, the public organization "Dialogue Eurasia" has been operating. On February 15, 2011, a delegation from this organization visited the Mariinsky Palace. The delegation was headed by the secretary general of the international organization "Dialogue Eurasia" I. Tas. Also, the co-chairman of this organization, H. Tokak, visited St. Petersburg [8]. In practice, the dialogue did not develop. This direction of interaction between the city parliament and the public organization did not show its effectiveness.

Petersburg parliamentarians cooperated with the World Health Organization. In particular, on July 10, 2009, a meeting of the leadership of the Legislative Assembly with the participants of the meeting of the Liaison Committee of the European Forum of Medical Associations and the World Health Organization took place in the Mariinsky Palace [9]. On September 15, 2011, the Health Committee of the government of St. Petersburg supported the initiative for St. Petersburg to join the WHO Healthy Cities project. In June 2012, the International Conference of the WHO Regional Office for Europe "Healthy Cities" was held in St. Petersburg. This initiative was supported by the Health Commission of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg [10]. On January 30, 2012, the chairman of the permanent commission of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg on social policy and health, deputy L.A. Kostkina, met with a delegation from the World Health Organization at the Mariinsky Palace. The delegation was led by the head of strategic and complex projects of the WHO Regional Office for Europe A. Tsorus. The WHO delegation also included a representative of the WHO/Europe Urban Health Center, Strategic and Integrated Programs and Special Projects of the WHO Regional Office Koni Petersen (Copenhagen, Denmark), representatives of the Healthy Cities project Carolyn Scott and Joan Devlin (Belfast, UK), Deputy Mayor for Social Policy of Cherepovets D.E. Zaitsev, and the head of the department of the Healthy Cities program in the city of Cherepovets T.E. Shestakova. The conversation was also attended by the head of the sector for relations with domestic and foreign medical institutions from the St. Petersburg Health Committee Yu.A. Petrov [11]. There were five items on the agenda of the meeting:

1. Official support for St. Petersburg's entry into the Healthy Cities project of the European Regional Office of the World Health Organization.
2. Official support for holding in St. Petersburg in June 2012 the WHO International Conference "Healthy Cities".

3. Discussion of the official position of the WHO in relation to the entry of St. Petersburg into the Healthy Cities project.
4. The activities of state and public structures of St. Petersburg to support a healthy lifestyle and develop programs to improve the health and quality of life of the population, corresponding to the ideology of the Healthy Cities movement.
5. Discussion of joint plans for cooperation between St. Petersburg and the WHO European Office in the framework of the Healthy Cities project [12].

During the meeting, the process of development of the WHO international project "Healthy Cities" was discussed, the purpose of which is to coordinate the activities of various structures in the field of healthcare, social security, and environmental protection. The main purpose of this project is to contribute in every possible way to improving health and quality of life of the urban population.

L.A. Kostkina told the guests about the implementation of the Healthy People project in St. Petersburg. At the same time, she emphasized: "The government and the legislature of St. Petersburg pay great attention to solving problems related to protecting the health of city residents. The programs 'Oncology,' 'Tuberculosis,' 'Psychiatry,' 'Diabetes,' 'HIV/AIDS' were adopted, in 2011 a program for the modernization of healthcare was launched. The formation of a healthy lifestyle has become a new direction of the priority national project 'Health,' during the implementation of which 6 cardiovascular centers, 22 adult and 7 children's health centers were opened in the city. As a result, mortality from cardiovascular diseases decreased by 21%, the birth rate and life expectancy of the population increase" [13].

Agis Tsorus and his colleagues took the information of the St. Petersburg deputy with interest, emphasizing that it was St. Petersburg that stood at the origins of the Healthy Cities project. The head of the WHO delegation considered it necessary to note that the city on the Neva, although not an official member of the project, actively supports the policy of the Healthy Cities movement [13].

In June 2012, the International Conference of the WHO Regional Office for Europe "Healthy Cities" was held in the city on the Neva, which probably marked the peak of the relationship between the St. Petersburg parliamentarians and this European health organization [10]. As subsequent events showed, the end of the second-the beginning of the third decades of the twenty-first century marked the loss of the positive experience that had been accumulated by both sides.

3.2   St. Petersburg as an Important Element in Maintaining Stability in the Baltic Sea Region

The Council of the Baltic Sea States attracts a large number of other countries that do not have a direct relationship with the Baltic Sea but seek to exercise influence on this region. Since St. Petersburg is located on the shores of the Baltic, the inhabitants of the city and its parliament are directly interested in the fact that the activities of this organization are carried out with participation of city legislators.

On June 10, 2002, the fourth meeting of the heads of government of the Baltic Sea states took place in St. Petersburg. Since September 2000, the EuroFaculty program has been implemented, within the framework of which specialists are trained in the field of economics, administration, and law. This program operates on the basis of Kaliningrad State University. Also, the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg cooperates with the member states of the Council of the Baltic Sea States within the framework of the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference. From June 7 to 9, 2000, the St. Petersburg parliamentarians organized a visit to St. Petersburg for a delegation of the Council of the Baltic Sea States. The delegation was headed by Union Commissioner Ole Espersen [2]. In 2000, speaking at the ninth Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference, held in Mariehamn, V.S. Yagya emphasized: "In developing our relations in the Baltic region, we in St. Petersburg have established close economic, political and other ties with many Baltic cities. The parliament of St. Petersburg has a special agreement with the parliaments of Hamburg, Gdansk, Helsinki and other regions on the coast of the Baltic Sea. These agreements are a good legal basis for building people's trust in the legislature" [14]. In 2002, with the assistance of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg, the 11th Parliamentary Conference of the Baltic Sea was held in the city on the Neva, and in August 2012, the 21st Parliamentary Conference of the Baltic Sea was held in the Mariinsky Palace [15].

On August 23–26, 2014, the delegation of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg participated in the 23rd annual meeting of the Baltic Sea Parliamentary Conference, which was held in the Polish city of Olsztyn. The conference participants noted a number of successes in joint activities to ensure the cleanliness of the Baltic. The conscientious implementation of the Agreement on Border Cooperation between Poland and Russia in the Kaliningrad region was considered among the successes. The conference adopted a resolution expressing concern about the situation in Ukraine. Plenipotentiary Representative of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg for International Relations, Plenipotentiary Representative of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg in the Standing Committee of the Parliamentary Conference of the Baltic Sea T.Ya. Zakharenkova said: "The priority issues of the conference during 2013–2014 are innovation with a focus on healthcare and social security; healthcare and health tourism; research and business opportunities in the field of healthcare and cross-border cooperation" [16].

On February 9, 2017, in the Mariinsky Palace, Deputy Chairman of the Legislative Assembly A.V. Drozdov met with the Director General of the Permanent International Secretariat of the Council of the Baltic Sea States Ms. Maira Mora [17, 18]. During the meeting, its participants exchanged views on the prospects for cooperation within the Council of the Baltic Sea States. A.V. Drozdov noted that the Council of the Baltic Sea States is one of the most important instruments for maintaining stability in the Baltic Sea region. This organization contributes to the formation of an atmosphere of trust and cooperation in Europe. Ms. Maira Mora noted that despite the difficult geopolitical situation, the activities of the Council of the Baltic Sea States continue to be carried out in the spirit of constructive cooperation and the desire of the states for mutual understanding. For 25 years of its work, this

organization, in the creation of which 11 states of the region took part, has confirmed its effectiveness [19].

In September 2017, a delegation of deputies of the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg took part in the 26th Parliamentary Conference of the Baltic Sea, held in Hamburg. On the agenda, among the main issues were "Cooperation in the Baltic Sea Region," "Participation of Democrats in the Digital Age," "Research and Science," and "Sustainable Tourism" [20].

In March 2022, Russia was expelled from this organization due to the start of a special operation in Ukraine. As a result, parliamentary ties at all levels were lost.

3.3 Historical Experience in Building Political and Economic Contacts with the States of Europe

During its activity, the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg has established contacts with 36 European states: the Republic of Austria, the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Hungary, the Vatican City State, the Greek Republic, the Italian Republic, the Kingdom of Belgium, the Kingdom of Denmark, the Kingdom of Spain, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Kingdom of Norway, Kingdom of Sweden, Republic of Latvia, Republic of Lithuania, Portugal, Republic of Albania, Republic of Belarus, Republic of Bulgaria, Republic of Iceland, Republic of Macedonia, Republic of Malta, Republic of Poland, Republika Srpska (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Republic of Slovenia, Republic of Croatia, Republic of Montenegro, Romania, Slovak Republic, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Ukraine, Federal Republic of Germany, Republic of Finland, French Republic, Czech Republic, Swiss Confederation, and Republic of Estonia. The interaction of politicians contributed to the dynamic development of strong economic ties. However, bilateral sanctions had a negative impact not only on economic but also on scientific and cultural ties between St. Petersburg and European countries.

According to the authors of the paper, at the turn of January–February 2023, positive changes began to occur in the relations of individual European states directly cooperating with St. Petersburg. In particular, there are proposals in the Western European countries to remove severe restrictions in cooperation with Russia in the field of energy resources, which is entirely in line with mutual interests. Since St. Petersburg is the main supplier of goods from the country to the west of the continent, its leading role in improving relations with neighboring countries is obvious.

An important role in the restoration of cooperation between Russia and Western Europe belongs to Cyprus. Back in October 2016, the conference "St. Petersburg – Cyprus: Prospects for Cooperation" was held in Limassol [21]. St. Petersburg is connected with Cyprus not only by a centuries-old common history but also by a culture based on the recognition of Orthodox values. These two circumstances largely contributed to the fact that Cyprus became an important spiritual, cultural,

and economic center for Petersburgers. St. Petersburg, in turn, is seen by the Cypriots as the largest economic and cultural center of the Russian Federation (after Moscow), cooperation with which is beneficial in terms of strengthening political, economic, and cultural ties. Perhaps financial contacts are of particular importance. A number of St. Petersburg bankers were active in Cyprus; Cypriot banks opened their branches and offices in St. Petersburg. All these circumstances make it possible to look to the future with cautious optimism. Petersburg and Cyprus implemented a joint project "Clean Cyprus," in which representatives of the University of Fine Mechanics and Optics and a large city enterprise "Vodokanal of St. Petersburg" took part [22].

In today's complex political and economic conditions, not only the media but also scientists do not always objectively assess the attitude of individual European politicians, and sometimes states, to the foreign policy activities of the Russian Federation. Sometimes St. Petersburg makes it possible to give a differentiated assessment of the attitude of Western European colleagues toward modern Russia. This was confirmed by the visit on May 11, 2022, to the city on the Neva of the Greek delegation headed by the Chairman of the Agrarian Party AKKEL E. Tsiombanidis. The head of the Greek delegation thanked the St. Petersburg deputies for the warm welcome, saying: "I apologize for the actions of the current Greek government, which decided to supply weapons to Ukraine. More than 80% of Greeks are against such a move. But our authorities today are persecuting politicians who are trying to convey the voice of the people and break through the information blockade of the West" [23].

On September 26, 2022, a meeting was held in which the deputies of the Legislative Assembly and the delegation of the Greek Republic took part. The meeting was held in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding. The head of the Greek Delegation P. Lafazanis emphasized: "I would like to say a phrase that I repeat very often: 'Russia is right.' Russia is the leading force that successfully opposes the United States. Now your country is not just protecting Russians in Ukraine: it is fighting for security, independence and the preservation of national and cultural identity. Fights for the good of peoples who yearn for justice" [24].

The purely individual position of Hungary toward the Russian Federation is also known, which distinguishes it from other EU countries. On September 28, 2018, the delegation of the Municipality of Budapest, headed by the mayor of the Hungarian capital, Istvan Tarlos, visited the Mariinsky Palace [25]. During the conversation, issues of mutual cooperation in the field of economy, education, and tourism, as well as the details of holding the Days of Budapest in St. Petersburg were discussed.

Summing up the meeting, the head of the St. Petersburg parliament drew attention to the long-standing friendly relations between the two countries, as well as Budapest and St. Petersburg. He said: "Hungary and Russia treat each other with understanding and respect, despite the difficult international situation. We highly appreciate that the leadership of your state adheres to a balanced position in foreign policy and believes that sanctions are counterproductive.

The economic interaction of our countries is strategic, and the development of regional ties is its integral part. In 2016, an agreement was signed with the Ministry

of Foreign Economic Relations and Foreign Affairs of Hungary, and a roadmap for the implementation of the Cooperation Agreement between St. Petersburg and Budapest was agreed upon.

Today, Mr. Tarlos proposed to sign an Agreement on Cooperation between the General Assembly of Budapest and the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg. Its implementation will lead to the formation of a regulatory framework that will contribute to the further development of economic relations between our cities. Our legislation is aimed at creating a favorable investment climate, which allows us to systematically implement large mutually beneficial projects" [26].

As a result, strong partnership relations have been established between 19 Hungarian regions and more than 50 subjects of the Russian Federation. Among them is St. Petersburg, which very fruitfully cooperated with the Hungarian capital.

In 2020, the trade turnover between St. Petersburg and Hungary increased by 14% compared to 2019 and amounted to $104 million [27].

Even Belgium, which is not always tolerant of Russia, tends to strengthen relations with St. Petersburg. This is evidenced by numerous facts of relationships in the field of construction, architecture, development of the urban environment, transport, education, and cooperation in the field of medicine and biotechnology, not to mention culture in general. In 2020, trade with Belgium increased by 32% compared to the previous year and amounted to $543 million [28].

The authors are aware that Cyprus, Greece, Hungary, and Belgium do not determine the general policy of the EU and represent only a particular case of building political, economic, and cultural relations with St. Petersburg. Based on the fact that in the most difficult modern conditions the political will and foresight of some European politicians and states are preserved, it can be assumed that bilateral relations may become warmer in the near future.

4   Conclusions

More than 25 years of experience of contacts between the St. Petersburg parliament and European colleagues should not be forgotten. This is an important basis for the analysis of existing mistakes and accumulated positive experience. The task of modern scientists is to accumulate experience and transfer it to modern practicing politicians.

The existing historical experience of interaction between the Legislative Assembly of St. Petersburg and colleagues from European countries should become the basis for the reconstruction of former good neighborly relations. It is necessary to search for ways of mutual interest between the parliaments of St. Petersburg and the states of Europe.

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Part II
Ideologies of Regionalism and
Globalization in Historical Context.
Philosophy of Politics

Geographical Neodeterminism: A Broken or Transformed Paradigm?

Sergey Pogodin, Yuriy Gladkiy, and Dmitri Lopatnikov

Abstract The evolution of the ideas of geographical determinism is largely associated with the accepted philosophical interpretation of the transition from traditional (linear) determinism to a nonlinear paradigm. The idea of a deeper understanding of the nonlinear laws of the development of geographical and ecological systems from the point of view of their synergetic properties, openness, complexity, instability, fractality, self-healing, etc., is defended. The "new" geographical determinism (neodeterminism) distances itself from a one-sided view of the problem of the development of society and recognizes the fallacy of the previously manifested underestimation of the reverse influence of humanity on nature. Embodying many of the previous ideas, he focuses on the role of global energy flows, biogeochemical cycles, the world ocean, mutual relations between man and climate, etc., which remained in the shadows. As priority markers of the new "version" of geographical determinism, the authors note the implementation of the concepts of "sustainable development" and "green economy," as well as the strengthening of alarmist greening of mass public consciousness. Comparative analysis of both "versions" of geographical determinism demonstrates not congruent but their close coincidence with the paradigmatic foundations of the synergetic research matrix.

Keywords Geography · Determinism · Neodeterminism · Synergetics · Sustainable development · Green energy

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1   Introduction

From a methodological point of view, the problem under consideration is one of the most "thankless" in geographical science. This is partly due to the fact that at least 90 varieties of determinism are fixed at the abstract level [36], many of which are directly related to geography. It is not by chance that between representatives of different sciences in the hermeneutical "circle" often there are insurmountable barriers to understanding each other, associated primarily with the explication of indicators of the phenomenon of "determinism" itself, as well as individual terms.

Such situations are quite understandable if we take into account the huge number of types of determinism often mentioned in the special literature: cultural, metaphysical, technological, biological, genetic, historical, economic, ecological, geographical, psychological, etc. An additional "confusion" in the analysis of the problems of determinism is introduced by the categorical approaches used to classify it (statistical approach, quantitative, structural, mechanical, dialectical, "multideterminism," mutual, etc.). In this regard, in our opinion, its philosophical ontology can and should serve as a unifying basis for all reflections on the problem of determinism.

The concept of "determinism" and the historical assessment of the phenomenon of "geographical determinism" are rich in vicissitudes of arbitrary interpretation, which was the result of the spread of unscientific orientations and preferences: ideological, religious, corporate, and even political.

The most widely used historical versions of geographical determinism in the literature have found a place: "geographical determinism," "possibilism," and "ecological determinism." Of course, they have not only academic interest. The concepts differ in their subject interpretation and reflect the history of violent reflection and "loosening" of the conceptual apparatus of the phenomenon of "determinism," especially in sociology, which is so sensitive to methodological search [19, 23, 29, etc.]. In any case, both possibilism and ecological determinism are spin-off segments of basic theoretical views that have been developed in the constantly modified doctrine of geographical determinism. After all, the scientific paradigm often represents not one but several close fundamental theories, considered together with its methodology, system of values, and norms.

Let us recall the concept of possibilism of the founder of the French school of "human geography" V. de la Blache (1845–1918). In contrast to his predecessors, who "prayed" for climatic conditions, and unlike his contemporary F. Ratzel, who "put" on the space (Raum) and the geographical position of the state (Lage), de la Blache, like his associates E. Martonne and A. Demangeon, did not perceive extreme forms of geographical fatalism. They proceeded from the fact that the natural environment really creates opportunities, prerequisites for the formation of cultural landscapes as a certain outcome of human activity, but their use depends primarily on the person himself. Abstracting from the unique geopolitical concept of "possibilism" created by V. de la Blache, we note that his original interpretation of geographical determinism, of course, does not allow the concept he proposed to be

elevated to the rank of a new paradigm. Equally, this remark can be attributed to all "modifications" of ecological determinism.

It is known that the change of scientific paradigms (according to T. Kuhn) can occur both evolutionarily and revolutionarily. Since unique events (such as the appearance, e.g., of the general and special theories of relativity, the theory of evolution and natural selection, Ch. Darwin, or quantum mechanics) have not been recorded in geography and ecology, the revolutionary option of changing scientific paradigms is practically excluded here. There remains an evolutionary variant of a change in the ideas of geographical determinism, but even this, on closer examination, does not have a single clear perspective. The emergence of the concept of geographical neodeterminism also does not fundamentally change the basic foundations of the doctrine, since many of its ideas have passed the test of time [13]. With all the advantages of the concept of "geographical non-determinism" considered in the article, it is an organic part of the doctrine of geographical determinism.

The purpose of the article is to prove with the help of analysis that the so-called geographical non-determinism is essentially a new resonant version of the interpretation of the phenomenon of geographical determinism, due to the presuppositions of nonlinearity and rejection of forced causality.

2   Material and Methods

The abundance of literary sources attributing a decisive role to natural prerequisites in history practically eliminates the need for additional explications and compels us to seek "help" from the old methodological principle: "entities should not be multiplied unnecessarily" ("Occam's razor"). Let's just note that the list of authors who contributed to the popularization of this idea includes representatives of the ancient era – Herodotus and Hippocrates – and thinkers of the new time, C. Montesquieu, A. Turgot, J. Herder, J. Dubeau, and many others. A tangible impetus for the development of the foundations of this doctrine, called geographical determinism, was given by the era of great geographical discoveries, industrialization, the development of capitalism, and the growing use of natural resources. In parallel, the fund of literature covering the problems of geographical determinism was rapidly enriched.

Unfortunately, until recent decades, attempts at scientific interpretation of all this colossal "baggage" often sinned with one-sidedness. The role of the natural factor was either unreasonably exaggerated or, on the contrary, diminished. The absolute opposition of society to the rest of nature and the denial of their dialectical unity led to the conceptual unsteadiness of the concept of geographical determinism. It was only as serious environmental threats on a global scale grew and the principles of nonlinear paradigm and synergetics triumphed in science [17, 26, 28, 30] that the desire for a deeper understanding of the doctrine of geographical determinism was revealed.

The purpose of the proposed article is to prove by means of analysis that the so-called geographical neodeterminism is essentially a new resonant version of the

interpretation of the phenomenon of geographical determinism. It is primarily due to the expansion of the use in science of the principles of nonlinearity and rejection of forced causality, as well as the danger of existential global environmental threats. It is difficult to imagine such an analysis without relying on already developed methodological techniques, primarily related to the theoretical rather than the empirical level of knowledge. The universal dialectical principle of historicism in the article is refracted in the form of a historical-geographical approach to the interpretation of neodeterminism. General scientific methods have been used, which have found truly universal application in various sciences: systemic, logical, genetic, ecological, and a number of others.

3 Determinism and Indeterminism in Geography

To understand the complex twists and turns of the evolution of geographical determinism, let us turn to the relation of determinism and indeterminism.

The concept of determinism, as one of the fundamental ontological ideas underlying classical natural science, has traditionally had a strong influence on the development of geographical thought. The main attention in geodeterministic concepts has always been given to climate. The well-known idea of Montesquieu (eighteenth century) that "the power of climate is stronger than all authorities" [25] has acquired an almost sacramental meaning. He (like his associates) argued that not only the level of economic development but also the peculiarities of people's mentality, national character, and the form of government depend primarily on the peculiarities of the climate.

Of course, this is a maximalist point of view, reflecting the initial positions of supporters of "radical" (linear) geographical determinism. Their recognition of the universal nature of cyclic processes in nature and denial of the presence of random and chaotic processes in it involuntarily led to hyperbolization of the manifested tendencies of "linearity" and "equilibrium." Such a point of view naturally could not but affect the development of human geography.

By the way, "radical" (linear) geographical determinism is not "dead" at all. Ignoring the opuses of novice authors, we will mention the not at all unknown American scientist J. Diamond, who in his book *Weapons, Germs and Steel* essentially resurrected the "scientific discovery" of the Montesquieu era [6]. According to the sarcastic remark of his compatriot, geographer A. Slater [32], Diamond argues that the current differentiation of the world into rich and poor regions has a simple explanation that everyone but him has overlooked: differences in the environment have determined, they say, "different destinies of human societies."

Carried away by the role of the natural environment, the criticized author among the reasons for the backwardness of underdeveloped countries did not even consider it necessary to mention the stadium lag of traditional African societies, their weak compatibility with the classical market economy, the era of colonialism, the mistakes of the leaders of these countries in choosing and implementing a strategy of

socioeconomic development, etc. Of course, it would have been possible to leave the author's point of view, "touched by mothballs," little popular today, without reaction, if not for one circumstance: a similar "renaissance" of the old version of the theory of geographical determinism was awarded the Pulitzer Prize. One can only regret that some poorly enlightened part of the readership will see in the book the rise of the innovative thought of the scientist, considering it as a manifestation of geographical neodeterminism in science.

It is important to note the fact that the recognition of causality of certain aspects of the social development of states by the properties of the natural environment (the same climate, relief, natural resources, soil fertility, etc.) can hardly be subjected to reasonable criticism. Following G. Galileo, F. Bacon, Newton, and other creators of the scientific concept of determinism, some geographers of the past intuitively shared at least the following basic ideas of the concept of determinism that are not outdated today: (1) nature functions and develops in accordance with intrinsically inherent internal, "natural" laws; (2) the laws of nature are the expression of necessary connections between phenomena and processes of the objective world.

Geographical determinism (geodeterminism) and geographical indeterminism (geoindeterminism) have been acting as antitheses in the understanding of causal relationships in the "nature-society" system for centuries. Recall: indeterminism is a methodological position according to which not everything in the world has a reason and is often associated with randomness. So, in quantum theory, indeterminism is the belief that no event is certain, and the whole result of something is probabilistic. A whole host of authoritative thinkers in various fields of knowledge (philosophy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology) defended exactly this position. Among them are M. Born, who proposed the Heisenberg uncertainty principle and the "born rule," which became starting points in support of the non-deterministic nature of the universe [1], A. Eddington [8], M. Gell-Mann [10], J. Monod [26], I. Prigozhin [30], etc.

Accordingly, geographical indeterminism is a concept that breaks the rigid causal relationship within the material world and sometimes elevates society into an absolute, contributing to the loss of understanding of the unity between nature and society. In modern conditions, it is especially absurd to defend utopian ideas of complete independence of society from the natural environment. With a certain degree of conditionality, it can be argued that the truth between determinism and indeterminism in geography lies somewhere "in between," absorbing elements of both concepts.

Indeterministic tendencies manifested themselves especially vividly in the industrial period. The era of Western industrialization has become a time of economic and technocratic determinism. At the same time, the nature of the impact of market development on nature and the environment, as well as the impact of the natural environment on socioeconomic development and the geopolitical positions of states, has become the subject of lively in-person and correspondence polemics of "iconic" philosophers, sociologists, economists, and geographers, which is richly reflected in the literature.

Note that in the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century, most scientific geographical schools stood on the "classical" deterministic positions. One of the first holistic geographical deterministic concepts of the interaction of nature and society was formulated by K. Ritter in the first half of the nineteenth century. It was further developed in the works of E. Reclu and L. Mechnikov. Anthropogeography, laid down in the works of F. Ratzel, stood on a pronounced deterministic foundation. Subsequently, it was from anthropogeography that American environmentalism developed, which made the development of the economy dependent on natural factors. And only at the end of the nineteenth century, thanks to the French school of human geography, the "dissonant" concept of possibilism was born, which seriously shook the positions of "vulgar" geodeterminism.

He was subjected to particularly fierce and ambiguously assessed criticism in the first half of the twentieth century in the Soviet Union, where, under the conditions of official communist ideology, it was believed that he shifted the emphasis of causality and conditionality of social processes from the struggle of classes to the processes of interaction between nature and society.

4 Categorical Status of the Concept of "Geographical Neodeterminism"

It was noted above that the philosophical ontology of the concept itself should serve as a unifying basis for a multitude of contradictory and often contradictory reflections on the problem of geographical determinism. In the works of modern philosophers, neodeterminism is interpreted in a somewhat "unusual" form for geographers: as "a new version of the interpretation of the phenomenon of determinism ..., based on the presumptions of nonlinearity, the absence of the phenomenon of an external cause and the rejection of forced causality" [27].

It is not difficult to see that geographers are actually "referred" to the problem of self-organization of material systems, to the theory of synergetics, the origins of which are inextricably linked with the names of G. Haken and I. Prigozhin [15, 30]. The new interpretation of neodeterminism suggests that geographers pay special attention to cyclic and chaotic processes in the material systems they study. If the main attributes of cyclic processes are equilibrium and linearity, then the determinants of chaotic processes (in which the ability to self-organize and the emergence of dissipative, i.e., spontaneously arising structures) are nonequilibrium and nonlinearity. If the main attributes of cyclic processes are equilibrium and linearity, then the determinants of chaotic processes (in which the ability to self-organize and the emergence of dissipative, i.e., spontaneously arising structures) are disequilibrium and nonlinearity. It is believed that natural processes are fundamentally nonequilibrium and nonlinear, and therefore more attention should be paid to the problem of self-organization of natural systems than before [2, 31].

It is known that self-oscillations (both periodic and chaotic), which are excited in nonlinear systems, are widespread in the surrounding world. They are found in the atmosphere, hydrosphere, lithosphere, biosphere, and in economic (e.g., N. Kondratiev cycles) and social systems [37]. The nonlinear mechanisms of the occurrence of such self-oscillations are very complex. Their study is difficult, first of all, because of the large size of these objects, the nonlinearity of the processes taking place, the actual inability to observe them visually, experiment with them, etc. It is not always possible to reliably identify the causes of these self-oscillations, especially since many of them are associated with bifurcations that dramatically change the nature of self-oscillations [24].

The analysis of geographical neodeterministic trends in the development of the postindustrial world is not at all exhausted by the idea of a deep understanding of the nonlinear laws of the development of geographical and ecological systems and their synergetic properties. But it is this idea that is fundamentally new, actually overlooked in previous versions of geographical determinism. It is believed that the use of nonlinear dynamics and, in particular, the effect of climatic "dynamic chaos," in establishing control over human influence on climate change promises to significantly facilitate this task by learning exponentially unstable regimes that generate complex nonlinear processes [2].

Examples of the manifestation of nonlinear patterns can be found in the processes of formation and evolution of the Earth's crust, in seismology, glaciology, geomorphology, in the development of society, etc. It is important to remember that each self-oscillating system is immersed in another larger system, interacts with it and generates its own oscillation spectra. Thus, seismological vibrations accompanying earthquakes propagate in different directions and affect the state of other systems (sometimes changing the composition of the atmosphere, generating tsunamis, etc.). Nonlinear self-oscillating elements are also inherent in systematically erupting volcanoes and geysers, slope relief systems, systems "pulsating glacier-underlying bedrock," and many others [3]. At some critical values of the parameters of these and other systems, the situation changes dramatically; bifurcation occurs, as a result of which a new mode of their operation arises.

The focus of nonlinear processes of a technical nature is also internal combustion engines, electronic auto-generators, emitters of electromagnetic and acoustic vibrations (lasers, radio transmitting devices, echo sounders, sonars), etc. The colossal role of all these various self-oscillating elements in the development of society is obvious. The continued numerical increase or, conversely, the elimination of internal combustion engines (e.g., as a result of the competition of electric motors) will lead to the appearance of many self-oscillating elements of other types. This shift will naturally affect the evolutionary processes in society, for example, it will accelerate the development of new territories and may provoke a change in the ecological situation.

One of the indicators of modern studies of the geographical version of neodeterminism is the assessment of the dangerous climatic fluctuations that have become more frequent in the world and the consequences of the increase in CO_2 emissions. There is reason to believe that they are largely the result of nonlinear processes in

nature, which in turn generate evolutionary processes that contribute to the emergence of bifurcations. It is known that in the Mesozoic, in the Late Cretaceous period (80 million years ago), the level of the world's oceans was much higher, and there is accurate geological evidence for this. The role of man is excluded; however, there have been both warming and cooling on Earth. According to the former president of the US National Academy of Sciences F. Seitz, experimental data on climate change do not show the harmful effects of anthropogenic use of hydrocarbons. Some experts argue that increasing the carbon dioxide content in the atmosphere is even beneficial [34].

And yet it is hardly correct to reduce the essence of geographical neodeterminism to its philosophical interpretation, "based on presumptions of nonlinearity, the absence of the phenomenon of an external cause, and the rejection of forced causality." While agreeing with the need for a deeper understanding of the nonlinear laws of the development of geographical and ecological systems in terms of their synergetic properties, one should not ignore the new interpretation of the old "baggage" of the classical ideas of geographical determinism and their evolution. By the way, widespread invectives against P. Laplace, the "father" of the doctrine of the interrelation and mutual certainty of all phenomena and processes, adherence to the doctrine of universal causality, are not justified enough. The question of changing the scientific picture of Laplace's world, which is conducted by individual philosophers and political scientists, has no strict scientific justification. At the same time, Laplace's determinism needs further development, especially since Laplace himself has put forward new ideas that are consistent with the cosmic mind and are very promising.

Even empirical material related to the role of economic structures at the time of their birth seems instructive for a modern researcher of determinism. Thus, the hyperbolization of the influence of climate on social development in the eighteenth century corresponded to the agrarian way of life characteristic of many European countries of that time. Industrialization and the rapid growth of consumption of mineral resources in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries caused a wave of interest among "possibilists" who considered increasing dependence on the corresponding resources. And the spread of indeterministic views in geography was influenced by major scientific discoveries that contributed to scientific and technological progress.

Taking into account the etymological meaning of the prefix "neo" in compound words (such as neorealism, neocolonialism, neologism, etc.), geographical neodeterminism symbolizes fundamentally new trends, among which there is not only maximum consideration of nonlinear patterns of development of geographical and ecological systems and their synergetic properties. He focuses on the previously overshadowed role of global energy flows, biogeochemical cycles, the world ocean, mutual relations between man and climate, etc. In the latter case, neodeterminism recognizes the fallacy of the previously manifested underestimation of the reverse influence of humanity on nature.

This refers to a tangible tilt of modern ideas of geographical determinism toward environmentalism, but again in its new interpretation – in close connection with

social ecology, and not with "social (or ecological) Darwinism." The "paradigm shift" occurred due to a certain shift of interest from the analysis of changes in the life-sustaining resources of geospheric shells to the study of the regeneration mechanism of the biosphere, dangerous climate fluctuations, the role of the "green economy," etc. A kind of marker of geographical neodeterminism becomes its function, which contributes to the transformation of an environmental problem into a dominant worldview, in the formation of a new type of being – ecological [21, 33].

When considering the evolution of geographical determinism, it may be tempting to use the separation of classics, neoclassics, and postclassics practiced by some proponents of synergetics and postmodernism (especially in socio-humanitarian science) to demarcate the separation of classical ("linear") geographical determinism, nonclassical determinism, and neodeterminism. However, this is rather a false move. Unlike physics, in sociology, as well as geography, the boundary between classics and nonclassics is amorphous and vague. There were no achievements in them, such as the discovery of the laws of inertia, universal gravitation, or celestial mechanics, which provided specific markers for the demarcation of epochs.

5   Thematic Markers of Geographical Neodeterminism

The doctrine of geographical determinism, despite the existence of numerous subjective assessments of this phenomenon, generally corresponds to the ideas of T. Kuhn (author of the book *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*) about the scientific paradigm. He articulates the latter as "universally recognized scientific achievement, providing over a significant period of time models of problems and solutions to the scientific community" [18]. Of course, this definition is not a dogma. Kuhn was criticized for too broad a polysemy of the meaning of the term (e.g., in relation to groups, forms of life, etc.). Many modern authors are also trying to correct the meaning of the term [5, 9, 16, 32 et al.].

In this regard, it can be argued that all historical cases of arbitrary interpretation of the phenomenon of "geographical determinism," including an unjustified shift in emphasis in assessing the relationship between society and nature, are integral fragments of the general deterministic geographical model as a set of knowledge, methods, patterns of problem-solving, and values shared by the scientific community. Constantly "cleansed" of accidents and anti-scientific orientations, this model is included in textbooks in an improved form and becomes the basis of a certain scientific tradition.

There are many logical reasons to interpret "ecological determinism" as an interdisciplinary segment of "geographical determinism." This can be justified both by the "young" age of environmental science and by the traditions of centuries-old joint creative searches of geographers and ecologists in the field of deterministic paradigm. Clarifying the meaning of the scientific paradigm, T. Kuhn at one time introduced the concept of the so-called disciplinary matrix, which includes elements of three main types: symbolic generalizations or laws, models and

ontological interpretations, and samples of problem solutions. Geographical determinism can hardly be considered a reference example of a scientific paradigm, but the ontological interpretation of the teaching reveals common aspects of research and slices of reality, the same elements of the functional mechanism of the process.

Let's return to the analysis of geographical neodeterminism as a new, promising direction of the paradigm under consideration [12].

5.1   The Concept of Sustainable Development

Today, the concept of "sustainable development," which has become, in fact, an internationally recognized doctrine of global development, can be considered as an explicit indicator of the manifestation of geographical neodeterminism. The mission of the latter is to take humanity away from the possible coming socioeconomic and ecological apocalypse, which, according to alarmists, may result from global demographic, resource, and environmental crises. The main value of the concept is that it is based on a fundamentally new vision of the significance and weight of the factors of this development, taking into account the nonlinear patterns of the development of geographical systems.

The concept covers many spheres and branches of human existence, and its interests extend far beyond geography. After all, sustainable, non-exhausting development is the sum of different models – the use of resources, interaction between people and nature, as well as a model of the development of civilization based on innovation, in which the satisfaction of the vital needs of the current generation is achieved together with the preservation of the environment, strengthening personal and public health, and without depriving future generations of such an opportunity.

The authors deliberately abstract from the fundamental and serious criticism of the concept available in the literature – the correctness of its definition, analysis of means, and guarantees of sustainable development, as proposed in the "hegemonic" discourse [20]. The contradictions revealed during the long-term implementation of the concept demonstrate its internal logical paradox, which, in our opinion, consists in the difficult compatibility of national interests with global human interests. This point is not only related to practical obstacles to the implementation of the concept; it concerns its ideology. We are talking about the actual lack of global management capabilities today of such a super-complex system as the mega-system "biosphere-humanity" due to the civilizational and evolutionary immaturity of modern *Homo sapiens*. A noospheric reorientation of public consciousness is necessary. However, no one offers convincing rational ways to do this.

The geographical neodeterministic content of the concept is primarily due to a rethinking of the significance and nature of the influence of the ecological factor on the trajectory of social development, as well as the use of a methodology for analyzing nonlinear patterns of development of geographical and ecological systems.

5.2   Green Economy

Green economy, as a model of economic development aimed at finding a reasonable compromise between the growth of well-being and the preservation of the environment, is an integral ingredient of the concept of sustainable development. Moreover, the distinction between the two concepts ("sustainable development" and "green economy") is becoming increasingly difficult as the interpretation of the "green economy" expands and the creation of an economic system that includes environmental factors and new forms of consumer behavior. According to the ideas of the green economy, all countries and people should be aware that the Earth's resources are limited and that it is necessary to reduce waste, save water, sort and dispose of garbage, reuse things, etc.

Of course, it would be naive to claim that these "battered" partial ideas contain elements of that unique novelty that contributed to the identification of the concept of geographical neodeterminism by the scientific community. The "secret" is that many progressive ideas previously formulated by highly authoritative thinkers [4, 22 et al.] have not been consolidated into a single concept with clearly defined principles of the green economy, stages and methods of its implementation, regional priorities, etc. [11]. In addition, the "resource" alarmism of the Club of Rome has been replaced by the more "modern" "carbon" alarmism, which determines the current agenda.

The implementation of the ideas of the green economy embodies many modifications of determinism (including environmental, technological, economic, technological, etc.), which, as it were, "shakes" the rights of geographical determinism to claim a "privileged" association with the green economy. At first glance, many of the prospects of the latter (economic efficiency growth, high GDP growth rates, improvement of the labor market situation due to the creation of new jobs, etc.), as well as its problems (rising production costs, risks of reducing the competitiveness of national economies), have only a remote relation to geography. However, global climate changes caused by changes in the thermal balance of the atmosphere, the circulation of ocean waters and the water cycle, fluctuations in solar activity, and, of course, anthropogenic factors confirm the existential role of geographical determinism, since we are talking about the fate of our civilization and all mankind.

In this regard, in an additional "justification" of the concept of "neodeterminism" we operate, we recall fundamentally new approaches to the study of frequent fluctuations in the global climate, taking into account nonlinearity as a universal property of objects and processes inherent in nature. On the one hand, the climate system, like the entire natural environment, is subject to cyclical fluctuations. Changes in the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere and air temperature are cyclical. On the other hand, it is believed that the formation of the universe and the birth, life, and death of stars (and their systems) are examples of nonlinear processes, as well as processes on our Sun (flares, prominences). It is variations in solar activity that cause many changes in the state of the Earth's climate [35].

It is also important that changes in the climate system are often a priori associated with human activity, which in many ways is also a reflection of nonlinear patterns of development of geographical and ecological systems. According to the report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), a climate catastrophe caused by the active development of industry is becoming inevitable, and human inaction will lead to irreparable damage to the Earth's ecosystems by 2030.

Without questioning the cases of irreversible changes in the biosphere recorded by a wide network of scientific observations, we leave out the conclusions about the degree of human guilt [7]. In order to make sure to what extent the observed climatic fluctuations and frequent natural disasters are caused by its activities, it is necessary to expand the scope of the methodology of traditional geographical determinism and take advantage of the possibilities of transition from traditional (linear) determinism to a nonlinear paradigm.

6 Discussion

The exposure of traditional geographical determinism to constant sharp criticism surprises few people, which suggests its vulnerability as a doctrine. Critics see the main shortcomings of the teaching in the exaggeration and immutability of the role of the natural environment and underestimation of the internal determinants of social development, and, most importantly, traditional geographical determinism weakly or does not take into account the reverse influence of human society on nature, without rising to a comprehensive analysis of the problem of interaction between society and nature. The appearance of the phenomenon of "neodeterminism" in geography is mainly due to the latter circumstance, although its assertion is also greatly facilitated by the intensive development of nonlinear methods for the study of complex systems and synergetics.

But the problem of distinguishing between traditional and modern forms of geographical determinism is not as simple as it may seem. Let us recall the existence of at least the so-called passionate theory of ethnogenesis by the Russian historian and geographer L.N. Gumilev, which is based on the idea of ethnos as a biospheric phenomenon closely connected with the landscape [14]. According to his concept, social development takes place in a spiral, and ethnic development is discrete, i.e., it has a beginning and an end.

It would seem that Gumilev's ideas quite fit into the framework of the ideological concepts of traditional geographical determinism, which explain the socioeconomic development of peoples and countries of the world by a geographical factor. But the ethnological "tilt" of this author's theoretical reasoning clearly dissonates with the age-old ideas about the influence of geographical location, relief, climate, soils, water, plant, and mineral resources on the socioeconomic development of peoples and countries. "Ethnogenesis," he asserts, "is a natural process, a fluctuation of the biochemical energy of the living matter of the biosphere. The outburst of this

energy — a passionate impulse occurring in a particular region of the planet — generates a movement, the nature of which is determined by the situation: geographical, affecting the economic activity of the ethnos" [14].

The originality of Gumilev's controversial theory, which has given rise to many, both his supporters and opponents, consists in an attempt to explain the balance of social systems on Earth in conditions when humanity has come close to the natural limits of its development and is faced with the need to solve the most complex problems in relations with nature. Given its ethnological nature, in our opinion, it tends to geographical neodeterminism.

But the main thing is that the "new" geographical determinism distances itself from the one-sided view of the focal problem of the traditional concept and recognizes the fallacy of the previously manifested underestimation of the reverse influence of humanity on nature. In this connection, a delicate question arises: can the phenomenon of "neodeterminism" continue to retain the name "geographical," because traditional geographical determinism is a concept that asserts that the process of social development is not the result of the manifestation of objective laws of the development of society but a consequence of the influence of natural forces? If this is not the case, is the adjective "geographical" not eliminated thereby?

Here not only semantics and philosophy come to the rescue but also geographical science itself. The meaning of words (and even more so of phrases) is a rather subjective question. And if the main meanings of words are fixed in dictionaries today, then more complex units are often interpreted differently. The authors of the article proceed from the fact that the type of geographical determinism depends on the nature of causal relationships. In the concept of geographical neodeterminism, the process-forming agents remain the same. It elevates the role of man (as part of nature), while the functions of nature itself remain important, but without overestimating them. Consequently, a new kind of determinism remains geographical.

7   Conclusion

The evolution of the doctrine of geographical determinism until almost the middle of the twentieth century reflected mainly the linear-deterministic view of classical science on the development of society. It was believed that the development of the world is linear-progressive, unidirectional, and without alternative. Classical science focused on equilibrium, stability, monotony, and order – all those parameters that characterize closed systems and linear relations. However, at the end of the twentieth century, the basic foundations of the teaching have undergone a serious revision with a shift of emphasis to the nonlinear paradigm, to the analysis of the reverse influence of humanity on nature. The new version of the doctrine was called "neodeterminism."

The analysis of its essence in the article allows us to draw the main conclusions.

1. Since the central core of determinism is the position of the existence of a causal relationship of phenomena, in which one phenomenon (cause) under certain conditions generates another phenomenon (consequence), geographical neodeterminism, even with the change of the "poles" of influence (society and nature), remains an evolutionary form of geographical determinism.
2. The formation of a postindustrial economic structure in the world is accompanied by an increase in the determinism of development by environmental parameters of the state of the biosphere. Control of cause and effect relationships in the society-environment system without a deep consideration of the nonlinear patterns of development of nature and society is unlikely to be effective.
3. The emphasis on the study of the reverse influence of human society on nature, as well as the nonlinear patterns of geographical and ecological systems, taking into account their synergetic properties (using the ideas of "sustainable development" and "green economy"), can be considered the "calling cards" of the new version of geographical determinism – neodeterminism.

Thus, geographical determinism, as a conceptual approach, is not "canceled" and does not become obsolete – it is being modified, embodying many of the previous ideas.

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Social Development Trends in the Context of a Turbulent World

Nikolay Baranov

Abstract The modern world is going through a period of turbulence, and its main characteristic is uncertainty. The modern world is rethinking social development priorities as a result of the drastic change. In a period of uncertainty, outlier events that go beyond a common understanding of what is happening are appearing more and more often. Nervous reaction to such events illustrates that humanity is unable to effectively address the existing threats. Strengthening non-Western countries' influence reduces the role of ideologized agendas, replacing them with more in-demand types of relationships. Security issues are gaining priority among the other tasks, which include almost all spheres of life in their orbits. Digital technologies create new opportunities while also posing risks to individuals and states. The implications of challenges and risks fall within the UN competence, although interference by states is needed. As a result, there is a need to rationalize the social development paradigm. This paradigm is frequently replaced by situational ideologized projects that are incapable of addressing social development issues.

Keywords Non-Western countries · Emotional policy · "Nervous states" · Liberal values · "Black swans"

1 Introduction

The global social development in the twenty-first century is marked by uncertainty, and according to N. Taleb, the above can be seen in the infrequent appearance of "black swan," an outlier event, carrying an extreme impact [1, p. XVII]. One of such events – COVID-19 pandemic – demonstrated human development priorities that

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were clearly expressed by A. Przeworski "Physical survival is an imperative – all the rest is luxury" [2]. Because of uncertainty, the Western world is denying liberal values such as press freedom and free information flow. It also refuses to support ethnic minorities by imposing total bans on liberal democratic countries, which do not aid in the fight against the pandemic or terrorism. During the pandemic, liberal values were reassessed, and a problem of democratic regime legitimacy arose. Security concerns now pervade all aspects of public life. States are becoming more suspicious, both of their citizens and of their foreign policy. Digital technologies have completely transformed our lives. On the one hand, they make it easier, but on the other, they make it more complicated because of the ability to completely control everyone's affairs. Post-truth technology is now dominating at the international stage. It resulted in the international opinion of a certain direction as well as a fear of expressing one's own position because of being accused in undermining Western, liberal, Arabic world, etc. W. Davies claims that "feeling took over the world"; that is why "nervous states" appeared [3]. In the current context, a new international consensus on social development is required to return policy to its rational principles.

The article's objective is to discover the main trends of modern development in the context of uncertainty in global politics and international relations. To accomplish this goal, we will investigate factors that are critical to modern social development processes.

2   Methodology

Uncertainty and unpredictability are the key characteristics of conception of turbulence proposed by American political scientist J.N. Rosenau, who published his book *Turbulence in World Politics: A Theory of Change and Continuity* in 1990 [4]. According to this conception, the world system is under high tension because of global changes affecting the structures and processes that normally sustain world politics. Due to these changes, structures and processes become unsettled and undergo rearrangement [4, p. 8]. These are the hallmarks of turbulence. Socially, it is manifested in technological breakthroughs, authority crises, consensus breakdowns, revolutionary upheavals, generational conflicts, and other forces that restructure the human landscape in which they erupt [4, p. 8].

"A turbulent development at the beginning of the 21st century may be seen as the set of chaotic processes and events, that are unrelated to one another, but change previous strong opinions about the social development" [5, p. 7]. German political scientist H.W. Maull describes turbulence as a consequence of globalization, which is characterized by three overarching trends: (i) the supersession of geopolitics by geoeconomics; (ii) mutations of the international security, which is increasingly shifting from the interstate level to security threats within societies and those stemming from transnational relations; and (iii) the growing importance and intensity of conflicts between different value systems and ideologies [6].

According to some Russian scholars, "turbulence" refers to "the world order changing dynamics, which are characterized by permanent or recurring instability, ambivalence, and uncertainty of processes, which are partially controlled by the actions of individual actors of world politics" [7, p. 12].

Under turbulence conditions, social constructivism methodology is becoming more important in international relation studies. One of its branches is constructivism in international relations theory. A founder of this approach is N. Onuf, who published a book *A World of Our Making: Rules and Rule in Social Theory and International Relations* (1989) [8]. In this book he states that "The act of construction, the co-constitution of people and society make history" [8, p. 42]. N. Onuf identified states with individuals, living in the world of their making where "social facts" made by human action are opposed to "brute facts" that do not depend for their existence on human action but rather are phenomena of human condition. Another American political scientist A. Wendt claims that the structure of international relations is made of a social rather than material phenomenon. In his book *Social Theory of International Politics* (1999), apart from realists who believe that international relations are based on national interests and liberal internationalists who emphasize the interdependence of international actors, A. Wendt views international politics as a field of cooperation. This field is formed as a result of the actors' identities as well as the constantly changing legal and institutional structures [9, p. 1–2].

Thus, according to constructivists [10], the majority of global policy elements are socially constructed in terms of both objective and subjective factors. In today's turbulent world, social development is defined by factors that previously seemed unreal due to their ambiguity and technological impossibility.

3   Democracy Crisis During the COVID-19 Pandemic

Adam Przeworski, describing the initial period of the pandemic fight, writes: "The liberal values we cherish include not only the freedom of movement but also of being able to freely associate, to join in religious observances, and to protect our privacy from prying eyes. Our democratic values include the freedom to choose governments through elections and to control their actions through our elected representatives and the judicial institutions. The lesson of the reactions to the COVID-19 crisis is that under the death threat, these values retract. The meaning of this lesson for us as human beings is profound" [2]. American political scientist feels sorrow for the people who are willing to give up the right to choose governments, i.e., democracy [2].

As the English political scientist D. Runciman noted "In a lockdown, we can see the essence of politics is still what Hobbes described: some people get to tell others what to do." According to Runciman, "Democracies do, though, find it harder to make the really tough choices. Pre-emption – the ability to tackle a problem before it becomes acute – has never been a democratic strength. We wait until we have no

choice and then we adapt. That means," English political scientist claims, "democracies are always going to start off behind the curve of a disease like this one, though some are better at playing catch-up than others" [11].

Russian political scientist M.V. Bratersky states that the Western society failed to face the pandemic challenges. He even claims that the end of history has arrived, but not in the way that Fukuyama described it, but in the form of a devaluation of all Western ideologies. The concepts of "unconditional personal freedoms and rights, freedom of movement and choice of residence, mobility within one's own state or within migration process" appear dubious. "Cultural and civilized factors, but not the questions of political regime and political system come to the first place" [12].

The pandemic revealed the crisis of Western society with its liberal and democratic globalization. Its ideology and declaration of rights and liberties deteriorated. F. Fukuyama examines the phenomenon of "illiberal democracy," which Farid Zakaria discussed at the turn of the century [13] as it applies to European and Western countries. As Fukuyama claims, "if you only have democracy, it tends to erode liberalism, and then that tends to erode democracy itself" [14].

4 The Liberal Values' Crisis

A. Lieven, a professor at Georgetown University in Qatar, argued that the pandemic would in some ways help create a psychological and cultural basis for extremism by extinguishing the naïve liberal optimism about continual human improvement and would threaten the popularity and even the legitimacy of different regimes and political orders [15]. Boris Kapustin raises a more critical question about the Western society sustainability. He claims that the COVID-19 pandemic showed global capitalistic civilization as a fancy bluff. "Most visibly," he writes, "the bluff character of our civilization appeared at the level of its 'values' and 'regulatory grounds' 'European unity', 'Atlantic solidarity', 'common values', 'humanism' and similar things all been exposed as pathetic ruses based on the animal selfish fear of each individual national entity for its own separate survival" [16].

There is a widespread rejection of liberal values in the Western world:

1. Rejection of press freedom and information dissemination. Preventing unwanted TV and radio channels from working has become a common occurrence in many countries around the world, including Western countries. In a number of countries, such prevention is met with a corresponding response in the form of media restrictions.
2. Refusal to support ethnic minorities. The Framework Convention for the Protection of the Rights of National Minorities (1995), states: "Considering that the upheavals of European history have shown that the protection of national minorities is essential to stability, democratic security and peace in this continent" [17]. Nonetheless, some countries violate Convention Article 13, point 1,

     which states that persons belonging to a national minority have the right to set up and to manage their own private educational and training establishments.

3. There are also double standards in providing independence to peoples – the right of peoples to self-determination (Kosovo, Abkhazia, South Ossetia, Nagorny Karabakh, Kurdistan). In these terms the question arises: who decides which nations are permitted to form their own statehood through secession and which are not, and what mechanisms are legal and legitimate? Western countries prefer to reserve such a right for themselves, whereas Russia has proposed that this issue be decided by the UN Security Council.

4. Total restrictions during the pandemic, which practically had no effect on the spread of disease (Israel, Japan, France). Simultaneously, Swedish and Belarussian experience demonstrated that a focus on citizens' personal responsibility with minimal restrictions is more fruitful and less burdensome both for citizens and the state.

The author of the "end of history" conception and the victory of liberalism F. Fukuyama in 2022 published a book *Liberalism and Its Discontents*. As he writes, "It's clear liberalism has been in retreat in recent years" [18, p. VII]. "Indeed, according to Freedom House, political rights and civil liberties around the world had been rising during the three and a half decades between 1974 and the early 2000s, but had been falling for fifteen straight years prior to 2021" [18, p. XII]. "Populists on the right and progressives on the left are unhappy with present day liberalism. In practice, this has led to intolerance of views that deviate from the particular value vector" [18, p. XII]. As a result, as F. Fukuyama believes, "the basic liberal principle of personal autonomy was absolutized, and turned into a critique of the individualism and the universalism on which liberalism rested" [18, p. XII].

5   Emotional Politics

The shaping of the global agenda is dependent on both unpredictable events and conceptions formed under the strong influence of the leading states. Among these conceptions are the following: the formation of a public opinion in a particular direction regarding some significant events, a fear of expressing one's own position for fear of being accused of undermining unity (Western, liberal, Arabic), and a unilateral view of world conflicts, migration processes, and their causes.

We agree with the opinion expressed by English social scientist W.B. Davis who wrote in his book *Nervous States: How Feeling Took Over the World*: "Part of the appeal of war, at least as an idea, is that … it represents a form of politics where feelings really matter" [3, p. 183]. According to him "feeling becomes a navigational aid and source of information… Where there is an absence of commonly agreed facts, each side has to rely on a combination of private intelligence and instinct. The quality of information in war isn't always very clear, so gut feeling and

other sense" [3, p. 190]. Indeed, the desire to use emotions and human instincts to achieve political goals is defined by feud rather than by the desire for peace.

Politicians emotional perceptions of the world are mirrored by citizens and transformed into public opinion, which elected officials then adjust to, as a result, an endless circle initiated by the politicians forming the public opinion in their priority direction.

In the context of emotional politics, artificially created proofs, such as nonexistent scenes of violence or plots with randomly interpreted events, work well. People believe in the interpretation of events that fits into their worldview. Otherwise, individuals experience cognitive dissonance. That is why people who are unable to think critically try to avoid context they do not understand. Subsequently, emotional politics leads to an incorrect world view as well as confrontation between people with opposing viewpoints.

6   The Social Networks' Influence

The importance of social networks and messengers in the communication space cannot be overstated. They establish modern society's trends, as well as the rules that commuters have to follow. Defining different social networks as extremist, as it has happened to Facebook, and non-extremist, though directed against ideological opponents and competitors, because of their owners' positions is a modern world reality. IT firms become monopolists when they create specific game rules for the vast communication pitch that shapes the opinions of large groups of people. Not for nothing has the world's richest man, Elon Musk, who owns Twitter, dubbed it the "digital town square" where critical questions about humanity's future are debated. He also stated that Twitter has enormous potential [19].

According to Digital 2022 Global Overview Report, global Internet audience was 4.95 billion people at the beginning of 2022 [20]. "There have been 4.62 billion social media users around the world in January 2022" [20]. According to the Brand Analytics data, the number of social networks users in Russia has reached 62.2 million people in November 2022 (in November 2021 the number of users was 66.4 million people). They have posted and commented on 1.5 billion public messages (in 2021 there were 1.1 billion messages) [21].

This data shows that social networks have become an important part of our lives: we use them to communicate, search for information, and find people who share our interests. Politicians use them for galvanizing public awareness and political will. They also serve as a platform for digital political participation that is passive ("slacktivism"). It is taking social action online in ways that involve little personal effort and have little immediate effect. Slacktivism is concerned as a new digital instrument that expands the opportunities for political participation, while also serving as a motivator for political activity.

Social networks have become a source of information and disinformation. They can mobilize the population or calm it. They are used for both work and recreation.

They have enormous potential, which will only grow in the future. They will undoubtedly be supplemented by new opportunities.

7 Non-Western Worldview

Under the conditions of Western dominance, states that disagree with Western centrism consider not following the Western scenario. The Joint Statement of Russia and China on the International Relations Entering a New Era and the Global Sustainable Development can be called as an alternative to the Western worldview [22]. "The sides oppose the interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states, they recognize the UN and the UN Security Council playing a central and coordinating role when solving modern global issues… Russia and China aim to comprehensively strengthen the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and further enhance its role in shaping a polycentric world order" [22].

The Economist Intelligence Unit has measured government actions globally since the special war operation in Ukraine has started. They have found out that the "governments of about 30% of the global population living in the 28 countries have leaned towards Russia. As well as China, these include such populous places as Pakistan and Ethiopia. Thirty-two governments have remained neutral, including Bangladesh's, Brazil's and India's. A total of 131 countries are against Russia, according to the analysis. But together the countries opposing Russia account for only 36% of the world's population" [23]. Thus, the British magazine *The Economist* points out that around two-thirds of people live in countries whose governments are either neutral or Russian-leaning.

T.G. Carpenter, a senior fellow in defense and foreign policy studies at the Cato Institute, writes that "the Biden administration clearly overestimated the extent of international outrage at Russia's invasion of Ukraine." The refusal of the majority of African countries to support sanctions against Russia, the refusal of the largest Latin American economies to support the US anti-Russia strategy, and the South East Asian countries remaining neutral, including India and China, demonstrate that US leaders also overestimated the extent of US leverage to compel nations not in Washington's geopolitical orbit to participate in a punitive policy toward Russia [24]. The similar position has W.R. Mead from Hudson Institute. He claims that Washington failed to expand the anti-Russian coalition, which includes only traditional allies of the United States: "The West has never been more closely aligned. It has also rarely been more alone. Allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization plus Australia and Japan are united in revulsion against Vladimir Putin's war and are cooperating with the most sweeping sanctions since World War II. The rest of the world, not so much" [25].

Western countries are no longer a role model because of their absolutization and exaggeration of freedom, disregard for economic realities, and rejection of the values that underpin the Western world (freedom of the press and dissemination of information, support for ethnic minorities, etc.).

The decline of the West predicted by O. Spengler [26] 100 years ago (1918, v. 1, 1922, v. 2) is approaching. The likelihood of Europe being excluded from resolving global issues is high as it loses its political independence. P. Drulák, the first Czech deputy foreign minister (2014–2015), is quite specific in his predictions for European future: "In the best-case scenario Europe will become an open-air museum, while the rest will ignore it and use only as a holiday destination. At worst it will be involved in the Power rivalries" [27].

The alternative for the Western world vision is deepening of strategic partnership within BRICS, SCO enlargement, and further enhancement of its role in shaping a polycentric world order, as well as developing cooperation within the "Russia-India-China" format and boycott of the ninth Summit of Americas held in the United States by the leaders of Mexico, Bolivia, Honduras, Guatemala, and Salvador.

8 Conclusion

Thus, we can see a dramatic change in the modern world's social development, which is formed by various factors and priorities. The UN Secretary General António Guterres among the problems and challenges names injustice, inequality, mistrust, racism, and discrimination. According to him, "people start losing trust in institutions, they also lose faith in the values that underlie them" [28], resulting in turbulence.

The absence of regularities characterizes the key feature of turbulence, uncertainty. Because global tensions are rising, relations are changing, and policymaking by the world's major political actors is stalled; world politics is entering a phase with no predetermined rules or boundaries. The world politics parameters that were previously stable and limited fluctuations of its variable components are being destroyed.

The anomalous events, humanity's failure to confront existing threats, unwillingness to negotiate with one another, and attempts to promote ideologically driven projects that the majority of states do not agree with, lead to global changes in the world.

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Inclusion as a Driver for the Implementation of SDG-30 by the BRICS Countries

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Abstract This paper reveals the specifics of the application of the concept of inclusiveness by the BRICS countries for the formation of a development strategy for both the countries of the group themselves and the countries of the developing world for the implementation of SDG-30. The paper in the first part reveals the conceptual features of the inclusiveness index, which replaced the outdated GDP index. The authors then explore the BRICS strategic plans for building an inclusive society within the political discourse on the transformation of the world order. In conclusion, it was concluded that the active introduction of the inclusiveness index into world practice proves that the use of colossal reserves of human capital in the countries of the "World Majority" (F. Lukyanov) will radically change the global world order, leaving behind the hegemonism of the West, which is turning into the "World Minority."

Keywords Inclusiveness · Human capital · Social politics · Sustainable development · COVID-19 pandemic · Globalization · Economic cooperation

1 Introduction

The Charter of the United Nations (UN) and the Declaration of Human Rights enshrined the basic principles of international law, which implies the equality of all people in the right to a peaceful and prosperous life, which states and international organizations must ensure. Quite a lot is being done to implement these principles, both through the system of international organizations of the "UN family," regional international associations of states, and individual states. However, the problem of

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socioeconomic inequality, the extreme expressions of which are hunger, poverty, and disease of a significant part of the population of the developing countries of Asia and Africa, not only does not disappear, but, on the contrary, is acquiring a global scale. Therefore, it is so urgent to find methods for measuring inequality in order to combat it more effectively.

The concept of "inclusiveness" has recently become frequently used in characterizing new political approaches to solving the problems of economic growth and raising the living standards of the population, since inclusiveness implies involvement in any process (economic, cultural, social, etc.) of all segments of the population. "Two main ideas: (1) the opportunities created by growth should be open to people; 2) the degree of income inequality and access to basic services should be limited to acceptable limits" [1 , p. 22]. In this vein, it is important to emphasize that it is the increase in the living standards of the population in modern conditions that is the stimulus and the main condition for economic growth, which is especially important for the developing countries of the world.

The introduction of the principle of inclusiveness is explained by the lack of generally accepted universal indicators for a comprehensive assessment of the results of the socioeconomic development of the world community. Moreover, it is obvious that the GDP indicator, which is most often used as a generalizing measure of socioeconomic development, does not correspond to a whole range of new realities of economic life. In particular, the GDP indicator underestimates the growth factor, since it cannot fully take into account the expansion of the range of goods and services produced in the economy [2]. In addition, the main problem of using gross statistical indicators is the inability to take into account the nature of the distribution processes that cause economic inequality [3].

It is no coincidence that today inclusive growth is one of the main indicator priorities for assessing economic inequality, which is not limited to the level of wages, but increasingly implies the availability of education and the healthcare system in both developed and developing countries. The inequalities in access to medical care became especially acute during the COVID-19 pandemic. That is why the Asian Development Bank's Strategy 2020 identifies two main dimensions:

1. Creating and expanding economic opportunities to achieve sustainable growth.
2. Ensuring wider access for members of society to participate in growth and use this growth [4, 5].

The second dimension involves expanding human potential: investing in education, health, and basic social services. The "Strategy …" emphasizes that without the participation of all segments of the population in economic growth, that is, without taking into account the principle of inclusiveness, objective conditions arise for serious social conflicts. The events of the "Arab Spring" and "color revolutions" clearly illustrate this thesis.

Therefore, the development of an inclusive strategy is in the focus of attention of the BRICS countries, since this is especially true for these economically growing giants, where social inequality is still a serious problem. It is important to emphasize that the successful implementation of the principle of social inclusiveness in the

BRICS countries will allow this interstate association to become an attractive center for the World Majority – the peoples of developing countries.

The purpose of this study is to determine the role of the concept of inclusiveness in the BRICS countries and outline their strategic plans for building an inclusive society, formed in the context of the existing discourse on the transformation of the world order.

Within the framework of the designated goal, the methodological basis of the study was the historical method, the method of system analysis, and the method of comparative analysis.

The scientific novelty of the work is the author's assessment of the prospects for applying the concept of inclusiveness and analysis of the strategic plans of the BRICS countries to build an inclusive society.

Recently, the appeal of researchers to various aspects of the topic of "human capital" and inclusiveness has been updated [1, 6–8]. However, in general, it should be noted a clear lack of relevant scientific research of the designated concept within the framework of political science, which determines the relevance of addressing this topic.

The work used materials from the UN, the World Bank, and the World Economic Forum (WEF), as well as data from the BRICS information portal.

2   Features of the Conceptual Relationship Between the Concepts of "Inclusiveness and Human Capital"

Even at the beginning of the postindustrial stage of development, it was noted that not "factories, equipment and production reserves will become the cornerstone of competitiveness, economic growth and efficiency of states" [9], but human capital. In view of this, the significance and importance of using an inclusive method, where the main focus is not on the material and technological resources of the country, but on the welfare of the population (environmental standards, healthcare, income level, etc.), as the basis for increasing human capital, seems undoubted.

It should be noted that the original meaning of the concept of "human capital" was associated with the economy. Indeed, the key word is capital, i.e., "anything that is capable of generating income, or resources created by people for the production of goods and services" [10]. With regard to human capital, it was assumed that this is nothing more than "a person's ability to generate income as a result of investments invested in him in education and the development of professional skills that increased his ability to work" [6 , p. 21]. In particular, World Bank experts note the fact that human capital includes family and state expenses for all purposes: from providing basic needs (food, clothing, housing) to the implementation of others (education, healthcare, culture) [11].

In search of an answer to the question of why and how human capital has become so significant for the development of the economy, it can be assumed that "previous

models of growth have ceased to provide productivity growth. Although technological factors of production continue to play a role in labor productivity, however human resources, management, politics and fair institutions are becoming increasingly important" [1 , p. 24].

It should be noted that the concept of inclusiveness is essentially an evolved concept of human potential, which gained the right to exist within the framework of the United Nations (UN) in the last decade of the twentieth century, thanks to regular reports on human development. At the same time, the concept of measuring national capital proposed by the World Bank includes "human, natural and reproducible capital" [12].

Taking into account the fact that in the new concept of state capital, the number of indicators of the social sphere has increased, "human capital within the framework of this concept includes indicators that provide favorable living conditions for the population: the costs of the functioning of the upbringing system, the education system, health promotion and other factors to increase the working capacity of people, an increase in the working period and other aspects of the conditions for a favorable life, an increase in the middle class," and it should be summarized that according to the experts of the World Bank, human capital for a modern state is, in fact, the basis of economic development and national wealth. It is difficult to disagree with this position, since in the modern world, human capital really becomes the foundation for the development of the economy of any country, starting with the fact that as human development grew within the country, the GDP indicator also increased. It is obvious that as technological innovations grow, the trends toward which have become an essential characteristic of modernity, the need for human capital will only increase.

According to economists of the World Economic Forum (WEF), the situation in the world is such that "it is necessary to look for ways to reduce global inequality, which adversely affects the environment and the prospects of future generations of earthlings, therefore, the inclusiveness index provides an opportunity to take a fresh approach to solving global problems" [13].

Indeed, the index of inclusive development can act as a new benchmark, since it is rightly positioned as the most informative system for assessing the level of socioeconomic development of states and its adoption at the world level will undoubtedly contribute to international economic integration. These opportunities for implementing the concept of inclusive growth are especially important for developing countries in the context of the need to resolve complex socioeconomic problems.

3   Inclusion Index as a Reflection of the Socioeconomic Transition from "High-Tech" Technologies to "High-Hume" Technologies

The concept of inclusive growth emerged in the context of changes in the way of thinking about economic development. Opinions have emerged that economic growth should be accompanied not only by an increase in the capitalization of the

economy but also by a decrease in the level of poverty and inequality, which is achieved by creating equal opportunities for participation in economic growth for the low-income segments of the population [14].

In fact, economic and social inequality is regarded not only as unfair but also as a process hindering the development of society. Therefore, international organizations and states are trying to ensure inclusiveness in economic growth, which is reflected in the obligations related to inclusive development that the UN places on states. At the same time, it is obvious that achieving positive results in this direction is not easy.

The twenty-first century is marked by an increased interest in the "human" dimension of economics and politics; in particular, a certain turn toward the interests of an individual is reflected in the actualization of the "soft security" phenomenon [15], which is implemented in various nonmilitary ways in the social sphere. According to a Russian expert, "an important component of the political and economic success of a modern state has become the degree of public and private investment in a person" [6 , p. 68–69], in its development, which is considered as the most important condition for the political and economic success of states in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG-30), adopted by the UN member states in 2015. Actually, in this way, it became necessary to form a system for measuring human capital and compiling ratings of states according to this criterion. Various organizations expressed interest in participating in this activity, but the system proposed by the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme, as well as the World Economic Forum for indexing human capital, turned out to be the most popular.

The current "transition from 'high-tech' technologies to 'high-hume' technologies" [9] was reflected in the discussions of the WEF in 2018, where the ideas of replacing the rating indicators of gross domestic product with an inclusive development index were discussed, in which, along with the gross domestic product (GDP), 11 more parameters should be taken into account, reflecting various aspects of the development of countries.

In particular, together with GDP, indicators are calculated and grouped as follows: growth and development, inclusiveness, continuity of generations, and sustainable development [12]. It should be noted that inclusiveness here is the coefficient of stratification of society by income, the level of poverty, coefficient of stratification of society according to the distribution of wealth, and median income.

Group indices are formed from all indicators, and then – the final one, which is the arithmetic average.

The new method has been applied in recent years and made it possible to focus not on the purely economic component of the development and well-being of the state, but on the human factor. As a result, the composition of traditional leaders in the groups of developed and developing countries has changed.

Among the group of developed countries, Norway, Iceland, Luxembourg, and Switzerland are in the lead. It is important to emphasize that Iceland is in 12th place in terms of GDP. The United States is ranked 23rd on the inclusion index, as the United States has a huge public debt and a very low level of a number of indicators, in particular high inequality and low life expectancy.

In developing countries, there has also been a reshuffling of leaders. For example, Azerbaijan ranks third in terms of the inclusion index, although it ranks 26th in terms of GDP.

As for the BRICS countries, they all belong to the group of developing countries and their indicators on the inclusiveness index are relatively low.

Thus, Brazil occupies the 37th line, because it has serious problems with the inequality of incomes of the population and with the size of the public debt. As experts of the Institute of Latin America of the Russian Academy of Sciences noted, "the upward dynamics of state appropriations for social payments and benefits in the recent past was associated with the course towards social reform and the fight against poverty, launched by the governments of L.I. Lula da Silva and D. Rousseff between 2003 and 2016" [16 , p. 18].

At the same time, when discussing the possibilities of Brazil's economic development in the near future, a very reasoned conclusion was made that "despite the exit from the recession and the positive dynamics of GDP in 2019–2023, the next stage will require significant efforts from the newly elected president, aimed at developing infrastructure, accelerating the modernization of production, and increasing its competitiveness."

It is quite logical that serious problems in the budgetary sphere and the reduction of public investment will make this task very difficult. There may also be a risk of increasing social tension, due to the need to implement unpopular structural reforms. Despite forecasts of an increase in the growth rate of the Brazilian economy up to 2.2% per year, it should be remembered that this figure is significantly lower than the world average of 3.6% [16 , p. 31].

In terms of inclusiveness, Russia ranks 19th, although it holds the ninth position in terms of GDP. The main problem of the Russian Federation is that a high level of income inequality remains.

India ranks 62nd, which is due to a number of negative reasons: "a gap in the levels of socio-economic status of different groups of the population and regions; exhaustive nature management leads to the degradation of natural and ecological life support systems, the intensification of natural and anthropogenic disasters and catastrophes" [17].

China ranks 26th, behind its small neighbor Nepal fourth, because in this country, nature is preserved as much as possible and emissions are minimized. "The relatively low inclusive rating of China is largely due to exorbitant industrial emissions and uneven distribution of income between urban and rural residents" [14].

The Republic of South Africa ranks 70th in the inclusive ranking, although it ranks 19th among developing countries in terms of GDP. "This is one of the lowest positions, characterized by a share of the employed population at the level of 40% and an average life expectancy that does not reach 55 years" [18].

Thus, the introduction of an inclusive method into the practice of international relations means for the BRICS countries the need to develop new strategic plans to address common problems associated with raising the standard of living of the population. But unlike the developed Western countries, in many BRICS countries, there are still large disproportions in the development of individual regions and a

contrasting combination of archaic and modern forms of management and lifestyle. According to the Russian expert T.A. Meshkova, a number of elements of the political and economic structure of the past continue to be preserved, and in the context of global migration, the process of mixing human capital is carried out and, at the same time, ongoing: "In many countries, deep reforms of educational and scientific and technical systems are a kind of response to the challenges of globalization" and "many dynamically developing economies, which are already demonstrating impressive achievements in the knowledge economy, will not stand still in the near future, and competition in the struggle for human capital will only increase in the near future" [8 , p. 9].

In this context, the words of the Chinese leader Xi Jinping, spoken at the opening of the meeting of the BRICS Business Council, are important: "The mountain is great because it contains all the stones; the seas are deep because all small rivers and streams penetrate into them. Inclusiveness, accessibility and mutual benefit is the right way to develop. We should adhere to openness and inclusiveness, remove all obstacles that hinder the development of productive forces, promote the healthy development of globalization, ensure the free movement of capital and technology, and maximize the innovative and intellectual potential of economic growth" [19].

4   Inclusion Policy as a Strategic Goal of the BRICS Countries

The BRICS states are trying to solve social problems along with the tasks of economic growth. According to the head of the Ministry of Economic Development of Russia Maxim Reshetnikov, the main goal of the Economic Partnership Strategy of the Five countries for the period up to 2025 is "sustainable socioeconomic development of the Five countries," creating new opportunities for everyone: large and small businesses, for investors, women, youth and older generation, for the sustainable development of territories. In addition to measures to stabilize the situation within the country, we are also looking for new solutions, new "points of growth" in industrial cooperation and expansion of trade and economic relations with our partners [20].

It is important to emphasize that the implementation of the inclusiveness strategy can contribute to the transformation of the BRICS countries into an attractive global center of social well-being for developing countries.

The reforms carried out in Brazil in the twenty-first century were aimed at developing a middle-class and increasing consumption, which would help to expand the domestic market and achieve a certain social stability. As noted by L.M. Grigoriev and M.F. Starodubtsev, during the years of President Lula da Silva, great steps were made to raise the living standards of the poor, which led to the emergence of a "new middle class" as a result of policies based on equity and growth. Between 2002 and 2013, the minimum wage contributed to a 38.2% reduction in the proportion of the

poor. But the qualitative characteristics of the representatives of the "new middle class" differ negatively from the representatives of the traditional middle class (about 14% of the population), who have a good education and work related to intellectual work, creativity, and consulting. Access to quality higher education is a problem, and a third of the workforce is capable of only unskilled labor. However, poverty problems are also measured in a geographical context, as "the average per capita income in the North-East region is less than half of that for the entire country, while in the South-West region, incomes of the population are more than 30% higher than the average across the country" [21]. It is difficult to disagree with the fact that for Brazil, participation in the BRICS format, on the one hand, complements its "strategy of greatness," and on the other hand, provides new opportunities, including, among other things, the development of the Asian and global vector [22 , p. 21].

As for the Russian Federation, in the context of the Western sanctions policy, the most important task of social policy is to prevent a decrease in the income of citizens, while "a large number of support measures are assigned not due to poverty, but due to the onset of certain life events, such as, for example, birth child, disability, job loss, retirement age, etc." [23] . According to the directive document of the Ministry of Finance of the Russian Federation, "The main directions of the budget, tax and customs and tariff policy for 2021 and for the planning period of 2022 and 2023," the emphasis in the fight against poverty is placed on the "principle of need" for appropriate social payments. "Thus, for low-income families, there are now monthly payment programs (including a payment for children under three years old and a payment for children from 3 to 7 years old), covering more than 3.5 million families, which is more than half of the poor citizens. For such payments in the budgets of the budget system in 2021-2023. more than 400 billion rubles a year are provided for, which also accounts for more than half of the shortfall in the cash income of poor citizens" [24].

P.M. Mosias believes that "social policy in China is based on economic growth, demonstrating the prestige of a new quality of life. The institutions of the social sphere in modern China are actually being created anew. The imperfect mechanisms for providing educational, medical, pension, and housing services that existed during the planned economy were dismantled as early as the 1980s. Over the past two decades, they have been replaced by pension and health insurance, student loans, the housing market, and mortgages" [25 , p. 99–100]. But at the same time, the amount of work to equalize the income level of the population in various parts of the Chinese state is still very large. By 2020, "more than 40% of Chinese people are earning $140 a month, which is half the minimum wage in the capital, Beijing. And 75.6% of those who receive less than $170 are rural residents. At the same time, 300 million rural migrants today are forced to take on temporary jobs with part-time employment and low social guarantees" [26] . One of the methods to achieve social justice, according to Xi Jinping, could be to curb the growth of the welfare of the most prosperous segments of the population by increasing taxes on property and

expensive consumer goods. "Xi plans to pay special attention to the aggressive expansion of capital, considering it necessary to strengthen antitrust regulation and stop illegal ways of earning" [26].

India is becoming the country with the largest population, so the challenges of inclusive development are very difficult, given that 2/3 of the population lives in rural areas, where undocumented workers make up a significant part of the entire workforce. In addition, the low incomes of the poor part of the population of India are associated with the educational level and, accordingly, with qualifications. Therefore, the government of the country makes large investments in the field of education and science, but, despite "the social policy actively pursued by the Indian government, more than 260 million people (13.5% of the population) are still below the poverty line" [27]. However, as N.V. Galishchev has stated, many social initiatives of the Indian authorities have positive results, which is also borrowed by neighbors in the region. The Indian experience of supporting small businesses by providing comprehensive support (e.g., concessional loans) has become widespread in Brazil and the Republic of South Africa. "It seems that individual measures to reduce poverty (primarily, stimulating the development of small-scale production in the regions through the implementation of the relevant Program for self-help groups under the auspices of a special credit institution) could be introduced in Russia" [27].

The social policy of the Republic of South Africa (SAR) has its own specifics associated with the peculiarities of racial problems left over from the apartheid period. Thus, the number of those living below the poverty line (in total, about 52 million people live in the country) is about half of the population, and 95% of this half are blacks. In addition, there is the problem of a high level of HIV infection (15–20% of the adult population). To address the problems of poverty, the government adopted a program whose target is to reduce income poverty from 39% in 2009 prices to zero by 2030 and wealth inequality (reducing the Gini coefficient from 0.69 to 0.6) [28].

Like the Indian authorities, the government of South Africa is betting on promoting the development of national scientific and educational centers, on building up the competencies of scientists and experts in cooperation with scientists from the BRICS countries according to the formula of informal people-to-people contacts. "South Africa can offer partners in the association the exchange of experience and practices in improving the effectiveness of early epidemiological warning systems, as well as improving the quality of training of specialists in the field of medicine by enhancing international contacts, including informal ones" [29].

Thus, it seems obvious that for all BRICS countries, the strategy of inclusiveness is the defining direction of both internal development and political, economic, and social interactions with each other, which was reflected in the documents of recent summits.

5   The Implementation of the Inclusiveness Strategy Will Allow the BRICS to Become an Attractive Global Center of Social Well-Being for Developing Countries

At the 12th BRICS Summit (Russia 2020), attention was focused on the problems associated with the COVID-19 pandemic, which was reflected in Russian proposals for the development of the concept of "inclusive sustainable development," which focuses on collective efforts to overcome common challenges, taking into account the interests of all members of the international community, on the equal interaction of states, without a hidden agenda and the use of methods of unfair competition, on full respect for international law, which in general should contribute to the implementation of the global Agenda in the field of sustainable development [14].

According to Igor Shuvalov, "the task of the development institutions of the BRICS countries is not only to mitigate the economic consequences of the pandemic as much as possible" but also "to provide an impetus for sustainable and inclusive development," and for this, it is necessary to "strengthen the coordination of investment policies and exchange of experience" and focus on the main directions, among which are cooperation "in the field of healthcare, the development of smart cities and new urban technologies," and the introduction of "principles of a green economy and responsible financing" [30].

It was these principles that were recorded in the final document of the 14th BRICS Summit (China, 2022), which spoke of the need to "use innovative and inclusive solutions, including digital and technological tools to promote sustainable development and ensure affordable and equitable access to global public good for all" [31]. It is important to emphasize that bringing to the fore the idea of inclusiveness and human capital is determined by their importance in ensuring the growth of labor productivity along with technological factors. As a result, the principle of broad involvement of all segments of the population in sustainable development will mean the creation of fair conditions for the peoples of developing countries drawn into the BRICS orbit, the implementation of SDG-30.

As already noted, one of the important goals of the BRICS is the formation of a multipolar world, where the union of five countries can become one of the most important poles of attraction for developing countries – the World Majority. There are already significant prerequisites for this. So, in 2022, three countries officially announced their desire to join the BRICS – Argentina, Iran, and Algeria. According to the Chinese Foreign Ministry, Indonesia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Egypt also intend to join the informal grouping, which will be finally clarified during the BRICS summit in South Africa, which is expected to take place in the fall of 2023. In turn, Russian Foreign Minister S. V. Lavrov, at a meeting with his Indian counterpart S. Jaishankar, noted the desire of at least 12 countries to join the BRICS. Therefore, the BRICS participants will soon clarify the criteria and principles for considering applications for membership, which are already received officially [32].

According to experts of the Valdai Club, the "expansion of the core" of BRICS can increase "the political and economic resource of the association, including the investment resource and financial capabilities of the initiative (in particular, the BRICS New Development Bank and the Foreign Exchange Reserve Pool), provided that economically symmetrical and financially stable countries that have a relatively higher level of influence in global governance institutions and are ready to act not only as recipients of economic assistance, but also as potential investors" [33].

6 Conclusions

Summing up, you can use the formula of G. Ford "Coming together is the beginning. Sticking together is progress. Working together is a success," the application of which to the activities of the BRICS means that two decades ago, the countries came together, despite everything, and all these years, they stayed together and continue to work together, implementing the strategy of inclusive economic growth and the well-being of citizens, taking advantage of the potential of joint development. In this way, our study has shown that in the modern conditions of the digital society, which inevitably becomes the political, economic, and social reality of not only developed but also actively developing countries led by the BRICS, without the wide involvement of all segments of the population in educational, innovative processes, as well as without raising their living standards, it is impossible to achieve SDG-30. The active introduction of the inclusiveness index into world practice proves that the use of colossal reserves of human capital in the countries of the "World Majority" (F. Lukyanov) will allow to radically change the global world order.

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Fundamental Problems of Turkic Republics in the Context of Intercultural Conflict and Nationalization Process

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Abstract Following independence, the Turkic Republics implemented nationalization as a state policy. Their main objectives were to promote national unity and homogeneity and to fill the ideological and identity gaps that appeared after the fall of the Soviet Union. The creation of the national state language and national historiography, the incorporation of national elements into state symbols, the restoration of place names that were altered during the Soviet era, the resuscitation of the intellectual legacies of intellectuals executed during that period, the accentuation of national elements in new city construction, and the attempt to resurrect national values through the use of propaganda tools and education are all examples of national values regeneration. However, this process is not a simple one. There are three main reasons why creating a national identity is susceptible to influences from other cultures. First, the area is geographically situated where several different cultures converge. The power struggle in Central Asia includes a non-negligible aspect of the intercultural competition within this process. Second, many nations in this region experienced an identity crisis and a cultural gap after the fall of the Soviet Union. Last but not least, modern globalization facilitates cross-cultural interaction and communication through rapidly expanding and limitless communication technologies. As a result, foreign cultural trends have largely had a one-way effect on the population. In this sense, it is possible to assert that people's preferences and interests have undergone a fundamental transformation process that has given rise to new Western-influenced customs and behaviors.

Keywords Turkic Republics · Cross-Cultural competition · Nationalization

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1 Introduction

The Soviet era is remembered in history as a time when various cultures and ethnic groups attempted to unite under a single upper identity, lower identities were occasionally subjected to direct or indirect assimilation policies, Russian was adopted as a common language, and steps were taken to create a uniform "Soviet" society. During this time, policies based on systematic language and identity planning weakened the Turkestani peoples' ties to one another. The perception of different identities based on geography tore apart societies that were not all that different from one another in terms of culture and ethnicity. Different alphabets based on Cyrillic were adapted to each of them, creating separate nations with cosmopolitan cultures and halved identities [1]. For this reason, the Central Asian Turkic Republics adopted a policy of reestablishing their identities while simultaneously constructing their states in the years following their independence in 1991. The main goals of this policy are to shed the Soviet identity, foster a sense of unity that will keep the country together [2], ensure national unity and homogeneity, give the newly established state a foundation of legitimacy, and adapt to the global system [3]. Examples of this process in action include the creation of the national language; the writing of national history; the replacement of the flag, national anthem, and coat of arms—basic symbols that represent the state—on the basis of historical foundations; and the resurgence of national values through propaganda campaigns and educational initiatives. Additionally, all schools are now required to teach national languages, and as a result of these policies, more people in these nations are becoming literate in their native tongues [4].

In these nations, nationalism has taken the form of a hybrid of "official" and "popular" nationalism. Therefore, in the process of nationalization in such newly independent countries—with Anderson's theoretical perspective—it is possible to observe the natural and sincere dimension of nationalism based on public as well as official state policy, which has been transformed into an ideological propaganda.

However, this process is by no means simple. In actuality, there are three main rea-sons why the process of developing a national identity is susceptible to the influence of various cultures. First, the area is geographically situated where the cultures of Russia, the West, China, and Islam converge. The geopolitical location of the Turkic World in this context, which coexists with strong cultures and is on significant transitional routes, offers significant opportunities for cultural dynamism, but it also carries significant risks, such as cultural degeneration and dissolution, because of its proximity to strong cultures. The interests of many nations clash in this geopolitical geography, which is endowed with abundant energy resources, and there is a fierce struggle for power. Second, many countries in the region experienced an identity crisis and a cultural vacuum following the fall of the Soviet Union, making them susceptible to the influence of other cultures [5]. In the Turkic Republics, different cultures have varying degrees of influence on the formation of national identity. This study attempts to reveal the impact of intercultural competition on the

development of national identity in the Turkic Republics while staying within the bounds of the study's volume and caliber.

2 The Western Strategy of Spreading Through Cultural Channels

Russians were a major channel for Central Asian Turkic peoples' contact with Western culture. In contrast to the Ottomans, the Russians started their Westernization process a century ago, in the seventeenth century. By passing Western culture through a Marxist filter, the Soviet Union's decision-makers tried to create an alternative system during that time.

After 1991, when Western culture started to re-infiltrate the area, it began to spread across the entire region as a result of globalization. The Western culture has a strong influence on the cultures of developing countries, and this process is accelerated by advances in communication technologies. This influence, referred to as "global culture," has eroded national cultures in some places and even allowed national cultures to become "local cultures," according to the cultural dimension of globalization [6]. During this process, non-Western lifestyles and values were defined in accordance with the concepts of "primitive," "other," and "traditional," while Western societies and lifestyles with cultures that overlap with capitalist values were blessed [7].

In the Turkic Republics, Western culture has a limited but growing influence. With the spread of communication channels, the people of the region who became acquainted with Western culture and lifestyle have exhibited a visible change, particularly in their clothing and behavior. The rapid spread of Western brands as a result of the relationship between entertainment and consumption, as well as their transformation into a status and prestige indicator, is a clear sign of this process. On the other hand, national leaders support these Western cultural activities to a large extent as a chance to acclimate to the global system.

The spread of English as a global language is the most obvious impact of Western culture in the area. News programs are aired on official television channels as well. Both business and education use English. In fact, universities and colleges with English-medium programs have begun to operate in the Turkic Republics, and the general public holds these recently established educational institutions in high regard.

Along with the growing interest in English, the region's nations are also becoming more interested in American music and movies. In this regard, the American sector competes with the Turkish and Russian film and music industries.

Since 1992, Western nations' International Education Councils, particularly those in the USA, Germany, and France, have organized student and teacher exchange programs. A number of educational initiatives, such as the higher education of their young people in Western nations, which the Turkic Republics have supported since 1993 in order to meet their demand for skilled labor, have had a

significant impact in this direction. French and German education and cultural centers are also active with language courses, library services, and student exchange programs.

The missionary activities carried out with the explicit and hidden assistance of the major regional power centers are one of the most significant threats to the national cultures of the Turkic Republics. Missionaries and some religious movements started intense activities with the intention of using people for their own purposes by taking advantage of the lack of religious knowledge created during the communist period in these regions, the majority of which are Muslim, Protestants and Presbyterians or Jehovah's Witnesses related to Protestantism, Catholics, Evangelists, Dialogue Missionaries, Moon Organization members, and Adventists. However, some Christian groups may refer to their activities as "proselytism" to avoid the negative connotation of missionary work. Furthermore, schools, hospitals, and language and expertise centers established by missionaries and operating for missionary purposes are exempt from these activities [8].

3   Continued Engagement in Russian Culture

The Russian language and culture, which were in some ways viewed as a "common roof" both during the Tsarist era and the Soviet era, had an impact on Turkestan and Caucasian Turks.

Within the borders of the Soviet Union, Russian schools and the use of Russian became commonplace, especially in the 1930s. Russian schools that were established in Central Asia quickly gained popularity as a result of the locals' concern for their kids. Local language demand has fallen off each year, while interest in Russian has increased [9]. Russian gained a superior position in today's Central Asia as well as throughout the Soviet Union, and it became a requirement to know Russian extremely well in order to take any position at the upper levels [10]. Thus, Russian culture maintains a significant influence on today's Turkic Republics, which peaked during the Soviet period. Although local Turkish dialects have gained strength as the national state language since independence, Russian is still used in bureaucracy, universities, law, and daily life, and the weekly official newsletter is published in both Russian and local languages. Additionally, the Turkic Republics of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan recognized Russian as an official language; Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, and Azerbaijan continue to use it as one of the primary languages of international communication.

The schools that offer instruction in Russian are the most significant source of Russian culture in the independent Turkic Republics. Although there are fewer of these schools than schools teaching in local Turkish dialects, their location in major cities increases their effectiveness. However, during the early years of independence, there were fewer schools offering instruction in Russian, and the usage of the language was much more restricted. In the years that followed, there were some modifications made in this area. In particular, the usage areas of the Russian

language were expanded, and some faculties of Moscow State University were opened in the nations of the region, in accordance with the strategic cooperation agreements made by the Turkic Republics and Russia [11].

The Russian-language TV channels that are broadcast in these nations are another source of Russian cultural influence. On the other hand, because they received their education during the Soviet era, middle-aged people, particularly the political elite, are those who have been influenced by Russian culture. In addition, a sizable number of young people from the Turkic Republics continue to study at Russian Federation universities. Russian continues to be used internationally, just like English, for that reason. Another complex for the Russian language is the belief that Russian is the language of modernity; the language of science, technology, and all values associated with modernity; and the language that can be used to communicate with the civilized world [1].

On the other hand, another significant factor that keeps the Russian cultural influence alive is the presence of the Russian population that was settled in these republics during Tsarist Russia and the Soviet era. One of the key factors in the acceptance of Russian as the second official language and its use as the language of education, for instance, is the Russian population, which accounts for 35% of the population in Kazakhstan and 20% of the population in Kyrgyzstan. The organic component at the other end of this bond is made up of Caucasian and Central Asian workers who are required to work in Russia.

The Turkic Republics are pursuing a gradual policy to reduce Russian cultural influence. Due to official nationalist state policies and competition from other cultures, Russian culture is gradually losing its influence. With Turkiye's assistance and offer, significant steps were taken to switch to the Latin alphabet in this context, especially following the fall of the Soviet Union [12].

While Azerbaijan adopted the Latin alphabet in February 1992, the Turkmen Parliament decided on April 12, 1993, to gradually adopt the Latin alphabet until the year 2000, which was carried out. In contrast, Uzbekistan decided to use the Latin alphabet in September 1993. Today, these three Turkic Republics have completed the transition period and have begun to use the "Thirty-Four Letters Latin-Based Alphabet," which includes a few additional letters not found in the Turkish alphabet, in all areas [13].

Kazakhstan took an important step in changing the alphabet in 2017. In his article titled "Orientation: Spiritual Revival of the Future," published on the official website on April 12, Kazakhstan President Nursultan Nazarbayev instructed the Kazakhstan government to prepare for the transition from Kazakh Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet by the end of 2017. Nazarbayev stated that, after the meetings with scientists and wise people by the end of 2017, a new Kazakh alphabet based on the Latin alphabet should be prepared in a single standard and that secondary school books should be published in the Latin alphabet in 2018. While both the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets will be used in the early stages of the transition to the Latin alphabet, all books, journals, and official documents will be published in the Latin alphabet until 2025. Experts emphasize that the alphabet change is a critical issue in terms of the Turkic Republics' political independence [14].

4 Educational and Cultural Policies of Turkiye for the Turkic Republics

As the first country to recognize the independence of the Republics of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan, with which it shares cultural and historical ties, Turkiye attempted to forge relationships with these nations quickly in the new process that emerged after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 in a variety of areas, including economy, tourism, social security, and the practice of law. Turkiye emerged as a key role model for the Turkic Republics in this process when it comes to global adaptation.

The quick cooperation that developed between the states was an important factor in how societies got to know each other. Because interactions in the fields of lifestyles, culture, education, and religion between Turkish and other Turkic Republic societies increased during this period, new cooperation initiatives were launched in this direction. All political and economic developments that affect lifestyles and thus culture have played an important role in Turkiye-Turkic Republic cultural relations [15].

The language issue has been one of the most prominent issues in Turkiye's cultural relations with the Turkish Republics. As previously stated, the long-lasting influence of the Soviet regime, as well as language differentiation policies, had a negative impact on the language similarities between these societies. Turkiye has played a significant role in the research of a common alphabet that the Turkish world can use in the new era, and this process is critical in the development of national identity and cultural policies in the countries. Furthermore, academic efforts to develop a common Turkish language that will facilitate communication between Turkic Republics have been ongoing since the 1990s.

Education is an important area in which Turkiye's relations with the Turkic Republics are developing. The "Great Student Project" is an important study on this topic. Within the scope of the project, universities in Turkiye opened their doors to students from Turkic Republics or related communities living in other countries. These students were placed in universities after learning Turkish at Turkish Teaching Centers (TÖMER). Between 1991 and 2017, tens of thousands of graduates studied in Turkiye on state scholarships or with their own funds. In addition to their education, these students contributed to the process of acculturation between societies by experiencing Turkiye's cultural life and serving as representatives of their own cultures. [16] This cultural interaction continues after students complete their education and return to their home countries. [13]

Furthermore, Turkiye established the International Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Turkish-Kazakh University in Turkistan, Kazakhstan, as well as the Kyrgyzstan-Turkiye Manas University in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan's capital, and other secondary and high school educational institutions, which have increased Turkiye's cultural influence in the region.

The Turkic Republics are also affected by Turkiye's influence in terms of religion. A number of mosques were built in Turkish Republics by the Presidency of

Religious Affairs of Turkiye, which also appointed religious leaders and sent religious literature. Additionally, Turkiye served as a place of religious education for students from the Turkic Republics. The Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs paid for these students' education. Additionally, a number of nongovernmental organizations with roots in Turkiye, including the Turkish Red Crescent, the Turkish Religious Foundation, and others, have been organizing events like mass circumcision ceremonies and sacrificial donations in the countries of the region.

Cinematic films and television series, which have become important cultural export items for Turkiye in recent years, despite criticism that they misrepresent Turkish culture[17] contribute significantly to the region's recognition of Turkiye. The demand for serials is boosted by the events' realism as well as by cultural affinity [18]. These serials, which are broadcast with subtitles or dubs on the countries' own channels and are watched by people from all walks of life, increase interest in Turkiye's Turkish. The number of children and young people who learn Turkish from TV series and children's cartoons produced in or dubbed in Turkish is particularly large.

International broadcasts of Turkish media channels, on the other hand, are an important component in establishing cultural relations with the Turkic Republics. TRT took the lead in this case. Initially, it was intended to broadcast to the region's countries via the TRT-Int channel. TRT-Eurasia began broadcasting on April 27, 1992, to help the countries get to know one another better and to encourage cooperation in all fields between Turkiye and the aforementioned republics. TRT-AVAZ, which began broadcasting on March 21, 2009, produces programs aimed at establishing intellectual harmony between Turkiye and the Turkic Republics. The channel broadcasts Turkish dialects in Azerbaijani, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, Turkmen, and Uzbek. One of the channel's broadcast goals is to improve communication by developing a common language [19].

5   Cultural Influence of Co-religionist Islamic Countries

Islam is one of the most important factors holding Turkic communities together in the face of the system's Sovietization policies. Following independence, Islam became a unifying element as well as a political tool in terms of individual and congregational identity [20].

In order for the peoples living within national borders to coexist peacefully, relations with Muslim countries were developed, and the unifying and integrative aspect of Islam was highlighted during the process of developing national identities after independence. Following the establishment of relations with Muslim countries, it has been observed that the influence of new cultural movements, particularly those of Middle Eastern origin (Saudi Arabia, Iran, and so on), has grown in independent Turkic Republics. Nongovernmental organizations affiliated with these countries are attempting to spread their cultures in the region through humanitarian aid activities, the construction of mosques and masjids, mass circumcision ceremonies,

religious education and religious publications, and the construction of cultural centers. The Wahhabi/Salafi views and growing influence of Shiism among the Caucasian Turks are observed as a result of the traditional sectarian beliefs, as many students from the region study religion in Saudi Arabia and Iran. In this context, it is clear that there is rivalry in the area based on religion, particularly sect.

In fact, Turkiye, which has been Westernizing since the Tulip era, has experienced similar issues in the relationship between religion and nation. These issues, which began with deciding between the ideologies of Ottomanism, Islamism, and Turkism [21], also caused various interpretations to emerge within each of these movements. For instance, in Turkish nationalism, the ideologies referred to as Turanist, Anatolist, Ataturkist, and Turkish-Islamic Synthesisist [22] have not only pointed to various geographic regions but also ranged from extreme secularism to choosing sects and religious orders under the name of "Turkish Islam."

6   Conclusion

Today, the intercultural competition that has occurred as a result of the globalization process, which has the potential to increase intercultural communication and interaction, is an important dimension of Central Asia's power struggle, at least as important as the new "Great Game" on the region's oil and natural gas riches [5]. For three reasons, cultural competition is not just between foreign states. First, some competition-related factors have powerful internal dynamics. Russian language and culture, for instance, are taught in the public schools of the Turkic Republics. For centuries, the region's nations have been dominated by the religion of Islam. Second, certain states also contribute to the influence of multiple spiritual values. For instance, Turkiye has a significant impact on how Islam and Turkish culture are perceived in the Turkic Republics. Finally, non-state nongovernmental organizations play a role in the influence of some cultures in Turkic Republics.

The Turkic Republics have the potential to be a center of attraction in a vast geography that encompasses both the West and the East in terms of geo-cultural aspects because of their location in a strategically significant geography where great civilizations have come into contact throughout history. Despite the significant damage caused by the aforementioned developments in the Turkic Republics' cultural and identity structures during the Soviet period, protecting identities, forming unity around common identities, and cultural pluralism will continue to be values that provide prestige for countries in the future. The Turkish world, both in the East and the West, has a responsibility to preserve its identities by continuing to build its culture around superior and universal ideals as it did in the past without breaking up its natural ties to the shared historical past. The future presents them with significant opportunities in this regard. Cultural values must be preserved as much as they must be developed and changed while maintaining continuity.

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Western Historical Sociology, International Relations and the Studies of Russian Civilizational Politics

Mikhail Maslovskiy and Elena Maslovskaya

Abstract The paper discusses the concept of civilization in historical sociology and new perspectives on civilizational politics in the field of international relations. Contemporary civilizational analysis as a paradigm of historical sociology devotes considerable attention to civilizational legacies in today's world. At the same time, the research programme of civilizational politics in IR regards civilizations as discursive constructs and focuses on the ways in which political imaginaries become institutionalized. Apparently, these perspectives can be seen as complementary. However, current discussions of civilizational politics are mostly characterized by selective appropriation of insights from the new perspectives in IR and general neglect of the contributions of historical sociology. In particular, studies of Russian civilizational politics mostly draw on the constructivist approach and focus on ideological discourses. The paper evaluates recent research on civilizational aspects of Russian politics and stresses the need to reconsider this issue taking into account the contribution of civilizational analysis in historical sociology.

Keywords Historical sociology · International relations · Civilizational politics · Russia

1 Introduction

The formation of contemporary civilizational analysis in historical sociology began in the 1970s. By the early 2000s, this perspective could be considered an emerging sociological paradigm. Recently, this paradigm has been described as one of the most promising theoretical approaches in contemporary sociology [29]. It has also been argued that sociological civilizational analysis is capable of meeting the

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challenge of integrating social theory and regional studies [1]. At the same time, there was a discussion of the relevance of sociological civilizational analysis represented by Shmuel Eisenstadt and Johann Arnason for the discipline of international relations [7]. Apparently, there is some common ground between historical sociology and political geography. Thus, the importance of world-systems analysis as a perspective in historical sociology for political geography studies has been widely acknowledged. It can be assumed that some findings of contemporary civilizational analysis may also prove relevant for that discipline.

From the perspective of international relations, Katzenstein [20] who largely draws on insights from historical sociology offers an original approach to civilizational aspects of world political processes, while Bettiza [6] analyses civilization as a form of 'imagined community'. There is also a growing interest towards the political dynamics of the so-called civilizational states including China and Russia [12, 23]. Studies of civilizational politics mostly draw on the constructivist approach and focus on ideological discourses [25]. However, the perspective of civilizational politics is still underutilized in IR, and civilizational analysis as a sociological paradigm is mostly ignored in the field of Russian studies. The paper considers these approaches and their relevance for research on Russian civilizational politics.

2 Contemporary Civilizational Analysis in Historical Sociology

While the rise of sociological civilizational analysis represents an important trend in contemporary sociology, this approach is still not widely recognized. According to Johann Arnason, there are some obstacles to the reception of this perspective which are caused by its internal conceptual problems, the persistence of disciplinary boundaries between sociology and history and also ideological use of the concept of civilization [5, pp. 8–16]. In his view, unresolved conceptual problems are largely due to the mutual isolation of separate aspects of civilizational analysis highlighted by different authors. Thus, Norbert Elias and Shmuel Eisenstadt worked out two distinct versions of the civilizational approach. While Elias focused on the civilizing process in the Western European context, Eisenstadt discussed the historical trajectories of multiple Axial Age civilizations and civilizational dynamics of modernity. Nevertheless, their approaches can be regarded as to a certain extent complementary [4].

For Arnason, another obstacle to reception of civilizational analysis is connected with the existing academic division of labour and difficulties of interdisciplinary co-operation between sociologists and historians. As he demonstrates, the growing interest in global history has opened up new perspectives for comparative civilizational studies. In particular, global historians have much to say on the issue of intercivilizational encounters including 'the encounter of Euro-Atlantic powers with East Asia (perhaps the most momentous intercivilizational encounter in recorded

history), the history of British rule and colonial modernity in India, or the very diversified record of imperial and post-imperial European presence in the Americas' [5, p. 13]. However, it should be noted that some of the leading representatives of global history remain sceptical towards sociological civilizational analysis [13].

Finally, one more obstacle has to do with ideological use of the concept of civilization. On the one hand, as Arnason argues, in much of postcolonial literature, this concept is rejected as an ideological construct in the service of Western domination. On the other hand, he believes that Samuel Huntington's assumptions about collective identity as an invariant feature of civilizations and its direct translation into political alliances as well as investing the Western civilization with 'a privileged mission as the inventor and defender of human rights' proved to be 'tailor-made for ideological use' [5, p. 16]. Huntington's approach has also been criticized by other representatives of contemporary historical sociology [11]. It is worth noting that in the Russian context, postcolonial approaches are not widespread, but Huntington's thesis on the clash of civilizations has become influential in various ideological discourses.

Despite all these obstacles, the perspective of contemporary civilizational analysis remains crucial for any discussion of civilizational dynamics in human history as well as in today's world. In particular, Shmuel Eisenstadt was a 'seminal figure' for that approach since he 'spearheaded major research enterprises defining the agenda for contemporary civilizational analysis' [29, p. 29]. In his writings, Eisenstadt discussed the Axial Age civilizations that emerged in the period from 800 to 200 BC. Another sphere of his study was the civilizational preconditions for the rise of various forms of modernity. For Eisenstadt, the emergence of Axial Age civilizations and the transition to modernity represented two most important processes of social and cultural change in world history [15, p. 19]. While modernity originally emerged in Western Europe, modern ideologies and social institutions were later transferred to other parts of the world [16]. Eisenstadt considered the impact of civilizational legacies on the political sphere and analysed the role of cultural factors for the peculiarities of political institutions in non-European states such as India and Japan. He also discussed the civilizational bases of modern societies that emerged in North America and Latin America [17].

Eisenstadt's original approach has been subject to different interpretations and developed in various directions. But there were also some critical comments. As Delanty points out, Eisenstadt's use of the term 'Axial Age' gives 'too much weight to the emergence of world religions to account for the course of history' [14, p. 26]. According to Knöbl, Eisenstadt tends to over-emphasize the role of cultural-religious mechanisms that define, in his view, the processes of social and political change [22, p. 93]. As Wagner argues, Eisenstadt's concept of 'cultural programme' presupposes considerable stability of any given form of modernity. From this viewpoint, a strong idea of 'cultural programme' can be applied to 'classical' civilizations but not so much to contemporary versions of modernity [32, p. 54]. Some aspects of Eisenstadt's analysis of the civilizational dynamics on the American continent have also been questioned [28].

It has been noted that Johann Arnason's work represents 'one of the most elaborate contributions to the contemporary revival of civilizational theory, methodology and analysis' [30, p. 24]. What is characteristic for Arnason's theory is the focus on 'intercivilizational encounters'. In comparison with Eisenstadt, for Arnason, civilizations should not be seen as 'self-contained or self-generating' but are shaped by their interactions with other civilizations [14, pp. 24–25]. He argues that some encounters lead to unilateral assimilation, while others are conducive to innovations but 'comparative inquiry should also take note of the encounters that throw light on distances and dissonances between divergent cultural worlds' [3, p. 46].

It is noteworthy that Arnason considers the regional bases and geographical contexts of civilizational distinctions. He stresses that the formation of civilizations takes place in geographical contexts and macro-civilizational complexes are often identified with particular regions including East Asia and South Asia. But he also argues that regional contours of civilizations 'vary in significant ways' [2, p. 396]. In particular, the regional borders of East Asia come close to coinciding with civilizational ones, while a different pattern prevailed in the Islamic world. According to Arnason, some regions might be described as civilizational crossroads. They constitute arenas of 'interaction, conflict, partial fusion and bridge-building between different civilizational currents' [5, p. 14]. The existence of such regions is an argument against the perception of civilizations as closed cultural worlds with firm and impermeable borders. For Arnason, Central Asia and Southeast Asia are exemplary crossroad regions. He notes that Russia 'is better understood in such terms than as a self-contained Orthodox civilization' [5, p. 14].

It should also be emphasized that Arnason's theoretical approach concentrates on both cultural and political dimensions of historical dynamics. 'With good reason, Arnason claims that civilizations often have been connected to imperial projects, i.e. connected to a particular form of political power' [22, p. 93]. According to Arnason, on the one hand, empires are largely dependent on civilizational contexts. On the other hand, he mentions a massive historical impact of empires with a multi-civilizational reach. The Roman empire is an obvious example of such impact. In his view, the same point applies to the trans-oceanic empires which were created in the course of European expansion, particularly to the British empire with its Indian possessions. There are clearly some overlaps between Arnason's analysis of imperial formations and the problematic of historical geography.

Following a 'post-Weberian' perspective in historical sociology, Arnason devoted a considerable attention to the Soviet model of modernity [27]. He discussed both civilizational and imperial aspects of that model. It should also be noted that he regarded the Soviet version of modernity as a failed alternative mode of globalization. At the same time, Arnason believes that the importance of civilizational legacies can vary for different contemporary forms of modernity. Thus, it can be demonstrated that the countries of BRICS group represent distinctive versions of modern societies and modernizing dynamics, but the role and the relative weight of civilizational factors are not the same in different cases. For Arnason, they are more visible in the formation of Chinese modernity than in the Indian and Russian cases due to the colonial experience in India and the history of Westernization in Russia.

As he argues, 'in the settler societies of Brazil and South Africa it is not easy at all to define civilizational aspects' [5, p. 29].

Thus, the sociological perspective proposed by Eisenstadt and developed by Arnason 'begins with the recognition of the pluralistic nature of civilizations without any presupposition of a single model or the superiority of European civilization' [14, p. 24]. At the same time, this approach recognizes the heterogeneous and ambivalent character of civilizational patterns. Arnason's works represent a 'relational' version of contemporary civilizational analysis [29]. For Arnason, civilizations are largely shaped by their interactions with other civilizations. Apparently, his approach is particularly relevant for studies of today's international relations.

3   The Research Programme of Civilizational Politics in International Relations

A new wave of interest in civilizational approaches that has begun recently within the discipline of international relations moves beyond Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' thesis [19]. Thus, Peter Katzenstein regards civilizations as weakly institutionalized social orders which are shaped by a variety of processes. As he argues, civilizational constellations 'lack the clear boundaries, internal coherence, tight integration, centralization, and enduring character that in public discourse, and Huntington's formulations, are typically associated with them' [20, p. 29]. It has been pointed out that the example of contemporary Russia confirms Katzenstein's thesis on pluralism and plurality of civilizations since there are different competing visions of the country's place on the world 'civilizational map' [25, p. 591].

It is noteworthy that Katzenstein largely draws on ideas of historical sociologists. His approach has been characterized as a 'blend of international relations and comparative historical sociology' which merges 'Eisenstadt's grasp of civilizations as institutionalized orders with Elias's strong sense of historical movement, process and development' [29, p. 15]. Katzenstein also adds to this blend Collins's discussion of civilizations as zones of prestige. But it should be taken into account that there are some dissonances between Eisenstadt's and Elias's approaches, although it is still possible to integrate their insights [4]. However, Katzenstein regards the relationship between different versions of sociological civilizational analysis as largely non-problematic. At the same time, while Katzenstein refers to Arnason's works, he does not discuss in detail the relevance of the 'relational' approach in contemporary civilizational analysis for the study of world politics.

The importance of historical sociology for the civilizational approach in international relations has also been emphasized by other scholars. Bettiza and Petito [7] refer to the version of sociological civilizational analysis developed by Eisenstadt and Arnason as an alternative to both Huntington's 'clash of civilizations' thesis and the critical perspective in international relations which stresses the role of civilizational narratives as discourses of power and hegemony. Bettiza and Petito believe

that, on the one hand, civilizations should not be seen as having a historically fixed, invariable essence and clear-cut boundaries. On the other hand, civilizations should not be reduced to their discursive function since cultural legacies of civilizations produce structural effects on socio-political developments. As they argue, both these aspects are represented in sociological civilizational analysis.

Bettiza [6] has worked out a research programme of 'civilizational politics' in international relations. From his viewpoint, in today's world, many social and political actors behave in such a way as if civilizations really exist and relations between them matter in international politics. Thus, civilizations can be regarded as a kind of imagined communities. At the same time, beliefs about civilizational identities and relations 'are also increasingly becoming an organizing principle for a growing range of social actions, international institutions, and practices' [6, p. 2]. The 'civilizational politics' approach is particularly interested in the ways in which civilizational imaginaries stabilize and become institutionalized. As Bettiza puts it, this research programme 'would concentrate on exploring how and when civilizational-based thinking stabilizes turning civilizations into social facts by becoming an organizing principle around which social action is conducted, international institutions and practices are shaped, and actors are identified' [6, p. 12].

According to Bettiza, there are three ways through which civilizational imaginaries influence world politics: (1) by guiding social action, (2) by becoming embedded in the structures of world politics such as formal institutions and (3) by giving recognition and legitimacy to actors who claim to speak on behalf of a particular civilization. The main actors of civilizational politics include, first of all, political elites and institutions, such as heads of state or foreign ministries. In addition, transnational organizations can carry out some kind of civilizational politics. At the societal level, the main actors of such politics are business and cultural elites which can be tied to governmental structures [8, p. 566]. There was also a growth of interest in civilizational aspects of internal politics of such states as China and Russia. As Bettiza and Lewis demonstrate, the Chinese and Russian elites use civilizational rhetoric in order to justify a wide range of both international and domestic policy decisions. In their view, this rhetoric 'allows Chinese and Russian elites to articulate their interests not simply in crude instrumentalist and material terms but also as an expression of their most authentic selves and ethical world views' [8, p. 569]. At the same time, civilizational discourses can be used for de-legitimizing oppositional forces as seeking to undermine specific civilizational values.

Hale and Laruelle [18] offer an account of what they call a 'new wave' of research on civilizational politics. While they acknowledge that the concept of civilization has been used by historians, macrosociologists and geographers, they focus on those approaches which could be helpful for understanding the role of civilizations in politics. In particular, they stress the relevance of the constructivist approach to civilizational identity. Following Katzenstein, they emphasize that civilizations 'are changing and heterogenous, with not static but contested identity, evolving over time and interacting with each other' [18, p. 599]. They acknowledge that notions of civilizational identity 'resonate only when they somehow help individuals (elites and masses alike) make sense of the world around them, and this can happen only

when there is at least some degree of fit with individuals' other basic worldviews and experiences' [18, p. 600]. Nevertheless, the idea of a particular civilizational identity apparently can get response from a given society if there is a widespread awareness of historical legacies which can be presented as civilizational. But the problem with the constructivist approach to civilizational identity is that it is hardly suitable for analyzing such historical legacies. At the same time, sociological civilizational analysis allows us to consider not only various historical patterns and processes but also their legacies in today's societies.

4   New Studies of Russian Civilizational Identity and Politics

'Civilizationism' as an ideological discourse has been discussed in recent literature on European populism. Thus, Brubaker [10] considers the role of such ideology for populist parties particularly in Northern and Western Europe. As he demonstrates, talk of the nation is not disappearing in the ideologies of contemporary populism but the nation is being 're-characterized in civilizational terms' [10, p. 1211]. The concept of 'civilizationism' has been picked up in the sphere of Russian studies [31]. In the Russian case, special attention has been devoted to civilizational discourse of the political elite [21, 26], while the response of the population as a whole to the official civilizational rhetoric has also been analysed [9, 25]. In the last section of the paper, we review the discussion of civilizational aspects of Russian politics in the period from 2016 to 2021. It should be noted that the beginning of a large-scale military conflict in Ukraine in February of 2022 changed the character of this discussion very significantly, but evaluating this situation is beyond the scope of the present work.

Some commentators stress 'Eurasianist' aspects of civilizational discourse of the Russian political elite and its impact on foreign policies. Thus, Katzenstein and Weygandt depict Eurasianism as an 'umbrella term' for a wide range of civilizational, geopolitical and anti-Western ideas [21, p. 428]. They distinguish between two main types of this ideology which are characterized as 'geopolitical' and 'civilizational' Eurasianism. In their view, the former is expressed particularly by the contemporary philosopher Aleksandr Dugin, while the latter is largely based on the writings of the Soviet historian and ethnologist Lev Gumilev. As Katzenstein and Weygandt claim, these two versions of Eurasianism reinforce one another.

These scholars emphasize the self-contained and 'inward-looking' aspects of Russia's policies. 'A Eurasian map depicts itself as a self-contained geo-economic bloc and a homogenous, inward-directed civilizational space' [21, p. 433]. They counterpose to this image an account of the Eurasian space which recognizes its 'porousness', openness and interdependence of its parts. While they follow some aspects of Katzenstein's earlier analysis of plural and pluralist civilizations, in the case of Russia, they focus on civilizational discourses which, in their view, tend to converge rather than on multiple actors of civilizational politics.

At the same time, it has been argued that bearers of the Eurasianist discourse mostly remain marginal in the Russian political sphere [24, p. 280]. According to Laruelle and Hale, the notion of 'Eurasian civilization' has been mentioned in the official rhetoric quite rarely. There were two main contexts in which this concept emerged. On the one hand, it was referred to when the emphasis was placed on the country's role 'in combining or bridging East and West, Europe and Asia, being a crossroads of continents and civilizations', and on the other hand, it was invoked when the Russian authorities were 'celebrating specific Russian places or regions that are seen to straddle Europe and Asia spatially or culturally' [25, p. 590]. This usage of the term does not demonstrate direct influence of the ideology of Eurasianism on political decision-making. Overall, the civilizational discourse of the Russian political elite is characterized by 'remarkable plasticity and inconsistency', and it can be used in 'a highly situational manner to evoke contingency-specific feelings of shared perceptions' [25, p. 591].

As Turoma and Mjør argue, civilizational discourse is used by the Russian political elite in order 'to smooth over Russia's uncomfortable hybridity, the ambiguity of its statehood, the perpetual oscillation between the West and the East as well as between a nation state and an empire' [31, p. 19]. Apparently, taking into consideration imperial legacies along with civilizational imaginaries is relevant for a better understanding of Russian politics. But it should be remembered that civilizational analysis in historical sociology provides us with important insights concerning the relationships between the concepts of civilization and empire [22, p. 93].

When the idea of multiple civilizations was first introduced into the Russian Foreign Policy Concept in 2008, it was mostly claimed that Russia belonged to the European civilization. As Linde demonstrates, at that moment, civilizational discourse was aimed at achieving an equal status with other major Western powers. However, a few years later, there was a shift to the idea of Russia as a distinct civilization in the official foreign policy documents. Linde stresses that 'the conceptual trajectory from roughly 2008 onward moved consistently in the direction of an increased emphasis on Russian cultural and civilizational distinctiveness' [26, p. 624]. Laruelle suggests that 'there was a "triple choice" of Russia's civilizational identity: being a European country that follows the Western path of development; being a European country that follows a non-Western path of development; or being a non-European country' [24, p. 278]. As she claims, the second of these possible types of civilizational identity has been chosen by the Russian political elite.

Laruelle and Hale propose to build a new approach in studies of civilizational identities 'from the bottom up' drawing upon 'all that we have learned from several decades of constructivist research into the nature of identity' [25, p. 598]. In their view, civilizational identification can be analysed with the same conceptual and methodological tools which are used in investigation of other forms of identity. Laruelle and Hale claim that research on perceptions of civilizational identity 'becomes foundational to a true constructivist understanding of civilizational politics' [25, p. 588]. They believe that a better grasp of different civilizational identifications would allow researchers to examine the influence of such identifications on patterns of domestic politics in a given country. In particular, they discuss the case

of Russia as a country where the issue of civilizational identity is prominent in political discourse.

Laruelle and Hale regard civilizational identity as a social construct which is subject to change. As they argue, if identity is not 'only about deep, unchanging attributes but also about understandings of one's place in the world that can change along with a rapidly changing environment, then we might expect people's civilizational perspective to be influenced by such changes' [25, pp. 588–589]. They conclude that Huntington's theory proves to be a poor predictor of civilizational identification and call for more empirical research on this subject. While they refer to Katzenstein's works and use the term 'civilizational politics', the main contrast that they draw is between Huntington's 'primordialism' and the proposed empirically oriented approach to the study of civilizational identity which they apply to popular perceptions of such identity in contemporary Russia. Nevertheless, some of their conclusions apparently need to be complemented due to a rather limited empirical base of their study.

Overall, in recent studies of Russian civilizational identity and politics, sociological civilizational analysis was generally ignored. Nevertheless, what is needed in this research sphere is not only a focus on discourses but also a more detailed analysis of the main actors of civilizational politics. It can be assumed that drawing on recent trends in historical sociology will prove to be a valuable resource for understanding the peculiarities of such politics in Russia. Apparently, theoretical and methodological approaches of contemporary civilizational analysis deserve careful consideration within the field of Russian studies.

5   Conclusion

The concept of civilization has been largely revived in historical sociology and international relations. Overall, these two research fields can be regarded as complementary. Thus, Katzenstein and Bettiza and Petito demonstrate the relevance of the theoretical models of historical sociology for the study of contemporary international relations. It is also significant that Arnason's version of sociological civilizational analysis devotes considerable attention to the regional bases and geographical contexts of civilizational distinctions. The concept of intercivilizational encounters elaborated on by Arnason seems important for the analysis of interaction of states possessing different civilizational legacies. But it should be recognized that the civilizational politics line of research in international relations and particularly sociological civilizational analysis have been employed insufficiently in the field of Russian studies. Recent research on Russian civilizational identity and politics mostly followed the constructivist approach which is hardly suitable for analyzing historical legacies of civilizations in today's societies. At the same time, sociological civilizational analysis allows us to consider not only various historical patterns and processes but also their legacies. It can be argued that bridging the gap between historical sociology and the field of Russian studies would contribute to a better

understanding of the civilizational aspects of Russian politics. The analysis of the politics of today's 'civilizational states' from the perspective of this interdisciplinary approach could also be relevant for the discipline of political geography.

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Information and Behavioral Diversity

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Abstract Modern science has accumulated an enormous amount of data indicating the decisive influence of information on humans and their activities and behavioral manifestations. A systemic study of the issue reveals that the information-behavior complex is not only a construct based on the principle of interdependence of its components but also a factor capable of setting the course and direction of sociobiological and historical progress.

A classic postulate of sociology defines the role of civilizational achievements that shape what happens within human boundaries, while those boundaries themselves are set by biology. If we talk about the possible evolutionary and sociobiological consequences of information-driven behavioral differentiation, then today, we should say that information and the behavior formed on its basis are capable of pushing these boundaries. Information creates behavioral diversity, which, in turn, through newly emerging behavioral forms, can also be seen as a contributing factor to a new sociobiological reality that is the product of the diversity of human qualities. From the point of view of general ethology, which studies the biological prerequisites for any forms of behavior, behavioral patterns are no less reliable signs of entities similar in terms of group kinship than morphological differences, bodily traits, or intellectual indicators. The question of whether behavioral diversity and the resulting progressive differences in the characteristics of individual human groups can lead to the future anthropological deformation of the basic type of *Homo sapiens* is still open.

Keywords Information · Behavioral diversity · *Homo sapiens* · Cybernetics

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1   Introduction

The paper attempts to substantiate an informational approach to explaining the causes of differentiation of social structures, the behavioral differences between which are known to be largely determined by geographical and political conditions inherent in a particular territorial location. Moreover, the neocybernetic concept of information proposed by the authors actually proceeds from the assumption that the factors of political and geographical influence on human and societal behavior are, in their fundamental basis, factors of informational order.

Modern science has accumulated an enormous amount of data showing the decisive influence of information on humans and their activities and behavioral manifestations. Assertions that a human being is an information-dependent and information-controlled being belong to the category of long-standing and reliably established facts. The interesting thing is that a clear and meaningful understanding of these facts (despite the fact that human nature in its essential foundations remained unchanged) appeared only when the term "information," which for hundreds of years had been used in its rather narrow meaning translated from Latin as "a set of evidences about something," "clarification," "awareness," became one of the central concepts of the new science – cybernetics.

The object of the study is the social communities considered as system-cybernetic formations, the shaping of which occurs under the influence of information factor. The overall scheme of the study is expressed in the authors' intention to show how the modern concept of information helps to discover a new aspect in understanding the processes that link the development of the information world and the world of subject-activity manifestations that form in the aggregate behavioral norms increasingly divergent from the original and naturally and socially conditioned assignments, with the potential capacity to create new sociobiological communities. The methodological basis of research includes the method of system modeling, as well as methods of subject-historical, analogical-comparative, and structural analysis.

2   Information: Problems, Approaches, and Concepts

Despite the widest spread of the term "information" and its deep rootedness literally in all spheres of modern life, information specialists are well aware that this concept is still one of the most problematic and debatable in science, to the point of denying the very possibility of giving it a sufficiently rigorous and universal definition. For this reason, it seems appropriate to give a brief retrospective review, showing the origins of the problem of scientific interpretation of this concept and the basic approaches to its solution.

The decisive moment that revolutionized the understanding of the concept of "information" was demonstrated by N. Wiener in his seminal work *Cybernetics or Control and Communication in Animal and the Machine* (1948), the

information-based commonality of signal transmission processes that ensure the functioning of living organisms and the special devices created by that time – electronic computing machines, which later became known as computers. It can be assumed that it was the creation of "thinking" machines as one of the first, historically significant, and successful human attempts to reproduce "in metal" and simulate at least partially and at the most primitive level the most important function of human activity – thinking – and thus created the opportunity and basis for productive analogization of processes governing the work of a living being and machine.

For the sake of justice, it should be noted that the principle of constructive-substantial, ideal-conceptual identity of a living organism and a machine goes back to R. Descartes, who believed that the animal (as well as human) body is only a machine, a complex mechanism, the driving force of which is a reflex. The functions of the "machine of the body" include "perception, imprinting of ideas, retention of ideas in memory, inner strivings, which are performed in this machine like movements of a clock" [1]. The human being, however, still has the property of having a soul, while Descartes denied the existence of a soul in animals.

Returning to the time of the emergence of cybernetics, it should be noted the happy circumstance for science that almost simultaneously (in the same year 1948) was published article by the young engineer-communication C. Shannon *A Mathematical Theory of Communication*, which today is considered as the starting point and the actual birth date of information theory.

In the so-called Shannon approach, information is considered as the removed uncertainty in the situation of choice necessity. It is considered that if after receiving a message the number of initial alternatives of choice has decreased, then we have received information; otherwise, it does not contain information, because it does not reduce the measure of uncertainty of choice. In line with this view of information, based on connection and communication, Wiener formulated the criterion for the existence of information (the so-called Wiener criterion): "Information is that which can be telegraphed."

Based on this principle, the creator of cybernetics proclaimed the truly grandiose task, even from the point of view of today's science and technology, of the fundamental possibility of "human transmission by telegraph." It is interesting to note that if the thesis about the possibility of "human transmission by telegraph" was perceived by most of Wiener's contemporaries not as a real scientific forecast, but rather as a fantasy, then today, in the era when such phenomena of modern life as "virtual reality," "augmented reality," and other similar manifestations of the digital world have become a reality, the task identified by Wiener is already read in a completely different way. In his collected works "Cybernetics and Society," Wiener writes: "In connection with the problem of creating an artificial human being an even more daring idea was put forward - the possibility of traveling by telegraph along with travel by train and airplane" [2]. Realizing that in his reflections on information he had grasped something extremely profound and fundamental, Wiener wrote: "Information is information, not matter and not energy. A materialism that does not recognize this cannot be viable at the present time" [3].

The further development of scientific ideas about information has revealed a surprisingly wide and capacious range of possibilities for different understandings of the phenomenon of information. Below are the main approaches and concepts that represent attempts made by scientists in different periods of time to explain from a scientific and philosophical standpoint the phenomenon of information.

Traditional approach. In the "traditional" approach, information is messages transmitted by people by oral, written, or other means (e.g., signs, conventional signals, technical means, etc.). Given the realities brought into life by the functioning of the systems that together form what is now called the technosphere, the concept of information has been expanded to include also the exchange of messages in the complexes "man-machine" and "machine-machine."

Quantitative (probabilistic-statistical) approach. The so-called "quantitative" or "probabilistic-statistical approach" goes back to the works of R. Hartley; in particular, it is in his work "Information Transfer" (1928) that the term information first receives a quantitative assessment. This approach was further developed in the works of R. Fisher, who developed a quantitative measure of information for the needs of applied statistics; then in the works of C. Shannon and N. Wiener; in the works of A. Kolmogorov, one of the founders of the so-called algorithmic information theory; and in numerous works of other scientists.

Despite the value of this approach (without the theoretical basis of quantitative-statistical informatics, all technological "wonders" of the modern digital world would be impossible), it should still be noted its methodological insufficiency in terms of the possibilities of modeling a wide range of phenomena and processes of information nature, the explanation of which is based on the categories of information quality and its meaning, usefulness, and criticality for the recipient (these aspects of information are especially important for such scientific disciplines as semantics, hermeneutics, phenomenology, gnoseology, psychology, neurophysiology, and other related subject areas).

In addition, the position according to which the criterion for the existence of information is "removed uncertainty" overlooks the fact that what is not information (i.e., does not remove uncertainty) in one system can be perceived as information in another. And vice versa: what is information in one system may not be information in another.

The concept of diversity. A more qualitatively deep interpretation of the concept of information is reflected, in our opinion, in the "concept of diversity," which is first formulated in modern form by W.R. Ashby in his book *An Introduction to Cybernetics* (1956), which became the first textbook on cybernetics [4]. Information is treated here as a removed indistinguishability. It is believed that information exists where there is diversity, heterogeneity. The unit of information measurement here is the elementary difference between two objects in some fixed property or quality. The more elements in some object are different in a certain sense, the more this object contains information.

The concept of diversity allows a further generalization of the concept of information on the basis of the category of reflection. If we use the concept of reflection, then information can be interpreted as "reflected diversity," and the information

process as a reflection of diversity [5]. It should be noted that, despite the fact that this understanding of information is more general and universal, the term "diversity" itself requires a more rigorous definition, without which the concept of information cannot be perceived with the degree of adequacy that could be considered sufficient for understanding the entire diversity of information processes occurring in nature and society.

Semantic approach. The so-called semantic approach to the problem of information, originating in the works of R. Carnap and Y. Bar-Hillel [6], and later developed in the works of many researchers dealing with the problems of cybernetics, inductive logic, neurolinguistics, and the foundations of artificial intelligence, appeared as an attempt to measure the meaning of messages in the form of judgments, which are knowledge bearers and can be understood by humans.

If Shannon's concept focuses on the quantitative analysis of the sign structure of messages, for the semantic approach, the main thing is the content, the semantic characteristics of messages. In addition, a feature of the semantic approach can be considered such a property of information as its ability to be under certain circumstances unidentified by the receiver of information as such. This means, as noted above, the following: what is information in one system may not be it in another.

The appeal of this approach lies in the view, shared by many, that the quantitative aspect is less important for the success of the communication process than the preservation of the meaning (content) of the messages. Nevertheless, the preservation or reproduction of the content, the idea contained in the message, raises the problem of measuring it, of identifying the "quantity of meaning," which is one of the main tasks of the semantic theory of information.

The pragmatic concept. "Pragmatic" or "value" concept of information, leading from the works of A.A. Kharkevich [7], indicates that in addition to meaning, information has for the recipient the property of usefulness, because it can be used in some way. The value or usefulness of information is its pragmatic property, that is, a property that affects the behavior and decision-making of the recipient of information.

We can say that the value of information affects behavioral processes, so we can talk about the paramount importance of the value aspect of information for solving behavior management problems: the essential feature of information in this case is its potential ability to produce a change in the system considered as the recipient of information.

Kharkevich suggested measuring the value of information by the increment in the probability of achieving the goal after the receiver receives the information (the Kharkevich measure or the measure of assessing the appropriateness of information, equal to the difference between the probability of achieving the goal before receiving the information and the probability of achieving the goal after receiving and using the information).

In the general case with the same amount of information, the measure of its value turns out to depend both on the recipient (perceiving information system) and on the goals set by the sender of information. In practice of working with information systems, the concept of information value is also associated with such its properties as

speed of transmission, accuracy, reliability of the source, security of storage, and transmission.

A negentropic approach. From the point of view of the behavior of self-organizing systems, it seems necessary to outline an approach to the understanding of information based on the category of negentropy (negative entropy), which (as opposed to entropy as a measure of chaos) is understood as a movement toward the accumulation of useful information that increases the system's organization and helps it to form behavioral diversity.

The latter, in turn, ensures survival under changing conditions, including increasing entropy (increasing chaotization of the external environment) and makes it possible to continue existence by preserving individual or group identity. From this point of view, on which L. Brillouin, in particular, insisted, information should not be studied in isolation, but always in its totality: information plus negentropy [8].

Approach from the perspective of aesthetic perception. Given the importance of information processes in the sphere of culture and art, considered as civilizational phenomena, formed under the direct influence of factors of political and geographical order, we can highlight the approach of Abraham Mohl to the study of information from the viewpoint of its aesthetic perception. In contrast to "semantic" information, which addresses the universal sides of the individual's consciousness, aesthetic information is related to the specific properties of the receiver and transmitter of messages. Each real message contains both "semantic" and "aesthetic" information, but these types of information are present in the message separately.

Based on these assumptions, Mohl defines information as a measure of the complexity of structures offered to perception; it is the complexity that is transmitted from transmitter to receiver, it is unpredictable, and the measure of information is the originality of character groupings, seen as the opposite of the banality of a predictable message [9].

Mohl's concept value lies in the fact that in the process of studying the aesthetic human perception of information, he was one of the first to pay attention to the subtle psychological aspects associated with the problem of understanding the phenomenon of information perception. In particular, Mohl's important contribution to information theory should be regarded as an attempt to include in this concept the attribute of structural complexity, the possibility of comprehending which reflects the measure of our knowledge of the surrounding world: information is what we know about the world, that is, what is determined by the sum of our perceptions.

A philosophical approach. The philosophical approach to the problem of information is that this set of different points of view on the subject, described above and seeming, at first sight, contraversive and deeply divergent in their semantic lines should be seen not as evidence of an inability to find agreement on the term and concept, but rather as a reflection of the extremely complex problem of ontological and epistemological nature, related to the understanding of information category.

In spite of the fact that the concept of information is still intuitive in many respects, nevertheless, at the modern stage of the development of science, as it seems to many scientists, philosophers, and researchers of our time, it may well be referred to the "five" of such key philosophical categories as "time," "space,"

"matter," and "energy." In the words of E. Morin: "Information [today] pretends to cover the huge gaping hole left in science since the time of expulsion of Spirit and Idea from it, which became metaphysical vagabonds" [10, c.413].

Author's approach to the problem of information. The authors of this paper, not setting themselves the task of constructing any universally generalizing definition of information, and also adhering to the methodological rule according to which we should not go too far in definitions, offer a working definition of information in the following formulation: Information is the result of a mapping (reflection) of structure onto a perceiving system. The term "mapping" is used here along with the term "reflection" in order to emphasize, firstly, the situational correspondence between the prototype and the image, and secondly, the functionality of this concept and the recognition of the presence of some procedure (algorithm), in accordance with which the process of obtaining the result – information – is carried out. The information process within the framework of this representation proceeds according to the following two-cycle scheme: performance of a mapping procedure (algorithm working off) → result of the procedure performance (image, trace, imprint, footprint, event, the next portion of information – information quantum obtained as a result of performance of the mapping procedure). The term "perceiving system" considered here as a generalization of the concept of perception can equally well serve to denote both living objects and objects that traditional philosophy and science classify as nonliving systems (soils, metals, minerals, and creations of human hands, i.e., machines, mechanisms, cybernetic devices, computers, etc.).

Finally, the concept of structure should be considered here in the traditional philosophical sense, i.e., as a set of connections and relations between the components of the object (system), forming a stable structure and ensuring the integrity of this object and its identity to itself. The property of integrity preservation should be regarded as the key property of the structure, as it is the structure that contains information; being both a keeper and a source of information, it is the structure that is transferred in the process of reflection (mapping). If there were no structures, there would be no information.

3   Information, Signaling Systems, Behavior, and Activity: On the Role of Positive Feedbacks

If now, using the method of "back tracing" of the problem related to the history of the modern idea of information (i.e., retrospectively), we try to interpret in the "informational key" the appearance in 1932 of I.P. Pavlov's teaching on signal systems, then, as we believe, both the first (sensory) and the second (verbal-conceptual) signal systems can be quite considered as informational systems. At the same time, if with respect to the second signal system such interpretation seems rather obvious (a word and speech are the information in its "purest" form), the informational complex, associated with the first, more ancient signal system, appears to us to be more

direct and direct in showing the problem of interrelation of information and behavior just due to the fact that it is naturally determined, universally significant, and determining the behavior of both biological systems and man-made robots and cybernetic systems.

Treating behavior as a certain way of interaction with the environment, which is manifested in the ability of the system to perceive signals coming from both inside and outside the system, it is impossible not to pay attention to the fact that the consequence of signal (information) acceptance by the system is, in many cases, action (active, passive, adaptive, motor, inhibitoring movement, etc.). In this respect, the question of interrelation of the concept "information" and "action" seems interesting, especially if action is understood as an elementary behavioral act. Apparently, we can talk about asymmetric character of this relationship, which manifests itself in the fact that if any action generates information, not all information and under any conditions is able to cause an action (behavioral response). In a general case, we can say that information has only the potential ability to cause a behavioral response in the system that receives this information.

If we conditionally separate the activity sphere, defining it as the space of subject-content, functionally oriented, and behavioral activity, then the information sphere, if considered separately, on its own, can be presented as a kind of "parallel reality," an energetically passive space of abstract structures (the space of "shadows," to use Plato's allegory). A completely different situation arises when we begin to consider these two spaces in their connection and interaction. There is a significant difference in the interaction between the activity and information spheres in the animal world and in the human world (as well as the social systems created by it). If in animals the informational complex, which corresponds to the extended understanding of the first signal system, is generally aimed at maintaining homeostasis, at maintaining the balance with the environment, then in the case of human communities, the situation is much more complicated.

If the difference between humans and animals were determined only by the inclusion (in the case of human collectives) of the second signal system, i.e., the use of words and speech mechanisms in the process of activity, this would be clearly insufficient to explain the phenomenon of social systems development, i.e., what is usually called "civilization progress," because there are enough examples of non-progressing human communities (although usually small in number). If we use the system-cybernetic terminology, the phenomenon of "progress" (with all the ambiguity of the interpretation of this term) can find one of its explanations in the character of the feedbacks that set the dynamics of interaction between the activity and information complexes.

For the animal world (as well as for human communities which have been in equilibrium with the environment for a long time, i.e., "non-progressing," from the generally accepted point of view), the predominant characteristic of the interaction between the activity (behavioral) and information complexes is the preevaluation of negative feedbacks, whose mechanism of action is precisely aimed at maintaining ecosystem stability, ensuring dynamic equilibrium and homeostasis. As an example of the action of negative feedback in the animal world, the self-regulation of

population numbers in the biocenosis system on the basis of interspecies relations established between a parasite and a host or between a predator and a prey can be given as an example.

As for the "progressing" human communities, it seems that there are two equivalent, mutually reinforcing and triggering factors of the "progress machine" at the same time. Firstly, it is the development and perfection of the second signal system, which provides both a gradual complication of man himself and contributes to the complication of the nature and diversity of his activities (Fig. 1). But, nevertheless, the crucial factor for the beginning of the progressive development was the mechanism of reflection, i.e., the ability to pay attention to the process and results of human activity, to individual (including one's own) and collective behavior, to evaluate the decisions taken, to draw conclusions, and to forecast the nearest or farthest future, which was inherent in man (and to a much greater extent in some of his representatives – "geniuses"). What is important here is that it is the mechanism of reflection that triggers the system of positive feedback, in which the reflected signal-response turns out to be substantially stronger than the direct feed. In Fig. 1, this is expressed through the thickness of the descending arrows (in the center of the figure), which just denote the fact that the inverse feeds between pairs of adjacent
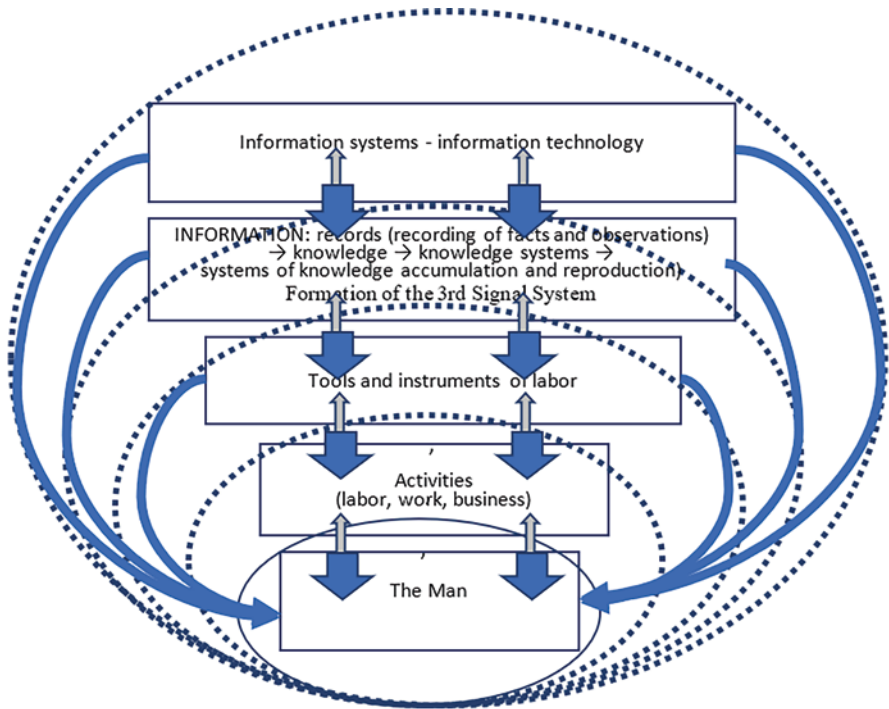

Fig. 1 Interaction of activity and information complexes in a "progressing" community. Formation of the third signal system

elements of the figure, marked as rectangles, are much greater in strength and influence than the direct feeds marked by ascending arrows.

Thus, the two lower pairs of arrows showing the interaction of the elements "Man – Activity" mean that man, naturally included in the process of activity, develops not only during and under the influence of the process of labor, but activity itself (in all its diversity) has a many times more powerful inverse influence both on the nature and organization of individual and joint labor and, in a certain sense, on the nature of man himself.

The most important factor contributing to the increase in the diversity of activities, and hence to the behavioral diversity, was the human use of tools and instruments of labor. At the same time, as in the situation described above, the backward influence of man-made tools, instruments, mechanisms, devices, and machines was much more significant than the direct influence of labor on the usually spontaneous process of creating new tools, instruments, mechanisms, and machines. The result (and example) of this influence was the rapidly expanding nomenclature of professions and activities.

Schematically, this process of "movement toward progress" beginning in this phase can be expressed as follows: an increase in instrumental diversity causes a potentiated increase in the diversity of activities, which, in turn, leads to further development and improvement of instrumental labor support. Further, the cycle repeats itself and, by virtue of the positive feedbacks outlined above, the "bubble" of progressing development of a certain human population begins to inflate, which is schematically indicated in the figure by dotted lines framing the boundaries of conventionally selected phases of this gradually gaining process. Here, it is important to note that the tools humans use have a powerful feedback effect on humans not only indirectly, through an increase in the variety of activities, but also directly, as indicated by the side arrows in the figure.

4   The Third Signal System and the Information Revolution: How Information Influences Humans

As the complexity and diversity of the activity-instrumental sphere (in Fig. 1, these are the bottom three rectangles) increases, at a certain stage of development, there is a need for conscious use of information as such. This is how civilizational phenomena emerge, which are shown in Fig. 1 as a chain: records (fixation of facts and observations) → knowledge → knowledge systems → systems of knowledge accumulation and reproduction. Acquisition of the ability to make recordings on physical carriers of information, correlated both with the first signal system (drawings and pictures of natural phenomena) and with the second signal system (pictographic and hieroglyphic writing, alphabet systems, musical notation and musical records, etc.) can be rightfully considered not only as a reference point starting a new epoch in the development of human communities but also as a criterion of civilization emergence as such.

Continuing Pavlov's tradition of dividing signals (information) influencing a human being into the first and second signal systems, we propose to define the third signal system as a general totality of all information recorded at a certain historical moment regardless of the category to which it belongs (i.e., regardless of whether the recorded information corresponds to the first or second signal systems). It is important to emphasize that the original division of information into the complexes of the first and second signal systems still remains basic, while the concept of the third signal system should be considered a superstructural, derived from the first two types, the substantial filling of which is determined by the action of mechanisms of the basic type.

Figure 2 schematically depicts the process of formation and subsequent growth and development of the third signal system defined above. The dotted arcs here indicate the areas of the third signal system forming (1), expanding, and developing in the process of civilization development (2), (3), (4) and reaching today, in the era of total digitalization, the maximum values (5).

Developing a constructive analogy with respect to the first three signal systems, the fourth signal system can be defined as the volume of all currently digitalized information. In our opinion, the justification of introducing such a concept is determined by the fact that digitally represented information has such unique, previously nonexistent, properties, as almost instantaneous potential accessibility to billions of people and the possibility of introducing almost unlimited volumes of it into the working circulation. Finally, we can make a supposition that as neurointerfaces are improved in the nearest or distant future when a human will have a possibility of direct (without a computer mediation) access to the information complex of the fourth signal system, we can speak about the fifth (probably the last for *Homo sapiens* species) signal system.

Continuing the commentary on Fig. 1, it should be emphasized that beginning with the phase of recording appearance, the information complex of the third signal system gradually begins to form not only as an instrumental support of the activity sphere but also as a relatively autonomous entity gradually acquiring a self-sufficient value. Information begins to exhibit the ability to exist independently up to the tendency for its certain fragments to become completely detached from their original activity context.
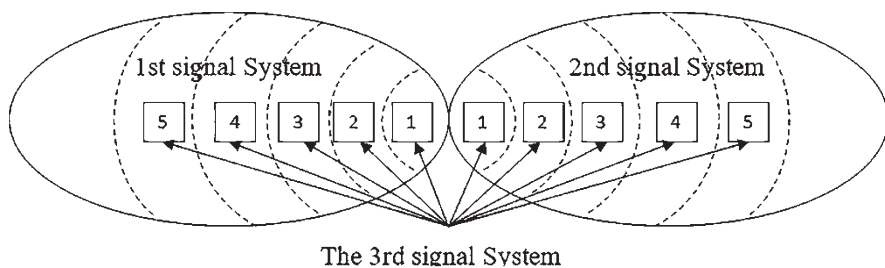

Fig. 2 The process of formation of the third signal system

Here, it should be said that the essence of information itself is such that it enables knowledge holders to operate with abstract structures that are immeasurably more flexible and elastic (as compared with the material substrate), thus creating a powerful modeling and future-oriented potential. One of the important stages of this phase of development can be associated with the emergence of mathematics in its modern conception, natural philosophy, natural and experimental sciences, and the famous Baconian formula *Scientia potentia est* (Knowledge is power) can be noted as a manifesto that briefly expresses the spirit of that era.

Moving closer to our time, the middle of the twentieth century should be noted in particular, which can reasonably be considered the beginning of the era of the first barely visible, then rapidly increasing, and now almost undivided dominance of computers, information systems, and information technology, which today affect almost all aspects of people's lives and activities. Despite the fact that certain attempts to organize rapidly accumulating volumes of information recorded on physical media were made in the nineteenth century (scientific codifiers, archival and library catalogs, card index systems, mechanical counting machines and devices, etc.), decisive and globally significant changes took place in the twentieth century with the appearance of such technological achievements as computers, computer networks, search systems based on the hypertext principle, fiber-optic channels (which was the technological basis for the creation of the Internet), giant electronic data storages, mobile communication technologies, big data processing technologies, artificial intelligence in all its manifold manifestations, etc.

Already in the mid-1970s, the situation with the volumes of information generated was characterized by the term "information explosion," but the most amazing thing is that this explosive process has been going on for over half a century and there is no end in sight. What is impossible in physics is possible in the world of information. So, for example, already for 2003, it was considered that the volume of accumulated information in the world (i.e., total capacity of the third and fourth signal systems) was $18*10^{18}$ bytes increasing annually by 30% [11] (to describe present situation in figures is an extremely difficult task demanding apparently special methodology based on interdisciplinary approach).

Under conditions of such unprecedented information pressure and increasing information overload, the man of the information age cannot but change. One of the consequences of the new order of things noted by Abraham Mohl [9] was the formation of a new, "kaleidoscopic" way of perceiving information and the formation of the "mass man" (to use Ortega y Gasset's terminology) of a mosaic structure of knowledge and ideas about the world (what is now called "clip consciousness").

In order to understand how and why this happened, it is necessary to keep in mind the following circumstances. In the "preinformation" epoch, accumulation of impressions; "processing" by brain structures of sensations, images, texts, and speech; and, as a consequence, formation of holistic perceptions of the world were carried out in a more or less natural way.

For man of "simple" labor, the basic source of information was mainly the first signal system, supplemented by live communication and speech, as well as the use

of sign systems accompanying the life of all human populations without exception (rituals, dances, songs, ceremonies, etc.). The objects determining the work of sensory systems, and in many respects typifying behavior, were people, home, street, work, animals, birds, holiday, sun, sky, sea, river, forest, steppe, mountains, church, school, etc. For "bookish" people, people of intellectual labor, a much larger part of sensory systems work than for people engaged in "simple" labor was related to the need to process information coming from the second signal system: books, newspapers, letters, paintings, theater, music, conversations, etc., which, of course, did not exclude for them both ordinary life and ordinary work.

The difference between these two (rather conventionally distinguished) groups of people was not in the volumes of information processed by the brain (the capacity of sensory systems in both groups is more or less the same, since it was conditioned by their natural properties), but in the proportions of information flows coming from the first and second signal systems. It is important that the variety of behavioral reactions, as well as human behavior in general for people of mental work, is much more determined by the second signal system, while the role of the first signal system (common in humans with animals) is not the dominant factor for them, provided that its action is not associated with natural or artificially created force majeure circumstances.

The change in the information balance between the first and second signal systems is reinforced today by the fact that significant amounts of information, which earlier people could perceive only directly (through the first signal system, i.e., through the influence of external conditions), are now being translated into digital surrogates, which opens up entirely new opportunities for information and behavioral engineering, allowing much more effective control in mass formation, functioning, and change of such components of the psyche and consciousness as needs, interests, views, drives, moral and ethical attitudes, feelings, emotions, moods, ideals, beliefs, and even, to some extent (how much? – still not fully solved by modern science), genetically determined programs of behavior.

The idea of the dominant influence of external conditions (including geographical conditions) on the evolution of organisms going back to J.B. Lamarck, C. Darwin, and E. Heckel in the 1930s was productively confirmed by A.N. Severtsov [12], who showed that the ontogenetic (including behavioral) adaptation of an organism to the changing environmental conditions can cause phylogenetic (evolutionary) changes in the subsequent generations. Further scientific discourse concerning the role and significance of "hard" (genetically determined) and "soft" (informational and environmental) influences on the evolution of living organisms and humans gradually lost its sharpness under the pressure of a huge volume of experimental data indicating the achievement of a relative consensus of scientific schools that previously adhered to the opposing positions.

A significant contribution to this consensus has been made by epigenetic studies conducted over the past few decades on behavioral and environmental influences on the genetic apparatus, which have mostly confirmed the assumption that information, if not directly, then in some indirect way, can be transmitted genetically. At

least, it is now believed to be established that epigenetic modifications that change the phenotype (i.e., the set of traits acquired during the individual development of an organism) can be inherited together with the genotype, although these changes are not considered by modern science to be irreversible [13, 14]. Nevertheless, such relatively recent discoveries as "cellular memory," "cellular immunity," and subsequent studies have shown with sufficient conviction that epigenetic changes are involved in evolution on a par with genetic ones [15]. The information-behavioral complex thus turns out to be not only a construction based on the principle of mutual conditioning of its main components but also a factor that sets the course and direction of sociobiological and historical progress.

5   Conclusion

The classic postulate of sociology defines the role of culture, which shapes what happens within human boundaries, while those boundaries themselves are set by biology. If we talk about the possible evolutionary and sociobiological consequences of information-driven behavioral differentiation, then today, we should say that culture, as information and behavior, is capable of pushing those boundaries.

Information creates behavioral diversity, which, in turn, through newly emerging behavioral forms, can also be seen as a contributing factor to a new sociobiological reality that is the product of the diversity of human qualities. From the point of view of general ethology, which studies the biological prerequisites for any forms of behavior, behavioral patterns are no less reliable signs of entities similar in terms of group kinship than morphological differences, bodily traits, or intellectual indicators.

These new entities can be defined as races, if we use the term not in its generally accepted meaning, but as a typological concept, that allows us to distinguish these entities as separate taxonomic identities, as clusters that are carriers of significantly different behavioral signatures. Y. N. Harari calls these new entities of the future "biological castes," which he believes may emerge by the twenty-second century through artificial intelligence and the use of biotechnology [16]. Even earlier, Z. Brzezinski warned that new technologies, including information technology, could actually create tangible differences in intelligence, health, and life expectancy between different peoples in the future and thus challenge the unity of humankind. "What would remain of the equality axiom if the intellectual and even moral qualities of some individuals were repeatedly and artificially enhanced in comparison with what others are endowed with?" [17]. One way or another, the question of whether behavioral diversity and the resulting progressing differences in the characteristics of individual human groups can lead to a future anthropological deformation of the basic type of *Homo sapiens* still seems to us to be open.

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Evolution of the Concept "Territorial Sovereignty" in the Digital Age

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Abstract The concept of sovereignty was traditionally linked with the notion of territorial control. However, in the digital age, new dimensions of sovereignty appear, including digital sovereignty, which implies the independence of state in domestic and foreign policy in the digital realm. Digital sovereignty is becoming a popular topic in the contemporary scientific research. Cross-border nature, accessibility, and anonymity of ICTs significantly complicate the analogies between territorial and digital sovereignty, but do not make it impossible to ensure sovereignty and protect the jurisdiction of states in the digital realm. Approaches to the definition of the digital sovereignty vary both in scientific literature and in official documents of states and international organizations. Differences reflect the peculiar features of the political culture and the level of digitalization and foreign policy priorities of countries and regions, as well as academic culture. While western authors and politicians use the term "digital sovereignty," in the Chinese academic literature, the term "Internet sovereignty" is widespread. Russian authors often refer to the term "information sovereignty." Due to the technological development, new approaches and new terms appear, such as "data sovereignty." Methodologically, the paper is based on discourse analysis of the official documents of states and international organizations, as well as academic discourse on digital sovereignty. Discourse analysis allows to reveal peculiar characteristics of the digital sovereignty as a practice of states. Motives of states which emphasize the importance of digital sovereignty both domestically and internationally include control over economically valuable resources and politically contested digital spaces. The considerations of cybersecurity and the problem of "digital nonintervention" also play an important role. Digital technologies are transboundary, but in the political sphere, the world is divided into sovereign states. Under these conditions, sovereignty can act as a common denominator necessary for the further development of international cooperation in the field of information security while respecting the interests of all states.

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1 Introduction

In the era of global digital transformation, the category of state sovereignty is complemented by digital dimension. Digital sovereignty, which in the broadest sense means the independence of the state in domestic and foreign policy in the digital sphere, is becoming the most important measure of the viability of the state and immensely influences its security and economic potential. For a better understanding of the nature of digital sovereignty, it is necessary to turn to the conceptual foundations of the very concept of "state sovereignty."

Studies of sovereignty go back to the work of J. Bodin *The Six Books of the Republic* in 1575, where he defines sovereignty as "the highest, absolute power over citizens and subjects," which the monarch has as the representative of God on the Earth [9]. Initially, the category of state sovereignty was closely associated with control over a certain territory. An important contribution to the development of the theory of sovereignty in the political and legal sciences was made by the works of H. Grotius, T. Hobbes, and J. Locke [8].

There is consensus in political science that sovereignty began to play a decisive role in world politics after 1648, when the Treaty of Westphalia was signed. The Treaty of Westphalia laid the foundations for the Westphalian political system, which retains its significance to this day. Sovereignty, understood as the absolute power of the state within its territorial borders and independence in the international arena, has become the most important common denominator of the Westphalian political system. Sovereignty determines the equality of states in world politics and international law [10]. And although discussions about the erosion of sovereignty were popular in the 1990s and 2000s [10], it is now recognized that sovereignty is the most important and inalienable feature of any state.

It is important to note that sovereignty has never been a static category; it has evolved and today includes not only territorial sovereignty but also sovereignty in the field of territorial waters, state airspace, currency sovereignty, and a number of other components [5].

At the present stage of technological development, sovereignty in the field of digital technologies is of paramount importance [4]. Digital space has become a field of geopolitical struggle, and the level of digitalization is becoming an important factor determining the country's position in the international arena and the range of foreign policy opportunities available to it.

The aim of the article is to provide discourse analysis of the approaches to the definition of digital sovereignty in the academic literature and official documents of states in order to find common features and differences in the contemporary practice of digital sovereignty in international relations.

2   Literature Review

Research in the field of digital sovereignty is closely related to the analysis of technological sovereignty, which is understood as ensuring independence in scientific developments, setting standards, and securing the physical infrastructure of communications [7]. In addition, many authors link the issue of digital sovereignty with information security issues [14]. A separate issue is the problem of digital interference as a violation of the sovereignty of states by digital means, and this issue is considered by both Russian [4] and foreign scientists [6]. It is also necessary to mention the relationship with research in the field of technological patterns, which are carried out within the framework of economic sciences and emphasize the economic potential of digital technologies in the framework of the transition to the Fourth Industrial Revolution [14].

There are terminological differences. For example, in Russian academic discourse, the term "information sovereignty" is more often used, designed to emphasize the importance of state control not only over technical infrastructure but also over cross-border digital data flows. Western authors mainly operate the terms "digital sovereignty" and "cyber sovereignty," which are viewed through the prism of state jurisdiction over infrastructure, software, and data and to a lesser extent touch upon the problems of control over cross-border information flows.

Among Russian authors, the problem of information sovereignty was studied by M.M. Kucheryavy [15]. He considered sovereignty through the prism of threats in the field of information security. M.M. Kucheryavy defined information sovereignty as the supremacy and independence of state power in the formation and implementation of information policy in the national segment and the global information space [15]. The Russian author V.V. Bukharin identifies the following components of Russia's information sovereignty "technically ensuring national security: search engine, social networks, operating system and software, microelectronics, network equipment, the national segment of the Internet, payment system, proprietary means of protection, cryptographic algorithms and protocols, navigation system" [16].

European authors believe that digital sovereignty can be interpreted as "the need for a country to develop or maintain its own autonomy in relation to key technologies, or to have the lowest possible level of structural dependence." Others believe that it is "the ability of a country (or a group of countries) to autonomously generate technological and scientific knowledge or use technological capabilities developed by external players through the activation of reliable partnerships" [11].

The European academic discourse is also the concept of "personal digital sovereignty." Personal digital sovereignty refers to the security of personal data of Internet users and protection from negative information impact and misinformation, as well as from the practice of "surveillance capitalism" by IT giants, which refers to the collection of personal data and their subsequent use in order to influence user preferences [12].

Chinese researchers introduced the concept of "Internet sovereignty" – the right of the state to establish its own rules for the functioning of the Internet space that meet national interests and traditions [13].

It should be noted that in the US academic literature, the very category of digital sovereignty has long been critical of the very category of digital sovereignty, noting its connection with censorship [9]. Moreover, US researchers have long promoted the idea that the Internet is the common space of mankind, by analogy with the high seas or outer space, and the category of state sovereignty does not apply to it [9]. In the US foreign policy discourse, this approach still persists. However, in recent years, the issues of Internet fragmentation and the problem of interference in the internal affairs of the United States, a topic related to the issue of sovereignty, have occupied an important place in the US academic discourse [7] and the political rhetoric of officials.

Thus, several different approaches to defining the content of the concept of "digital sovereignty" have developed in the scientific literature. In many ways, this is due to political contradictions between countries and differences in political regimes and cultures of the state.

3   Digital Sovereignty as a Practice: Approaches of States and Intergovernmental Organizations

In international documents, one of the first references to the state sovereignty in the digital sphere is associated with the adoption of the final documents of the World Summit on the Information Society, which was held under the auspices of the UN in 2003 and 2005, in Geneva and Tunisia. The Tunis Agenda for the Information Society of 2005 stated that "the political authority to decide public policy issues related to the Internet is the sovereign right of states."

However, in the wide practice of international relations, issues of ensuring digital sovereignty began to attract close attention later. An important role was played by the Arab Spring, spurred to the large extent by US digital diplomacy programs, which use social media as a tool for the spread of democracy and dissidents support in Arab states. After the Arab Spring, many states began to consider the possibilities of social media as a tool of interference in internal affairs and a violation of sovereignty. In addition, during the same period, there were attacks by the Stuxnet virus on the automated control system of nuclear power plants in Iran. Stuxnet case draw even greater attention to the importance of digital sovereignty as a means to ensure cybersecurity and strengthen borders in the digital space [6].

A significant contribution to the international legal consolidation and development of the category of digital sovereignty was made by the work of the UN Groups of Governmental Experts (hereinafter GGE) on international information security, which were repeatedly convened to discuss international cooperation in the field of ICT security. The GGE report for 2015 states that the behavior of states in the

information space is subject to state sovereignty and international norms arising from the principle of state sovereignty. According to the document, sovereignty also extends to the jurisdiction of states over the ICT infrastructure on their territory. Similar language is presented in other GGE reports.

At the end of the 2010s and the beginning of the 2020s, there was a significant increase in the amount of data transmitted via the Internet and other global networks, which increased the economic potential of their use and brought digital transformation processes to a new level. The "data is the new oil" metaphor has gained wide popularity, and initiatives in the field of data security and control over data have been strengthened in many states, generally fitting into the context of the overall policy in the field of strengthening digital sovereignty.

In Russia, in November 2019, the law on the "sovereign Internet" was adopted (the informal name of the Federal Law of May 1, 2019, No. 90-FZ "On Amendments to the Federal Law "On Communications" and the Federal Law "On Information, Information Technologies and Protection Information"), which is the law that formed the legal basis for the centralized management of the Internet within state borders. At the same time, as D. Drobinin notes, ensuring sovereignty is possible "with openness to the widest mutually enriching equal international cooperation, it can guarantee the sustainable development of Russia and a worthy place for our country in the multipolar world order" [1].

China holds similar positions to Russia. In May 2015, Russia and China signed a bilateral agreement on cooperation in the field of international information security. In June 2016, Vladimir Putin and Xi Jinping signed a joint statement on cooperation in the development of the information space. Both leaders emphasize that they uphold the principle of respect for national sovereignty in the information space and are exploring the possibility of developing universal rules for responsible behavior in the information space within the UN.

China has become a pioneer state in the field of sovereign development of digital technologies. The concept of a sovereign Internet was put forward by Fang Binxing, known as the "father of the Chinese firewall," speaking at 201f the global information space and the growth of threats to information security. At the level of data and infrastructure, as well as software, the main subject of globalization is business [10].

In recent years, China has shown a willingness to defend sovereignty over data, which is seen as a key resource for the digital economy. In December 2017, China released the "Implementing the National Big Data Strategy and Accelerating the Construction of Digital China" document, which regulates issues of digital sovereignty at the national level. In China, in 2021, the "Data Security Law" and the "User Privacy Law" were passed. According to these laws, data is considered as a national asset, another factor of production along with labor, land, capital, and technology.

China's foreign policy priorities regarding the digital environment are reflected in the Global Data Security Initiative published by the Chinese Foreign Ministry in 2020, according to which "states must respect the sovereignty, jurisdiction and data governance of other states."

It should be noted that the rapid growth of Chinese technology companies has contributed to the attention to the problems of ensuring technological and digital sovereignty on the part of the United States. Initially, the United States, as the country that developed the Internet and contributed to its spread in the world, actively supported the vision of a global digital space free from state borders, and the desire of states to ensure information sovereignty was equated with acts of censorship. Indicative from this point of view is the 2011 International Strategy for Cyberspace, which does not mention the term "sovereignty," but focuses on the free nature of the Internet and the inadmissibility of strengthening state control in this area. A feature of the US approach is the delegation of significant powers and tasks in the field of security and data management to the private sector. Including US IT companies, with the support of the State Department, come up with international initiatives in the field of cybersecurity, such as the Geneva Cyber Conventions, proposed by Microsoft for states, and the Christchurch Appeal, focused on the cooperation of IT platforms at the international level to counter cyber terrorism.

At the same time, at the level of rhetoric, the inexpediency of active state participation in the digital sphere, including in the context of ensuring digital sovereignty, is emphasized.

However, the United States is ready to take measures in the field of protecting the digital sector of the economy at the state level. Under the Trump administration, in response to the widespread presence of social networks and technology companies from China in the United States, a decision was made in 2020 to ban US residents from "doing business" with the TikTok application and the WeChat messenger under the pretext of protecting the country's technological sovereignty. The United States also banned the sale of telecom equipment to Huawei, ZTE, and three other Chinese companies under the pretext of protecting the country's national security. In addition, the United States began to put pressure on partners to stop using Huawei's 5G technology.

At present, the United States has developed a new approach to managing the global information space, according to which, in the face of growing competition from high-tech companies in China, as well as a fragmented digital reality, it is necessary to adhere to the norms and rules only in relation to friendly states while maintaining the most stringent position in relation to rivals and competitors. The United States is increasingly focused on unilateral measures, including deterrence and displays of force in the digital realm, and the "rules-based order" norms for the digital realm extend only to allies. This approach was reflected in the Declaration on the Future of the Internet in 2022, which was joined by about 60 states. According to the Declaration, the actions of Russia and China in the global information space pose a threat to the security of the United States and cyberspace as a whole. It is significant that this document also does not use the term "sovereignty." This can be explained, among other things, by the desire to extend the norms and practices of US domestic policy to its allies.

At the same time, it should be noted that among the US allies, there is no unity in their views on the issue of digital sovereignty. Thus, in recent years, the EU has been increasingly actively promoting the idea of EU "digital sovereignty" at the

regional level. In many ways, this is a response to the growing dependence of the EU on American IT giants and the low performance of the European sector of the digital economy.

The concept of Europe's digital sovereignty is defined in the European Parliament's 2020 Digital Sovereignty for Europe document, according to which "digital sovereignty means for Europe the ability to act independently in a digital world." As in China, special emphasis is placed on sovereignty in the field of data.

Many developing countries are also paying increasing attention to issues of digital sovereignty. For example, in Brazil and Indonesia, discussions on this issue center around the problem of bridging the digital divide and imply the need for sovereign control and security of critical information infrastructures. In general, as UNCTAD analysts note, in developing countries, the problem of ensuring digital sovereignty is closely connected with the issues of overcoming neo-colonialism, including in the field of high technologies, and creating conditions for independent development. Thus, the approach of developing countries to the practice and understanding of the issues of digital sovereignty cannot be considered in isolation from the processes of world development, where the attempts of countries to declare their independence in the Internet environment express a refusal to legitimize American hegemony and the desire to rebuild the world order on more just grounds [13].

Over the past few years, there has been increased attention to issues of digital sovereignty in the official documents of international organizations, primarily the UN. In particular, according to the Report of the UN Open-Ended Working Group on International Information Security of 2021 (hereinafter referred to as the OEWG), established at the initiative of Russia, "the use of ICT that is contrary to the norms of public international law … creates a threat … to the sovereignty of states." Particular emphasis is placed on the needs of developing countries; it is noted that "assistance in capacity building should be implemented while respecting the principle of state sovereignty." The UN GGE on International Information Security, initiated by the United States, published a final report confirming that "sovereignty and international norms and principles arising from it apply to the norms of responsible behavior of states in the ICT environment and state jurisdiction extends to ICT infrastructure, located on the territory of the state," as well as "respect for state sovereignty, fundamental human rights and freedoms, and sustainable digital development" is at the heart of the UN's efforts in the field of digital regulation.

The issue of information security and digital sovereignty plays an important role in the work of regional organizations. In particular, within the framework of the SCO and the CSTO, documents were adopted confirming the importance of this category in the digital environment. The final document of the Samarkand SCO Summit in 2022 specifically notes that "the principles of mutual respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity of states … are the basis for the sustainable development of international relations," while special emphasis is placed on two dimensions of digital sovereignty: sovereignty in the context of developing rules for the responsible behavior of states in the information space and the importance of ensuring equal rights for all countries to regulate the Internet and the sovereign right of states to manage it in their national segment.

4 Conclusion

Thus, the category of digital sovereignty has complex nature, and its representation in academic literature and in the practice of international relations largely depends on national interests, features of state policy and political culture, foreign policy guidelines, and priorities of the state. At the same time, it evolves along with the development of the international system and scientific and technological progress.

In recent years, in the context of a large-scale restructuring of the international system, there has been a trend toward growing tension between the leading players in the global information space. Internet fragmentation as well as different competing approaches to Internet governance and ICT security promotes digital uncertainty on the global scale. However, uncertainty, as a rule, is fraught with conflict and the threat of unintended escalation, especially under conditions of the growing militarization of the information space [2, 3].

Norms and rules of behavior of states in the global information space, based on the fundamental principles of international law, such as noninterference in internal affairs, respect for state sovereignty, and the prevention of the use of force and the threat of force in international relations, are especially in demand. Just as in 1648, when the Peace of Westphalia was signed, the category of sovereignty became the most important common denominator that removed uncertainty in relations between church and state, so at the present stage, the category of digital sovereignty in international law is able to outline "red lines" and stabilize international relations in this area.

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Political Geographies of Spirit: Augustine and International Relations

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Abstract Analyzing Augustine of Hippo is still relevant to key epistemological and normative debates in international relations, political geography, and political philosophy. But he has not received enough systematic attention in discussions of international politics. Filling in the respective lacunae would thus be novel. This paper aims to outline a systematic view of Augustine as a thinker who offers thought-provoking ideas on all levels of international politics and their interconnections, ideas that go beyond any narrow theoretical perspective. Methodologically, my reading of Augustine takes into account his historical context but privileges the more general ideas on international relations broadly conceived. I identify the relevant epistemological, behavioral, and ethical aspects across the three Waltzian levels of individuals, states, and international politics. All the three levels are interconnected: Augustine is neither a reductionist nor a structuralist. Some ideas in Augustine, such as those on just war, require criticisms. Yet, even those ideas that stress human limitations are important, as they warn against excessive optimism, especially in international relations. Augustine also suggests numerous constructive political opportunities that have been less noted. His views guard against any simplistic notions of human nature. Even an earthly polity is able to attain a degree of justice that would marry obedience and freedom. And his vision for international politics features a striving for peace, and a basic solidarity of the humanity coupled with respect for differences and balance between states. Augustine turns out to combine elements of realism, idealism, and constructivism.

Keywords Augustine of Hippo · International politics · Human nature · Political realism · Idealism · Constructivism

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1 Introduction

Engaging with Augustine of Hippo seems still to be relevant for better understanding international politics from both a theoretical and a practical viewpoint. Firstly, Augustine obviously speaks to some philosophical issues that are per se perennial. This is, e.g., the case with debates on human nature. They go back, in various forms, to antiquity [1]. Within the discipline of international relations (IR), relatively simplistic notions of human nature have been in wide circulation. Thus, Hans Morgenthau (at least in his most canonical work) largely viewed human nature as fixed, and pessimistically [2]. Kenneth Waltz largely considered a similar view, although he eventually shifted the focus to international structure [3, 4; see also 5, pp. 365–366]. Recently, authors such as Dominic Johnson and Bradley Thayer have come back to stressing human nature, this time from a sociobiological perspective [6]. But it is scientist rather than scientific, reducing human nature to its (simplified) biological side; not surprisingly, such approaches have been criticized [5]. Discussions of human nature have thus by no means ended. But instead of either relying on or rejecting one-sided views of human nature, a human individual requires more nuanced understandings, and Augustine is still helpful here. Likewise, Augustine's notion of justice needs attention; the philosophical issue of justice is still discussed regarding both domestic and international contexts. For example, Augustine speaks to how republican political participation is maintained and corrupted, including by international factors, and we will conclude that this is highly relevant for the USA and European Union (EU). Even such terms of Augustine's as glory are hardly outdated. People still seek glory, for instance, by trying to promote justice at home or abroad or to extend their power. Certainly, modern social science will often replace the word "glory" by new scholarly jargon (such as "soft power"), but this hardly changes the basic problematique.

Secondly, Augustine's interest in the nature and limits of human knowledge concerns issues of epistemology that have been central to IR due to the great debate between positivism and postpositivism.[1] This debate[2] has been going on since the 1980s already; but it continues to largely define the different "camps" in IR and is anyway of fundamental philosophical importance.

Thirdly, Augustine has evidently much to say on religious and normative questions. And it is precisely to such questions that IR has been increasingly (re-)turning – of course, looking at the normative and religious issues from its own, specific disciplinary standpoint. It has become clear that international politics has not been secularized; similarly, a complete intellectual "secularization" of IR has been recognized as unfruitful [5, 9]. Uses and abuses of religion have seen an active revival in

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[1] These are certainly broad and imperfect labels (e.g., not all scholars before the 1980s were positivists [7, 8]), but still they capture many of the epistemological issues).

[2] The notion of great debates in IR is certainly rather an idealized construction for better comprehending the history of the discipline; by a debate, I mean a series of broadly similar discussions or just alternative positions.

politics over the last decades, as shown, for instance, by the Muslim world. Strictly speaking, religion never "disappeared" from politics, as powerfully epitomized by Protestantism in the USA (and such examples can be multiplied). Regarding the importance of normative issues, the raison d'être of a whole field known as the international political theory is largely to bring together discussions of the international and the normative [10].

Fourthly and finally, it will become clear that Augustine is still relevant for studying and assessing the empirical policies of some international actors, particularly those of the USA and the European Union that have imperialist and hegemonic features.

The paper is then relevant for the related disciplines of IR, political geography, and political philosophy. It will consider the three Waltzian images often referred to in IR – those of human nature, the state, and the international system [3]. At least two of them – the state and international system – are also basic units for political geography. Both IR and political geography are interested in imperialism as a geopolitical extension of power, whether by "harder" or "softer" (e.g., normative) means – an issue addressed by Augustine and still burning today. But Augustine also speaks to how the state and international system are tied to the human spirit and how they all cannot help but require a philosophical analysis as well. Indeed, Augustine comes up, so to say, with an international political geography of spirit.

The aim of the paper is to outline a systematic view of Augustine as a relevant thinker for contemporary debates by showing that he offers thought-provoking ideas on all levels of international politics and their interconnections, ideas that go beyond any narrow theoretical perspective. This will be just an outline, given the paper's limits. I will consider Augustine's *City of God* [11] as the work that contains, among other things, his most comprehensive and systematic views of politics. My focus will be theoretical, as a systematic theoretical look (within the paper's scope) is still needed before detailed empirical studies.

To be sure, Augustine has for long occupied an eminent place in general intellectual histories [for a recent one, see, e.g., 12, pp. 312–329] and histories of political thought [13, pp. 149–184; 14, pp. 108–111]. His richness led to interest on the part of very disparate thinkers, such as Christian realists, notably Reinhold Niebuhr [15; see also 9, 16], or Hannah Arendt [17; see also 18]. That various scholars keep turning to Augustine is itself one more proof of his relevance. It is not of course my purpose to repeat their arguments. What is however needed is a more systematic engagement with Augustine specifically with a reference to international politics. Such an engagement has been lacking, although Augustine has aforementioned relevance even for today's research and practice. Christian realism was not a closely knit school of thought, and it declined when more secular and formal theories used to be popular [9]. Just war theories drawing on Augustine [9, 19] highlight only one side of his work, and, as shown below, a side that is neither uncontroversial nor the most interesting one. Some other accounts are too focused on Augustine's skepticism [16], and up to now, even such serious students as Vassilios Paipais [5] seem to underestimate the complexities of Augustine's views of human nature. Arendtian accounts [17, 18] underrate the role of the state. Given these drawbacks, it is even

more the case that there is a lack of a systematic study of all relevant levels of analysis. Filling in these lacunae could thus be novel.

Methodologically, three interrelated comments must be made. First, this paper relies on and is intended as a contribution specifically to IR theory, political geography, and political philosophy, not to any debates on religion as such, or to the classical studies. I read Augustine accordingly. Second, such a reading requires a balanced approach between stressing Augustine's more general ideas and taking into account his particular historical context. Whereas a classical scholar would focus on historical and textual details, a *theoretical account* just needs to prioritize generalizations; this is largely a matter of the disciplinary division of labor. Whereas I will strive to respect the particularities of Augustine's time as much as possible, I share the view [see, e.g., 20] that a great thinker cannot be just limited to his or her epoch, as (s)he has a lot to say to any, including our epoch: his relevance was explained above. One could even venture to suggest that Augustine would have approved of such a reading, for when he himself interpreted Scripture, he largely did that metaphorically [11, XVIII:44].[3] Third, I do not eschew from applying the term "international relations" to my analysis of Augustine. On the one hand, as will hopefully be shown, he speaks to many of its present theoretical problems. On the other, we can talk about international relations even in Augustine's lifetime (with the caveats that we do not speak about sovereignty and nations in their modern senses). There were of course interstate relations already; and, more generally, if international relations are understood broadly, as relations between polities that do not recognize above them an authority equal to the authority within them, this term can be used for very remote epochs.

Below, I consider in turn Augustine's ideas related to three levels of analysis inspired by Waltz's three images [3] – one might say, three political geographical scales of the human spirit. Of course, I use this classification just as an heuristic device and, as will be clear, do not necessarily share Waltz's other ideas.

2   Human Nature

It must certainly be acknowledged from the outset that Augustine puts numerous limitations to human life, at the level of what is termed human nature and at all societal levels up to the international one. These limits are determined by his particular theological scheme, more specifically his theodicy and eschatology that guide human history. Within this picture, the whole earthly existence is infinitely inferior and subordinated to the heavenly one which awaits the saved.

According to Augustine, humans are limited in their knowledge, behavior, and ethics. He stresses, of course, the ideas of the inherited original sin and of

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[3] In the references to Augustine [11], the first, Roman number after the reference, designates the book of *The City of God*; the second, Arabic number after the colon, designates the chapter.

predestination, whereby humans are saved only due to divine grace, not their deserts. Humans should rely on God; those who proudly rely just on humanly things do not belong to the City of God. Humans lack even self-control and are surrounded by contingencies and dangers already in the closest intimate circle of family and friends. They are often slaves to passions, among which the politically relevant lust for domination is a key one. They are in an abysmal ignorance, and they often cannot know the reasons for God's inscrutable choices regarding them. Their wishes are prone to crimes: "if anyone were left to live as he pleased and to do what he desired, he would go through practically the whole gamut of lawlessness and lust" [11, XXII:22]. So, they commit ethical failures, for which they are justly punished by God [11, I:8–10, 28, II:23, IX:14–15, XIV:1, 4, 24, 26, XIX:4–8, XXII:22]. All this gives a pessimistic aspect to Augustine's view of human individuals, which has been sufficiently stressed [e.g., 5, 16]. Indeed, these ideas are thought-provoking. Even though, from a more secular viewpoint, they overrate human limitations, they still serve as a warning against any facile optimism, especially that of creating a perfect "new man," and draw our attention to contingencies, mistakes, and evils that abound in such a complex realm as international politics.

Nevertheless, this is only half of the story, and perhaps not even the main one. The other aspects in Augustine seem to be both less noted and more interesting, requiring therefore more elaboration.

To begin with, the very expression "human nature" when discussing Augustine allows of no simple meaning. In the most general sense, any nature as such, according to Augustine, *cannot be evil* at all. Whereas good can exist without evil, evil cannot exist without good: evil exists *in* nature, but nature per se is good. While existing in nature, evil is just a privation of good, a deviation *from* nature, the result of a depraved will. It is will, not nature, that is key here [11, XI:9, 17, 19, 22-23, 33, XIV:11, XV:21]. And there is already an important advantage in such a view, as blame for evil cannot just be shifted to nature. The notion of a perverted will leading to evil and of will helped by God leading to good entails a degree of freedom and ethical responsibility. Admittedly, Augustine sometimes writes that human *nature* itself changed to the worse after the original sin; sin became so to say naturalized, a natural, inherited feature [11, XIII:3]. This is, however, not the most general meaning of nature in Augustine, which, to repeat, cannot be evil. Moreover, even in this narrower sense, human nature will *change* once more after the resurrection [11, XXI:8]. Also, Augustine says that "a portent is merely contrary to nature as known, not to nature as it is" [11, XXI:8]: i.e., a miracle is something that just exceeds *our present* view of nature, not nature as such. Augustine argues against a fixed order of natural elements that humans would pretend to know, thus making a step forward compared, e.g., to Aristotelian naturalism. So, Augustine at least gives us intellectual resources to avoid simplifying nature, even if he does not speak directly in terms of rejecting naturalism or essentialism. For him, it is one thing to say what we think we know at any given moment about nature, it is another to pretend that our view embraces the whole of nature, in all its aspects and changes. And it is even more the case that a human being remains a mystery, for we ourselves do not know how the body and the soul are connected [11, XXII:11] (a mystery that has not been

fully resolved since Augustine). So, strictly speaking, any notion of "human nature" as just fixed and wicked would hardly do justice to Augustine's complexity.

Furthermore, despite all human failures, a human being as such, created in the image of God, is of course a great miracle among divine creations. A righteous individual is said to represent a temple of God and is even sometimes directly likened to Christ [11, XVII:4, 8]. Augustine has recently been read in a neo-Hegelian way, which shows that his ideas represented a great stage in the historical development of human subjectivity, individuality, inwardness, and freedom, including freedom from natural limitations [12, pp. 312–329].

Humans have indubitable evidence that they themselves *exist*, *know*, and *love* [11, XI:26–27]. Augustine's proof of the existence of the self foreshadows the Cartesian *cogito*. There is a reasonable striving for good in humans, and even if their reasoning faculty is sometimes used for excessive or bad purposes, the very faculty is admirable [11, XXII:24]. Although human knowledge is inferior to and must rely on divine help, in some situations, we have hints that humans themselves may attain full knowledge of what they themselves create, as God knows what he created: this is the case with an artist and his or her creations. Here, Augustine is among the originators of the idea of the *verum* ("truth") – *factum* ("made") equivalence that says that certain knowledge is accessible only to those who have created the object of knowledge [11, XI:7, 10]. This idea would later be given a modern form by Thomas Hobbes and Giambattista Vico who stressed human creativity and knowledge of their own creations – mathematical, cultural, and political [21, p. 219; 22]. But Augustine also condemns idolatry, writing that pagan gods are mere human creations. We can interpret this as even having a certain constructivist, emancipatory message: human knowledge should not venerate as external and absolute that which humans themselves have invented; human intellectual constructs should be approached self-critically [11, VIII:23–24]. Finally, let us note that, to Augustine, "there is nothing so social by nature, so anti-social by sin, as man" [11, XII:28]: there are thus features implanted in humans that make them sociable. Hannah Arendt identified in Augustine the emphases on love, freedom, and responsibility, as well as "natality" – i.e., beginning anew, "creating oneself anew, particularly through the creation of political community" [18, p. 84; see 17].

To sum up, Augustine's views of human nature are complex in terms of behavior, knowledge, and ethics. And whatever subtleties and even incoherencies of those views, eventually it turns out that Augustine ascribes to humans extreme woes (themselves thought-provoking), *but also* extreme opportunities. Such views guard against any simplistic notions of human nature, whether operated with by Morgenthau and Waltz or by seemingly "scientific" sociobiological approaches noted above. It also emerges that Augustine's views of human individuals, since they include a very wide range of possibilities and are hence quite *indeterminate*, cannot logically determine higher levels of social life. Augustine can hardly be a reductionist, for a human being him- or herself is too varied to simply reduce anything to. This then heightens per se the importance of social and political levels. And this requires an analysis of how humans not only influence but also are influenced

and made to manifest themselves by various political settings. These levels are what I am turning to in the next two sections.

3   State

As in the case of human nature, Augustine's perspectives on an existing political community may at first sight seem quite limited. To him, the City of God and the earthly city exist as mixed with each other until the last judgment [11, I:35], so a polity will include both the righteous and the ungodly. The latter are much more numerous at that [11, XXI:12]. For the righteous, the existence on earth is just a temporary journey [11, X:7]. A good person is not harmed by an evil ruler; the evil rule, even like Nero's, is just a divine ordeal; the righteous person can be free even in slavery, whereas the evil one, even if a king, is a slave to as many passions as (s) he has, including the lust for domination [11, IV:3, V:19, XIX:15]. Earthly glory is largely vain and empty [11, V:20]. It hardly matters under whose rule a person lives (provided (s)he is not forced to injustice and disgrace), for the person's soul is anyway to depart from the body [11, V:17]. Life in a polity faces the risks of unjust judgments (even when the judges sincerely strive to be just), seditions, and civil wars [11, XIX:4–7]. So far as most people love vices more than virtues, all Christians must "put up with even an utterly vicious and degraded commonwealth" [11, II:19]. And full justice is only possible in the republic of Christ [11, II:21]. All this seems not to give down-to-earth politics much value and to paint it in gloomy colors. Again, even such a perspective per se is thought-provoking. It warns against a naïve optimism; also, the importance of obedience must not be underestimated. Another limitation in Augustine can indeed provoke abuses. He makes exceptions from the command not to kill, including for capital punishment according to a purported godly law or order regarding a particular person [11, I:21]. As he hardly explains how such law or order are to be ascertained, this can indeed lead to unjust killings [12, pp. 312–329].

Yet, these aspects are again only part of the picture. Obviously, there is a lot to be criticized in politics, including from a religious viewpoint. What is however more interesting is that Augustine's work is by no means a mere rejection of politics for religious reasons. The Preface to Book I, which opens *The City of God* and acknowledges the need to speak about issues of the earthly city and of domination, and all the discussions of the two cities (not just that of God) throughout the whole opus make it abundantly clear that Augustine wishes to seriously grapple with politics.

A striking feature in Augustine is that he chose to approach a polity following the Ciceronian definition of a republic. A republic must unite a group of people by justice (conceived as giving everybody his or her due); if there is no justice, there is no republic to speak about at all – there is at most a band of brigands [11, II:21, IV:4, XIX:21–23; see also 23, pp. 18, 75]. But it would immediately follow that, strictly

speaking, there are, for Augustine, no republics on earth, as the only one ruled by full justice is that of Christ. However, Augustine is realistic enough not to confine himself to such a conclusion. He has, so to say, a nonideal theory as well. Firstly, he allows for *degrees* of justice in a state: thus, Rome never attained full justice, but it was a republic and had been ruled more justly in more ancient times than in Augustine's [11, II:21]. Secondly, he even writes that we can call a republic a group of intelligent persons united just by what they *love* (certainly, the better is what they love, the better they are themselves) [11, XIX:24]. So, instead of a dichotomy between either full divine justice or the absence of any polities, we get a wide room for the political analysis of polities that are united by various factors and degrees of justice. Although Augustine draws on the old Ciceronian idea of a state, what is then interesting is that he puts this idea in his elaborate religious picture and shows that even within such a picture, politics keeps its own importance and value. Thus, even those people who belong to the City of God will benefit from the peace established by the earthly city and will follow its laws that uphold life – for even the chosen lead mortal lives on earth [11, XIX:17, 26].

Although Augustine ranks such earthly virtues as honor, authority, and glory below those of a saint, they are still better than the lack of any virtues. Having such earthly virtues, the Romans enlarged their state, which was, according to Augustine, their deserved reward. To achieve this, the Romans sacrificed their private possessions, "freely" participated in political debates and respected the law above passions. They also showed that if even their love of human glory could be so strong, the stronger should be the love of the righteous toward the City of God [11, V:15–19].

But perhaps the most interesting emphasis in Augustine is that on the value of political freedom in its various forms. In general, although, as we noted, he thinks it better to be a righteous slave than a ruler enslaved by passions, he considers slavery as such to be bad. For Augustine, slavery is not natural (recall that nature is always good), but a punishment for sin [11, XIX:15]. Another aspect connected to freedom is Augustine's peculiar republicanism, both in his notion of a polity and his praises of Roman republican liberties. Moreover, Augustine associates his very ideal, the City of God, with freedom [11, XVII:3, XXII:30]; he even writes that the City of God is a people's concern, therefore a republic – and he would call this City a republic if this did not sound too uncommonly [11, II:21]. He even calls Jesus Christ a *citizen* [11, V:19].16

The conclusions that we may draw are thus similar and connected to our analysis of human nature. Augustine enables a serious and detailed analysis of a polity that accounts for numerous possibilities, both negative and positive. Humans manifest their qualities differently in different settings – e.g., the ancient Romans under the Republic upheld their polity better than later. In a positive scenario, an earthly polity is able to attain a degree of justice that would marry obedience and freedom. And this will even be useful for the City of God.

4   The International Level

It is already clear from the above that Augustine's ideas of human nature and state lead to views of international politics that would comprise limitations and downsides, but also more constructive possibilities. Let us now complete our analysis by adding specific points concerning the international level.

On the one hand, human woes extend up to this level, and interstate relations are, for Augustine, even more dangerous than the levels of private or political relations inside a state. He writes about insecurity to foreign attacks and the danger of wars, which he considers, again, as just divine punishments or ordeals. Even if sage persons have to wage "just" wars, they will be saddened by them. Augustine also points to the differences of languages as a cause of international misunderstandings. Even if a single language has been imposed on several peoples as a result of war, war itself is deplorable [11, V:22, XVII:13, XIX:4–7]. As in the case of the state level, some of Augustine's thoughts are not only pessimistic, but can be abused. His exceptions from the command not to kill include wars that would be waged purportedly according to God's law or orders. This (in-)famous "just war" doctrine again begs the question of how such law or orders can be ascertained, and this is not clarified by Augustine [12, pp. 312–329].

On the other hand, Augustine's thoughts also include much more interesting ones. They allow for a nuanced analysis of international politics, not just its disdainful rejection.

Augustine strongly emphasizes peace, as was also the case with the importance of peace established within a single state. He criticizes wars waged by Rome that were not defensive [11, III:10]. Wars are waged by their parties with a view to attaining such peace as would be beneficial to one of these parties. In general, according to Augustine, even the most beastly creatures want peace [11, XIX:11–12]. This is a more subjective sense of peace as that which serves someone or a group of people. There is, moreover, a more objective sense: peace obtained by the victory of those who fought for justice. Even though such peace is inferior to what Augustine thinks is the genuine, perpetual peace in the City of God, this earthly peace is nevertheless a great good [11, XV:4].

Relating Augustine to the level of international politics is perhaps the most interesting task for the following reason. If international politics is almost by definition *irreducibly plural*, then how can his overarching religious framework accommodate this pluralism? Here again, Augustine turns out to be reconciled with real political pluralism and even to suggest constructive opportunities for earthly, nonideal politics. He combines a form of global solidarity with international differences and balance.

Thus, an account that would follow Arendt could see a kind of cosmopolitanism in Augustine [17, 18]. That a form of global solidarity can be found in him is indeed logical, given that his religious framework is in principle addressed to any individual without distinction of origin. This, even if read in a secular way, allows for theorizing the basic dignity and solidarity of all human beings as humans. But, firstly,

even such cosmopolitan accounts must also recognize that his cosmopolitanism is "pragmatic," "pluralist," "local," and "situated" [18]. Secondly, Augustine not only would recognize differences between any groups of people, but more specifically differences between *states*. Augustine clearly writes that the City of God, while uniting the righteous from various states without being hindered by their different laws, *does not violate* those different laws, provided they are not opposed to true religion [11, XIX:17]. Even the latter caveat rejecting laws directed against true religion is not to be taken without qualifications at that, for as we noted, Augustine himself preached Christian tolerance even to any depraved republic.

Augustine's respect for international pluralism, balance, and moderation is most strikingly manifested in his view that Rome was indeed better off when it had a foreign counterbalance. On the contrary, Rome's lust for domination and subjugation of all competitors eventually led it to numerous misfortunes. This case merits a more detailed consideration.

Augustine thinks that Rome upheld justice better (though never perfectly) when it was afraid of Tarquin, its last king who had been expelled, and of Etruria that was Tarquin's ally. This was also the case when Rome was afraid of a precarious peace with Carthage between the Second and Third Punic Wars. Given the imperfections of the Romans, they *needed* an external check to keep their values vigorous. Conversely, when they did not have any serious foreign counterweight, they were eventually corrupted by their own carelessness, luxury, vainglory, greed, and lust. They suffered from their own compatriots more than from foreign enemies. And they exchanged their own republican freedom for slavery [11, I:30-31, II:17, III:21].

Certainly, Augustine himself writes that such ideas were not first suggested by him: for both the cases of Tarquin/Etruria and of Carthage, he refers to Sallust, and for the latter one, eventually to the arguments of Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica against the total destruction of Carthage [11, I:30-31, II:17, III:21]. However, it is very important, again, that Augustine systematically inscribes these ideas into his religious framework and shows that, 7, 8, 22, 24, 25 *even within* such a framework, there are huge differences between better and worse (though never perfect) political outcomes. Here, one more time, politics is seriously analyzed, not just rejected. Note in particular the complex interplay between the international and lower levels. International balance not just enables the survival of various states but also, in an imperfect world, contributes to upholding some domestic institutions of a polity (such as the republican ones in his example) and the values of individuals. On the contrary, attempts at global hegemony by an actor not only undermine the balance and damage its relations with other actors, which is obvious. Such hegemonic attempts also harm the *actor itself* that aspires to hegemony. Note also the connection in Augustine between power and justice, not their usual opposition. Rome was *both* more virtuous and, indeed, powerful (in a long-run perspective) when it was a vigorous republic; it is, as noted, because of its civic virtues that it expanded, according to Augustine. But after it became a corrupted empire, it gradually declined in power, which one could clearly witness in Augustine's lifetime, e.g., in the 410 sack of Rome.

We conclude, again, that Augustine not only has pessimistic ideas on international politics but also suggests a range of more constructive options even for the imperfect earthly world. The latter include striving for peace, and a basic solidarity of the humanity coupled with respect for differences and balance between states. Another conclusion is that, whereas Augustine is not a reductionist who would reduce the explanation of international relations to human nature or an individual state, he is not a structuralist either: all the three levels are indeed interconnected. Various human values and the institutions of a polity have an impact on international politics, but the international level also influences the former two.

5 Conclusions

Augustine still merits attention in the context of analyzing international politics. We have hopefully shown that such an analysis should systematically take into account all relevant levels, the complexity of each level, the importance of normative issues, and the limitations as well as opportunities envisaged by Augustine.

Some ideas in Augustine, as we noted, call for criticisms. But we also identified many specific ideas that are valuable for theorizing the epistemological, behavioral, and ethical aspects across the levels of individuals, states, and international politics. Even those ideas that stress human limitations are worth keeping in mind, as they warn against excessive optimism, especially in international relations, which represent perhaps the realm of human life with the highest complexity and stakes. Yet, if the thoughts on human imperfections have been sufficiently emphasized in Augustine, our analysis has paid more attention to opportunities that we have shown to be impressive as well.

It also emerges that Augustine goes beyond any narrow disciplinary perspective on international politics and is thus able to enrich our theoretical landscape. Some aspects may be accounted as belonging to realism, but quite a nuanced one. This realism is of the sort that rejects naïve or aggressive universalisms and utopianisms in practice. It rejects imperialist, hubristic policies aimed at a global hegemony (still often exemplified by the USA and EU), so it would be opposed to hegemonic stability theories and argue for balance and moderation. Recall a though-provoking idea of Augustine's: an actor's global hegemonic ambitions impair not only the relations with others but also the actor's own potential in the long run. Moreover, such a realism rejects universalisms not only in practice but also in knowledge and ethics – it would indeed be non-positivist and it would grapple with the issues of ethical pluralism in international politics. Such themes in realism have precisely been revived recently. Of course, such a realism should in its turn be subject to a critical appraisal, especially as it is quite relativist and therefore underrates the connections and similarities between various polities, and the possibilities for comparing various theories and norms. Yet again, Augustine is not exhausted by this sort of realism.

Thus, we have shown that Augustine can also be read to justify a basic solidarity of all humans without diminishing the role of the states. Perhaps more surprisingly,

he stresses individual and political freedom. These aspects even make Augustine close to a sort of idealism while not making him a straightforward idealist. It is here that we uncover one more interesting avenue for applying him, the one regarding current issues of freedom, democracy, and human rights. Augustine would hardly have been puzzled by the fact that the US's and EU's hegemonic policies contribute to their own internal dissentions and dangers to democracy. Among other things, in such situations, those of their domestic forces that oppose their hegemonic ambitions would be sidelined by not wholly democratic means. Here, telling examples are presented by Eurosceptic forces and the debate on the EU's democratic deficit.

Finally, we even identified in Augustine at least some intellectual resources for a kind of epistemological freedom. This would stress the ability of the humans to know their own creations, but also the need to reject idols that are of human construction and that are taken uncritically. These ideas would be fruitful even if Augustine is read in a secular way. Meanwhile, such ideas have been key in constructivism. And, despite the many vulnerabilities of constructivism, one of the most valuable contributions that the last great debate has given us is that we need to develop our knowledge self-critically, as best we can. Genuinely fruitful thinking has always strived to follow this road, and Augustine, though remote from us in time, can still help us on this path.

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Political Projects of Cambridge School (History of the Bensalem Kingdom)

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Abstract This article examines the Latitude-men intellectual movement in England during the Civil War of the mid-seventeenth century and the Restoration of the Monarchy. The developments of the Reformation make a very significant contribution to the political history of Europe: they become not the only but the most important factor in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and in England they contribute to the largest crisis of power in its history. English intellectuals, representing the elite of the national clergy, see the causes of the crisis in the decline of faith and the spread of "atheism," by which they mean any deviant interpretation of religion. A form of Calvinism prevails in the clerical and university environment, which professes the ideas of universal predestination of events, the salvation of the few, and the inevitability of eternal punishment for sinners. In this milieu stands out a group of free-thinking intellectuals who oppose Calvinism with the fundamental ideas of "inner man," the conformity of human nature to the nature of God, personal freedom of the will, and free spiritual agents operating in nature within the framework of the divine all-presence. This group of thinkers was formed primarily in Cambridge based on the Neoplatonic philosophical movement, later called the Cambridge Platonists. Named the Latitudinarians, or "broad thinkers," they were opposed to religious radicalism and fanaticism (enthusiasm), to the theological extremes of numerous Reformed sects, and to the development of a religious platform that would provide a basis for understanding the discoveries of the scientific revolution. Their worldview is also based on the fundamental (Platonic in its origin) idea of "non-bodily acting forces" in nature ("Spirit of Nature" by H. More, "Plastic Nature" by R. Cudworth), recognition of atomistic structure of matter, Origenistic doctrines on Immortality of the Soul, possibilities of its Transmigration, and universal Restoration in etheric bodies. Despite their high spiritual and university positions, the leaders of this movement were subjected to theological criticism and administrative pressure in post-Restoration England. This raises a series of literary

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apologetics for the movement, explaining the political platform of the Cambridge School. The authors of this article analyze the writings of this movement, reflecting the contribution of Henry More (1614–1687) to the ideology of the Latitude-men.

1   Introduction

According to historians, the religious institutions of England, where revolts raged in the middle and second half of the seventeenth century, are in a permanent state of terror not so much from the fatal consequences of the Civil War as from the collapse of English monarchical traditionalist values. The Anglican Church was severely undermined by the schism of religious ideas that initially contributed to the Civil War [1, p.29; 2, p. 64; 3, p. 85]. In 1640, the church courts in England collapsed and the censorship that had been in the hands of the clergy disappeared. Anticlerical and unorthodox doctrines could now be published without difficulty. As a result, the following years saw a proliferation of literature demanding reform of both the Church and the clergy-controlled universities.

Among the influential writers who interceded for change was, for example, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) [4, 5, pp. 20, 149–160, 232–257]. His new natural-scientific and political thinking denied the existence in nature and society of any acting forces and substances with freedom of personal choice, which rendered both objects and subjects of faith meaningless (Leviath., III, 34) [2, p. 105]. Although it was not his intention to promote total unbelief, his down-to-earth determinism was understood as an essential criticism of faith, weakening its already disputed authority [6], and Hobbes was subjected to fierce criticism [2, p. 108].

This and similar conceptual critiques of all kinds of "atheism" showed that the disturbing corruption of mass consciousness was countered by cultural elites' search for intellectual instruments capable of controlling and uniting the opposing forces of the day. In this context, in the early 1660s, "it was discovered that there had been there, all along, a doughty little band of scholars quietly but earnestly pleading the cause" [3, p. 85], defined by Simon Patrick (1626–1707), a graduate of Queen's College (after 1646) and follower of Henry More, in one of the first descriptions of the movement in 1662, as "a new community (Sect of men)" called Latitude-men. According to this description, it emerged in Cambridge as an opposition to the "hide-bound," intolerant spirit ("strait-laced spirit") that prevailed there. The Latitudinarians seek to reduce religion to a "virtuous mediocrity" between the Puritans and Papists on the one hand, and the skepticism and materialism of the atheists on the other; they demand the reconciliation of reason and revelation and call for tolerance and the priority of the virtuous life over the ceremonial scruples of religion; in theology and philosophy, they privilege the Church Fathers over all

modern theologians, and the Platonists over all other philosophers [7, 12, 24]. In addition, the philosophical basis of this platform is the French revival of Ancient atomism, reinterpreted in the spirit of Plato, the classical Neo-Platonism of Plotinus, and the mid-Platonic-Christian theology of Origen ("a Platonique faith unites to God" [8, p. 39]). Of the modern "nouveaute" to this platform was added Descartes, who in their eyes preserved the presence of the spiritual element in the material body, although he divided them into two opposite but compatible substances. Thereby, he initially avoided the suspicion of materialism [1, p. 29, 31] and achieved harmony between religion and science as a synthesis of divine and natural-scientific knowledge.

2   Who Are the Latitudinarians, or "Latitude-Men"?

According to R. Crocker, "Latitudinarianism" is best described as "a trend that spread in England in the mid-seventeenth century, rooted in intellectual Puritanism, and the growing reaction against Calvinist dogmatism that began in the 1620s and 30s" [9, p. 79].

The term "Latitude-men" was first used by Presbyterians in Cambridge in the early 1660s against a small group of anti-Calvinist moderate theologians, including Henry More and his Platonist friends (later called Cambridge Platonists), who were largely Puritan in their theology (focusing on the problem of personal salvation and justification through faith), but who rejected the orthodox dogmatism and ecclesiology of their contemporaries. The term meant religious tolerance, freethinking (a breadth of thought grounded in the universal extension of God [10, 11, pp. 72–74]). This society of thinkers usually regarded as including the following: B. Whichcote (1609–1683), R. Cudworth (1617–1689), H. More (1614–1687), J. Worthington (1618–1671), S. Jacombe (d. 1659), G. Rust (d. 1670), а также John Wilkins (1614–1672), Nathaniel Ingelo (1621–1683), William Owtram (1626–1679), John Tillotson (1630–1694), Edward Stillingfleet (1635–1699), Simon Patrick (1626–1707), John Lloyd and Thomas Tenison (1636–1715), and Samuel Cradock (Cradock, 1621–1706) [10].

For some time, the term has carried a negative meaning, implying an undesirable heterodoxy by a group of English intellectuals in relation first to Calvinist theology and, after the Restoration of the Monarchy, to the ecclesiology and theology of the Anglican High Church, numerically or administratively dominant in English universities before the Protectorate and after the Restoration of the Monarchy [8, pp. 13–16; 12, pp. 27–39]. Because they appeared willing to cooperate with the practical policies of Parliament and then Cromwell, these "Latitude-men," quickly rose to prominence in the universities [9, p. 84]. But the situation changed dramatically during the Restoration, when returning exiles replaced all but five of the heads of the colleges and many active members of the communities, and other "Latitude-men" because of their puritanical background and trusting relationship with the old regime. Many (Jh. Worthington, B. Whichcote, J. Wilkins, J. Tillotson, and

S. Patrick) moved to London at this time, mostly for greater academic freedom. It was not until the 1690s, as a result of changes in the ecclesiastical climate brought about by the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which overthrew King James II Stuart [9, p. 84], that this reaction would finally go into reverse.

3   Latitudinarian Apology

Beginning in the 1660s, so-called Apologies for the "Latitude-men" doctrine appeared, which, according to R. Crocker, suggest that the term was adopted by returning exiles in the 1660s, to denounce those "gentlemen of broad swallow" who had survived the troubled times by compromising their convictions for their safety and comfort, i.e., as a synonym for the hurtful and in this situation unsafe accusation of "complicity." The purpose of the apologetics produced by Latitudinarian authors was to extinguish this negative reaction [9, p. 79].

In this line of literary works are sequentially "Brief Account of the New Sect of Latitude Men..." (166 [2]) signed by S. P., attributed to H. More's pupil and an active member of Queens College, Simon Patrick [7], who supported Arminius' teachings, and "The Apology of Dr. Henry More..." [13], and the anonymously published dialogue "The principles and practices of certain moderate divines of the Church of England..." (1670) by Edward Fowler (1632–1714) [14], friend of H. More at Trinity College and an advocate of Pelagianism. These essays were intended to explain the term "Latitude-men" in its political and doctrinal implications, taking into account the interests of returning exiles [9, p.79].

In 1676 Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), an Oxford graduate, member of the Royal Society since 1664, friend and follower of H. More, published in his *Essays on Several Important Subjects in Philosophy and Religion* a Utopian treatise entitled "Anti-fanatical Religion, and Free Philosophy... Essay VII. The Summe of My Lord Bacon's 'New Atlantis'..." [15], which, in his own words, set out the further history of Bensalem's Kingdom from Bacon's utopia, with an early manuscript of this treatise, dated 1675 and published only in 1954 [9, p. 80; 16, pp. 269–286], contains important details not included in the lifetime publication, but which very clearly characterize the proximity, and in many cases the identity, of Latitude-men ideology and the Cambridge Platonist community.

4   The Theologians of the Bensalem Kingdom

In the spirit and style of Modern Age utopias, implying a history of the "Age of Anxiety" in England, Glanvill recounts in the first person the "Angelical Country," encountered on a voyage across the South Sea "that was beyond both the Old World and the New," a Kingdom of Bensalem, thriving through philosophical stewardship [15, p. 1].

The travelers were acquainted with their "unusual arrangement" and the origin of Christianity, the miraculous foundation of Solomon's House (an allegory of the Royal Society founded in 1660), established for the exploration of the universal, as already partly recounted by Verulamius in "New Atlantis." [15, p. 2]. This land was once converted to the positive religion of evangelicalism, a branch of Protestantism that affirmed the need for literal observance of Scripture as the source of doctrine, and personal spiritual renewal through faith in Jesus, strict ethics, and salvation through faith in the atoning sacrifice of Jesus Christ in the spirit of Calvinism.

Historically evangelicalism arises "from the fusion of elements of Pietism, Presbyterianism, and Puritanism, receiving distinctive characteristics from each 'strain' – warm-hearted spirituality from Pietists, doctrinal pedantry (precisionism) from Presbyterians, and individualistic introspection from Puritans," developing especially in the New World [17, pp. VII–VIII, pp. 542–543], and in England it merges into the Anglican High Church as an innovative organization, to whose prevailing unity comes the state of the relation of the churches in England by the time the treatise was written (1660s) [18].

This conversion of the inhabitants of Bensalem to evangelism was accomplished by St. Bartholomew, who, on a journey to India, according to Eusebius of Caesarea, left there to the community he founded the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew and then returned to Alexandria by Pantene, the philosopher who founded the Alexandrian school (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. V, 10), which (regardless of the historical veracity of the fact) in Glanvill's text is not a casual reference, but a characteristic contextual reference to the heritage of the Alexandrian school (Pantene – Clement of Alexandria – Origen), whose influence was repeatedly emphasized by Latitude-men themselves (see later in the text) and the Platonists of Cambridge.

Religion in Bensalem then underwent several "revolutions," the penultimate of which was the ideological expansion of a very dangerous religious sect, the Zealous Persons, or the Ataxites, who claimed extraordinary insights, greater purity, rigor, and spirituality in matters of religion than other Christians. The influence of the Sect "spreads like Infection, as if the public Air were poisoned with it, and in a few years the commonality of the Zealots prevailed so that a great Body of the People..., especially of those that were of warm and Enthusiastic Tempers, was leaven'd (more or less) with their Spirit and Doctrines" [15, p. 4].

But fortunately the intervention of the "new theologians" saves the state of affairs in the kingdom [15, p. 2]. Of note here is a picture gallery of the founders of the "new theology," an account of which includes a handwritten, unpublished version of Glanvill's treatise. The leading (but not all) Cambridge Platonists and Latitudinarians are represented here. The initial letters of their mangled surnames make up the acronym "Cupri-Cosmits," adopted to name the entire group: Chudvoret (Ralph Cudworth, recognized head of the Cambridge Platonist school; Uotheci (Benjamin Whichcote, founder of the Cambridge Platonist movement); Pratci (Simon Patrick, author of the "apology" of Latitudinarianism mentioned above); Retus (George Rust, alumnus of Christ College, author of "The Analytical Note Concerning Origen" [19]); Ottomar (William Owtram, first Rector of the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in London until 1666), as J. I. Cope observes, "one of the most

characteristic conformists of the age, not usually mentioned in connection with the latitudinarians" [16, p. 278]); Sithim (John Smith, 1618–1652, graduate of Emmanuel College, Platonist, author of Select discourses, published in 1660 [20]; Meor (Henry More, seen here as the main theoretical source of Capri-Cosmite theology); Ilegon (Nathaniel Ingelo, author of Bentivoglio and Urania, 1660), written under the influence of H. More's Psychozoia); Tonsillo (John Tillotson, a Cambridge graduate of 1651, chaplain to one of Cromwell's associates in 1656–1657, Archbishop of Canterbury in 1691–1694); and Stenfegill (Edward Stillingfleet, a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, influential in the post-Restoration church) [16, pp. 273–286].

These theologians took the usual course of study at the university, starting at the top with the philosophers of ancient times; read Plato; became acquainted with Aristotle, with his own writings; and discovered how those had been distorted and misinterpreted by commentators; they penetrated Plutarch and Cicero. But they were not pedantic and superstitious admirers of antiquity [15, p. 8]. Speaking generally about the "theological genius" and "principles" of these theologians [15, p. 46], they were able to see the shortcomings of the ancients, supplementing them with new ideas and concepts: all kinds of advances in anatomy, mathematics, natural history, and mechanics, and they became familiar with the experimental philosophy of House Solomon (the influence of F. Bacon and Baconianism) and made themselves more capable of judging truth or hypothesis, and combined contemplation with deep thought, applying probability, comparison, and inference, and they mastered the happiness of clear and lucid thinking, possessing a wide range of vision [15, p. 9].

Interested in the Reasonableness of the principles of religion, they decided to deal with atheists, infidels, and enthusiasts alike, with whom this century abounded. So they "asserted a Liberty of Judgment" [15, pp. 12–13], believing it all to be "the natural Right of human nature" [15, p.12], and with this "antidote," they called themselves "anti-fanites" and opposed the "ataxites" [15, p.16]. They taught that "Reason is a Branch and Beam of the Divine Wisdom"; that "that Light which he hath put into our Minds, and that Law which he hath written upon our Hearts" [cf. 26, p. 61], that the revelations of God in Scripture do not contradict what he "hath engraved upon our Natures" ("Faith itself, is an Act of Reason, and is built upon these two Reasonable Principles, That there is a God; and That what he said is true"). In addition, our erroneous deductions are not caused by reason, but by sophistry, ignorance, and error [15, p. 17], and affirming a sound use of reason, we save religion. By opposing the main principles of Socinianism [21], they did no harm to Catholic doctrines [15, p. 19]. As for some of the main parts of the philosophy and methods of teaching, their features were as follows.

In *Logic* they were not opposed to the usual school systems cultivating exercises for youth, but they were not suited to the formal "Syllogistics way" of thinking (mature Reasoner). Many of them were more accepting of Plato's logic, which teaches first to clarify the terms of [the matter under discussion] and then to proceed to an orderly sequence of statements from one to the other until we arrive at what is provable. The method of reasoning is less erroneous than the way of syllogism. They also adopted the method of putting forward statements from which one would

draw a logical conclusion in a pragmatic (modest), Socratic way of questioning (Socratical way of Questioning, Mayeutics). It eliminates the possibility of emotional influence on the validity of statements, which allows one to limit the discourse to the limits of the subject, whereas in the way of debating (disputing) by syllogism, there are contradictory interferences [15, p. 47].

In *Physiology* (i.e., Physics), the program of the Cupri-Cosmits was synthetically Baconian-speculative: they adhered to no system, or Body of Principles, in what is obvious and established. From the recognition of the incomprehensible wisdom that is in the works of God, they accepted any observation in natural philosophy, believing that hypotheses and conjectures were not to grow out of abstract notions formed without the action of reason, but were to be derived meaningfully from careful observation of the particularities of things under investigation. Therefore, they believed that the best basis for a "Natural Philosophy" would be a "good History of Nature" by which knowledge of nature, and its application, leads to the dominance of man over created beings [15, pp. 48–49].

From Latitude-men's point of view, the philosophy of Aristotle taught at present was the degeneration and corruption of its foundations, and the "Moorish ignorance" (meaning the Peripatetical Averroism criticized in this epoch) gave it the form of idle, unimaginative fads; the main principles, the foundation and soul of this philosophy, its "first essence," its "Substantial Forms" and "qualities," became a mere figment of the imagination, which had no foundation either in feeling or in reason: these notions themselves became utterly unaccountable and served no purpose of knowledge or life, but reduced all philosophy to fantastic constructions.

On the other hand, "that the Corpuscular Philosophy (Atomism) was the eldest, and most accountable Doctrine, it was as ancient as Natural Philosophy itself, it is still applicable to Phenomena of Nature, and it is very easy and intelligible" [15, p. 50]. They studied the philosophy of Pierre Gassendi, which restored and expanded the doctrine of atoms, "enquired into the Hypotheses of that other great man of your world, Renatus Descartes," whose works had been brought to Bensalem by missionaries. In them, they found "the neatest Mechanical System of things," but they did not follow it as representing the only view of nature [15, p. 50].

Some of them, having praised Descartes' "mechanical wit," have shown with knowledge that "the Mechanical Principles alone would not salve the Phenomena"; and that "nothing could be done in Physiology without admitting the Platonical Λόγοι Σπερματικοί" (in fact, the Stoic "seed logos," cf. the same in H. More [29, p. 32]), and his "Spirit of Nature"; as in the case of mechanical principles "aided by the vital [beginning]" [15, p. 51].

As for *Moral Philosophy*, they by no means intended to recognize a "Contentious, Disputing Ethics" (apparently Hobbes' contractual ethics), which turned this knowledge into systems of artificial considerations and made it, as Cicero says, rather *ostentatio scientiae*, than *lex vitae*. They had based their ethics on "knowledge of human nature," in which they "especially studied themselves, and entered into the recesses of their own souls" [15, p. 51].

The "*Metaphysics*" of the new theologians as a whole "had no opinion of those of the Peripatetic Schools." They believed that the explanation of "General Terms,

and notions of things" belonged rather to logic and that the most important and only object of metaphysics was "the Spiritual, and Immaterial World." It was a "kind of Metaphysics, the Science of Spirits" [15, p. 52].

For some Plato's teaching was accepted, presenting Spirits as extended, penetrable, indiscerpible, self-motive substances [15, p. 53] (cf. H. More [29, pp. 42–43]). While others thought, with Descartes, that extension, motion, and similar attributes belonged only to bodies and had nothing to do with Spirits, which could not be defined by anything else, but [only] by thinking and its modus vivendi.

Some of them believed that "the Platonical Opinions" were very suitable to be applied "to give assistance to the Mechanical Principles," which they considered defective in themselves [15, pp. 51–52]. In addition, they accepted the preexistence of Souls as a common belief for Pagans, Jews, and Christians and saw no contradiction in it in relation to any tenet of the faith; they were familiar with rabbinic teaching [15, p. 57; 25].

In Glanvill's manuscript, where More appears as Meor, his contribution is specified personally: he "restored and explained the Old Philosophy of Pythagoras and Plato," their "Doctrines of the Immortality of Human Souls, and Resurrection of the Body" [16, pp. 281–282], Preexistence and Transmigration, used by Origen [16, p. 283]; "In indicating the Attributes of God" [16, p. 280], "he demonstrated the Existence of God from the Wisdom of the Works of Nature" [16, p. 281]. He gave "the best and most Intelligible Account of the Nature of a Spirit, He freed it from the Contradictions in which Vulgar Philosophers had involved it, and rendered it as accountable as the Notion of Body", "he made up for the lack of mechanistic hypotheses"; "against the Hylists that resolved all things into Matter and Motion" and rejected "a Spiritual Substance as Non-Sense and Contradiction" [16, p. 280], which in this context would denote "materialism", for which matter has the property of self-motion, as opposed to Cambridge's "principes hylarchigues" [22, p. 32], which refers to a spiritual beginning that is the cause of the motion of matter.

In "The Book of Metaphysics" (i.e., More's *Enchiridion metaphysicum*, 1671 [23]), he showed that matter and motion alone do not solve the whole or anything singular in the phenomena of nature, justifying the need for the participation of spiritual substances in mechanical processes [16, p. 282]. The "Plain Discovery of the Whole Mystery of Enthusiasm" [16, p. 281] – apparently referring to Henry More's treatise *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus...* [24]) – showed that the pretensions of fanaticism are a painful state of religious consciousness and set forth a triune interpretation of the history of creation and fall in the treatise *Conjectura Cabbalistica* [25]. The "Letters of his to the great Mechanick Philosopher and Mathematician of that Age, Renatus Des-Cartes" [16, p. 281], which were brought here by a foreign missionary (i.e., Samuel Hartlib) [26], gave direction to the study of his philosophy; in the "Guide to Moral Philosophy" (i.e., *Enchiridion Ethicum*, 1667 [27]) he developed a better establishment of ethics; he showed the fault of the supporters of Rome (Romists) in all branches of "antichristianism" and drew a parallel between their ceremonies and the rites of the pagans [16, p. 282].

5   Conclusions

Cudworth and More, as the two most senior and respected Latitude-men left in Cambridge after the Act of Uniformity, were the object of criticism by conservatives in the 1660s [28, pp. 35–53]. A concerted campaign was launched against them, focusing first on attempts to remove Cudworth as Master of Christ College [9, p. 85]. However, R. Cudworth, like H. More, was protected by his academic reputation as well as by powerful allies at court (notably in the influential Finch and Conway families), where the King and many of his courtiers discussed the need for natural philosophy and rationalist ways to support religion. Still, in letters from the 1960s, More complains to Anne Conway that some are plotting against Dr. Cudworth himself, and like against Cudworth "have a very aking tooth against such as they would brand with the nickname of Latitude-men," though "what they mean by the word I know not, but I am... railed at and blustered against far an Heretic..." (More – Conway, of June 29, 1665 [9, p. 86]), from which it is evident at least the fact of not accepting the nickname as offensive and suspicious. The cessation of these attacks, as early as 1665, was due to the personal intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and judging by the tone of the correspondence, More without much concern perceive the nickname Latitude-men (More – Conway, July 10, 1665 [9, p. 86]).

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Origenism at the Cambridge School as a Political Idea

Olga Bakhvalova, Ekaterina Mushenko, and Alexey Tsyb

Abstract The article touches upon the influence of philosophical and religious thought of the late Hellenistic era represented by Origen and Origenism on the formation of the political idea of freedom. Modern theologies that turn to Origen's legacy as a source both Catholic (Jean Danielou, Henri de Lubac, Teilhard de Chardin, Hans Urs von Balthasar, Karl Rahner) and Protestant ones (Karl Barth, Eberhard Jüngel, Jürgen Moltmann) reasonably enough use Origen's ideas to support theological anthropology compatible with modern values of human freedom and dignity. Against the Augustinian views, it argues that people are essentially free and inspired by Origen defend individual freedom and choice and reject the absolute predestination of human destinies. In this context, Karl Barth, Eberhard Jüngel, and Jürgen Moltmann are the most important. However, as the beginning of this adaptation, bearing undoubted political conclusions, we can certainly consider the Cambridge school Origenists of the seventeenth century, which we also call the Cambridge Platonists. Only at a very superficial glance it can be argued that they deliberately stood apart from the conflicts of their times, from the bitter antagonisms of the Great Rebellion and Restoration, which would have fully defined their distant political position. The article also studies the side of the philosophical teachings of the Cambridge school, which reflected the teachings of Clement of Alexandria and Origen the Christian about the Christian gnosis, about free entities and the need to convert to the religion of Jesus and conform unto God.

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1 "The Age of Anxiety"

Historians talk about the crisis that the society of the Roman Empire plunged into by the end of the second century A.D. [1, pp. 273–305]. The crisis affected not only the economy but also the society and the external political stability of the empire. It also manifested itself in the spiritual life of all regions of the empire. The modern novel "The Illusionist" by the Oxford's fellow Anita Mason [2] gives a magnificent picture of the anti-intellectualist religious life of the second half of the first century in Samaria, the region of Israel, telling the story of the famous Gnostic Simon Magus. This is also the story of Peregrine as expounded by Lucian (Luc. Peregr.), a native of Syria and a contemporary of the era as well as the story of the irrational life of Apollonius of Tyana (first century A.D.), created in the middle of the third century by Flavius Philostratus (Philostr. VA).

Every nation trapped in this large Mediterranean melting pot of cultures lives in its own chronology and its own idea of the era, the center of attraction and teleology of history. It was a time when the Gods from the novels of Neil Gaiman [3], now languishing in misery in the urban ghettos of Western civilization, were experiencing the true flowering of its magnificence. In exactly the same way as genuine stars of mass culture, they had an industry for their own show: producers, managers, fans, historians, and just spectators.

Eric Dodds describes this era as "The Age of Anxiety" [4, p. 135]. The time of enthusiastic prophets, magicians, and dream interpreters (Artemidorus Ephesius), the time of war-crippled sociopathic veterans, the time of deceived widows, conjuring the spirits of the dead and conjuring on the extracted parts of the dead, cheerful marriage scammers, mysterious Chaldeans revealing the secret of fate for money (Apul. Met. II 5; 12; 20; III 18), peripatetics sophistically decadent in arguments similar to the anonymous treatise of Pseudo-Gorgias "On non-being, or On Nature" (Sext. Emp., Adv. math. VII, 65–87) and hedonizing Epicureans, boringly teaching the science of pleasure, a time of cynical-stoic "hippies," the unbridled aristocratic youth, burning their lives in orgies of the Asia Minor cults of Cybele and Bacchus (Apul. Met. VIII 24–30). In fact, it is not that bad in comparison with what is commonly said about life in the global crisis. The brilliant talent of Platonist Apuleius Madaurensis (124 – after 170) bask in these realities of the moral decline. Although his character in "Metamorphoses" got into bad trouble, he is young, cheerful, and ironic about what is happening and gets aesthetic pleasure from his adventure (Apul. Met. II 5; 12; 20; III 18).

Another part of the culture seemed to "thicken" in the cosmic anguish of the "Meditations" of the Stoic thinker Marcus Aurelius, the loneliest of all lonely emperors, who embodied the syndrome of imperial "bovarism" [5, pp. 16–17, 29]. The population of the largest cultural Roman-Hellenistic centers, such as Alexandria,

Apamea, Caesarea, and Antioch, is "branded" with the ideas of selectivity by Gnostic communities, followers of anti-systems [6, p. 48]. Neither the third wave of skepticism, which explains the behavior of ants by their birth from fermenting wine, brings certainty to the understanding of what is happening (Sext. Emp., Pyrrh. I, 41–42), nor Celsus' well-nigh medical reflection on superstition and religious quackery in "Λόγος ἀληθής" [7], nor the more infantile superficial teachings of philosophers, as in Diogenes Laërtius [8].

2   "Γνῶσις" and "τελείωσις" in an Era of Crisis: Clement of Alexandria and Origen Adamantius

In the end, all the spiritual fluctuations of the epoch have a goal – the search for a reliable psychological foundation "here" and a guaranteed refuge "there" [4, p. 135]. Nothing is impossible for both points. However, if the knowledge of posthumous existence, being a fairly general idea for the religions of the ancient world in general, reinforces the idea of inequality in the earthly vale and inequality after death, then early Christianity compares favorably against this background with its naive call for equality here and there. The simplicity of this view attracts, and the new religion of Christ is very quickly gaining adherents in all social strata of society. It becomes a genuine theology after intellectuals turn to it. In Alexandria, this is Titus Flavius Clemens, also known as Clement of Alexandria (c. 150 – after 210), and his logical follower Origen the Christian (185–254). Professionals took up the case. To turn religion into theology means to create a written theory of all its parts from scratch – ontology, epistemology, and eschatology with all their sections.

In parallel with the school Neoplatonism under the leadership of Ammonius Saccas (175–242), Clement is looking for a standing point for the assertion of the new truths. Born in a pagan environment, he begins with epistemology, restructuring Stoic, Epicurean, and Platonic theory in it. The second book of his fundamental encyclopedic work *The Stromata* (Στρώματα) is devoted to these issues.

Here, the first basis of cognition is defined as religious intuition, which is close to the "Christian-existential experience" ("die Existenzerfahrung") [9] formulated by Clement in several terms focused on the terms "faith" (Pistis) and "knowledge" (gnosis). The goal of knowledge is "the space perceived by the senses" (αἰσθητὸς κόσμος) and "intelligible" (τὰ νοητά) [inbeings] (Strom. II, 5, 1–2, [10]). Gnosis, on the other hand, is a "foreseeing speculation," an understanding of the foreshadowed meaning of prophecies. It manifests itself in three ways: about the past, about the present, and about the future; the past and the future are "subject to faith," and "what is happening now is a matter of conviction for us and serves as confirmation of the reliability (that is to say, veridical, πιστός) of evidence about the past and about the future" (Strom. II, 54, 2–3). "Reliability" in this epistemology is a "point of vision" of everything else based on internal agreement (συγκατάθεσις), being one of the abilities of the "leading principle" (ἐγώ) in a person in Stoic psychology

[11, p. 139]. Clement directly refers to Plato and the Stoics (Strom. II, 54, 5). Such a conviction in the present constitutes the axiomatic basis of faith, which, as it should be, is a priori: after all, it is God who should be trusted because "he (never) breaks his promises" (cf.: Cartesian "Deus non fit deceptor" [12, p. 17] and "Deus non fit fallax" [12, p. 21]) since "he himself does not need anything" (Strom. II, 28.2). In the universalism of the new way of thinking, the good old Greek common sense, dating back to the ancestral knowledge ("sagesse traditionnelle"), is no longer heard [13, p. 14]. As a result, the whole very complex structure of consciousness is subordinated to the highest kind of cognitive activity, "gnosis," and is united by it. And it, in turn, is included in the ideal of a perfect life, or "perfection" (τελείωσις) as a likeness to God.

Heterodoxies of Origen. The great disgraced thinker and the most fruitful writer of Alexandria Origen the Christian (185–254). Origen the Christian excommunicated as a heretic by the V Ecumenical Council of the Church, which took place in Constantinople in 553 [14, AC. T. III, col. 122, 197e, 209e], but included by the subsequent literary tradition among the Fathers of the Church, left a great legacy containing dozens large-scale ideas that have been working fruitfully for centuries after his death.

These ideas born in the era of "turbulent times" of intellectual unrest in the Empire of the Principate period, became popular already during the author's lifetime [14, AC, T. III, col. 438d, 243d–246e], and then were overgrown with an extensive intellectualist tradition of Origenism. It was intellectualist not only because intellectualism as the idea of a God-thinking mind was placed at the basis of the thinker's worldview, but also because for centuries, it gave quite rational impulses to both theological and secular philosophical teachings in the field of cosmology, physics, anthropology, and practical philosophy.

The cosmological part of Origen's teachings deals with transferring the idea of God-mind, which goes back to the Aristotelian theology of mind (Arist. Met. XII 1072b 25–30), and the interpretation of the activity of the deity as a kind of intellectual mathematician, architect, thinking the world by "measure and number" as the demiurge god does in Plato's Timaeus in accordance with the "prototype," i.e., the ideal project, and in accordance with his own good intention (Plato, Tim. 29e; 35a–d); and by transferring to the idea of the Holy Spirit (actually, the "Divine Soul" if taken literally) the properties of the World Soul from the "Timaeus" (Plato, Tim. 34b–c; 36e and sl.). Origen's discourse on the trinity of the deity is believed to "balance between the monarchical heresy, which merges the Faces of the Holy Trinity into one, and the tendency of subordinationism, which leads to subordination of Persons" [16]. At the same time, in this part of his theology, Origen is not apodictic at all but, namely, discursive, and in reasoning applies Platonic and especially Aristotelian terminology of "essence" [17], builds a monistic theology.

According to the materials of the accusation, Origen testifies to the self-limited power of God: "in the intelligible beginning, God by his own will predetermined such a number of mental beings as he could be content with; for, it must be said, the power of God is limited … (De Princip. II, 9; IV) [14, AC, T. III, col. 245b]," i.e.,

"the power of God is limited, and He created as much as He could embrace" [14, AC, T. III, col. 280e].

In psychology, Origen develops the doctrine of the preexistence of souls, which he perceived not only from a Pythagorean and Platonic source but also from contemporary Neoplatonism, where "any [non-material] substance conceived by the [divine] mind becomes reality (Plotin. Enn. VI, 7, 40; VI, 2, 8; VI, 7, 13; VI, 7, 35), since Origen's god creates in the intelligible beginning a certain number of intelligent substances, or minds" (De Princip. I, 1, 7; I, 5, 1–2). Supported by the Orphic-Pythagorean and Platonic mythology of "bodies as prisons of souls" (Plato. Phaed. 82e–b) and cyclical ascent to the contemplation of transcendental truths (Plato. Phaedr. 246a–250e), it explains both the origin of evil and the origin of ethical norms and shows prospects for salvation. Free will is intrinsically inherent in all rational entities, and having freedom of will and choice, they contain a tendency to violate the general plan, and their evasion leads some of them to fall and join with earthly bodies [14, AC, T. III, col. 277e]. When they hit the earth, they change their etheric carrier ("etheric body") to a material – corporeal one. This is how various categories of living beings and demons (aerial, near-earth, and underground) appear. The basis of ethics is the imperative of free choice.

With the unorthodox theory of preexistence, Origen combines the eschatology of apocatastasis and soteriology and the stoic doctrine of the multiplicity of worlds that change each other after the cyclic ignition of the cosmos [15]. Relying on the Greek cyclism, i.e., without supporting the Christian "linear" understanding of time, Origen builds a theory of the spiral change of times, in which the multitude of worlds does not extend to infinity, but the limit comes – "apocatastasis of all," when "human bodies in the resurrection will rise spherical, and not in the right form … (De Princip. I, 6)" [14, AC, T. III, col. 280d]. "The punishment of demons and wicked people is temporary and after some time it will come to an end or there will be a new restoration of demons and wicked people" [14, AC, T. III, col. 280e]. All beings are resurrected in new subtle etheric bodies and become equal to Christ [16].

Origen's ethical teaching is based on the idea of the "inner person" and the God-likeness of souls (Hom. in Gen. I, 13), when the conversion ("epistrophe") to the religion of Jesus interpreted as liberation from the fetters of sin in his "anagogue" to the resurrection of Lazarus (symbolically represented by liberation from the shroud (Comm. in Ioan. XXVIII, 51–66) provoked by the miraculous suggestion of faith. The commentary on the resurrection also reveals Origen's idea of the place of the human soul after the death of the body ("the place of souls"), which is comparable to the Middle Platonic archetype of this idea described in detail by Plutarch in the treatise "Why the deity delays with retribution" (Plut. Mor. 548b–568a) and the idea of sacred actions for evoking the soul from this place: a supplicating prayer, the place of its utterance, raising the gaze and raising the hands, a loud shout to the deceased (Comm. in Ioan. XXVIII, 23–44) related rather to magical practices of communication with spirits and demons. Let us also pay attention to the mechanism of "reviving": it includes the discovery of the soul's place, a new entry of the soul

into the body that previously belonged to it, the awakening of the "vital movement" of forces – "δυνάμεις" of the soul in the body by "divine power" caused by a loud shout or a reviving "logos" since these "forces" require a kind of reanimating stimulation (Comm. in Ioan. XXVIII, 45–54). These vital forces or the structure of the soul looks like "strengths to go and act" and "strengths to cogitate" (Comm. in Ioan. XXVIII, 72).

Is it possible to see some kind of political attitude or political philosophy here? The interpretations of this kind exist. The scientific seminar "Human Freedom and Dignity: Origen and political theology" [18] held in 2019 demonstrates latent possibilities. We can also find the political content of Origen's teachings in the reaction to them from the imperial power structure in the person of Justinian. For the state, the question of whether the bodily (orthodox), or etheric (Origen's position), rebirth of bodies in the time when the very fact of the immortality of souls leaving the bodies was indisputable for the absolute majority of the population of the empire, and carried the question in which, bodily or etheric shell, a person will appear before the Last Judgment and will bear retribution (retribution or encouragement), could have a completely practical value comparable to the problem of modern pension system. Indeed, in this light, the idea of "ethereal bodies" largely removed the threat of the severity of retribution and together with the declaration of the final universal forgiveness looked dissident in relation to the state ideology of Christianity.

3   Origenism of the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation

After almost three centuries of ecclesiastical disputes over the heterodoxies of Origen indicated on the one hand by excommunication of Ecumenical councils of the Church and, on the other hand, by the solid apologetics of the adherents [19], which occurred as a result of the ongoing struggle between two theological and philosophical traditions dating back to Origen and Augustine of Hippo [20], "the passions on Origen" became concentrated mainly on the concept of man and human values of dignity and freedom.

Important milestones in the perception of Origen in the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation are demonstrated in the series of studies "The History of Human Freedom and Dignity in Western Civilization" [20]. In the seventeenth century, the Origenistic doctrines of freedom and free will played a role in countering Calvinistic doctrines, and influenced the Dutch Arminianism and the German trend of radical pietism, and in the enlightened eighteenth century [20, pp. 4–5] on the development of educational "concepts of human autonomy and free will" (Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) [20, p. 6].

However, Origenism of the Cambridge school becomes the true bright renaissance of Origen's heterodoxies in modern history.

4 Cambridge Origenists on Freedom, Preexistence, and Apokatastasis

As M. Lewis rightly states (as well as S. Hutton, R. Crocker, C. Hengstermann) [21–25, 32], Origenism became a characteristic and distinctive feature of the Cambridge Platonists regarding Protestant theologies of the Protectorate and Restoration era: "most of the theological platonism of the Cambridge group was 'filtered out' through reading Origen." Some of them (H. More, D. J. Glanvill, A. Conway) adopted the theologems of the preexistence of the soul, the cyclic ignition of the earth, godlike, and universal salvation; others adapted to modernity to a greater extent the theory of free will and the theodicy of Origenism and also actively "captured" contemporary problems of the scientific revolution.

The founder of the school, Benjamin Whichcote (1609–1683), rector of Christ College, in his early teaching after 1633 and in a well-known controversy with his Calvinist teacher Anthony Tuckney, defends anti-Calvinistic soteriology based on Platonism and Origenism (freedom of choice against perfect predestination) [26]. Among his young colleagues, the most "consistent" adherent of Origenism was Henry More later recognized as the head of the Cambridge Platonists.

By the end of the 1640s. More was the author of a series of published poetic works "Philosophycal Poems" ("Philosophical Poems," 1647), in which he outlined the first experience of his own teaching in poetic form in line with the Neoplatonic-Origenistic way of thinking. Here, a part of the cycle called "The Preexistence of the Soul" stands out, demonstrating More's fascination with his own reading of Origen and the ideas of Origenism that had became fashionable in England by the middle of the century [24]. This influence will then be reflected in all major works of More's "mature" period of the 1650s and 1660s and in correspondence with his colleagues.

In Conjectura Cabbalistica (1655), More publishes his own vision of the Book of Genesis accompanied by a literal, philosophical, and ethical commentary (i.e., as if following literal, moral, symbolic, and anagogical exegetics of Origen) as well as the so-called analytical defense. Here we will list several parts of the treatises entitled "Philosophical Kabbalah" [27, pp. 16–28] and "A Defense of the Philosophical Kabbalah" [28, pp. 71–98] with the fragments of the formulations from More's treatise "Immortality of the Soul" (1659) [29]. The influence of Origen mentioned many times is very expressive. More also quotes profusely Philo, Plotinus, Porphyry, the treatises of the Hermetic Corpus, and the texts of the Chaldean Oracles.

The most important plot of this history of the world, subject to full-fledged exegesis, according to More, is the explanation of the concept of God. In addition to other well-known attributes, it includes the ability to create things out of nothing or the "ability of creation" (IS I, 4,5), which is implemented in intellectual activity. The concept of קדם (in the past; before) used by Moses goes well with that passage from Trismegistus, where "Hermes speaks: (More quotes the treatise "Κόρη κόσμη" – The Virgin of the World: Or Apple of the Eye of the World (Corp. Hermet., XXIII.7)): "I, when there was being done an origin (ἀνατολή), contemplated with all-seeing eyes what related to this origin," "where [the word] ἀνατολή

[beginning, origins, sunrise], which is the same with קדם [before] must signify the Divine Intellect, the bright Morning Star, the Wisdom of God" [28, pp. 73–74].

The intellectualism of this interpretation has the Origenistic and Aristotelian origin mentioned above, which also goes back to the intellectualism of Plato and Anaxagoras (Plato. Phaedo. 97b; Arist. Met. A 4. 985a 18). The source is presented in the well-known "theology of the mind" in book XII of Metaphysics (Arist. Met. 1071b 4–5; 1071b 16–21). According to More, in his creative work, "lost in thought," God creates the first, intelligible plan of the world: "first, 'the Trinitarian God creates' Symbolic Heaven and Earth" by the activity of his thought (PhC I, 1, p. 16). The explanations are provided: "Under Heaven or Light one has to understand the fullness of intellectual Spirits, the souls of people and animals, and the seminal shape of all things," which can be called "The world of Life" (PhC I, 3).

Somewhat earlier, in correspondence with Anne Conway dating from the early 1650s [30, p. 174], More formulates this part of his natural theology in the form of a theory of the psychophysical hierarchy of the universe. In accordance with it, if to divide the process of creation into stages, the creation of matter takes its necessary place as a condition for the embodiment of ideas. Here God puts into action the remainder of his fullness and creates: (1) *Mundus vitae*, the ideal world as if an architect creates a project of a future structure in his mind, being "a Seminal Form," λόγος σπερματίτης (DPhC I, 1, p. 76), (2) of several degrees of spiritual beings (souls) who had all the abilities for vital connection with the matter [IS I, 8, 1–9]; (3) itself (PhC I, 6, p. 17). This large-scale universal project born and preserved in the Divine mind is supported by the sympathetic connection of all things, which is implemented by the Spirit of Nature (Holy Spirit) and Logos (the Word-Law, Jesus), as well as the emanation (constant outflow [IS I, 7, 5–6]) of the divine will as an alternative to Descartes' mechanicism and, mainly, T. Hobbes' determinism.

The lowest degree for spiritual beings is the degree of plants; the next is the degree of animals; none of them has free will. However, for the higher ranks, there is freedom of will. These are the souls of people and powerful angels who, when they fall, become equally powerful and formidable devils. More also comments on the resulting differences in the incarnation with references to Plotinus (Enn. IV 3 15–17). The whole process is regulated by a natural law, the "Fatal Period, which the Platonists talk about" (Plot. Enn. IV. 3. 12-13), and in which spiritual beings "as if descending rotationally along their life trajectories for a long period of time" are included in the life of the earthly world within the time limit allotted to them (possible reference to Empedocles, Fr. 115 DK), and return to their original state at the end of this cycle [30, p. 174].

In *Vitae mundi*, God also forms the project of an ideal person. In this first man, Adam, as in the "intermediate mind" and "generic man" (a reference to Philo (Philo. Alleg. Interpr., II. IV. (9); Alleg. Interpr., III LXXXVIII. (246)), the fallen soul activated Adam's body and "he was the first to fall into the state of a man," and all other people fell into him and come out of his "seed corrupted by sin" [30, p. 174].

Finally, how can a person be restored to what he has fallen away from? – using inner strength (i.e., the resource of the "inner man"), which God has given us to

regulate the actions of the outer man, which will force a person to really transform his nature into a new state (Origen. Hom. in Gen. 13; 15). More implements this idea through the concept of "boniform faculty" [31, p. 14]. At the same time, More does not support the idea of universal salvation.

Lady Anne Conway (1631–1679), a student and close friend of H. More, proved herself an outstanding supporter of Origenism, which was manifested in her *Principles of the Most Ancient and Modern Philosophy* (1690), which were published in Latin and then translated into English, as well as in a long correspondence with More in the 1650s. In this philosophical correspondence, More and Anne Conway, according to the correct assessment of A. Furst [32], developed a real alternative to their modern mechanistic thinking and proposed a spiritualistic cosmology that includes the main results of the new science.

Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688), rector of Christ College since 1654 and a personal friend of H. More, implements the second way of the "Origenistic program" of Cambridge Platonism. According to the findings of A. Furst, together with John Smith and Nathaniel Culverwell, he strongly defended the metaphysics and ethics of Origen's freedom but rejected both preexistence and apocatastasis [32, p. 28]. In the "Treaty of Freewill" published only in 1838, Cudworth gives a detailed analyzes of the concepts of "free will," "self-power," and "liberty of will" [33, p. 9] in the contexts of stoic "τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν" [33, p. 36] and "αὐτεξούσιον" [33, p. 36]. He refers to Origen's famous works "Contra Celsus" and "On Prayer" (Origen. De orat. 6,2) [33, pp. 10–12, 32–33, 49]. Curiously, Cudworth's argument about the presumption of the will, according to A. Furst, anticipates the reasoning of I. Kant (who had never read Origen) on freedom "as a property of the will of all rational beings" ("Freiheit muß als Eigenschaft des Willens aller vernünftigen Wesen vorausgesetzt werden" [34, S. 82–84]), and as an a priori human action, which is a postulate of practical reason or a necessary practical premise and idea [32, p. 29]. Thus, the Cambridge Origenists, and above all H. More and Ralph Cudworth, developed not only Origen's cosmology and anthropology but also the metaphysics of freedom as a libertarian (Libertarianism) concept against stoic compatibilism (the doctrine that free will and moral responsibility are compatible with determinism, and in every moment the world has only one possible future), which certainly brought their point of view into the sphere of political discussions of their time and determined their position of loyalty to the Protectorate.

Cudworth's daughter Damaris, Lady Masham (1658–1708) in 1703–1705 was engaged in correspondence with G. W. Leibniz, in which she discussed the extent of non-corporeal substance in the pre-established harmony of Leibniz (in connection with a similar concept of H. More) and, as part of this topic, questions about the essence of the soul, about the union of the soul and body, about immortality and the transmigration of souls (Leibniz-Gerhard, III, S.331–375) [35]. Although Origen's name is not mentioned in the correspondence, the essence of these questions is quite Origenistic. Leibniz himself repeatedly reflected on the ideas of H. More, R. Cudworth, and Origen himself (Leibniz-Gerhard, V., S.64, 228, 324) [36].

The most important document of this Origenistic "boom" in English theology between 1658 and 1662 is *A Letter of Resolution Concerning Origen and the Chief*

of His Opinions [37, 38] published in London in 1661 authored by George Rust (d. 1670), a professor of the Christ College in Cambridge.

This relatively small treatise is a kind of apology for the teachings of Origen, in fact explaining to the general reader the non-hereticism of Origen's main propositions. Rust formulates six such theses: (1) the doctrine concerning the Holy Trinity, which is mistakenly said to include the inequality of hypostases; (2) the judgment that human souls preexist; (3) that because of their mistakes and negligence, they appear as inhabitants of the earth dressed in earthly bodies; (4) that the mystery of the Resurrection is that we will be dressed in heaven or etheric bodies; (5) that after a long period of time, those condemned to torment should be freed from their torments and try their luck again in such areas of the world that correspond to the nature of their aspirations; and (6) that the Earth, after its enrichment, should again become habitable and be the abode of people and other beings; and this happens in eternal repetition. Rust consistently shows the benefit of these provisions for the true religion of the English Church. The driving force of the evolutionary development of all spiritual beings toward their perfection in a godlike quality is freedom understood by Origen as spontaneous self-movement. Thus, Rust "interpreted Origen's apocatastasis as an endless series of the fall and return of souls" [32, p. 23], justified human actions with reason and freedom against a deterministic explanation of human states.

John Smith (1618–1652), who became a fellow of Queens College in 1645 but died young in 1652, is often considered the best writer of the group. His *Select Discourses* [39] published after his early death and especially the *Discourses on the Immortality of the Soul* are saturated with an appeal to the legacy of Origen. At Queens College, he was followed by Simon Patrick (1626–1707), an author of the apology of latitudinarism "A brief account of the new section of latitude-men together with some reflections upon the new philosophy/by S.P. of Cambridge, in answer to a letter from his friend at Oxford" [40]. Henry Hallywell (1640–1703) in the treatise "Melampronoea, or, A Discourse of the Polity and Kingdom of Darkness" describes the structure of the infernal state of demons with numerous references to Origen [41, pp. 21–22, 34, 86, 91, 94, 101].

More's Oxford followers Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680) in "Letter on the Future State" [42, pp. 447–456] and in the treatise "Lux Orientalis, or an Enquiry Into the Opinion of the Eastern Sages, Concerning the Preexistence of Souls…" [43], Edmund Alice (1636–1708), and John Norris (1657–1712) supported More's doctrines about the preexistence of souls and spirits as a necessary binding force of nature. In the apologetic utopia "Anti-fanatical Religion, and Free Philosophy... Essay VII. The Summe of My Lord Bacon's 'New Atlantis'..." Glanvill shows Origen's theology as part of the official ideology of the state of scholars [44].

John Worthington (1618–1671), who earned a Master's degree at the Jesus College in 1645, a co-author of "Discourses on several texts of Script by Henry More" [45] and an author of the treatise "The doctrines of the resurrection and the reward to come..." [46], and Nathaniel Culverwell (1619–1651) with *An Elegant and Learned Discourse of the Light of Nature* [47] do not complete, but in principle, outline this basic circle of Cambridge Origenists.

In 1660, an Origenistic novel by Nathaniel Ingelo (Ingelo, Nathaniel, 1620/1621–1683), a close friend of Worthington, a teacher at Queens College since 1652, was published in London. The plot of a novel "Bentivoglio and Urania" is based on the topic of the ascent of the soul. Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672) from Trinity College worked on the surviving Greek manuscripts of Origen (which were never completed or published) together with two other Trinity fellows: William Spencer, whose edition of "Contra Celsum" was published in 1658, and Thomas Gale, who participated in publishing "De oratione" (Περὶ εὐχῆς, On Prayer) authored by Origen in 1686.

Further we would like to show the Origenism of Cambridge school as a product not only of the scientific but also of the social revolution in the English Civil War of 1639–1660.

5 "Origenian Platonist Moment"[1] as a Political Platform

We agree that the idea of the "principled apoliticality" of the Cambridge Platonists is easily dispelled by call on the main opponents [49, pp. 1–4; 50, pp. 30–60]. This is experimental inductivism of F. Bacon in science aimed at forced transformation of the nature of things, social determinism of T. Hobbes, the Calvinist concept of absolute predestination in theology, radical religious fanaticism ("enthusiasm"), and mechanistic philosophy.

Cambridge Platonism and Origenism opposed to their theoretical opponents the Platonic speculative method of structuring theories aimed at seeing the harmony of the world; the social and ethical concept of free beings; religious tolerance and breadth of view (latudinarism); the materialistic theology of the "spirit of nature," "plastic nature," and "ethereal bodies"; the aristocratic-royalist political theory of the Platonic state philosophers; and the doctrine of the complex structure of the infernal world as an integral part of a more general theory of metempsychosis. Their positions, according to the fair statement of G.A.J. Rogers [49], "advance towards a political settlement in the troubled and dangerous years of mid-twentieth century England," but only in the next 50 years "were to be absorbed into the more comprehensive case for tolerance that was to be developed by the end of the century" [49, p. 4]. Physically, these ideas were framed as sermons, which "may have been conceived as party propaganda" [49, p. 4]; epistolary polemics about free will and divine predestination with ideological antipodes (e.g., correspondence between Whichcote and Tuckney); treatises by R. Cudworth A *Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality* and *Treatise of Freewill*, etc.; literary socio-utopian projects of an ideal theocratic state ("The Kingdom of Bensalem" in the apology of J. Glanvill) like that of Plato; mythologized descriptions of states and conditions of the highest order (the empire of demons and geniuses by H. More in the "Immortality

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[1] See [48].

of the Soul"; fantastic cosmos in the poems by H. More "Platonic Song of the Soul"); and anti-utopian allegorical descriptions of infernal states, for example, by Henry Hallywell (1640–1703) in his treatise "Melampronoea...," in "Paradise Lost" by J. Milton, going back to the demonology of H. More from his treatise "The Immortality of the soul" [51].

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Historical and Cultural Space of Steppe Eurasia: Concepts and Images of Vitality from Antiquity to Modernity

Liudmila Lbova and Irina Oktyabrskaya

Abstract The research is devoted to the topic of vitality in the formation of artistic expression and ideological systems of the peoples of Eurasia. Relying on the structural-semiotic approach in considering the archaic and traditional cultures of the Eurasian historical and cultural space, the authors proceed from the position of basic syncretism. The main hypothesis of the study is the assertion of the relation between the natural and social spheres of the mythological macrocosm, the figurative expression of which was "natural creativity," combining anthropomorphizing and animalism. The author's analysis focuses on anthropomorphic images created on the basis of modified animal bones (astragalus), which were known in the cultural space of Eurasia from the Paleolithic era to the present. A comparative analysis of archaeological artifacts and myth-ritual traditions of the Turkic-Mongolian peoples of the steppe belt of Eurasia allowed the authors to substantiate a stable vitality concept through the physical dimension of the worldview, where parts of the skeleton (bones) are signs and elements of the micro- and macrocosm in their interrelation. The conducted research not only reveals the foundations of the oldest forms of artistic creativity in the cultural space of Eurasia but also allows us to trace the tendencies of its development in modern times. Based on the results obtained, we can talk about universals and specifics in the interpretation of the vitality of various peoples throughout the historical and cultural development of Eurasia.

Keywords Archaeology · Ethnology · Cultural geography · Turkic-Mongolian world · Cultural traditions · Worldview · Vitality

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1 Introduction

Following the discovery of samples of the oldest art in Europe, and more widely in Eurasia, in the middle of the nineteenth century in the world science, a discourse about the nature of artistic creativity and its place in the developing culture of a *Homo sapiens* was actively unfolding. In the course of long reflections, the researchers concluded that since the Paleolithic era, the theme of vitality has been crucial in the worldview of the human community. And animalism determined the composition and character of images that have remained dominant in the cultural space of Eurasia for thousands of years.

The themes prompted by nature, "natural models," and "natural sculptures" were considered as the basis for the formation of the visual activity that accompanied the development of humanity. The essence of the most ancient pictorial (symbolic) practices consisted of the formation of a coherent mythological picture of the world. Its content was the result of human adaptation to the natural environment; at the same time, the complex interweaving of anthropomorphic and animalistic characteristics in the description of the universe remained practically universal for thousands of years.

In authentic interpretations of the interrelated natural and social spheres of the mythological macrocosm, a lot of attention was paid to the aspects of physicality. As well as with monumental specimens initially appeared in "natural creativity," anthropomorphic images created on the basis of modified animal bones, most often astragalus – short talus bones located in the ankle joint of ungulates, first of all sheep and goats (family Bovidae). As items of the game, art, and magic, modified and unmodified bones (*alchiki*, *assyki*, *babki*) were studied on the materials of archaeological sites of Eurasia in a wide chronological range – from the Paleolithic to the Middle Ages. Dozens of works have been devoted to this subject, which used a wide range of methods – humanitarian and natural-scientific [1–8].

2 Theoretical Framework, Materials, and Research Hypothesis

This work is aimed at the interpretation of ancient, archaic, and traditional art based on a structural-semiotic approach, which allows us to consider individual artifacts of steppe cultures of Eurasia as elements of a coherent syncretic image of the world, built on the principle of unity of anthropomorphizing and animalism.

The arsenal of the author's research consists of methods of reconstruction, typologization, and semantic analysis. The interpretation of the material is based on the extrapolation into antiquity of ethnographic realities (gaming, fortune-telling, magical practices) representing the culture of hunters and pastoralists of northern Eurasia, mainly among Turkic and Mongolian peoples [9–12].

At the heart of the analysis, there are modified animal bones – astragalus, transformed by human imagination and craft skills into a "natural sculpture." The first discoveries of modified bones at the end of the nineteenth–twentieth centuries were dated to the Paleolithic era (Mousterian time, Middle Paleolithic – Madeleine time, Final Paleolithic) (Fig. 1: 1–5). Most majority of items were made of deer bones (Saint-Jean-de-Verges, Lojerie Bass, La Madeleine, Petersfelle). It is known, for example, a work from Anglais-sur-Anglais with an anthropomorphic elaboration – with an image of the vulva (Fig. 1: 3); items from the collections of the Upper Paleolithic Gravett epoch – Prdzhmosti and Pavlov – are astragalus, anthropomorphic image with a sculptural body and round heads [2, 12, 13] (Fig. 1: 5).

The examination of a series of materials from the Iberian Peninsula during the transition from the Neolithic to the Eneolithic allows us to speak about the already developed tradition of anthropomorphizing of animal bones using the technique of engraving, coloring, and volumetric modeling – arbitrary images of the face, hands, and clothes were made on the astragalus (Fig. 1: 6). Meanwhile, researchers believe that the style of Iberian samples is originated from the Paleolithic.

The evidence of the emergence of new ideological and artistic traditions in the late Neolithic of Chatal-Guyuk lies in the numerous finds indicating the formation of a culture associated with the domestication of cattle. One of the dominant
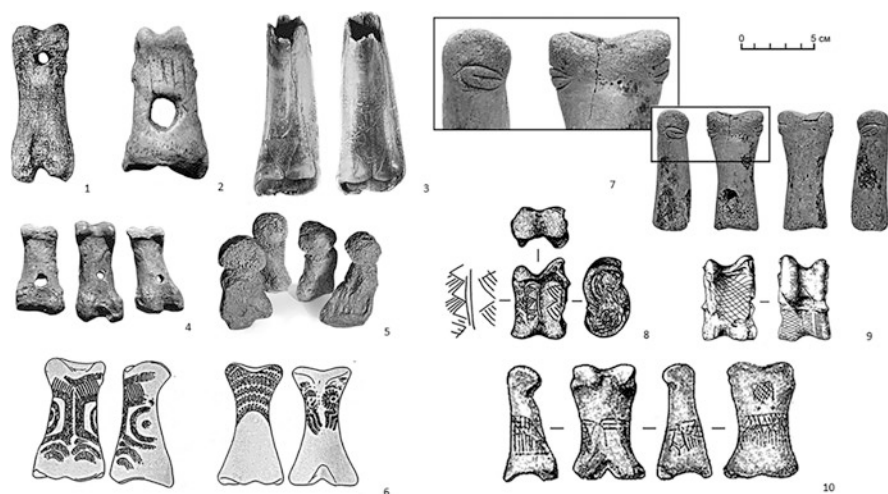

Fig. 1 Modified phalanxes of animals (Stone Age, Bronze Age–Middle Ages)1 – La Quina, France (Mousterian, Middle Paleolithic); 2 – an artifact found on the border of Italy and France (Neolithic -?); 3 – Anglet-sur-Anglet, France (Upper Paleolithic); 4 – Tarthe Hute Geronne, France (Moustier – Aurignac, transition from the Middle to Upper Paleolithic); 5 – Pavlov, Prjmosti, Czech Republic (Eastern Gravettian, Upper Paleolithic); 6 – Sepulture 7, Los Millares, Gador, Almeria, Spain, and Engraving. Sepultura 19, Hoya de los Castellones, Gorafe, Grenada, Spain (Eneolithic era, partly painted, partly engraved) [13]; 7 – Chatal Huyuk, Turkey (Neolithic) [15]; 8 – Olair, South Ural, (Bronze Age) [12]; 9 – Kucherlinskoe sanctuary, Gorny Altai, Russia (Bronze Age–Middle Ages) [20]; 10 – Novo-Andreevskoe settlement, Primorye, Russia (Mohe culture, Middle Ages) [12]

symbols of the ritual practices of these cultures was the customized image of a bull – bucranium (Greek βουκράνιον – "bull's skull"). Cattle astragalus were widespread in Chatal-Guyuk, which turned into anthropomorphic models with engraved eyes (Fig. 1: 7) [14, 15].

It is well known that in the Neolithic–Bronze Age era, the artificial copies of natural forms of animal bones appear. For instance, a ceramic astragalus was found in the parking lot of Tyr I, in the North Balkan region. A stone astragalus dating from the Bronze Age from Gonur Depe in Turkmenistan is known too [2]. Cases of copying (from clay, bronze, glass, and marble) have been recorded throughout Eurasia and for various historical periods – in Ancient Greece and Rome, among the Eurasian nomads of the Middle Ages, and in modern Mongolia [1, 2, 8, 16–18]. Researchers consider such artifacts to be proof of the existence in the era of transition from the Stone Age to the Metal Age of ancient rituals – games that allowed reallocating the share and luck, power, and authority [19].

In the Eurasian steppes, according to archaeology, modified bones became a mass material in the Bronze Age and remained widely in demand in ritual practices until modern times. Metal age astragalus (Bronze and Iron Age) composed a statistically significant category of finds in burial, settlement, and sacred complexes of Siberia and South Ural. The materials of the stratified Kuylu-sanctuary (Kucherla-1) on the territory of the Altai Mountains are known. The collection includes the bones of ungulates – a total of 177 items, 35 of them are ornamented (Fig. 1: 9) [20].

The finds of astragalus in the Tashtyk crypts in Khakassia (Iron Age, II BC–V century AD) are widely known, among which items with engravings stand out: images of rhombuses, crosses, circles, schematic figures of birds, trees, and stamps. There are signs resembling those presented on the groats of horses in the Tashtyk compositions of petroglyphs [21–23].

Researchers consider that in the cultures of pastoralists of Eurasia, the astragalus of hoofed animals were tools for calculating wealth, signs and protective amulets of property, attributes of games, and sacred practices. The ideas associated with them were stable in time [12, 20, 24]. Based on the materials of the Turkic peoples of the Sayan-Altai district, this topic was considered in the work "The traditional worldview of the Turks of Southern Siberia. Man, and society" [9]. The anatomical code in the folklore and language worldview of the Yakut was recreated by L.L. Gabysheva [10]. Information about the anthropo- and zoomorphic model of the world was summarized in the work of M.M. Sodnompilova and B.Z. Nanzatov. They are devoted to the ideas about the bones of the Mongolian peoples of Inner Asia [11]. The basis of the author's concept became the idea of isomorphism of the micro- and macrocosm in the worldview of archaic and traditional societies [12].

The diachronic analysis carried out within the framework of the study allows us to claim that in the archaeological and ethnic cultures of steppe Eurasia for thousands of years, astragalus correlated with the idea of vital forces – vitality – as a kind of essence uniting the world of people and animals. According to numerous studies, bones and especially joints in mythological pictures of the world were associated with ideas about the integrity and mobility of the body (human or animal) as the most important manifestations and properties of life. The practice of saving

bones as a condition for the reproduction of life was universally known in the communities of hunters, shepherds, and pastoralists of Eurasia.

Perhaps the discovery of more than 200 astragalus at the medieval tomb of Akchy I on the Irtysh outside the fence of the mound belonged to this tradition [25]. Already in ancient times, astragalus could be used as calculable sets marking wealth and status, used in gaming, fortune-telling, and magical practices [26].

In the traditional consciousness of the nomadic pastoralists of Eurasia, a bone was perceived as the provenance and source of life. In Kyrgyz traditional medicine, for example, a fetal development stop was explained by the fact that the "embryo bone" turned out to be "drowned." In the Tuvanian rite of burial of the afterbirth (baby's twin), a piece of lamb meat and an astragalus were placed with it; together they were buried under the bed of the woman who gave birth, symbolically duplicating the process of creation of the child [9: 66]. Altaians believed that the child received blood-muscles (flesh) from the mother and bones-support (skeleton) from the father; for the paternal family, the concept of *söök*/"bone" was fixed.

Among the Mongols, paternal kinship was also understood as relationship based on bone, and on the maternal side, as kinship by blood (liver). It was believed that a person (any living creature) has a "soul of meat" and a "soul of bone." The process of childbirth was stated as the expression *yas hagatsach*/"separation of bones" [27–29]. The vision of the involvement of the bone (astragalus) in procreation formed the sacred symbolism in the Turkic communities. For example, the image of the goddess Umai – the patroness of life, among other things – meant silk, tinsel threads with buttons, and cowry shells tied to them and a bunch of mutton astragalus, representing fertility and protection. Taking the astragalus as the center of life, with their help the archaic/traditional consciousness marked the idea of the life term [9: 67; 30].

In the Turkic-Mongolian world, the anthropomorphic model, concisely reduced to the backbone, was also of the extreme importance in the regulating society: in the Khakass language, for instance, cousins were designated by the term *habyrga tugan* (lit. "rib relatives"); in Buryat, the word *ue* ("joint") meant a generation; the term *ueelen* was derived from it and named cousins and sisters on the father's side. In the wedding cycle of the Mongol-speaking Urats of Inner Mongolia of the PRC, a "feast of knee joints" was allocated, to which the groom's relatives were invited. In the Mongolian environment, the genus was represented as an articulation of bones-generations [11: 209–210]

With a high probability, astragalus bones marking the ancestral integrity were widely represented in the burials of nomadic pastoralists of various eras. Decorated with stamp (*tamga*) symbols denoting belonging to the tribal community, they were fractals of the "ancestral body" (excavation by L. Kyzlasov, E. Vadetskaya, D. Savinov, E. Ivliev) (Fig. 1: 8–10) [5, 12, 20–22]. The tradition of marking significant cultural sites with generic signs, which is known since the Tashtyk era in Khakassia, has maintained its importance for centuries up to the present.

The presentation and description of tribal communities in the categories of bodily integrity among the peoples of Siberia was clearly manifested in shamanic practices and sacrificial rituals. For instance, according to the ideas of the Yakuts, during the

establishment of great shamans, their blood relatives died according to the number of main bones – collecting the bones of the genus, the shaman became his incarnation [31: 97].

Dice, capable of influencing fate, had a special value in the view of hunters and pastoralists. The Mongols used to say about them: "among the bones, the talus bone is precious." It was strictly forbidden to throw such bones during migration: they allegedly looked after the owners and cried. According to another version, the abandoned astragalus waited for its owner for three years and could bring illness and misfortune [11: 212–213].

Traditional consciousness personified fortune-telling bones (astragalus). They acted as a kind of fractals fir their owner. According to the concepts of R. Wagner's "fractal personality" or A. Gell's "distributed personality," using various items, people left a part of themselves in them. The material world surrounding a person was a materialization of his qualities and social relationships [32]. Ideas about vitality incarnated in bones/joints originated in ancient times and have remained relevant for thousands of years.

In the optics of fractal projections, which determined the ratio of the micro- and macrocosm, a human being, and genus, bones/joints were the embodiment of vitality, the most important features of which were mobility and integrity of the body. These ideas, presented in many archaic and traditional cultures of Eurasia, obviously universally set the principles of using bones/astragalus as the basis for the image of a person.

The integral movable skeleton and the bones of the skeleton themselves, being the natural basis of the body, were perceived by the traditional consciousness not only as a necessary condition but also as a life guarantee. The state of the backbone was an indicator of the condition and status of a person. Childhood and old age in the mythological tradition were characterized by weakness of bones, maturity by strength, and special abilities (shamanic gift) by their redundancy. In the view of Tuvanians, "bone" served as a metaphorical expression of the virtues of the individual. They called an intelligent man *söök bashtyg* or *bazhy söök* (lit.: "his head is bone") [11: 61].

The stability of ideas about the "bone nature" of man determined the stability of artistic canons, in the logic of a "distributed personality," which turned animal bones into human being likenesses.

In the folklore of the Turkic and Mongolian of Central Asia, the images of heroes, who were distinguished by a strong backbone, were juxtaposed with images of the world. The heroes were born from the mountains and turned into mountains, having completed their earthly journey. In accordance with the tradition of epic cosmism, space and time in the heroic legends had a bodily dimension. In these texts, within the framework of the worldview systems of nomadic pastoralists, the ideas of the "skeleton" of the universe, similar to man or animal, going back to the deep archaic, were preserved. The embodiment of this concept was the sacrifices accompanying the milestone dates of the calendar cycle.

The traditions of ritual feasts of the Kazakhs, which accompanied the most important events of family and ancestral history, were significant in the studied

context. During the preparation of solemn crowded meals, the practice of cutting the horse body was determined by the principle of division into 12 parts – by the joints of the *mushel*. In folk etymology, the term *mushel* came from the word *mushe* – "a share, part." The Kazakhs also referred to the cutting of horse carcass by the term *jiligteu* (from *jilig*, "tubular bone; mosol, joint"). At the same time, the expression on *eki jilig* – "12 joints/*moslo* – was synonymously associated with the expression on *ek musheli zhyl* – as a designation of a 12-year cycle. In the Kazakh tradition, as well as in other Asian cultures, closed 12-year cycles forming a large 60-year circle structured the lifetime of a person and society.

The synonym of the word *mushel* – the term *jilig* since ancient Turkic times – has also been associated with the words *jïl* meaning "year," "period of time" and *jïlqï*, "cattle, mainly horses" [33].

The sacrificed horse in Kazakh ritual practices served as the personification of the dismembered world [34]. In the rituals of the transition of the life and natural-economic cycle (during weddings, funerals, and funeral rituals, at the beginning of nomadism), space and time universally lost their usual structure. This "entropy" was symbolically overcome during the collective meal, which structured society (in time and space) "according to the bones" – based on the 12-private structure of the victim – all participants of the meal, depending on age and status, were assigned their own share: a bone. The traditions of distributing honorary pieces of meat among the guests were strictly observed and are observed now in the rituals and festive feasts of modern Turkic and Mongolian communities of Eurasia, including among the Kazakhs, in all significant occasions [33].

The victim's body, enraged during the ritual meal, being the embodiment of the chrono tope, blurred the line between the micro- and macrocosm and between the natural and the artificial. The bodily dimension of the worldview transformed bones/joints into elements and signs of stability, movement, and life in time and space.

3   Conclusions and Directions for Further Research

Thus, the carried-out analysis allows us to assert that the ideas about joints and bones as the basis of human nature and the existence of the world, having arisen in ancient times, have been maintained for thousands of years in the communities of hunters, shepherds, and nomadic pastoralists of steppe Eurasia. They determined the content of ritual, gaming, fortune-telling, and magical practices.

As the author's research has shown, the "bone" matrix was one of the "corporeal" dimensions of space-time in mythological models of the world, appealing to global syncretism, to the identity of the macro- and microcosm. In the figurative design of such models in the cultural space of Eurasia, ancient and historical peoples (primarily nomadic pastoralists of the Turkic-Mongolian world) used the techniques of anthropomorphism and animalism.

Crucial for understanding the logic of the mythological construction of the universe were its fractals – joints-astragalus, as the embodiment of vitality and

integrity. The serial collections of artifacts and the content of archaeological sites and ethnographic materials are proof of their myth-ritual significance. At the beginning of this row, there is a small plastic of the stone era – modified, decorated animal bones (talus, metatarsal, and phalanges), the shape and style of which, remaining stable for thousands of years, correspond to the initially syncretic mythological and ecological picture of the world, with its features of anthropomorphic and animalistic coding.

The study of the most ancient samples of "natural creativity" not only reveals the basic foundations of artistic creativity in its formation but also allows us to trace the tendencies of its development in later epochs in the historical and cultural space of Eurasia. Based on the results obtained, we can claim about common elements and features in the interpretations and symbolic expression of vitality in various cultures of peoples of steppe Eurasia throughout the historical and cultural development.

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Russian America in the Emerging Global World of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

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Abstract The emergence of Russian colonies in the New World in the middle of the eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries coincided with the progressive process of globalization that swept the world during this period. This process was associated with the development of capitalism in Europe and the United States, the completion of major geographical discoveries, the formation of the world market, and active political, cultural, and scientific interaction between various states and peoples. At the initial stage of the discovery and development of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, the Russians were engaged in the extraction and acquisition of furs, which then went to the domestic Russian market and to China in exchange for tea and other Chinese goods. Thus, the beginning of the retraction of the emerging Russian America into the global economy was laid. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the Russians had dangerous foreign competitors who were actively exploring the Northwest Coast of America, including Alaska. The latter soon turned into a knot of political and economic contradictions between the leading powers and became an integral part of the global world, finally integrated into the world economy as one of the main sources of fur resources. At the same time, thanks to the process of globalization, European, American, Russian, and Chinese goods were widely distributed among the Alaskan natives. In addition, the Russians acted among them as conductors of European culture (Christianity, education) and tried to adapt the local population to agriculture and cattle breeding and to establish medical care of the European type. The globalization of scientific knowledge has led to the fact that knowledge about Alaska, and its geography, population, biology, and geology, became the property of mankind. As a result of the rapid development of capitalism and its triumph on a worldwide scale in the second half of the nineteenth century, the relatively backward Russian Empire was forced to abandon its overseas possessions, which were sold to the United States in 1867, contributing to their transformation into a global leader by the end of the nineteenth century.

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1 Introduction

Russian America is commonly called the former colonies of Russia in the New World, which began to form in the second half of the eighteenth century and in 1867 were sold to the United States and are now known as the state of Alaska. Russian America also includes the Commander Islands, a small enclave in California – Fort Ross (1812–1841) – and sometimes the Kuril Islands, since from 1799 they were under the authority of the monopolistic Russian-American Company (RAK), to which the tsarist government transferred its authority to manage overseas territories.

The formation of Russian America coincided with the progressive process of globalization that swept the world in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This process was associated with the completion of major geographical discoveries, the formation of the world market, and active political, cultural, and scientific interaction of various states and peoples. The economic basis of globalization was capitalism, which was rapidly developing in Western Europe and the United States during this period; it found external manifestation in rapidly expanding international trade and the growth of specialization in the production of goods and natural products [1, 2].

Russia belatedly began to get involved in the process of globalization. Back in the seventeenth century, the country supplied mainly Siberian furs to the emerging world market [3] and was virtually closed to foreigners. "All the ways out of the country are closed in such a way that it is impossible to leave it without the permission of the emperor …," wrote the French captain Jacques Margeret at the beginning of the seventeenth century and added: "... for Russia is not a free country where you can go to learn the language and find out about this and that, and then leave; since, in addition to the fact that it is inaccessible, as we have already mentioned, all things there are so secret that it is very difficult to find out the truth about what I have not seen with my own eyes" [4].

Only at the beginning of the eighteenth century did Russia become part of the great European powers, thanks to the military victories of Tsar Peter I and the fundamental modernization of the country carried out by him on the European model. It was he who in 1724 organized the First Kamchatka Expedition led by the Dane Vitus Bering, who was in Russian service. This was designed to resolve the issue of the existence of a strait between Asia and America, as well as to reach European possessions in the New World [5]. However, Bering did not properly fulfill the tasks assigned to him, and therefore the tsarist authorities again sent him, along with his assistant Captain Aleksei Chirikov, to the Pacific Ocean at the head of the Second Kamchatka Expedition. This expedition discovered in 1741 the coasts and islands of Southeastern and Southern Alaska, as well as the chain of the Aleutian and Commander Islands, thus marking the beginning of the Russian colonization of America [6].

2   Methods and Materials

In preparation of this article, such standard theoretical research methods as induction and deduction, analysis and synthesis, a systematic approach, a method of social modeling, and a comparative typological and comparative analytical method were used. In addition to theoretical methods, practical methods such as the analysis of printed and electronic sources of information were widely used in the writing of this article.

The research materials are represented by actual historical data and sources (e.g., official documents, written statements and orders of several statesmen, and eyewitness accounts) on the stages of Russian advancement in the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, as well as on relationships with foreigners and natives in this vast region. In addition, to study the process of drawing Russian colonies in Alaska into globalization processes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the historical literature of Russian and foreign authors was extensively used.

3   The First Stage of Russian Penetration into the New World and the Beginning of International Rivalry in the Pacific North

The Kamchatka expeditions organized by the tsarist government were aimed at exploring the extreme eastern outskirts of the empire, annexing new territories if possible, and exploring their potential resources in the interests of the state. During this period, the Pacific North was a huge blank spot on geographical maps, and the Russians had no competitors for several decades in exploring this vast region, which had not yet been affected by globalization. However, at first, the Russians, like the Spaniards in their time, tried to keep secret their discoveries made in the Western Hemisphere. However, after the completion of the Second Kamchatka Expedition (1743), official St. Petersburg generally refused for a couple of decades any participation in the development of the Pacific Ocean. The negative reaction of the country's leadership is explained, obviously, by the huge costs of conducting geographical surveys. Just for the organization and provision of the Second Kamchatka Expedition, the treasury had spent since 1733 the gigantic sum of 360,659 rubles [5]. The government could not satisfy fragmentary information about islands and lands discovered in the New World that had not been properly studied. The expedition participants failed to find mineral deposits there or to bring the population of newly discovered territories into Russian citizenship. The negative results of the expedition should also include the death and loss of several dozen sailors, including Bering, the wreck of his ship, and the loss of a large amount of the government property with him. As a result, the tsarist government lost interest in research in the Pacific Ocean, transferring the initiative in this matter into the hands of Siberian merchants.

For their part, merchants, Cossacks, and promyshlenniki (fur hunters) in Kamchatka and Siberia enthusiastically received information about the fur wealth of the lands discovered by the Second Kamchatka Expedition. After 1743 they organized several dozen hunting expeditions to the Commander Islands, and then to the Aleutian Islands. Sea otter fur was considered the most valuable, and it went to the domestic Russian market and to China in exchange for tea and other Chinese goods [7]. Thus, the beginning of the involvement of the emerging Russian America in the global economy was laid.

For about 40 years, the Russians developed the Commander and Aleutian Islands, extracting sea otters, foxes, Arctic foxes, and fur seals there. They also exchanged furs from local Aleuts, at the same time subjugating them and forcing them to pay *yasak* (tribute of furs) to the royal treasury. In 1766 the six Aleutian Islands closest to Kamchatka were officially annexed to the Russian Empire by decree of Empress Catherine II [8]. In 1784 the prominent Russian merchant Grigory Shelikhov founded the first permanent settlement in America on the large Kodiak Island off the coast of Southern Alaska, thereby laying a solid foundation for the Russian colonization of the region. The enterprising businessman hatched plans for broad colonial expansion as far as California, where the Spaniards had settled by this time [9].

Naturally, Spain was concerned about the Russian advance to the shores of Northwestern America since it considered these territories its future possessions. About a dozen sea expeditions (1774–1796) were sent there from Mexico and Spain to explore, and about half of them reached Southeastern and Southern Alaska. The participants of two expeditions under the command of Esteban José Martínez (1788) and Salvador Fidalgo (1790) came into direct contact with Russian promyshlenniki who by this time had settled on Kodiak Island, the Kenai Peninsula, and the Aleutian Island of Unalaska [10, 11]. At the same time, official Madrid during this period was very belligerent about the Russians in America. The secret instruction of King Carlos III of Spain to the Supreme State Council, dated July 8, 1787, stated: "In connection with Russia's ambitious plans in the South Sea (Pacific Ocean. – *A.G.*) and on the continent of our America, which has been discussed in another section (of this instruction. – *A.G.*), special vigilance is necessary, and care should be taken that there is not a single place left in the northern part of our possessions that has not been explored by the viceroys of New Spain who might expel the Russians from wherever they find their settlements" [12].

The clash in Northwestern America of the interests of two empires – the Spanish and the Russian – marked the beginning of the global confrontation in this region of the leading maritime powers. Moreover, the rivalry between the Spaniards and the Russians was soon joined by the British, who rushed to this region after the third expedition of the famed captain James Cook. His ships passed from Nootka Bay on Vancouver Island in 1778–1779, along the Northwest Coast, and visited Prince William Sound and Cook Inlet in Alaska. They also visited Unalaska Island, where meetings of the English sailors took place with Russian promyshlenniki. In addition, the British studied part of the western coast of Alaska and twice passed into the Arctic Ocean through the Bering Strait, trying to discover the Northwest Passage from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic [13].

Cook's expedition seriously alarmed the Spaniards and on October 18, 1776, the Spanish King Carlos III ordered the arrest of the British captain and his men at the first opportunity. To secure the central part of the Northwest Coast, the Spaniards founded a fortress in Nootka Sound (1789–1795) and confiscated three ships of British traders who came there. However, after strong military and diplomatic pressure from London, the Spaniards were forced to leave the fortress and abandon their ambitious plans [14]. During this period, the Spanish Empire began to decline rapidly, so by the mid-1790s, it actually withdrew from the "big game" for dominance on the Northwest Coast of North America.

Another power claiming a global presence, France, tried to intervene in the political struggle for this region. In 1786, an expedition of the famous French navigator Jean François de Galaup, comte de La Pérouse, visited the coast of Southeastern Alaska. He named Lituya Bay, where the ships of his expedition anchored, "The Harbor of the French." He even bought a small island from the local Tlingit Indians, making an unequivocal application for colonial acquisitions in Northwestern America [15]. However, the French did not stay long in Alaska and, after bartering with the Tlingit and the loss of two boats in whirlpools (21 sailors died), they went south to California, where Spanish settlements and missions were located at that time. Later, until the beginning of the nineteenth century, the French appeared only a couple of times in the Pacific North. These were the three-masted merchant ships *La Solide* (Captain Etienne Marchand de la Ciotat) and *La Flavie* (Captain Marie Magon de la Villeaumont), which in 1791 and 1792 traded with the Indians of Southeastern Alaska [16]. New French expeditions to this area were hindered by political instability in France after the revolution of 1789, periodic conflicts with the "Mistress of the Seas" Great Britain, and a series of Napoleonic wars that did not end until 1815.

Meanwhile, Alaska was turning into a part of the global world, as evidenced by the appearance of the Swedish privateer near the Aleutian Islands in 1789. The fact is that at the beginning of the next Russian-Swedish War (1788–1790), the captain of the 16-gun brig *Mercury*, Englishman John Henry Cox, offered his services to Sweden, promising to destroy Russian settlements on the shores of America and Asia. After receiving a royal patent, the rank of captain of second rank, and renaming his ship in honor of the Swedish king Gustav III, Cox went to the Pacific Ocean. Having crossed half of the globe, he approached the island of Unalaska, at the end of October 1789, where there were several artels of Russian promyshlenniki who acquired furs there. They knew nothing about the war that had broken out in Europe, and they were in safe contact with Cox and his team. The Englishman, contrary to the promises given to the Swedes, did not take any hostile actions against the Russians and treated them quite courteously, after which he went south to the shores of China [17].

Even before the arrival of the Swedish privateer, the Russians were alarmed by the frequent visits of foreign ships to the shores of Alaska, the Aleutian Islands, Kamchatka, and Chukotka. These visible signs of globalization did not please the Russians at all, as it meant the emergence of new dangerous rivals in the political and economic sphere, who claimed Pacific islands and lands as well as Alaskan furs.

The Russians could only compete successfully with the Spaniards, but they had little chance of success with the British as England turned into a "workshop of the world." Like the Spaniards, the Russians were particularly alarmed by Captain Cook's visit to the Pacific North, because the government set him the task of securing the newly discovered lands for the British crown. It was urgently necessary to confirm the priority of Russian discoveries in this region: already in 1780, feverish work began in the Admiralty Board and the Academy of Sciences to compile geographical maps that would reflect the results of the expeditions of Russian sailors [18, 19]. In addition, one of the participants of Captain Cook's voyage, Midshipman Joseph Billings, was invited to the Russian service and appointed head of a new government expedition to the Pacific Ocean (1785–1795). Its main goal was a detailed study and formal consolidation of Chukotka for Russia. The second most important task was the study of Southern Alaska up to Cape St. Elias, discovered by Bering in 1741. At the same time, Billings was instructed to "try to assign the Russian scepter" to the local population, if it was not yet subject to any European power. Finally, he was also recommended, if the occasion occurred, to describe the Kuril Islands as far as the coasts of Japan, China, and Korea [5, 20]. In parallel with the Billings Expedition, a project was being developed in the depths of the tsarist government to equip a large-scale expedition of the Russian Navy from Kronstadt to the Pacific Ocean led by Captain first rank Grigory Mulovskii. However, the outbreak of the Russian-Turkish War (1787–1791), and then the Russian-Swedish War, forced the cancellation of this expedition (Mulovskii himself died in a naval battle with the Swedes in 1789) [21]. As before, the problems of European politics pushed aside for Russia the question of colonial growth in America. During these years, Empress Catherine II herself abruptly changed her mind about expansion in the New World, refusing from 1788 any new territorial acquisitions of the empire in this remote region [9].

During this period, the economic rivalry between the Russians and the British on the northern part of the Northwest Coast began to come to the fore. English entrepreneurs, having learned from the participants of Cook's expedition of the fur wealth of this region, began to equip ships for trade with local Indians. The furs purchased from them were then sold at great profit in the seaports of China. True, the British sea merchants had to act with an eye to the powerful monopolies – the East India Company and the South Sea Company – which took over the trade in the Pacific Ocean with the countries of the East. English skippers had to purchase licenses from these monopolies, and they were expensive and allowed only the sale of American furs in China, but they did not allow the import of Chinese goods (such as tea, porcelain, and silk) to the metropolis. Even the powerful Hudson's Bay Company, which was engaged in the fur trade in Canada, was unable to eliminate this double license blockade [22]. Therefore, English sea merchants sometimes tried to operate under a false flag. So, in 1788 the ship *Iphigenia Nubiana* went to the Northwest Coast to buy furs under the Portuguese flag, under the formal command of the Portuguese Francisco José Viana, although in reality the ship was operated by the British skipper William Douglas, and the ship itself belonged to the English company John Meares from Calcutta, who himself had previously led a

similar expedition that visited the Aleutian Islands and off the coast of Alaska on the brig *Nootka* [23].

The difficulties of the British in the fur business were taken advantage of by representatives of the United States, who were not bound by any monopoly restrictions. Already during the first circumnavigation of the Americans (1787–1790) on two ships – *Columbia Rediviva* and *Lady Washington* – they actively traded with the Indians of the Northwest Coast. The furs purchased from the Indians were exchanged with great profit in the Chinese port of Macau (Macao) for Chinese goods, which were then delivered for sale to Boston [24]. This was the beginning of regular round-the-world sea expeditions of Americans to the Northwest Coast (including Alaska) and further involvement of this region in the global economy [25].

The Americans, vigorously competing with the British, had almost completely ousted them from the fur business on the Northwest Coast of America by the end of the 1790s. The Russians had even fewer opportunities than the British to gain the upper hand in open trade rivalry with the citizens of the United States, where, unlike Russia, capitalism was booming and free trade flourished at that time. As a result, the Russians had to rely on the exploitation of the dependent natives of Russian America – the Aleuts and the southern Eskimos – who obtained sea otter furs for them as part of kayak hunting parties. They were strictly forbidden to trade furs with Americans and other foreigners [26]. Therefore, the Americans avoided appearing near the Aleutian Islands and the mainland coast north of Yakutat Bay, where a new Russian colony was founded in 1796. Instead, they preferred to trade with the independent Tlingit Indians living to the south and other tribes of the Northwest Coast. At the same time, the Americans – unlike the Spaniards, the British, or the French – did not seek to claim coastal territories for the United States, preferring to engage in private business without any political ambitions.

4 Alaska Under the Control of the Russian-American Company and the Process of Globalization in the Nineteenth Century

The growth of international competition in the northwest of America, as a consequence of globalization, became one of the reasons for the formation of a monopolistic Russian-American Company (RAC) from a conglomerate of trade associations, to which the tsarist government entrusted the management of its overseas possessions in 1799. During this period, the Russians considered the British to be their main geopolitical rival on the Northwest Coast of America. In practice, they almost disappeared from this area, unable to withstand competition with sea merchants from the United States. The latter, in the struggle for fur resources, contributed to the action against the Russians by the Tlingit Indians in 1802, having previously well-supplied them with firearms. With the assistance of American sailors, the Indians were able to capture an unfinished Russian fortress on the island of Sitka (Baranof) and defeat a large kayak flotilla owned by the RAC [26, 27].

Anew the Russians were able to gain a foothold on the island of Sitka only in 1804 with the support of the military sloop *Neva*, which entered Russian America during the first Russian round-the-world expedition (1803–1806). Novo-Arkhangelsk, the future capital of Russian America, was founded on the island. Local Tlingit, after a battle with the Russians, were forced to leave their fortress and flee to the opposite side of the island. However, the chief ruler of the Russian colonies, Alexander Baranov, lacked the necessary funds, people, ships, experienced captains, materials, and supplies to settle farther south on the Northwest Coast.

Supply of the colonies from Russia at that time was infrequent and irregular, and therefore Baranov had to buy many goods, food, and even ships from his direct competitors – American sea merchants. At the same time, he could not count on substantial assistance from the metropolis: Russia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries waged continuous wars (with France, Turkey, Persia, England, and Sweden) that absorbed almost all of its resources [26]. Naturally, this had a negative impact on the development of the Russian colonies in the New World, located at that time in the Aleutian Islands and Southern Alaska.

Given the difficult international situation in Europe, the tsarist government in the early nineteenth century suppressed the expansionist aspirations of the leadership of the RAC, not wanting additional complications in America. This was explicitly stated in the instructions of the Minister of Commerce Count Nikolai Rumyantsev to the unofficial head of the company, Chamberlain Nikolai Rezanov, dated July 10, 1803, before his departure to the Russian colonies on the ships of the first Russian circumnavigation expedition:

> In the discussion of the accessories of the Russian Empire, you have the mark of the last discovery, made in 1741 by Captain Chirikov, meaning the 55th degree of north latitude. Give the ruler of [Russian] America an order so that no one from the Russians extends beyond this place to the limits occupied by other maritime powers. Inspire them that this should be all the more sacredly observed, that through it all kinds of troubles will be removed forever from the allied maritime powers and that the company, confining itself to acquisitions that indisputably belong to Russia … the more hastily it will achieve proper respect for itself and universal power of attorney [28].

Meanwhile, time was rapidly running out and the Russians missed the opportunity to capture the entire Northwest Coast up to California without serious opposition, while there were no permanent settlements of Europeans or US citizens in this area. But in 1811, the Americans built Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River, finally burying the hopes of the RAC leadership to capture this strategically important section of the American coast. A new fortified settlement on the California coast – Fort Ross (80 km northwest of modern San Francisco) – founded the next year the company's employees, but did not bring significant success. The development of agriculture there was hampered by a lack of workers and an inconvenient location. In addition, the Spanish and then Mexican authorities made serious efforts to remove Fort Ross from the territory they considered their own, but the Russians rejected their protests [27].

As for Alaska, in its southeastern part in the area of the Alexander Archipelago, populated by militant Tlingit, the Russians had to constantly face competition from

American fur traders. The complaints of the leadership of the RAC on the smuggling trade of American entrepreneurs eventually was successful. In 1821 the company managed to lobby the tsarist government not only to extend its monopolistic privileges for another 20 years but also to achieve the adoption of a royal decree prohibiting foreign skippers from approaching the shores of Russian possessions closer than 100 Italian miles (1 Italian mile = 0.925 English miles) under the threat of confiscation of their ships together with the cargo. In addition, in the tsarist decree, the border of Russian possessions was arbitrarily shifted on the Northwest Coast to the south to 51° N, where there had never been Russian settlements. Naturally, such unilateral steps by Russia provoked a stormy protest from American and British diplomats. Subsequent negotiations ended with the signing of two conventions on the boundaries and freedom of navigation in Northwestern America, concluded by Russia with the United States (1824) and Great Britain (1825) [8]. The conventions finally determined the eastern borders of Russian America with neighboring British Canada and ensured freedom of trade for American maritime merchants in its territorial waters for a period of 10 years. As a result, the attempt of the leadership of the RAC and the tsarist government to pursue a policy of autarky in relation to the Russian colonies and thereby limit the globalization processes failed. It was not possible to establish supply to Russian America through regular shipments of sea transport from the Baltic. Therefore, the Russians themselves again had to purchase a significant part of the goods and food from American merchants, and later from chartered English ships, and also to deliver products and goods from California to the colonies on RAC ships [22].

It was thanks to the mediation of American sea traders during this period that a significant part of Alaskan furs went to the international market, mainly to China, where the Russians traditionally carried out similar deliveries through the border town of Kyakhta in southern Siberia. From the 1830s, American sea traders were replaced by foreign whalers (also mainly from the United States) and the British from the Hudson's Bay Company, who during this period moved their trading posts to the borders of Russian America and from 1840 rented part of the mainland coast of Southeastern Alaska from them to buy furs from local Tlingit [29]. Thus, as before, Alaska (along with Canada and Siberia) was integrated into the global economic system as one of the main suppliers of furs.

On the other hand, thanks to the process of globalization, European, American, Russian, and Chinese goods became widespread among the Alaskan natives [30]. In addition to transformations in material culture under the influence of globalization, there were parallel changes in the spiritual life of non-European peoples. Thus, the Russians contributed to the spread of Christianity in its Orthodox form among the natives of Alaska, changing the psychology and habits of the local population, trying to accustom them to agriculture and cattle breeding (e.g., the Tlingit Indians learned from the Russians to grow potatoes and turnips). Thanks to Russian colonization, literacy among the dependent population of the colonies (primarily the Aleut) grew, and European-type medical care began to develop. True, the efforts of Russian doctors were not enough to prevent a large-scale smallpox epidemic that swept the native population of Russian America and neighboring Canada from 1835

to 1840, from which some native communities lost up to 50% of their population. In this case, the epidemic was an indirect negative consequence of globalization: according to one version, the disease was brought to Russian America by Euro-American sea merchants who brought smallpox on their ships from California or British possessions. According to another, it reached Novo-Arkhangel'sk on a ship that delivered a low-quality anti-inflammatory vaccine from St. Petersburg and Siberia to the colonies [31, 32].

Another negative consequence of globalization was the transformation of major military conflicts from local to global, which covered the lands and seas of a significant part of the globe. One of the first such conflicts was the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), which was fought in Europe, Asia, and America, and on the vast Atlantic and Indian oceans. In the middle of the nineteenth century, a similar conflict was the Eastern or Crimean War (1853–1856), during which military operations were conducted on the shores of the Black, Baltic, and White seas, and the Pacific Ocean. Fortunately, this war did not affect Russian America: on the eve of the conflict with Great Britain and France, which took the side of Turkey against Russia in 1854, the RAC leadership managed to conclude a neutrality pact with the British Hudson's Bay Company, which ensured the inviolability of Russian possessions in the New World. Although the Allied squadron approached Novo-Arkhangel'sk in the summer of 1855, it did not take any hostile actions [32].

The only episode in the Bering Sea that washed Russian America was a scene of hostilities that took place in 1865. The Confederate raider *Shenandoah*, built in Glasgow, Scotland, during the American Civil War (1861–1865), crossed from the Atlantic through the Indian Ocean to the Pacific North and captured 22 US whaling ships there – the overwhelming part of them burned [33]. The fact is that from the 1840s, American whalers had launched unrestrained predatory hunting of marine mammals in this area. Whale oil, whiskers, and spermaceti were in great demand in Europe and America, where they were used as a source of oil for such purposes as lighting and heating, cooking soap, and making paints. In the middle of the nineteenth century, whaling turned into another branch of the global economy. At the same time, it had negative consequences: the Pacific whale population was ruthlessly decimated, and whalers often landed on the shores of Russian America, cut down forests, rendered fat, and conducted illegal trade with local residents, undermining the welfare of the RAC. All the company's attempts to somehow limit the excesses of whalers and complaints to the tsarist government had almost no real results: the Russian Foreign Ministry fundamentally did not want to have additional international complications due to the hunting interests of a formally private company [32].

It must be said that the mass destruction of whales in the Pacific North was the same consequence of globalization as earlier fur production in Russian America, when the main populations of sea otters, Arctic foxes, river beavers, fur seals, walruses, and whales were mercilessly killed [34]. However, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Russians had been practicing the so-called *zapuski* system, i.e., a ban on the extraction of fur-bearing animals in certain territories for several years. Nevertheless, at the initial stage of Russian colonization, the victim of the

promyshlenniki was the Commander Islands' ubiquitous sea (Steller's) cow, completely exterminated by them by the beginning of the 1770s [35]. In general, globalization had a rather serious negative impact on the ecology of Russian America.

On the other hand, globalization also had a positive aspect. Thanks to sea and land expeditions, knowledge about Alaska and its geography, population, biology, and geology became the property of mankind, which again was associated with the globalization of scientific knowledge in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The expeditions of Cook, La Perouse, and Russian round-the-world travelers on military ships in the first third of the nineteenth century were usually accompanied by naturalists and artists, who, for their part, contributed to the development of world science. Diaries and travel notes of participants of round-the-world expeditions were often translated into other European languages, which contributed to the acquaintance of a broad readership with Russian America [36].

And yet the basis of globalization was not science but rather the development of the world economy. In this regard, the situation of the Russian colonies tended to gradually deteriorate by the mid-1840s. In 1841 the Russians had to sell Fort Ross and leave California: the sea otter on its shores had long been exterminated, and agriculture faced certain difficulties [27]. The traditional fur trade – the basis of the economy of the Russian colonies – began to bring in less and less income due to the Taiping Rebellion in China (1850–1864), and the transition to gold and silver in settlements with the Chinese after 1855 caused the RAC trade in Kyakhta to drop significantly [37]. The RAC's attempts to reorient itself from the Chinese fur market to the American and British ones were not always successful due to fluctuations in demand and the poor quality of processing animal skins. The RAC's efforts to expand the nomenclature of the colonies' exports at the expense of timber, fish, and coal were generally unsuccessful. Only the supply of Alaskan ice to San Francisco from the 1850s brought the company a good income [32]. Even more important were the additional benefits provided by the tsarist government, including the right to export Chinese tea (since 1851) from Shanghai to St. Petersburg. This allowed the company to have a positive financial balance throughout the 1850s [38].

In the early 1860s, the economic situation of the RAC began to deteriorate rapidly as a result of a combination of a number of unfavorable factors. According to the government committee specially created to review the company's activities and the situation of the Russian colonies in America, the latter had actually turned into a raw material appendage of the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and China – from where the bulk of goods and part of the food were exported. Only rye flour, corned beef, butter, and some leather goods came from Russia and Siberia, while products from Russian factories provided almost nothing in the trade turnover of the RAC. One of the reasons for this, according to the committee, was the remoteness of the colonies, from which it drew a disappointing conclusion: "Under such conditions, foreign colonial trade can never be grafted onto our trade movement and must, of necessity, remain primarily foreign" [38].

Thus, the government committee fixed the place of Russian America in the global economic system with its orientation not so much toward the Russian market and commodity products but rather toward foreign analogues. Although at that time

capitalism had begun to develop rapidly in Russia itself under the patronage of the government, the monopolistic position of the RAC (and its privileges were extended in 1866 for another 20 years) scared off representatives of the Russian bourgeoisie, which did not show the slightest interest in the colonies in America. In addition, Russian capitalists probably foresaw the impossibility of winning in competition with foreign entrepreneurs, given the higher quality and relative cheapness of Western European and American goods imported by them. Ultimately, globalization, which was rapidly increasing in the second half of the nineteenth century, pronounced a death sentence on Russian America. Conservatism and backwardness of the Russian socioeconomic system were especially pronounced when confronted with the dynamic Anglo-American capitalist colonization of the Pacific North. The natural result was the sale by the tsarist government of Alaska to the United States in 1867.

5   Conclusion

So, the research conducted clearly demonstrates the impact of globalization on the formation and development of Russian America. This influence was manifested primarily in the economic sphere: Russian colonies were drawn into the world market mainly as a supplier of furs. The political side of globalization manifested itself in the form of the rivalry of the leading world powers for dominance in the Pacific North, including Alaska. The attempt of the tsarist government and the RAC in the early 1820s to block the process of economic integration of Russian America into the world economy was not successful. It ended with a political compromise, embodied in the conclusion of conventions with the United States and Great Britain in 1824 and 1825.

At the same time, the political rivalry of the leading world powers stimulated the scientific study of Alaska after the mid-eighteenth century. Participants of various Russian and foreign government expeditions, initially around the world and later organized by the RAC, collected substantial information about the nature and inhabitants of Russian America, which contributed on a global scale to the dissemination of knowledge about this vast region.

Globalization directly or indirectly affected the native population of Russian America. Thanks to the development of international trade, European, American, Russian, and Chinese goods had become widespread among the Aleuts, Eskimos, and Alaskan Indians. In addition, through Russian mediation, elements of European spiritual culture (Christianity, literacy, skills of handicraft production) were spread among them. In addition, the Russians tried to accustom the local population to agriculture and cattle breeding and to introduce European-type medical care. At the same time, globalization also had negative consequences for indigenous people. As a result of imported diseases, alien exploitation, and military operations, they suffered serious demographic damage. No less damage was done to the local fauna due to uncontrolled hunting associated with the extraction of furs, walrus tusks, whale

oil, and whiskers for the needs of the world market. Yet the world market experienced an unprecedented rise after the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, the establishment of sustainable transcontinental trade, and the global triumph of capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century. The relatively backward Russian Empire and its colonies did not keep up with social progress and globalization, forcing Russia to give up its overseas possessions – sold in 1867 to the United States – which indirectly contributed to the latter's transformation into a world leader by the end of the nineteenth century.

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Geography and History of Russian Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century

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Olga Pavlova

Abstract The article is concerned with the history of Russia's foreign trade in the nineteenth century, the geography of Russia's trade relations with Europe, Asia, and America. The origins of foreign trade go back to the formation of the Russian state. The first foreign trade partners were Byzantium and the countries of the East. Throughout the country's history, the level of domestic and foreign trade has reflected the socioeconomic state of the country and its foreign policy position. The article analyzes the political, economic, and foreign policy environment for trade development. Attention is drawn to the impact of international relations promoting or limiting trade business opportunities. The author shows the role of the Russian state in expanding international trade relations. The Russian state, represented by the tsars and emperors, actively regulated trade relations. During the period of strengthening of the centralized state, Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich Romanov (Tsar of Russia from 1645 to 1676) issued the Charter of Trade (1653), a law on the organization of domestic and foreign trade. In 1667, the New Trade Charter appeared in the Tsardom of Russia, which contributed to state control over the quality of goods sold and the organization of domestic and foreign trade. Russia's first emperor, Peter the Great, pursued a policy of mercantilism and protectionism, using the experience of Western Europe, and actively supporting domestic trade. In the eighteenth century, his successors, the emperors of Russia, continued the protectionist policy and formed by their political actions the main directions of Russia's foreign trade that was further developed in the nineteenth century, which is the subject of this article.

Keywords Russia · Trade · State · Policy · Economics · International relations · Europe · Asia · Saint Petersburg

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1 Rationale

In the current context of globalization, on the one hand, and of large-scale sanctions by economic leaders, on the other, it seems important to turn to the geography and history of international relations, to focus on economic cooperation, to study the geography of the formation of international trade relations, and to consider the problems, traditions, and patterns of these processes that took place in the nineteenth century. The experience accumulated in history can become a pillar for the modern development of political and economic contacts between countries and peoples. This is the way to peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation.

2 Introduction

The purpose of the research work is to analyze the history and geography of the Russian Empire's foreign trade in the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the research has been conducted on the stages of Russian trade relations expansion during the period of market relations establishment and development. At that time, the main directions of trade and economic relations between Russia and the countries of the West and the East were formed. The study of economic geography makes it possible to analyze the stages of international cooperation, to identify which region had the greatest impact on the development of economic ties with Russia during that period. The policy of the state is determined and the role of the merchant class contributing to the expansion and development of the geography of Russian international trade. It is obvious that the development of trade and economic relations was influenced by various factors: the domestic policy of the tsarist government, the condition of the merchant class, the economic situation of the state, and, to a large extent, the international situation. Frequent military conflicts in the nineteenth century undermined the stability of foreign trade relations in Europe and Asia. A sequential study of the conditions and stages of development of trade and economic cooperation, in the context of political relations, identification of the main directions of Russia's foreign trade geography, and the position of the leading states that were most actively involved in trade relations with Russia during the specified period are the objectives of the study. Proceeding from the objectives, the following tasks are set:

– To study and analyze the historiography of the chosen issue
– To consider the sequence of the most important events of the nineteenth century related to Russia's foreign trade on the basis of the studied material
– To establish the main directions of the state's foreign trade policy, taking into account the researchers' opinion
– To identify the factors reflected in trade and economic relations, the dependence of foreign policy, and trade and economic relations
– To note the importance of government policy in Russia's foreign trade

3 Methodology

This work used the historical-genetic method, which allowed to consider the events related to the history of trade and economic relations of Russia with world trade partners, their changes in the historical process sequentially. The content of the events is presented on the basis of the descriptive-narrative method. The historical-typological method helped to highlight common and distinctive features in the development of trade relations of Russia with foreign trade representatives. The author also used the chronological method – the events were considered exclusively in chronological order, within the nineteenth century.

4 Historiography

The history and geography of Russian trade have at all times attracted the attention of researchers because of its importance for the internal and external position of the state. The study is based on numerous documents, including decrees of the emperors, government decisions, and the personal recollections of the events' participants. For instance, one can highlight a letter of N.P. Rumyantsev with an estimation of military conflicts' impact on trade [6, p. 446].

The works of historians and economists of the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth centuries are of interest. Among these are the works of I. Kulisher dedicated to the development of the Russian economy, in particular, trade [13]. P.B. Struve's work, published in 1913, is dedicated to the history of Russian trade policy [32]. A theorist of political economy was the famous scholar M.I. Tugan-Baranovsky, who studied the history of the Russian factory, he also gave a description of the development of trade relations not only in Russia, but also, for example, in England [24, 34].

A monograph by S.A. Pokrovsky is dedicated to the history of Russian foreign policy; in an in-depth study, the author examines the stages and conditions of development of foreign trade in tsarist Russia [21]. The monographs of V.N. Yakovtsevsky are dedicated to the study of the formation of the merchant class [39]. The issues of the development of the merchant class are reflected in the work of F.Y. Polyansky [23].

In modern scientific literature, interest in the development of Russian trade remains. Along with works of a general nature, i.e., reflecting the stages of trade development, researchers specify certain problems associated with trade in different historical epochs. Thus, the monograph by E.V. Lobas and M.M. Savchenko is dedicated to the trade and customs policy of the Russian authorities in the early nineteenth century [14]. V.G. Shkunov's research is dedicated to the state-legal regulation of Russia's foreign trade [29].

Much attention of modern researchers is attracted by individual countries and goods with which the Russian merchants dealt. S.V. Bereznitsky's scientific work reflects the influence of the Russian-Chinese caravan trade on the exchange of correspondence between St. Petersburg scientists and the Beijing Jesuits and on the

gathering of museum collections for the Kunstkamera [3]. The analysis of Russia's treaties with Eastern countries during the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries is of interest for the study of trade relations [40]. The widespread trade relations of Russia are evidenced by numerous publications reflecting the geography of Russian trade. These include descriptions of trade relations with Egypt, Central Asian khanates, France, and other states [11, pp. 30–34; 15, pp. 73–76; 28, pp. 48–54].

Studying the history of the tea trade, I.A. Sokolov compiled a reference book on this subject, covering the period of the nineteenth century [31]. The history of the tea trade is described in V.G. Sharonova's essays on the Russian tea trade with China [30].

The problems of the Russian Empire's export classification and statistics of official foreign trade in 1802–1915 are reflected in the paper of T.Yu. Valetov [35].

The history and geography of Russian trade attract the attention of foreign researchers. Their works cover the general development of Russia in various periods of history. The research of Matthew Anderson is dedicated to the study of the eastern borders of Russia in the period 1774–1923. Various historical stages and aspects of the life of Russia are considered; in this context, the authors consider the economic and trade relations of the state [1].

The work of Attman Arthur examines the trade of Russia, its main positions in relation to the world market. The study examines a large historical period from 1500 to 1860, the period from the feudal to the capitalist state [2, pp. 177–202].

The scientific work of Alan Fisher devoted to the complex relations between Russia and Ottoman Turkey is of interest to researchers. Studying and analyzing politics and economics, the author focuses on the disclosure of trade relations between the states [4].

The research of Nancy Kollman focuses on the history of the Russian Empire between 1450 and 1801. Against the background of history, various aspects of the development of the state are considered, including the economy and the state and conditions for the development of foreign trade [9].

The research of Hugo Pipping focuses on Finnish-Russian relations between 1860 and 1917 [18, pp. 51–59]. Finland was part of the Russian Empire. At that time, Finland had gained a significant amount of independence from Alexander II: the Sejm, the constitution, and the native language. There were close, well-established trade and economic relations between the two countries.

The economic development of Tsarist Russia was the subject of numerous works of E.K. Reynolds [25, pp. 249–265].

The interest in the topic of trade history is reflected in numerous scientific studies that address individual trade-related issues. The presented brief analysis of publications gives only an idea of the breadth of the problems associated with trade and the interest in them of the international scientific world.

The foreign trade of Russia, like that of any other state, reflects the country's general economic situation. Its development is actively influenced by the domestic and foreign political situation. The indicator of successful foreign trade is a positive trade balance, i.e., the excess of the value of exports over imports. Minister of Commerce (1801–1810) N.P. Rumyantsev noted: "...trade is an inseparable

companion of peace and abundance; among military militias it will become exhausted in strength" [6, p. 446].

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Tsar Peter I solved the most important political task for Russia – he opened the Baltic Sea to establish ties with European and Scandinavian countries. This achievement of the tsar, and since 1721, of the emperor, was of great importance for the development of trade and economic relations. Since Peter the Great's reign, trade and industry had been under strict government supervision.

Empress Catherine II, who came to power (1762), weakened control, lifted restrictions, and liquidated the very body of control over trade and industry – the Berg and the Manufactory Collegium. She adhered to the principles preached by English and French economists, *laissez faire, laissez passer*. The Empress promoted trade and industry and gave relative freedom to private business. The policy of Catherine II led to the expansion of the commercial and industrial class; at the beginning of the nineteenth century, landowners, peasantry, and monasteries participated in market relations. The products of Russian artisans and manufactories were in demand on international markets.

Alexander I, who headed Russia (1801), created, as one of the first, the Ministry of Finance. From that time on, the ministry received annual reports on Russia's foreign trade. This information was supplemented by materials published in the Journal of Manufactures and Commerce which was created in 1825 to expand information on the state of commerce in Russia and abroad. Despite the measures taken by the government, Russia's share in the world trade turnover was small, amounting to 3.7% at the beginning of the century and 3.6% in the middle of the nineteenth century [37, pp. 327–337].

The emperor made important decisions that determined the development of the merchant class. In 1807, the Tsar issued a manifesto on the establishment of trading companies, which provided for three types of companies: joint-stock companies, trading houses, and trust partnerships (limited partnerships).

The development of foreign trade is greatly influenced by the international environment. Napoleon I Bonaparte, in order to cut off economic ties between Great Britain and the European states subject to France, adopted a number of documents, including the Berlin Decree of 1806 and the Milan Decree of 1807, which were supplemented in 1810. The aim of that policy was to try to deal a serious blow to the economy of England. Minister of Commerce N.P. Rumyantsev wrote in 1806: "From this year, trade routes were already completely determined by military circumstances. The ongoing war, which takes incessant measures to the detriment of trade, naturally constrained its spirit both at sea and on land" [42, pp. 10–11].

After the Peace Treaty of Tilsit (1807), Russia joined the continental blockade, which affected its foreign trade policy. Under these conditions, the Russian government and private entrepreneurs were faced with the task of developing a foreign trade route in a southerly direction, through Odessa, Feodosia, and Taganrog. Hopes of expanding the bread trade in the southeastern direction were associated with the development of this direction. The Russian government's plans included expanding

trade through Siberia with China and establishing transit trade with Central Asia, with access to trade with India.

The geography of Russian trade retained its previous trends in the nineteenth century. Russia traditionally exported to Europe hemp (coarse bast fiber obtained from hemp stalks), which was used to make ropes and cables as well as in the production of valuable grades of paper and textiles. Hemp and tow accounted for up to 40% of Russian exports at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. In 1800, European trade without transit accounted for 84–87% of the total foreign trade turnover, while the Asian direction was significantly inferior and accounted for only 8–10%. Russia's participation in the world trade turnover was quite modest: 3.7% [19, p. 12].

In Russia's European trade, the Baltic Sea was of primary importance. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, trade accounted for 63.6% of all foreign trade in Russia. The Baltic was the main base for trade with Europe (accounting for 88.5% of trade along European borders). The importance of the White Sea gradually declined, especially after the transformations carried out by Peter I and the creation of the largest port – St. Petersburg. The northern capital became the center of international trade, and the largest port was located there. Count N.P. Rumyantsev, Minister of Commerce in 1801–1810, in his report to the emperor State Trade in 1802 in Various Forms, pointed out the following figures characterizing the activities of the St. Petersburg commercial port. In 1802, goods worth 30.696 thousand rubles were exported from the port of St. Petersburg, and 24.737 thousand rubles were brought in. Thus, the measures taken by Empress Catherine II to expand trade turnover had a positive effect. The turnover of St. Petersburg port by the beginning of the century increased by 30%, that is, from 34 to 44 million silver rubles [43, p. 53].

In terms of the value of goods brought to St. Petersburg, the following products were in the first place: sugar, grape wines, coffee, fruits, spices, rice, vinegar, tea, etc. Among the export goods, canvas, linen kolomyanka (dense, smooth fabric), tablecloths, napkins, natural soft leather, ropes, and candles were of particular value.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the policy of the Russian government in relation to trade has changed; there was a transition from a strictly prohibitive customs system to a moderately protective one. This was facilitated by the customs tariffs adopted by the government in 1851 and 1857. St. Petersburg, as the largest international port, has been favorably affected by these changes. From 1851 to 1856, trade turnover in St. Petersburg increased by 6.7% in exports of goods and by 50.6% in imports, despite the fact that the Crimean War of 1853–1856 significantly hampered the exchange of goods between Russia and Europe. Nevertheless, for St. Petersburg, as well as for the whole of Russia, England remained the main trading partner. Only through the port of St. Petersburg, English merchants exported in 1853 goods worth 30,906,412 rubles, and in 1856 worth 30,632,949 rubles, respectively, and England imported goods to St. Petersburg worth 22,892,282 rubles in 1853 and 17.380.036 rubles in 1856. According to these indicators, the foreign trade representation in St. Petersburg looked like this: following England, the major trading partners were Prussia, the Hanseatic cities, the United States, Holland, France,

followed by Denmark, Spain, the Kingdom of Sicily, Belgium, Norway, Portugal, Tuscany, Sweden, Sardinia, Austria, Turkey, and other countries. The main items imported from England to St. Petersburg were paper, cars, lead, and coal. Among the exported goods were lard, flax seeds, hemp, iron, oats, etc. For Prussia, the most valuable exported goods were rye, copper, ropes, and lard. Prussia supplied sugar, wine, oil, and silk to the northern capital. For the Hanseatic cities, among the exported goods were paper, wool, silk, tobacco, coffee, watches, and fruit. France supplied champagne, grape wines, paints, fruits, and other goods to the St. Petersburg market. It should be noted that the goods exported from the port of St. Petersburg for all countries were about the same: rye, flax, copper, and canvas. Russian bacon was especially popular [10, pp. 67–70].

Of the 12 Russian ports in the Baltic, another major trading center was Riga. In 1804, 20.3% of all Russian exports were exported from the port; imports amounted to 5.1% [41, pp. 297–298].

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, England, Russia's long-time foreign trade partner, retained a leading position in industrial production and trade. England needed raw materials for the rapid growth of industrial production, which, among other states that met the needs of the English economy, was Russia. Entrepreneurs from Russia, among them large landowners, sent their farm produce to England and in return bought luxury and household items and textiles. In addition, English machine tools and other equipment were of great importance to Russia's rapidly developing industry. It should be noted that the bulk of the purchased English goods were of interest to the rich part of the country's population, the nobility and merchants. According to English data, in 1802, goods worth 1282 thousand pounds were exported from England to Russia, and goods worth 2182 thousand pounds were imported from Russia. Between 1801 and 1807, English exports to Russia doubled, while imports from Russia increased by only 15% [36, pp. 63–64].

The Russian government, taking into account the interests of the merchant class, allowed landlords, mainly large landowners, to conduct wholesale trade with foreign countries in 1802. This weakens the protectionist policy adopted by Peter the Great. The continuation of this policy was the declaration of Odessa as a duty-free trade place. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Azov-Black Sea trade was gaining strength due to the opening of the Russian navigation in the Black Sea. Russia's foreign trade turnover through the Black Sea increased 18 times in the period of 1792–1802 [27, p. 53]. The Black Sea trade was slightly inferior to the White Sea foreign trade, accounting for 4% of the country's foreign trade turnover. However, the growth rate was great; already by 1805, the foreign trade turnover of the Black Sea reached 9.4% of the country's trade turnover.

The center of trade in the Azov-Black Sea basin was Taganrog. The city was located at the crossroads of internal trade routes and was closely linked with Russian markets, especially those located on the Don River. From the fertile areas of the Volga, the Don and the Azov region grain was delivered to Taganrog for export. In addition to grain, iron brought from the Urals was exported through the port. The importance of the Odessa port gradually increased; agricultural products were delivered there for export. Export of wheat from the ports of southern Russia at the

beginning of the nineteenth century amounted to 60% of all exported wheat, and 46% of these indicators accounted for Odessa. The development of this direction of foreign trade was complicated by unstable relations with Turkey.

During the Napoleonic wars, Russia actively developed trade relations with Asian countries. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Russian manufactured goods were exported to Turkey, Persia, Khiva, and Bukhara. The Asian market was considered "semi-peripheral" but was of crucial intermediary importance. Asian countries traditionally supplied the European market with raw materials. Russia, buying manufactured goods such as cloth, cotton cloth, perfumes, metal products, and other goods in the West, supplied the East with manufactured goods of its own production. According to researchers, this is how Russia participated in the formation of the world market [7, p. 97].

In 1802–1806, the Russian trade turnover with Asian countries amounted to 8.4 million rubles in silver, more than half of this turnover accounted for China. Even during the reign of Catherine II, the stronghold of the Russian-Chinese trade was Kyakhta. By the beginning of the nineteenth century trade turnover in Kyakhta almost doubled; an indicator of the increase in trade turnover are customs duties which show a change in revenues of the customs office from 510 thousand rubles to 715 thousand rubles. According to H.I. Trusevich, at the end of the eighteenth century, trade with China accounted for 7.4% of Russia's total trade turnover and 61.3% of all trade along the Asian frontier [33, pp. 164, 214]. The main export commodity was furs, which were delivered to Kyakhta by Russian merchants from Kamchatka and Alaska. From the time of Catherine II, six private Russian trading companies of Central Russia were allowed to participate in this trade.

Due to the difficult situation in Europe, because of the Napoleonic wars, some European merchants and companies conducted trade with China through the mediation of Russian merchants at fairs. A significant part of Russian exports, most often cloth, were foreign goods. In 1801, transit goods accounted for 55% of the total value of exports [8, p. 136].

The Russian government paid special attention to the Kyakhta trade. In 1800, the rules of trade in Kyakhta were adopted. Only exchange trade was allowed, without money and bills of exchange, the prices of Russian and Chinese goods were strictly regulated, the value was determined in the price of a popular product, and for China it was tea. Only Russian citizens could participate in the exchange; foreign merchants who did not register their citizenship were not allowed to trade [13, p. 21; 5]. There were certain conditions of exchange, so goods exported from Russia to China had reduced customs duties (for dressed leather and fur), and cloth was exported duty-free.

The geography of Russian trade was expanding in the Caspian region, and Astrakhan was the center of trade there. In the early nineteenth century, handicrafts, factory goods, raw materials, and semi-finished goods were delivered to Persia via Astrakhan. Persian merchants brought cotton and silk fabrics, incense, pearls, and other goods to Astrakhan and Kizlyar.

In the trade on the Caspian Sea, significant intermediary trade belonged to Baku, there were large warehouses controlled by customs, and there was a busy merchant's

pier. Among the convenient trade routes to Central Asia was the sea route from Astrakhan to Mangyshlak and then by caravan to Khiva. The caravans were 500–700 camels loaded with goods.

There was trade with Turkey, which was conducted by caravan trade routes from Tiflis through Kars to Erzurum. However, the caravan trade had little prospect of development because of its low profitability. Foreign influence was also present in the Asian trade, which was in the hands of Armenian, Bukhara, and Persian merchants until the middle of the nineteenth century [12, pp. 202–206].

Researchers note that in the 1830s and 1850s, Iran played a significant role in Russia's eastern trade. The Iranian market accounted for about 60% of all Russian exports to Asia [26, p. 60].

Russia's Asian trade was complicated by the unstable political situation in Southeast Asia, and frequent internecine wars made the trade route dangerous. In addition, internal obstacles stood in the way of the expansion of Asian trade, for example, commodity-money relations were not used in the bidding process, and tea was the measure of value.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, Russia had trade relations with various countries of Europe, Asia, and America. In 1828, trade treaties were concluded with Sweden and in 1832, with the United States. A new trade treaty with England in 1846 facilitated the expansion of trade with Russia, with restrictions on Russian ships being lifted. In 1846, trade agreements were drawn up with Sardinia, Holland, Austria-Hungary, the Kingdom of Naples, France, and Turkey; in 1850, with Greece and Belgium; and in 1851, with Portugal.

The Russian Emperor Nicholas I (reigned from 1825 to 1855) promoted the development of trade and the commercial business class by his decrees. For this purpose, exchanges were developed (the first was opened by Peter I in St. Petersburg, during the founding of the city in 1703), in the 1830s–1840s, and they were opened in a number of cities, including Kremenchug (1831), Rybinsk (1842), Odessa (1848), and other cities of Russia.

Russia during the reign of Nicholas I was in dire need of metal in connection with the development of railway construction. The Ural mine workers could not meet the increased demand, so it was decided to develop foreign trade. In order to activate it in 1845, a decision was made to lower customs tariffs. England at that time (1846) adopted a free trade system, which, according to the head of the Tariff Committee L.V. Tengoborsky, was beneficial to Russia, since agricultural products were exported from the country to England to a large extent. England, for its part, sought to eliminate export duties from Russia.

England's main competitors in the Russian market were the Scandinavian countries. Despite Russia's active promotion of trade relations to the east, trade across the Baltic Sea remained the country's most important trade and economic relations in the nineteenth century.

Trade relations developed, but there was a certain peculiarity in their expansion. These relations were influenced by a number of factors: the general international situation, the political situation in Europe, the state of the domestic and foreign

markets, and the policies and legislation of governments. Russia had bilateral treaties with every Scandinavian state by the early nineteenth century.

First of all, the trade relations of the countries were affected by the policy of Napoleon. In 1812, Russia and Sweden signed an agreement in St. Petersburg, the so-called Separate Article of the 4th Convention "On the continuation of the commercial treaty on March 1 (13), 1801 and peace on September 5 (17), 1809 until the expiration of 1815" [22, p. 242]. In 1814, the Treatise on Peace between Russia and Denmark was concluded, which reflected the issues of bilateral trade [22, p. 1082]. After Finland joined Russia, it was granted broad autonomy rights, including in trade. In 1817, Russia and Sweden signed an Additional Act to the Treaty of Fredrikshamn of 1809. Much attention was paid to trade issues in it.

Article 1 thus dealt with the free trade of Swedish and Norwegian merchants in Finland and the right of Finnish merchants to visit Swedish and Norwegian cities. Article 2 stipulated a total ban on the export and import of vodka and saltpetre. Other articles stipulated mutual duty-free trade rights. Article 9 stipulated the right of Sweden alone to export free of duty up to 200 thousand quarters of rye annually, except in bad harvest years, when a complete ban on the export of bread from Russia was imposed. According to Article 10, Russian merchants had the right to store goods in Stockholm, Kristiansand, Karsgamm, and others, and Swedish and Norwegian merchants had the same rights in St. Petersburg [20, pp. 57, 58]. Fish was a special commodity in the Russian-Scandinavian trade. The volume of fishing was constantly increasing, which caused an increase in the need for salt. The north of Russia experienced a shortage of that product, and the country exported salt from Scandinavian countries. In addition, salted herring was in great demand in Russia at that time. In general, Sweden and Norway accounted for up to 70% of all fish imports to Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century [20, p. 61]. It should be noted that trade with Scandinavian countries was not only by sea; there was also transit through European countries. For instance, the popular herring was transported to Russia via Prussia. The volume of Russia's trade with the Scandinavian countries was changing. Statistics show that in 1870, Sweden and Norway exported goods to Russia worth 3,775,317 rubles and to Denmark worth 2,688,643 rubles, respectively, goods brought from Russia worth 3,506,723 rubles and Denmark worth 192,453. The indicators for 1871 show an increase in the export of Sweden and Norway; it was equal to 4963329 rubles, while in Denmark, this figure decreased to 2,607,135 rubles. The data on imports from Russia are as follows: in 1871, Sweden and Norway brought goods worth 4,167,205 rubles and Denmark worth 362,737 rubles [16, p. 877]. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the states had been paid much attention to the legal regulation of trade relations. At that time, diplomatic missions were being created in Russia; in Denmark, for example, there was a diplomatic mission of the Russian Empire, and a consulate general operated in Copenhagen. These diplomatic bodies were called upon, among other things, to promote the development of international trade and economic relations.

The expansion of trade relations required significant capital, which not everyone, even wealthy merchants, had. In 1836, the publication of the first regulation on the creation of joint-stock companies followed. The measures taken to develop trade

have yielded positive results. During the reign of Nicholas I (1825–1855), the export of goods from Russia to international markets increased from 75 million rubles to 230 million rubles and import from 52 million to 200 million rubles [7, p. 100]. At that time, the demand for machine tools and other industrial equipment was increasing due to the beginning of the industrial revolution in Russia. The data show that during the period 1850–1853, Russia produced 1387 machines and imported 3042 machines. In 1856–1860, respectively, Russia produced 5054 and imported about 7243 machines for industrial production [17, p. 211].

The growth of industrial production still lagged behind the needs of the population, which influenced the expansion of the trade environment. In the middle of the century, Russia imported not only industrial equipment but also steel, coal, chemical products, linen and woolen fabrics, etc. A new stage in the development of Russia's domestic and foreign trade begins in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is associated with the implementation of large-scale, comprehensive reforms by Emperor Alexander II (reigned from 1855 to 1881). State capitalism was developing rapidly in the country. Changes in the country affected the development of Russian foreign trade. Successes in industry and agriculture contributed to an increase in grain exports from 5% to 20% of the net harvest, and wheat supplies increased by 40%. Strengthening the positions of the prosperous peasantry in the Baltic and Siberia regions made it possible to increase the export of eggs by ten times and butter by five times [38, pp. 319–327]. During the period under review, the most active foreign trade partners of Russia were Germany, Great Britain, and France. Toward the end of the century, the trade activity of Belgium, Holland, and the United States intensified. Until 1871, England was traditionally the leader in foreign trade turnover with Russia, but after the unification of Germany, England gradually began to give way to the United States.

Russia exported grain, eggs, and hemp to England. It imported cotton, metal, machine tools, equipment, and hard coal. Machines were imported from Germany, which is the main export item along with various types of wool, cast iron, and iron products. Goods and products similar to those for England were imported into Germany. Russia imported grain, seeds, flax, and timber materials to France and exported woolen and silk fabrics, wine, and luxury goods.

Among the countries of the East, trade with China was the most active. Long-standing trade ties between the two countries were complicated by poor overland communications. Things went faster when the sea route between the Chinese and Black Sea ports was established. The main imports from China were tea, silk, paper products, and wool.

Russia strengthened its position in the international market. By the end of the century, its turnover on the international market reached 33.5 billion rubles. England retained the first place in the turnover of the external market (approximately 20% of the trade turnover of the world market), Germany was in second place (11%), followed by the United States (10%), France (8%), Holland (7%), Russia (6%), Austria-Hungary and Belgium (5% each), Italy (3.5%), and China (2.5%) [37, pp. 321–337].

There were objective and subjective reasons for the development of foreign trade. Thus, the expansion of trade and economic ties was influenced by the insufficient development of communication routes; the weak development of the domestic merchant fleet brought significant losses to Russia's foreign trade. However, it should be noted that the rapid development of railway transport in the second half of the nineteenth century contributed to the activation of industry and trade turnover.

The objective reasons that complicated the development of trade relations were wars. Especially the war with Napoleon (1812–1814), which led to the ruin of the merchant class and the change of its composition. The elite Moscow merchants suffered great losses, and the number of Moscow merchants increased after the war at the expense of provincial merchants who moved to Moscow.

The Crimean War (1853–1856) caused no less damage. The import of machinery and equipment decreased (about ten times less); cotton was bought in smaller quantities, which affected the textile industry. During the war years, export of goods and products from Russia decreased markedly, so the export of grain decreased by 13 times, and flax by 8 times.

A new stage in the development of domestic and foreign trade in Russia came in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was connected with the large-scale and comprehensive reforms spearheaded by Emperor Alexander II (reigned from 1855–1881). State capitalism was rapidly developing in the country. Changes in the country affected the development of Russian foreign trade. Successes in industry and agriculture contributed to an increase in grain exports from 5% to 20% of the net harvest, and wheat supplies increased by 40%. Strengthening the position of the prosperous peasantry in the Baltic and Siberia made it possible to increase export supplies of eggs by ten times and butter by five times [38, pp. 319–327].

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the most active foreign partners of Russia were Germany, Great Britain, and France. Toward the end of the century, trade activities of Belgium, Holland, and the United States intensified. Until 1871, in foreign trade with Russia, the leader was traditionally England, but after the unification of Germany, England gradually began to give way to the already unified state.

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the trade turnover of the world market), Germany was in second place (11%), followed by the United States (10%); France (8%); Holland (7%); Russia (6%); Austria, Hungary, and Belgium (5% each); Italy (3.5%); and China (2.5%) [37, pp. 321–337]. By the end of the century, Russia entered the stage of state, monopolistic capitalism, which contributed to the development of international economic relations, strengthening trade and economic cooperation in the international arena.

5 Conclusions

The following conclusion can be drawn based on the analysis performed. In the nineteenth century, Russia's foreign trade developed unevenly. Trade and economic relations were influenced by factors of international instability, wars, and economic blockades, which did not benefit any state. Among the internal reasons complicating the development of foreign trade was the dependence of Russian foreign trade on foreigners. A significant part of foreign trade was conducted, as in the eighteenth century on English ships in the Baltic Sea, in the Black Sea, Greek and Turkish ships were mainly used, some of which sailed under the Russian flag.

State capitalism developed in Russia; the emperors and their governments regulated and directed Russia's foreign trade depending on the political situation. However, a significant role in the development of trade relations belonged to the merchants, they were at the origins of the formation of the initial capital, and the names of Russian merchants are associated with the development of new trade routes, the establishment of commercial contacts with foreign entrepreneurs, and the development of industry.

They expanded the geography of Russian trade, which in the nineteenth century embraced many leading countries of all continents. Among the European leaders at the end of the century were Germany and England and in the East is China. Trade with Japan was budding. Trade links were established with Egypt and many other countries of the world. Only peaceful internal and external conditions could ensure mutually beneficial international trade and economic relations.

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The Term "Relocation": Meaning, Form, and Function in Russian and English (Corpus-Based Research)

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Abstract The concept of location is central to the study of Earth's landscape through geography. However, no previous studies have dealt with the term "relocation," derived from the former. The objective is a comparative analysis of the term in English and Russian. The paper explores it through quantitative and qualitative methods, the latter including etymological, lexicographic, semantic, derivational, corpus, discourse, and comparative ones. The sources of the material are etymological, explanatory, specialized dictionaries and Russian and English corpora. The study has found that in English, "relocation" started to be used in the eighteenth century (39,212 entries in the British Newspaper Archive since 1736; 48,898 entries in Chronicling America since 1794); at present, this polysemantic word is found in all available dictionaries; the scope of its meanings and use in modern English is diverse; it comprises politics, business, finance, law, and programming (5890 entries in British newspapers, 17,640 entries in American newspapers in the NOW Corpus). The Russian term was borrowed from Latin *reloco* through English "relocation"; it entered the language only in the twenty-first century in a basic meaning of moving from one place to another (53 entries in Russian National Corpus till 2021). The term is not registered in Russian dictionaries. Its use is restricted to scientific and media discourse, though since 2022 there has been a rapid development of new shades of meaning and more frequent use in blogs, chats, and forums. The research extends our knowledge of language borrowings, national discourses interaction, and historical and social influence on language.

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1   Introduction

Currently, the world is undergoing significant transformations driven by the impact of geopolitical interests of major powers and those countries that demonstrated a dramatically accelerating pace in their development in recent decades, resulting in the ongoing process of globalization and emerging multipolarity [1, 5, 17, 33]. The core of the modern world – the global West – is faced with new competitors. Each state or power bloc, irrespectively of being global, regional, or belonging to the "second" world, is striving either to preserve or to expand its spheres of influence. These facts confirm the importance of the key concepts of political geography such as "location," "territorial expansion," "distribution," "sphere of influence," etc., used both as geographical (or spatial) and ideological (or political) terms [33].

The major objective of the present study is the notion of relocation that implies both special movement and consequences of social, political, and economic development of the country. The paper explores various aspects of the word "relocation," including conceptual, semantic, grammatical, and discourse-conditioned ones, the meanings assigned to the word in English and Russian, and the ways they are actualized in different types of discourses. The key research questions are what meanings the word has in the two languages, how these meanings developed over time, and what factors influenced their development and change.

2   Methods and Sources

2.1   Methods

The paper explores meanings and functions of the word "relocation" through quantitative and qualitative methods, the latter including etymological, lexicographic, semantic, derivational, corpus, discourse, and comparative ones.

The study used etymological analysis in order to gain insights into the origin and history of the word. Lexicographic, semantic, and derivational methods offered an effective way of analyzing and describing the individual meanings of the word "relocation" and its paradigmatic relationships. Corpus analysis was used to collect the data from large samples and interpret them in depth. The numerical data were further processed and analyzed through quantitative data analysis. Discourse analysis was used to explore the overall meanings conveyed by the word in context: it focused on how the word was used in different types of discourses. Comparative method was particularly useful in studying common features and peculiarities of the word "relocation" in the two languages.

Table 1 Sampling in the corpora

Corpus	Language	Sampling frame	Sampling unit	Size
RNC (newspaper)	Russian	A list of the collection of periodicals 1983–2021	Written Russian text published in Russia	2 660 026 texts/ 765 546 444 words
NOW	English	A list of the collection of periodicals 2010–2022	Written English text published in English-speaking countries	16.5 billion words
BNA	English	A list of the collection of periodicals 1700–2022	Written (digitalized) English text published in the UK	62046151 pages
CA	English	A list of the collection of periodicals 1777–1963	Written (digitalized) English text published in the USA	20126977 pages

2.2 Sources

The research data were drawn from three different types of sources in the two languages: dictionaries, corpora of media texts, and scientific publications. The following print and online English and Russian dictionaries were used to study the origin of the word "relocation" and the meanings it has in the two languages: etymological dictionaries [13, 15], explanatory dictionaries [4, 6, 8, 10, 23, 24, 26–28, 36, 37], specialized dictionaries, and glossaries [9, 11, 14, 16, 18–20, 22, 29, 30, 32, 34].

The data for media discourse analysis were retrieved from the Russian National Corpus (RNC) [38], NOW Corpus (News on the Web) [25], the British Newspaper Archive (BNA) [35], and Chronicling America (CA) [7]. All of them are well-organized collections of machine-readable authentic texts which are sampled to be representative of either English or Russian (Table 1).

The third set of the sources used for collecting the data is a large database of peer-reviewed literature (scientific journals, books, and conference proceedings), namely, Russian Science Citation Index (RSCI).

3 Findings and Discussion

3.1 Relocation: Origin, Meaning, and Form

The noun "relocation" is derived from the verb "relocate," borrowed from Latin *reloco* [12, 15].

In Latin the prefix *re-/red-* had a broad range of meanings:

– transition to an opposite state (red-ire);
– renewal, repetition of an action (re-ponere, re-cognoscere);
– counteraction (re-sistere);
– opposition (re-probare).

The Latin polysemantic root *loco* (avi, atum, are (locus)) was used in a range of meanings as well. The center of the semantic structure of the word, or its primary meaning, was

– to place, to set (castra C; milites per or super valium Sl; coloniam idoneo loco C; equitatum in cornibus St);
– to position, to house (cohortes novis hibernaculis) [12].

It conveyed the concept in the most general way, whereas it must be noted that some of its secondary, or derived meanings, were associated with special circumstances, aspects, and instances of professional spheres (economic and financial ones):

– to lend, to earn interest (pecuniam Pl);
– to rent out, to lease (operam suam tribus nummis l. ad aliquid Pl);
– to hire (se ad gladium l. Sen) [12].

Late Latin *relocare* meant

– to bring a thing back to its former place (articulum CA);
– to let out again (aliquid Dig).

In the English etymological dictionary [15], there's a special remark saying that "relocation" as a noun started to be used in 1746 in Scottish law in the meaning of "renewal of a lease"; in the meaning of "act of relocating," it has been used since 1837.

In modern English the word "relocation" is registered in different types of dictionaries and used in both primary and secondary meanings:

– an act of moving something or someone from one place to another [6, 8, 14, 23, 37]
– a transportation of people (as a family or colony) to a new settlement (as after an upheaval of some kind) [6, 8, 28]
– a process of moving to a different place to work, or of moving employees to a different place to work [8, 14, 23]
– a renewal of lease [23]

In its primary meaning, it typically involves not only finding a new place to live and moving to it but also establishing oneself there. In its secondary meanings, the term is highly frequent in business, legal, and computer programming areas.

In the legal discourse, the term denotes "a reletting or renewal of a lease; permitting a tenant to hold over without any new agreement" [18, 22]; in the field of business communication, the term is used in the meaning of local, distant, domestic, and international businesses' and employees' movements from one area to another [16]; in computer programming relocation is a process of connecting symbolic references

with symbolic definitions, to be more particular, a process of assigning load addresses to various parts of a program and adjusting the code and data in the program to reflect the assigned addresses [20].

If compared with the Russian language, it must be stressed that the word was enlisted neither in existing explanatory dictionaries [2, 4, 10, 13] nor in dictionaries of foreign words [21] till 2021. Moreover, no data have been found on the meaning of the word in the dictionaries of current vocabulary [24] so far.

Still, since 2022, it has started to be registered in online dictionaries in the meanings of changing the location, employees' movements from one area to another [39] as well as a synonym to "movement" [3]. The term has not been found in specialized dictionaries either, including different editions of philosophical, political, sociological, economic, military, medical, etc., terms [9, 11, 19, 29, 30, 34].

Comparing its grammatical form in the two languages, it's worth noting that the word has both common features and peculiarities. In English, "relocation" can be classified as a common, inanimate, nonhuman, neuter, abstract, either uncountable [28] or countable noun [23], characterized by the grammatical categories of number and case. In Russian it is a common, inanimate, abstract, uncountable noun (lacking the plural form), characterized by the grammatical categories of number, case, and gender (feminine).

In English and Russian, the suffixes "-tion"/"-cija" are both used to create nouns from verbs to describe processes, actions, states, or results thereof. In Russian the suffix is used to form feminine gender nouns from verbs with foreign base ending in –irovat'. The Russian suffix is a productive morphological way of creating special terms, and, as a rule, it is stylistically marked [31]. The same is the case with the term "relokacija" (relocation). The research data obtained from the Russian Science Citation Index database, containing articles and PhD theses, identified its use as a general science term, specific to the natural sciences and humanities in the meaning of "moving something from one place to another": *relokacija krovotoka iz zheludochka v aortu (relocation of blood flow from the ventricle to the aorta); relokacija podzemnyh jadernyh vzryvov (relocation of underground nuclear explosions); relokacija – pereselenie indejcev iz rezervacij v goroda (relocation of Indians from reservations to cities); relokacija kvalificirovannogo personala (relocation of qualified personnel); vnutrifirmennaja upravlencheskaja relokacija (intra-company management relocation); relokacija teksta (text relocation); relokacija kul'turonima (cultural name relocation)*. The data showed an increase in the use of the term (Fig. 1).

The results obtained from the derivational analysis show that in English the noun "relocation" is a derivative secondary motivated unit that enters a derivational cluster containing "relocate" (verb) (a derivational base), "relocating" (gerund, participle I), "relocated" (participle II), "relocatee" (noun), "relocator" (noun), "relocatability" (noun), and "relocatable" (adjective).

The Russian language data differ from those of the English language in a number of respects. Since the use of the verb "relocirovat'/relocirovat'sja" (to relocate) has not been found in RSCI, it is probably due to the fact that it is the noun "relokacija" (relocation) that was borrowed first. Still, the verb is registered in Wiktionary [40]
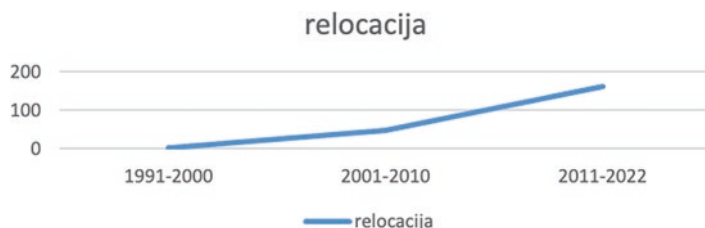
relocacija

Fig. 1 Frequency of the term "relocation" (RSCI database)
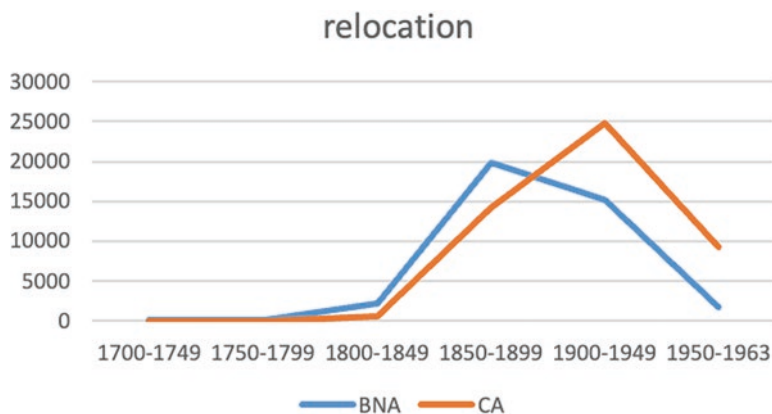
relocation

Fig. 2 Frequency of the term "relocation" (the British Newspaper Archive (BNA), Chronicling America (CA))

and marked as a neologism in the meaning of "moving to another place (work, study, etc.)": *my relociruem chast' komandy (We will relocate a part of the company)*. It is the verb "relocirovat'/relocirovat'sja" (to relocate) that serves a derivational base for a number of derivatives: reloknut'sja (verb), relokant (noun), and relok (noun) in Russian.

3.2 Relocation: Use

The study has found that in English, "relocation" started to be used in the eighteenth century: 39,212 entries in the British Newspaper Archive since 1736 [35] and 48,898 entries in Chronicling America since 1794) [7] (Fig. 2). The scope of its meanings and use in modern English is diverse and comprises geography, geopolitics, politics, business, finance, and law: 5890 entries in British newspapers and 17,640 entries in American newspapers in the NOW Corpus [25] (Fig. 3).

In the Russian National Corpus [38], the frequency of the word "relocacija" (relocation) is rather low: first it was mentioned in 2005, the total number of
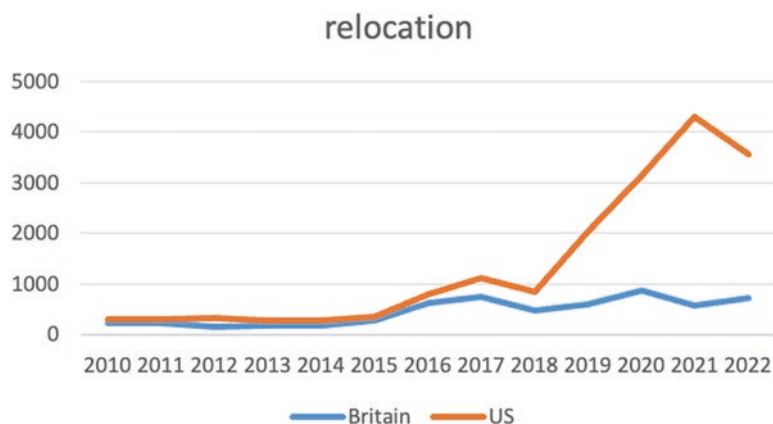
Fig. 3 Frequency of the term "relocation" (the NOW Corpus)
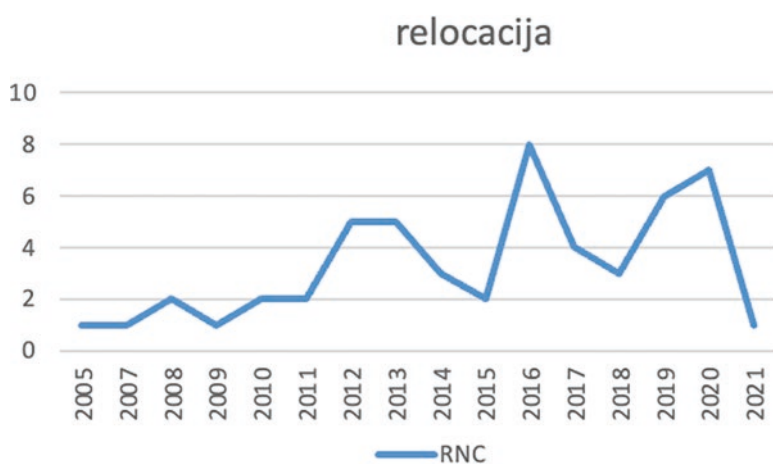
Fig. 4 Frequency of the term "relocatcija" (relocation) (the Russian National Corpus (RNC))

contexts with the word from 2005 to 2021 is 53, with no data available in 2022 (Fig. 4).

The findings obtained through semantic analysis of the Russian word "relocacija" (relocation) prove that its grammatical meaning is that of an abstract action, and its primary lexical meaning is that of moving something or someone from one place to another: *Mikado <…> nahoditsja v processe relokacii belorusskogo ofisa … v druguju stranu (Mikado <…> is in the process of relocating its Belarusian office… to another country).*

Its secondary derivative meanings are the following:

– a result (relocation is seen as a product of work): *Zhiteli Ljucerna polozhitel'no otreagirovali na relokaciju foruma iz Davo-sa <…>; Rukovoditeli chasto*

pytajutsja uderzhat' cheloveka, predlagaja emu … povy-shenie zarplaty, programmy obuchenija, novye proekty, rotaciju ili dazhe relo-kaciju (Lucerne's residents reacted positively to the relocation of the forum from Davos <…>; Managers often try to keep a person by offering him … salary increases, training programs, new projects, rotation or even relocation);

–   an instrument (relocation is presented as a mechanism, a means of obtaining the most effective result of work): *V tom, chto relokacija otkryvaet pravitel'stvennym organizacijam novye voz-mozhnosti, uvereny mnogie jeksperty; <…> Blagodarja relokacii srednemesjachnaja vyruchka magazinov vyrosla vdvoe <…> (Many experts are convinced that relocation opens up new opportunities for government organizations. <…> Thanks to relocation, the average monthly revenue of merchants has doubled <…>)*;

–   an institution (relocation is thought an institution in a particular area, i.e., a social, economic, or legal one): *V tom, chto relokacija otkryvaet pravitel'stvennym organizacijam novye voz-mozhnosti, uvereny mnogie jeksperty; <…> Blagodarja relokacii srednemesjachnaja vyruchka magazinov vyrosla vdvoe <…> (According to the defendant representative, the "Internal Relocation Policy" was published in the corporate documents section on the official website of Procter & Gamble Services LLC)*.

The RNC data show that the word "relocation" doesn't possess the secondary meaning of "a group of persons performing an action," which is the case with the word "emigration." It must be pointed out that, when used in its secondary meanings, the word "relocation" can take the plural form, e.g., in the meaning of result: *Specializacija: FMCG, IB – front office* Vedenie proektov; …* Kontrol' is-polnenija proekta;* …* Motivacija kandidatov na neprivlekatel'nye finanso-vye uslovija, … start-up proekty, relokacii i dr. (Specialization: FMCG, IB – front office * Project management; <…> * Project execution control; * <…>* Motivation of candidates for unattractive financial conditions, <…> start-up projects, relocations, etc.)*.

The contextual meanings of the word "relocation" that arise in different types of discourse are the following:

–   In economic discourse the word "relocation" is used to denote a process of moving branches, equipment, offices, employees of a company, etc. to a different place: *V segodnjashnej jekonomicheskoj situacii kompanii chasto zainteresovany v relo-kacii sotrudnikov iz odnih regionov v drugie (In current economic situation companies are often interested in relocating employees from one region to another). In this discourse type relocation is often seen as a financial transaction: relokacija resursov s dolgosrochnyh depozitov na bolee korotkie ili mezhdu bankami <…>; <…> nachnetsja massovaja relokacija amerikanskih aktivov <…> (relocation of resources from long-term fixed deposit accounts to shorter term ones or between different banks <…>; A mass American asset relocation will begin <…>)*.

–   In sociopolitical discourse the word "relocation" refers to the scope of migration policy: *Evrokomissija <…> podala <…> isk protiv Pol'shi, Vengrii i Chehii, kotorye otkazalis' prinjat' bezhencev v ramkah programmy ES po relokacii (The*

> *European Commission … was… to sue Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic
> for refusing to take in asylum seekers under the EU relocation program).*

- In military discourse the term "relocation" denotes a tactic, an act of disposing
  and maneuvering forces in combat: *relokacija ob#ektov Minoborony <…> (relo-
  cation of the Defense Ministry <…>).*
- In legal discourse relocation becomes an object of litigation: *Dal'nevostochnyj
  bank PAO Sberbank, informaciej o nalichie dolga ne obladalo, chto svjazano s
  relokaciej processa soprovozhdenija zadolzhennosti kreditov fizicheskih lic v
  drugoj territorial'nyj bank (Far East bank of Sberbank of Russia did not have
  any information about the debt, which is connected with the relocation of the
  process of individuals' loan debt support to another territorial bank).*

The results, obtained from the analysis of the RNC (newspaper) data that show that
"relocation" is hardly ever used in communication, can be compared to its entries in
the Internet (Table 2).

Moreover, it must be noted that the word is frequently used in blogs, chats, and
forums: *relokacija chastnyh lic, relokacija sem'jami, relokacija pozhilyh ljudej,
reloka-cija v zrelom vozraste, relokacija verujushhih (relocation of individuals,
family relocation, relocation of the elderly people, relocation in adulthood, reloca-
tion of believers).*

From the data above, it is apparent that the word involves the semantic compo-
nent "geopolitical situation": *O relokacii v Kazahstan – ot mestnogo zhitelja.
Sejchas mnogie … zadumyvajutsja o pereezde v druguju stranu iz-za geopolitiches-
koj situacii v regione (About the relocation to Kazakhstan – from a local resident.
Many people <…> are thinking now about moving to another country because of
the geopolitical situation in the region).*

Thus, in 2022, as a result of sociopolitical and geopolitical problems, the word
"relocacija" (relocation) entered a basic vocabulary, which makes it possible for the
word to be registered in new Russian dictionaries. While the meaning of "relo-
cacija" (relocation), which dominated all other components in the semantic struc-
ture of the word in the Russian language before 2022, was objective (moving
something from one place to another), the data of 2022 show that the word devel-
oped a new subjective meaning: someone's voluntary and temporary movement to
a different place due to social, political, or economic changes without severing ties
with the motherland, family, or job and having an opportunity to return as soon as
possible. The changes in the semantics of the word and various types of discourses
the word is used in (as a basic vocabulary unit and a general science term) prove the
idea that language development and social life are inextricably related and
interwoven.

Table 2 Internet data (2022/04/01)

Word	Google	News section
Relocacija (relocation)	1,080,000	69,990
relocant	11,700	599
relocirovat (relocate)	28,700	2440

4   Conclusion

Nowadays, one of the most prominent areas of research is studying social aspects of life, e.g., social attitudes, values, etc., that influence language [11]. The study has shown that the way we understand displacement and resettlement in the context of social, political, economic, and legal discourse actualizes the use of the word "relocation" and its secondary discourse-conditioned meanings.

The findings suggest that in the Russian language, the emergence, meanings, and use of the word have been greatly influenced by English as a donor language. The word "relocation," borrowed from Latin, appeared in the English language in the eighteenth century; the scope of its meanings and use in English is diverse and comprises politics, business, finance, law, and computer programming. In Russia relocation process started only in the post-Soviet space, which became geographically and politically open (at the end of the twentieth century), with technological progress intensifying it. The factors brought into existence the word "relocation": it was used in scientific discourse as a general science term first, and then it entered media discourse as a special term in the economic sphere (production, business, and finance). Though used in different types of discourse, the word hasn't been registered in any Russian dictionaries so far.

The beginning of 2022 became a bifurcation point, catalyzed by Russia's geopolitical and strategic ideas and interests that transformed political and economic contexts dramatically both in the country and abroad, which called into life new words reflecting the peculiarities of the current geopolitical situation. Among them was the word "relocacija" (relocation) that started to be used rather frequently due to the changes in social, political, and economic contexts in the country. The results of this research support the ideas that language development and social life are interrelated and interdependent.

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Part III
Administrative Culture, Political Institutions & National Policies

The Tatar Diaspora in North America: Experience of Integration

Gulnara Atnasheva

Abstract The article examines the study of integration of Tatars in American and Canadian societies. Migration of Tatars was a continuous process depending on the current political and social situation in their home country. It started in the thirteenth century and is still in progress considering current situation in Russia. The survey, rear for the Russian science of today, shows that the path into successful integration was not very easy. By overcoming difficulties Tatars in North America managed to succeed in organizing their own communities and diasporas and their own mosques. The particular example of a Tatar language teacher from Bashkortostan demonstrates the successful integration in the American society and great eagerness to support his compatriots. The author argues that the integration experience of Tatar diaspora in the USA and Canada is successful, because they struggle to maintain identity, preserving their native language, religion, and traditions and enriching the host society's culture.

Keywords Turks · Islam · Assimilation · Volga · Dobruja · Crimean Tatars · Migration · Heritage

1   Introduction

The Tatars are people of Turkic origin living mainly in Russia but also in Poland, the Baltic states, and several other countries.

In the eleventh to sixteenth centuries, most Turkic tribes inhabited the territory of modern Russia and Kazakhstan. The Volga Bulgars settled on the Volga River in the

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eighth century and were converted to Islam in 922, especially owing to the mission-
ary work of Ahmad ibn Fadlan [3–5, 12].

2 Methodology

The research methodology is based on comparative studies of the political, eco-
nomic, and social situations of the communities under analyses. For the present
period of development of social and political sciences, interdisciplinarity is charac-
teristic. The methodology of research was based on the following approaches: com-
parative – historical (various migration processes of Tatars were observed and
compared), social (the most important social aspects of migration were elicited),
and national and geographical (which helped to describe the structural changes
undergoing in demographic characteristics of the populations). Multiple Internet
resources, as well as historical and legal documents of various Tatar associations,
were analyzed.

3 Findings

3.1 Tatars in Russia

The first evidence of the existence of Tatar tribes was found in Turkic chronicles.
There are some Chinese sources dated back to the eighth to tenth centuries that
mention the Tatar people who lived along the banks of the Amur. Historians believe
that the ancestors of modern Tatars were formed with the participation of Khazar,
Polovtsian nomads, and tribes inhabiting Volga Bulgaria. These tribes united into
one community with their own culture, writing, and language. In the thirteenth cen-
tury, the Golden Horde was created – a powerful state that was divided into classes,
aristocracy, and clergy. By the fifteenth century, it had broken up into separate khan-
ates, which gave rise to the formation of subethnic groups. Later, mass migration of
Tatars began across the territory of the Russian state [13].

As a result of genetic studies, it was determined that different Tatar subethnic
groups did not have common ancestors. There is also a large diversity of genome
within subgroups, from which we can conclude that many peoples influenced their
creation. Some ethnic groups have a large percentage of the genome of Caucasian
nationalities, while Asian ones are almost absent [13].

"The adoption of Islam as a state religion by the Bolgars was an essential step
towards the consolidation of state population. One can actually say that the rise of
the Bolgar state proceeded almost simultaneously with the introduction of Islam. As
early as in the 9th century Islam spread across the population of the Middle Volga
region, and at the beginning of the 10th century it was apparently adopted by

Almysh and Bolgar nobility. As early as in the 920s Islam became a state religion, which is signified by Arabic and Persian sources and the minting of coins in accordance with Muslim tradition" [14].

Before 1917, different issues of the Muslim world were debated on the pages of Tatar newspapers in Tatar language, and their numbers "surpassed that of periodicals in other Turkic languages" [1]. In the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries, the Tatar merchants played an important role of Kulturträger, "spreading literacy and Islamic culture to other peoples, such as the Kazakhs of Central Asia, the Bashkirs of the Urals, and the Chuvash of the middle Volga" [1].

In order to continue the colonization of Muslim lands, in the eighteenth century, Peter the Great and then Catherine II "encouraged the study of Turkic languages" [1]. For instance, Sagit Khalfin (1732–1785) who composed the first published secular alphabet book of the Tatar language became a teacher of the first Tatar class in the gymnasium of Kazan [1].

Volga Tatars
Volga Tatars live in Central and Eastern European Russia and in the West of Siberia. [3]. However, in the modern Russia, the ethnonym describes Volga Tatars only. In the census of 2002, Volga Tatars consist of "common Tatars, Astrakhan Tatars, Keräşen Tatars, and Siberian Tatars" [3]. Crimean Tatars and Chulyms were counted separately, not being recognized as a part of the multi-ethnic Tatar group [3].

Volga Tatars number nearly eight million, mostly in Russia and the post-Soviet countries. The most part of Volga Tatars are Kazan Tatars [3].

Mishar Tatars
Mishars or Mishar Tatars speak Mishar dialect and are considered an ethnographic group of Volga Tatars. Their population is about one third of the Volga Tatars. "After migration waves from late 1500s to 1700s, they settled especially on the right bank of Volga and Urals" [15].

Perm Tatars
Perm Tatars (Perm' tatarları), also known as the Ostyaks in Russian sources during fifteenth and early seventeenth century, live mainly in the Perm Krai and Sverdlovsk Oblast [15].

Keräşen(Christianized)Tatars
As early as from 1552, the Russian tsarist authorities enacted a policy of the forced Christianization of the Volga Tatars which resulted "in the emergence of Kryashens (keräşen/keräşennär)," also known as "Christianized Tatars" [16].

Siberian Tatars
"Siberian Tatars historically lived in the vast territory stretching from around the Yenisei river all the way to the area lying somewhat east of the Ural mountains" [17]. However, in 1582 Russia conquered the Khanate of Sibir, and now this ethnonym covers several autochthonous groups (all Sunni Hanafis) in southern Siberia: Tobol-Irtish Tatars, Tomsk Tatars, and Baraba Tatars, "each speaking their own dialect" [17].

3.2 External Migration of Volga Tatars

Volga Tatars live in:

- Finland: mostly Mishars (Mişärs), who a group from 20 villages in the Sergach region (Volga River region) moved to Finland since 1804 [18].
- Kazakhstan: from the eighteenth through nineteenth centuries, starting mainly with Russian army officers and soldiers, then in the 1930s during the industrialization, and since the 1950s "settlers on virgin lands," though in 1990s it was a wave of re-emigration [18]
- Central Asia: since the nineteenth-century migration to Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and East Turkestan (Xinjiang), represented by Tatar officers and soldiers of the Russian army, merchants, Muslim scholars; in the 1920s–1930s during industrialization and for the Soviet education program for Central Asian peoples; in 1948 and 1960 specialists who were sent to help "for Ashgabat and Tashkent ruined by earthquakes," also with re-emigration in the 1980s–1990s [18]
- South Caucasus, first of all Azerbaijan since the nineteenth century: workers in oil industry (1890s) and "bread tradesmen" [18]
- Northern part of China: since the 1910s as "railway builders" and re-emigrated to the USSR in the 1950s [18]
- Germany and Austria: during the both world wars as prisoners of war; in 1990s emigration, including from Kazakhstan [18]
- Middle East (Turkey, Iran, Egypt), Japan and Egypt: emigration after the Russian revolution (since 1918) [18].
- Great Britain, Australia, the USA, Canada, Argentina, and Mexico: in the 1920s in the result of continuing emigration from Germany, Turkey, Japan, China, and other countries. In the 1950s, there were Tatar prisoners of war from Germany who managed to stay there, without sending back to the Soviet Union; since 1992, "emigration after the breakup of USSR" [18].

3.3 Other Groups of Tatars in the East Europe

Crimean Tatars
The Crimean Tatars lived in their own Crimean Khanate until it was annexed by Russia in 1783 [6]. That tragic event, then Crimean war of 1853–1856 and the tsarist laws adopted in 1860–1863 and in 1874, "caused an exodus of the Crimean Tatars" [6].

Crimean Tatars who inhabited the south coast, "mixed with Scyth, Greeks and Italians, were well known for their skill in gardening, their honesty, and their work habits, as well as for their fine features" [3]. There were also mountain Tatars who resembled much "Tatars of Caucasus," while Tatars of the steppes (the Nogays) were "decidedly of a mixed origin with Turks and Mongols" [3].

Dobruja Tatars

In the territory of Dobruja, the Tatar presence "dates back to the 13th century and is associated with the extension of the authority of the Golden Horde, more exactly the Nogay tribes, over the northern coast of the Black Sea, consolidated during the Ottoman period" [19]. In the Ottoman Empire since the end of the sixteenth century, "the settlement and the development of the Tatars in Dobruja intersects with that of the Turks arriving from Asia Minor and established here as colonists due to the political and economic interests of the Ottoman Empire in this region" [19].

Lithuanian Tatars

After Tokhtamysh, a Golden Horde khan and thousands of his warriors were defeated by Timur (Tamerlane), and they fled to Lithuania a year later. Tokhtamysh "became the ruler of the present-day Byelorussian town, Lida. In 1430 Prince Shvitrigalis of Lithuania summoned the Kypchaks and Nogays from beyond the Volga to his military service and 3,000 remained in his army" [20]. Today, the Lithuanian Tatars live in mainly in several regions of Byelorussia: the western part of the Minsk Region, in the region northeast of Brest and in the Grodno Region [20]. "Small enclaves are found in southeast Lithuania and in Kaunas, as well as in the eastern and western parts of Poland" [20].

Belarusian Tatars

There are approximately 3000–4000 Tatars in Belarus [21]. Tatars came to the territory of Belarus more than 600 years ago and "represent a unique community with a distinct cultural and religious identity, which has been preserved for a long period in a completely alien religious and cultural environment" [21]. Unfortunately, Belarusian Tatars "lost their native language quickly after having moved to the region, because religion replaced linguistic distinctiveness as the core of the minority's self-identification" [21]. Kitabs, religious and cultural handwritten texts, is "the most prominent monument of Tatar cultural heritage in Belarus," created in the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. "Kitabs, written in Belarusian and Polish, but with the use of the Arabic script, are an outstanding example of the blending of cultures of the hosting society and minority. They not only provide valuable data on the linguistic, religious and cultural peculiarities of the Belarusian Tatars but are also of significant importance for the scholars of the history of the Belarusian language" [21].

Polish Tatars

In the fourteenth century, the first Tatars came to Poland when "Vytautas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, offered them asylum in appreciation for their military services during the war against the Teutonic Knights. Those who came were mostly political exiles, elders of the Golden Horde and Crimea who were forced to leave their communities. Their excellent combat skills were very much in demand in Poland and Lithuania during the turbulent 15th century, and Tatars fought well, for instance, at the epic Battle of Grunwald in 1410 (one of the biggest battles in the history of medieval Europe)" [22].

In subsequent centuries, "Tatars were eagerly compensated with knighthoods, coats of arms and land in reward for fighting alongside the Polish army. As a matter of fact, it was Jan III Sobieski who gave significant land in Podlasie to Tatars. It was his way of appeasing their rebellion in the late 17th century, which arose when the Polish gentry questioned the Tatar's right to nobility and their soldiers weren't paid frequently enough" [22].

On the present-day border with Belarus, Tatars established a region as their enclave and "by that means formed the biggest centre of Muslim culture in Poland" [22]. Another ethnonym that is often used are Lipka Tatars (Tatars from the Lithuanian parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth), Polish Tatars, Lipkowie, or Muślimi [22].

By the eighteenth century, the Tatars adopted the local language; however, they preserved their Islam and many national traditions (like *Kurban* during the main religious festivals) [3].

4   Discussion: The Tatar Diaspora in the USA and Canada

4.1   Tatars in the USA

In the USA, the Tatars who had emigrated from Europe and Asia after the end of the Second World War made up the bulk of the diaspora.

"There are two groups of Tatars in America nowadays; one representing the old wave of immigration and one accounting for the latest wave. Each of these ethnic groups has its own history of settlement and residence in America. The road that the first group got to walk in America was very long and rocky. The people who were part of the old wave include such prominent people as Dr. Sait Salah, a nuclear engineer; professor Onur Senarslan who lives in Washington, DC; Yulai Shamiloglu, a professor-turcologist Mahmutov (2012). The American Turko-Tatar Association (hereinafter ATTA) in the United States was founded based on the Tatar Society of America that emerged in the 1950s in New York. Over the years, the Tatar Association in New York has had many leaders that are enumerated here: Rashid Huseinoff, Esmail Akchurin, Hamid Rashid, Garip Sultan, Rifat Salah, Ildar Agish, Rustem Borluca and many others. The activities of the American Tatar Association center upon the cultural direction since a lot of famous Tatar musicians, scientists, chess-players and other distinguished persons ended up there after the war and in the 1960–70s. The American Turko-Tatar Association (ATTA) is located on the west coast in San Francisco that is also engaged in cultural and educational activities. It has changed many leaders such as Farid Sprat, Orkyya Safa and Orkyya Mansour" [8].

"Today the American Tatar Association in New York is comprised of only 120–130 people. Those who came from Japan and Turkey in 1960 formed the American Turko-Tatar Association (hereinafter ATTA). Their numbers were

comprised of about 120 families, more than 300 people. In 1964, the current head-quarters of the ATTA were purchased. Nowadays the ATTA membership adds up to 232 people (The official website of the American Turco-Tatar Association/URL http://attasf.org/home/atta-history.php). Initially the main unifying thread was a single religion – Islam" [8].

"... Upon arrival in San Francisco, the Tatars were a small group amid the multiple nationalities populating California… It was on May 15, 1960 that thirty people gathered to hold the first official meeting of the community and determine plans for the future in the building of 'Odd Fellows Hall' in Burlingame. In addition to that, officials were elected, membership issues addressed and laws established" [8].

"Later on in 1964, the ATTA acquired a building for holding meeting with the members of the community putting great efforts into setting the stage for fruitful and successful work. The ATTA building endearingly called "Bina" Bina has hosted countless religious and cultural events organized both for the members of the community and the public. The ATTA mission is to operate for the benefit of society and the Turko-Tatar heritage and culture through the promotion and support of cultural, educational, religious and charitable activities; support the interests of the community in social welfare and cooperation with other organizations in the cultural, civic and social development" [9].

"The Tatars have remained true to their national cuisine; they keep in touch and correspond with their compatriots living in Turkey and Finland" [2].

"The foundation of the American Turko-Tatar Association was a necessity. It continues to exist enriching its history. Over that period, much has changed in the composition of the American Turko-Tatar Association but over the years the association has evolved. Thanks to its prominent members, it succeeds in preserving and transmitting the national spirit to its descendants and cooperating with compatriots" [9].

"It is appropriate to cite the speech of Zohra Tahir, the Chairman of the Tatar community in Finland containing the following instructions for the youth also applicable to the worldwide Tatar diaspora" [9]:

- Firstly, speak the native language in a beautiful way, thus showing respect and love to the language; remain mindful of the customs and rituals of your ancestors and do not detach yourselves from the rich spiritual and cultural traditions of your people;
- Secondly, refrain from marriage with people of another nationality remembering that it can lead to the destruction of national unity;
- Thirdly, remain faithful to your religion (Islam) and respect the canons adopted in the Muslim world [8].

New York
A small community of Polish-speaking Tatars settled in Brooklyn, New York City, in the early 1900s. They established a mosque that is still in use today.

There's a building at 104 Powers Street in Williamsburg and there's a discreet, white turret topped with a crescent. This is North America's oldest surviving mosque.

Alyssa Ratkewitch is the mosque's current caretaker. In one of her interviews, Alisa mentions: "Some are in Massachusetts, Connecticut, even California. But they still drive down to the mosque for major events, such as Kurban Bayrami, iftar dinners, or for weddings and funerals" [7, 10].

4.2 Tatars in Canada

"The Montreal Tatar Association was officially registered with the Government of Quebec on July 4, 2002. Our Tatar Association is here to serve our community members in Montreal and the rest of Canada [11].

The Montreal Tatar Association promotes the involvement of children, parents, educators, professionals and community members in the advancement and realization of the above-mentioned aspects of Tatar life in Montreal and in Canada." This information was taken from the official website of The Montreal Tatar Association. Unfortunately, they do not provide any information about the organization's history and background of its founders [11].

People here lead a very active way of live within diaspora. For instance, in June 11, 2019 "for the first time, the Tatars and Bashkirs of Canada took part in the annual festival of the Russian-speaking community Taste of Russia" [11].

Tatars in Montreal regularly play hockey and invite their compatriots to Tatar Hockey Game in North America to Bell's Sports Center. Participants go there from different regions of the USA and Canada. Usually, they provide interesting performances between periods, raffle with memorable prizes and a lot of fun according to the photos you can view on the website.

5 Conclusion

According to the research presented in this article, it is possible to make a conclusion that the integration of Tatars into American and Canadian society was successful. Migration of Tatars was a continuous process depending on the current political and social situation in their home country. It started in the thirteenth century and is still in progress considering the current situation in our country. And unfortunately, because of the mentioned situation in Russia and coronavirus crisis in the world, it was very difficult and, in some cases, absolutely impossible to find up-to-date statistic and information about Tatars in the world. The survey needs further investigation.

The example of integration of Polish Tatars in American society in New York and further foundation of two Tatar diasporas and the birth of Montreal association of Tatars in Canada proves remarkable success of Tatars in assimilating into host

societies in North America. At the same time, they managed to retain a sense of their own identity and pride in their heritage.

As G. Nabiullina writes, "the diaspora consciousness of the Tatars in America is characterized by:

– The desire to preserve the Tatar culture and language while remaining open to the foreign culture;
– The Tatars living abroad are unanimous; their answers being notable for depth of meaning through the emotions and concrete ideas based on personal experience. Thus, the Tatar diaspora abroad retains a collective memory of the country of origin as well as striving for self-identification. They possess an enduring identification with the country of origin along with a sense of group unity based on it in order to preserve and develop their language and culture in a foreign environment" [9].

Thus, the Tatars, who have spread across the world, have contributed to multiple cultures, bridged different civilizations, and illustrated the interconnectivity of humans around the globe.

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On Embedding the Image of the Soviet Leader in the Regional Elite Structure of the Republic of Altai (Russian Federation)

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Abstract Based on the information collected, the paper studies the ways of constructing a Soviet leader's image and the reasons for its integration into the structure of the regional ethnopolitical elite. It is highlighted that M.V. Karamaev, chairman of the Gorno-Altai regional executive committee in 1971–1988, became such a Soviet leader. It was determined that an important argument for his activity was presented in order to be included in the top three creators of the republic – G.I. Choros-Gurkin, M.V. Karamaev, and V.I. Chaptynov. In November 1989, at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, M.V. Karamaev raised the issue of the need for the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region to secede from the Altai Territory, although this was inevitable during the years of "perestroika." A number of technological methods used in commemorative practices to perpetuate his memory are outlined: renaming streets and schools, organizing scientific conferences, and opening a memorial plaque, a museum, and exhibitions of other objects of material and cultural heritage that have a symbolic meaning. It was revealed that the political mythology created in the region is based on the consideration that a positive image of the Soviet leader M.V. Karamaev and fixed in the public mind will strengthen the position of his heirs as the ethno-political elite. An alternative side of the national memory policy has emerged – the fact that the history of the Altai Republic formation is associated with the name of G.I. Choros-Gurkin and his associates, repressed by the Soviet authorities in 1937. The successor of their idea to create a republic in Gorny Altai was N.M. Kiselev, First Secretary of the Gorno-Altai Regional Committee of the CPSU in 1955–1960, who was declared a separatist in 1959 for advocating the separation of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region from the Altai Territory. It is concluded that the ethnopolitical elite's possession of power gives it control over the developing social movement "Kurultai of the Altai people," which has become a platform for discussing the sociopolitical problems of the region.

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1   Introduction

This paper is a continuation of the study on the topic "The main directions of the policy of constructing the ideology of regionalism in the Altai Republic" [1]. The purpose of the work is to identify the mechanism and ways to form the image of the Soviet leader and the reasons for his integration into the structure of the regional ethnopolitical elite. The formulation of the problem makes it possible to collect unique material and conduct its analytical processing. The material of local newspapers was used as a source, and information from Internet sites was involved. Methodological toolkit combines a comparative historical method of analysis with research methods and approaches. The applied structural analysis makes it possible to reveal the structure of the local ethnopolitical elite who is using various types of resources – administrative, political, and institutional propaganda.

2   Findings

The history of the Altai Republic formation as an independent entity is inextricably linked with the name of G.I. Choros-Gurkin and V.I. Chaptynov, the first put forward, and the other implemented the idea of forming a republic in Altai. To understand the significance of famous personalities, political myths are composed as a tool for influencing public consciousness. The analysis of the material collected testifies that in the public consciousness the judgment about republican sovereignty and statehood is affirmed as "our" revived achievements, which should be "defended" and "strengthened" in the interests of Altai peoples.

After the Republic of Altai formation, the name of Choros-Gurkin became a political symbol. This public figure in the early last century appeared the founder of the idea of forming a republic in Gorny Altai. At that time, in the first years of Soviet power, there was a search for ways of self-determination. G.I. Choros-Gurkin and his associates fought for the creation of national autonomy in the form of the Republic of Oirot. Their idea turned out to be unrealistic because it was not supported by the Soviet authorities. As a result, supporters of the idea to create a republic in Altai were repressed. In 1937, G.I. Choros-Gurkin and his like-minded people were shot and declared "enemies," "anti-Soviet," and "nationalists." The Soviet government forbade to remember and even pronounce the name of G.I. Choros-Gurkin and his associates; they were only rehabilitated in the post-Soviet period.

Two names were associated with the Republic of Altai formation – G.I. Choros-Gurkin, a public leader of the early twentieth century, and V.I. Chaptynov, the first head of the republic in the post-Soviet period. The intermediate link turned out to be

empty – chronologically, this is the period of Soviet power, who did not suppose the idea of forming a republic in Gorny Altai. The information collected suggests that this issue was resolved against the backdrop of the political development of the region, which consisted of three periods:

- The first period (1991–1992) was a chaotic period, when the fading Soviet power coexisted with the new democratic power.
- The second period (1993–1999) was a period of regionalization, when the federal center had to agree with the strengthening of regional elites and the mass holding of regional elections of executive power heads.
- The third period is characterized by the restoration of the vertical of power under President V.V. Putin, who returned to the federal center a significant amount of power over the regions and outlined ways to restore the mechanism for managing them.

At the turn of the "zero" and "tenth" years, there appeared a candidate in the intermediate link between G.I. Choros-Gurkin and V.I. Chaptynov. It was Mikhail Vasilyevich Karamaev, chairman of the Gorno-Altai regional executive committee from 1971 to 1988, whose successor was V.I. Chaptynov. To be included into the top three creators of the republic – G.I. Choros-Gurkin, M.V. Karamaev, and V.I. Chaptynov – M.V. Karamaev's important argument was used: in his speech at the session of the Supreme Council of the RSFSR (November 1989), the issue of secession of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region from the Altai Territory was raised [2]. The Internet sites highlight the degree of importance of this event: "At that time it was a manifestation of civic courage, a huge political step" [3]. In our opinion, to declare and apply for an increase in the legal status of the region in 1989 was already too late. It should be remembered that the "perestroika" in the country in 1985–1991 led to the inevitable collapse of the USSR, and inevitable administrative separation the of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region from the Altai Territory was clear, all that would lead to the creation of a republic in Gorny Altai.

To understand the significance of famous personalities, some political myths are composed as a tool for influencing public consciousness. The main objects of the mythologization of the regional political space are the biographical facts of the local public figures and the events of regional history. The political myth is "an ideologically marked narrative that claims to be a true representation of the past events, present and predictable future and is perceived by the social group as true in its main features" [4, p. 41].

According to information published, the most popular mythologems about the Soviet state and political fig. M.V. Karamaev are the following:

1. "From the people" – grew up in the Altai village of Kamyshla (Kumzhulu) (Shebalinsky district), is a representative of the seok clan "tonzhaan (tozhjoon)"; came from a poor peasant family, grew up in a large family [2]; during the war years, he had to leave school and start working on a collective farm as a shepherd, herdsman, plowman, lumberjack, accountant, etc. [5].

2. "Took courses for junior commanders" – in 1945, he joined the Komsomol; in 1949, he was called up for the army and served in Belarus as a gun commander, finished his service at the headquarters of a tank battalion [6].
3. "Began his party career in remote areas" – in 1952, he returned to his homeland; due to the regional Komsomol committee recommendation, he was sent to the distant Kosh-Agach region for Komsomol work. According to military unit commanders' reviews from his duty stations, he was accepted as a candidate member of the CPSU. From 1954 to 1959, Karamaev studied at the Barnaul Higher Party School, and after graduating he was elected chairman of another distant region – the Ulagan Aimak executive committee. In 1961, he was the first secretary of the Ulagan, in 1963, Kosh-Agach district committee of the CPSU [6].
4. "The ideal type of a leader" – "for everyone, he was an example of purposefulness, organization, decency" [3]. "As a leader, he was demanding and strict, but fair, from his subordinates he expected full return, devotion not to himself personally, but to the common course" [7]. "He was a very flexible manager, he knew how to find a decent way out of the most difficult situations ... In 1965, at the plenum of the Gorno-Altai Regional Committee of the CPSU, M.V. Karamaev was nominated to the position of second secretary of the regional party committee, he was entrusted with the leadership in agriculture and trade. In 1971, he replaced Chet Kydrashevich Kydrashev, who had been heading the region for almost 16 years, as chairman of the Gorno-Altai Regional Executive Committee" [8].
5. "Omnipresence" – "kept the situation in all districts of the region under control and provided the necessary support," "was aware of the situation: he knew what was being done, built, planned in each particular district, village, gave advice, instructions" [3]. "I knew well the problems and concerns of the population, traveled a lot around the regions, visited remote villages and camps" [7].
6. "Easy to communicate" – "he met with ordinary people, was interested in their needs and concerns. He was attentive to people, treated them with the highest respect, and people responded to him with respect, trust, love and gratitude, everyone could turn to him for advice and help, he did not refuse anyone" [7].

The nomenklatura at all levels was made up of Soviet party and government leaders. In other words, it was the Soviet elite, semi-closed and hard to access; it was based on specific selection rules and represented a totalitarian version of the elite [9]. When structuring the regional elite, the personal criterion comes first; therefore, each region has its own structure formed on personal relations: kinship, community, common language, and socioprofessional origin. One of the informal rules for uniting the elite lies in the principle of personal loyalty: "whose person you are, who brought you. Every boss who climbs the corporate ladder leads his supporters with him" [10, p. 112].

The near-elite environment selection based on kinship and friendship is the most important informal mechanism for rallying the regional elite. In the ethnic consciousness of the Altaians, belonging to a seok clan remains important; it passes to descendants along the father's line. In the tribal society of the Altaians, a man must

have sons, because the seok is continued by the son, and not by the daughter, who, having married, raises children from her husband's seok. Belonging to the same seok clan means blood relationship of its representatives. It would seem that behind a simple phrase about a person's ancestral affiliation to a particular seok, there is multifaceted information about his ancestors' territory of residence, ancestral character and appearance, family ties, etc. [11, p. 93].

M.V. Karamaev, chairman of the Gorno-Altai regional executive committee from 1971 to 1988, was a representative of "the tonzhaan" seok clan. Seok "tonjoon" has long been settled along the middle reaches of the Katun River, on the territory of modern districts – Chemalsky, Shebalinsky, and Maiminsky. It is a small seok and almost everyone knows or has heard of each other. People say about small seoks that they are "kind and attentive to each other."

The principles of kinship according to the seok clan were tacitly adhered to in Soviet times, as evidenced by Ivan Amyrovich Ohrin, who also comes from the "tonzhaan" seok and who posted a note on the website of the regional newspaper "Zvezda Altaya." His memories of M.V. Karamaev, his famous relative, about how they met and how they worked, are called "Pride of the Tonzhaan clan" [3]. The note begins with the fact that I.A. Ohrin, and M.V. Karamaev belong to the common seok clan "tonzhaan": "I will never forget how I first met Mikhail Vasilyevich. "After Soviet army service in 1960, I was elected secretary of the Komsomol committee of the Shebalinsky reindeer state farm, and in 1962 - the second secretary of the Shebalinsky Komsomol Committee. One summer day at lunchtime, my wife Maria Viktorovna and I went to the store. I saw a tall, charming, handsome, immaculately dressed man coming out of the dining room arm in arm with a woman. I stopped, my wife said to me: 'This is Mikhail Vasilyevich Karamaev with his wife Varvara Sergeevna. He works as the first secretary of the Ulagan DC of CPSU, by the way, he is from the Tonzhaan clan, just like you'" [3].

M.V. Karamaev grew up in the mono-ethnic Altai village of Kumzhulu in the Shebalinsky district, so he knew and spoke his native Altai language. By virtue of his origin, he was not alien to the observance of tribal kinship customs in accordance to the seok clan. It is no coincidence that he helped and patronized the Tonzhaan relatives and which I.A. Ohrin recalled: "When he (Karamaev) worked as chairman of the regional executive committee, I was deputy chairman, and later chairman of the Shebalinsky district executive committee and I was under the direct supervision of Mikhail Vasilyevich. At this time, some people half-jokingly said: 'Just two tonzhaan 'occupied' the entire region. Especially after the Shebalinsky District having been several times awarded the Challenge Red Banner of the CPSU Central Committee for the exemplary implementation of the plan for socio-economic development'" [3]. Belonging to the common seok "tonzhaan" determined special relationships, for example, responsibility – not to let down a senior kinsman, which I.A. Ohrin referred to: "As a leader (Karamaev) he was demanding of people. Sometimes, I got hit the most, after that he usually said: 'It's necessary, otherwise it turns out that 'tonzhaan' strokes another 'tonzhaan's' head'" [3].

Another representative of the "tonzhaan" seok I.I. Belekov, who worked in the Gorno-Altai CPSU Regional Committee (1980–1988), and was Deputy Chairman

of the Government of the Republic of Altai (1992–1997), recalls his famous relative M.V. Karamaev. I.I. Belekov highly appreciates his relative and mentor M.V. Karamaev: "Not everyone can go through the stages of formation from the very bottom of Komsomol and party work to the position of Chairman of the Gorno-Altai Regional Executive Committee, Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR. Such a path could only be passed by a person of strong will, deep mind and tough self-organization. He gave himself to work completely, without a trace. Even being retired, he remained a leader. He was consulted, when making strategic decisions, by the current leaders of the region and the republic" [8]. The following recollection shows the strength of M.V. Karamaev's leadership – he had influence on former subordinates while resolving issues of regional policy in the post-Soviet period, although he was retired.

The help and support of a kinsman, who is exposed to power, prescribes some feedback – one should remain grateful, support him and his entourage in every possible way throughout his life. It is no coincidence that in the early 2000s, M.V. Karamaev's eldest daughter N.M. Ekeyeva fought for the position of director of the Research Institute of Altaistics and she needed the support of I.I. Belekov, Altai Republic Minister of Culture and Cinema at that time. Information about the political elite's role, its representatives, and events in their lives is constantly and animatedly discussed in society. In one of the stories, the eldest relative of the Karamaev family, Z.S. Kazagacheva, coming to I.I. Belekov's office, reminded him how in the 1970s Mikhail Vasilyevich took him from the village to the city of Gorno-Altaisk and helped him move up the career ladder, so he had to support his daughter in return. It should be noted that tribal affiliation is only a starting position, and personal devotion to influential relatives remains significant. Even the absence of family ties can be compensated for by personal devotion, which acts as an informal mechanism for intra-elite consolidation and power group recruitment in the region.

Russians, who live nearby and make up the ethnic majority of the region, do not take into account the significance of the tribal aspect in the regional elite structure. In the Soviet period, it was customary not to talk about one's kinship by seok clan, since according to the Soviet ideology, seok and the customs associated with it were recognized as "remnants" that had to be fought, forgotten, and not observed. The fight against traditions has led to the fact that the younger generation, especially the national elite's children, who grew up in a Russian-speaking environment, do not know their native language. Of the three children of M.V. Karamaev, only the eldest daughter Natalya understands the Altai language but does not speak it. This argument became one of the contentious issues in her position as Director of Research Institute of Altaic (2002–2013) as not speaking Altaic. Among the Altaians, an impeccable command of their native Altaic language is considered an important criterion of ethnicity. For Russians, a criterion of this type is appearance, so even those who do not speak their native language are considered Altaians.

In the last decade, the image of the Soviet leader M.V. Karamaev is actively promoted as a person who took an intermediate position between G.I. Choros-Gurkin, the leader of the pre-Soviet period, and V.I. Chaptynov, the first head of the Altai

Republic in the post-Soviet period. The formation of an ethnopolitical symbolic trio was the result of the initiative of M.V. Karamaev's heirs. Their position is as follows: if a positive assessment of M.V. Karamaev as a Soviet figure is consolidated in public consciousness, then their own position will be also confirmed. In 2014, the year when M.V. Karamaev's 85th birth anniversary was celebrated, A.V. Berdnikov, head of the republic, noted: "Today, Mikhail Vasilyevich's daughter, first deputy Prime Minister of the Republic of Altai Natalya Mikhailovna Ekeeva, works in the regional cabinet of ministers on an equal footing with men. A wonderful modest woman, who, continuing family traditions, has taken the burden of managerial responsibility on her fragile shoulders. Mikhail Vasilyevich's son, Sergei Mikhailovich Karamaev, has been in charge of the Directorate of the FSS of Russia for the Republic of Altai for many years. Another daughter, Nadezhda Mikhailovna Todogosheva, has been working as a teacher of history and social studies at the Republican Gymnasium after V.K. Plakas. Her work experience is 35 years, she is a veteran of labor, an honorary worker of general education of the Russian Federation, an honored teacher of the Altai Republic. One can only be proud of such children, and it is natural that they were brought up by a person who is pride of the entire Republic of Altai" [12].

O.L. Khorokhordin's (the new head of the Republic of Altai) coming to power by appointment of President V.V. Putin in 2019, led to the replacement of most of the deputies by their own Moscow team. Currently, N.M. Ekeyeva, as a representative of the regional elite, is the Chairman of the Committee of the State Assembly – El Kurultai of the Republic of Altai on national politics, education, culture, public associations, and the media. Under the leadership of her husband N.V. Ekeyev, director of the Research Institute of Altaistics, scientific conferences are held, monographs that contribute to the formation of the image of the Soviet leader M.V. Karamaev are published.

The memory policy turns out to be an important tool for mobilizing political, administrative, institutional, and propaganda resources. The main actors of the memory policy are interested in public political strategies, ways of capturing and interpreting the past in the mass consciousness. For its deep rooting, it is necessary to reinforce it through commemorative practices associated with memorable dates. These were the birthday anniversaries of the Soviet fig. M.V. Karamaev: his 80th anniversary in 2009, 85th anniversary in 2014, and 90th anniversary in 2019. In 2024, it is planned to celebrate another round date: its 95th birth anniversary.

In connection with the anniversaries listed, the following articles are posted on the Internet sites: "The pride of the Tonzhaan clan" (by I.A. Ohrin), "Knowing how to retreat for the sake of a great course" (by I.I. Belekov), "An example of serving the people" (by A.V. Todogoshev), "M.V. Karamaev: a worthy son of Altai" (by Yu.V. Sekachev). They have the single narrative structure, a presentation of the same facts and events, and general editing – first, about childhood during the war years, then about military service and the career start in the Komsomol ranks, and about successes in party line, which led to the post of head of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region. Analysis of the material published allows us to identify the

basic components of the cultivated historical past and image constructing of the Soviet leader:

1. The Soviet period is presented as a time of increased recovery: "For 17 years, from 1971 to 1988, Mikhail Vasilievich was the permanent leader of the regional Council of People's Deputies and its executive committee ... Those were years of economic, political stability, material well-being and confidence in the future" [3]. "Mikhail Vasilyevich's merits in the development of our region are indisputable. The period of his work in a responsible post was a time of steady rise" [6]. Reading these articles, one understands that they are designed for the post-Soviet generation, who does not know Soviet life. They highlight certain facts of the past and conceal others and revive Soviet symbols. Anyone who lived in the Soviet era knows about it as an "era of stagnation" with a low standard of living, a shortage of goods, granting flats by turns, and ideological pressure in public spheres.

2. The region under study is agrarian, but it is described as an industrial one in the Soviet era: "Factories were opened – an engine repair plant, a city dairy plant, Elektropribor, Elektrosignal plants. Existing facilities were repaired - weaving and clothing factories, a bakery plant and others" [8]. In industry, technical and economic indicators were growing, factories, enterprises, schools, hospitals, cultural centers, residential buildings were built, factories were reconstructed. The volume of capital investments from all sources of financing into economic development and culture of the region had been constantly increasing; social issues of improving the material and cultural standard of living of the people were given paramount importance to [6].

3. Methods of capturing and interpreting the past in the mass consciousness were applied by comparing and paralleling the events of the past and the present: "under Mikhail Vasilyevich, iconic objects first appeared ... he launched a project to create a modern airport in Gorno-Altaisk. In 1972, the runway was reconstructed and the airport began to receive Yak-40 aircraft. 39 years after the reconstruction, Gorno-Altaisk Airport already began to receive Boeings and Airbuses, and a regular direct flight to Moscow was opened. In the 70s, a hospital campus was built in Gorno-Altaisk. Today, new buildings have appeared here, renovated departments have been opened, and new modern equipment has been purchased. Thanks to the personal efforts of Mikhail Karamaev, the Spartak city stadium was reconstructed, and the National Drama Theater appeared in the capital. These objects were rebuilt in the modern period" [13].

3   Discussion and Conclusion

The public support of the Altaians is an important ethno-social resource in constructing the image of the Soviet leader M.V. Karamaev. In the Altaians' view, the role of regional elite is important when solving political issues, but not the internal

problems of the ethnic environment of the Altaians. Not many tend to consider the Altaian ethnic revival a merit of the first head of the Altai Republic V.I. Chaptynov, whereas the result of his social and political activities is seen in the republic formation where the Altaians are the titular ethnic group. The ethnopolitical significance of G.I. Choros-Gurkin, who died by the verdict of the Soviet authorities for the idea of creating a republic in Altai, is indisputable. For the Soviet government, it was the idea of a new community of "Soviet people" with their own "Soviet culture" that mattered, but ethnic cultures, especially small peoples, were considered "backward and disappearing." M.V. Karamaev, as a statesman of that time, could not go against the course of building Soviet life, and therefore it was impossible to defend "the Altai people's rights to self-determination, to the development of culture and language, and the preservation of traditions" [8].

Soviet officials were cautious about the factual revival of ethnic culture, even when the decline of Soviet power began. On the initiative of the "Altaidyn Cholmony" newspaper journalists in 1988, the first national holiday was held; it was called "El Oiyn," which means "folk games" [14]. This holiday was meant to holding competitions in national sports, but it included contests of Altai songs, dances, national clothes, yurt dwellings, food, and other components of the Altaians' ethnic culture. The regional authorities of the post-Soviet period actively supported this new holiday, which is held every 2 years and has become an ethnocultural symbol of the Altai Republic. This achievement is included in a number of M.V. Karamaev's merits: "It was he who ordered the organization of the first national games El Oiyn, thereby laying the glorious traditions of holding this wonderful holiday, which has already become international" [5].

To bring the image of the Soviet leader closer to the people, the unique M.V. Karamaev's ability is described as follows: "If he had not been a manager, he could have become a poet" [3]. It is no coincidence that "he had a special relationship with creative people – writers, poets, artists. He easily quoted poets and wrote very good poems himself, their publication in "Altaidyn Cholmony" pleasantly surprised readers" [8]. From the memoirs of I.A. Okhrin's colleague: "He had a phenomenal memory, sometimes, when left alone together, he would give me an exam: he would recite the expressions written by Marx from Capital, excerpts from the works by L.V. Kokyshev, V.O. Adarov, but especially often – from A.S. Pushkin's "Eugene Onegin" and check whether I knew where this or that passage came from" [3].

In all articles and speeches dedicated to M.V. Karamaev's birth anniversaries, the same main argument is referred to and makes it possible to place him on the same level with G.I. Choros-Gurkin and V.I. Chaptynov: "it was he who created the prerequisites for the autonomous region transformation into the Republic of Altai" [15]. The Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region was an administrative-territorial unit of the Altai Territory, and its representative was the Deputy Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR: "he solved major state issues, both in our region and on the scale of the Russian Federation" [16]. "In his desire to improve life in his native Gorny Altai, his vision was not limited only by his area" [8]. He is portrayed as a flexible tactician: "glasnost was proclamed, perestroika began, but he did not rush

along to trumpet the rise of his region role. He collected all the materials, waited and spoke ... He was not an adventurer. He calculated everything in advance ... Many times he would make decisions, say words that were objectionable to someone. Principles were secured by his mind, it was the power of truth that he relied on" [8]. He was given the laurels of superiority: "It was he who stood at the origins of the Altai Republic formation. The question of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region withdrawal from the Altai Territory was first raised in his speech in November 1989 at a session of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR" [6]. He was given the image of a hero who suffered from his courage: "Mikhail Vasilyevich's statements could not but cause a negative reaction among the Altai Territory leaders. It was almost separatism that was attributed to him. Today one can only guess why he left the post of regional head or recalled the fate of those who advocated the creation of autonomy in the form of a republic, – Grigory Ivanovich Choros-Gurkin and Nikolai Mikhailovich Kiselev (head of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region in the 1950s), who were removed from their posts" [5]. M.V. Karamaev retired at the age of 59 in 1988: "for what he had achieved in his life, he owed a lot to his wife Varvara Sergeevna" [5].

S. Tanytpasov, a member of the Russia Journalists Union, analyzing the information collected, gave an assessment of each region heads' activities in a series of articles "Heads of the Republic of Altai: who worked and how?" In one of his notes, he writes: "V. Chaptynov was also directly involved in the early resignation of Mikhail Vasilyevich Karamaev. Thus, in the 1990s, he also became the first secretary of the Gorno-Altai Regional Committee of the CPSU through political intrigue" [17]. S. Tanytpasov's words make it possible to understand why M.V. Karamaev's image is created, as if to define the image of V.I. Chaptynov, founder of the Altai Republic. The heirs of Karamaev are in many respects superior in constructing the image of their predecessor to the followers of V.I. Chaptynov.

The next statement concerns the implementation of the idea to create a republic and its initiating by M.V. Karamaev with the demand for the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region withdrawal from the Altai Territory, voiced in 1989. In 1991, his followers were lucky to complete the work they had begun by raising the administrative and legal status through a republic creation. Thus, among them are V.I. Chaptynov, the first head of the Altai Republic, and his followers. It is no coincidence that the construction of the image of a Soviet state figure is summed up by the conclusion: "the current government of the region largely follows the course of Mikhail Vasilyevich" [13, 15].

To spread the image of the Soviet leader M.V. Karamaev, the education system (schools, universities), the media, theater, museums, and libraries were appointed as the main intermediaries. In the post-Soviet period, successful influence on mass consciousness was redistributed in favor of the media. Information about anniversary events in memory of M.V. Karamaev and articles on the role of the Soviet leader are posted on the official websites of the "Republic of Altai," "State Assembly - El Kurultai of the Republic of Altai," the news portal "Gorny Altai News," the online magazine "Star of Altai." It is possible to single out a number of

technological methods of the national memory policy used in commemorative practices; these include:

1. Creation of new precedent texts, alternative to the previous ones
2. Renaming of settlements, streets, and schools
3. Conducting conferences and other scientific events that promote the ideas of consolidating a positive Soviet leader image
4. A memorial plaque and opening of museum and exhibitions consisting objects of material and cultural heritage, whose work has a deep symbolic meaning

The events that took place on March 12, 2019, and timed to coincide with the 90th anniversary of the Soviet leader M.V. Karamaev are illustrative and are stated in the form of a report on the Internet sites: "The ceremony of laying flowers at the memorial plaque took place, representatives of the executive and legislative authorities of the region, the administration of Gorno-Altaisk, associates, colleagues, relatives and friends came to honor his memory" [15].

Under the heading "The 90th birth anniversary of Mikhail Karamaev has been celebrated in Gorno-Altaisk," the solemn meeting held at the National Theater was also covered: "Mikhail Karamaev's daughter, First Deputy Prime Minister Natalia Ekeyeva thanked the guests and participants of the events. She stressed that the memory of her father is still alive among the younger generation, and this testifies to the gratitude and respect of the people for him. The speakers noted that everything possible is being done to perpetuate the memory of Mikhail Karamaev" [13].

Under the title "Events dedicated to the anniversary of Mikhail Karamaev were held in Gorno-Altaisk" it is said: "His name was given to a secondary school in the village of Aktel in the Shebalinsky district, where operates a museum dedicated to him, the streets in Gorno-Altaisk, the villages of Ulagan and Kosh-Agach, where his career began, are named after M.V. Karamaev. School No. 1 received the status of a lyceum and was named after a famous countryman. It is being prepared for release, and there is an opportunity to get acquainted with the electronic version of the book in honor of the head of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region. Exhibitions, sports tournaments, tours of the National Theater are held in the anniversary year" [15].

The website of Gorno-Altai State University reported conducting the All-Russian scientific conference "Political and socio-economic development of Siberia and adjacent territories in the 40s-90s" of the twentieth century, dedicated to the 90th birth anniversary of the Soviet statesman and politician Mikhail Vasilievich Karamaev. The plenary session was opened by rector V.G. Babin, on behalf of the head of the Government of the Republic of Altai A.V. Berdnikov, his first deputy N.M. Ekeyeva delivered a welcoming speech, then the participants were welcomed by U.A. Alpimov, Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Financial, Tax and Economic Policy. The report was made by N.V. Ekeyev, director of the Research Institute of Altaistics after A. S.S. Surazakov [18].

Thus, the political mythology created in the region is based on the following position. If a positive image of the Soviet leader M.V. Karamaev is a fixed one, his heirs' position as the ethnopolitical elite of the region will be strengthened either. Possession of power gives them control over the ways to achieve their goal.

In the post-Soviet period, discussions about the role of regional elites in society revived, which was caused by the ethnic cultural revival, the intensification of civil movements, and the increased federal authorities' interest in using local government for political purposes. The time had come when it became possible to remember those who suffered from the Soviet regime and their unrealized ideas.

The local population cherish the memory of Nikolai Mikhailovich Kiselev, the first secretary of the CPSU Gorno-Altai regional committee in 1955–1960. He was a patriot of his land who realized that autonomous region's inclusion into the Altai Territory led to the loss of independence in the management of agriculture, industry, personnel policy, and planning. Summer 1959, N.M. Kiselev sent a memorandum to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR concerning Gorny Altai possibility to withdraw from the Altai Territory. In response, he was relieved of his post, and the reasons for the slow development of the region were explained by the wrong style of his work [19].

N.M. Kiselev came from local Russians, grew up in the village of Mayma, near the city of Gorno-Altaisk. Several notes about him and his civil feat were published by his younger sister Ekaterina Kiseleva. His fate is in the fate of Altai'', public figure of B.K. Alushkin "He went through the whole academy of life", associate professor of GAGU L.V. Kypchakova "First Secretary Nikolai Kiselev" [20, 21]. The fact that the history of the Altai Republic formation in public consciousness is inextricably linked with the name of G.I. Choros-Gurkin and his associates repressed in 1937. The successor of the idea of creating a republic in Gorny Altai is N.M. Kiselyov, who was declared a separatist in 1959 for he openly advocated the withdrawal of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region from the Altai Territory during his time as the head of the region.

The regional ethnopolitical elite creates its own ideal of the Soviet leader in the person of N.M. Karamaev, who headed the region in 1971–1988. He raised the issue of the Gorno-Altai Autonomous Region withdrawal from the Altai Territory in 1989, 30 years after N.M. Kiselev's speech. Despite this fact, the ethnopolitical elite puts their leader M.V. Karamaev on a par with G.I. Choros-Gurkin, thereby confirming "how far they are from the people." Among the negative manifestations that have proved themselves among regional power structures in recent years, there is an ignorance of the people's problems, selection of personnel on related and friendly grounds, and insufficient professionalism, all that is becoming a brake on the development of democratic processes.

In the Republic of Altai, there is an illustrious public movement "Kurultai of the Altai people," created during the period of "ethnic revival" in the 1990s. In ethnopolitical discourse, it has become a platform for discussing sociopolitical problems. At each republican congress, issues of "national parity" observance were raised – the representation of the titular population in the republican and federal authorities, the need to elect an Altaian as the Head of the Republic, and the expansion of the Altai language use as the state language in power structures [22].

The ethnopolitical elite is distancing itself from the Altaians, not delving into their interests, contributing to the development of a sociopolitical crisis by creating an alternative organization, "the Congress of the Altai People," which is nicknamed

the "bureaucratic kurultai." Until now, they consider themselves entitled to command other social groups, focusing on the vertical structures of power. Permanent participants of congresses-kurultais, especially those working in budgetary organizations, through third parties were forbidden to come to meetings and were threatened with dismissal as "going against the party line." Due to the fact that the Altaian national movements have an ethno-mobilizing potential, the regional authorities are interested in their support in legitimizing the policy being pursued.

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The Ideology of Public Service in the Republic of Finland

Artur Vafin

Abstract The purpose of this study is to define the specific features of public service ideology in Finland. The empirical stuff of the study consists of the Finnish laws and official documents. We focus on the public service ethics. Moreover, we provide an overview of institutions in charge of public service ethics. We conclude that the commitment to the values of the civil service in Finland is manifested not in their detailed legislative consolidation but rather in their ideological acceptance, with an emphasis on reliability, quality, expertise, and openness.

Keywords Civil service · Civil service ethics · Public servant · Finland · Code of Conduct · Human resources management

1 Definition

In Finland, the civil service is understood as "activities entrusted to employees by citizens, at the expense of citizens and in the interests of citizens" [1]. The Law on Civil Servants of 1994 bases the process of admission to the civil service on the principles of equality and nondiscrimination on the basis of sex [2]. Only a Finnish citizen can hold a number of positions, such as a judge, head of department, head of a government agency, or a position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Defense.

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2   The Organization of Public Service Selection in Finland

The main functions of recruitment and selection, assessment, development, and training are decentralized and implemented by specific institutions, and, as noted, the delegation of personnel matters and the lack of uniform standards is much more pronounced than in other countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) [3]. The "career" system is not adopted, with the exception of military and foreign service; appointment to a position occurs on the basis of a competition, during which the candidate submits documents and is interviewed.

The candidate must be at least 18 years old, although in some cases it is allowed to hire persons who have reached the age of 15 if the person has completed education and can, according to the employer, cope with the powers. Educational requirements are legally limited to indicating the mandatory presence of a university diploma, deep professional experience, and practical management skills for senior civil service positions (e.g., heads of departments, heads of agencies); other requirements can be established separately at the level of by-laws in relation to a particular agency (Art. 8 of the Law on Civil Servants).

Applicants must also take Finnish and Swedish language proficiency tests. Under Finnish law, the state has an obligation to protect people's rights to use languages and to provide services in both Finnish and Swedish [4].

The Law on Language Proficiency Requirements for Public Sector Employees, as a condition of employment, establishes the obligation of personnel services to check whether the candidate has the necessary language skills. The vacancy announcement must contain requirements for language proficiency [5]. The exam has three levels of assessment: "satisfactory," "good," and "excellent; the required level of the test depends on the position for which the candidate is applying and also includes tasks related to communicative situations within the civil service. Speaking skills, for example, are assessed through interviews and discussions; writing skills are assessed by completing written tasks that do not include essays or materials for translation [6].

When considering appointment to a position, the employer shall take into account the good faith of the person and ascertain that there are no connections that could jeopardize the proper independent and reliable performance of duties (Article 8c of the Civil Service Law).

The law establishes the duty of civil servants to "behave appropriately to their position and functions" and to refuse financial and other advantages that may compromise their service. There is also a ban on combining professions, with a number of exceptions. According to the Finnish Constitution, civil servants are responsible for the legality of their own actions. Any person who has suffered from a violation of his rights or suffered losses as a result of the illegal actions of a public servant has the right to demand punishment and compensation for damages (Article 118 of the Constitution) [7].

The 2017 publication of the Finnish Ministry of Finance on the state of public service ethics and the results of a survey on ethical values and principles noted that

ethical values are rooted in the special position of public administration in society and in the role of civil servants as part of the political-administrative system. The old-style rule-based bureaucracy, as it turned out, is not ideally neutral; in modern conditions it is usually regarded as an inefficient management organization. Civil servants have been given more freedom to choose their working methods, which in turn puts ethical issues at the forefront [8].

3 Public Service Ethics in Finland

The foundations of public service ethics and the values of public administration are contained in a number of documents. One of the key ones is the Decision of the Government on Personnel Policy of 2001, according to which the values of the civil service are based on the ideals of democracy, the rule of law, and the model of Scandinavian well-being in the context of increasing globalization, as follows:

- Acceptability for all (general acceptability): civil servants act in accordance with the public interest in such a way that the majority of people can accept their activities.
- The competence of civil servants and the high quality of public services provided.
- The principle of service, according to which public servants are obliged to act respectfully and help citizens.
- Economic efficiency: the central government strives to achieve the goals set for it at the lowest cost.
- Impartiality and independence: decisions taken by civil servants must be objectively justified, employees must act independently and in accordance with the public interest, without any undue external influence.
- Openness: civil servants act openly and transparently, hiding nothing.
- Efficiency: civil servants are result-oriented.
- Equality: civil servants treat all citizens fairly, provide services in both national languages, and promote equality between the sexes.
- Dedication: civil servants carry out their tasks with dedication and diligence.
- Trust: people can believe that the authorities always advance the public interest.
- Innovation: civil servants try new ways of working [9].

In 2005, the Code of Ethics of the Civil Service was also developed, which has the status of methodological and informational support material. In addition, the courses "Introduction to Professional Ethics" and "Service Ethics in Practice" have been developed for the training of civil servants [10].

The Law on Civil Servants states that a person who does not act in accordance with his official duties or does not cope with them may be issued a warning.

The foundations of the ethics of parliamentarians are contained in the Constitution of Finland, which prohibits Members of Parliament (MPs) from neglecting their duties; otherwise, parliamentarians may be removed from their duties (Article 28). MPs are ordered to obey the laws, strive for justice and truth (Article 29), behave

with dignity, decently, and not offend others – for inappropriate behaviors, the Chairman can interrupt a MP's speech or even remove him from attending meetings for up to 2 weeks (Article 29). There is also a ban on participation in the discussion of any issue regarding which the MP has personal interests (Article 32) [7].

A publication on the long-term development and perspectives of civil service ethics in Finland notes that in recent decades, civil service ethics have been strongly influenced by the idea of integrity approach, according to which it is impossible and unnecessary to try to regulate every situation: in practice, civil servants and politicians are inevitably guided by their own discretion. As a rule, ethical regulation is applicable where legislative ends, but they also try to clothe it in some tangible form [11].

Under the leadership of the Ministry of Finance of Finland, there is an independent Advisory Board for Public Service Ethics in the Central Government [12], whose task is to promote the establishment of a uniform approach to the application of ethical standards, including through the development of relevant recommendations. Thus, the recommendation "On the behavior of civil servants in social networks," first, enshrined the idea of service ("civil servants have a special relationship with citizens ... the use of social media improves contact with society and increases the transparency of public service") and, second, attention is drawn to the need to observe good manners and to avoid comments or statements that are contrary to the principles of good governance, both publicly and in private correspondence. Employers are encouraged to conduct ethical conversations with government officials on social media and other platforms [13].

The "Gifts and Bonuses" recommendation states that government officials, when offered a bonus or incentive, should self-assess the situation and ask themselves questions ("Why was I offered a bonus?" "What would this situation look like in the eyes of the public?" etc.), while it is recommended to refuse any incentives in certain situations, for example, during inspections. Separately, the rules of conduct when invited to a restaurant are fixed: it is allowed to accept an invitation if it is a regular business meeting, but not more than several times a year; if, however, there is a case in the public body represented by the public official in which an external party is interested and may think that the public official has influence on the decision, the invitation is not allowed to be accepted. Moreover, as a general rule, gifts are not allowed, with the exception of commemorative or corporate gifts [14].

The Ministry of Finance has developed an Action Plan for 2018–2022, which provides for the following areas of work in the field of civil service development:

- Raising the level of ethics of civil servants, bringing it to the level of ethics of civil servants of the leading OECD countries
- Development of ethical leadership
- Raising awareness of staff in ethical issues and developing education, which will allow to base activities on values and high ethical management standards
- Taking into account ethical issues in the assessment of internal risks, which implies closer cooperation between the Civil Service Ethics Advisory Board and the Internal Control and Risk Management Advisory Board [15]

4   Discussion and Conclusion

In general, it seems that in Finland the commitment to the values of the civil service is manifested not in their detailed legislative consolidation but rather in their ideological acceptance, with an emphasis on reliability, quality, expertise, and openness.

The conflict of interest in relation to members of the Cabinet of Ministers is described in Art. 63 of the Finnish Constitution: A minister must not hold any other public office or perform any other task that may interfere with the performance of ministerial duties or cause distrust of his actions as a minister. Upon his appointment, the Minister shall without delay submit to Parliament an account of his commercial activities, share capital, and other significant assets, as well as any duties outside the official duties of the Minister and other interests that may be relevant in assessing his performance as a member of the Government.

Similar rules apply to civil servants – in accordance with the Law on Civil Servants, a person must, before being appointed to a position, provide information about his professional activities, shares in companies, assets, additional employment, and other interests that may affect the performance of official duties (Art. 8a of the Law on Civil Servants).

The level of corruption in the country is low. According to Transparency International, in 2020, Finland ranked third out of 185 in the Corruption Perceptions Index [16]. Openness and transparency are highly valued, and the level of citizens' trust in state institutions remains high, although they see that unethical behavior can manifest itself in connection with the work of "hidden networks" that influence political decision-making [17].

Finland does not have a separate anticorruption statute, but the Criminal Code contains several sections dealing with corruption offences. Regulations governing bribery in the public sector are intended to prevent attempts to influence decision-making. Bribery in the public sector is a prime example of corruption and its negative consequences, as bribery weakens the trust of citizens in the authorities. Criminal liability is provided for, among other things:

1. Acceptance of a bribe by an official (if he solicits or receives gifts or other advantages for himself or other persons from parties that are directly or indirectly affected by decisions taken by this official) is punishable by a fine or imprisonment for up to 2 years. In addition, a civil servant may also lose his position (Paragraph 1 Chapter 40 of the Criminal Code).
2. The qualified offense of taking a bribe by an official is provided for when the amount of the bribe is large or when the actions taken in exchange for the bribe resulted in significant positive consequences for the bribe giver or significant negative consequences for a third party. In such cases, the maximum prison term is up to 4 years with mandatory removal from office (Paragraph 2 of Chapter 40 of the Criminal Code).
3. Disclosure of official secrets is punishable by a fine or imprisonment up to two years (Section 5, Chapter 40 of the Criminal Code).

4. Abuse of official position for the purpose of acquiring benefits for oneself or causing harm to other persons, expressed in violation of official duties and prescribed rules, including when making decisions, as well as abuse of official position in relation to a subordinate or persons under the direct control of a public servant, is also punishable by a fine and imprisonment up to 2 years, and a qualified composition (systematic abuse of official position, as well as obtaining significant advantages or causing harm by such behavior) provides for removal from office and imprisonment up to 4 years (Section 7.8 Chapter 40 of the Criminal Code) [18].

Corruption prevention functions are distributed between the Ministry of Justice (acts as a national coordinating body for the development of anticorruption projects and supports anticorruption projects), the Ministry of Finance (is engaged in anti-corruption "education" of civil servants), the Tax Agency, the Anti-corruption Coordination Network, and a number of other institutions.

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Publication Patterns of AI Policies as a Research Domain

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Abstract First, we provide a descriptive analysis of papers and authors in order to determine what AI policies mean and what are the key segments of this research domain. Second, we analyze the conceptual structure of research field using bibliometric analysis which allows to create a map of highly important topics studied. These topics were analyzed and grouped. Third, we suggest future research fields. In total, 1545 publications from databases of Google Scholar during the period 1968–2022 were analyzed. The results indicated on a possibility of the effective use of the functionality of Biblioshiny to analyze trends in science. Qualitative interpretation of results assisted to propose a few directions of deliberative studies which should be developed in the future. The first prominent observance is a lack of studies exploring AI policies and its quality in the conditions of geopolitical shock. The third research idea is about understanding what AI policies represent and what effects they have.

Keywords Artificial intelligence · AI policy · AI strategy · Technological platform

1 Introduction

Leading countries today are moving toward modernization through new technologies, including artificial intelligence (AI). Of course, the cooperation of countries on AI is strategically necessary. However, the current dynamics in relations between the leading countries [1–3] creates the threat of a digital decoupling.

AI as a research domain has developed since the 1950s. However, AI took a social and political sound just now. Many countries develop the national AI policies that are published officially.

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Previously, there were several attempts to analyze and compare national AI policies, for instance, in works by Jobin et al. [4], Salas-Pilco [5], Reis, Espirito Santo and Melao [6], Radu [7], Roche, Wall, and Lewis [8], as well as by international organizations, such as OECD [9]. All the authors proposed interesting approaches to analyze national AI strategies and policies. For instance, van Berkel et al. [10] estimate the semantic similarity among the documents using the language model "Universal Sentence Encoder." Through the topic modeling, they have identified ten topics (components of an AI policy), namely, development strategy, infrastructure, private sector, public sector, data governance, ethical framework, education, healthcare, collaboration, and research. Galindo, Perset, and Sheeka [9] include such components as defense/military, energy, aerospace, smart cities, etc. Radu [7] discusses the situation in terms of who is the driver of AI development and what are the roles of industry, academia, and government. Salas-Pilco [5] proposes such parameters for AI policy comparison as priorities, budget, achievements, and challenges.

2 Research Approach

The purpose of the study is to detect publication patterns of AI policies as a research field. We have tried to look at the state-of-the-art of AI policy studies reflected by the articles, most important authors, sources (journals), etc., as well as key themes/concepts in the literature.

We follow to the approach proposed by Zupic and Cater [11], where a standard bibliometric study consists of five stages:

Study design included selecting a bibliographic database for data collection (in this case, Google Scholar), developing a search strategy.
Data collection included:

- Searching Google Scholar. In total, we found 1545 publications during the period 1991–2023 with the search using the country name and the keywords: "AI policy," "AI strategy," "AI politics," "AI initiatives," "AI regulating," "AI governing," "AI legislation," and "AI law."
- Exporting the bibliographic records to EndNote format.
- Importing the same collection in EndNote format in Mendeley for screening. The EndNote format was the only one common for both downloading from Google Scholar and import to Mendeley.
- Automatic checking for duplicates in the Mendeley.
- Uploading the collection on Biblioshiny in bib format [12].[1]
- Exporting the collection from Biblioshiny in .xls format.

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[1] Biblioshiny is a web interface of the R Bibliometrix package: https://bibliometrix.org/Biblioshiny.html#:~:text=biblioshiny%20is%20a%20shiny%20app,o%20Data%20filtering

Data analysis included:

– Screening titles of each record in Google Scholar, deleting irrelevant records. Following Lan and Anders [13] and Dekker and Bekkers [14], we excluded the analysis of reviews, preprints, editorials, prefaces, and forewords, as well as non-English articles, non-peer-reviewed articles, and nonrelevant studies, which were not specifically addressing AI policies, addressing nonpolitical topics (commerce, art and culture, etc.), and addressing another context (e.g., health, agriculture, etc.).

After all these steps, we took 178 records, which were uploaded on Biblioshiny and undergone a bibliometric analysis (e.g., searching of most productive authors; co-occurrence network analysis).

Data visualization was performed with Biblioshiny.

3 Findings Interpretation

In recent 5 years, we can see an exponential increase in AI policies research (see Fig. 1). Some decrease in 2022 may be clarified with an argument that data are not included in the database yet. But this argument seems to be unconvincing in relation to 2021 and 2020 after the peak of publications in 2019. Anyway, we cannot state that this area of research has reached a certain point, beyond which comes "maturity." The number of publications is still much more than 5–10 years ago.
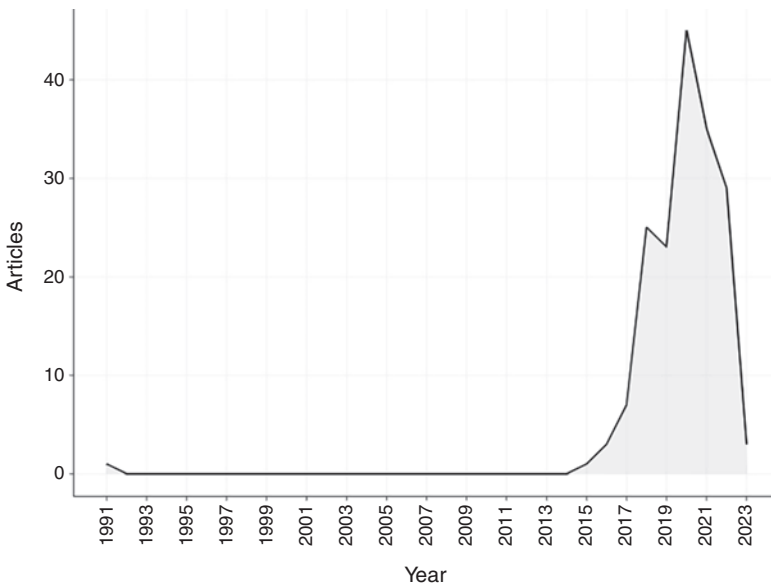
Fig. 1 Annual scientific production

As for the sources, most relevant journals are listed in the Fig. 2. It is difficult to see an obvious leader in this field. Anyway, many journals on political and social sciences include the articles on AI policies more and more.

It may be noticed that a number of sources have been rising since 2014. As for types of sources, we see that they had been gradually publishing the articles on AI policies: telecommunication policy, AI and ethics, government information quarterly, policy and society, etc. We can see a sharp increase since 2019 till 2021. As a result of accumulation, currently, it is the dominating sources in comparison to others. Interestingly, a common trend among all sources was observed: the first year of appearance was characterized by growth and then there were some periods without changes.

As for the authors' collaborations, Fig. 3 demonstrates several groups of most productive authors which are to the some extend isolated from each other.

Figure 4 presents how terms are correlated and used together. The most widespread terms were politics, AI strategy, artificial intelligence policy, and China. We noticed that scholars focus predominantly on national strategies and platforms, as well as perspectives and technologies. It means that an institutional input venue currently dominates in AI policy studies. We found "politics" as the largest node in the network, followed by "AI strategy," "artificial intelligence policy," and "China." We can see several segments of the network. For instance, a "red" segment shows a co-occurrence of the words "AI strategy," "comparative analysis," "challenge," and "role" which indicates the main purpose of comparative analysis is to study the role and challenges of AI in national strategies. A "blue" segment shows a co-occurrence of the words "politics," "national strategy," and "technology" that we can interpret as the technology effects on the AI politics and strategies. At the same time, we can see the absence (or week representativeness) of such topics as "AI political effects" and "AI strategies assessment." It means that these topics are still emerging, taking a low development and increasing (but still low) relevance. We can see that AI policies is a field which includes a variety of arenas and wide range of methods.

At the same time, we can see the absence (or underrepresentation) of topics such as "political effects of AI" and "assessing AI strategies." This means that these topics are still under-researched. This is shown in Fig. 5. "Basic" themes (i.e., little

Sources	Articles
TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY	4
AI AND ETHICS	3
GOVERNMENT INFORMATION QUARTERLY	3
PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY A: MATHEMATICAL, PHYSICAL AND ENGINEERING SCIENCES	3
POLICY AND SOCIETY	3
SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING ETHICS	3
TECHNOLOGY IN SOCIETY	3

Fig. 2 Most relevant sources
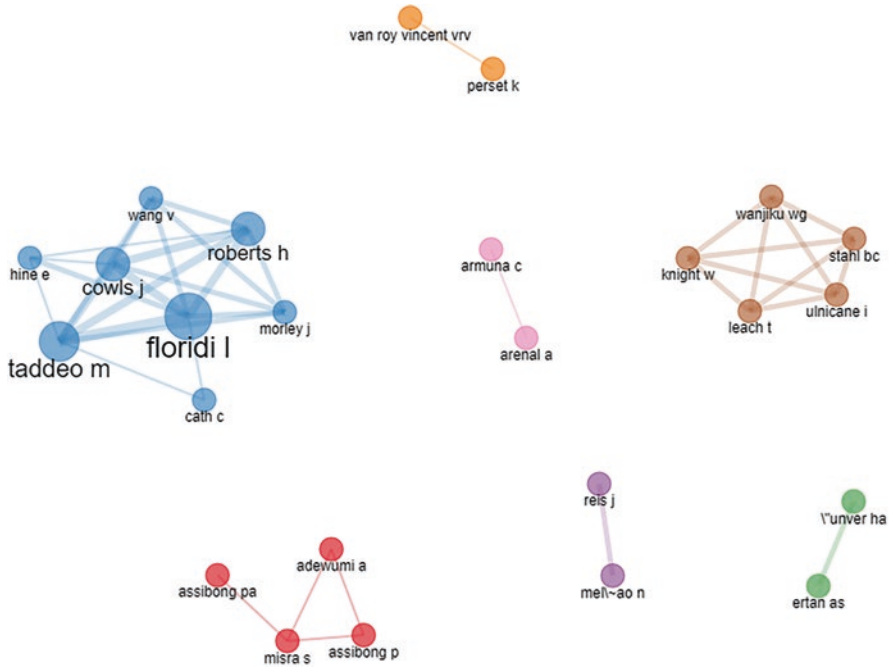
Fig. 3 Author co-occurrence network
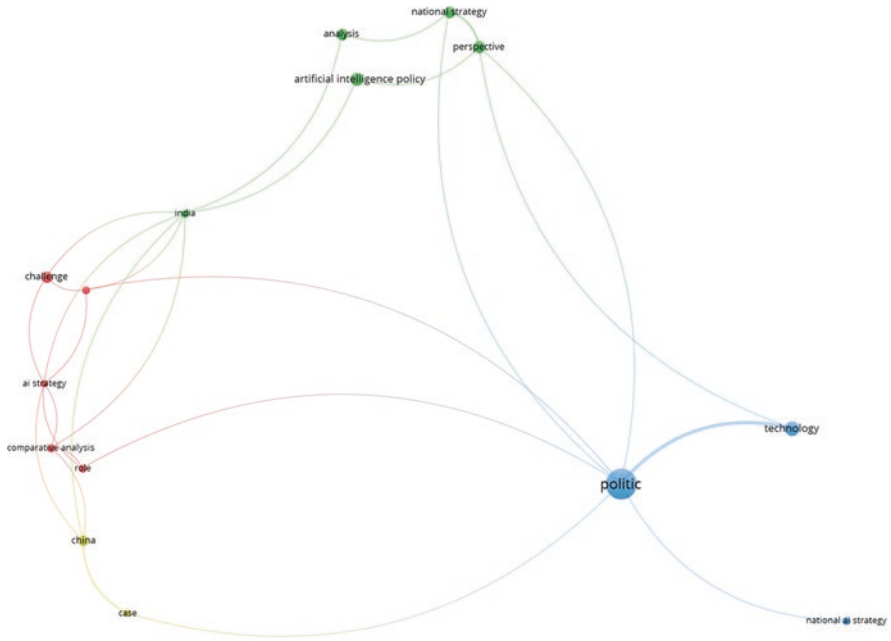
Fig. 4 Title network
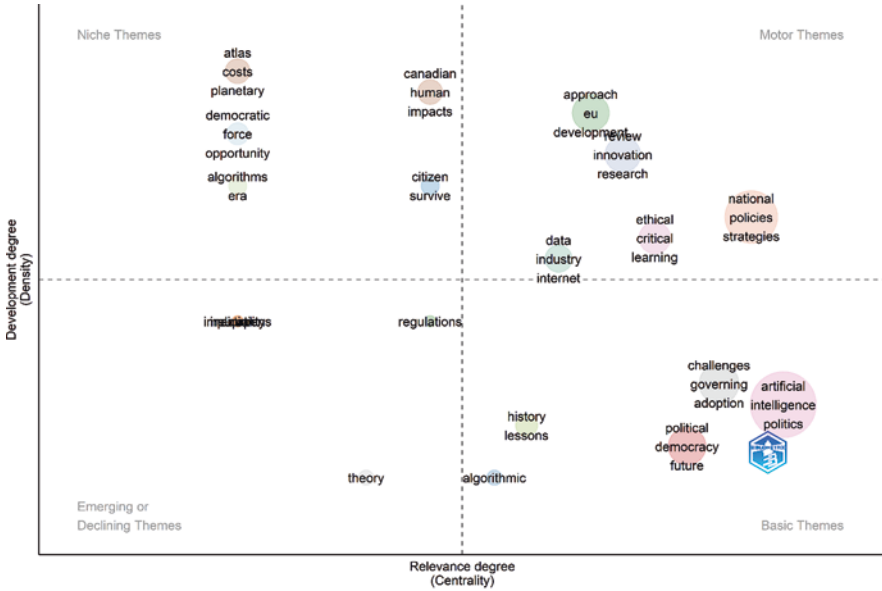
Fig. 5 Thematic map

studied, but with a high relevance) include "history and lessons," "AI policy," "challenge, governing," etc. "Motor" (sufficiently studied, but still with a high relevance) themes include "criticism and ethical aspects of AI," "EU approach," and "data, industry, and Internet." "Niche" themes (sufficiently studied, but with low relevance) include "democratic, force, opportunity," "algorithms era," etc. Finally, "emerging" or "declining" themes include "theory," "regulations," and "implications.". We see that AI politics is a field that includes many arenas and a wide range of methods.

4 Study Limitations

It is worth noting that we choose the search keywords according to our initial knowledge on this topic. This fact determined the findings (see Fig. 4). We used search data not in Scopus or Web of Science (WoS) as widely recognized databases for these purposes, because these services have closed access from Russia due to sanctions. We used Google Scholar, where it is not possible to export data from References, Abstracts, or Authors affiliations. We can distinguish "Authors," "Titles," "Source," and "Year of publication" as fields of research interest. Of course, Scopus and WoS provide better data than Google Scholar. However, the advantage of Google Scholar here is the indexing of books, not only journal articles and conference proceedings.

5   Conclusion

A literature review helped us to suppose several directions of AI policy studies for the future research. The first one is a lack of studies exploring AI strategy and its quality in the conditions of crisis (pandemic, armed conflicts, sanctions, environmental crisis, etc.) AI policy is previously studied during the periods of certainty. The second direction is about understanding what AI policy represents and what its effects are. Only a few studies proposed a definition of AI policy and described its process in terms of contributions and advantages. However, AI policy may have negative effects on participants.

We can see the capabilities of specific software to automatically detect different publication patterns of AI policies. AI policies, along with related directions, are interdisciplinary by nature and are located at the intersection of different domains. This fact makes the case particularly interesting for use in bibliometric research.

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Artificial Intelligence: Features of Russian Digital Education Strategy

Juliia Dunaeva

Abstract In the context of modern challenges of the digital society, the problem of using artificial intelligence in the system of higher education is of particular relevance. In 2023, Russia will reform the national education system to adapt universities to modern global challenges. The author analyzes the digital transformation of higher education in three aspects: educational process using artificial intelligence, digital university management systems, and individual educational trajectories. The success, relevance, and competitiveness of university science in Russia depend on the speed and quality of the university reform process.

Keywords Artificial intelligence · Digital transformation · Educational trajectory · Interface · e-learning

1   Introduction

In 2023, an updated national education system will start in Russia, the contours of which are human-centeredness, personalization, and new didactics. The reform is taking place under the simultaneous action of two factors – high technological achievements in the field of artificial intelligence (AI) and a reduction in funding for education and science in conditions of instability.

In this paper, the author reveals both the leading role of artificial intelligence (AI) in the service of education and the risks and threats associated with the digitalization and robotization of the educational and scientific process. The structure of the study includes AI theory, digital teaching and management systems, and a conclusion on the predictive role of artificial intelligence in reforming the higher education system in Russia.

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2   Key Concepts

Research in the field of digital sovereignty is closely related to the analysis of the history of artificial intelligence (AI), which is the history of modeling the process of human thinking from unconsciousness to complex computing infrastructures: nature has turned into a number, man into a biocomputer with algorithms and codes. In 2019, Elon Musk announced Neuralink, a system for implanting computer chips into the human brain. But even at the present stage, during the development of machine learning, neural networks are just a construction, not a reproduction of reality.

The main characteristic of artificial intelligence (AI) is its autonomy from humans (although it is influenced by the assumptions, views, and values of the scientists-creators, reflected in databases and algorithms, as well as material and human resources). Therefore, we cannot define AI as a completely virtual, objective, neutral, and autonomous system.

On the way to the introduction of artificial intelligence, there are obstacles of an economic, sociopolitical, psychological, and civilizational nature. However, the obstacles to the development of AI can be, if not completely overcome, then leveled: expand the base of machine learning, fight for the transparency of AI algorithms, improve the humanitarian literacy of developers, and transfer AI systems to renewable energy sources.

The current stage of scientific research can be called a real "battle of scientists" on the topics of ESG (environment, social, governance) [1].

In 2017, the Strategy for the Development of the Information Society of the Russian Federation for 2017–2030 was published, which was the first document in the field of implementing measures to digitalize the educational system of the Russian Federation. In the Digital Economy Program of the Russian Federation, one of the targets is the transformation of the education system, without changing which it is impossible to train a specialist who can change along with the economy. As part of the implementation of the Programs, by 2024, the forecast indicator of the number of graduates of higher educational institutions should be about 120 thousand people per year. At the same time, graduates need to be able to use digital technologies in their future professional activities.

The transformation of higher education is also provided for by the federal project "Digital Educational Environment," which is an integral part of the national project "education." The goal of the project is to create a modern digital educational environment in educational institutions of various levels and profiles that meet safety conditions.

The digital transformation of higher education makes it possible to expand the boundaries of the educational space through the introduction and use of electronic textbooks and programs, online courses, electronic libraries, universities joining the National Open Education Platform project, teaching students how to work with large amounts of data, improving their skills in working with information and

communication technologies and digital competencies of the teaching staff, the implementation of IT startups in the field of higher education, etc.

The digital transformation of education is considered as a process of transferring the analog educational environment of an educational institution into a digital environment. Thanks to digital transformation, a digital twin of the university is created, which exists in the Internet space.

In addition to this, the Russian Federation is implementing the "Strategy for the Digital Transformation of the Science and Higher Education Industry" of 2021, within the framework of which it is planned to introduce new high-tech educational solutions and modernize educational programs and some other projects.

Russia hosts many scientific conferences in the field of artificial intelligence. In 2022, we can name the three most significant forums of specialists: the Journey to the World of Artificial Intelligence conference – Artificial Intelligence Journey AI Journey 2022 [2]; conference on new technologies in education EdCrunch Reload 2022 [3]; and forum "Transformation of education" in 2022 [4] in Tomsk. We see that the university community has become a real operator of the professional conversation about the transformation of education based on artificial intelligence (AI).

In Russia, there are expert centers for the implementation of artificial intelligence in education, for example, the expert and analytical center "Scientific and Educational Policy" under the leadership of E.S. Szhonov [5]. Bright projects are organized by the Center for Methodological Support of Universities "Global University Laboratory," established in 2020 [6]. University 2035 [7] offers a digital platform that enables university science to digitally transform Big Data.

2022 is a special and breakthrough year in the development of artificial intelligence (AI) technologies. In Russia this year, Skolkovo programmers created a virtual tutor that formulates questions and assignments according to the abilities of the student and the requirements of a particular university. This fact requires the following questions to be included in the scientific agenda: how does intellectual property change? Is a work of art created by artificial intelligence a product of AI or a tool in the hands of people (what did the camera become in the nineteenth century)? What is the degree of readiness of schools and universities to refuse tutoring, training courses for schoolchildren, electives for the Unified State Examination and small faculties, etc.?

Numerous problems of digitalization of education and the introduction of artificial intelligence technologies are reflected in numerous scientific publications on reforming the learning environment [8].

3 Ontological Framework

Philosophers consider virtual reality as a set of processes for constructing a new artificial world by technical means. Philosophical studies of virtual reality are based on the theory of L. Wittgenstein [Ludwig J.J. Wittgenstein, 1889–1951)] about the polyontic nature of the world [9] – the absence of a basic, only true reality in the

world, which allows creating multiple realities. The term "information society" was proposed by the Japanese theorist K. Koyama, on the basis of whose works in Japan in 1972 the program "Information Society Plan: National Goal by the Year 2000" was adopted. A major role in the approval and popularization of this concept was played by the work of another Japanese researcher I. Masuda "Information Society as a Post-Industrial Society," as well as books by Western futurologists O. Toffler, J. Naisbitt, and others.

At the turn of the twentieth to the twenty-first centuries, a new direction in education was born, based on the use of ICT technologies – e-learning (the use of electronic means). The development of e-learning from the use of audio recordings, video courses, and computer learning is the way of development of e-learning.

So, for the first time, Patrick Suppes (Stanford University) in 1966 conducted an experiment on teaching reading and arithmetic using a computer. Almost at the same time, the first educational computer systems appeared, for example, Don Bitzer (University of Illinois) created a computer system for high school students. It is worth noting that the developed system had a fairly high potential: a graphic terminal, educational games, and even a messaging system were used.

In 1969, the first Open University of Correspondence Education was opened in Great Britain; similar universities were opened in Spain and Italy in the 1990s. The invention of the Internet contributed to the even more active development of distance e-learning systems.

The first domestic experience in the field of digital learning is associated with developments at MESI and INGECON, where the first HTML textbooks appeared. By the mid-2000s, a growing number of employers were using the power of e-learning to create corporate training courses for continuing education.

The widespread use of distance learning in the 2020–2021 academic year in connection with the quarantine measures introduced revealed the problem areas of modern domestic education and, at the same time, stimulated the search for ways to solve them. In this regard, the use of artificial intelligence algorithms in the construction of an individual educational trajectory of a student is especially relevant.

In the course of digital transformation, universities should come to the construction of a new reality or their own creative and innovative space. When creating such a model, an educational institution has the right to choose and use various interfaces: directly educational events that are broadcast and conducted online, for example, conferences, lectures, experiments, and experiments. Moreover, with educational events, you can view in viewing mode at any convenient time.

The necessary interface is the services used by the university for education and management. A set of information systems, digital devices, sources, interfaces, and services that are developed and aimed at the implementation of the educational process and university management constitutes a digital educational environment.

The promotion of digital educational technologies is aimed at creating a digital educational environment that will allow to equalize spatial and temporal barriers in obtaining information, building an individual educational trajectory for students, and ensuring the continuity of educational activities. Thus, the digital transformation of higher education should bring universities into the international distance

education market and reshape with digital technologies, not only the process of obtaining knowledge and managing a university but also knowledge itself, to form digital competencies among future graduates.

The introduction of digital technologies in the educational environment includes not only new achievements but also a number of disadvantages, for example, a decrease in mental activity and a weakening of memory, the problem of losing reading and writing skills, a reduction in the vocabulary of students and the inability to express their own thoughts, and many others.

4 Research Design and Results of the Study

The study includes an overview of approaches to artificial intelligence in the Russian scientific, educational, and expert community. We analyze the legal and doctrinal framework in Russia and educational reforms and programs aimed at the digitalization of the educational process and conduct a comparative analysis of practical achievements in the field of artificial intelligence in Russia, especially in individual learning paths and a multidisciplinary approach to teaching. Finally, we draw conclusions and express predictive estimates of the inclusion of artificial intelligence in the scientific and educational environment.

The education system is an important platform for dialogue between countries and scientific communities. At the present stage, the problem of artificial intelligence (AI) and the methodology of its implementation, including in the scientific and educational process, are deeply analyzed at international scientific conferences, including in Russia, in specialized expert councils on AI, in advanced Russian universities at specialized departments, and in laboratories and clinics.

In 2018, the global market for artificial intelligence technologies was estimated at \$12.5 billion, \$43 million, or 0.2% of which was the contribution of Russia. By 2020, Russia has more than doubled its growth to \$291 million: today it is 0.5% of the global market of \$58.3 billion. Our country can be proud not only of theoretical developments in the field of machine learning but also of practical achievements: a system of "smart" proctoring and testing individual tasks for the specific needs of the student, personalized tracks, and 3D visualizations of the educational process.

Domestic neuroplatforms offer systems of motivation, certification of students, support for foreign students and scientific and pedagogical workers, as well as a methodology for conducting an admissions campaign in a digital distance. Scientists, together with the heads of IT companies and L&D specialists, are developing the topic of using neurotechnologies at universities, creating an entrepreneurial environment at the university, and forming responses to new challenges for management and teachers.

The creation of a digital learning environment includes adaptive learning systems developed in Skolkovo and intelligent personal learning content. New didactics in education is formed by new systems similar to Kandinsky 2, the Russian

FusionBrain application for creating and editing images at the request of a teacher or student [10].

Educational services developed in Russia form the contours of a new didactics and raise the level of Russian education to new heights, such as RusDocVQA (developed by SberDevices) (multimodal question-answer systems in documents in Russian), multispeaker and multilingual speech synthesis models (developed by SberDevices), and SketchBoost (developed by Sber) – fast boosting for multiclass/multilabel classification, etc.

Russian programmers today can offer the educational market new psychological and pedagogical technologies with an emphasis on the ethics of education, the inclusion of a system of domestic values in educational content, as well as a system for assessing the degree of immersion in the subject, the depth of analytics, and the speed of recognition.

Particular attention should be paid to the high quality of domestic software products aimed, among other things, at the sphere of science and education. The unification of the state and large companies in the ANO "Tsifrovaya ekonomika" [11] into a single cluster is done for the interaction of the three main actors in the field of AI: the state, business, and scientists. The cluster includes domestic mobile operators Beeline, MTS, and MegaFon; technology companies Yandex, Mail.ru, and Rambler; and VTB Bank and Sberbank.

Interest in the experience of creating a digital educational environment in various Universities in Russia. So, for example, Tyumen State University (Tyumen State University) built a digital educational environment, conditionally dividing it into three blocks of competencies, the development of which educational subjects and programs are focused on: basic, universal, and professional competencies, which are the result of the development of elective courses and programs by students. Student education is built on individual educational trajectories, in consultation with a tutor, both in an online format and in the form of traditional lectures. Each block has a virtual management office, and the student in the office has a personal profile, where he tracks his own educational results and the formation of competencies.

Kazan National Research Technological University implements the educational process based on the Moodle virtual learning environment, where online courses, virtual programs, and complexes for testing students' knowledge are concentrated, the results of which are instantly sent to the teacher's profile or interfaces for completing final projects, etc.

National Research University Higher School of Economics (NRU HSE) is an active participant in the national open education platform and implements open educational courses on the NOEP (National Open Education Platform), following the results of which students can take online testing and receive a certificate that can be accepted for transfer in other institutions of higher education.

The experience of Togliatti State University (TSU) in building a digital educational environment is interesting. The university takes a leading position in the field of digitalization of higher education. At TSU, priority is given to the organization of

online learning based on independently developed programs, combined into technological chains. The university is the founder of the Rosdistant project, which included several stages: the development of individual services; implementation of Galaktika, Moodle, and Bitrix24, 1C:Document Management systems; and creation of a unified automated university management system, "Galaktika ERP."

Unfortunately, Russia does not have the necessary strong export discourse, which, in our opinion, the USSR had in the field of science (the idea of communism as a fundamental doctrine, Soviet industrialization as a matrix for a fast and high-quality economic breakthrough, etc.). Modern Russia offers a conservative value model as opposed to Western democracy, which requires the obligatory addition and filling of our values with digital ideas about the development of neural networks, machine learning, artificial intelligence, etc.

In the modern world, the dominance of the United States in the Internet space is beyond doubt; 80% of Internet content characterize situations through the American prism. This fact entails the predominance of publications about American achievements in the field of artificial intelligence, including the developments of US universities to introduce neural networks into the educational process. However, the number of publications in the digital space does not indicate the depth and quality of developments, as well as their humanitarian orientation.

China is fruitfully working in the field of neural networks, covering the most promising research niches. Thus, in China in 2022, the Center for the Development of Intellectual Property in the field of artificial intelligence was opened in Shanghai [12]. One of the successful examples of application is the Chinese startup Yuanfudao [13]: online courses for 200 million schoolchildren.

European countries are also actively using artificial intelligence technologies in education at all levels: solutions have been developed that control and analyze the direction of a person's gaze and identify suspicious actions when cheating. A similar Nestor system has been successfully used by some universities in France.

Innovative AI solutions are gaining ground in general education. The example of Belgium is most indicative in this sense: in cooperation with the Century Tech AI platform, systems for personal learning will be deployed in 700 Belgian schools.

Modern ideologues and conceptologists of artificial intelligence in education have focused on the ideas of adaptive learning systems, i.e., electronic platforms that intelligently adapt educational content for each student of educational chatbots (virtual assistants, tutors, intelligent companions, which are variants of intelligent learning systems that evaluate performance; monitor what and when the student studied, while assessing the likelihood of forgetting and, if necessary, suggesting a repetition of the material; collect students' opinions about the teacher; predict learning problems and help overcome them; and predict academic results, in particular, using neural networks).

5 Conclusions and Future Work

Thus, we see that artificial intelligence technologies are becoming a reality in the university environment and are used both for the internal tasks of universities (monitoring, individualization, new IT tracks) and to increase the international prestige of our country.

The transformation of education and the reform of 2023 in Russia are aimed at a fundamentally new educational level: building a complex system of combining classical and distance learning environments, working with student motivation and self-organization in the context of digital learning, and introducing the ethics of information and educational technologies (IET).

Individualization of the educational process is achieved through various practices, including elective courses, a system of choice, tutor services, and cooperation with other universities. Project-based learning creates an additional channel of communication with employers.

Many promising IT solutions for universities have been developed in Russia: a case library of educational and managerial practices based on artificial intelligence (AI) with proven effectiveness is available [14].

The declarations on the tasks of artificial intelligence in education include automation of the evaluation of the results of educational activities; adaptation of training programs to individual educational needs; identification of "understudied" sections and gaps in the studied courses; additional support from machine teachers; providing feedback to students and teachers and notifying teachers of student learning problems; adaptation of information search and interaction with it; and expanding learning by trial and error.

The intellectualization of information systems in education is seen as obvious. Within the framework of the futuristic concept of "Industry 4.0," the education of the future is transferred to a global network that replaces the classroom and takes place constantly in the "24/7" format, the emergence of new psychological and pedagogical technologies is predicted, and it is postulated that artificial intelligence in the near future will significantly transform forms and teaching aids.

Artificial intelligence can create adaptive digital interfaces for digital learning systems, help teachers develop "smart" content for curricula, create online student assistants, and choose a learning path based on existing learning difficulties. Intelligent educational platforms will adapt to the individual learning style of each student and adapt educational texts for each student for better understanding and memorization, and such systems are already being developed.

The process of studying AI is at the very beginning a vast field for research which is opening up for young scientists. The future of neural networks is digital immune systems, super-apps, adaptive neural networks, and strong artificial intelligence (AI) [15].

However, scaling educational and managerial practices based on artificial intelligence requires a huge amount of organizational work, coordinating bills, reforming urban infrastructure, and fine-tuning for the specialization of specific universities.

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Part IV
Geography of Culture, Sport & Tourism

Dialogue of Russia and Europe in the Field of Musical and Theater Art in the 1730s

Vladimir Fokin and **Mikhail Chernigovskiy**

Abstract The article studies the dynamics of the development of musical and theatrical relations between Russia and Europe during the reign of Anna Ioannovna of the Russian Empire. The authors identify several key areas of interstate cooperation in the field of musical and theatrical art: opera, ballet, education in the arts, and the development of Russian music publishing. Some information is given about the activities in Russia of European artists who played a role in the development of Russian-European international relations in the field of culture in the middle of the eighteenth century. The article concludes that the formation of the directions of musical and theatrical art was an integral part of the process of forming the European image of Russian absolutism in the 1730s. The fact that the Russian Empire formed an independent activity in the field of musical and theatrical art and gradually developed own national musical and theatrical repertoire was an unconditional attribute of potential as a "great country." This became one of the main elements of the legitimation of the imperial title of Russia in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Keywords Russia and Europe · Musical and theatrical ties · Cultural ties · Anna Ioannovna · Russian Empire · History of international relations

1 Introduction

Cultural ties occupy a special place in the history of international relations between Russia and Europe. In the 1730s, European culture and its representatives had a significant impact on the development of the culture of the Russian state. Cultural ties in the context of the historical situation of the period under study were largely decisive in the process of forming the national and cultural identity of states, served

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as an instrument in the mechanism of foreign policy activity of participants in the system of international relations. The study of the activities of representatives of European culture on the territory of Russia in the 1730s seems to be relevant for the history of international relations.

In Russian historiography, categorically negative assessments are found in relation to Anna Ioannovna as the Russian Empress. According to the Russian historian V. Klyuchevsky, "This reign is one of the darkest pages of our history, and the darkest spot on it is the empress herself. <...> [after accession to the throne – remark] she gave herself up to the festivities and amusements that amazed foreign observers with wasteful luxury [in the original 'motovskaya luxury' – remark] and bad taste" [1, p. 272]. However, the memories of one of these "foreign observers" – the Ambassador of the Spanish King Duke of Lyria and Berwick – disagree with the opinion of V. Klyuchevskiy: "[Anna Ioannovna – remark] loves pomp to excess, from which the Court surpasses all other European ones with its splendor. <...> In a word, I can say that she is a perfect Sovereign, worthy of a long reign" [2, p. 114]. Thus, another topical issue is the need to study the era of the empress and its influence on the development of the Russian state in order to achieve historical authenticity.

The purpose of the study is to identify and study the main areas of cooperation between Russia and Europe in the field of musical and theatrical art in the 1730s.

2   Research Approach

The methodological base of the research is based on a civilizational approach to the historical process. The central structural unit of this approach is civilization as a sociocultural system; this approach is focused on studying the past through the prism of forms of human activity. Among the scientists who adhere to this approach, it seems possible to single out O. Spengler, A. Toynbee, M. Weber, as well as K.N. Leontiev, N. Ya. Danilevsky, and others. The methodological basis of the ongoing research is also made up of the principles of historicism and historical objectivity.

Musical and theatrical relations between Russia and Europe in the 1730s did not become the subject of historical studies of international relations and foreign policy. Some issues of the topic we studied became the subject of art history and musicological research (L.M. Starikova, I.P. Susidko, M. Ferrazzi, A.V. Fomkin, etc.). These studies are limited to art history and musicology and do not characterize the role of musical and theatrical relations in the history of Russian-European relations in the 1730s.

3   Methods

During the study, official historical documents, memoirs of foreign ambassadors, periodicals, book monuments, as well as reference and encyclopedic publications were used. Directly for this study, seven sources are used.

Official historical documents made it possible to analyze the integrable elements of the European educational and cultural policy into the Russian strategy for the development of culture and education in the 1730s. The memoirs of foreign ambassadors allow us to trace the attitude of Europeans to the changes in the Russian court in the era of Anna Ioannovna, as well as to the empress herself. The periodical press makes it possible to establish the events and phenomena of the cultural life of Russia under the influence of European cultural figures in the 1730s. Book monuments, for example, one of the first examples of Russian music publishing that have survived to our time, are valuable sources of learning on the history of Russian-European relations, revealing many aspects of international cooperation in the field of musical art. Reference and encyclopedic publications made it possible to clarify some information about certain events related to our study, as well as biographical information of European cultural figures that lived and worked in Russia in the 1730s.

During the study of these materials, such methods of historical knowledge were used as problem-chronological, cause-and-effect, and comparative-historical. The problem-chronological method was applied by us in order to study the sequence of events in Russian-European relations in the field of musical and theatrical art in the 1730s. The cause-and-effect method made it possible to establish the causal relationships of certain phenomena, as well as the phenomena that gave rise to certain consequences. The comparative-historical method was used by us in order to identify the general and particular in the historical process of Russian-European relations in the 1730s by comparison with previous and subsequent historical periods.

The interdisciplinary nature of the problems we studied required the application of the methods of historical musicology from the standpoint of the principle of historicism for an in-depth and comprehensive study of such specific sources as book monuments.

4   Findings

The cultural life of Russia underwent a number of significant transformations after the niece of Peter I, Anna, came to power: during this period, the domestic musical and theatrical art, musical and choreographic education, and relations in the field of literature begin their rapid development. Europeans played a leading role in this process. At the beginning of her reign, the Empress was engaged in the development of cultural ties with Western European states in the field of musical and theatrical art and created conditions for the stay of European artists and musicians in Russia. In our opinion, such an interest of the Russian court in the development of various

areas of art in the country and the involvement of Europeans in this process was associated with the political situation. The creation of a single cultural space of Russia and Europe, while preserving the national and cultural identity of the Empire, was an urgent task on the foreign policy agenda of the Russian state.

The development of musical and theatrical ties between the Russian and Saxon-Polish courts of the period of Anna Ioannovna begins in 1730. This is evidenced by the correspondence between these courts, in which it is said that the Empress requests a troupe of Italian artists [3, p. 136]. It is worth noting that the correspondence refers to the initial period of the formation of diplomatic relations between Russia and Europe during the reign of Anna, in the correspondence we are talking about cooperation in the field of culture. The negotiation process ends successfully: an artistic troupe led by Tommaso Ristori was sent to Russia.

In February 1731, the Saint Petersburg Vedomosti newspaper reported that Italian comedians from the court of the Saxon Elector and Polish King Augustus II the Strong had arrived in Russia [4, p. 66]. The troupe consisted of 22 artists (singers and instrumentalists) and included the young composer Giovanni Alberto Ristori (son of T. Ristori). The troupe performed in Russia as part of the coronation festivities of Empress Anna [5, p. 36]. European artists were in Russia until December 1731 [6, p. 189]. In Russia, the troupe presented several performances.

T. Ristori, a musician and actor, led a touring Italian troupe of comedians, which was in the service of the Saxon Elector Johann George III in Dresden. In December 1715, T. Ristori and his troupe were hired by August the Strong to serve at the Saxon court [7]. Information about the date and place of birth of the composer G. A. Ristori has not been documented. Various sources indicate that the composer was born in 1692 in northern Italy in the city of Bologna. The composer died on February 7, 1753, in Dresden [7].

A historically significant performance for Russia with the participation of the troupe was the premiere of the opera "Calandro" by G. A. Ristori. The premiere took place on December 11, 1731, in Moscow [8, p. 30]. In August 1731, a German group of musicians joined T. Ristori's troupe; forces of the united European troupe and the opera were presented [6, p. 189]. The opera "Calandro" is the first one presented in our country [8, p. 30; 9, p. 3]; the history of a new musical and theatrical genre for Russia begins with the premiere of this opera. The appearance of opera in Russia was important not only from the point of view of the development of Russian musical culture. In the memoirs of the Ambassador of the Spanish King Duke of Lyria and Berwick, Anna Ioannovna is noted not as an empress, but as a queen. "This is due to the fact that at that time the Spanish court did not yet agree to give the Russian Sovereigns the title of Emperor" – noted in the St. Petersburg edition of memoirs [2]. In the period we are considering, opera was "one of the most developed and complex organizational forms of European culture, a kind of symbol of civilization and wealth of the state, the city that had an Opera theatre" [9, p. 5]. The acquisition of such a symbol was a significant factor in the process of legitimization of the imperial title of Russian rulers in the international arena.

The tour of the Western European troupe became the starting point for changing the perception of Russia. Interstate cultural ties can be regarded as an attempt by

Anna Ioannovna to introduce "soft power" into the foreign policy of the Russian Empire. This initiative allows the Empress not only to create a favorable environment for diplomatic contacts between Russia and Europe at the beginning of her reign but also to successfully implement a major international cultural project for that time.

The history of Russian professional ballet and choreographic education begins in the era of the reign of Empress Anna Ioannovna under the influence of musical and theatrical relations between Russia and European states. At this time, the self-determination of Russian ballet acquires national and state significance. For the development of a new direction of art, choreographers and professional dancers from Europe are invited to Russia.

Among them is the French choreographer Jean-Baptiste Lande. Jean-Baptiste Lande was born in France in the late 1690s. A well-known European ballet dancer, choreographer, and teacher, before coming to Russia, he danced and taught in different cities of Europe – in Paris, Dresden, as well as Stockholm (1721–1728) and Copenhagen (1728–1730s) [10]. To Russia J.B. Lande arrived in the 1730s; according to some sources in 1733, he lived and worked here until the end of his life – until 1747 [10]. Russian art historian M.S. Berlova comes to the conclusion that "the birth of Russian ballet should be considered not as a separate phenomenon, but as a logical conclusion to the creative path of the French teacher and choreographer, who developed the originality of his artistic language in Sweden and Denmark" [11, p. 87].

Not long before the arrival of the French choreographer in Russia, in 1731, Anna Ioannovna issued an imperial decree on the creation of the Cadet Corps [12]. According to this decree, the educational program of the Corps, in addition to military and general education disciplines, provided for training in dance and music. In 1734, J.B. Lande was enlisted as a dance master of the Cadet Corps. From that moment, the formation of professional choreographic education began in Russia.

Unlike European similar educational institutions, the program of the Russian Corps of Cadets emphasized the dual purpose, which consisted both in preparing for military service and for state and civil service. The rapid development of Russia's external relations with European countries in the economic, political, and other spheres required the improvement of the educational system of future Russian statesmen and military figures, who also needed to be introduced to the phenomena of secular life that were modern for the era. In this regard, the educational process in the institution was based on the principle of versatile education; special attention was paid to the assimilation of various arts by the cadets. Dance lessons were introduced into the educational program of the Corps for educational and general educational purposes, but the French choreographer managed to professionalize the process of teaching this art.

In 1735, the Italian artistic troupe arrived in Russia under the direction of the composer Francesco Domenico Araja. The troupe did not include a choir and a corps de ballet. The duties of the corps de ballet were assigned to the students of J.B. Lande. In 1736, students of the Corps of Cadets took part in the production of F. Araja's opera "The Power of Love and Hatred," which took place in St. Petersburg.

The performance of young artists became successful; from that moment on, they were often involved in staging court performances [13, p. 23].

The intention of the Russian court to establish a permanent opera and ballet theater caused the need for staffing the court ballet troupe. The problem was that after graduating from the Cadet Corps, the students of the French choreographer completed their theatrical and creative activities. To solve the problem in 1737, J.B. Lande presented to Empress Anna Ioannovna a project to create the first independent educational institution in Russia in the field of choreographic art. As a result, according to the Decree of the Empress of May 4, 1738, in St. Petersburg [14], the "Dancing School of Her Imperial Majesty" was established (now the "Academy of Russian Ballet named after A. Vaganova"); today, this institution is one of the oldest ballet schools in the world. The first group of students of the school consisted of 12 children – 6 boys and 6 girls. In the created educational institution, only Russian pupils were trained [13]. At the initial stage of the development of the school, the educational process was focused on handicraft training, had a model of narrowly professional training, and was aimed at teaching only dance [15, p. 7–8].

In the 1730s, European instrumentalists were also active in Russia. Among them is the Italian violinist and composer L. Madonis, who came to Russia in 1733. He stayed in Russia until 1738 (then he returned in 1740 and remained in Russia until the end of his life – until 1767). During the reign of Anna Ioannovna, L. Madonis served as the first violinist of the court orchestra [16]. In addition to concert activity, in Russia the musician was engaged in composing. In Russia, L. Madonis created the cycle "Twelve symphonies for violin and bass"; the cycle was dedicated to the Russian Empress Anna Ioannovna and published in St. Petersburg by the printing house of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in 1738 [17]. This cycle is one of the first Russian musical publications that have survived to this day. The publication includes a sonata cycle for violin and bass by the Italian violinist and composer L. Madonis, as well as an engraving with a historical and political subject, made by the artists B. Tarsia and F. Mattarnovi. The engraving glorifies the military and political victories of Empress Anna associated with the return of the Cossacks under the control of Russia (1734) and the Russian-Turkish war (1735–1739).

5 Discussion

This study does not allow us to characterize the entire spectrum of international cooperation between Russia and Europe in the field of culture in the 1730s. The achieved results make it possible to characterize one of the spheres of Russian-European cultural relations during the reign of the Russian Empire of Anna Ioannovna.

However, our study made it possible to identify previously unexplored forms of international cooperation between Russia and Europe in the period under review. This allows us to conclude that the problem of international relations in the field of culture in the 1730s has not been fully studied and needs a comprehensive study by

historians. This seems important for a comprehensive understanding of the development of international relations between Russia and Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century.

In the future, we plan to more deeply study the areas of cooperation between Russia and Europe in the field of musical and theatrical art in the 1730s identified in this study [18–20].

6   Conclusion

In the 1730s, elements of Western European cultural policy were integrated into Russia, which entailed the creation of common conditions with Europe for the development of culture. The life and creative activity of European artists on the territory of Russia was an indicator of sociocultural, social, and political transformations in state. This testified to the fact that in the Russian state conditions were created that correspond to European ones and allow carrying out activities to organize professional work in the field of musical and theatrical art and education.

The problem of legitimizing Russia's imperial status provoked the state to search for and acquire new signs of the country's potential as a "great power." The independent professional activity of the country in the field of arts and education and the presence of its own national musical and theatrical repertoire are unconditional signs for the era of the potential of the state system as a "great power." The formation of new directions for Russia in musical and theatrical art is an integral part of the process of forming the European image of Russian absolutism in the 1730s. The consent of European artists to conduct permanent creative activity on the territory of the Russian Empire testifies to the changes in ideas about the Russian state in the layers of European society in this historical period. On the other hand, attempts to create conditions in Russia identical to European countries for the development of culture and art contributed to Russia's acquisition of sovereignty and equality in the world cultural process.

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International Cultural Relations at the Time of Pandemic: At the Intersection of Art and Technology

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Abstract Based on the analysis of materials from various sources and statistical data, the paper aimed to study the experience in cultural cooperation in the format of digital projects, to highlight their specificity and importance for contemporary international cultural exchange. The theoretical bases for the development of the stated issue are the works of Russian and foreign researchers who have made an attempt to evaluate the features of the development of culture and cultural exchange during the pandemic shortly thereafter. The paper involves methods of textual and quantitative analysis, comparative approach, and case study. The paper deals with the cultural relations under the conditions of the coronavirus pandemic, giving examples of the negative impact of the pandemic on the activities of cultural institutions (primarily museums and theaters), on various cultural events and activities, and on cultural exchange in general. The authors identify the new forms of international cultural contacts, which appeared in these conditions of emergency restrictions caused by the spread of the dangerous virus. The paper specifies the most used and widespread forms of organization of cultural relations, focusing on the opportunities provided by new technologies to organize cultural exchanges during the pandemic.

Keywords Culture · Cultural relations · Digitalization · Pandemic · Russia

1 Introduction

In 2019–2020, the world faced unprecedented challenges. Due to the coronavirus pandemic, the habitual life changed. New isolation rules and restrictions affected all spheres of life, but the field of culture experienced the biggest hit. Under the

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influence of unavoidable circumstances, major cultural events, sports competitions, contests, and festivals were being terminated. Under these conditions, the traditional forms of international cultural exchange, tours, exhibitions, master classes did not work, and the new cultural event formats and new approaches to the organization of international cultural cooperation had to be found.

It is important to note that under these circumstances, the culture, cultural cooperation, and events in the sphere of theater and cinema, art, and literature took on particular importance. In time of crisis and enforced isolation, it was the culture and cultural heritage that became the guarantor of social stability and spiritual health of not only individual countries but without exaggeration of all mankind. The works of culture and art helped people in different countries to face the isolation and problems endured by the inhabitants of the Earth.

The cultural workers who were deprived of the opportunity to participate directly in public events, concerts and tours, festivals and contests, master classes, and exhibitions faced particular difficulties. The rehearsal process was interrupted and there were acute problems of maintaining professional skills and developing creative communication, communicating with the audience.

The question arose about the development of cultural ties, about cultural exchange in the new conditions and the continuation of the theatrical, musical, and artistic life which "was had put on pause" only for a while. The digital format which existed before the pandemic but was considered as the addition to traditional cultural events and international cultural cooperation became especially valuable. The isolation on global level actualized a similar format and made it more complicated, meaningful, and variable.

Based on the analysis of materials from various sources and statistical data, the paper aimed to study the experience in cultural cooperation in the format of digital projects during coronavirus pandemic, to highlight their specificity and importance for contemporary international cultural exchange. The authors consider examples of sectoral cooperation and projects of internationally reputed theaters and museums, which became the real international events during the pandemic.

2   Methodology and Methods

The theoretical bases for the development of the stated issue are the works of Russian and foreign researchers who have made an attempt to evaluate the features of the development of culture and cultural exchange during the pandemic shortly thereafter, to note the positive and negative effects of intercultural interactions during global lockdown period, caused by the coronavirus pandemic [5, 13, 17, 23]. Drawing on the concept of the COVID-19-induced hurried digital transformation of museums and cultural organizations, scholars employ the statistical [16] and case-based approaches [7] and empirical observations of how institutions have reacted digitally to lockdown [4].

While describing cultural and creative sectors as the most affected by the current crisis, the authors of the OECD report noted that the venue-based sectors (such as museums, performing arts, live music, festivals, cinema, etc.) damaged by social distancing measures had innovated rapidly, notably with accelerated digitalization [15]. Statistics on digital activities and communication of museums were provided in the ICOM reports titled "Museums, museum professionals and COVID-19" which highlighted virtual tours, social media posts, online exhibitions, live events, learning programs, newsletters, podcasts, etc. [11, 12]. In parallel, two UNESCO Reports "Museums Around the World in the Face of COVID-19" identified the types of digital activities developed during museum closures: use of previously digitized resource and digitization of planned activities during the months of lockdown and increased activity on social media and special activities created for lockdown [26]. The Network of European Museum Organization (NEMO) presented data on the types of online service activities and on the best practice activities during and after the pandemic [14].

As for the music industry, the World Intellectual Property Report highlights the negative effects of the cancellation of festivals on the international nature of production and distribution within the sector. Various music alternatives and tools to respond to the national lockdowns such as online streaming stand out, utilizing digital platforms in an increased manner [29]. In the theater sector, the main performance strategies are categorized in terms of streaming of prerecorded production through bespoke platforms or existing streaming services and live intra-media performances making use of teleconferencing platforms and live streaming [10, 20].

S. de Leeuw indicates the close connection between the various measures that have made cultural exchange impossible, including travel bans, and damaging consequences for cultural sectors and emphasized the importance of the creation of large-scale online environments for cultural interactions and the maintenance of interaction with a varied field of professional partners, makers, and organizations [8]. A. Zygierewicz notes the rising interest in culture during COVID-19 pandemic lockdown and the importance of the cultural and creative sectors for people's well-being and mental health [30]. P. Isernia and A.G. Lamonic stress the fact that during the pandemic the measures to restore international cultural relations were largely determined by the aim to provide economic and technical assistance to the cultural sector [6].

Despite the tough challenges faced by all humanity, the interest in culture and development of cultural relations did not disappear. The functions of culture and intercultural communication have taken on a particular meaning and proved the importance of the provisions of the documents of international organizations and, first of all, UNESCO, which were adopted in the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries [22]. The methodology of this research is based on the value approach to the study of culture and international cultural cooperation, arising from the fundamental provisions of UNESCO Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Cooperation, Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity [24, 28].

The paper involves methods of textual and quantitative analysis, comparative approach, and case study methods that enabled while making references to the factual material to assess the cultural cooperation during global pandemic.

3   How the COVID-19 Pandemic Affected the Cultural Sector and International Exchange

As already noted, the culture sector has been one of the most severely affected by the adverse effects of a pandemic. Culture relies on live person-to-person communication, communication between individual and society, between individual and works of art. Under normal conditions, communication is developing quite well; a number of people, organizations, cultural institutions, cities, regions, and countries participate in it. The pandemic of new coronavirus infection, which led to tough restrictions up to an isolation, disrupted usual connections and hit them hard. Those cultural fields that suggest the immediate presence of people, i.e., theater performances, film screenings, concerts, shows, exhibitions, and festivals, were the foremost victims [15]. With the onset of the pandemic, cinemas, concert and exhibition halls, museums, libraries, and archives became empty which had serious economic and social consequences for the entire cultural industry, both on a nationwide and international scale. In the context of unprecedented quarantine measures taken by the governments, international contacts in the sphere of culture were banned. Many cultural institutions were in a very difficult situation. M. Piotrovsky estimated the losses of the State Hermitage from the quarantine at half its budget [21]. As a whole, in 2020, the incomes in the cultural and creative industries fell by about 20–40 percent: 30% in the UK, 27% in the USA, 25% in France, and 23% in Germany. Urgent measures had to be taken to remedy the situation and enable the sphere of culture to adapt to new challenges.

During the pandemic most theaters and museums were closed for an indefinite period of time. The tours, exhibitions, and sports competition were cancelled. Serious damage was caused to international tourism. According to UNESCO, as of April 15, 2020, 89% of the countries partially or completely restricted public access to World Cultural Heritage sites, and by April 22, 2020, 128 countries suspended the activities of cultural organizations [3].

Almost all the key events in the sphere of culture were put on hold: fashion weeks in Shanghai, Cannes film festival, Saint Petersburg International Cultural Forum, and many others. The most severe restrictions came in the spring of 2020. Since March 1, all museums in the People's Republic of China, eight largest museums in Brazil, and all the Federal museums in Austria were closed. In the USA the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, the Guggenheim, Whitney Museum of American Art, Metropolitan Opera, Carnegie Hall, and

theaters of Broadway were shut down [18]. In Europe, the Louvre, the Prado, the Hermitage, the Vatican Museums, and many other world-famous centers of culture and art were closed. The opening of the Museum of Modern Art in Austria (the Albertina Museum) had to be delayed. The quarantine also forced closures of permanent exhibitions as well as early closure of temporary exhibitions and even large-scale exhibition projects. The largest ever Jan van Eyck exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Ghent was closed 41 days after its opening. In Tokyo, at the National Museum of Western Art, the opening of the first ever large-scale exhibition drawn from the collection of London's National Gallery and presented outside the UK ("Masterpieces from the National Gallery in London") was postponed. The biggest exhibition marking the 500th anniversary of Raphael's death at the Quirinale Palace in Rome was forced to close its doors just 4 days after its opening.

In 2020, due to the spread of the coronavirus, the Venice Carnival was ordered to close 3 days early, and the famous carnival in Rio de Janeiro was cancelled twice in 2020 and 2021. Saudi Arabia suspended arrivals by foreign pilgrims and tourists before the Ramadan fasting at the end of April 2020 [19]. The Great Pyramids and other archaeological sites of ancient Egypt were closed to visitors. Many world premieres and other significant cultural events of national and international importance were postponed or postponed indefinitely. Overall, according to UNESCO, 90% of the world's 85,000 museums were closed during the pandemic [26, p. 4]. Some museums could not survive the pandemic: for example, the Indianapolis Museum of Contemporary Art, opened in 2001, ceased its work. The pandemic and museum closures also led to other negative phenomena. On March 30, 2020, Vincent van Gogh's painting "The Parsonage Garden at Nuenen in Spring 1884" was stolen from the Singer Laren Museum in the Netherlands, at a time when the museum was closed for quarantine. The painting was never found.

The festival movement, too, has been affected by a pandemic. Of 60 major international film festivals, nearly one in four of the festivals was canceled. The only positive note was that approximately 59% of those festivals that were not cancelled were able to adapt their programs for online venues, either completely or in a hybrid form [23, p. 37].

Even mega-event, such as Olympic Games, were postponed from 2020 to 2021 and eventually were played without spectators.

There are many examples of the suspension and closure of significant large-scale cultural events. The closure or suspension of activity of cultural institutions also had a negative impact on their international connections, significantly slowing down intercultural cooperation and jeopardizing the implementation of many international projects. However, after the first shock and feeling of confusion, the cultural sector gradually began to adjust and adapt to the difficult situation.

4 Digital Innovation During the COVID-19 Pandemic and Efficient Forms of Cultural Exchange

In the conditions of forced isolation, almost the only channel of communication was the Internet, which provided cultural institutions with new additional possibilities of work in the virtual space and thus allowed them to carry out their activities in the changed conditions. Thanks to the Internet, not only cultural institutions but also people have gained access to culture and cultural events. Many cultural institutions, museums, galleries, theaters, and libraries turned to social media for broadcasting digital activities to find and attract their audiences.

It is not surprising that the pandemic period was a time of rapid development of Internet platforms that facilitated the emergence and growth of virtual cultural activities, events, and programs. New technologies opened up new opportunities to visit famous theaters, museums, and art galleries without leaving home. Thanks to Internet technologies, people from all over the world could remotely attend almost any cultural event that interested them: listen to lectures, visit vernissages and artist exhibitions, plays or concerts, take part in discussions, and even communicate with popular performers, artists, directors, and artists.

In a pandemic, due to technical capabilities, the new forms of cultural events and organization of cultural relations had arisen: virtual tours and excursions, online broadcasts of performances, presentation of theater recordings, digital exhibitions, special videogames, etc. In the conditions of global COVID-related restrictions, they allowed to keep cultural contacts at national and international levels and even find the new ideas for cultural exchange.

As a result, already at the beginning of the pandemic, the number of cultural projects in the Internet space increased significantly. Most of them were not only accessible to local residents but also reach an international audience, which led to the restoration of international cultural ties. It is possible to identify several forms of organization of cultural links in the conditions of the pandemic, which proved to be the most important and widespread.

First are virtual visits or virtual excursions to cultural institutions (theaters, museums, exhibition halls, galleries). Milan's La Scala Opera Theatre prepared a virtual tour of the theater, and opera singers, while in a remote format, performed excerpts from operas by D. Verdi and sent them to their fans (subscribers) via video link [5]. The world-renowed museums did not stand aside. The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York organized tours of the Temple of Dendur, for which a spherical 360° technology was used. The temple has an interesting fate. Dedicated to the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis, it was built under the Ptolemies (about 15 BC) in Nubia, 80 km from the modern Aswan. In 1963, with the support of UNESCO to save monuments threatened by flooding due to the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, the temple was transferred to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where it has been on display since 1978.

Second is providing online access to events (exhibitions, lectures, concerts). For instance, the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts provided online access for users to

current exhibitions, "virtual tours in Zoom, lectures on Facebook, podcasts, live broadcasts, flash mobs in social networks" [3, p. 28]. As a result, there was a 65% increase in visits to the site and a 38% increase in the duration of visits. From March 17 to April 23, 2020, 150 thousand users took part in virtual tours of the museum, which exceeded indicators of the pre-pandemic period by 1521% [3, p. 28].

Third is the development and implementation of special events in an online format. Large-scale examples of new digital programs have been developed and implemented in different countries. For instance, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) organized a virtual arts festival "Culture in Quarantine" to help the forcedly closed cultural institutions and ordinary people to survive difficult times. New filmed recordings of writer Mike Bartlett's "Albion," director Emma Rice's "Wise Children" and choreographer Crystal Pite's "Revisor" were among the content available Famous representatives of British culture took part in the project. In addition, BBC Radio 3 organized the recording and broadcasting of freelance musicians' concerts to support them.

A major international cultural event, also organized in an exclusively digital format, was the "Social Distancing Festival," which was positioned as a place that brings people together, an online artist community made to celebrate and showcase the work of the many artists around the world who have been affected by the constraints of the COVID-19 pandemic. The works for the festival were selected through a competitive process: 26 artists from Canada and the USA were selected from nearly 400 applications, and then they were paired up and tasked with creating interdisciplinary, innovative new work. Thirteen Canadian diplomatic missions in the USA were involved in organizing the festival. This approach was prompted by a desire to bring together creative people disconnected by the pandemic and help them maintain both creative and social connections.

In May 2020, the world's first fully digital museum, the Khaleeji Art Museum, was also created, providing access to its collections to the entire world. Its creators, Manar and Sharifah Alhinai, conceived the museum as an intersection of art and digital technology. The museum exhibits and promotes works by artists and photographers from the Arab Gulf countries and holds regular virtual art exhibitions, as well as other art events that showcase works by contemporary Arab artists.

Fourth is moving events online: the transition to the online format of events that were planned to be held in a live format. For instance, the Russian Seasons Festival in France, conceived as a "live" event, had to be held online. This international project, unprecedented in its scale, was developed by the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation for the year 2020. It was planned that the Bolshoi and Mariinsky Theatres and the Igor Moiseyev Dance Ensemble would take part. According to the organizers, the pearl of the program was to be a grand exhibition of Impressionist treasures from the collection of Russian museums and, first of all, masterpieces from the collection of Russian patron Ivan Morozov – the owner of one of the world's best collections of impressionist and postimpressionist paintings: Claude Monet, Auguste Renoir, Henri Matisse, Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Cézanne, and many others.

Initially it was planned that all Russian Seasons events would take place in a live format. But because of the pandemic, many Russian Seasons festival events had to be held online or postponed until 2021, just like other Russian touring and exhibition projects abroad. On this occasion, the French Ambassador to Russia Pierre Levy, while noting that most of cultural events were postponed and replaced online with alternative plans, pointed out the creativity and innovation of the project organizers due to the pandemic [9]. A special online platform in French and English was created so that the viewers could watch the cancelled or rescheduled performances of Russian artists. As for the exhibition "The Morozov Collection. Masterpieces of New Art," it was able to receive visitors in a "live format" only on September 22, 2021, at the Louis Vuitton Foundation Museum in Paris and immediately attracted a significant number of art lovers.

Another example is the Biennial of Contemporary Art, held in Sydney since 1973, which was the first international art festival completely migrating to a digital platform [1]. The Biennial's Instagram account hosted weekly meetings with artists who talked about their work. Throughout the week, the account was regularly updated with new conversations, music, performances, and artworks.

Fifth, among the variety of digital forms of cultural exchange, live broadcasts of cultural events are becoming popular. This form is most necessary to drama and opera theaters and concert halls. In Latin America, the Municipal Theatre of Santiago (National Opera of Chile) and the Teatro Colón of Buenos Aires have created successful programs of live broadcasting under the direction of women directors Carmen Gloria Larenas and María Victoria Alcaraz. The opera house in Santiago created "Municipal Delivery," broadcasting live performances, talks, and workshops. These broadcasts took place four times on weekends. Teatro Colón organized a project called "Culture At Home" (Cultura En Casa, in Spanish), which was a series of live performances broadcast every Sunday night. Cultura En Casa had over 1.5 million views [23].

Sixth are the sales of recordings of shows, plays, concerts, lectures, master classes, operas, and ballets. For instance, in October 2020, the show of the world's most popular South Korean pop (K-Pop) group BTS sold more than 900,000 paid copies for admirers of their talent from more than 190 countries.

Quite often, cultural events organized in a distance format are presented on special online platforms, such as Verizon or Google Arts and Culture. The possibilities of such platforms allow not only to get general information about a cultural object or event but also to analyze it in a greater detail which cannot be achieved in real time. In some countries there are positive examples of how online platforms have been specifically created for cultural events. In Japan, for example, the Unitive app was developed for direct interaction between performers and audiences. The app also served to support musicians during a pandemic, as they could create their own virtual communities through it and then directly broadcast their performances to an audience that joined it. Users paid a monthly fee for access to the service, and then artists received a percentage of the fee paid by each subscriber. This ensured a stable monthly income for the musician and created the conditions to stay in touch with the audience and the artist. Already 2 months after the launch of the application,

about 100 virtual communities were registered on the platform [23]. A similar Patreon platform, providing direct access to the audience to the artist, was also developed in the USA.

In some cases, the designers of such platforms strive to create the effect of "alive" feeling, the "effect of live presence" of the filmed and broadcasted events. The video platform Les Ballets de Monte-Carlo offers viewers the option to choose the way they watch with the multicamera system. This technology was originally developed for sports broadcasts and allowed viewers to focus on the details that interested them. Similarly, the Republic of Korea created Beyond LIVE, an online streaming service that included the ability of real-time viewing with the "effect of live presence." It combines live performance with advanced AR technology, real-time 3D graphics, and interactive communication through live video calls between artists and fans.

Video games with cultural themes are an original form of organizing cultural connections using Internet technologies. For instance, the Municipality of Bologna, in partnership with the Medieval Civic Museum and the Palazzo Poggi Museum, created a video game called "WunderBO," which allowed participants to explore Bologna's cultural heritage in a playful way. Another new form of organizing cultural connections in the context of isolation and pandemic has been the communication between artists and fans through video calls.

As we have seen, the creative sphere has adapted quite quickly to the new conditions of the pandemic. New opportunities offered by the Internet make it possible to preserve and even make more interesting many cultural initiatives, giving them a new, more modern sound. Such projects, having significantly widened the borders for virtual visitors from different countries, have created an opportunity to meet people's cultural needs and allowed to at least partially cope with the consequences of self-isolation.

These and other similar projects were available to both local and foreign virtual visitors, which helped to maintain cultural ties between countries, cultural institutions, and people. This allowed, first, to support the participants themselves, the creative process (artists, musicians, artists, etc.); second, to diversify the work of cultural institutions and help them find new forms of activity; and third, to prevent cultural exchange from stalling in conditions of isolation. The social significance of such projects is no less important: they allowed people not to feel lonely and gave them the opportunity to communicate and gain new knowledge, emotions, and impressions, which are very valuable in the stressful conditions of the pandemic.

UNESCO has played a major role in supporting international cultural cooperation under conditions of the pandemic by implementing a number of interesting projects aimed at assisting representatives of the creative industries. A successful project was ResiliArt, which became both an open discussion platform and a global movement. The project included virtual debates with professionals of the cultural industries and social media messages from artists. Professionals from around the world joined the project. ResiliArt produced many recommendations to increase investment and diversify funding for cultural initiatives. Launched during the pandemic, the project has still been developing today, constantly expanding the

geography of its participants [27]. Another UNESCO initiative was a conference on the activities of libraries and archives in the context of the pandemic. The participants of the event noted the important role in offering digital services, documenting current events [25].

The Memory of the World Programme was launched with the support of UNESCO and international organizations working in the field of culture, in particular archives, libraries, and museums (ICOM, ICCROM, IFLA, etc.) to preserve the memory of humanity during the COVID-19 pandemic. This work was conducted through the Memory of the World program and aimed to support cultural institutions that made official recordings, photographs, videos, and interviews to preserve the documentary heritage of the pandemic and make it available in digital form. Thanks to this international program, many museums have launched campaigns to preserve the memory of the events of 2020–2021. This program has fostered international cooperation in preservation and access to documentary heritage and built international solidarity among its participants, helping cultural institutions to withstand and preserve the memory of the pandemic. An example is the work of museums in Finland, Denmark, Slovenia, and Switzerland, which have already organized interesting actions to document life in the isolation caused by the pandemic in the spring of 2020. Museum staff photographed empty streets, closed stores, cafes, and cultural sites and collected on social media and via e-mail the impressions of ordinary people about life in quarantine. The curators at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, for example, came up with the idea of collecting objects reflecting important moments reminiscent of life under the COVID-19 pandemic. The National Museum of Finland has posted a collection of photographs about the pandemic on its website [2].

The coronavirus has, to a certain extent, led to a transformation of the cultural sphere. New forms of organizing cultural events in the context of the pandemic, based on Internet technologies, have a number of indisputable advantages. First, it creates significantly more opportunities for choosing the events of interest and their attendance. Second, they require much less cost for both the visitor and the organizer. Third, virtual cultural events allow a person to get acquainted with them at a convenient time, fully or episodically. Fourth, virtual cultural events contain an element of a game, which is very important for increasing interest in them among the youth audience. Thus, virtual cultural events are more convenient and accessible, cost-effective, more attractive for the young part of the population, which guarantees their further use also in the post-quarantine period. At the same time, we should not forget about the problems that arise when addressing distant cultural exchange. First, the problem of the spread of the Internet in the world, the problem of equal access to it, remains topical. For instance, the most problematic is Africa, the region with the lowest level of Internet use. Second, the cultural industries themselves are in an unequal position in their transition to virtual forms of presentation. For instance, cinema, television, video films, computer games, and other types of mass culture have been using the technical capabilities of the Internet quite long and successfully and are more adapted to the digital space, while in classical types of culture (classical music, theater, opera, dance), new technologies are not so widespread.

5   Conclusion

Of course, many examples of the use of digital technology during the pandemic were relevant only for times of severe restrictions, although individual achievements are still used today. During the pandemic people developed habits of attending the digital excursions, online visiting the theater premieres, so this experience was very useful. Many projects continue today. They contribute to the expansion of international cooperation and prove the effectiveness of virtual cultural exchange.

The coronavirus pandemic has brought new possibilities and new technologies to cultural connections, which made it possible to maintain contacts and provide access to planned cultural projects virtually under difficult conditions. However, nothing can replace a real visit to an exhibition and a theater premiere, a sports competition, and a scientific conference. People miss the former cultural life: their active interest is clearly demonstrated by modern cultural events that take place with filled halls. A combination of virtual receptions and real events that decorate the life of cities, countries, and the entire planet can be reasonable. The coronavirus pandemic was the most difficult and unexpected test that has befallen all of humanity in our recent history. The world has experienced difficult times, which have nevertheless opened up new opportunities. "Mankind has been given the opportunity to take a fresh look at its way, including the preservation of traditions and traditional culture, to reconsider the attitude to the problems of cultural globalization" [17, p. 163].

The new digital technologies have helped to push the national boundaries, to preserve the traditions of cultural exchange, contributed to the expansion of the contacts geography, which during the pandemic acquired a truly global character. At the present, it can be declared in all responsibilities that enduring cultural values have helped humanity to survive the isolation. The online premieres, excursions, exhibitions, conferences, and workshops have become a reality in our life that has also changed and after the global epidemic. Certainly, traditional cultural events cannot be cancelled. The audience continues to follow the theatrical premieres and exhibitions, go to musical performances, but the interest to the distance format undoubtedly increases and many current scientific and cultural events are deliberately organized in a hybrid format.

Thus, it is necessary, based on the efficient experience of remote cultural cooperation, to continue interaction in such a format. It should be noted that the digital format of cultural events is unique in terms of audience reach. It is valuable that the online format of cultural cooperation solves the problems of promoting cultural events and permanent and temporary projects on its own. It is worth noting that projects in the online format should not simply duplicate cultural events but should be developed taking into account digital opportunities and a global addressable audience. It is necessary to create works that could become a stimulus for viewing the original traditional exhibition, lecture, and performance. Obviously, the online format projects should have an economic and political connotation, be considered as image-forming means. The online environment today is being successfully mastered by various participants of cultural exchange as well as by the audience, whose

number is steadily growing. It is obvious that this format is the way of the future for the youngest audience on which life on planet Earth and the culture of the new century will depend.

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Foreign Cultural Policy of the European Union: Formation of a Single Cultural Space

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Abstract In the modern constantly changing world, no doubt, the role and importance of culture will grow steadily. Culture becomes a unifying space for the interaction of various actors of international relations. Since with the advent of the concept of soft power, traditional methods of power influence in the international arena began to fade into the background. The significance and value of international cultural relations is recognized not only by individual states but also by single integration associations such as the European Union. Still, however, there is a conceptual instability of the terms of "foreign cultural policy," "cultural diplomacy," and "public diplomacy." In this regard, the paper presents the definitions of these phenomena, based on the ideas of the author. This article focuses on studying the phenomenon of culture in international relations in general through intercultural communication and intercultural exchange. The aim of the article is to consider the foreign cultural policy of the European Union as a conceptually new factor of international influence, different from economic power and traditional political advantages. In addition, the process of conceptualization of the foreign cultural policy is considered. This work proposes to trace the stages of the organization of the common cultural space of the European Union and present the principles and some projects of the foreign cultural policy of this integration association.

Keywords Foreign cultural policy · European Union · Intercultural communication · Intercultural exchange · Culture

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1   Introduction

In the modern world, culture in international relations acquires a qualitatively new meaning. Never before has culture in its broadest sense had such a strong influence on the processes taking place on the world stage.

With the development of the concept of soft power, coercive methods of political and economic influence, as well as directly of a military nature in interstate relations, have faded into the background, except when the use of force is necessary to ensure national security, for example. However, such actions cannot be considered as the basis for building long-term, lasting relations.

The cultural attractiveness of the subject of international relations and its potential in building favorable foreign policy conditions by forming, first of all, a positive image of the subject have received appreciation from researchers of the international environment relatively recently. In more detail, these phenomena (namely, various manifestations of the use of the cultural factor at the interstate, international level) began to be analyzed from the second half and the end of the twentieth century as a result of the change in interstate rhetoric from the position of "hard power" to "soft power."

The conceptualization of the "foreign cultural policy" and its scientific, official terminology began to develop in the 2000s. However, this process cannot be considered complete. In scientific circles, there are still discussions about the definition of this concept and other terminological concepts that are close to it.

Thus, there are discussions on the topic of the qualitative difference between the concepts of "foreign cultural policy," "cultural diplomacy," "public diplomacy," etc.

In the framework of this paper, we highlight the following terminological concepts:

Soft power is a form of political influence based on the ability to achieve desired results in the long term due to building favorable, voluntary relationships that are different from coercive relationships built as a result of the use of "hard power."

Foreign cultural policy is a set of measures and activities developed at the state level (less often at the supranational level for integration associations) to promote their own language and culture (material and spiritual) in order to create a favorable international environment by forming a positive image for more effective implementation of a common foreign policy course.

Public diplomacy is an international activity conducted by state-controlled institutions aimed at informational impact on a foreign audience in order to regulate and manipulate the opinion and behavior of an object of influence in order to realize long-term national interests.

Cultural diplomacy is a type of public diplomacy that uses various components of culture as tools of influence.

Thus, the relevance of this work lies in the growing role of the cultural factor in the foreign policy of both individual countries and such an integration entity as the European Union as a result of the inclusion of culture as a component of the national

strategy of the state or a priority direction in the work of international and regional organizations and integration associations.

The aim of the article is to consider the foreign cultural policy of the European Union as a conceptually new factor of international influence, different from economic power and traditional political advantages.

To achieve this goal, the following purposes were identified:

1. To study the phenomenon of culture in international relations, relying on such foundations of external cultural influence as intercultural communication and intercultural exchange.
2. To consider the process of conceptualization of foreign cultural policy as a separate area of foreign policy activity.
3. To trace the stages of the formation of a single cultural space of the European Union.
4. To present the main principles and some projects within the framework of the implementation of the common foreign cultural policy of the European Union.

2   Materials and Methods

The theoretical and methodological basis of this study was the following general scientific methods of cognition:

1. Analysis of scientific literature on the relevant topics of soft power and foreign cultural policy as its component in order to trace the process of transition to the foundations of these phenomena, as well as to determine the main principles promoted in connection with the development of international cultural relations.
2. Analysis of the statutory documents of the European Union to find relevant provisions.
3. The synthesis method is used to bring together fragmented information from EU resolutions and other scientific papers.

Among the main sources contributing to the detailed development of the topic, the following are distinguished: official EU treaties and resolutions – the Treaty of Rome, 1957 [1]; the Treaty on European Union, commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty, 1992 [2]; the Treaty of Lisbon, 2007 [3]; and the Resolution of the Council of 16 November 2007 on a European Agenda for Culture [4].

The most valuable theoretical works used for further analysis of soft power and foreign cultural policy, both in general and in particular on the example of the European Union, are the following: Nye, Joseph S., Jr. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" [5], Korotina, N.Yu. "Approaches to measuring "soft power" [6], Bogolyubova, N. M., Nikolaeva, Yu. V. "New forms of international cultural cooperation in the foreign cultural policy of modern states" [7], and Tabarintseva-Romanova, K. M. "Development of the EU foreign cultural policy after the Treaty of Lisbon" [8].

3   Intercultural Communication and Intercultural Exchange

3.1   Culture in International Relations

The American anthropologist and cultural researcher Clyde Kluckhohn and his colleague William H. Kelly, in their joint work on the concept of culture, noted the following definition of this phenomenon: "By culture, we all understand those historically established life models, explicit and implicit, rational, seemingly rational, and non-rational that exist at any given time as potential determinants of human behavior. Life models are not only a theory of how something should be done or felt, but also a practice, that is, also models that subjugate forbidden and unacceptable forms of behavior when they are performed, as well as models that subjugate forms of behavior that are neutral from the point of view of general norms. A certain culture is "a historically established system of explicit and implicit life patterns, which, as a rule, are shared by all or specially designated members of the group" [9].

Geert Hofstede, a Dutch sociologist who studied the cultural characteristics of different peoples, emphasizes that there are patterns of thinking, feelings, and actions learned by a person that form certain mental programs. One such program is culture, which Hofstede calls "the second culture." On the other hand, "the first culture" is culture in a narrower sense, including education, art, and literature. "The second culture" is always a collective phenomenon, because, at least in part, it is shared with people who live or have lived in the same social environment, that is, where this culture was studied. This is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes members of one group or category of people from others [10].

Culture plays a significant role not only in the social development of one closed group of people. In a globalized world, interpenetration of cultures is observed, and more and more attention is paid to cultural issues in international relations.

First of all, it is connected with the topic of intercultural communication as a variant of communication between representatives of different cultures. This is relevant both for small communities, for example, within a single territorial-state unit, and for international communities.

In this case, knowledge, tolerant attitude, and respect for the culture of a partner or even an opponent play an important role in building harmonious relations based on trust and mutual respect for each other's interests.

In the international environment, culture, thanks to its own vast, rich human potential, is able to become a unifying space for communication "without borders" (cultural barriers, prejudices, etc.) based on mutual understanding [11].

In addition, the phenomenon of culture as a means of foreign policy influence is of considerable interest. It is possible to consider this phenomenon from two sides.

The first side expresses the desire for the study of culture, the exchange of cultural achievements in order to build, as noted above, the relationship of harmony between various actors in the international arena.

The second side of this issue reflects the desire of some actors to spread and even impose their cultural principles and the foundations of culture for their consumption

by objects (different groups of people) identified as the goal of this directed cultural influence, in order to achieve certain positive results in the long term.

A striking example of this phenomenon is the westernization of culture as the borrowing of the Western European, Anglo-American way of life and the spread of the corresponding values around the world. This process has affected such spheres of public life as culture, which includes education, economics, and politics.

Close to intercultural communication is the concept of international cultural exchange, which, however, often has a more material form.

International cultural exchange is a significant process of interaction and mutual enrichment of the world cultures. In earlier periods of the development of history, international cultural exchange was rather random, non-systemic. As a starting point for the implementation of international cultural exchange programs, one can consider the time after the Second World War and the desire of people to unite against violence and hatred [12].

Currently, cultural exchange within the framework of cultural cooperation has clearly structured forms, which are largely regulated by states or individual institutions of supranational governance, if we are talking about integration groups.

In general, it can be noted that, in the framework of Kluckhohn's terminology, there is a transfer of "historically established life models" from one cultural pole of the world to other peoples.

A practically oriented measure of cultural influence is the foreign cultural policy.

3.2 The Phenomenon of Foreign Cultural Policy

As already noted, in this work, foreign cultural policy is understood as a set of measures and activities developed at the state level (less often at the supranational level for an integration association) to promote their own language and culture (material and spiritual) in order to create a favorable international environment through the formation and building a positive image for more effective implementation of the common foreign policy course.

Interest in foreign cultural policy has increased with the rethinking of the concept of power in international relations.

First of all, this is due to the American political scientist, a representative of neoliberalism, Joseph Nye and his concept of "soft power," which is detailed in his work "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" (2004) [5].

Soft power is the ability to achieve certain goals set for governments in relations with other states through cultural influence on the object of policy.

The language and culture of the subject country come to the fore in soft power politics. Thus, the foreign cultural policy of the state is a key element of soft power.

The direct introduction of the term "foreign cultural policy" into scientific circulation and political discourse was facilitated in the 2000s by the publication by such countries as the Russian Federation and the Federal Republic of Germany of their own concepts of foreign cultural policy. It is these documents that can be considered

the origin sources of this term, in relation to the official foreign policy of the state [13].

This, however, does not mean that prior to this period, foreign cultural policy did not exist as a separate area of foreign policy activity.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, foreign cultural policy, for example, according to the words of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Willy Brandt, received the status of the "third pillar" of the general foreign policy of Germany, which in turn put culture on a par with such traditional areas as policy of security and intensification of foreign trade relations [14].

In the most general form, modern foreign cultural policy can be represented by the following components:

1. Art and cultural programs (festivals, international competitions, etc.)
2. Education and science (a significant role plays here the spread of the language, language influence, as well as, e.g., student exchange)
3. Promotion of social policy ideas and religious dialogue

If we define the foreign cultural policy in more detail, then it seems possible to include the following phenomena among its components: in addition to cultural values, also political and economic ones, political and economic institutions, the charisma of state leaders, national achievements in science and technology, sports, and even consumer preferences [6].

In addition to considering foreign cultural policy as an instrument of foreign policy influence in international relations, there is an opportunity to consider cultural ties as strong foundations for international rapprochement and deepening mutual understanding of countries and peoples, which in turn has a positive effect on state security in its various manifestations.

The development of the world civilization in the twenty-first century and the transformation of the environment of international relations and the international context have led to the desire to adapt culture to the challenges of globalization.

The reason for this was the desire to search for new forms and ways of interstate cooperation in the cultural sphere in order to counter the processes of erasing national cultures [7].

Particularly with it the change in the direction of state methods of conducting foreign cultural policy is connected. Of course, these changes are typical both for individual European countries and for the European Union as an integration association.

We are talking about a shift in rhetoric from a "cultural monologue" to a "cultural dialogue."

This trend is associated with the departure from the one-sided promotion of one's culture outward to the construction of the foundations of cultural interaction [7].

Comfortable conditions are being created not only for promoting one's own national culture but also for accepting the conditions of partner states with the intention of building a deeper understanding of representatives of a particular culture, which entails the humanization of society.

It should be noted that the global network, the Internet, which has become a symbol and an integral attribute of the twenty-first century, represents a large space for the implementation of the tasks of foreign cultural policy.

In this regard, the concept of "online diplomacy" is also introduced, which perfectly combines the components of foreign cultural policy and the capabilities of information and computer technologies.

More traditional forms of cultural interaction are also undergoing changes: they are distinguished by greater scale, first of all, and multitasking aimed at achieving various goals related to solving pressing global problems of a different nature, which do not go unnoticed by culture due to its wide definitions.

4   Cultural Integration of the European Union

4.1   *Cultural Space of the European Union*

Even though there is still no officially fixed term "common European cultural space," it is quite often found in political discourse and public discussions on the relevant topics.

In general, it should be noted that the concept of cultural space extends to territories that are culturally connected, regardless of their political, territorial, and administrative affiliation. But in general, questions of culture in the rhetoric about European integration remain more abstract concepts, in contrast to specific areas of political, economic, and other activities.

However, in recent times, the issues of common European values and common European identity, which cannot be imagined in isolation from culture, are causing an increasing response.

Turning to the history of European integration, it is clear that at the first stage of European unification in the 1950s as part of the preparatory phase and in the 1960s during the creation of a free trade area, cultural issues were not considered as a priority area of work.

The 1957, Treaty of Rome, signed between the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg, marked the beginning of Europe's movement toward integration, laying the foundation for the European Economic Community. In this international treaty, there was still an insignificant in its scope mention of culture.

For instance, Article 36 of this treaty provided provisions for the protection of national property of artistic, historical, or archaeological value.

Article 131 reflected the desire of the signatory countries to ensure the prosperity of territories and peoples in terms of their comprehensive development, including cultural one [1].

Thus, the single cultural space of the European Union began its formation with various temporary cultural events and initiatives presented by specific projects or cultural festivals.

Gradually, some specialized committees were established by the European Parliament and the European Commission, for example, the Committees for Culture, Youth, Education, Sports, and the Media [15].

A single cultural space is a significant entity, because even though some countries strive to implement the principle of subsidiarity not only in sociopolitical but also in cultural issues, solving problems in the field of culture and confronting cultural challenges in the European region requires consolidated efforts and certain level of cooperation.

To a greater extent, the spectrum of attention to cultural issues, including education, shifted in the 1970s during the period of formalization of the customs union. Finally, it was entrenched in the statutory documents, however, in 1992, with the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, which expanded the scope of the cultural and humanitarian issues [15].

Article 128 of the Maastricht Treaty stated: "The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States, while respecting their national and regional diversity and at the same time bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore" [2].

The formation of a single European cultural space is significant not only for the idea of creating a coherent entity based on cultural synergy but also for promoting the popular idea of a single citizenship of the European Union.

In fact, a significant number of Europeans today identify themselves first of all with Europe, and then there is an identification on a national-state basis.

In addition, a certain level of cultural cohesion of the member countries of the European Union makes it possible to conduct a common European foreign cultural policy.

4.2 Foreign Cultural Policy of the European Union

The foreign policy of the European Union finds its expression in the development of intercultural external relations of the EU [8].

Even though cultural policy is still a national competence, since each member state of the European Union is free to develop its own principles and strategies for foreign cultural policy, the EU can support common initiatives and projects, mainly subsidizing various events.

The European Union uses a kind of triune approach to foreign cultural policy, which is expressed in the desire to cover the following areas of work:

1. Directly cultural projects
2. Development projects, including sustainable development
3. Development of relations with the eastern and southern neighbors of the EU [16].

As a result of the first cultural forum of Europe, held in Lisbon in 2007, the Council resolution of 16 November 2007 on a European Agenda for Culture was adopted [4].

Among other things, this document contributed to a qualitative revision of culture as an additional component capable of becoming a catalyst for economic development and other progressive movement in the socioeconomic sphere, which would correspond to the development of the Lisbon strategy.

Attention was paid to culture from the point of view of the basis of international relations.

Among the main directions of the foreign policy activities of the European Union in the cultural sphere of past years, it seems possible to single out the following:

1. Development of intercultural dialogue with third countries
2. Development of cultural diplomacy of the European Union as a type of public diplomacy, using various components of culture as instruments of foreign policy influence of a different nature
3. Development of active interaction with the institutions of the United Nations in matters of culture in its broadest sense, in particular with UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)

It is also worth emphasizing that an equally important area of work in the field of intercultural dialogue is the promotion of the ideas of freedom and the protection of human rights as a "counterweight in the fight against dictatorship and totalitarian regimes" [4].

This aspiration is inherent not only to the European Union as a whole but also to many member countries of the Union individually. This is evidenced, for example, by the principles of the foreign cultural policy of the Federal Republic of Germany, which emphasize freedom and democratization [14].

To a large extent, the practical implementation of the foreign cultural policy of the European Union is presented in the form of various temporary or regular events.

For instance, among them one can distinguish such as the year of culture of one of the member states of the European Union in a third country (the year of Germany in Russia 2020/2021) [17].

There are measures that focus on and develop the activities around the preservation of cultural heritage under the auspices of the UN, for example, the restoration of Timbuktu Manuscripts in Mali, destroyed by extremists in 2012. The EU and the UN entered into an agreement to finance this project [18].

In general, it remains a fact that culture has become increasingly important in the structure of the European Union over time, since culture, as a component of soft power, has great potential for the development of a favorable international environment.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion it should be noted that foreign cultural policy as a component of soft power is currently reaching a qualitatively new level in international relations when building harmonious long-term interaction between states.

As a feature of international cultural relations at the present stage of the development of civilization, the addition of a socioeconomic segment to the cultural component is highlighted, as noted in the main part of the work.

Cultural policy is becoming a topical phenomenon not only for individual states but also for coherent integration associations such as the European Union.

Despite the fact that culture was not initially the basis for the integration of European countries and the building of the European Union, over time, this component of soft power has become a solid basis for the development of the integration process. Foreign cultural policy contributes to:

1. Active promotion and popularization of one's own culture and values
2. Export of culture and language
3. Promotion of values and achievements
4. Change in outdated stereotypes
5. Establishing harmonious long-term contacts.

In addition, culture has significant potential to develop into an effective means of solving pressing political and other problems of a global nature.

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Features of the Intercultural Conflict: A Case Study

Natalia Vologina, Sergey Pogodin, Anna Riabova, and Radomir Bolgov

Abstract In the 1990s, in Sweden, the development of new approaches to immigration policy, called integration policy, began. Special attention was paid to the issues of segregation in education, employment, housing policy, and combating discrimination against immigrants. The basis for the discussions was not only the problems of inequality and the disunity of society but also the desire to reduce the costs of immigration policy. The authorities sought to stimulate the independence of immigrants and their social activity. Granting political rights to immigrants, attracting them to work in self-government bodies, and stimulating the electoral participation of immigrants in political life are attempts to extend the mechanism characteristic of Swedish political life to the immigrant community. Sweden faces challenges to its well-being, habitual way of life, traditions, and national and civic dignity. It is important, however, that the process of developing responses to these challenges proceeds with the utmost care; public opinion is widely included in it; society, the state, and individual citizens base their activities on mutual respect; conflicts arising are resolved on the basis of compromises. This makes the inevitable social transformations less painful.

Keywords Sweden · Swedish Society · Immigration · Immigration Policy · Adaptation of Migrants · Intercultural Conflict.

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1 Introduction

Since the middle of the twentieth century, the migration processes have acquired an increasingly impressive scale, gradually covering all countries of the world, various social strata and population groups. Migration has become one of the important factors of demographic, social, economic, and cultural changes in many world regions.

Assessing the population migration consequences at global and national levels, it is worth noting the predominantly positive impact of its processes on the quality of life and the world economy, namely the reduction of unemployment, the equalization of living standards and wages, the elimination of labor shortages in certain regions and industries, and the mutual enrichment of ethnocultural potential. The arrival of refugees required additional expenditures for their resettlement, that is, the creation of new jobs and the construction of social infrastructure from the state and local budget. Thus, further efforts are needed to improve the targeting of government spending and the effectiveness of social safety net programs.

After World War II, Sweden, like other developed countries, gradually became a country with a low birth rate. Due to the high birth rate in the early post-war period and the sharp decline at the end of the twentieth century, Sweden has one of the oldest populations in the world [1]. The current unfavorable demographic situation in Europe in the future will entail tangible economic problems: a shortage of workers, especially in the public sector, within which medical care, education, and other social services operate. Over the last decade of the twentieth century, 89% of the population growth in Europe was due to the immigrant population.

2 Swedish Society in the Second Half of the Twentieth Century and the Problems of Immigration

For a long time, emigration predominated above immigration in Sweden. The First World War, in conjunction with the American immigration restrictions, halted emigration, which by then had become a serious social problem in Sweden. After the Second World War, Sweden transformed itself from a country of immigrants into one that received immigrants at the expense of refugees from Germany, the Nordic countries, and the Baltic States. From 1930, except for a few years in the 1970s, the annual rate of immigration in Sweden was always higher than the rate of emigration [2].

After the end of World War II, Sweden became one of the most attractive for labor immigrants in European countries. Labor migration from Scandinavia, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey, etc., was dominant. Sweden had a favorable economic environment, a stable labor market, and a rapidly developing social benefits system, especially after the single-party social-democratic government was established.

The Swedish Social Democrats then in power considered their main objective to be the development of a policy based on equality in the labor market: achieving

employment for all, combating unemployment, and paying wages fairly and equitably [3, P.6].

The active recruitment of foreign workforce began. The acute need for labor exploded the country's restrained immigrant policy. The restriction on work in Sweden for citizens of Scandinavian countries was abolished in 1943. The Danes and the Norwegians were exempt from visas to enter Sweden in 1945 and the Finns in 1949. In the 1950s, about 60% of the immigrants were from the Scandinavian countries, mostly from Finland [4, P.17].

In 1952, a solution was adopted to create a common labor market for the Nordic countries, which led to a dramatic increase in the recruitment of Finnish employees [5, P.65]. That intra-northern migration led to the enactment of new immigration laws. The immigration from the Nordic countries was neither troublesome nor challenging and did not require any governmental intervention. Immigration from other European countries was under state control and supervision from the beginning.

In 1946, a preliminary committee proposed creating an orderly system for attracting labor to Sweden from the abovementioned countries. The agreement with Italy, Hungary and Austria was finally concluded in 1947 [3, P. 19]. Such contracts became an organized system for attracting foreign labor. The outcome of the measures was of a modest scale. The labor recruitment was organized through employment agencies, with people coming to Sweden mostly on their own initiative. The list of countries that were attracted to the migration process expanded gradually. The migrants from Spain, Portugal, and then Yugoslavia arrived shortly thereafter. That became a phenomenon across Europe: the south-north labor movement, from countries with low economic indicators to more economically and socially developed countries.

Between 1950 and 1967, more than 530,000 people came to Sweden, and 95% of them were employed in industrial enterprises [4, P.17]. The peak of labor immigration in Sweden was at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. The immigration patterns began to change in Sweden, with people from Southeastern and Southern Europe, and later from Turkey, coming in large numbers. That immigration was distinguished by traditions, mindsets, and stereotypes of behavior that were not similar to Swedish culture. The increasing scale of immigration brought the issue of its control, which, in turn, prompted the Swedish government to reconsider its migration policy [6].

Despite the favorable economic conditions of the 1960s, the employment rate among immigrants was falling, affecting people from Africa and Southeast Asia. From the mid-1970s, unemployment among immigrants was, on average, twice as high as among the native population [7]. The shared labor market created by the Nordic countries contributed to the growth of immigration from Finland [8].

The 1970s were the end of the intensive labor migration era, replaced by refugees and those arriving in Sweden to reunite their families. At that time, the refugees from Latin America and the Christians from West Asia who were fleeing the war in Indochina migrated to the country [3].

Sweden has been hosting refugees for a long time. In 1951, the country signed the Geneva Convention [9]. Under this Convention, the country was obliged to

accept politically persecuted refugees. The legal definition of "refugees" in the Convention refers to people who fled their country because their human rights and freedoms were not respected there. In Sweden, the admission of refugees was unopposed, and all political parties were unanimous in their decision.

The socioeconomic policy of the Swedish state was based on equalizing the income of the population; the slogan equality, solidarity, justice promoted the reduction of social conflicts in the country. The development of this policy is regarded as a fundamental principle of the "Swedish model" [5].

Starting in the mid-1970s, the Swedish migration policy was based on the ability to regulate migration depending on the country's labor market and economic and social situation. The Swedish government was bound by the need to comply with the "Convention" and the refugee admission quotas. The number of refugees in the 1950s and 1960s was insignificant. From 1950 to 1967, according to the quota, 17,000 people arrived; separately, 7000. However, in the middle of the 1970s the situation began to change. At the end of the 1970s, 3000–5000 quota refugees and their relatives arrived in the country every year, which corresponded to 14–15% of the total migration flow [10]. Nowadays the use of exactly this migration channel is a legal possibility to arrive in Sweden.

The Swedish state's refugee policy admits the possibility of family reunification. The family members are considered husband/wife/partner and children under 18. In 2015, 43,414 people received a residence permit for family reunification in Sweden. That was 40% of the total number granted residence permits [11].

However, Sweden's refugee policy became more liberal and generous. The country began to accept the so-called de facto refugees, that is, the people who fled their homeland, which was under difficult political conditions: in a state of war or under the yoke of a military dictatorship.

After the events of 1968 in Czechoslovakia, Sweden welcomed more than three thousand refugees from that country. With the growth of anti-Semitism in Poland in 1968–1972, more than 2500 Polish Jews sought asylum in Sweden. The Greeks sought political asylum in Sweden as they tried to escape from the military dictatorship of the Black Colonels [8]. More and more different refugee groups streamed into Sweden in the 1980s. The Civil War in Lebanon, the Iran-Iraq war, and the African conflicts led to a significant increase in the flow of refugees. People from Somalia, Kosovo, and several post-Soviet bloc countries joined the number of asylum seekers in the mid-1980s [6].

The Swedish government imposed a new admission system for asylum seekers in 1985. The responsibility was transferred from the labor market authorities (arbetsmarknadsstyrelse = AMS) to the Immigration Board (the predecessor of the migration agency Migrationsverket) [5].

The waiting time for a solution to migration issues has become longer, and more and more asylum applications tend to be rejected. Often, the refugees are motivated not by fear of persecution or a military crisis but by poverty, insecurity, and dreams of a better life.

3   Issues of Adaptation of Immigrants in Sweden

Until the mid-1960s, Sweden was characterized by immigration from war-torn European countries and, above all, from the neighboring Nordic States (Finland, in particular). The immigration was still relatively small, and the immigrants themselves did not differ much from the natives in their cultural preferences. This made assimilation quick and conflict-free. There was little discussion of immigration in Swedish society. However, the Swedish government began to speculate about the legal immigrant status.

Immigration to Sweden is very different from immigration to other industrialized countries. Here, immigrants who have arrived as asylum seekers or relatives from other countries are more focused on meeting the needs of the Swedish labor market. Many Swedish companies are experiencing increasing difficulties due to the shortage of qualified workers in the right specialties. Even now, in conditions of slow economic growth, Sweden lacks qualified workers in such industries as mechanical engineering, IT, welding, technological sciences, and healthcare, especially outside of industrial centers. Immigrants in Sweden, especially asylum seekers or their relatives, are more focused than anywhere else on the needs of the labor market and filling the missing human resources with qualified personnel, which would help stimulate the development of the Swedish economy in the long term.

The high level of immigration has gradually transformed the homogeneous Swedish nation into a multicultural country. Such social heterogeneity entails not only possible conflicts on national grounds but also conflicts caused by the emergence of the so-called "new poverty" associated primarily with the deteriorating socioeconomic situation of the immigrant community. Thus, the national question is superimposed on the social question, aggravating possible conflict situations and representing a new phenomenon in Swedish society.

In 1974, the Riksdag decided to shape the Swedish immigration policy. It pursued achieving three goals: equality, freedom of cultural expression, and the interaction between immigrants and the natives. Equality meant granting equal opportunities, entitlements, and obligations to immigrants as to natives. Thus, welfare policy appeared to be linked to the immigration policy. At the same time, the provision on immigrants' freedom to choose their language of communication and cultural traditions was linked to the equality statement. This clause subsequently sparked a debate about the necessary scope of inclusivity in the new society. The introduction of this clause into the government program essentially meant that multiculturalism began to make its way as an official state policy in Sweden.

Sweden has been implementing an integration policy toward migrants since 1975. Since then, this policy has undergone many changes, but there are still sectors not covered by the reform. This means that many issues remain controversial and require further development by various authorities. The amorphous nature of the debates on strategically important migration issues was determined not only by fears of conflict situations but also by the fact that the problem of multiculturalism

itself was, and still is, characterized by uncertainty and ambiguity, both theoretical constructions and concrete political decisions.

However, according to the spirit of the country's political culture, the reforms were carried out after a thorough research in which all interested parties took part: representatives of trade unions, the business corps, immigrant organizations, government authorities, and the academic world. The work of some research committees lasted for years; decisions were sent out for discussion and then put back on the table for consideration. This order of work was typical not only for the adoption of reforms in the field of immigration legislation. This was the usual practice of making decisions, reaching a compromise, which existed in the post-war years up to the present.

In the 1990s, the development of new approaches to immigration policy, called integration policy, began. Special attention was paid to the issues of segregation in education, employment, housing policy, and combating discrimination against immigrants. The basis for the discussions was not only the problems of inequality and the disunity of society but also the desire to reduce the costs of immigration policy. The authorities sought to stimulate the independence of immigrants and their social activity. Granting political rights to immigrants, attracting them to work in self–government bodies, and stimulating the electoral participation of immigrants in political life are attempts to extend the mechanisms characteristic of Swedish political life to the immigrant community.

Being an essential part of Swedish life, immigrants have become the focus of attention of civil society. The role that religious organizations, primarily the Swedish Church, have played and continue to play in adjusting the state immigration policy is unique. Immigration has changed the picture of the country's religious life from Lutheran monogamy to religious pluralism. In some regions, the Swedish Church has become a minority church, which has prompted church leaders to search for new forms of work in a multicultural society.

Many Swedish politicians are very concerned about the presence of representatives of Islamic extremism on their territory, and some are very radical toward the entire Islamic community of the kingdom. Such politicians include Jimmy Okesson, one of the leaders of the Swedish Democrats party, who in the fall of 2009 published an article in one of the country's leading newspapers entitled "Muslims are our greatest foreign threat" [12].

Sweden did not stay away from the discussions that swept Europe about the ban on the wearing of the burqa and other external attributes of Islamic religious teaching. In January 2010, a national debate was organized in which the leader of the Social Democrats, Mona Salin, and the country's Prime Minister, Fredrik Reinfeldt, discussed this problem [13]. Salin categorically rejected the idea of adopting a law in Sweden banning the wearing of the burqa (similar to the bill developed earlier in France), while Reinfeldt spoke more cautiously. However, the very next day, the head of government said that he would not support such a law, calling it "counterproductive." Reinfeldt also voiced the need for a public discussion of topics affecting a wider range of issues than just wearing the burqa: "First of all, it is important that young girls who moved here or were born into immigrant families hear from the

lips of the first persons of the state forming public opinion, statements that we believe in our concept of freedom, which also includes them" [14].

At the same time, it should be noted that the degree of protest sentiments of the indigenous population of Sweden against the Islamic communities of the country is very high, which is actively used by various far-right political forces and Islamophobic organizations. For example, the severity of the multicultural conflict in Sweden was highlighted by the murder of Alexandra Mezher, a 22-year-old employee of the refugee reception center, which occurred on January 25, 2016 [15]. The center where the girl was stabbed is located near Gothenburg and accommodates minors seeking asylum and arriving in Sweden without adult guardians. The attacker was initially identified as a 15-year-old man from Somalia, but later, his age was determined to be at least 18 years old [16].

The Prime Minister of Sweden, Stefan Loewen, commented on this incident on Radio Sweden as follows: "In Sweden, quite a lot of people are very concerned that such cases will be repeated more and more often, since Sweden accepts so many children and young people who come unaccompanied" [17]. This attack drew public attention to the problem of overcrowding in asylum-seeker centers in Sweden, as well as the possibility of adult immigrants abusing Swedish law by fraudulently registering as minors.

Alexandra Mezher's death was followed by a marked increase in violence against immigrants among far-right Swedish activists. The murder of a girl is sometimes seen as a causal factor in the success of anti-immigration groups, such as Odin's Soldiers.

Odin's Soldiers [18] is an international anti-immigrant street patrol founded in Kemi, Finland, in October 2015. The group was created in response to the thousands of refugees arriving in Finland amid the European migration crisis 2015. Their main goal is to protect people, especially women, from criminals in the face of immigrants, but also "to help everyone, regardless of their ethnic origin." Activists claim that they have about 600 members, divided into 25 groups throughout Finland, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Germany, Estonia, and Hungary, as well as in the United Kingdom and the United States. Odin's soldiers have been patrolling the streets in several cities and towns in Sweden since March 2016 [19].

The Swedish authorities cannot always keep the situation in interfaith and inter-ethnic relations under control. Perhaps it is Malmo, the third largest city in Sweden with a population of 300,000, that today is the line of the invisible front in the confrontation of radical parts of the Muslim community with the authorities of the country.

In this city in the south of the country, which began to develop actively after the construction of the bridge connecting it with Copenhagen, today the largest Islamic community of the kingdom lives – about 50 thousand people.

It was here in 1984 that the Malmensk Cathedral Mosque, which became the first in Scandinavia, was built [20]. An Islamic center, a madrasah and a library are located on its territory. It is Malmo, along with such European cities as Birmingham and Rotterdam, that very shortly may become a city with a Muslim majority.

Despite a series of attacks and arson attacks since 2003, during one of which the Islamic Center completely burned down, it is still accessible to everyone [21]. The director of the center, a native of Macedonia, Beizat Bekirov, says that its doors are open to representatives of all faiths [22]. His words are confirmed by the emblem of five intertwined symbols of the main world religions, placed on the door of one of the madrasah classes.

However, there are much more negative events. So, in December 2008, mass riots continued in the city for several days, organized by Muslim youth in response to the refusal of the City Council to extend the lease of a basement used by the Islamic Cultural Society of Malmo as a mosque for 16 years. Mosques are regularly attacked, the last of which occurred on New Year's Eve, 2010, when several bullets were fired into the window of a religious building, and only by chance, no one was injured [23].

In these conditions, the dissatisfaction of Swedes with their social assistance system is growing, which provides everyone equally — both new, often large citizens, and Swedes who have paid high taxes for their well-being all their working lives. All this creates the ground for nationalism and xenophobia. Immigrants are the first to lose their jobs; entrepreneurs prefer to hire Swedes if there is a choice. As a result, almost a million immigrants who have already received Swedish citizenship feel discriminated against.

Segregation is also negative for immigrants who find themselves isolated in their national communities and do not have sufficient opportunities to get acquainted with the Swedish way of life, culture, laws, and language. The second generation has a different style of behavior.

These intercultural contradictions were especially acute among the children of immigrants, rushing between the traditionalism of the family and the culture of the host country, with the norms of which they faced from an early age, which they were forced to obey, gradually absorbing a different, unusual and often unacceptable worldview for their closest relatives. Here, in the suburbs inhabited by immigrants, young people who have lost their natural ties with their national culture and traditions and have not had time to find strong ties with Swedish culture grow up. There was a generational conflict and a conflict of ethnic self-determination, which were often overlaid by the acute social problem of growing unemployment among immigrants with a worse financial situation than the indigenous population.

The problems that have been gradually growing in immigration policy since the late 1970s naturally attracted the attention of the authorities, who were trying to understand where the roots of the mistakes made by politicians in this area were, which led to the division of Swedish society into "we" and "they"—a phenomenon that the programs they adopted were designed to prevent. The Swedish experience shows that the problem of immigration cannot remain outside the attention of society and the state. But even the sophisticated immigration policy of the state and the practical capacity of civil society do not guarantee the successful harmonization of the interests and relations of the indigenous and alien populations.

Many immigrants, especially from Muslim countries, live in separate communes after moving and do not want to integrate into the new environment. Their

closeness, closeness sometimes causes aggression and discontent on the part of local residents, and clashes between them sometimes reach Nazism and extremism. In addition, reasonable or fictional prejudices about the lifestyle of visitors from distant countries are quite common among Swedes. Many immigrants feel discriminated against, seeing distrust and fear in the eyes of Swedes who prefer to hire their compatriots. Swedes avoid areas where immigrants live because there is a high crime rate.

A significant threat to the national security of Sweden, as well as any other State, is the most dangerous form of organized criminal activity—extremism, including its extreme form—terrorism. Awareness of this problem has prompted many politicians and the world community to perceive the importance of overcoming all forms of nationalism and ethnic discrimination. Currently, countering extremism as an ideology of intolerance, incitement of hatred or enmity, or humiliation of the dignity of a person or a group of persons is the most important direction of ensuring the national security of Sweden [24].

There were both positive and negative experiences in the 1990s. On the one hand, the Cold War was over, and the democratization of societies in the former socialist countries was underway. The wars in Lebanon, Eritrea, Iran and Iraq finally came to an end. It led to a decrease in the number of asylum seekers.

On the other side, a civil war broke out in Yugoslavia in the first half of the 1990s, accompanied by ethnic cleansing. More than 130,000 people, mostly the Bosnians, escaped from the conflict zone to Sweden [21].

The flow of migrants from the Soviet Union to Sweden increased dramatically, from 866 in 1990 to 1522 in 1991. There was a deep economic recession in Western Europe caused by the Soviet Union's collapse amid a general foreign policy crisis, which made it difficult for migrants to enter the Swedish labor market. It is certainly difficult to imagine the seamless integration of so many foreigners into an established society with its own traditions and customs. From the early 1990s onward, waves of xenophobia and discrimination swept through the country [22].

The main focus of the Swedish migration policy since the beginning of the twenty-first century has been providing assistance to victims and asylum seekers. And, as the Swedes point out, it will remain the main focus as long as there are wars worldwide.

4   Conclusion

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The main focus of the Swedish migration policy since the beginning of the twenty-first century has been providing assistance to victims and asylum seekers. And, as the Swedes point out, it will remain the main focus as long as there are wars worldwide.

Now, when the main components of the "Swedish model," characteristic of its "golden age" (1950s–1960s), are disappearing under the onslaught of globalization, in the art of negotiating and reaching consensus, some politicians and scientists see the possibility of survival and preservation in the future of the tradition that once formed the basis of this model. Thus, it will be possible to preserve its very identity and essence to give an additional impetus to facilitate the adoption of balanced and political decisions in the new conditions.

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Double Degree Programmes in Global Higher Education Integration

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Abstract International cooperation greatly enriches the university activity; broadens the sphere of interests and practical results in science, teaching and methodical work, and personnel training; and promotes the team's involvement in the world culture. Double degree programmes are of interest to both students and employers, primarily large international companies, and one of the ways of attracting foreign students to universities. These programmes allow universities to create a unique, high-quality educational product by combining efforts with partners-leaders in educational services. The success of double degree programmes is explained by meeting the labour market requirements and demand for international programme graduates from Russian and international companies. Effective studying process organizing means the compliance of the international educational programme with partner-universities development strategies in global higher education integration, quality and quantity efficiency indexes, the identity of educational approach, using IT, regular curriculum updating, smooth administrative support of international cooperation, and teachers' academic mobility. For partnership, it is necessary to identify the main directions and objectives of interaction, the means of their achievement, the stages of implementation, and the prevention of factors that can become a barrier to all of the above mentioned. The research aims to describe basic trends of international cooperation development at the current stage, define factors that provide Double degree programmes success, analyze the stages of the programs at Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University and Emperor Alexander I St. Petersburg State Transport University – some of the leading engineering universities in Russia.

Keywords Double degree programmes · Higher education integration · University students · International cooperation

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1   Introduction

With more than seven million students, Russia has the first largest tertiary student population. It accounts for 19.7% of the tertiary student population in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) [1]. The internationalization of higher education is one of the key factors for the success of higher education programs in Russian universities; it is in demand by applicants, their parents, and employers. Gradually, internationalization becomes one of the leading indicators taken into account when assessing the quality of the activities of higher educational institutions [2–4]. "The international educational integration (at the supranational level) we define as an objective process of sustainable interaction and mutual influence of the national educational systems based on common objectives and principles meeting the needs of the international community and reflecting the progressive trends of the new century. We define the international educational integration (at the institutional level) as the process of expanding the scope of the institution's activities beyond its educational system, the development of international education relations and coordination of the institution's activities with the internationally recognized standards" [5]. "Cooperation, international exchange, and integration among institutions of higher education have become the new norm in the global experience of learning and academic training" [6].

The main goal of the internationalization of higher education is "comprising factors influencing the development of competencies necessary for a person's future professional activity and independent life in the international, intercultural and global environment" [7]. In addition, the internationalization of education should "increase quality and strengthen the educational and scientific-technical capacity of Russia, its competitiveness in the world market of research and educational services and, as a consequence, to ensure an intensive and effective transition of the Russian economy to an innovative way of development while preserving the traditions and prestige of the national education system" [8].

2   Literature Review

The internationalization of higher education in Europe is currently proceeding at a fairly rapid pace [9]. The European Commission differentiates "internationalization at home and abroad." [10]. Unfortunately, only a relatively small number of Russian students can participate in academic mobility programmes [11]. In the context of a pandemic and financial instability, internationalization at home is probably the most acceptable for most Russian students. However, the internationalization tools developed within the framework of the Bologna process have not yet found proper application in the Russian Federation. There are two variants of the Diploma Supplement: the compulsory and free-of-charge national Diploma Supplement in the Russian language and the European one, delivered at an extra charge if internal institutional

procedures foresee it [12]. National qualifications frameworks, which aim to promote the readability and comparability of qualifications within and across countries according to the Bologna Process Implementation Report 2018 in the Russian Federation, are still not used. In their development, Russia is at step 4 of the 11 steps proposed by the Bologna Working Party [13]. Other instruments to engage in the internationalization process are joint programmes or joint degrees and massive open online courses (MOOCs).

3 Discussion

We study joint programmes about inter-institutional arrangements among two or more higher education institutions that lead to a joint degree [14]. It is necessary to "pay attention to the different nature of joint study programmes and separate so-called "stand-alone" (a programme exclusively developed as a joint or double degree arrangement, operated as a joint venture between two or more higher education institutions) and "add-on" programs (the joint or double degree is an optimal add-on to an existing traditional study program, offering interested students an optimal track thought curricular cooperation with a partner university abroad)" [15]. There is also a difference between joint degrees and double or multiple degrees: a joint degree is "a single diploma issued by at least two higher education institutions offering an integrated programme and officially recognized in the countries where the degree-awarding institutions are located", a double or multiple degree refers to "two or more national diplomas issued by two or more higher education institutions and recognized officially in the countries where the degree awarding institutions are located" [16]. A more detailed classification of international educational programmes implemented by several partner universities is offered by T.L. Gurulev, highlighting joint degrees, that is, programmes based on the development of a common curriculum for partner universities, implemented by them jointly and involving the award of one joint degree as a result of mastering the programme; double degrees, that is, the development of two related educational programmes of partner universities with a common content and structural basis, involving the awarding of diplomas from both universities upon graduation; and inclusive learning programmes implemented jointly by partner universities, and as a result of mastering which the student is awarded the degree of the main university, as well as a certificate of study at the partner university [17–19].

According to the Bologna Process Implementation Report 2018, the estimated percentage of Russian institutions participating in joint programmes was 11–25% in 2016/17, but only 0–2.5% of institutions awarded joint degrees [20]. 25% of dual degree programs in the Russian Federation are implemented at the undergraduate level, and 75% at the master's level. In the field of study, 40% of double degree programmes are implemented in the field of economics and management, 34% in humanities and 26% in engineering, ecology, and IT [21].

Various classifications of double degree programmes are offered in the scientific literature. According to the level of education, bachelor's, master's and doctoral programmes are distinguished. Depending on the programme of interaction of partner universities, programmes are distinguished based on a validation model, which assumes "the development by one of the universities, under the supervision or with the participation of another partner, of educational programs or courses undergoing compliance verification and recognition by all partner universities, as a result of which graduates of the programme are awarded diplomas from both universities participating in the program"; and programmes based on a contractual model that provides for "the conclusion of a special agreement, usually a franchise agreement, according to which individual courses or programmes developed by one of the universities are taught to students of the partner university with full preservation of the content and scope of the course" [22].

Depending on the principle of organization, J. Knight [23] offers the following classification of joint higher education programs: independent and collaborative.

In addition, depending on the interaction between partner universities, double degree programmes are distinguished from a "strong" to a "weak" degree of presence of a foreign partner. According to the language of instruction, double degree programmes are divided into programmes taught exclusively in a foreign language and programmes taught exclusively in their native language. According to the degree of integration of curricula, the programmes are characterized from "full" to "minimally sufficient" for the issuance of qualifications of a Western/Russian university degree of integration. According to the form of study, double degree programmes can be full-time, part-time, or assume a mixed format of study [24]. Speaking about the advantages of double degree programmes, J. Knight calls the following: "potential to increase access to higher education, diversify programme offer, internationalize the curriculum and teaching/learning process, offer new pedagogical approaches, share graduate supervision, exchange students and staff, decrease brain drain, and perhaps assist politically unstable and failing states to rebuild higher education programmes and institutions." The potential risks include the researcher "low-quality provision, inappropriate curriculum and pedagogy, sustainability, competition with local HEIs, duplication of programme offers, qualifications not being recognized, and commercialization" [25].

In this paper, we focus on the successful practice of implementing academic mobility programmes of Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University (SPbPU) and Emperor Alexander I Petersburg State Transport University (PGUPS).

The internationalization strategy is one of the key activities of the universities. One of the universities' priorities is to strengthen its position in the international scientific and educational space and develop partner networks and projects in collaboration with major foreign universities and companies.

International Educational Programmes (IOP) are educational programmes implemented in English. The programmes are aimed at applicants who speak English and are planning a future career in research centres and leading global companies, both in Russia and abroad.

International educational programmes have existed at SPbPU since the 1990s. The first modules were summer schools. In the early 2000s, the University launched the first international master's degree programme in intelligent technologies, implemented jointly with a foreign partner university. International educational programs have significantly expanded the geography and the contingent of the University's foreign students. They allow attracting to SPbPU not only students who are ready to learn Russian or already speak it but also English-speaking students who want to study at a Russian university in English. Since 2012, the development of innovative MOS in English at SPbPU has become an important component of the university's development strategy.

For students, the IOC is a unique opportunity to gain international experience while simultaneously developing professional skills. The programmes are in high demand due to serious competitive advantages: training in international groups in English or another foreign language, the possibility of obtaining double diplomas, the possibility of studying at foreign partner universities, experienced professors and lecturers from SPbPU and leading universities of the world, mastering additional professional, linguistic and intercultural competencies.

Today SPbPU implements a wide range of international educational programmes, which are taught entirely in English, in various fields: engineering and construction, information technology, metallurgy, electric power, physics, economics and management, and humanities, including international bachelor's degree programs; 24 international master's degree programs; 40 programs of the summer polytechnic school; 17 programs of the winter polytechnic school; international programs of additional education; international double degree programmes [26].

SPbPU also continues to participate in the implementation of international network master's programmes with funding under the «Erasmus Mundus Joint Master Degree» programmes:

BIM A+ "European Master in Building Information Modeling" (master's programme "Computer Modeling in Construction") is a network master's programme of Erasmus Mundus, implemented by a consortium of European universities, including the University of Minho (Portugal), the University of Ljubljana (Slovenia) and the Polytechnic University of Milan (Italy) [27].

FUSION-EP "European Master in Nuclear Fusion Science and Engineering Physics" (master's programme "Physics and Engineering of Nuclear Reactions") is an Erasmus Mundus network master's programme implemented by a consortium of European universities, including the University of Aix-Marseille (France), the University of Stuttgart (Germany), Carlos 3 University (Spain), Nancy Henry Poincare University (France) [28].

Another example of one of the best educational practices – International Master Degree programme "Intelligent Systems" – meets the world educational standards of leading European universities in priority areas of technological development. Graduates are highly qualified specialists, gaining knowledge in the field of artificial intelligence, intelligent control systems, neuroinformatics and neurotechnology, machine learning and high-performance computing. The programme prepares students for scientific research and project activities in the field of new generation

of intelligent control systems, automation and robotics, smart systems and systems with artificial intelligence.

The network partnership follows the following scheme:

During Semester 1 and Semester 2 the studying course takes place at SPbPU in English. Semester 3 and Semester 4 – at the partner university (Lappeenranta University of Technology (Finland); City University of London (UK); Leibniz University of Hanover (Germany). After completing the course, students defend the master's thesis in English and, if successfully defended, obtain a master's degree from SPbPU and a master's degree from a partner university (Fig. 1).

Programme joins different scientific areas and modern technology development trends in IT, cyber-physical systems, applied tasks of industrial automation, robotics and control.

So far, the programme statistics have shown the following results: more than 10 years of successful implementation of the programme, more than 100 graduates, more than 50 graduates have received a second diploma from one of the leading universities in Europe. [26]

The acquired knowledge and skills are in demand when creating industrial automation and robotics systems, decision-making systems for use in energy, transport systems and high-tech industries. The programme was developed and improved jointly with European partners within the framework of international projects: the British Council, Tempus, Erasmus+, and DAAD.

The International Short-term Educational Program is one of the most popular and dynamically developing formats of international education. Programmes lasting from 1 week to one semester (or two semesters) are aimed at improving students' general, social and professional competencies. Participants of these programmes are foreign and Russian students, teachers, and representatives of the non-university sector. The programme ends with issuing certificates of the form established by the university for obtaining additional education. One of the trends in the development of the international market of educational services is international summer and winter schools, since they allow meeting the growing demand for short, intensive modular programmes, which also involve academic mobility. In addition
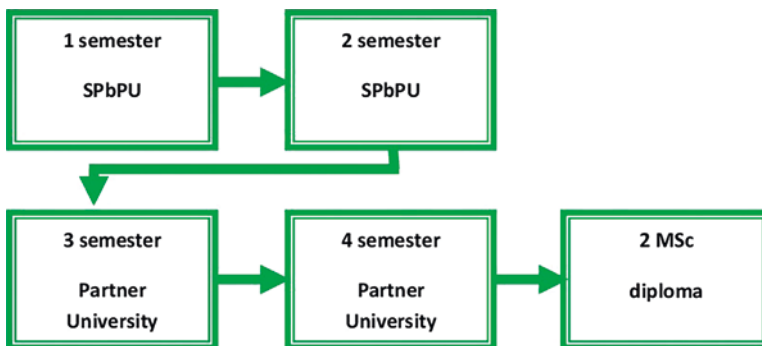
Fig. 1 The scheme of study by semesters

to specialized knowledge, they also provide so-called soft skills. The first technical modules – civil engineering and digital design – were included in the programme of the SPbPU summer school back in 2010.

One of the promising directions is the development of Tandem projects for teaching foreign languages, which is also successfully implemented at SPbPU based on the Institute of Humanities. For 7 years, the International Educational Program "Tandem: Russian-German Business Communication" has been successfully implemented with the language centres of the Technical University of Berlin, the University of Stuttgart and the Technical University of Munich. The idea of the tandem project is the partnership between native and non-native speakers and learning each other's language. This programme gives participants the opportunity for cultural exchange. Students don't just learn the languages; they discover and explore the cultures of the countries worldwide. This way of learning is the most effective since there is no stress in learning a foreign language. The idea of the project, first of all, is international friendship and an interesting pastime for the participants. The participants decide the way they spend their time. They can have lunch together in the dining room, communicate in a cafe, go to the cinema, play sports, arrange excursions, expeditions, picnics, cook dinners together, etc. [29].

"Experience in conducting tandem projects of the Institute of Humanities, the Center for Modern Languages of the Technical University Berlin and the University Language Center Stuttgart is an excellent indicator of the development and prevalence of the tandem method, both abroad and in Russia. The purpose of such a tandem network is to organize virtual and/or real communication between university students, aimed at mastering the mother tongue of the tandem partner using new information and communication technologies" [30 , p.189].

One of the main objectives of the tandem projects is achieving successful intercultural communication. Therefore, the result of a conscious process that develops from real meetings and reflection is intercultural competence. The principles of intercultural communication in the framework of tandem projects contribute to a significant breakthrough in theory and methods of teaching foreign languages.

The results of an experimental study based on the success of forming intercultural competencies are described, as well as requirements to participants, and recommendations to tandem project managers. Communication is a culturally determined process, which takes place depending on the participants' nationality and language proficiency and is not always the basis for achieving mutual understanding between the participants. One should take into account the impact of culture on human behaviour while forming and developing communicative competencies; a combination of corporate and national values, which will allow avoiding communication problems, should be carefully assessed [31].

4 Conclusion

Currently, the priority areas of work on the development of international educational programmes are the following: their transfer to the status of network programmes implemented with leading universities, including the development of double degree programmes, especially for international master's degree ones; improving the quality of implemented programmes; bringing educational programmes to European quality standards and the requirements of international accreditation agencies.

Though a large number of studies have been devoted to the problems of implementing double degree programs, most higher education institutions implementing them face the following difficulties:

– The discrepancy or even incompatibility of the requirements of European and Russian educational structures for curricula.
– The problem of asymmetric mobility of students and teachers in the framework of double degree programmes.
– The problems of legal regulation, ensuring the implementation of double degree programmes [32].
– The different national regulations on the quality assurance of the programmes and recognition of the granted degrees [33, 34].
– The confusion in terminology: this was a main issue among the staff involved in the project, especially the differentiation between the concepts of double, multiple and joint degrees.
– Resistance towards joint programmes among academics, departments and faculties.
– The lack of funding for long-term sustainability.
– The lack of experience/expertise [35].
– The lack of high-bandwidth Internet lines, which makes it difficult to fully use modern electronic learning environments.
– The difficulty of agreeing on forms and mechanisms of joint financing [36].
– Poor command of foreign languages in the Russian academic environment [37].

For further scientific research, we suggest the analysis of students' satisfaction with studying under joint educational programmes, taking into account such indicators as:

• Satisfaction with the quality and content of training.
• Satisfaction with the organization of the educational process.
• Satisfaction with the material and technical support of the educational process.
• Satisfaction with the organization of research activities.
• Satisfaction with the socio-psychological climate at the university [38].

In addition, double degree programmes can be studied as a factor in attracting foreign students to Russian universities, which is necessary to maintain the high status of Russian universities in the international market of educational services [39–41].

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Educational Tourism as an Outlook Component of the Marketing and Operational Strategy of a Modern Educational Organization

Tatyana Klimova

Abstract The chapter is devoted to the problems of educational tourism. The attempt to combine the two concepts of "education" and "tourism" and to determine the degree of significance of each, the goals and motivation of the participants, the expediency or inexpediency of defining time limits, and the formality of the approach to the educational process itself led to a vigorous debate in the scientific field of academic research related to this topic. In the context of the study the author considers educational tourism as an educational experience organized and managed by educational institutions, carried out outside the home geographical environment from 24 hours to 12 months. In this context, foreign students are considered a niche segment that can be regarded as educational or academic tourists since their overall experience of staying in a destination includes a tourist component. The author notes that, regardless of the time-of-stay of foreign students in the host country, the tourism component should always be taken into account by educational institutions. Moreover, it can be concluded that universities, as regional educational hubs, can increase the potential of educational tourism destinations. The author notes the indisputable need for further academic research on educational tourism, including the assessment of determinants and the construction of models of the demand for educational tourism, as well as the search for new forms and opportunities for Russian students.

Keywords Educational tourism · Foreign students · Universities · Educational programs

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1 Introduction

Educational tourism emerged because of the integration of two seemingly different spheres of activity – education and tourism. Educational tourism appeared many years ago. However, educational tourism has not been legislated in any of the regulatory documents, but this did not prevent it from active development, and the prestige of studying abroad has become a trend of a new generation. The desire to study in another country determined the demand for educational tours, while the variety of offers marked the spatial landscape of traveling for educational purposes.

While the tourism industry was satisfying the needs of this segment, scientists and researchers continued to study this phenomenon, defining its vision. Undoubtedly, learning and the process of cognition occur during any trip. However, if the purpose of the trip is training and education, this could include educational tourism.

2 Materials and Methods of Research

The research is based on the study of academic materials on the problems of educational tourism using the platforms of national and foreign bibliographic and referencing databases of scientific citation. The conceptual documents of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of Russia, the World Tourism Organization, and thematic and expert studies were considered.

A descriptive and analytical approach, based on official statistics data, retrospective assessments of the number of foreign students studying at all levels in higher educational institutions of the Russian Federation, and indicators of their share by country, was used as a methodological basis of the study.

This study is based on a logical model and general scientific and theoretical research methods, structuring information and highlighting individual aspects of the problems of educational tourism.

3 The Results of the Study and the Discussion

The interpretation of educational tourism by modern authors is very ambiguous (Table 1).

The diversity of approaches suggests an attempt to combine the concepts of "education" and "tourism," to determine the degree of significance of each and their share of their presence.

Traditionally, educational tourism was associated with language programs, which were the most popular format around the world and brought substantial income to their organizers. Due to their simple organization, language programs

Table 1 Approaches to the definition of educational tourism

Author	Definition of educational tourism
Ritchie B.W., Carr N., Cooper, C.P.	The tourist's acquisition of cultural and historical knowledge from other places or countries
Maga A., Nicolau Pete	Learning activities undertaken outside of home geographical environment within a duration limit of between 24 hours and 12 consecutive months [1]
Ai Chin Thoo, Matthew Boon Pin Lim, Hon Tat Huam, Zuraidah Sulaiman	Any travel-related activity where people travel to certain places to gain knowledge and skills in this unique environment, while education may be the primary or secondary purpose of their journey [2]
Pitman T., Broomhall S., Majocha E.	A form of niche tourism where learning experience is the core product delivery component
Tomasi S., Paviotti G., Cavicchi A.	Learning experience organized and managed by educational institutions [3]
Hussein, S.H., Kusairi S., Ismail F.	A new subsector of tourism, involving the movement of foreign students for higher education [4]
Yurieva G. P., Pogorelova M. A.	The phenomenon of integration of education and tourism through the organization of tourist and educational activities to achieve the goals and objectives defined by educational programs and aimed at the formation and development of personal qualities manifested in the formation of universal, professional, and specialized competencies [5]
Gorlova I.I.	A product that directly includes a tourist component and an educational component and takes various forms [6]
Lunin E.A.	Of travel for a period of 24 hours to 6 months for the purpose of obtaining education (general, special, additional), for advanced training – in the form of courses, internships, without engaging in activities related to income from sources in the country (place) temporary stay
Lebedev A.R.4	A system of relations that reflects the processes associated with the production, distribution, and consumption of educational tourist products
Solomin V.P., Pogodina V.L.	Educational tours made for the purpose of performing tasks defined by the curricula of educational institutions [7]
Zhitenev S.Yu.	A trip to places of temporary residence in order to obtain additional knowledge, education, and qualifications, the duration of which is 2 to 3 months [8]

have generated serious competition among agencies in this segment. The high demand for language programs allowed large educational tour operators to organize group tours for fixed arrival dates like it happens when organizing other types of tourism.

Subsequently, UNESCO introduced the concept of an international mobile student. According to UNESCO, an international mobile student is a person who "physically crossed the international border between two countries to participate in educational activities in the destination country, where the destination country is different from his or her country of origin [9]."

In 2021 the T.I.M.E. Association studied the data provided by UNESCO on students' mobility. The main task was to identify the countries with the largest number of students traveling outside their country for educational purposes. The study noted that out of 5.6 million foreign students studying around the world, most of them were nationals of China, India, Germany, Vietnam, South Korea, France and the United States. As can be seen from the pie chart, 993,367 students left China for educational purposes, 375,055 students studied abroad from India, and the number of students from Germany was estimated at 122,538 people (Fig. 1).

The boundaries of the concept of "tourism" are determined by the duration of the trip. According to the new edition of the Federal Law of Russia "On the Basics of tourist Activity", a tourist is a person visiting the country for 24 hours to 6 months. UNWTO refers to tourists as persons traveling outside their usual environment for up to 1 year, which allows considering a larger number of tourists in the statistics of educational tourism.

However, many researchers do not see the expediency of allocating a time factor or do not focus on it, believing that any time restriction only emphasizes the urgency of achieving an educational goal, which in fact does not matter for educational tourism.

There are also ongoing debates in the discussion field concerning the motivation of the student/traveler and the relationship between formal and informal learning.

Characterizing educational tourism through a transformative process and considering the motivation of tourists, Mcgladderi K.A. and Lubbe B.A. argue that it is not always possible to determine whether the desire to study while traveling is the main or secondary motivation [11]. The issues of motivation are also related to the studies conducted by Ritchie B.U., Peskova O.S., Rodionova I.A. and other researchers [12, 13, 14].

Many authors, defining educational tourism as an organized tourist trip, emphasize the informality of the situation. In their opinion, educational tourism is
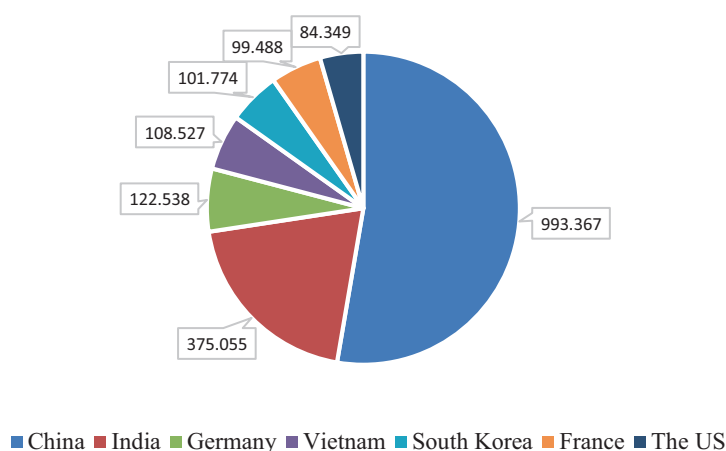
Fig. 1 The countries from which most students go to study abroad [10]

associated with informal learning and is a form of independent learning while traveling [15].

At the same time, other scientists consider it mandatory to have an educational institution that manages the learning process. Thus, Pitman T., characterizing educational tourism, distinguishes its deliberate pedagogical structure, the presence of a teacher or a mentor, and getting experience on the spot, which causes an emotional sensory reaction in the student [16]. The author notes that an activity in which the moment of learning is structured and supported by an expert and educational materials can transform the student and, therefore, can become transformative learning.

Juan R. argues that if we consider not only the academic but also the entire experience of foreign students staying at the destination, then it is wrong to define them only as students. Traveling is essential in their choice. Thus, international students can be considered as tourists with special interests or niche tourists: "The entire experience of foreign students in foreign countries perfectly corresponds to the argument "tourism as embodied practice" [17].

The study of the conceptual foundations of educational tourism shows the absence of clear boundaries between this concept and the concepts of scientific, research, and academic tourism. In tourism research in recent years, the concepts have been used interchangeably (Fig. 2).

In the triad "scientific – research – educational/academic tourism," the role of each component will be determined by the segment of tourist mobility and the priority of the purpose of travel. In our opinion, the relationship between scientific and research tourism is more stable than between research and educational tourism. Although these types can be successfully combined, in the first case, the interest in traveling is driven by the need for scientific research. In the second case, the educational component is predominant.

The categories "academic tourism" and "educational tourism" are closer constructs. Speaking about educational tourism associated with university students participating in academic educational programs, including academic mobility programs, the terms may well be used as equivalent.

Therefore, in this context, educational tourism is considered an educational experience organized and managed by educational institutions, carried out outside

Fig. 2 Triad "scientific – research – educational/academic tourism"
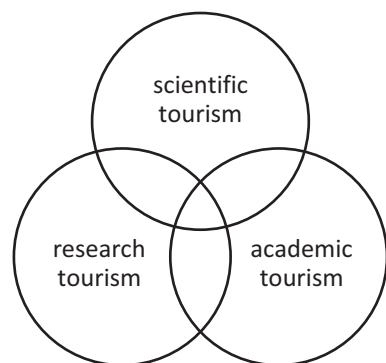
the home geographical environment in the period from 24 hours to 12 months. In our opinion, foreign students can be regarded as educational or academic tourists, since their overall experience of staying in the destination includes a tourist component. At the same time, regardless of the time of stay of foreign students in the host country, the tourism component should always be taken into account by educational institutions to use all opportunities to achieve learning goals.

Noteworthy is the experience of educational tourism described by Ritchie B.U. He also identified three main aspects of educational tourism management [13]:

- Direction marketing
- Regional development
- Educational tourism

The author argued that every institution organizing or managing educational programs should take into account the tourism component in order to maximize the prospects of learning.

It can be concluded that universities as regional educational hubs can increase the potential of educational tourism destinations. To this end, they should work to optimize and expand their educational exchange programs and increase their attractiveness to students.

The development of new forms of joint educational programs, including programs in English, educational tourist routes, and summer training programs for foreigners, is actively popularized within the Federal Project "Export of Education" framework. The main task is not just to attract a foreign student but to maintain a continuous cycle of interaction with him, which corresponds to the marketing strategies of modern universities.

International students behave like tourists in the context of consumers of higher education, who also bear a certain amount of expenses during the period spent on further education in the chosen country. The selected country is the host country. The expenses incurred by foreign students during their studies are a source of income that will have an additional effect on the host country's economy. Thus, foreign students form a significant tourist market, contributing to the development of the economy of the host countries. Host countries benefit from the expenses of foreign students for accommodation, meals, entertainment and leisure, visits to cultural attractions, tuition fees, etc., which has a positive effect on the economy. By bringing income to educational institutions, foreign students encourage universities to implement an entrepreneurial strategy in the market.

On the other hand, students benefit not only from studying but also from communication with residents and other students and from experience that contributes to personal and professional growth. It is assumed that the perception of residents by foreign students can play a decisive role in their overall travel experience, their positive assessment of the destination and their behavior in the future. In a study conducted among international students in South Korea [18], it was noted that three perceived attributes are critically important in the marketing of a destination: the attractiveness of the territory, positive emotions, and the willingness to help the local population.

Therefore, educational organizations should effectively use the advantages of educational tourism. Firstly, students can benefit from opportunities to interact with the local environment, which includes many relationships, such as the recreational resources of the territory, its cultural and historical sites, and national culture. Secondly, foreign students are tourists who take the opportunity to visit local attractions while acting as an attractive factor motivating friends and relatives from their country to visit the country where they study. In addition, tourism researchers emphasize that foreign students are likely to revisit the host country after completing their studies. Consequently, experiential learning is part of studying abroad, and tourism is part of the entire experience of their stay in the host country. This transformative combination of learning and personal growth creates a full-fledged social experience.

Experts discuss educational tourism as a new subsector with high potential. However, it is not easy to attract students from different countries, given that foreign students are consumers of higher education products and services exported abroad. There is cross-border competition between different countries as to whether they have sufficient opportunities and quality of education to attract foreign students. It is obvious that countries that can create a sustainable environment for educational tourism, including various international training programs, are more competitive.

In many exporting countries, the policy of attracting foreign students to study is supported by the national strategy and complemented by university strategies [14].

International students currently account for 2.4% of all university students worldwide. The leading exporting countries are the USA, Great Britain and Australia. In 2021 the Russian Federation occupied the fifth place by the number of international students. Within the framework of the Export of Education project, it is planned to spend 107.5 billion rubles on attracting foreign students [19]. This should double their flow.

Given that universities are developing active strategies to attract foreign students to universities in the Russian Federation, the increase in the flow of students from abroad is quite understandable (Fig. 3).

It should be noted that the number of foreign students studying is one of the main indicators in the system of academic mobility metrics both in the Russian Federation and in world practice [21].

In recent years, the number of students from abroad has increased exponentially. The total number of foreign students in Russia amounted to 315.1 thousand people, which is twice as high as at the beginning of the 2010/2011 academic year. Experts note that young people are satisfied with Russian education's price–quality ratio (Fig. 4).

Most of the foreign students in Russia are citizens of the CIS countries, Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. Thus, the combined share of students from the CIS, Baltic States and Georgia amounted to 69.55% of the total number of foreign students, followed by China with a share of 7.96%, Africa – 6.81% of students over 10 years.

Data analysis for the 2020/2021 academic year by country showed that Kazakhstan is the leader in the number of foreign students studying in our country.
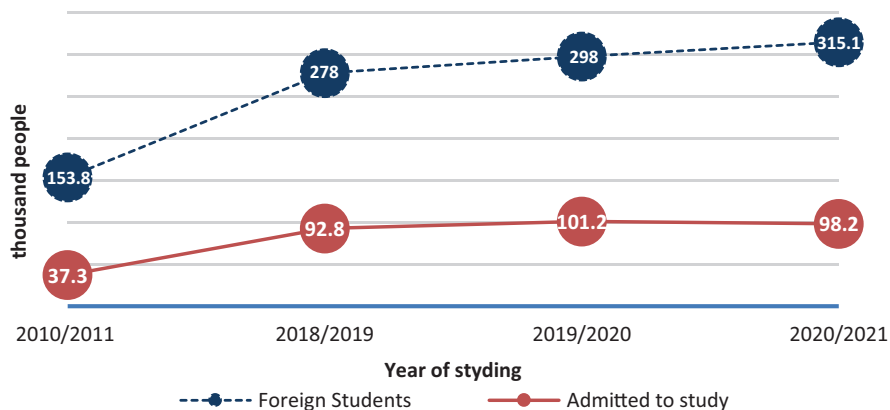
Fig. 3 Foreign students studying in Russian higher education institutions and scientific organizations (beginning of academic year) [20]
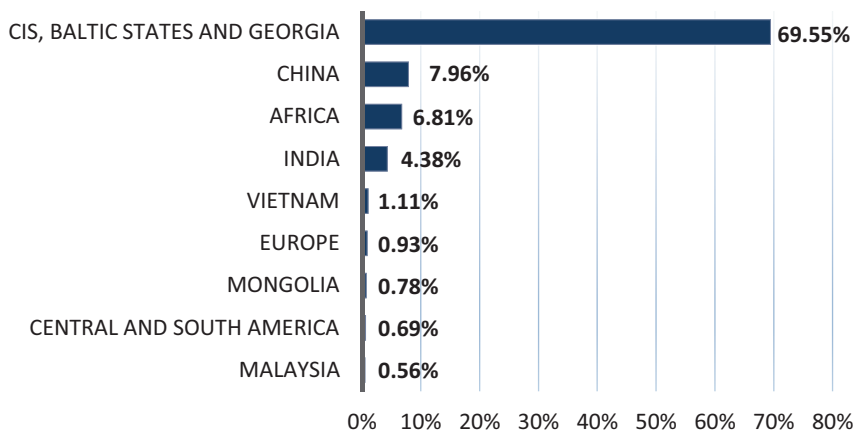
Fig. 4 Share of foreign students enrolled in programs at higher educational institutions of Russia in the period 2010–2021 by country of origin

The share of students studying at various programs in Russian universities from Kazakhstan was 20.29% (61 thousand students) [21]. Uzbekistan ranks second in terms of the number of foreign students studying in Russia – 16.28% (48.7 thousand students)) [22] of the total number of foreign students, followed by China – 10.73% (32.6 thousand) studying at higher education programs in universities of the Russian Federation.

As for the outbound flow of Russian students, the difference between "export" and "import" is significant. There are fewer Russians studying abroad, and the events after February 24 brought back some of the students studying from European countries, further increasing this gap.
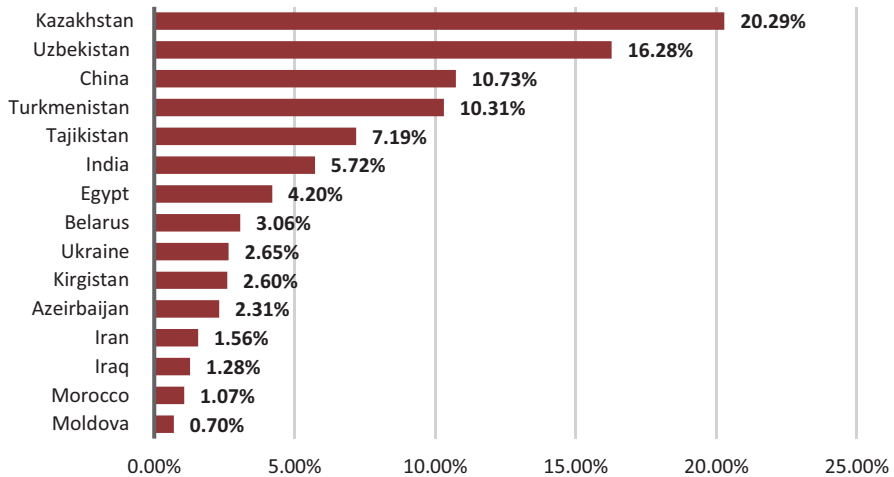
Fig. 5 Share of international students enrolled in higher education institutions in Russia in school year 2020–2021, by country of origin

Now the main task is to preserve the institution of academic mobility, but it will have to be developed in a new way so that Russian students can move within the country between leading regional and metropolitan universities and also have the opportunity to visit educational institutions in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and the EAEU countries (Fig. 5).

4   Conclusion

The higher education market has been working for a long time in attracting foreign students, and students, being a niche segment, travel to get an education and a new tourist experience.

Considering that the speed of universities' response to changes in the educational services market can determine their fate as exporters of education, universities need to consider educational tourism as a perspective tool of their marketing and operational strategies, increase the potential of educational tourism directions, help foreign students develop through new professional and personal experience, which they cannot find in their country of origin, use all forms of educational tourism to attract foreign students both for short-term mobility programs and for education in the country (place) of destination.

While some researchers determine the essence of educational tourism, its goals, study the links between formal and informal education, and the expediency or inexpediency of allocating a temporary factor, others model how competition and the quality of higher education determine the demand for educational tourism from the point of view of countries, explore consumer segments, the image of destinations,

motives and factors affecting the loyalty of foreign students to revisit the destination and recommend it as a place to get an education.

Although the number of issues related to educational tourism has increased in recent years, academic literature on this subject is just emerging and many important topics remain unexplored, including the assessment of determinants and the construction of models of demand for educational tourism, as well as the search for its new forms and opportunities for Russian students.

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China's Interests in the Russian Arctic Tourism

Maria Lagutina and Ruslan Bu

Abstract This article discusses research and assessment of prospects for Chinese tourism development in the Russian Arctic. Promotion of Arctic tourism is an important focus of strategic development of the Russian Arctic (Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation, AZRF), which is evidenced by a number of adopted documents. The Russian Arctic with its great natural and cultural potential nowadays attracts attention of both Russian and foreign tourists, including those from China. The paper considers a positive example of attracting foreign tourist resources in Murmansk region as one of the most popular destinations among Chinese travelers. Research found out that several leading tourist operators in China are interested in expanding business relations with the Russian Arctic regions, which is displayed both in promotion of such tourist destinations as Murmansk in tour packages sold at the Chinese market, and in some targeted thematic tours to the Russian Arctic. Chinese tourism in the Russian Arctic holds promise to spread out as a mass phenomenon, since statistical indicators prove that travelers from the PRC are beginning to take leading positions in this sector. Successful development of tourist potential in the Russian Arctic greatly depends on effective solution of a number of challenges typical for northern regions of the Russian Federation.

Keywords Arctic tourism · Tourism development · Chinese tourist flows · International inbound tourism · Russian Arctic regions

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1   Introduction

Nowadays a priority development direction for the Russian Arctic policy is promotion of Arctic tourism, which is evidenced in recently adopted strategic documents. For instance, one of the primary tasks of economic development of the Russian Arctic was formulated as "development of cruise, ethnic, ecological and industrial tourism" [1]; as well as "state support in construction of Arctic ice-class cruise ships on the territory of the Russian Federation and development of tourist infrastructure" [2]. The Russian Arctic is becoming a principal magnet for national and international tourism flows.

On the other hand, non-Arctic countries experience a growing enthusiasm in Arctic tourism; one of such countries is China. It is a well-known fact that recently China, although geographically located far from the Arctic territories, has been showing increased interest in the Arctic. In 2018, the Chinese government published the "China's Arctic Strategy" ("White Paper"), where China officially claimed its status of a "near-Arctic" state and formulated its interests, priorities, goals, and objectives in the Arctic. Among other directions, Arctic tourism was mentioned. The document defines Arctic tourism as an emerging industry, and China as a source of tourists to the Arctic: "China supports and encourages its enterprises to cooperate with Arctic States in developing tourism in the region, and calls for continuous efforts to enhance security, insurance, and rescue systems to ensure the safety of tourists in the Arctic. China conducts training for and regulates Chinese tourism agencies and professionals involved in Arctic tourism, and endeavors to raise the environmental awareness of Chinese tourists" [3]. The document highlights China's sustainable approach to its role in development of Arctic tourism. Currently, one of the most popular tourist destinations among Chinese tourists is, undoubtedly, the Russian Arctic.

This article is aimed at identification of the main interests of Chinese tourists in the Russian Arctic and key problems that Chinese tourists may face in the Russian Arctic. Murmansk region, one of the most popular destinations among Chinese tourists, is considered as a case study.

2   Materials

The basis of this article is the legal acts of the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China regarding the development of tourism in the Arctic, as well as data from Chinese travel companies that organize tourist trips to Russia.

Summarizing findings from the "Strategy for the Development of the Arctic Zone of the Russian Federation until 2035" and the "China's Arctic Strategy" made it possible to form a comprehensive understanding of the views of the respective countries on the development of Chinese tourism in the Russian Arctic.

Reporting statistics posted on the websites of key Chinese tourism operators allowed to identify the most attractive destination for Chinese tourism in the Russian Arctic. Based on this information, the Murmansk region was chosen as one of the most representative examples for the study.

3 Russian Arctic Tourism: General Description

Despite the fact that Arctic tourism is a relatively new trend for the Russian Arctic, the term "Arctic tourism" got implanted in the vocabulary of Russian experts, various politicians, and representatives of the tourism business. When it comes to the Russian Arctic, we broadly talk about tourism both in the land territories and in the waters of the Arctic. However, experts remark that "on the islands, due to their isolation and vulnerable nature, tourism cannot and should not be made massive" [4]. Defining the concept of "Arctic tourism," Russian expert Y.F. Lukin puts an accent on several important factors: (1) unique nature of Arctic tourism products (e.g., rich cultural and natural heritage, including UNESCO sites, a large number of specially protected natural areas (SPNA)); (2) appeal of the Arctic as "Terra Incognita" (Latin for "unknown land") for travelers and tourists; (3) extreme nature of Arctic tourism; and (4) international role of Arctic tourism [5]. In case of Arctic tourism, we can say that it spreads both nationally and internationally, outbound for Russian citizens and inbound for foreign ones. Arctic tourism is a promising sector of Arctic economy, including the Russian Arctic. However, development of this industry gives rise to a number of concerns, among which is degradation of fragile Arctic ecological system. In this respect, it is important to ensure sustainable development of tourism in the Russian Arctic.

Without doubt, the Russian Arctic has great tourism potential, but it should be noted that "the areas of the Arctic region have different potential for creating tourist clusters" [6]. Thus, the Republic of Karelia, Murmansk, and Arkhangelsk are leaders among regions of the Russian Arctic, since they have a rich cultural and historical heritage (e.g., the Geological Museum in Apatity, the Museum of Sami History and Life in the village of Lovozero, Solovki, etc.) and unique natural resources to provide tourists with such recreations as "sport fishing and hunting; ecological, water, mountain, mineralogical tourism; mountaineering, skiing, kiting, diving, hiking, skiing and cycling." Another exciting and promising direction is gastronomic tourism. Also foreign tourists seek after sea cruise tourism, which is actively developing (e.g., since 2010 the "Special Travel Club" has been successfully organizing sea cruises on chartered Russian ships, including nuclear-powered icebreakers). The Russian Arctic is rich in national parks, state wildlife sanctuaries (SWS), and nature reserves. It is worth mentioning that the top of the list is occupied by the Russian Arctic National Park on Novaya Zemlya, where tourists can see unique Arctic nature, as well as places and historical sites associated with discovery and history of the Russian Arctic. Apart from that, the Russian Arctic hosts other sites included in

the UNESCO World Cultural and Natural Heritage List (e.g., the Cultural and Historical Ensemble "The Solovetsky Islands" since 1992, Wrangel Island in the Chukotka Autonomous Territory since 2004, etc.).

So, the Russian Arctic has a great tourism potential due to its unique natural and cultural resources in various regions; in fact, the area is ready to meet the needs of Russian and foreign tourists.

4 Dynamics of Tourist Flows from China to the Russian Arctic

Nowadays the Russian Arctic makes a popular destination for a growing number of Chinese tourists, who are especially keen on two brands: "The first is 'Breath of Fresh Air' which is a dream of most residents of Chinese megacities, and the second is 'Northern Lights,' which is considered a good luck to see." China's growing interest in the Russian Arctic can be proved by an increasing number of Chinese tourists in the Russian Arctic regions in recent years. For instance, in 2017, 209 Chinese tourists visited the "Russian Arctic" national park near Arkhangelsk, which made 18% of total foreign travelers [7] in the park over in a year; this figure puts China on top of the list among other countries. Tourists from China make up to 30% of group cruises to the North Sea, the North Pole, and the Russian Arctic National Park [8].

Over the past years, the number of Chinese tourists visiting the Russian Arctic has increased, as evidenced from the case of Murmansk region. According to Ctrip [9], China's largest online travel agency, Murmansk is the most popular destination in the Russian Arctic for Chinese tourists. Inbound tourism of Chinese citizens to Murmansk region started approximately in 2013, when the region was visited by 167 travelers from the PRC. In just a few years, Chinese tourists pushed aside Scandinavians and Finns, who traditionally ranked first among foreign visitors to the Russian Arctic. By 2016, when the region succeeded in attracting large tourist operators under the Inter-Governmental Agreement between Russia and China, 6000 travelers from China had visited the region. By the end of 2019, before a general decline in tourist activity due to COVID-19 pandemic, more than 16,000 Chinese tourists had visited the region [10].

Currently Murmansk region has 47 tour operators, engaged in international inbound tourism. Some of them focus on Chinese groups. Among such operators are Visit Murmansk LLC, which has an online page on the Chinese-Russian travel platform russia-online.cn to make direct promotions in the Chinese Internet, and SANSHAN LLC, which opened its office in Shanghai, China, to attract tourists to the region. As of December 31, 2018, SANSHAN LLC was on the list of partners of the tourist and recreational cluster of Murmansk region.

Companies from other regions are also taking interest in developing cooperation with Chinese travel agencies. Among such companies is ATC Moscow, LLC (Moscow), which opened the EcoHome mini-hotel in Murmansk region.

Due to increasing tourist flow from China to the Russian Arctic, the government of the Russian Federation got concerned with development of this direction at the legislative level: on April 9, 2019, the Ministry of Economic Development of the Russian Federation instructed the Federal Tourism Agency to make a development agenda for the Arctic cruise tourism [11]. The program is expected to contribute to development of port infrastructure and make Arctic tourism more popular. On June 5, 2019, the Joint Statement of the Russian Federation and China on Developing Comprehensive Partnership and Strategic Interaction Entering a New Era [12] confirmed intentions of the two countries to maintain and expand cooperation in promoting Chinese tourist flows to the Russian Arctic.

Apart from that, the Russian Federation created a platform for informing and promoting tourist services that covers all regions of the Russian Arctic "Tourist Portal of the Russian Arctic Zone." In the "Tours" tab, users can book a tour to any Russian Arctic region. The beauty of the platform is that it consolidates various Russian travel operators providing services for both Russian and foreign travelers.

5 Role of Chinese Travel Companies in Arctic Tourism Development

Let Research of Chinese tourism in the Russian Arctic cannot be made without a thorough analysis of Chinese players in the tourism market. Among other things, successful promotion of tourist potential of the Russian Arctic depends on extent of cooperation between Arctic regions and Chinese tourist companies involved in distribution of Chinese tourist flows. So far, a large number of travel companies have been engaged in arranging tours to the Russian Arctic, for example, Ctrip, the abovementioned China's largest online travel agency (Trip.com). Ctrip regularly collects and publishes internal statistics that supports research of the tourism industry made by both government services and researchers in the PRC and international organizations, like the World Tourism Organization, which used information collected by Ctrip in the report "Guidelines of Success in the Chinese Outbound Tourism Market" [13]. Statistics shows that in 2017–2018, the most popular trip (third place among Arctic routes in the world) for Chinese tourists was a 9-day route "Moscow-Saint Petersburg-Murmansk" worth 10,536 yuan (Fig. 1). It can also be mentioned that the Agency offers 3-day trips to Murmansk and nearby areas (without visiting other cities of the Russian Federation) [14]. It is interesting to remark that the group under this offer is generated from tourists already staying in Murmansk. This being the case, we can conclude that such offers can take over some tourist flow from the national host companies offering the same touristic services.

However, most of tourism products at this market segment are for groups generated in China, as evidenced by statistical data discussed above. Other active tourist operators in the PRC market make quite similar offers of the route and duration of

Fig. 1 2017–2018 top 10 Arctic (Northern Lights) routes

trip, which proves that this format is the most beneficial model for Chinese consumers to incorporate the Russian Arctic into the Chinese tourism system.

The Ctrip report also analyzed prospects for the Russian Arctic as a tourist destination. It is worth pointing out that the main reason for high attractiveness of the Russian destination is low administrative barriers to getting a visa, and low cost of services, compared with other Arctic regions. The report also remarks that Arctic tourism is most popular among younger travelers: the share of tourists under 30 years old is 34% and under 45 years old 60%.

Apart from Ctrip, another rapidly developing online agency – Tuniu Corporation – arranges tours to the Russian Arctic and offers similar travel products. We should also mention classic travel companies that work directly with consumers of travel services, namely, the three largest companies in the PRC: CTS (中旅总社), CYTS (中青旅), and CITS (中国国旅). Each of those companies can offer its clients a wide range of Russian routes, including, in particular, to Murmansk region. However, in most cases Murmansk is a place to visit along the route, which includes Moscow and Saint Petersburg. CYTS offers a targeted trip to Murmansk; however, transfers are still made through Moscow, which makes a vivid example of how popular the tours covering several Russian cities are. Actually, larger Russian cities along the route absorb most of the income that the Arctic regions could otherwise receive. An increase in direct flights from China to Arctic regions could stimulate income flows. Another company to discuss is Tripolers (极之美) [15], one of the most established companies that offers tourist support to groups directing to the North Pole. For instance, since 2008, the company together with the international agency Poseidon Arctic Voyages has been regularly arranging group tours to the North Pole for Chinese citizens aboard the Russian nuclear icebreaker "50 Let Pobedy" [16]. It is notable that during those cruises, tourists can listen to lectures about the Arctic to become more aware of the region and its characteristics.

Smaller tourist operators offer individual tourist routes (私人订制团), which can include tours to the Russian Arctic. This type of tourist services is characterized by an alternative opened after the sale of the tour: the company can either independently make an individual route for travelers to a certain destination or apply for intermediary services to a larger operator under an agency agreement.

The Russian Arctic is becoming more interesting not only to tourists from mainland China. For example, Hong Kong company "Jetour" arranges tours, including to the Arctic regions of Russia, and offers routes quite similar to those offered by continental companies, including visits to three cities: Moscow, Saint Petersburg, and Murmansk [17].

Based on the examples considered, we can see that a typical feature of Chinese travel agencies working with Russian destinations is the fact that they specialize both in group tourism and tourist support for individual tourists (booking tickets, hotels, etc.), sometimes even marketing tourism products locally and competing with local tourism service providers. Such a comprehensive effect is backed, in particular, by actively expanding tools of tourist flows management applied by large Chinese agencies: in 2016, Ctrip purchased one of the largest online booking services Skyscanner [18], which allowed the company to expand its presence in the global travel market.

6 Challenges in Attracting Chinese Tourists to the Russian Arctic

Since the current state of the Russian Arctic tourism is still novel, unfortunately, there are a number of problems facing prospects of developing and attracting foreign tourists to the Russian Arctic: "The Arctic is interesting for tourists, but its infrastructure is not ready for a serious increase in the flow" [19]. In general, Russian-Chinese cooperation in Arctic tourism can be assessed positively; however, we should also pay attention to some challenges.

First of all, it should be mentioned that the cost of tours is high, which makes the Arctic an "elite" destination, affordable only to selected tourists: for instance, a trip on a nuclear icebreaker can cost almost € 30,000. It makes certain hindrances for development of mass tourism in the Russian Arctic.

Another issue to create more obstacles in mass Chinese tourism to the Russian Arctic is geographical remoteness of most of Arctic regions from Moscow and Saint Petersburg, the main destinations of Chinese tourism in Russia [20]. Regions [21] with a well-developed transport infrastructure connecting them with Saint Petersburg and Moscow demonstrate a greater proneness to development of Chinese tourism. The secret of popularity of Murmansk region is based on its geographical position, proximity to Saint Petersburg, and well-developed transport infrastructure, which makes it possible to include the destination into mass tourism together with the two capital cities. A prospect of rail transportation of some part of the Chinese tourist

flow can make a great benefit for the Arctic regions, since it will partially reduce the total cost of tourist services and become a strategic solution due to great extensiveness of Chinese outbound tourism. Direct charter flights to the regions of the Russian Arctic can also stimulate the interest of Chinese tourist operators, but before that tourist flows should be improved. Otherwise, with insufficient occupancy the flights will not pay.

Another important issue that can affect geography of Chinese tourism in the Russian Arctic is poorly developed infrastructure. Chinese tourists are very sensitive to accommodation conditions, as evidenced by the analysis of the Ctrip travel agency. Hotels must be roomy enough to accommodate the whole group (e.g., when working with business delegations, it is important to follow rules of Chinese etiquette, when senior persons accommodated in the hotel should live on the floors above their subordinates, and if there are no suitable rooms on the corresponding floor, guest satisfaction is unlikely to be high) and meet all international requirements for similar infrastructure facilities.

When selecting routes for travel, Chinese tourists pay great attention to sufficient number of "points of interest." With the northern lights being one of the main attractions of Chinese tourists to the Russian Arctic, it is also necessary to develop other potentially interesting destinations that can become the focus of attention of foreign tourists. In this regard, sea cruises have the greatest potential. Decrease in the cost of this service can favorably affect promotion of the Russian Arctic; according to the Ctrip report, when selecting an Arctic country for travel, the majority of Chinese tourists prefer the Russian Federation because of low cost of services.

As remarked above, Chinese tourism is inseparable from the PRC tour operators, which play a key role in generation of tourist flows from China to other countries. In most cases in mass Chinese tourism, popularity of destination is artificially created and influenced by Chinese tour operators. In this regard, a key task will be promotion of cooperation between the Russian Arctic regions and Chinese travel agencies, in case of focus on mass tourist flows.

Lastly, it is important to increase the number of Chinese-speaking staff. To service Chinese tourist flows, service providers need many Chinese-speaking specialists, in particular, guides, hotel employees, theme park specialists, etc., who are qualified to work with Chinese tourists; otherwise the role of the Russian party in servicing Chinese tourist flows will be narrowed down to routine services, completely excluding a cultural component, which has significant potential in each region of the Russian Arctic.

7   Conclusions

Nowadays, potential of the Russian Arctic as a promising direction of Chinese tourism is great. The evidence of Murmansk region discussed herein, which in a short span of time managed to succeed in attracting Chinese tourist flows, allows us to conclude that consumers from China are interested in visiting the Russian northern

regions. Natural and cultural characteristics of the Russian Arctic offer Chinese tourists a unique chance to get new experience, different from popular Russian destinations in the mass tourism market. As a result, we can see examples of successful integration of certain Russian Arctic regions into the Chinese outbound tourism system.

At present, some large tourist operators of the PRC offering group tourism to Russia are gradually including the northern Russian regions into most popular routes. This approach has a good reason behind: on the one hand, including a visit to Murmansk to the travel itinerary can attract tourists who did not consider the Russian Federation as a travel destination in general but are eager to visit the Russian Arctic, and on the other hand, it diversifies the offer for consumers at the stage of selling package tourist service in China.

A growing number of Chinese travelers can become an additional source of income for the regions and contribute to an increasing global popularity of the destination. However, to keep the number of Chinese tourists in the Russian Arctic regions high, it is necessary to find a comprehensive solution to most pressing issues that hinder mass tourism thereto. Place of the Russian Arctic in the international tourism system, where China, as the founder of the World Tourism Alliance and the largest source of tourists, undoubtedly, plays a great role, will largely depend on how effectively administration of the Arctic regions will overcome the challenges listed herein.

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Part V
Conflicts & Security

National Security as a Concept and a Notion in US Political Discourse

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Abstract Today interdisciplinarity is a distinctive feature of scientific knowledge. Multidisciplinary study located at the intersection of the fields of political science and linguistics presents a sophisticated expert-friendly study area, investigating the relationship and interconnectedness of the man-language-culture triad within the political realm. Thus, studying political, economic, and social challenges the state faces is impossible without due care and attention for cultural issues. The world of culture is presented by various concepts. A concept is an element of consciousness. It is closely connected with culture. The concept acts as a mental structure where values of society are fixed. The article touches upon the examining "national security" as a concept and a notion in the political discourse of the US presidents. National security is a key issue in world politics. Due to the evolution, the notion may be understood in different ways, implying both military and non-military threats to security. The article focuses on "national security" as the indispensable part of the US national interests. The speeches of the presidents are characterized by conceptualized vocabulary denoting traditional ideological values and mental characteristics of American society. One of the concepts that represent a group of vital concepts within the American culture is "national security." Our research is aimed from a political science perspective to show the pace of changes of the notion due, first of all, to emergence of new threats and challenges and reinterpreting national interests and from a linguistic perspective to examine the "national security" concept and reveal its specific features.

Keywords National security · Notion · Concept · Political discourse · Cognitive criteria

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1   Introduction

Achieving victory in the Cold War seemed to solve the problem of national security provision for the USA, one of the key actors on the international arena. The challenge was met, and even if the problem was not settled, the USA was close to overcoming it. At the turn of the century, US residents thought that security threats had changed completely, and the world was facing the environment of political, economic, and moral principles generated by the USA. These are the ideas Francis Fukuyama bases his "the end of history" on.

However, due to various factors that are not discussed in this research, American determination that it is the US approach to national security threats which preconfigure the development of the mankind and thus forms national security environment for all national states played tricks on the USA itself. The USA was made to relocate priorities of national security provision in the country. Furthermore, we should take into account that depending on the party in power, depending on the degree of uncertainty and lack of soft skills on the international arena, a certain challenge to US national security either was seen clearly or faded. It is the reason why US various political leaders seemed to be speaking differently about national security.

In our article we examine the notion and the concept of "national security" in political discourse shaped by US presidents' speeches. Our research focuses on the changing of the notion of national security in both political and linguistic terms.

Modern sciences do not develop in an isolated way. The scientific approach that appeared in the second half of the twentieth century as employment of borrowed data today is practiced on a wide scale since scientists understand the vital importance of interdisciplinary study while observing a complicated and sophisticated phenomenon.

Interdisciplinary approach, involving methods of complementary sciences, allows to comprise a wide range of peculiarities of a certain phenomenon. It is obvious that such an attitude creates penetrative and enhanced understanding of the subject being studied.

Thus, in our research we combine comparative historical method of political science and the method of conceptual analysis of cognitive linguistics. This gives us an opportunity to examine the concept of "national security" and identify its specific features significantly vital for American culture and society.

Objective of the research: from a political science perspective to show the pace of changes of the notion due, first of all, to emergence of new threats and challenges and reinterpreting national interests; from a linguistic perspective to examine the "national security" concept and reveal its specific features.

Hypotheses: The political environment on the international arena and in the USA influences directly the forming of concept content of "national security," which is reflected in words in US Presidents' speeches.

2   Methods and Materials of Research

The authors of the research used a number of methods of political science (comparative historical method, case study) and linguistic methods (analysis of lexicographic sources, text analysis, association analysis).

The combination of methods – comparative historical method of political science and the method of conceptual analysis of cognitive linguistics used in our research – might allow to examine the "national security" notion comprehensively, in particular to reveal its interpretation by political leaders in the history of the USA along with identifying its specific contextual features through the "national security" concept.

The empirical base of the research is formed by sources and references that are on open access. After B. Obama came to power in the USA, a new and a different understanding and concept content of the term "national security" emerged.

3   Results of Research

The notion of "national interest" being the centerpiece of political science has long history. States tended to view national interests as driving force of their foreign policy. Although only after the end of the WWII, the notion of "national interest" started to be understood as a tool of external policy conducting.

Hans Morgenthau, a German-American political scientist, turned to be one of the originators of political realism who formed the international relations theory that is still relevant today. The notion of "national interest" first appeared in his article "The Primacy of the National Interest" written in 1949. In the article the author studies the binary – moral principles and national interest. In Morgenthau's viewpoint, both moral principles and national interest interchangeably defined the US policy on the international arena. It is obvious that the US external policy was driven by national interest when the state was in a life-or-death situation.

Morgenthau stated that a state cannot be successful ignoring national interest. In his work "What Is the National Interest of the United States?" written in 1952, Morgenthau stated that for a state it was vitally important to pay attention to its personal interests. It was considered true especially when talking about not friendly neighbors who presented some kind of threat to the state. Morgenthau emphasized that it was more a moral duty of the state and not just a moral opportunity since it was the state that should take care of itself and there was nobody to provide safety and convenient well-being instead. The very idea that a state might ignore its national interests and obey a certain external standard was considered unworthy. In this case, all other actors on the international arena would take care of themselves without taking into account the needs of the state ignoring its interests. Finally, the state could be considered weak and become a victim rather than a winner comparing

to those knowing how to promote their self-interests [1]. Here the notion "national interest" is tightly linked to "national security" as we understand it today.

Although the scientist acknowledged that the understanding of the notion was ambiguous, he himself marked two elements necessary for defining the term. The first element is permanent and derives from the desire of the state to survive; the second is changeable and it depends on particular circumstances.

Scientific ideas presented by Hans Morgenthau shaped the scientific and political approach to national interest in the second half of the tweith century, although the term transformed into "national security," since the primary interest of the state is to stay safe and its policy on the international arena is the framework of not harming national interests.

In the foreword to the book *Discord and Collaboration* written in 1962 by Reinhold Niebuhr, an American commentator on political and public affairs, it presented the USA as a state having no rivals on the international arena. According to Reinhold Niebuhr, the USA managed to be the most powerful state throughout the history. And in this status the USA has had to face various global challenges which settlement is complex both politically and morally [2]. The second chapter of the book itself, written by Arnold Wolfers, a Swiss-American international relations scholar, and being devoted to the pursuit of national security, is focused on the pursuit of national security. Wolfers states interconnection of the notions "national interest" and "National security" focusing on the essence of the term "national interest" and the shift of the understanding from a welfare state to a state able to provide security. The author emphasizes that the post-Cold War period and the emerging external threats became at a certain point more important than social reforms. Consequently, the understanding and the idea of national interest became equal to national security. State representatives spoke first of all about state security when talking about national interests. Thus, the term security came to the fore. The term national security was studied, analyzed, and finally widely used in political science [2].

Decades later former US National Security Advisor and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger in his book *Diplomacy* characterized the dual nature of American foreign policy. Kissinger states that the very fact that the USA managed to follow its specific external policy for a long time provoked two different attitudes. The first is that the USA is better to deal with imperfection of its own democratic system inside the state; the second is that the values guiding America make it bring democracy across the globe. Thus, the USA is in the difficult situation choosing between the past, when it was isolated and on its own, and the future, where the perfect world may be constructed only due to the USA participating [3].

After the Cold War the notion "national security" has changed its interpretation and started to mean both military and non-military dangers. The latter implies the degradation of the quality of life including consequences of natural disasters and poor management (Ulmann R. 1983, Buzan B. 1983). One of the approaches widely used by political scientists today includes the distinction between military, political, economic, ecological, and social security. Then cyber security, energy, and natural resources security and ideological security were added to the list.

Today the notion of "national security" is even more vague since many scholars tend to assign a certain meaning to the term due to the rapidly changing situation on the international arena. It is clear that there are many definitions of the word security since all scholars tend to view this notion through the lens of their ideology. Thus, it is obvious that it is quiet a challenging task to define "security." Not being understood in a unified manner, the term is widely exploited and misunderstood on the international level [4].

Contemporary American political expert Ronald R. Krebs focuses on three key phenomena necessary for debating on national security. He states that a great number of works have been written mentioning three essential aspects to be presented while talking about security. These are the source of the interest on the actor, the existence of collective goals of the state, and the very fact that the state is able to conduct a certain action. According to the author, it gives a clear understanding of reasons, preferences, state institutional construction, and national identity [5].

After 9/11 terrorist attack, the War on Terror was declared and the need to draw a dividing line between national and global security has become obvious. Two decades have passed but the War on Terror still remains the decisive factor of US security policy. This is reflected in both the Special Report on "Preparing the US national security strategy for 2020 and beyond" (2019) [6] and "A national security strategy for a global age" (2020) [7]. Moreover, worldwide political experts tend to draw attention to the topic [8].

Joe Biden's administration released the Interim National Security Strategic Guidance in March 2021. According to the Guidance, for the USA it is essential to focus on the internal security, including population, economy, and democracy ideal. The distribution of power, which should be organized by the USA, is aimed at protecting the USA and its allies from hostile states and providing access to the global key regions. America sees democracy as a perfect pillar for creating stability and global security [9].

Moreover, the Guidance tells that improving standards of living globally contributes to maintaining interests of the USA [9], thus linking national security to the status of the state on the international arena. To advance interests of the USA on the global scale, America should make smart decisions concerning its national defense and use military force reasonably since democracy continues to be the tool of the first resort. Armed forces should be equipped to protect lands and people, regarding both the USA itself and US adversaries, but the use of force should not be the first step. It may be resorted to only after diplomatic efforts and economic developments that must be the main tools of the US foreign policy [9].

Thus, we witness the way of the term transforming from "nation interest" into all-encompassing "national security" which is understood differently by various scholars. On the one hand, it is obvious that new challenges and threats to well-being of the state should be classified and studied. In this context, an overwhelming notion gives us an opportunity either to attach a new threat to "national security" and tackle it correspondingly or to see that newly presented challenges are beside the point.

The vague character of the notion is still present as at the time it was coined. Thus, to provide national security we are, first of all, to define the meaning attached to the term by a certain person in a certain period of time.

Therefore, we have examined the notion of "national security" and the main stages of its development in the history of the USA. It is known, a notion is a part of a concept, and the very notional attributes are embedded in its structure [10]. The concept is a mental unit, an element of consciousness, which is closely connected with the world of culture. Acquiring and accumulating experience and knowledge within the culture, a person transforms them into concepts – minimal units arising during conceptualization. The concept is the unit of consciousness in which values of society are fixed. Concept verbalization, i.e., its linguistic representation, is regarded as one of the most important forms of actualization. Thus, in the light of the processes of conceptualization and categorization of linguistic reality, the discourse is presented as a set of interconnected concepts. The ideas, emerged in different periods, are formed in the concepts and are reflected, in particular, in political discourse. Concepts in American political discourse are abstract entities used to present elements of information about the conceptualized political worldview of the USA. The key concepts of American political discourse are "power," "people," and "president." Presidential rhetoric definitely comprises the key concepts playing an important role in the process of conceptualization in the constructing of the system of concepts. In addition to the key concepts, American political discourse also distinguishes the following: vital, social, political, patriotic, moral and ethical, economic, aesthetic, religious, and economic concepts. According to the classification, the "security" concept along with "comfort," "life," "health," etc. is referred to the vital concepts, including everything that is associated with the phenomenon of life and life priorities [11]. And the "national security" concept, accordingly, is connected with the phenomenon of life and life priorities of the American nation as a whole. Therefore, being a vital concept, "national security" is a part of the system of values and ideals of the American society.

The content of the concept as a scientific category is disclosed through its components: conceptual, metaphoric, axiological, and semantic. The conceptual component represents the characterizing and definitional structure of the concept, the metaphoric component contains the cognitive metaphors supporting the concept in the language consciousness; the semantic component is identified by the role the name of the concept in the linguistic system plays [12]. In our research, we consider the conceptual and axiological components of the "national security" concept. We carefully selected the material that enabled us to reveal cognitive characteristics of the examined concept. We used various types of dictionaries to find the conceptual component of the concept. The texts of the speeches of the US Presidents (B. Obama, D. Trump, J. Biden), devoted to the issue of national security, were studied when working on the axiological component.

To determine the conceptual component of the "national security" concept, we consulted with a few dictionaries. Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture specifies the **safety of a nation** against its enemies [13]. Macmillan Dictionary emphasizes **the protection or the safety** of a country's secrets and its

citizens [14]. Collins Dictionary specifies **country's national security** as its **ability to protect** itself from the threat of violence or attack [15].

It is also necessary to refer to the Dictionary of Military Terms, since the lives of the people depend on the actions and vital decisions of the president and his administration. The US Department of Defense understands "national security" as (1) a military or defense **advantage over** any foreign nation in the aspect of national defense; (2) a **favorable foreign relations position**, or (3) a **defense position** providing successfully counteracting hostile or destructive action in the aspect of foreign relations of the USA [16].

Based on the common components and collocations in the dictionaries, we concluded that the "national security" concept is represented by the basic meaning: *the protection/safety/security of a nation.*

As for the definition in the Dictionary of Military Terms, it is quite extensive and includes not only national defense aspect but foreign relations as well. Thus the US military or defense advantage or superiority takes the first place in the definition. The meaning of advantageous position in foreign relations takes the second place and the last meaning – resisting internal or external belligerent or destructive actions. In other words, the dominant component of the "national security" concept in the view of the military and the president as the country's commander-in-chief is military or defense advantage.

Examining the axiological component of the concept while analyzing the texts of speeches by the American presidents (B. Obama, D. Trump, J. Biden), we identified the following cognitive criteria: *security/safety/protection*, *responsibility*, *values*, *credibility*, *stability*, *development*, and *advantage*, which may be represented in the text by lexical units with the same name, or by close in meaning collocations.

Let's give some examples illustrating the criteria of the "national security" concept in the speech made by B. Obama on American Values and National Security.

Criterion of *security/safety/protection.* Describing a new bill on reforming the system of government contracting B. Obama emphasizes **protection of American consumers and homeowners** [17]. The lexical unit of *protect* reveals the cognitive criterion of the "national security" concept in terms of the law and measures to ensure it. In this example, the measure is the bill, which provides protection for citizens.

Further in his speech, B. Obama touches the issues on internal security in particular Guantanamo and detention policy. He says that nobody will be released if it would **endanger US national security** and the nation [17]. The criterion of *physical security* found here is represented by the *security* lexical unit and in combination with the adjective of *national* implies the security of the country and American citizens.

Proceeding his speech on the issues of detention policy and reforms, B. Obama emphasizes the fact that it will help make military commissions not only an effective but **more credible** measure for the course of justice for detainees [17]. And here we can identify the criterion of *credibility*. The example demonstrates the provision of protection by the authorities and implies the citizens' confidence in the justice of their country. The cognitive criterion is represented by the lexical unit of *credible*.

In the same speech, B. Obama touches the issue of responsibility and we can reveal the criterion of *responsibility*. He specifies the most important responsibility for the president in particular **keeping the American citizen safe** [17]. In this case, the security of the American people implies the responsibility of the president as the leader of the country. The criterion of the concept is represented by the same name lexical unit.

Talking about American values, B. Obama name them **the best national security asset** for better or worse [17]. This case demonstrates the criterion of *values*. Here, national security involves preserving and adhering to the values of the American culture, which the president refers to as the principal legacy of national security. The cognitive criterion is represented by the lexical unit of *values*.

Touching the issue of immigration security, D. Trump in his speech on national security emphasizes that the nation will only support the immigrants who respect **American values** and labels them a reliable strategy of national security [18]. This example identifies the criterion of *values*. National security involves upholding national values, which the president refers to as a cornerstone of a solid national security. The cognitive criterion is represented by the lexical unit of *values*.

Addressing to people, D. Trump in his speech on the Orlando shooting specifies the necessity **to develop** a sound **immigration policy** that takes into account American values and interests [19]. The example shows the criterion of development/improvement where security implies the development of immigration policy. The cognitive criterion is represented by the lexical unit of *develop*.

In his address on National Security Strategy, D. Trump emphasizes the necessity of the government to take important steps **to ensure the prosperity** of the nation [20]. This example demonstrates the criterion of *values*. The case shows one of the vital values of the American society in particular prosperity referred to as a part of the National Security Strategy. The cognitive criterion is represented by the lexical unit of *prosperity*.

The following example demonstrates three criteria: *security/safety/protection*, *prosperity*, and *values*. Describing challenges of the modern world J. Biden in his Strategic Guidance on Interim National Security specifies that the American nation should resist the world to keep American people **safe**, **prosperous**, and **free** [21]. The example demonstrates the cognitive criteria – physical security and values, in particular prosperity and freedom of the USA. National security depends on the actions of the American leaders on the international arena. In other words, national security implies bold, decisive actions for the benefit of the country. The cognitive criteria are represented by the lexical units of *safe*, *prosperous*, and *free*.

Proceeding his speech on global challenges, J. Biden emphasizes an **advantageous**, exceptional position of the USA that enables it to form the future of global politics to **advance** American values and interests and make the world safe and prosperous. "No nation is better positioned to navigate this future than America" [21]. The example reveals the cognitive criterion of the US advantageous position in international politics that resulted in global security, preserving American values and prosperity of the world. The cognitive criterion is represented by the lexical units of *advantages*, *advance*, and the phrase of *no nation is better positioned*.

4 Conclusion

To sum up the research, we should state that the application of two scientific approaches (comparative historical method of political science and the method of conceptual analysis of cognitive linguistics) to the analysis of the political discourse of the US presidents allowed (1) to reveal the basic meaning of the notion, its common and significant features, to trace the stages of its interpretation within the history of the USA; (2) to reveal the content of the "national security" concept, its conceptual and axiological components by analyzing the political discourse and identifying the cognitive criteria included in the system of values and ideals of the American culture; and (3) to demonstrate contextual application of the criteria of this vital concept by the American presidents. Thus, B. Obama and D. Trump put the emphasis mostly on the US domestic policy and apply such cognitive criteria as *values* and *ideals* of the country, in particular the rule of law, various freedoms, and unity; the criterion of *credibility* to the authorities on security issues; the criterion of *responsibility* of the president for national security and protection of citizens; and the criterion of *development/improvement* of the policy affecting national security. In contrast to the previous leaders, J. Biden focuses mostly on the US foreign policy. He applies the criterion of *values* in terms of promotion of American ideals at the global level; the criterion of *credibility* is used in the context of the US global leadership; and the *advantage* criterion is used in the context of the global role of the USA in providing security around the world and superiority over the enemy.

In general, it may be noted that the language of the presidential political discourse is marked by the conceptualized vocabulary and by its ideological character due to the nature of ideological reflection of reality and encompasses the traditional values of the American culture. It is also worth mentioning that the "national security" concept is incredibly multifaceted and diverse in its content. Verbalization of one or another cognitive criterion of the "national security" concept depends on the context and cultural and historical and socio-cultural circumstances.

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The Citizenship and Acts of Genocide Against the Cham of Cambodia

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Abstract The main research object is the Cham minority (Khmer Islam) in the severe conditions of armed conflict in Cambodia (pre-1975) and of genocide in Democratic Kampuchea (1975–1979). Initial stages of the genocide had been found several years before Khmer Rouge seized power in April 1975. The term "auto-genocide" is criticized and proven to be unacceptable from legal point of view. Meanwhile, destruction of the Muslim and other religious and ethnic minorities organized by Khmer Rouge was genocide in the 1948 Convention's terms. The fact that the Chams (together with Malays) was the most affected ethnic and religious minorities in Democratic Kampuchea is corroborated with different data and testimonies from legal documents and academic works. The crime of genocide committed by Khmer Rouge against the Cham Muslims in many provinces was reported as early as 1974. Tragic history of Cham women survivors is also touched upon, given the exclusive role of women in resistance to genocide and post-genocide revival of the Muslim identity and the Cham culture. Many parallels with other genocides are useful for further comparative studies. Finally, the current situation in the Kingdom of Cambodia is briefly broached.

Keywords Stages of genocide · Islam · Malays · Vietnam · Discrimination · Atrocities · Crimes against humanity · Ethnic and religious minorities

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1   Introduction

The aggressive nationalism has often resulted in the state terrorism policy and sometimes in genocides, such as in Democratic Kampuchea or the modern Myanmar. The former is considered in the paper basing on international legal approach to genocide.

The Cham is the Austronesian people who created the state of Champa, located in the eastern part of Indochina peninsula in the second-eighteenth centuries (southern and central Vietnam of today). It was one of the crossroads of civilizations that have left deep traces in the Asian culture. The history of Champa is linked not only with the history of South-East Asia, especially Cambodia and Nusantara (the Malay-Indonesian region), but also of China, India, and Middle East [1].

Despite a significant number of the population in the past, today the majority of Chams live in Cambodia, but not in Vietnam: up to 600,000 in Cambodia and only 200,000 in Vietnam (S.R.V.).

"The Chams have been living in Cambodia since at least the end of the 15th century: fleeing the Vietnamese, who captured almost the entire Champa's territory, a significant number of the Cham refugees settled along the rivers and on the banks of Tonle Sap lake in Cambodia" [1].

Though the Cham are officially recognized as a local ethnic group in Vietnam and Cambodia, they have been marginalized (both economically and culturally) by the dominant Vietnamese (Kinh) and Khmer majority [29].

The concept of exodus and refuge is to be specifically applied to the Cham people, given many waves of their emigration. In the nineteenth century, the Cham together with other dependent groups were forcibly displaced by the Vietnamese to the frontier zone of the Mekong Delta. In the second part of the twentieth century, under the rule of the Republic of Vietnam and then of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the agricultural lands of the Cham were mainly seized by colonists from other provinces. The repeated experiences of forced displacement in the region made the Cham an interesting object in the research of dependency and exploitation, especially in Vietnam nowadays, where the collective rights of ethnic, religious minorities and indigenous peoples are often violated [1].

A question how official ideology and public policies define the place of the Cham within the country of origin (Vietnam) or host state (Cambodia) could also be analyzed in the context, taking into account the nationalism (complemented by communism) and the internal colonialist practices of both countries. However, the current paper is mainly focused on the most tragic period of the Cham and Cambodia's history.

In the first part of the twentieth century, the Cambodian Chams were not recognized as such but actually called "Malays" by the French colonial authorities. After independence in 1954, since almost all Chams professed Islam being Cambodian citizens, the Sihanouk government of Cambodia officially assigned Chams and Malays to the "Khmer Islam" group ("Islamic Khmers") in the 1950s–1960s. At the time, the action and the inaccurate label were criticized by the Cham intellectuals

who claimed that "Prince Sihanouk intended to erase the Cham identity" [1]. That way, the ethnic origin of Chams was again denied.

Unlike the Vietnamese population of Cambodia, who are perceived there as foreigners, the Cambodian Cham have been considered as a local people. In accordance with the distinction adopted in Cambodia "national minority" and "foreigners," Cham is often considered the largest national minority in the country. Nowadays the country's authorities do not distinguish between local Malays and Chams either.

2   Methods

My main methods applied are the comparative historical and legal analysis with the aim of a better understanding of the situation of the Cham people, including the infamous genocide against them in Cambodia in 1970s. "The issues that the community experienced there were crying human rights violations based on race discrimination, intolerance and xenophobia" [1]. Like in my previous paper on the genocide [1], Gregory Stanton's concept of ten stages of genocide, including the last one – denial – has been applied to the current research [27]. Also, I employed the methodology of thematic analysis that is "a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into, patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset… which allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences" [3]. The method is useful as it allows for the identification of similarities and differences of most famous genocide cases and racial discrimination policies at the initial stages. In this context, genocide scholars reveal the complexity of violence for the purpose of "meaningful generalizations about how things were" [2].

3   Results of Research

In Southeast Asia nation-state discourses often try to erase or downplay religious and ethnic differences. This is particularly true of the Cham people who have been subjected to centuries of multiple forced displacements (from the eleventh century). In the course of the Vietnamese "March to the South" (Nam Tiến), the gradual and often sanguinary conquest of Champa ended up (1832) with the full annexation of that state, descendants of which then became and still are victims of the internal colonialism. The term is to be understood as the situation "where a state exploits and oppresses peoples and regions within their own boundaries" [10].

In this context the term "internal genocide" is sometimes used, and this is more appropriate than "auto-genocide," the term specially tailored in the 1970s for Cambodian genocide [22]. It was defined as "mass killing of members of the group to which the perpetrators themselves belong" [24]. However, from the legal point of view, the atrocities committed by the Khmer Rouge against the Khmer majority are

not qualified as genocide but as crimes against humanities and military crimes. "Auto-genocide" could be compared, for example, with a non-existing crime "self-robbery," that falls outside the criminal legal logic [6].

In any genocide there are also perpetrators and victims, and we are undoubtedly able to identify perpetrators in Cambodia who committed the genocide against different groups of the country's population, first of all ethnic minorities and religious communities. Indeed, given the genocide's definition in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (1948), "confusing mass killing of the members of perpetrators' own group with genocide is inconsistent with the purposes of the Convention, which was to protect national minorities from crimes based on ethnic hatred" [22].

Furthermore, genocide is not only about the killing but also includes other genocidal acts at its different stages. It is important to note here that the International Criminal Court on Yugoslavia (ICTY) "ostensibly acknowledged that actions other than killing, particularly 'causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the protected group' and 'deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part', also constitute genocide" [24]. I concur with Boreth Ly that "there is no direct correlation between the historical trauma in post-Holocaust Germany and that in post-genocide Cambodia" [16].

3.1   The Situation of the Cham in Cambodia Before 1970

Unlike the Vietnamese population of Cambodia, who are perceived there as foreigners, the Cambodian Cham are considered as a local people. In accordance with the distinction adopted in Cambodia "national minority" and "foreigners," Cham is often considered the largest national minority in the country. Since all Chams had Cambodian citizenship and professed Islam, the Prince Sihanouk's government in the 1950s–1960s officially attributed the Cham to the Khmer Islam community. Currently, the country's authorities do not distinguish between local Malays and Chams either.

Being essentially a rural population, the Muslim community of Cambodia rarely rose to political prominence except occasionally in the armed forces. During the Lon Nol regime, a Cham battalion (FULRO) was even formed [1, 12]. Michael Vickery noted that many Chams "claimed before the war that they were held in contempt by the Khmer and were objects of discrimination, and ill-feeling between these two sections of Cambodian society certainly existed in some localities. Many Khmer regarded Chams with a mixture of awe and fear. They were believed to be accomplished in the black arts" [31]. Moreover, the prejudice is still alive among some Khmers nowadays.

3.2 The CPK's Racist Policies Toward the Cham in 1970–1974

The Chams were viewed as separatist nationalists possessed of a different identity to that of the Khmers. For this, they had to be integrated forcefully into the Cambodian mainstream. The fact that they were Muslims merely aggravated relations between the state and the Cham minority, as Islam was seen a foreign culture that had no place in the communist order. Islam was seen as an alien import that had to be excised along with the foreign elements: Kampuchea were to become a "healthy" nation as the Khmer Rouge claimed it had been in precolonial times. Given this, the Khmer Rouge became determined to expunge the Cham presence from revolutionary Kampuchea.

According to the documents of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia, from 1970, the CPK controlled large parts of Kampong Cham, including the areas inhabited by Cham [31]. From 1973, "sometimes only the religious leaders and those well-educated in Islam were expelled, on other occasions the majority of the village was evacuated, leaving only a few Cham families in each village" [31]. That time, Chams were expelled to various provinces under the control of Khmer Rouge.

In April 1973, a CPK document entitled Class Analysis and the Class Struggle was distributed to cadres there. It discussed the ruling classes and the oppressed proletariat and contained the following statement: "All nationalities have labourers, like our Kampuchean nationality, except for Islamic Khmers, whose lives are not so difficult" [12]. This was an embodiment of classification as the first stage of genocide.

Pol Pot who once used the pseudonym "Original Khmer" is famous with his racial and historical preoccupations, including the Cham: "On the one hand they were the descendants of an old enemy of the Vietnamese, and a reminder of the glorious kindred past of the Khmers. On the other hand they were, in the eyes of the Pol Pot group, omens of a dark Kampuchean future, one that the CPK deliberately set out to erase from the historical agenda. Kampuchea would never disappear the way Champa allegedly did" [12]. In whole, the official CPK view of the country's national minorities was that they were numerous but should total only 1% of the population. Hence, Chams, Chinese, Vietnamese, and two dozen other minority groups who had long made up over 15% of the Kampuchean population were virtually written out of it by the CPK. Concerning the Cham, the explanation was simple: "The Cham race was exterminated by the Vietnamese!" [12]. It means that the CPK merely denied their right to exist at all.

Excluding one zone, in other zones where Chams were concentrated (the Southwest and Northern zones), the CPK leadership didn't tolerate Islamic organizations in those areas it dominated before April 1975. In fact, the Southwest Zone, heartland of Pol Pot's Party Center faction, saw the earliest attacks upon Cham culture.

At first, Cham Muslim women were forbidden to wear headscarves (*hijabs*) and were forced to uncover their hair and cut their hair short. Then the traditional Cham

sarong was banned so Chams were increasingly forced to wear only black pajamas; restrictions were placed upon religious activity. These prohibitions all began as early as middle 1972 in the Southwest Zone, on the orders of Ta Mok, who was the major warlord commander and CPK secretary of Southwest Zone.

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Peang-Meth wrote as early as in 1974, "From October, 1973, the Khmer Muslims carried out demonstrations against the Communist suppression of their religious belief, through the beating of ceremonial drums in their village mosques as a sign of protest" [19]. It's worthy to note that in 1995, Raymond Scupin included that episode into his article, mentioning Peang Meth but without citation and any source [23]: he highly likely used B. Kiernan's article published in 1988 [12].

"When the Communists stressed that they would not allow prayers five times a day as the Khmer Muslims required, the invaders who had abducted only selected villagers, began to arrest the Khmer Muslims in earnest, beginning in November 1973. To date [mid-1974] at least 300 Khmer Muslims have been arrested, a large majority of whom are from Krauchhmar District, Kompong Cham Province. Most of the arrested persons were prominent Muslim villagers and religious leaders, especially Koranic teachers" [19]. Thus, the preparation for extermination (next stages of the genocide) really started in 1973.

The Khmer Rouge leadership had decided to divide the Cham community and impose upon them conditions harmful to their survival as an ethnic group in as early as 1974. A CPK Northern Zone document, dated February 1974, records the Decisions Concerning the Line on Cooperatives of the Party in Region 31: "Concerning fraternal Islamic Khmers, delay having them join [cooperatives]; but in the meantime, go ahead and organize them into mutual aid teams.... However, it is necessary to break up this group to some extent; do not allow too many of them to concentrate in one area" [13]. It's considered to be the earliest record of the CPK decision to disperse the Cham people [12].

"With their distinct language and culture, large villages, and independent national organizational networks, the Chams probably seemed a threat to the atomized, closely supervised society" that the Polpotists tried to create [12]. By 1974 the Chams were already seen as an obstacle to the establishment of cooperatives.

When on February 23, 1974, the fishermen expressed their resentment in a demonstration, the Communists tried to disperse them through talking. When this failed, the Communists opened fire against on the peaceful demonstrators, and as a result of that more than 100 people were killed and wounded [18].

By December 1974, the arrests of Cham leaders in Trea Village of Krauchhrnar District had provoked a rebellion. Casualty figures are unknown, but as James Fenton reported: "A group called the Khmer Saor, or 'White Khmers' had broken away from the CPK and taken to the forests. The White Khmers, whose leaders are former Communist officials, are mostly Cham Moslems. They support Sihanouk

and oppose collectivization of property." Interestingly, this was the Vietnamese policy line for Kampuchea at the time; and the White Khmers in other regions were known as pro-Vietnamese guerrillas. No surprise that they did not survive in Kampuchea after 1975 [31]. This was an embodiment of classification as one of the first stages of genocide.

As early as before 1975, "hundreds of Chams were arrested, detained, tortured and killed, especially those belonged to the ethnic and religious elite" [23]. Nevertheless, some Chams "continued to support the "revolution" [23], and even serve it as cadres. One of the Cham Muslims who had graduated Al-Azhar University in Cairo (Egypt) and lived in Tbaung Khmum from 1970 to 1979, recalls: "From 1970 to 1975 life was normal... People believed in the Khmer Rouge then. U.S. bombs fell on my village in 1971, burning it to the ground and killing several people. Some of the Cham villagers joined the Khmer Rouge as soldiers.... In 1974 suffering was imposed in some places, like Tre Village. But it was not yet severe, only when Buddhism and Islam were abolished...." [17].

According to a testimony, in 1974 the Cham were announced by the CPK to be "enemy number one" [31]. Actually "in 1974, an article written by Pol Pot in "Revolutionary Flag" set forth the notion that a "special class" existed in Cambodian society, comprised of "soldiers, police and Buddhist monks." The notebooks of cadre that appear to refer to this article state that all national minorities were also considered to be part of this "separate special class type" [31]. Later, in September 1975, Phnom Penh radio made its last references to Buddhist monks, Cham, and other "national minorities" [31].

Finally, it's overwhelmingly important to mention a pamphlet "The Martyrdom of Khmers Muslims" (75 pages) that was published by the Association of Islamic Youth and the Central Islamic Association of the Khmer Republic in 1974 [30]. It contents facts of killings of Cham Muslims committed by Khmer Rouge and Vietcong (Vietnamese Communists), as well as many photos of Cham refugees whore were internally displaced. Moreover, there is the full list of 23 mosques destroyed by "Indochinese communists" till the middle of 1974 (in the provinces of Kompong Cham, Kompong Tralach, Kandal, Kampot, and Takeo). The pamphlet declared that the Khmer Republic's Muslim Community "denounce before international opinion the **crime of genocide** [sic!] committed by the Indochinese communists against the Khmer Muslims" [30]. Actually, different crimes were reported: expulsions, killings, rapes of women, incarceration in concentration camps with classification of prisoners there (e.g., old and weak people apart from healthy laborers). Their children were "taken into North Vietnam for indoctrination" [30] that was also a war crime and an element of genocide, especially given the current legal qualification.

Therefore, no any doubt that the genocide against the Muslim community had started much earlier than the Khmer Rouge took power in Cambodia. Due to the cold war and other geopolitical factors, the international community (first of all, the UN) once again did not intervene to prevent and stop the genocide in Cambodia.

3.3   *Final Stages of Genocide Against the Cham and Muslims (April 1975 – January 1979)*

In August 1975, Ieng Sary told reporters in Lima (Peru) where the summit of the Conference of Non-Aligned States was held that people must be evacuated from Phnom Penh because there was no food in the capital and that his new government had no means of transporting food to the city [25]. However, a real objective of the KR's policy was "to establish an atheistic and homogenous society without class divisions, abolishing all ethnic, national, religious, racial, class and cultural differences" [31]. In general, under diverse communist regimes, "the differences among people would be reduced to mere exotica, whereas the fundamental institutions and life forms would be the same.". As Encyclopedia of Genocide and Crimes Against Humanity indicates in the article "Utopian ideologies as motives for genocide," "Those who refused to follow the socialist path (Chechens and Tatars in the Stalinist Soviet Union, Cham and Vietnamese in Cambodia) would either be driven out or killed" [8].

The government's plan was to dislodge Chams from their villages and scatter them across the country. It was a real forcing assimilation program but also can be assumed as one of the stages of genocide. After totally banning religions, the KR proceeded to erase the identity of each ethnic minority group by ordering people to embrace a single race: Khmer. They instituted a racist, chauvinistic policy of forced assimilation, or "Khmerization," of the Cham and other ethnic minorities. The KR declared that languages other than Khmer were banned and that Cham language was considered foreign. The Chams were banned from using their native language and Cham names. This meant that Cham Muslims were not permitted to express their ethnic identity and had to adapt to what the KR called Khmers.

The Muslim villages were often rounded up by Khmer Rouge soldiers who forced Chams to eat pork, and those who refused or vomited were killed [20]. Also some Chams were forced to raise pigs, and loss of an animal meant penalty of death for the responsible family [9]. All Qurans and literature on Islam were collected and burned and mosques vandalized and destroyed. All educated people, such as teachers and religious leaders, were to be executed, as well as those associated with the previous regime of Lon Nol or later – with Vietnam.

After April 1975, the Chams rebelled many times, and the principal cause was the bans on Islam and the Cham language. In the end of 1975, Cham Khmer Rouge cadres even led a rebellion in Krauchhmar district (Kampong Cham). "A tuon (religious teacher) in Sihanoukville province incited dissatisfied people to run off into the forest in early 1976" [18]. Such counterrevolutionary behavior "stigmatized the Cham; in both cases deportations ensued, apart from violent repression and executions" [18].

As the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia (ECCC) indicate in the case 002, "telegram No.15 dated November 1975 describes a decision of the CPK Centre regarding the policy to "break up" the Cham through displacement. The CPK prohibited the Cham culture, language and dress, and practising Islam at

the national level. The CPK imprisoned or killed all Cham religious leaders and elders and Cham people who protested or continued to practice their religion" [31].

As the Chams resisted, Pol Pot tried intimidation, by killing village elders and prominent families. By 1977, "through deportations, Cham villages were divided into small groups" [5], forcing Chams to live among Khmers, while killings became more widespread [5]. The already emerging assimilation policy was a manifestation of the racial-chauvinist ideology.

By August 1977, the CPK officially stated the aim to build an ethnically homogenous state ("99 per cent" Khmer [31]), where the national minorities must be not only abolished and assimilated but destroyed, in whole or in part, therefore "the targeting of specific groups was a key means by which the CPK did whatever can be done…" [31]. Obviously, the orders to attack the Cham minority, their religion and culture, had come from "Angkar," the highest leadership of Democratic Kampuchea [28], that was proved at the ECCC trials. According to many witnesses, "any Cham who refused to follow the directives of the CPK would be beaten, arrested and/or killed" [31]. Unlike many Khmers, Cham people "were not detained at all, but killed immediately": for example, a site for the Cham mass killing "did not have cells to detain prisoners, but they were all killed right away at night" [31]. Usually, "a loudspeaker played revolutionary songs" while the people were being killed [31].

It is beyond any doubt that the Polpotist regime ultimately opted for mass killing, which resulted in the massacre of entire Cham village populations. It is highly likely that the Chams in Kampuchea would have been totally annihilated had Vietnam not intervened in December 1978.

3.4 Crimes Against Cham Women

In general, in DK "women became more oppressed, excessively exploited, and had no privacy" [26]. Under the regime, the subordination of women was evident in the system of forced labor, separating family members, restricting personal freedom, and creating fear and suspicion of others [26]. The cases of "military sexual slavery" against Cham young women were reported as early as in 1974 (as it was mentioned above), and the further escalation also bears a resemblance to the Bosnian genocide (e.g., see [11, 21]).

During the trial of the UN criminal tribunal on Cambodia, one witness, Sates No, 57, recalled Khmer Rouge soldiers separating Khmer and Cham people. One day, she testified, about 300 women were tied up. "[The soldiers] asked us if we were Cham or Khmer. If anybody answered she was Cham, she would be taken away… All those people who answered that they were Cham, they were escorted by an armed person each and they disappeared" [14].

Farina So wrote in her book that the genocide had a severe effect on Cham Muslim women, because they could not comply with Islamic law and the women's code of conduct in a strict manner – head scarfing, a donning long dress, while the

new order forced women to choose between maintaining their identity (ethnic and religious) or surviving [26]. In order to avoid discrimination or being hunted down, most Cham Muslims had to shorten their names or change them to Khmer names and dress in Khmer clothes. To survive they had to behave like Khmer in all situations, in the same way as many Jews had during the Holocaust in Europe.

Many women received warnings or were threatened with death when they were accused of speaking Cham. Even though they did not speak their language in the public, some Cham Muslim women secretly used it to communicate with relatives occasionally [26]. Moreover, "the killing of male religious figures affected women's religious beliefs and practices since the foundation of Islam, including the people, community, and sacred texts, ceased to exist. Women's major roles as Cham Muslim mothers and carriers of Islamic practices were cut off through the repressive policies" [26]. Again, the similar way as Holocaust survivors, Cham women responded by both resisting and compromising in accordance with the practical situation.

3.5 Fatalities of the Genocide and Current Situation

Out of 113 mosques which had existed before 17 April 1975, only five mosques remained in Cambodia in 1979. Some of the bigger mosques, such as the Great Mosque in Phnom Penh, were dynamited and razed by bulldozers. The absolute majority of the Muslim religious leaders (*hakims*) and teachers (*toun*) were killed: "only 20 of the 113 hakims, 25 of the 226 deputy hakims, and 38 of the approximately 300 toun survived" [5, 18].

Thus, Cham Muslims were "stripped of ethnic identity, language, dress, names, and funerals" [26]. There was no reasonable time for them to adapt, and there was no protection of them as an ethnic minority group. Instead, they were oppressed and humiliated by derogatory words. Cham Muslims were forced to do, act, and behave the same as other people. The Polpotists wanted to erase every trace of any symbols of Islam and the Cham culture as a whole. The Cham and Malays (Khmer Islam) are the most affected ethnic/religious minorities in Kampuchea.

Though M. Vickery denies that the Cham suffered more than the Khmer [32], B. Kiernan and other scholars don't agree with him. "One survey taken among the victims shows that they estimate the number of surviving Moslems at 200,000 as compared to the previous total of 700,000. This means that at least 450,000 Moslems have perished. We cannot verify the accuracy of the figures for the Moslem population before 1975, but the estimate that two thirds of the Moslem population was massacred by the Polpotists can be taken as reliable" [15].

According to the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), there are 800,000 Muslims in Cambodia that is 5% of the country's population. Some other sources, such as the CIA factbook, indicate that the Cham of Cambodia count 2.4% of the total population (16.9 mln.) that is approximately 405,000. Interestingly, that

Muslim population is just 2.0% – it means that the Cham Oudong (Bani) group was not included in the Muslim community in 2019.

Thanks to the stable political situation and partial openness in Cambodia, the situation of Cham has significantly improved after 1993 when UN peacekeepers from Muslim countries, then different states, and non-government donors started to support the Muslim community of the country.

The ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) pays attention on the Muslim community. For example, "when a new mosque is formally opened, the honor to cut the ribbon has sometimes been reserved for Prime Minister Hun Sen or the former party secretary Heng Samrin" [4], though the both highest ranking leaders of Cambodia were former Khmer Rouge officers. These ceremonies testify to the close ties between the CPP (advertised as the Cham's party) and the Cambodian Muslim Development Foundation, but also to "efforts to strengthen the Cham's attachment to Cambodia" [4]. Meanwhile, several provinces had Cham vice governors and the Ministry of Religious Affairs spokesman and CPP member Sous Musin is also a member of the Cham community. In general, the complex identity issues include national identity conflicts, the blurring of ethnic boundaries, and changing political conditions [23], and this is confirmed by the Cham case.

First of all, Cham language is not used as a medium of instruction in state schools, even in Cham areas. Therefore many Cham enroll their children in Malay-speaking schools in the south of Thailand or in Malaysia, as well as in local madrassas with increasing number of the latter.

Also, the Cham community of Cambodia has been affected by the global anti-terror campaign [4]. Civil society groups and religious leaders highlighted an increase in religious discrimination during the COVID-19 pandemic (e.g., a short-lived government policy of separating non-Muslims and Muslims and in official COVID-19 infection statistics).

In 2019, there was a problem of the Cham fishermen living along Mekong River in Phnom Penh because the government wanted to "beautify" the city before the world ASEM summit (Asia Europe Meeting) in 2020. The relocation was painful, because the authorities cut the ropes of the fishermen's boats which floated away. According to Ysa Osman, the author of "The Cham Rebellion and Oukoubah" (about the persecution of the Cham by the Khmer Rouge), the closure of the Cham radio program Radio Sap Cham in 2016 and controversial plans to build a road through a Boeung Kak mosque compound – an on-air discussion of which may have led to the program's closure – demonstrate that the CPP cannot be trusted. "Islam supports democracy, human rights and the right to choose their leader," he said in interview to Al Jazeera (https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/12/13/beautifying-phnom-penh-muslim-cham-face-eviction-in-cambodia).

Actually, traveling abroad has redefined the worldview of many young Cham. Going to other countries for study or work, particularly Malaysia, opens the eyes of young Cham to new possibilities for the sake of their community's development.

4 Conclusion

In general, the resistance of the Cham (both in Cambodia and Vietnam) has been at least threefold: aspiration to regain state/religious autonomy, escape from the state, and discerning mobility within its territory. The complex identity issues include national identity conflicts, the blurring of ethnic boundaries, and changing political conditions [31]. Thus, the status of a religious minority (Khmer Islam) allows to carry out comparisons in the different aspects of integration and resistance to assimilation and to genocide.

The fact that Khmer Muslims was the most affected ethnic and religious minorities in Democratic Kampuchea is corroborated with different data and testimonies from legal documents and academic works. The crime of genocide committed by Khmer Rouge against the Khmer Muslims in many provinces was reported as early as 1974. Many parallels with other genocides can be useful for further comparative studies. After the genocide, the Cham asserted through Islam their collective identity: since the Cambodian Cham as a minority reinvent their identity on the basis of the religion (as well as Cham-Chvea and Malay communities), their ethnic identity is at a secondary position along with the civic (citizenship) identity [7]. A majority of Cambodia's Cham population has even more self-identified as belonging to the Islamic world, and relations with it currently have a significant impact on the Cham identity's construction in Cambodia. It is beyond any doubt that the case of the Cham minority is of great interest for the comparative studies.

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Issues of Modern Security in Central Asia

Andrei Toropygin and Darya Lyubina

Abstract The current state of security in Central Asia has developed as a result of several factors. In 2001, relying on the fifth article of the Atlantic Treaty, the armed forces of the United States and its allies entered Afghanistan, responding to the terrorist attack in New York. Twenty years later, the United States fled the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan after the Taliban came to power for the second time (banned in the Russian Federation). The "departure" of Americans has created new conditions, in its influence, all over the world. But, of course, the main difficulties appear in the nearest neighbors and geographically close states, primarily the countries of Central Asia and Eurasia. First of all, these are the countries of Central Asia, but also Russia, China, and the United States and Pakistan play different but important roles in the region. The issue of security has been discussed more than once at the highest level, which certainly indicates its importance. Experts said that the arrival of the Taliban in itself did not cause much concern either in Moscow or in the Central Asian states (What will be the relations of Russia and Central Asia with Taliban Afghanistan. Moscow Carnegie Center. URL: https://carnegie.ru/commentary/85223). Tajikistan may be an exception. However, in combination with other factors, this creates a difficult situation. The crisis in Kazakhstan, the events in Uzbekistan, the border conflict between the CSTO members, and the difficult socioeconomic and religious situation may worsen under the influence of a dysfunctional Afghanistan. Finally, the intensification of the confrontation between Russia and China with the West and, in particular, the conduct of a special military operation by the Russian Federation in Ukraine, all this creates new challenges in Central Asia. Until recently, the security of this region was provided with the help of the CSTO, or rather, by the Russian Federation. However, today China has appeared in this area, which will increasingly influence security in this region.

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1 Introduction

Afghanistan during the third quarter of the last century and at the beginning of twenty-first century was at the center of world political events, although not wanting it. Taliban's coming to power in this country, the destruction of buildings in New York, with a colossal number of innocent victims, were the reason for the armed operation of the Western coalition against terrorism. The occupation of Afghanistan, followed by the expulsion of the Taliban, did not bring the desired peace to this country. The armed forces of the coalition, and this is mainly the United States, left Afghanistan after the second coming to power of the Taliban.

It is hard to disagree with D. Trenin, who writes that US troops outside the Western world are at least two problems. The first, when the troops enter and the second, when they leave from there, leaving chaos behind them [30].

The subregion bordering Afghanistan, the countries of Central Asia, is rapidly developing and rich in natural resources. But the socioeconomic state of some countries does not meet the current level. Terrorism, drug trafficking, and radical Islamism continue to be significant security challenges.

The US withdrawal from Afghanistan was planned. But it happened so suddenly that it created an atmosphere of uncertainty. All neighboring countries of Afghanistan, near and far, have/had more or less strong ties with it. There were numerous international formats of assistance to this country.

At the same time, taking into account that Central Asia and Xinjiang – the Uighur region of China – are unfavorable in terms of security, international security structures were also created here.

Based on the foregoing, the following conclusion should be drawn: the rise to power in Afghanistan of the Taliban, a terrorist organization (a terrorist organization banned in the Russian Federation. The Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, dated 02/14/2003 No. GKPI 03-116), entered into force on 03/04/2003, and the withdrawal of the United States from there created a new situation. Along with this, in a very short time, other important events took place: the crisis in Kazakhstan, a special military operation in Ukraine, and the deterioration of the social situation in the region. The combination of these events created a much less secure environment in the region.

The aim of the work is to assess the possibilities of the countries of the region to maintain the existing status quo.

To achieve this goal, the following tasks were defined:

1. To characterize the current institutional state of the CA region
2. To reveal the development of bilateral and multilateral security mechanisms in the region

3. To consider the main motives and directions of influence of non-regional states on the security of the region

2   Methods of Research

The study was based on the following methodological basis:

- Analysis – disclosure of the current state of security in the region and bilateral and multilateral mechanisms for countering security challenges
- Synthesis – assessment of the results of countering security challenges in the region
- Deduction – to determine the conclusions on the development of security mechanisms in the region and the possibility of maintaining the status quo in the new conditions
- Induction – for the study of private cases, the development and activities of the CSTO and the SCO
- Specification – study of specific security mechanisms, including the regional security complex, in a new environment.

3   Analysis of the Main Challenges to Central Asian Security

Since the beginning of the 1990s of the last century, the name Central Asia and Kazakhstan have been replaced by a definition that includes all the new independent states formed after the collapse of the USSR. Sometimes this included Afghanistan and Mongolia [13]. Despite the fact that the existence of such a region was not questioned, the UN even tried to establish a UN Economic Commission for this region (UN Special Program for the Economies of Central Asia (SPECA)), the country has just begun to develop its own regional development concept.

Even before the official collapse of the USSR, in August 1991, an Agreement was signed on the organization of the Consultative Council of the Republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (SAiK). All countries agreed with the Belovezhskaya Accords and signed the Alma-Ata Protocol, becoming members of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).

In the future, despite the seemingly correct direction in the development of integration (the Common Economic Space (CES) of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan was formed, the Central Asian Economic Community (CAEC) [1], the Organization of the Central Asian Union (OCAU)), the process stopped.

But the desire for regional integration has been present in the minds of the elite of the states of Central Asia all this time [4]. The negotiation platform of Central Asia, the "5 + 1" format, has become a model for integration, with the participation of leading actors in international relations: the United States, South Korea, Japan,

and the EU [2]. Thus, we can talk about a serious external influence on regional processes.

Formally, the format acquired the name "5 + 1" after the summit of the US Secretary of State and the five Central Asian countries in 2015. However, there were also negotiations with the EU (2007), when the European Union Strategy for Central Asia was formulated, and in 2019, when The New EU Strategy for Central Asia was adopted [9]. Although, the palm in this should be given to Japan. For her, this is not the main direction of foreign policy – it cannot be compared with the Asia-Pacific region. But recently, politics in Eurasia has been given increasing importance [16, p. 135]. In part, this is because the format with Japan is the most "institutionalized"; it is attended by the "Meeting of Foreign Ministers," "Meeting of Senior Officials," "Intellectual Dialogue," "Meetings of Experts," "Exchange between Ministries of Foreign Affairs" [2].

The Central Asia-Korea Cooperation Forum was held in 2007. As in all such forums, the "traditional" direction of interaction is resource; but international conferences are held to expand cooperation in the field of medicine, tourism, etc. [8, p. 43–45].

Security issues are mostly raised by the United States and the EU [24, 27]. But socioeconomic problems vital for Central Asia are being discussed by everyone.

In the format of the states of Central Asia, the leaders of these countries did not meet until 2018.

That year's meeting was called the "consultative meeting." It was announced that the next one would take place next year, and then the meetings would become regular.

To a certain extent, the motive again came from outside. We are talking about the decision of the UN General Assembly, which adopted a resolution on strengthening cooperation in Central Asia (2018). But this whole process was initiated by Uzbekistan and received a logical conclusion in the unanimous vote of the UN members for the submitted text of the resolution "Strengthening regional and international cooperation to ensure peace, stability and sustainable development in the Central Asian region" [34]. This was rightly perceived by the countries of Central Asia as a signal for the consolidation of the region [32].

4   Security Formats in Central Asia

Over time, as you know, the CSTO became the main structure responsible for security in the post-Soviet space. In the 2000s, in full compliance with international law, it became the main system for monitoring and resolving conflicts. In many ways, it relied on the "Concept for the Prevention and Settlement of Conflicts on the Territory of the Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States." Since by that time the armed phases of the conflicts were over and the unresolved conflicts were in a "frozen state," it can be said that the Concept was based not only on a large analytical material of the conflict resolution process around the world but also relied

on the experience gained in the CIS space. Several inter-parliamentary peacekeeping groups were created in the IPA CIS: on the problem of a peaceful settlement around Nagorno-Karabakh, on the settlement of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict, on the resolution of the conflict in Transnistria. The greatest contribution was made by the Nagorno-Karabakh Settlement Group – the signing of the Bishkek Protocol [29, p. 71]. However, the contribution of the Central Asian countries to the solution of these problems was minimal. However, all created and tested mechanisms were transferred to the structures of the Collective Security Treaty (CST).

In 2000, a Memorandum was signed on increasing the effectiveness of the CST. The memorandum has seriously expanded the competence of the structure in the areas of countering terrorism, making fuller use of the Treaty in the interests of preventing and resolving conflicts and peacemaking.

In 2002, the CST was institutionalized and, with the adoption of the Charter, the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) was created.

The main body of the organization, the Collective Security Council (CSC) has the right to create, on a permanent or temporary basis, working and auxiliary bodies of the Organization. Currently operating:

- Working group on Afghanistan
- Working group on coordination of joint training of military personnel and scientific work (SPVKiNR)
- Coordinating Council of Heads of Competent Authorities for Combating Illicit Drug Trafficking
- Coordinating Council of the Heads of the Competent Bodies of the CSTO Member States on Combating Illegal Migration
- Coordinating Council for Emergency Situations
- Coordination meeting of chief narcologists
- Consultative Coordinating Center for Response to Computer Incidents (KTsVRKI)
- Interstate commission on military-economic cooperation
- A working group on combating terrorism and extremism
- Working group on information policy and information security [15] (IPiIS)

The CSTO Parliamentary Assembly stands apart.

With the exception of the working groups and the advisory center SPVKiNR, IPiIB, KTsVRKI, and subsidiary bodies are aimed at countering "new" threats, i.e., another "basket of functions" not related to military security.

It is obvious that in the 1990s there was no question of actually using the CST. There were more contradictions that could lead to armed conflicts, and there were more conflicts than with potential adversaries. Conflict resolution and peacekeeping operations were carried out within the framework of the CIS. After 2000, with the formation of the CSTO, there seemed to be practically no internal contradictions in it. The organization played a significant role in repelling the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) incursion into Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. In May 2001, at the CST summit, it was decided to create a joint military formation of the

Collective Rapid Deployment Force, now supplemented by the Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CSR).

The world changed after the events of September 11, 2001. The Russian Federation tried to change relations with the United States and supported their actions in Afghanistan against the Taliban by providing transport infrastructure and allowing the deployment of US bases in Central Asia.

However, this did not lead to strengthening the positions of the CSTO, but on the contrary, it strengthened the countries of this region in their desire to pursue a multi-vector foreign policy. This, of course, weakened the position of the CSTO. Kyrgyzstan, for example, despite its promise, refused to close the US military base. Uzbekistan, which joined the Organization in 2006 after the Andijan events, actually began to ignore the decisions of the CSTO and left it in 2012 [31].

Comprehension of what was happening led to the signing of the Regulations "On the Procedure for the Response of the Collective Security Treaty Organization to Crisis Situations" (2010) [18].

The document defines "a "crisis situation," which means the growing aggravation of the situation in one or more CSTO member states, which directly threatens its (their) security, stability, territorial integrity, sovereignty, and in the absence of the necessary assistance from the CSTO member states, can lead to his (their) inability to perform their functions and/or destabilization of the collective security region" [18]. And although it turns out from the context that this situation can be caused by an accident or a natural phenomenon, it is, first of all, about the situation of resolving a political conflict in a state or between. This is evidenced by the time of adoption of the document – the crisis in Kyrgyzstan.

The document was never used, even in 2010, when during the riots and ethnic clashes in the Osh and Jalalab regions, the President of Kyrgyzstan, Roza Otumbayeva, asked President Medvedev to introduce the CRRF. Medvedev replied that "that the criterion for using the CSTO forces is the violation by one state of the borders of another state that is part of this organization. We are not talking about this yet, because all the problems of Kyrgyzstan are rooted inside. They are rooted in the weakness of the former government, in their unwillingness to deal with the needs of the people. I hope that all the problems that exist today will be resolved by the authorities of Kyrgyzstan. The Russian Federation will help" [6]. Such a statement provoked criticism from President Lukashenko, who said that the CRRF should enter Kyrgyzstan [6]. A compromise option was found: a reinforced battalion of the Airborne Assault Brigade of the Russian Airborne Forces arrived at the Russian Kant air base. Non-lethal special equipment, special equipment, and vehicles were sent to the countries.

In the Statement of the CSTO Secretary General following the events in Kyrgyzstan, it was said that all member countries of the Organization agreed that the introduction of peacekeeping troops into the republic during the mass unrest was inappropriate. "The introduction of troops could provoke an even greater aggravation of the situation in the region as a whole" [6].

The CSTO has been criticized, and its ability to guarantee security has been questioned.

So, in an interview, Deputy Director of the Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies S. Kushkumbayeva – to the question – can the CSTO participate in the settlement of internal political conflicts? The answer was the following: "No, this is not the area of responsibility of the CSTO" [10].

The new head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Kyrgyzstan, in his first interview after taking office (10/14/2020), in the context of stabilizing the situation in the Republic, thanked Russia, but did not mention the CSTO [7].

These activities and statements have sown some concern about the CSTO's ability to meet modern security challenges. At the same time, a quick response to the crisis situation in Kazakhstan in the winter of 2022 improved the image of the organization. It is obvious that organizations of this kind, military structures, are strictly closed.

This year (2023), the Shanghai Cooperation Organization turned 22 years old. In the Russian scientific literature, this organization, first of all, is shown as a structure that creates conditions for the development of an inclusive economy, forms the conditions for new economic growth, and increases the investment attractiveness of states.

In the Western scientific community, one can find a different opinion about this security structure. Many Western experts talk about four reasons for the importance of this organization from China's point of view [3,5]. The SCO is one of the few security-related structures that do not include the United States and has facilitated China's military presence in the region. The SCO was the instrument that allowed China to settle its territorial issues with Russia and the countries of the region; it provided a good basis for increased interoperability and coordination with the Russian military. The SCO was the first and main multilateral structure used by the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) for external military training [22].

Indeed, between 2002 and 2016, there were almost 40 joint exercises in the region [22]. It certainly helped China, for example, to provide assistance to support peacekeeping operations in Africa. The "school" for the PLA was the participation of Chinese troops in UN peacekeeping missions in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Darfur, Sudan, South Sudan, Liberia, and Mali. It is obvious that this is preparation for the CSTO as well.

The SCO has security/conflict resolution mechanisms. It is not yet clear, but it can be assumed that the Quadripartite Coordination Mechanism (QCCM) Afghanistan, China, Pakistan, and Tajikistan, will be transformed into a tripartite and will be significantly strengthened (there is a similar format with Russia). In any case, so far there are no reports of a change in the presence of Chinese forces in the Wakhan Corridor, where, one might say, the borders of these states converge.

Member States also act in other formats. So, for some time in China, there were 11-month language courses for Tajik and Kyrgyz border guards and the forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. A large number of Central Asian military personnel have been and are being trained in China. The Chinese military is also training with the Uzbek security forces, and there is joint patrolling of the borders with Afghanistan [23].

The first exercises of China with Russian colleagues were held back in 2005. These were the first exercises of the Peacekeeping Mission. There are also exercises "Peace Mission of the SCO"; "which the SCO holds on a semi-regular basis" [22].

Tajikistan had a major exercise in 2016 involving 10,000 troops near the border with Afghanistan [22]. There is a post of the People's Armed Militia of China. Together with Tajik border guards, they control the border with Afghanistan.

The 5 + 1 format was also applied to the Central Asian countries themselves in 2018. The next meeting of the leaders of the five countries (2021) finally confirmed that such a format had taken place. Since that time, regular Consultative meetings of the Heads of State of Central Asia have been held. The meetings identified specific areas of cooperation in increasing trade through the creation of regional value chains, joint industrial clusters, increasing cooperation in promoting the digital economy, and implementing innovative programs and projects in the field of science, technology, etc.

However, contradictions and conflicts between the states that we mentioned above do not allow switching to a more in-depth version of regional integration.

So at the last meeting (July 2022), it was supposed to sign the Treaty of Friendship, Good Neighborliness and Cooperation for the Development of Central Asia in the twenty-first century, but Tajikistan and Turkmenistan did not sign it [26]. True, they agreed on an expert platform for resolving border disputes between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan [20]; let's hope this helps.

There are different opinions regarding the results of the meeting and the format itself. There are positive ones, but there are also quite pessimistic ones, which are based on the assertion that "it is too unlikely to choose a common tactic of behavior - the countries of the region are too different, and this difference is unlikely to create at least some form of cooperation, all the more deep" [25].

What the countries of Central Asia do not do well, China does well.

In May 2021, a meeting of the foreign ministers of the Central Asian countries and the People's Republic of China took place in Xi'an (China). The result of the meeting was the establishment of the format – "5 + 1," the countries of Central Asia – China. This was the result of interaction between the heads of the Foreign Ministries of the six countries. The meetings of the heads of foreign affairs agencies made it possible to agree on a common goal – to promote mutually beneficial cooperation in modern conditions. The agreed format made it possible to proceed to the formation of mechanisms, which were the following:

- At the level of deputy ministers of foreign affairs, a body has been created to coordinate work on preparing meetings and monitoring the implementation of their results;
- Each foreign ministry will have a contact mechanism, a kind of headquarters.
- Creation of a mechanism that will facilitate the maintenance of a regular dialogue at the academic and expert levels.
- Much attention will be paid to strengthening cooperation in the media;
- Priority areas of cooperation have been identified. At this stage, there are 12, but their number may be updated as the situation develops.

- On the development and adoption of a comprehensive Joint Action Plan focused on achieving practical results [11].

The format, through its mechanisms, is designed to increase the return on the participation of countries in promoting the OBOR initiative in increasing transport potential and developing trade, solving social problems, etc.

Such formats and mechanisms are known. These are the "17 + 1" format, countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and "5 + 1" countries of Northern Europe and China. The attitude toward these formats is rather contradictory; some experts believe that the format divides European countries.

5   Results of Research

The Russian Federation is interested in security in Central Asia for at least two reasons. The first is the EAEU countries and the bridge to the East. The second, in the current world conditions, is the rear in relation to the hostile West [17]. For China, this is both the rear and an important segment of the OBOR. For the United States, it is a region where there is an opportunity to counteract both China and Russia by weakening their positions in the world. The United States is doing this quite successfully judging by the recent events in Pakistan, where Shehbaz Sharif replaced Prime Minister Imran Khan as a result of no-confidence vote [20]. A change of government may lead to a change in Pakistan's course to support the West, and this will affect the implementation of the OPOP project. To this we can add the fear of the Central Asian countries of secondary American sanctions against Russia.

The socioeconomic state of Central Asia is very difficult. Against this background, the sleeping terrorist cells in the countries and the fact that the Afghan administration has switched to the tactics of squeezing uncontrolled terrorist groups out of the central regions are also dangerous [19]. There are also problems in the economy. The Central Asian countries have turned into raw material appendages and markets for finished products; the share of intraregional trade in the total turnover has decreased in 30 years from more than 20 to 8% [12]. All this can lead to a crisis situation at any time. However, countries are in no hurry to use the capabilities of the CSTO in these cases.

An authoritative expert in the field of peacemaking, A. Nikitin, gave an explanation of this state of affairs. He believes that "the CSTO positions itself as a multifunctional organization of a new type" [14]. At the same time, the "multifunctionality" and the "new type" of the organization consists in combining two "baskets of functions" in one structure, which are intertwined, but remain multidirectional [14].

The first basket – countering "new challenges." These are operations to combat terrorism, drug trafficking, cooperation in the field of information security, and the fight against illegal migration. Recently, the element of cooperation between the Ministries of emergency situations has intensified. Peacemaking and crisis response

are in this basket. The institutionalization of this direction is the creation of a Collective Peacekeeping Force (CMS) and the CSTO Anti-Crisis Center.

The second basket is the reconstruction of the collective armed forces, the military infrastructure of the participating states, designed for territorial defense and repelling external military threats, of the "old type." This is the creation of regional military groups (Russian-Belarusian, Russian-Armenian; Collective Rapid Deployment Forces, etc.) [14]. According to A. Nikitin, this line is becoming more and more ambitious [14]. The expert emphasizes that if a single service in the field of foreign policy and security issues has appeared in the EU, then the very word "political interaction" is prohibited in the CSTO [14].

Of course, it should be clarified that this was said before the events in Kazakhstan and Ukraine.

Another explanation for this is given by S. Kozhemyakin, who writes that the ruling elites are used to acting within the framework of "parochial patriotism," using conflicts to consolidate their power and trying to play on the contradictions between the United States, China, and Russia [12].

On the other hand, this is recognition, albeit with great reservations, of full control by states of the internal situation. Confidence in the possibility and need to solve their own internal problems. It is impossible not to agree that Afghans live in conditions of continuous war, whereas in Central Asia at this time "the cult of a peaceful sky has been elevated to an absolute, for which societies are ready to sacrifice their freedoms" [33]. In other words, the CSTO countries are ready to repel purely external aggression.

There is a proverb in Central Asia – "only the one who walks slowly will overcome the road." Unfortunately, Afghanistan did not work out that way. But the countries of Central Asia have become sovereign states since the 1990s of the last century. We have already said about their desire for peace and good-neighborly relations. And in those years, the late 1990s to early 2000s, Central Asian leaders tried to establish pragmatic relations with the Taliban. But at the same time, they did not forget another folk wisdom – about a high and strong fence.

Experts say that 150 kilometers of the Uzbek-Afghan border are two rows of live barbed wire, a mine and a road under surveillance. The transition between the countries is the Termez-Hairaton Bridge [21]. The border with Turkmenistan is 800 kilometers across the desert. The border is complicated but covered with heavy military equipment. The Tajik-Afghan border is the longest, about 1400 km, and the most difficult, the river and the mountains. But the Russian Federation forces are involved in its protection [33].

But, obviously, the difficulty is mainly that there are a lot of Tajiks in Afghanistan (according to E. Rahmon, 46% of the population; researchers say about 20% [33]). And it's not the number of complexity, there are also quite a few Uzbeks, but the government of Uzbekistan considers them as citizens of Afghanistan and does not consider them representatives of the Uzbek diaspora. The position of the head of Tajikistan is different – he is "the guardian and patron of all Tajiks in the world" [33]. This position was formed during the Civil War. Then it bore fruit. Now it is not very clear whether it will benefit. But this is a very difficult question. His solution is

not obvious. And countries act differently. The Russians, for example, do not have the concept of "national minority" in Kazakhstan; "Russian diaspora" contradicts the true state of things, "Russians are part of our people," says President Tokayev [28].

The situation between Afghanistan and Tajikistan is complicated. At the Fourth Consultative Meeting of the Heads of Central Asian states, the President of Tajikistan questioned the very legitimacy of the Taliban government (the Taliban is banned in Russia), pointing out that most of its leaders are on the lists of terrorists [12]. But his colleagues did not support him. But we are not talking about any armed conflict.

During the first half of 2022, meetings of the SCO, the CSTO, and a joint meeting of the heads of the member states of both organizations were held in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan. Afghanistan was not represented at the SCO summit. The leaders of the countries agreed that the organizations face the urgent task of developing and implementing an agreed line, taking into account the situation in the region caused by the US withdrawal from Afghanistan. Relevant documents were adopted; in particular, issues of cooperation between the two organizations on building coordination of actions taking into account the specifics and powers of the SCO and the CSTO were discussed. But in general, the meetings were devoted to current issues. They were held in a normal business environment. Hopes were expressed that the new Afghan authorities would fulfill their own promises to establish peace, normalize public life and ensure security for all.

The multi-vector foreign policy adopted and pursued by the Central Asian countries creates certain difficulties not only in the functioning of the CSTO, but also in the development of the Central Asian region itself. At the same time, the tighter binding of these countries to the OPOP initiative gives them certain guarantees in the field of security.

The current security situation in Central Asia remains challenging. This is primarily due to socioeconomic reasons. The development of countries in these areas is not as good as we would like. This is due, among other things, to the fact that the ongoing multi-vector foreign policy of the countries does not allow the creation of deep cooperation in important areas of the economy. Countries are trying to play both on their own contradictions and on extra-regional states: Russia, China, and the United States. The second coming to power in Afghanistan of the Taliban (banned in Russia), the withdrawal of the United States from it, complicated the situation in terms of possible terrorist attacks or direct aggression.

The region is extremely important for the Russian Federation, both in terms of economic development, integration within the EAEU, and in terms of security, including in connection with the Special Military Operation in Ukraine. Russia's positions in the region are quite strong, thanks in part to the CSTO structure. However, the CSTO is not involved, as a rule, in crisis situations. Namely, the crisis scenario is most typical for Central Asia.

The 5 + 1 interaction format created by the Central Asian countries has become the format for the implementation of the Chinese One Belt, One Road initiative. Since the OBOR also has a security vector, in addition to the mechanisms and measures discussed above, this is also the corresponding activity of private/security/military companies.

6   Conclusions

The current security situation in Central Asia remains challenging. This is primarily due to socioeconomic reasons. The development of countries in these areas is not as good as we would like. This is due, among other things, to the fact that the ongoing multi-vector foreign policy of the countries does not allow the creation of deep cooperation in important areas of the economy. Countries are trying to play both on their own contradictions and on extra-regional states: Russia, China, and the United States. The second coming to power in Afghanistan of the Taliban (banned in Russia), the withdrawal of the United States from it, complicated the situation in terms of possible terrorist attacks or direct aggression.

The region is extremely important for the Russian Federation, both in terms of economic development, integration within the EAEU, and in terms of security, including in connection with the Special Military Operation in Ukraine. Russia's positions in the region are quite strong, thanks in part to the CSTO structure. However, the CSTO is not involved, as a rule, in crisis situations. Namely, the crisis scenario is most typical for Central Asia.

The 5 + 1 interaction format created by the Central Asian countries has become the format for the implementation of the Chinese One Belt, One Road initiative. Since the OBOR also has a security vector, in addition to the mechanisms and measures discussed above, this is also the corresponding activity of private/security/military companies.

Increasing security benefits both the countries of Central Asia and Russia and China. But, apparently, concerns about the security of Central Asia, Russia, which was the obvious leader in this area, will have to interact/compete with China.

Until recently, the security of this region was ensured with the help of the CSTO, or rather, the Russian Federation. However, today China has appeared in this area, which will more and more influence the security in this region.

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Threats to Territorial Integrity as the Key Challenge for Turkic CIS States Security

Niyazi Niyazov and **Galina Niyazova**

Abstract After the collapse of the bipolar system of the international relations, a set of states entered the international arena. Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kirgizia, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan were among them. Moreover, for a long time these countries had been advancing in the framework of a monolithic geopolitical space – the Russian Empire and then the USSR. Thus, for many years their viewpoint concerning the current world order had much in common. Concurrently, the very fact that the vast majority of the population of these states was presented by adherents of the Islamic faith added a certain touch to their understanding of processes taking place for a long time. At the same time, the religious factor could not become the prevailing in the process of nation building especially during the tensions on the international arena, although a well-known political scientist Huntington claimed the opposite. Acknowledging the fact that to challenge emerging threats successfully, one needs to have real allies and partners, the states recognize that a part of their ideology belongs to the Turkic world. The objective of the article is to show that establishing of a new system of regional security based on Turkic identity by Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan followed the necessity to counteract threats in the sphere of territorial integrity. Stating this objective defined the methods applied in the research. Taking into consideration focusing on a long duration process, historic and genetic method was used in the research. The results obtained due to the research reveal that the Turkic states of post-Soviet space tend to construct the new security system, where language identification gives them an opportunity to establish a well-balanced interaction with different centers of power.

Keywords Azerbaijan · Kazakhstan · Kyrgyzstan · Turkmenistan · Uzbekistan · Turkey · Russia · National security · International cooperation · Military-technical cooperation

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1 Introduction

The collapse of the "socialist camp" and the USSR afterward contributed to the entry of a huge number of new states, including Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan to the international arena.

The mentioned states experienced a similar stage of development within the Russian Empire and then the Soviet Union. However, an important factor uniting these countries was not the years spent within a single geopolitical space, but their belonging to the Turkic world, reflected primarily in the kinship of the state languages of these countries.

Undoubtedly, the affiliation of these states to the Islamic world continues to be of great importance for their foreign and domestic policies, but in our opinion, this factor is secondary compared to the factor of linguistic proximity. However, it cannot be argued that the linguistic proximity of these countries immediately became a factor pushing them to close cooperation in the international arena after they gained independence.

In turn, the very acquisition of independence did not mean that the development of the statehood of these countries would take place in the atmosphere of secure existence, well-being, and prosperity. On the contrary, almost immediately it became clear that a huge number of external and internal threats would force these countries to pay close attention to the formation and development of the national security system.

The main security threats that the Turkic-speaking countries of the post-Soviet space met in various combinations were as follows:

– Search for forms of a political system capable of satisfying both the requirements of Western partners and closest neighbors, including such countries as China and Iran. At the same time, it was necessary to take into account that the opposition formed in these terms relied upon various factor, sometimes on the dubious past, when political views ranged from the idea of creating a state based on Islamic values (albeit in their own interpretation of the concept) to nationalists ready to ignore the rights not only of ethnic and religious minorities, but also prescribed to their political opponents;
– Embedding the country into the existing system of international relations, including the international division of labor.
– The formation and development of law enforcement agencies, including the creation of capable armed forces, internal law enforcement agencies, and border guard forces. The importance of solving this problem was closely related to the need to combat separatist movements, the intersection of the activities of criminal groups, including those involved in drug trafficking, as well as the disarmament and elimination of those who formed illegal armed groups;
– The desire presented by a significant part of the population of these countries, not just to preserve the socialist foundations of the development of their states, but to restore the Soviet Union in any form. It happened due to the lack of a relevant

national ideology capable of forming a new identity for the population of these states and prevailing over religious renaissance flourished after the collapse of communist ideology.

Depending on the circumstances, the priority of the listed challenges and threats was different, but the problem of territorial integrity almost immediately became a priority for most of the Turkic-speaking states of the post-Soviet space.

This factor although it created a threat to the national security system of the newly independent states at the same time created conditions and opportunities for strengthening cooperation and establishing good-neighborly, friendly, and even allied relations between the Turkic-speaking countries of the post-Soviet space. The interaction of the Turkic-speaking countries created the preconditions for the formation of the Turkic Council in 2009, which in November 2021 was transformed into the Organization of Turkic States (OTS).

2 Materials and Methods

The relevance of the topic of the work is presented by the fact that in terms of global uncertainty, when the old system of international relations is eroding, the Turkic states have taken a course toward deepening cooperation and creating new security environment while they seek to reduce if not completely eliminate the contradictions existing between them. The object of our research is the national security policy of the Turkic countries of the post-Soviet space. The purpose of the research is to study the peculiar features of the foreign policy of the Turkic-speaking states of the post-Soviet space, aimed at stopping threats in the field of territorial integrity.

The territorial scope of this study covers part of the South Caucasus (Azerbaijan) and a significant part of Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan). In addition, due to the fact that the implementation of the national security policy of these countries closely intersects with the foreign policy of Russia, Türkiye, China, the EU, the USA, and other actors of international relations, it can be argued that the territorial coverage of the study is global. Due to the specifics of the research topic, this work uses a number of methods of the humanities, primarily political and historical, which are the basis of the science of international relations. In addition, in order to achieve the goal and solve research problems, the authors used special historical methods, such as the method of historical and political analysis, the historical and genetic method (the retrospective method), the problem-chronological method, the textological method, the comparative historical method, and the method of periodization (the diachronic method). Speaking about methods of political science these are the following: the method of analysis of decision-making systems. This approach allowed us not only to identify a number of research problems, but also to put forward a number of prognostic assumptions about the future of interaction between the Turkic-speaking countries of the post-Soviet space in the field of security. The method of cases (case studies) that is the study of

complex phenomena using typical examples has also become in demand to achieve the goals of the study.

The institutional method was used in the analysis of the activities of organizations through which the Turkic-speaking countries of the post-Soviet space are actively cooperating in the field of security. A diverse array of sources and literature was used to write the work. Taking into account the specifics of the research topic, we would like to emphasize that all the literature and sources used in the research are in the public domain.

Hypothesis: The study of the key directions of the national security policy of the Turkic-speaking states of the post-Soviet space aimed at eliminating threats to territorial integrity allows us to conclude that the steps taken by these countries in this direction prompted them not only to use the potential of international law, the possibilities of various blocs and associations of which they were members, but also to the search for allies who had a linguistic identity with these countries, which ultimately served as a powerful incentive for the formation of new associations and alliances united by Turkic identity.

3   Results of Research

As noted above, the threat to territorial integrity has become one of the main challenges in the field of national security of Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. However, it must be understood that despite the general nature of the threat, each country from the mentioned list has faced different forms of this threat. This circumstance contributed to the fact that the political leadership of these states at the first stages of the formation of their statehood did not even consider the interaction of the Turkic-speaking states of the post-Soviet space among themselves as an element or resource of their foreign policy activities aimed at removing the threat in the sphere of territorial integrity. Due to this fact there was no serious interaction in the field of security between the Turkic-speaking countries of the post-Soviet space. Moreover, the positions of these countries concerning certain issues in the field of international security could radically differ, sometimes sliding into a phase of serious political or economic confrontation even among themselves. However, the logic of the development of their own statehood gradually began to form an understanding among the political leadership of these countries that it is not always possible to rely on partners in the framework of the existing international system. And this, in turn, prompted the elites of these states to rethink who in world politics is an ally, who is a partner, who is an enemy, who is an opponent. This process had not linear, but a pendulum, character, certain postulates were accepted, implemented, and then canceled or transformed, but the desire to strengthen and preserve the acquired independence remained unchanged. The real threats faced by the listed states had an exceptional influence on these processes.

Azerbaijan was the first among the listed countries to face the threat to the territorial integrity of the country. The territorial claims of Armenia to Azerbaijan, with

the requirement to transfer Nagorno-Karabakh to the republic after the collapse of the USSR merged into a full-scale war, as a result of which by the spring of 1994 Armenian armed forces managed to capture 20% of Azerbaijani territory. Despite the four UN resolutions [1], Armenia never left the occupied lands, demanding recognition of the independence of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Attempting to regain control over the occupied territories after the election of Heydar Aliyev as a president, Azerbaijan tried to use the potential of its diplomatic capabilities inherited from the previous era, when both Baku and Yerevan were under the unconditional control of Moscow. To this end, in September 1993 hoping for Russia's support in resolving the Karabakh problem, Azerbaijan entered the Collective Security Treaty (CST). Baku hoped that Moscow would not unilaterally support Yerevan in the Karabakh confrontation. However, these hopes were not destined to come true and on April 2, 1999, Azerbaijan along with Georgia and Uzbekistan left the CST, which then transformed into the CSTO [2]. At the same time, the Azerbaijani political leadership headed by Heydar Aliyev understood that Armenia would seek to use the potential of the CSTO to fight Azerbaijan. In order to neutralize this threat, Baku began to strengthen bilateral ties with the countries that are members of the CSTO, among which Kazakhstan occupied a special place. At the same time, Baku did not rely on Astana's providing open support to Azerbaijan of the Karabakh conflict settlement. But the very fact that the political leadership of Kazakhstan declared that it was impossible to use the CSTO potential in conflicts in the post-Soviet space was beneficial to Azerbaijan.

Another factor contributing to the Azerbaijani-Kazakh rapprochement was another territorial dispute, which also had an obvious economic component. We are talking about discussions and disputes over the division of the Caspian Sea. In 1997 during the visit of the President of Azerbaijan H. Aliyev to Kazakhstan, Baku and Astana managed to agree on the joint approach to solving this problem and conclude an agreement on the division of the bottom of the Caspian Sea along the median line [3]. In turn the coordination of Baku and Astana viewpoints led to the fact that soon Moscow became a supporter of this approach. In April 2016 Azerbaijan managed to liberate a small part of the occupied territories during counter-offensive actions. Kazakhstan not only refused to support Yerevan through the CSTO, but also, as the country chairing the EAEU, proposed to remove the organization summit from Armenia to another location and hold it at different time [4]. After that in Armenia they began to call for the withdrawal from EAEU [5]. At the same time Astana called on the parties to show restraint and also advocated "intensifying of the process of searching for compromise solutions to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem," [6] but it must be admitted that the sympathies of the Kazakh general public at the time of the outbreak of the conflict were on the side of Azerbaijan. It was clearly seen in social networks [7].

In the fall of 2020 when the Second Karabakh War began as a result of which Azerbaijan managed to liberate its territories, Kazakhstan again made proposals on the need for a peaceful settlement of the conflict, thus not supporting Armenia, which sought to use the potential of the CSTO in confrontation with Azerbaijan [8].

And just a year later Kazakhstan congratulated Azerbaijan on the anniversary of the victory in the second Karabakh war [9].

Compared with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan after the collapse of the USSR found itself in a better geopolitical situation; in any case, it did not become involved in an internal or external armed conflict. However, the above does not mean that Kazakhstan was in some ideal position. On the contrary, the political leadership of the country is known to be afraid of making territorial claims to Kazakhstan from China and even Russia. Even at the dawn of gaining independence, N. Nazarbayev in one of his interviews assessing the first statements of Russian politicians who made territorial claims to Kazakhstan said: "Guryev and Tselinograd regions were claimed as the original Russian territories. Here one can already see not only historical illiteracy, but much more. Any border claims against Kazakhstan today (however, as well as against any other republics) are inevitable bloodshed" [10].

By the end of 2022, a number of politicians and "experts" can afford to voice territorial claims against Kazakhstan in the information field of Russia, thereby contributing to the deterioration of interstate relations [11].

Along with provocative statements by some Russian politicians, the problems concerning territories also arose in Kazakhstan's relations with China. According to the doctor of economic sciences M.I. Chervonykh, China's territorial claims to Kazakhstan, as well as to Russia and the countries of Central Asia, were formed not only due to the events of the past, accompanied by armed clashes near Damansky Island and the town of Shalanashkol (Kazakhstan), but also due to a change in the course of the rivers through which the line of boundaries was drawn, as well as a more accurate determination of the height of mountain peaks, which were previously determined by eye. He emphasizes that under these new terms, "Russia, Kazakhstan and the republics of Central Asia in the post-Soviet period took a different path in their relations with China. Not aggravating relations, but rather building them on a friendly and mutually beneficial basis. However, for this it was necessary to give part of the disputed territories to China. The republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan were the first to make this step, and Russia did it in the early 2000s" [12].

The first step toward the settlement of territorial disputes with China was the signing in April 1994 in the then capital of the Kyrgyz Republic, Almaty, of the "Agreement between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People's Republic of China on the Kazakh-Chinese state border" [13]. Then in the fall of 1997 and the summer of 1998, two more additional border agreements were signed, [14] and in March 1999 the parliament of Kazakhstan ratified them [15]. In accordance with the agreements, 407 km^2 of the disputed territory was ceded to China, and 537 km^2 remained with Kazakhstan.

The problem of relations with China was also used by the authorities of Kazakhstan as an element of the fight against possible separatist actions in the north of the country. In 1994 the country's political leadership headed by N. Nazarbayev stating that Almaty was too close to the Chinese border initiated the transfer of the capital to the north. The new capital was named Astana.

It is alleged that ethnic Kazakhs made up only 17.71% of the population in the former Tselinograd in 1989. "According to 2018 data, ethnic Kazakhs make up

78.18% of the population of Astana … Russians in the city are now only 13.41%, and Germans - 0.90%. Emigration to Russia (the Germans left for Germany) and natural causes due to the low birth rate also played a role, but the main factor in changing the ethno-demographic picture, of course, was the internal migration to Astana of Kazakhs from other regions of Kazakhstan. By the way, the number of Ukrainians, Belarusians, Tatars, and Bashkirs decreased, but the number of Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, and Uighurs increased" [16].

In order to stop the threats to territorial integrity emanating from a number of Russian politicians, Kazakhstan has embarked on strategic cooperation with Moscow, including becoming an active participant in the CFE/CSTO, and also acting as the initiator of integration processes in the economic and political spheres in the post-Soviet space.

The issue of preserving part of their territories after gaining independence also arose in Kyrgyzstan. For Bishkek, as well as for Kazakhstan as a whole, the problem of settling border disputes with China has become relevant. As noted above, the Kyrgyz leadership, as well as the top officials of Kazakhstan, preferred to choose the path of cooperation with Beijing on this issue.

It is known that "until 1996 China and Kyrgyzstan partially agreed on the border line, however, the disputed sections in the area of the Bedel Pass (water intake of the Uzengi-Kuush River) and the Khan-Tengri Peak presented difficulties … Border issues were discussed together with agreements on economic assistance … Additional agreement "On the Kyrgyz-Chinese state border" was signed by leaders of the two countries on August 26 1999 in Bishkek. After the change of power in Kyrgyzstan in 2005 the Kyrgyz party repeatedly expressed a desire to revise the border treaty, but on June 9–10 2006 new President of Kyrgyzstan K. Bakiyev and Chinese President Hu Jintao signed a joint declaration stating that all border disputes between Kyrgyzstan and China finally resolved" [17].

The Kyrgyz society did not accept these agreements; on the contrary, protests were held across the country against these agreements, to disperse which even firearms were used [18]. It is noteworthy that at that moment an American military base was located on the territory of the country, and the Republic itself remained a member of the CSTO.

According to the signed documents, Kyrgyzstan transferred territories of 35,000 hectares and 90,000 hectares, respectively, to China but the government of the country stated that the document is beneficial to Kyrgyzstan, that this is a compromise, as a result of which, the country left 70% of the territories for which "China originally claimed!" [19].

But the problem of Kyrgyzstan's border disputes was not solved only by settling relations with China. Reaching the agreement on controversial issues by Tajikistan and Uzbekistan was of great importance. At the same time, it is necessary to take into consideration that the drawbacks of border delimitation contributed to the growth of tension in these countries, especially considering the presence of Uzbek enclaves in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan and Tajik enclaves in Uzbekistan. Relations between Bishkek and Dushanbe have always been under the pressure of territorial disputes, while for some time the parties did not have sufficient military potential to

resolve the issue in their favor by force. Participation in the CSTO also did not contribute to the fact that the parties brought their positions closer. As a result, with varying frequency, armed clashes arose on the border of the two states, while Moscow declared that it was ready to provide mediation services to resolve the conflict [20]; however, no real effort has been made to do so.

Rising tensions between the countries almost led to serious clashes in January 2020. By this time, particularly in Kyrgyzstan, they began to reconsider the priorities of the country's foreign policy aimed at ensuring its security. By mid-2020 Bishkek no longer counted on the CSTO to resolve the conflict with Dushanbe. Moreover, after another aggravation on the border in September 2022 when 63 people died as a result of an attack by the Tajik side, Kyrgyzstan began to demonstrate its dissatisfaction with the CSTO already openly, including refusing to conduct military training activities on its territory in October 2022 for CSTO "Indestructible Brotherhood – 2022" [21]. And although the Kyrgyz authorities said that "the public opinion of Kyrgyzstan will not welcome the same elements of the armed units of our Tajik neighbors to be present at these military training" [22], it became clear that ensuring its territorial integrity Bishkek began to rely on other actors of international relations, among which Türkiye occupied a special place [23].

Having assessed the course of hostilities during the Second Karabakh War, Bishkek decided to purchase Bayraktar TB-2 UAV from Türkiye, [24] and during September of 2022, the use of these combat systems allowed Kyrgyzstan to inflict a number of serious blows on the Tajik troops [25], which eventually led to a ceasefire in the conflict zone. In October 2022 Kyrgyzstan became the first foreign buyer of the Turkish "Akinci" UAV [26].

Türkiye's support in ensuring the territorial integrity of Kyrgyzstan was expressed not only in the supply of strike UAVs for the armed forces of this country, but also in Ankara's political efforts aimed at normalizing and further improving relations between all the Turkic-speaking states of the post-Soviet space. As part of the implementation of this policy, Ankara made efforts to ensure that relations between Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan were completely normalized. As a result, at the end of December 2022, the countries, having exchanged territories, established a recognized border line [27]. In the New Year's address to the leader of Kyrgyzstan, the President of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev called Kyrgyzstan "a brotherly country" [28].

In order to understand the significance of this statement, it is necessary to briefly study the essence of territorial integrity issue as it was accepted by Uzbekistan after gaining independence. Tashkent after the collapse of the USSR as well as all Central Asian countries was very zealous about the issues of its territorial integrity, but unlike Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, it did not encounter a powerful neighbor claiming part of its lands. At the same time, the national-territorial division contributed to the formation of hostile relations between Uzbekistan and its neighbors. The greatest friction in Uzbekistan arose because of the enclave territories located on the territory of Kyrgyzstan, we are talking about the enclaves "Sokh," "Shakhimardan," "Chon-Kara," "Tash-Tepa," and the Kyrgyz exclave "Barak" on the territory of Uzbekistan already [29].

Relations between the two countries sometimes approached a dangerous line, threatening to slide into an armed confrontation; however, after the death of Islam Karimov, the new government of Uzbekistan, headed by Shavkat Mirziyoyev, began to take active steps aimed not only at carrying out serious socio-economic reforms but also focused to improve the country's relations with its closest neighbors.

In September 2017 the leader of Uzbekistan signed an agreement with the then President of Kyrgyzstan A. Atambaev on the delimitation of 85% of the border. In addition, in the summer of 2018, Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan were claimed to agree on a peaceful exchange of territories; first of all, it was about the Barak exclave [30].

The fact that the new political leader of Uzbekistan is determined to resolve disputes with neighboring states is also evidenced by the words of Sh. Mirziyoyev, who, delivering the annual message on January 25, 2020, to the parliament, spoke about the priorities of the country's foreign policy, put the need to "strengthen friendship relations, good-neighborliness and strategic partnership with the countries of Central Asia in all spheres" in the first place, and only then spoke about the need to "further develop political, trade, economic, investment, transport and communication, cultural and humanitarian ties with the Russian Federation, the People's Republic of China, the United States America, Japan, South Korea, Türkiye, the United Arab Emirates, the states of the European Union and Asia" [31].

Thus, the words of Sh. Mirziyoyev about Kyrgyzstan as a brotherly country indicate that the normalization of relations between Bishkek and Tashkent is acquiring close cooperation, with the prospect of transformation into something more, especially given their active interaction within the framework of the Organization of Turkic States. The issues of settling the border issues between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan were resolved more favorably. Even at the turn of 2001–2002, the parties managed to exchange territories on the disputed sections of the border and thereby create conditions for further delimitation and demarcation of the border. In December 2022 the President of Kazakhstan Kassym-Jomart Tokayev and the President of Uzbekistan Shavkat Mirziyoyev signed the "Treaty on allied relations between the Republic of Kazakhstan and Republic of Uzbekistan and the Agreement between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan on the demarcation of the Kazakh-Uzbek state border" [32].

Taking into account the processes taking place on the international arena at the end of 2022, the parties made it clear that these documents will not only contribute to the development of interstate relations but actually lead to the formation of allied relations between countries [33].

The agreements signed between Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan have a significant impact on the regional policy of Turkmenistan.

After gaining independence, Turkmenistan did not experience a direct threat to its territorial integrity. However, the country had to conduct relations with Iran, with which the border was 1100 kilometers long and on whose territory Turkmen tribes lived. In addition, Ashgabat has always been worried about relations with the regimes in power in Afghanistan, on the territory of which Turkmens also live compactly.

Under these conditions the authorities of Turkmenistan seemed to maintain friendly relations with the states that emerged in the post-Soviet space, which the country was associated with for many years as a part of the Russian Empire and the USSR, but the first president of the country S. Niyazov decided to create a closed state, when the foreign policy formally relies on the neutrality declared by the country. Nevertheless, in reality it sometimes had a rather confrontational character with the Turkic-speaking countries of the post-Soviet space. However, in 2000–2001 Turkmenistan demilitarized its land borders with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, but as soon as it was about the access to disputed areas of territories where oil sources were located, Ashgabat began to behave differently; as in 2011 it was reported that "about 20% of the border between Uzbekistan remains undemarcated because of the oil field, which is located in the south of the Chardjou region … There is a similar conflict with Azerbaijan … President of Turkmenistan Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov has repeatedly emphasized that among the Caspian fields there are those that should belong to Turkmenistan – the Serdar fields, "Osman" and "Omar", being located in the disputed part of the Caspian Sea, but being developed by Azerbaijan" [34].

The reason for such behavior is the desire of the Turkmen authorities to have at their disposal a huge base of hydrocarbon resources, which allowed them to successfully implement the concept of nation building, in which, through the sale of gas and oil on foreign markets, the state defiantly took on the role of a benefactor of the population, providing it with a number of benefits free of charge, though demanding absolute obedience in return.

This policy seemed to be successful, but only until the moment when energy prices began to fluctuate on world markets. At the same time there was an increase in government spending in Turkmenistan, which also coincided with the limitation of Ashgabat's ability to supply gas to world markets, including due disputes with Russia [35]. Although in 2019 relations between the countries somewhat normalized, it became clear for Ashgabat that certain changes were needed in its foreign policy.

The need to change its foreign policy behavior was once again realized by Turkmenistan after the end of the Second Karabakh War and after Azerbaijan and Türkiye managed to launch the Southern Gas Corridor.

In January 2021 Baku and Ashgabat managed to resolve the problem of territorial disputes in the Caspian Sea, a memorandum was signed according to which the countries agreed that the resources of the Dostlug (Friendship) field would be "distributed between the parties in the ratio of 30% – to Azerbaijan and 70% - to Turkmenistan," while Azerbaijan refused its name of the field – "Kyapaz" – and Turkmenistan, from its own, "Serdar." At the same time, it was noted that "Transportation of «Dostlug» hydrocarbon resources intended for export to the international market will be carried out on a competitive basis using the existing transport transit systems of Azerbaijan" [36].

The new name of the oil field, which has the same spelling and sound both in Azerbaijani and Turkmen, symbolized the beginning of a new era in relations between the countries.

The Azerbaijani-Turkmen rapprochement took place with the political and diplomatic participation of Türkiye on December 14, 2022, when the three countries signed five documents that strengthen their interaction in various fields [37].

It is noteworthy that this event took place after the summit of the Organization of Turkic States on November 11, 2022, in Samarkand and at which the leaders of Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Türkiye, and Azerbaijan discussed the further development of the UTC, as well as the prospects for rapprochement of Turkic-speaking countries in various fields. Hungarian Prime Minister V. Orban and ex-President of Turkmenistan G. Berdimuhamedow represented their countries at the summit as observers.

At the same time, it is difficult to agree with the opinion that not only the fate of many transport projects but also the future of the organization depends on the decision of Turkmenistan on its membership in the UTC "on the decision of Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov" [38]. First of all, the projects implemented by the Turkic-speaking countries, especially the "Middle Corridor" project, practically do not pass through the territory of Turkmenistan, that is why Ashgabat itself is interested in timely accession to both the Southern Gas Corridor and the "Middle Corridor" project. Therefore, it is clear why in July 2022 Turkmenistan signed 19 documents on cooperation in various sectors with Uzbekistan [39], thereby not only removing the tension of border disputes, or rather freezing them, but also creating conditions for interaction with their partners within the framework of the "Middle Corridor" project, in the implementation of which both China and Türkiye, as well as the countries of Central Asia and the EU, are interested [40].

4   Conclusion

It can be stated that after gaining independence in 1992, all the Turkic-speaking states of the post-Soviet space faced challenges to their territorial integrity. Despite this, for a long time all these countries tried to tackle the threats in this area alone, relying primarily on their own forces and maneuvering between various centers of forces. At the same time, in a number of cases, threats to the territorial integrity of the Central Asian countries came not only from powerful actors in international relations, such as China, for example, but also from themselves. The reason for such behavior of these countries in relation to each other was mainly that the border lines that were drawn between them in Soviet times. These border lines often did not reflect the existing realities or were deliberately drawn in such a way as to make the issue of settling territorial disputes a conflict and so to thereby strengthen the dependence of these countries on the Union Center. In addition, after the collapse of the USSR for many post-Soviet countries, including Turkic-speaking ones, the question of defining their identity arose in a completely different way. The rejection of the Soviet ideology and self-identification through religious affiliation, supplemented by belonging to a particular nation, neither contributed to solving the problems of the territorial integrity of these countries, nor created conditions for their

modernization and development. It would be difficult to find a way out of this deadlock, but at the turn of 2009–2010 Türkiye began to interact more actively with the Turkic-speaking states of Central Asia, providing them with various assistance in the political, economic, and military spheres. As a result, the ideas of Turkic identity are penetrating into the information field of these countries. At the same time, Ankara as an example of interaction between the Turkic-speaking countries demonstrated its relations with Baku, resting on the principle put forward by Heydar Aliyev "One nation - two states." At the same time, the "nation" was understood not just as belonging to one or another ethnic group, but as belonging precisely to the "Turks." The result of the policy, as well as the new elites of the Turkic-speaking countries of Central Asia, was a serious improvement in relations between them, the removal of tensions on territorial affiliation, as well as the institutionalization of the union of Turkic-speaking states, established in 2022, which may lead to the emergence of a new slogan – "One nation - six states."

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The Concept of "Global Britain" in the British Security Strategy in the Context of Post-Brexit

Natalia Eremina

Abstract The UK, having left the European Union, announced the transition to a sovereign foreign policy that implements national interests, which, at the same time, correlate with the interests of its closest allies, primarily the USA. This transition was embodied in the concept of "Global Britain." It means the country's presence in different regions of the world, justified primarily by security issues. For this reason, it is necessary to study the British post-Brexit security strategy papers in order to uncover all aspects of the concept and understand how it affects the international system as a whole. The author comes to the conclusion that the implementation of the idea of "Global Britain" contributed to the intensification of the country's foreign policy made it possible to form new alliances, strengthen the old ones, redirect significant funds for the modernization of weapons, and develop AI in the armed forces. Indeed, this activation was accompanied by the assertion of global security objectives to protect the nation, which turned the concept of "Global Britain" into the central strategy of Britain in the post-Brexit state.

Keywords Post-Brexit · UK · Global Britain · NATO · EU · Security · Defense

1 Introduction

The UK Government regularly publishes Integrated Defence Reviews for the coming years, as well as White Papers that build on the reviews prepared and propose concrete security policy strategies for the long term. Comprehensive reviews have become the main documents in the field of security and defense. They are prescriptive. The latest review to date, published in 2023, raises questions about the development of the UK security sector up to 2030. Due to these documents, one can trace

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the evolution of the views of British military and foreign policy analysts on strategy, as well as changes in the UK's defense and security doctrines.

Brexit has become a key factor in adjusting the UK's security strategy, as it emphasized the country's leading role not only in Europe but also in other regions of the world. According to British strategists, Brexit allowed the country to "return" as a sovereign power to the international arena to protect its national interests. Therefore, immediately after the implementation of Brexit on February 1, 2020, they began to actively talk about the concept of "Global Britain."

At the same time, the development of a new security strategy was announced, taking into account the country's global interests. In this regard, questions arise: how the concept of "Global Britain" is presented in the strategic documents of the defense and security of Great Britain and what it can mean for other participants in international relations. To answer the questions raised, it is necessary to analyze the relevant documents, starting from 2021 and ending with the current 2023, paying attention to how they represent global interests and what approaches are proposed to protect them.

2 Research Design and Results of the Study

In March 2021, the UK published the White Paper and the Integrated Review of Security, Defence, Development and Foreign Policy titled Defence in the Age of Competition [3, 5]. These documents present the significance of the Brexit factor in the British security agenda. At the same time, the authors of the White Paper pointed out that previous documents published before 2021 were overly ambitious and underfunded. The new Integrated Review published in 2023 [8] emphasized certain aspects of the security strategy, becoming a continuation of the tasks set in 2021. Thus, it substantiates the previously indicated tasks in the field of security and defense, focuses on the risks of aggravation of new conflicts in the world, and draws attention to a wide periphery, including Africa, which significantly strengthened the position of the concept of "Global Britain."

Thus, the documents adopted in the period from 2021 to 2023 do not contradict each other. All papers focus on how to modernize the military to address the threats of the 2020s and beyond, while also contributing to national prosperity. At the same time, these documents indicate the main challenges for "Global Britain," as well as analyze in detail the military and defense aspects of "Global Britain."

2.1 UK Security Strategy Analysis

The concept of "Global Britain" is the cornerstone of the White Paper and the Integrated Review 2021. This concept was intended to testify to the high international status and importance of the country. In order to comply with them, the

authors of these documents believe that Britain must take responsibility for allies and friends, showing, among other things, hard power, while the British call their leadership shared. Thus, the concept of "Global Britain" means the presence of the country in all regions of the world, leadership in spreading its values, but the use of military forces is also possible: it is based on the idea of "British superiority" [2, 66–68; 3: 2; 5]. In other words, the armed forces are called forces of progress, a mechanism for social adaptation and growth, an instrument for implementing the ideas of "Global Britain."

The 2021 Review argued that the UK cannot ensure national security without an international strategy that integrates diplomacy, security, trade, science, and technology. This Review proves the need for cooperation with partners and allies in all of these areas of activity. At the same time, ensuring the security of Britain itself is primarily associated with NATO allies. But already in this Review, the British are not talking about maintaining the status quo in all aspects, but about the possibility of correcting the country's position if necessary and changes in international relations. The focus of the 2021 Review is on the confrontation with China, which proposes a change of eras and systemic changes. In general, it was the Indo-Pacific region that was called important, since it has a critical impact on the economy, security, and stability of the international order [5: 2–5]. Therefore, it is not surprising that already in the 2023 Review, the relations with Australia and AUCUS, which complement the partnership within the Five Eyes, seem to be the most valuable for the British. Interactions with India, which are built on a deep strategic partnership, are also recognized as important. In addition, the Review states that with the involvement of the support of Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam, a wider security belt is being formed for the UK, which seeks to achieve the Trans-Pacific Partnership [5: 22, 24–26; 8: 22].

The 2023 Review clarified the UK's position in specific regions to advance its national interests. This Review takes into account both the increased risk of new conflicts and focuses on the role of Britain in the events in Ukraine. It is the Ukrainian crisis that is now seen as the main threat to the security and interests of Britain. However, the UK in this review is not limited to security in Europe, but, as in the previous one, draws attention to the need for partnership with allies in the Indo-Pacific region (in ASEAN, with financial partners in Singapore, under the Blue Pacific initiative, in AUCUS, and Global Air Force Program with Japan).

In addition, it is in the 2023 Review that the British explain in detail the value of African countries for the implementation of the concept of "Global Britain." At the same time, it was in 2023 that an approach was developed in relation to a vast region, the so-called "broad neighborhood," located on the periphery of the Euro-Atlantic (Indo-Pacific region, Middle East, Africa). The same concept applies to the Arctic. We note right away that in 2023 a new Arctic agenda for Britain ("The UK's 2023 Arctic Policy Framework, Looking North: the UK and the Arctic") was released, which states that Britain will defend its Arctic interests, including climate and competitive environment, strengthening dialogue with Norway, and advancing NATO's position in the region. The UK will also continue to develop the Antarctic system of agreements [8: 24–25].

If we talk about the evolution of views on the threats to British security, they were clarified only on certain points, in particular, in relation to China, which reflects the gradually asserting opinion about the need to counter China [7]. According to the White Paper, Russia and China pose the main threats to the British plans. At the same time, Russia is called an unpredictable player prone to risk [3: 9]. The British are also seriously concerned about the growing readiness of various countries to use chemical or biological weapons, including on British soil and outside conflict situations: "…both North Korea and Russia have used chemical agents in the past four years" [3: 9]. Such statements can be interpreted as a direct indication of Britain's hostility toward Russia.

A slightly more lenient attitude toward China in 2021 was expressed: "…The growing power of China is by far the most significant geopolitical factor in the modern world. China is a complex systemic problem…" Quite threatening for the British is the fact that China is building five aircraft carriers and four light helicopter carriers by 2030. The British also note that China is developing a full range of aircraft, including fourth- and fifth-generation fighters, several reconnaissance aircraft, a Y-20 heavy transport aircraft, and combat stealth unmanned aerial vehicles. Other countries that could pose a threat to Britain's security include Iran and North Korea. However, only a few lines are devoted to them [3: 9]. At the same time, the growth of threats has always been explained solely by the policy of Russia, the desire of China to dominate, and the destabilizing behavior of Iran and North Korea.

In the 2023 Review, the authors noted the intensification of systemic competition, especially given China's desire to create a "China-centric world order" that is favorable to itself. At the same time, the authors of the Review were most concerned about the expanding cooperation between China and Russia, the answer to which should be the strengthening of partnerships between Britain and NATO and the USA. Nevertheless, taking into account the positions of China in a number of regions (e.g., in Africa), the British expressed their desire to preserve room for maneuver in interaction with it [8: 8–9].

In the 2023 Review, it is Russia that is named the main threat and the most destabilizing factor in the international arena, and the Ukrainian war is the main problem. It is noteworthy that the British declare their success in "weakening the Russian military machine." In general, the 2023 Review takes a closer look at the situation in Ukraine, linking the stability of the UK security system and the possibility of implementing "Global Britain" with the results of the Ukrainian crisis. According to British experts, this requires a change in approaches not only in relation to chemical and biological threats, as was said back in 2021, but also to the nuclear threat. Also in 2023, it was recognized that it was impossible to stop these threats on our own [8: 33].

To counter all these threats, the British propose two main mechanisms that promote the tasks of "Global Britain": (1) to focus on forming new and strengthening traditional ties with partners and allies and (2) to modernize the armed forces with an emphasis on new digitalization tools, including AI.

2.2   UK Engagement with Partners

In the White Paper and Reviews 2021 and 2023, it is recognized that the armed forces are essential to maintaining the UK's leadership in security and defense. However, we are talking about two types of leadership – global British leadership and shared leadership, when Britain cooperates with its allies. For example, the country's global leadership is supported by the fact that Britain is the second financial contributor to NATO after the USA. Shared leadership allows Britain to gain a foothold in different geographic locations. Thus, the British base in Cyprus makes it possible to quickly transfer troops and forward-based aircraft to the Eastern Mediterranean, the Middle East, and North Africa. A permanent presence in Gibraltar allows British ships to conduct combat operations from the Gulf of Guinea to the Eastern Mediterranean. The expansion of the presence in Kenya contributes to a greater involvement of Britain in the affairs of East Africa [3: 14–15].

The authors of these reviews pay special attention to the European security vector, which they plan to develop through cooperation between Britain and Germany and France. In addition, cooperation in Europe, according to the British, should be strengthened through constant exercises, the British presence in Estonia and Poland, and missions to protect air and sea space with the participation of NATO naval groups [1]. But especially significant is the cooperation of the Five Eyes intelligence services (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Great Britain, and the USA). It is a group of like-minded people who share a vision of threats, challenges, and opportunities and the main global intelligence-sharing mechanism [3: 28].

Global leadership allows you to achieve national advantages within the concept of "Global Britain." This type of leadership is based on the implementation of a "comprehensive approach" and "doctrine of merger," which require great courage and ambition to act at the international level using all available tools (including through defense diplomacy). It is the British who emphasize that they are preparing the armed forces to work in a hostile environment, for example, in the Western Balkans and Ukraine. Moreover, the British are ready to cover the flanks of NATO. Thus, the 2021 Review announced its readiness to send British forces to the Far North and the Arctic, the Baltic Sea, the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and Black Seas. The other flank, in addition to the Arctic, is Antarctica. The British Antarctic Survey maintains a permanent British presence there. It is noteworthy that not only the Arctic and Antarctic are represented in the flank category but also the regions of the Western Balkans, the Black Sea, and the Baltic. If we talk about the Black Sea region, then a little more attention is devoted to it, along with the Far North. So, here the British are ready to cooperate with Turkey. They believe that it is Turkey that can directly fight against "Russia's military intervention in the Mediterranean and Black Seas." Here, the British directly accuse Russia of aggression against Ukraine and propose to provide the latter with full-scale support along with other partners in the region [3: 29; 5: 72]. In 2023, the task of the British presence in the North, in order to connect the Baltic and Arctic flanks, is even more important: in the Review we see a call for an increase in the military presence in Estonia. A similar conclusion

can be drawn in relation to the Ukrainian direction, in which Britain calls itself a catalyst for processes [8: 40–41]. At the same time, the Euro-Atlantic region remains its absolute priority, in which ties with Ukraine, Poland, and the Baltic states are named the most valuable [8: 20].

2.3   Modernization of the Armed Forces and Funding

The issue of modernization and financing of the armed forces remains, perhaps, the most difficult. On the one hand, the strategic documents declare an increase in funds; on the other hand, there is a constant adjustment of financial costs.

In 2021, it was decided to allocate 188 billion pounds to defense in the next 4 years (this means an increase in funding by 24 billion pounds or 14%) [3: 1–2]. A significant part of the amount was directed to innovation and technology, which is understandable due to the opinions of leading experts and the growing rivalry in the field of AI [2, 4, 6, 9]. In particular, it was envisaged to invest at least 6.6 billion pounds in research and development (R&D) over the next 4 years (development of directed energy weapons and swarming drones, new space technologies and tools for working in cyberspace, AI, as well as modern platforms and weapons systems that will expand the technological advantage over competitors).

By the way, the British are ready to invest more than 60 million pounds specifically for the creation of various digital systems and AI within 4 years. For example, the Skynet 6 program is already being implemented, which will receive about £5 billion over the next 10 years to improve communications and an additional £1.4 billion for the development of space technologies. To support innovation and technology, the government even established a new £1 billion Integrated Security Fund [3: 39–59].

In 2023, they confirmed their attention to innovation and technology and even announced an increase in spending on this area to 20 billion pounds by 2024 [8: 4]. The 2023 Review also announced the creation of a new government department for the development of science, innovation, and technology. In addition, in 2023, emphasis was placed on nuclear safety. In particular, it was decided to allocate £3 billion for the support and modernization of nuclear infrastructure, including weapons. London looks forward to expanding cooperation in this area with AUCUS partners. In general, in 2023 it was stated that it was the UK that was faced with the task of strengthening the Alliance technologically [8: 34–40]. However, a fairly large part of military spending is related to the support of Ukraine (it received £2.3 billion in 2022; a similar amount is provided for 2023) [8: 11].

Significant defense projects have been funded in the UK since 2021. In particular, the fleet expects new Type 31 and 32 frigates. In addition, the efficiency of the fleet will be increased by modernizing the air defense systems of Type 45 destroyers (in the future, in the early 2030s, new Type 83 destroyers will take their place), replacing inter-corporate Harpoon missiles and the launch of advanced Type 26 anti-submarine frigates. The construction of eight Type 26 anti-submarine defense

frigates was also announced. First of all, these ships will be designed to control the situation in the North Atlantic. And the total investment in shipbuilding will double over a 4-year period and exceed £1.7 billion per year [3: 47–50]. The task of building four dreadnought-class submarines looks ambitious (the first will be completed in early 2030 as part of a program to modernize nuclear weapons) [8: 35].

Not only the fleet but also the army will receive significant investments. Back in 2020, the decision was made to invest an additional £3 billion in new army equipment in excess of the planned more than £20 billion. The money will be used to create new cars (including the Boxer and Challenger III); upgraded high-precision multiple rocket launchers and Apache; new air defense; tactical surveillance drones; and new electronic warfare and cyberspace capabilities. Modernization will allow the British army to become a global player, as the authors of the White Paper and reviews point out, because it will be designed for continuous action on a global scale. To intensify global efforts, Britain has created a special regiment of rangers, which is expected to play the role of the vanguard of expeditionary operations. Their job is to contain opponents, train, advise, and, if necessary, accompany partners. More than £ 120 million will be sent to equip it between 2021 and 2024 [3: 51].

The army has been allocated funds to modernize those systems in which it is interested. For example, more than £250 million over 10 years will be invested in a guided multiple rocket launcher system, which will provide an upgraded long-range missile. In addition, the army will spend more than £800 million over the same period for a new automated mobile shooting platform; it will also receive about £1.3 billion to upgrade 148 main battle tanks to make the Challenger III one of the most secure in Europe. Investments of more than £200 million are also planned over 10 years to expand electronic warfare capabilities [3: 51].

The country's air forces will not stand aside either. Thus, investments are expected in the creation of a new medium-lift helicopter in the mid-2020s, which will allow consolidating a disparate fleet of medium-sized helicopters. There will also be strategic investments of more than £2 billion in the period up to 2025 into an armed air system (Future Combat Air System) with a crew, without a crew and autonomous platforms, including swarming drones. Sixteen remotely piloted long-range Protector systems will be put into operation, capable of not only conducting continuous multispectral surveillance but also striking against potential adversaries around the world. The Royal Air Force is expected to increase the UK's global influence by deepening alliances in the Indo-Pacific, the Middle East, and Africa. This is necessary for the formation of a deployed global network of adaptable basing with key allies and partners and will give the British armed forces an advantage [3: 52–56]. Notably, the Combat Air system is identified in the White Paper as a key pillar of the UK's global approach, as it involves interaction and cooperation with the US and with the Typhoon consortium in Europe and other like-minded countries.

In addition to specific plans for weapons and their modernization, Britain will continue to focus on soft power, thanks to the activities of the British Council and the BBC, which effectively help to implement the concept of "Global Britain."

3 Conclusions and Future Work

Thus, the British are clearly building the military-defense components of the Global Britain strategy. It has a multilevel character. First, the nature of the activities of the country's armed forces is changing, which should interact more actively with each other. In addition, they receive upgraded weapons. Second, special cooperation with the Anglo-Saxon countries is emphasized separately and within the framework of NATO. Third, the British maintain their presence in Europe based on France and Germany. Fourth, they also act as a global power, protecting NATO's flanks in the Arctic, Balkans, Baltics, and the Black Sea. At the same time, in addition to global leadership, the British also talk about shared leadership when they act together with partners. But the most important conclusion that we can draw from the presented strategic documents is that the British are ready for a variety of actions in the international arena, not excluding a tough military response. And the biggest threats that require the use of the whole variety of tools are Russia and China.

Thus, the concept of "Global Britain" directly indicates not only the presence of the British in the world, but also their readiness for maneuvering and tough confrontation.

It is also important to note that Britain's global presence is not limited to its fight against threats in the face of a number of states but is also associated with countering global problems. Among these, climate change and biodiversity loss are most often cited. It is important that the British associate climate change with political risks. Thus, as a result of climate change, the Northern Sea Route will open over the next decade, which, from their point of view, may have serious geopolitical consequences, including for security. Similarly, i.e., in the context of competition, threats in the field of cyberspace and space are considered, for the management of which technologies are needed. Thus, the British security goals are truly global, and at the same time, security is viewed as broadly as possible: from military operations abroad to supporting local authorities in their response to epidemic threats.

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Global Road Safety: The Basis of International Cooperation

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Abstract The article analyzes the problem of road safety from the standpoint of achieving international goals in the field of sustainable development and guarantees of human rights to an adequate environment and safe living conditions. The authors analyze statistical data and other documents and examine scientific works of Russian and foreign authors. Urgent action is needed to significantly reduce the global number of road traffic fatalities and injuries. As noted by UN experts, road traffic deaths and injuries are at least in most cases predictable and preventable. The article concludes that in developing appropriate measures and activities for the professional community involved in this process, it is extremely important. The results of the generalization of the best world experience in reducing deaths and injuries on the roads are important. The data of the UN Secretary-General and Russian government agencies regarding the causes of death on the roads in Russia do not coincide. According to Russian experts, Russia cannot be compared with those countries that have a smaller area and length of roads. In addition, the indicators of changes in statistics in the field of road accidents in developing countries do not go in comparison with the indicators in developed countries for objective reasons, including those related to import substitution of automobile products, the quality of roads, and insufficient education of drivers and pedestrians in the field of road safety. The problem of the increasing statistics of road accidents with the intensive growth of motorization requires much more attention from the authorized authorities, as well as the development of further measures to solve this pressing problem.

Keywords Motorization · Road deaths · The Sustainable Development Goals · Statistics · Traffic accidents · United Nations

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1   Introduction

Since the adoption of the first General Assembly resolution on the United Countries "The Global Road Safety Crisis" (2003) [1], the fight against deaths and injuries on the roads has taken a strong place in the agenda of the world community. According to the World Health Organization, every year about 1.3 million people die on the roads around the world [2, 3], and at least 50 million people are injured as a result of road accidents [4]. Among the "leaders" of these statistics are countries with low or middle incomes, including Russia [5]. Urgent measures are needed to significantly reduce the global number of road traffic accidents with fatalities and injuries.

At least to date, injuries are the primary cause of death from accidents in the world [6]. According to the UN Road Safety Foundation, risk factors for accidents include: unsafe vehicles; inadequate care after an accident; inadequate enforcement of traffic rules; unsafe road infrastructure; speeding; non-use of motorcycle helmets, seat belts, and child restraints; and driving under the influence of alcohol. However, according to UN experts, deaths and injuries from road traffic accidents are at least in most cases predictable and preventable.

Road safety can be considered in terms of ensuring human rights to safe living conditions and from the point of view of achieving the Sustainable Development Goals [7] adopted by world leaders of more than 150 countries at the International Summit in New York in 2015. Under Sustainable Development Goal 3 on good health and well-being, all States committed to "halving road traffic deaths and injuries" [8] and under SDG 11 Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements, "ensure access to a safe, affordable, affordable and sustainable transport system for all." These aspects are key policy directions aimed at ensuring the climate agenda within the framework of the Economic Commission for Europe (ECE), established by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) [9, 10].

2   Methods and Materials

Methods. When writing the article, we used elements of a quantitative comparative analysis (QCA) of statistical data relative to accidents and their causes in Russia and other countries. See also methods of mixed studies, where qualitative and quantitative methods are combined for solving a wide range of problems (in particular, historical and formal-logical methods, as well as discursive analysis and interpretative phenomenological analysis), which are used in jurisprudence, sociology, political science, and other social and humanitarian sciences.

The authors tried to answer the questions: (1) what the main factors are, contributing to road traffic accidents and deaths in Russia, and how they are comparable to factors in other economically developed countries; and (2) what changes in the legislative and administrative spheres are necessary to improve road safety in Russia. During the study, we used statistical data on the number of road accidents and

deaths on the roads in Russia and other countries, obtained from the websites of various departments for the period from 2015 to 2022. The data obtained served as the basis for the formulation of conclusions and proposals for the adoption of mechanisms to combat road accidents at the national level.

An extraordinary event on the way to uniting the efforts of the world community in solving this problem was the creation in 2004 of the United Nations Road Safety Cooperation (UNRSC), the leading role in which is assigned to the World Health Organization (WHO), and its deputies alternately become the UN regional commissions [11]. Since 2009, the WHO has since published reports on the state of road traffic safety worldwide, which assess measures and results to reduce road traffic deaths in different countries [12].

The importance of strengthening the interaction of countries in the field of road safety was also manifested in the organization and holding of global ministerial conferences on road safety. Thus, the first such conference, which was attended by more than 1500 delegates from 150 countries, was held in Moscow in 2009. The Moscow Declaration recognized the importance of the "Global Road Safety Facility" as the first mechanism for attracting funds to provide technical support for road safety at the global, regional, and national levels; on the basis of the Commission's report, it recognized road safety as a new priority in the field of sustainable development and as the solution to the global road safety. The road safety crisis can only be realized through multisectoral cooperation and partnership among all stakeholders in both the public and private sectors, with the participation of civil society. Finally, global results are a consequence of national and local measures, and effective actions to improve global road safety require strong political will, commitment, and resources at the national and subnational, regional, and global levels [13].

In the following years, two more conferences were held: in 2015 in Brazil, followed by the adoption of the Brasilia Declaration, which recognized the importance of capacity-building and continued international cooperation, including the promotion of triangular cooperation, including between countries sharing cross-border roads, to further support efforts to improve road safety, especially in developing countries, and to provide, where appropriate, financial and technical support [14]. The third ministerial conference was held in Stockholm in 2020 and culminated in the adoption of the forward-looking "Stockholm Declaration," which calls for a new global goal to reduce road traffic deaths and injuries by 50% by 2030. It also proposes to intensify efforts in the main areas of the Global Plan of Action for the Decade: improving road safety management and improving the safety of roads, vehicles, and people after road traffic accidents. It also calls for accelerating the transition to "safe, affordable and sustainable modes of transport" such as walking, cycling, and public transport. Apparently, in this case, the three declarations have no legal force but are a benchmark to which all countries should aspire.

Following the High-level Meeting on Improving Global Road Safety entitled "Horizon 2030 for Road Safety: Achieving a Decade of Action and Results," the UN adopted a Global Plan [15], which aims to reduce road traffic deaths and injuries by

50% by 2030. According to UNECE, today countries are still far from this indicator [16].

It should also be noted that when developing appropriate measures and measures for the professional community involved in this process, the results of the compilation of the best world experience in reducing deaths and injuries on the roads are of extreme importance. One of the main ways of disseminating such experience is the Consolidated Resolution on Road Traffic (hereinafter referred to as R.E.1) and the Consolidated Resolution on Road Signs and Signals (hereinafter referred to as R.E.2), which have also been prepared and promoted by the United Nations.

It is obvious that today there is no such international mechanism or "magic pill" that would reduce road deaths by 50% by 2030. The world community is paying attention to the existing problem with all its might; the UN is financing various projects [17]. The main emphasis is obvious: first, national and municipal governments should be ready to work with the problem [18].

The number of deaths in road accidents in Russia, despite the measures applied by the authorities, is steadily increasing. According to Russian researchers, this problem is an objective and natural result of the process of globalization of the modern world and one of the consequences of scientific and technological progress, in particular the rapid growth of automobilization. The study of the impact of motorization on the number of road accidents in Russia has been conducted for several years. Motorization is understood as "equipping the population with cars, the level of which is calculated from the average number of individual cars per 1000 inhabitants. The level of motorization, although it is related to the well-being of the inhabitants of the region, but its growth affects the accident rate on the roads." Thus, according to the level of the automobilization indicator among the regions of Russia in 2022, the highest values were noted in the Urals, 333 cars per 1000 inhabitants; it is slightly lower in the North-Western Federal District – 332 cars per 1000 inhabitants. In 2020, in 35 regions of the Russian Federation, the level of motorization was higher than the national average, with the high availability of cars observed in the Primorsky Territory – 463 cars per 1 thousand inhabitants (in 2021, 471 cars) [19, 20]. This circumstance carries both positive and negative aspects. The positive side indicates an improvement in the country's economy, but the negative side is associated with various unfavorable outcomes, such as an increase in road accidents, traffic congestion during peak hours, and, as a result, degradation of the urban environment.

The dynamics of the severity of the consequences of an accident in Russia now is presented below. As can be seen, the number of private vehicles has increased steadily in recent years. So, since the beginning of 2022, about 53.5 thousand car accidents with victims have occurred on the roads of Russia, which is 7.2% less than in the same period last year. A total of 5.6 thousand people died in road accidents (−3.9%), and 67.7 thousand (−7.5%) were injured. At the same time, in 35 regions of the country, the number of deaths increased, and in 20, the total number of road accidents increased [21].

The Russian Federation, like other countries, is taking measures to reduce the number of accidents and injuries on the roads. According to the State Road Traffic

Safety Inspectorate (GIBDD), every year you can see a decrease in the number of fatal accidents despite the increasing number of registered vehicles. So, in 2015, 23,114 people died; in 2016, 20,308; 2017, 19,088; 2018, 18,214; and 2019 – 16,981 [22]. In general, in the period from 2015 to 2020, the number of accidents in road accidents decreased by 20.8%.

According to the Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Road Safety, the causes of high mortality on the roads in Russia are lack of education of drivers and pedestrians, drunk driving, the use of phones while driving, as well as flaws in the legal prosecution of violators. However, as noted by Russian experts, our country cannot be compared with those countries that have a smaller area and length of roads [23]. In addition, problems such as talking on the phone while driving and distraction on social networks exist in all European countries.

The "Strategy for Road Safety in the Russian Federation for 2018–2024" notes that "domestic indicators lag far behind European ones. The number of deaths in road accidents in Russia is still significantly higher than the same number of European Union countries." Thus, according to document, the risk of death in road accidents was lower in Sweden than in the Russian Federation, 5 times (2.7 dead per 100 thousand population); in Germany, 3.5 times (3.9 dead per 100 thousand population); and in the UK – 4.9 times (2.8 dead per 100 thousand population). Interestingly, the data for Sweden differ from those of the international transport forum, whose statistics show that the social risk level in Sweden was lower in 2017, at 2.51 [24]. The "Strategy for Road Safety in the Russian Federation for 2018–2024" establishes no more than 4 fatalities per 100,000 people as a target social risk indicator [25].

3   Results

The existing lag is due to a number of reasons, the main of which should be attributed to the low discipline of road users (mainly drivers of vehicles), associated, in particular, with shortcomings in law enforcement activities that do not allow to fully implement the principle of inevitability of punishment, as well as the absence or ineffectiveness of effective mechanisms to ensure a satisfactory level of driver training, technical condition vehicles, the state of the road network, and the organization of traffic under the conditions of ensuring road safety. In addition, the insufficiency of existing control and supervisory mechanisms, including for entities engaged in the transportation of passengers and goods by road, as well as shortcomings in the road safety management system, have a negative impact on the state of accidents.

It is necessary to note the most important factor leading to the occurrence of an accident – a violation of the speed limit established by the Road Safety Rules. According to the WHO and the UN Road Safety Fund, the average speed rating is directly related to both the likelihood of a traffic accident and the severity of the consequences of the accident [26]. For example, every 1% increase in average speed leads to a 4% increase in the risk of fatal accidents and a 3% increase in the risk of

a serious accident. The risk of death of pedestrians hit by the front of the car increases rapidly (4.5 times from 50 km/h to 65 km/h). In a side collision between a car and a car, the risk of death for the occupants of the car is 85% at a speed of 65 km/h. For pedestrians, speed is one of the key conditions for survival in the event of a car collision.

In Moscow, as well as throughout Russia, there is one of the highest speed limits with minimal fines and a high non-penalty threshold, which leads to a high mortality rate in road accidents. The minimum fine for speeding 20–40 km/h is 500 rubles, which can be reduced by 50% if paid within 20 days. For 40–60 km/h over the limit, you must pay 1000–1500 rubles (in case of repeated violation – 2000-2500 rubles) [27]. Recently, in Moscow, not only the maximum permitted speed was reduced but also the non-penalty threshold was slightly increased, focusing on the error of the technical means of measuring speed (3–10 km/h).

The Russian experience demonstrates similar traffic conditions to international traffic on regional roads and highways. However, about the speed of traffic in settlements abroad, the practice of imposing a restriction of 50 km/h (and even 40 km h) instead of 60 km h is common. In some areas of the city, the maximum permitted speed is often reduced to 30 km/h. At the same time, the unpunished threshold of 20 km/h stands out noticeably against the background of international experience. According to international experience, such high-speed conditions carry the threat of high injuries, mortality, and frequent accidents, which is reflected in the statistics of the traffic police. In addition, Russia has a milder system of penalties for speeding.

According to the "Strategy for Safety of Road Traffic," deaths in traffic accidents should be reduced by 3.5 times by 2024, which was also enshrined in Vladimir Putin's May Decree. If we take the average version of the Rosstat forecast for the population until 2030, then the absolute number of deaths in road accidents should decrease by 68% by 2024 [28].

4 Discussion

World experience shows that one country in world history has failed to reduce mortality from road traffic accidents (ROAD accidents) by 3.5 times in 7 years, as required by the "Strategy for Safety of Road Traffic." The deadlines set in the May presidential decree until 2024 are too compressed in terms of international experience and the existing mortality rate, as noted. Anastasia Pyankova and Timur Fattakhov, researchers at the HSE Institute of Demography, analyze the problem in their article "Mortality from Road Traffic Accidents in Russia: Approaches to Assessment, Trends and Prospects," published in the scientific journal Demographic Review [29].

According to Russian scientists, the main measures, the introduction of which, will reduce injuries and mortality in road accidents:

- Lowering the non-punishable threshold.
- Multiple increase in fines.

- Introduction of penalty points system.
- Amendments to the legislation providing for criminal responsibility for a significant excess of the speed [30].

The abovementioned measures are the main and basic steps for achieving SDG 3 and SDG 11 by 2030 in Russia. In general, the accident rate in Russia can be reduced only by comprehensive measures. Such as promoting road safety, toughening penalties for violations of traffic in traffic rules, improving the quality of driving schools, improving the quality of the road surface, improving traffic management, and many other measures to achieve a significant reduction in the total number of accidents and the serious consequences of them.

According to the analytic agency AUTOSTAT, the number of units of automotive equipment registered in Russia as of July 1, 2022, there are 53.84 million cars in the country, 84% of which are passenger cars. The previous report on the size of the Russian fleet was published in the spring and considered the number of cars in the country as of January 2022. At that time, 45.5 million passenger cars were registered in the country, which is 76.3% of the total number of automotive equipment (59.6 million units).

Even though motorization in Russia is developing rapidly, in general, the country lags the economically developed countries of Europe. In each case, a traffic accident happens for special circumstances: violation of road safety rules and, including driving under the influence of alcohol, malfunction of a car vehicle, quality of road surfaces, etc. [31].

At the same time, the frequency of accidents is due to statistical patterns. In general, the number of accidents on the road increases along with the increase in the number of vehicles. The growth in the number of cars with insufficient density of roads also leads to such negative factors as congestion, a lack of space, congestion of the road network, loss of own time, the creation of noise background by cars, pollution of the atmosphere with exhaust gases harmful to human health, the problem of ensuring safety on the roads, and others. This indicates that the problem of increasing the statistics of road accidents with the intensive growth of motorization requires much more attention from the authorized authorities, as well as the development of further measures to solve this pressing problem. It is also necessary to consider the European experience in combating road accidents.

Thus, Sweden, which in 1997 adopted by the parliament a program for zero tolerance for deaths on the roads "Vision Zero" fines for speeding were raised to discourage dangerous driving behavior and improve road safety. Nowadays, Sweden has one of the lowest social risks of death in an accident and quite high fines. In areas with a speed limit of 50 km/h, exceeding 1–10 km/h is punishable by a fine of 2000 Swedish krona or 21,000 rubles (at the exchange rate for July 2022), for 16–20 km/h, 2800 SEK; and on roads with a speed limit of more than 50 km/h – 1500 and 2400 SEK, respectively. Current law sets a default speed limit of 50 km/h in urban areas, unless otherwise posted. In some areas, such as around schools and other sensitive locations, the maximum permissible speed limit is 30 km/h.

Table 1 Social risk, speeding, and fines by country

	Russia [25]	UK [26]	Germany [26]	Sweden [26]
Social risk in 2017 (International Transport Forum) [24]	13.21	2,81	3.85	2.51
Social Risk in 2021 [24]	9.7	2.39	3.08	2.02
Speed limit in town (2021)	60 km/h + 20 km/h (non-punishable threshold)	48 km/h	50 km/h	50 km/h
Min. fine (2021)	500 rub (7 euro) (+50% discount when paid within 20 days)	100 pounds	20 euro (out of town)	1500 kr (out of town) (145 euro)

The refusal of any non-administered thresholds for speeding is declared, but the error of the fixation devices is set at 3 km/h. Thanks to this program, for 20 years Sweden managed to reduce mortality on the roads by three times [32].

In the UK, violation of the speed limit for a value of up to 24 km/h is punishable by a minimum fine of 100 pounds and the accrual of 3 penalty points. The amount of the fine is determined in court and depends on the circumstances of the offense and on the amount of income of the offender. During the trial, the offender usually receives a driving ban for up to 56 days. Receiving 12 penalty points in 3 years results in the cancellation of the right to drive a vehicle.

The non-punishable threshold is 10% of the set speed +3.2 km/h (to consider the error of the speedometer). For example, in an area with a maximum permitted speed of 48 km/h, you can move with impunity at a speed of 56 km/h, and the non-punishable threshold is 8 km/h.

The minimum fine for violation of the speed limit in Germany is 20 euros. It can be obtained by exceeding the speed limit outside the city by 10 km/h. In the city, for exceeding 10 km/h, you will have to pay 30 euros; for 11–15 km/h, 50 euros; and for 16–20 km/h – 70 euros. The system of scoring points for traffic offenses in Germany is designed in such a way that when reaching 8 points, the driver loses the right to drive a vehicle, and you can retake the exam in 6 months. The non-punishable threshold is 3 km/h in zones with a maximum allowed speed of up to 100 km/h, 3% of the established speed – in zones with a limit of more than 100 km/h (see Table 1).

5   Conclusion

From the point of view of Russian scientists, in order achieve to SDG 3 and SDG 11 by 2030, drastic steps, such as lowering speed limits and increasing fines, must be taken. It is necessary to improve the legal framework, methods of state management of road transport, and the system organization of road traffic in general [33]. To improve road safety in general, it is necessary to take comprehensive measures for

the development of road transport infrastructure, rational integrated transport and urban planning, the operational organization of road construction, and the introduction of modern urban traffic management systems that ensure equal access of road users to available resources and main road transport networks [34].

Great importance is attached to the problem of Russia's interaction in the process of solving the problem of road safety with other countries. Russia is a party to a number of international agreements, including the 1949 Convention on Road Traffic, the 1968 Convention on Road Traffic, the 1968 Convention on Road Signs and Signals, the 1958 Agreement Concerning the Adoption of Harmonized United Nations Technical Regulations, the 1997 Agreement Concerning the Adoption of Uniform Conditions for Periodical Technical Inspections of Wheeled Vehicles, and the 1957 Agreement concerning the International Carriage of Dangerous Goods by Road. However, Russia has not appeared in the annual UN reviews of global road safety since 2020 [35]. Does this mean that in the context of political tensions, global road safety does not concern all countries? Russia is visited by millions of tourists from various countries, and to ensure global road safety, it is necessary to ensure a comprehensive approach to the analysis of statistical data and issues of international cooperation on the problem of road safety. On the other hand, the indicators of changes in statistics in the field of road accidents in developing countries do not go in comparison with the indicators in developed countries for objective reasons, including those related to import substitution of automobile products, the quality of roads, insufficient education of drivers, and pedestrians in the field of road safety.

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Role of European Non-governmental Organizations in Addressing European Migration Crisis

Nikita Ivannikov and Uliana Shmonova

Abstract Migration issues are dominating current debates at all levels, European migration crisis especially, as one of the most recent and acute events. As the activities of institutions of civil society grow in the modern world, deeds of non-governmental organizations are definitely worth studying no less than actions of the states themselves. The article will look at the role of non-governmental organizations in the European Union and their impact on shaping the future agenda for migration and asylum issues, as well as their input in common efforts while dealing with migration issues. The article is a pilot analysis of such trends and aims at considering the extent of an impact NGOs can exert on a member state and at the EU level. The possibility of conducting long-term and established practices beyond the emergency phase is also a peculiar issue of the article. The results of the research are presented in the article as it was established that cooperation between analytical centers based on NGO and a state may prove itself lucrative.

Keywords Migration · European Union · Non-governmental organizations · Analytical centers

1 Introduction

It is a well-known fact that in today's world migration issues arouse a lot of international debate and concern among both governmental groups and civil community. Remarkably, from 2015 on, millions of individuals have been forced to flee, escaping wars, revolutions, political instability, and the effects of organized criminal activities in the Middle East or African countries. Thus, in the early 2010s, due to

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the aggravation of the situation in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), the flows of migrants and refugees to Europe increased. Their sharp increase by the middle of the decade led to the acute migration crisis of the European Union (EU), which became a serious challenge for the EU member states.

Civil society organizations, and particularly the more structured non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or, as they also may be called, civil society organizations (CSOs), have played a pivotal role over the years in the assistance of migrants at all levels. It is true in fact that an investigation of their roles may appear quite repetitive. However, as prominent scholars in the field have observed, civil society activities with respect to service provision have not yet been adequately explored at the local level and neither from a more comparative angle [1: 113]. As far as the first is concerned, scholars have observed that civil society has responded in very different ways, producing various forms of support, aid, and supply of essential services. Thus, civil society organizations more or less openly play a role in the support of immigrants who live in legal ambiguity or, in other cases, in protesting against their admission and settlement.

Another aspect concerns the limitations that NGOs themselves may confront and the condition in which they are allowed to operate. Local authorities have to get in line with domestic policy which sometimes may impede effectiveness of adaptation process for migrants. These violations may influence political consciousness of local who, therefore, may lose faith in state institutions which leads to the weakening of moral authority of the latter. This may create additional activity field for NGOs located in such problematic areas [16].

NGOs in Europe are pretty experienced in regard to the legal basis of their work, so they have an established network of different institutions, which enhance their efficiency. In order to increase the level of information and participation among non-governmental actors working on the national level, several initiatives have been promoted within the specific field of European migration policies. However, recently it was demonstrated that NGOs do not seem to be sufficiently informed about the European dimension of migration policies, dealing with poor access to information and statistics [18: 472].

2   Objectives

The impact of NGOs on EU policies is generally difficult to measure. It is especially complicated to do that regarding the issue of migration processes, and one of the reasons for that is the strong role of state while addressing such issues. NGOs are fairly restricted to very specific boundaries in their work, which forces them to create different approaches to existing conditions or shifting focus regarding the objective of their efforts. So to give an initial assessment of their role in addressing migration crisis with special focus on considering their capabilities of assisting nation-states, rather than pursuing their own agendas, is the objective of the article.

3 Materials and Methods

This article is based on existing research on the activities of European NGOs dedicated to solving the problems of the migration crisis, as well as literature on the peculiarities of the activities of such organizations in the European Union. We also studied selected reports on the activities of organizations, information on the legal field of NGOs' activities to assist migrants, and materials on the results of the work of think tanks that represent NGOs. The theoretical framework of the article is to consider the possible involvement of think tanks in policy- and decision-making processes from what may be presumed as a liberal view as it involves addition of non-state structures to the activities, which results may lay in the area primarily being shaped by states' actions. Several scientific methods were used, such as analysis while describing some of the cases was being discussed regarding inclusion of think tanks in typically state activities; synthesis of the material gathered to cover the role of such expert centers researched by different scholars; and inductive method for clarifying the role of think tanks and NGOs in European policy.

4 Research and Discussion

Now it seems reasonable to review several cases which are to illustrate how NGOs did address problematic situations during migration crisis and farther illustrate typical activities of such representatives of European array of NGOs that may be qualified as thin tanks or analytical centers while interacting with the state.

First of there may be the case of their work in Tunisia and Egypt in this regard, as in both of these states organizations were active, but their activities were not similar all the way.

If we are to talk about Tunisia, it should be mentioned that before 2011, when a revolution occurred there, presented NGOs could not name institutions of civil society at any extent as they were fully controlled by ruling regime; only Red Crescent (RC) and United Nations International organization for Migration (IOM) were managing migration issues. Though IOM is not an NGO, it is important to mention it, as it is a point at which many NGOs assist and work together with nation-states via specific platform. And in Tunisia while RC may be assessed as a loyalist organization, IOM carried out projects mostly sponsored by EU member states [3: 23].

After the revolution there was a rapid growth not only in a number of local CSOs but also European NGOs involved in assistance toward migrants. Simultaneously, a lot of people fled to Tunisia (or using it as a transit hub for future movement) from Libya, and NGOs did a great deal to make that happen [4: 21].

Vice versa, in Egypt before the uprising the quantity of local NGOs and European NGOs represented was quite great and become worse after the revolution, as the number of NGOs presented in the country significantly decreased during the tenure of Mursi's successor. Many of them were shut down, and preemptive legal strikes

were blown against emergence of new ones and "intrusions" of foreign, European as well. These CSOs may be understood by regime as hostile, therefore forbidden [2: 64].

This is an interesting comparison which shows how people's uprising may lead to drastically different results and changes in ways of how the regime treats civil society and public masses, which brought it to power [8]. Also, it is clear that when interacting with a state NGOs should not feel secure and always have only one good scenario in mind, as their activities may easily be claimed illegal, hostile, and counterproductive – even in the case of newly elected public authorities.

Second case to be considered is the activities of NGOs regarding rescuing operations in the Mediterranean in the times of crisis. The immediate impetus for the activation of NGOs was the termination of the operation "Our Sea" conducted by the Italian authorities in 2014, which led to an increase in the number of dead refugees. Following this, more than a decade of NGOs have launched maritime search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean Sea [7: 246]. Besides, a huge contribution to the rescue of people here was made by The Migrant Offshore Aid Station (MOAS), Doctors Without Borders (fr. Médecins sans Frontières, MSF), Sea-Watch (Eng. "Sea Guard"), Sea-Eye (Eng. "Marine Observer"), LifeBoat Project (Eng. The Rescue Boat Project), Proactiva Open Arms (Eng. "Proactive"), SOS-Méditerranée (fr. for "SOS-Mediterranean"), Jugend Rettet (German. "Youth Rescuers"), Boat Refugee Foundation (Eng. Organization "Rescue boat for migrants"), and Save the Children [22: 80].

In 2015 NGOs, concentrating in the area north of Libya's territorial waters and west of Tripoli, conducted search and rescue operations between May and October. Luckily, they managed to save almost 9000 people [16]. On December 23, 2015, another MOAS vessel "Rescuer" started a new mission in the Aegean Sea, which helped about 2000 migrants and lasted until April 2016, when, as a result of the signing of an agreement between the European Union and Turkey, the flow of refugees through the Aegean Sea decreased. In 2016, the MOAS organization began to cooperate with the Italian Red Cross and saved more than 20,000 people in the Central Mediterranean [20: 83]. Moreover, it is significant to mention that the model of migrant rescue used by MOAS turned out to be effective and viable (at least at the initial stage). It was supported by both national governments and civil society. As E. Cuzumano noted, several non-governmental organizations engaged in search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean Sea used a similar model [17].

Another organization that began to conduct search and rescue operations in the Mediterranean is Doctors Without Borders (MSF). In 2015, three MSF offices (in Amsterdam, Barcelona, Brussels) began to engage in search operations. To rescue migrants and refugees in the Mediterranean, the vessels "Dignity-1" and "Bourbon Argos" were involved [6: 59].

Another NGO that conducted search and rescue operations is the German organization Sea-Watch. It started its activity in May 2015 on an old fishing vessel, crewed by volunteers. According to the Sea-Watch report itself, in the period from 2015 to 2018, she took part in the rescue of more than 37,000 people in the Mediterranean Sea [5]. Unlike MOAS and MSF, Sea-Watch did not disembark

migrants in Italian ports for a long time. Search and rescue operations in the Southern Mediterranean were aimed only at patrolling international waters off the western Libyan coast [13].

Besides, Sea-Eye, Jugend Rettet, and The LifeBoat Project are another NGOs that launched search and rescue operations in 2016, conducting missions with the participation of volunteers, locating boats in distress, and providing life jackets, drinking water, and medical assistance to those in need before the arrival of a larger boat transporting migrants to land. Thus, during the first mission, it was possible to save more than 1000 migrants [14].

It is impossible not to mention the contribution of EPAM (European NGO Platform on Asylum and Migration), the meeting place of European non-governmental organizations and networks seeking to contribute to the development of asylum and migration policy in the European Union. It is interested in providing safer and regular routes to Europe for refugees and migrants from all over the world, and the insurance of the rights and specific needs of all vulnerable groups are taken into consideration in all migration policies at the international level. Additionally, EPAM is involved in seeking cooperation between European and African governments in managing inter-regional migration difficulties and instability [1: 107].

However, it also should be mentioned that throughout times of their activities, several NGOs broke domestic laws of different countries. As we may draw conclusion from the previous case, that may lead to an end of NGOs' work if they trespass legal borders in a very self-conscious manner [10]. Sometimes, though the effort may be for good reason and can be estimated to be good, humane, and even valiant, it may lead to unwanted consequences, both from legal and moral sides of the issue.

There is a third way, more safe, cooperative, and amicable way to influence the situation – cooperating with the authorities than acting on your own. Here we can see it on the example of EU NGOs working together with IOM. It is interesting to examine the way how different European NGOs assist IOM, the leading international organization on migration issues, in various components of temporary and permanent resettlement or return programs of migrants, cultural orientation, tracing and family reunification, financial assistance, transit assistance, and post-movement follow-up services. Particularly, IOM and NGOs collaborate on a broad variety of migration management issues globally. Together, they cooperate in awareness-raising among potential migrants and capacity-building for governmental institutions in counter-trafficking. Additionally, IOM is working with NGOs in pre-departure, transportation, and post-arrival of migrants. On top of that, IOM coordinates with NGOs to provide information dissemination, counselling, medical assistance, transport, accommodation, and reintegration. NGOs also facilitate return assistance for migrants in an irregular situation and other migrants, such as unsuccessful asylum seekers, trafficked migrants, and qualified nationals [22: 121].

Furthermore, NGOs and IOM work together in organizing or carrying out workshops, seminars, and information meetings and campaigns directed at increasing awareness of the human rights of migrants. Besides, NGOs assist IOM in various components of temporary and permanent resettlement or return programs of migrants to their countries of origin, e.g., cultural orientation, tracing and family

reunification, sponsorship, transit assistance, and post-movement follow-up services [9]. These and the others are the paramount functions of European NGOs that highlight their increasing role while tackling the most crucial migration issues.

One of the most peculiar and sophisticated ways of working with a state and operating more via date rather than taking direct actions is the work of European non-governmental analytical centers, also known as think tanks. As a rule, leading think tanks analyze problems in a global context, explore world experience, and identify the latest trends in the economy, politics, and social sphere. Their final intellectual product may be represented as articles, reports, graphic materials, and maps – any kind of intellectual tool which can be used as within decision-making process. However, recent events and crisis consequences have successfully demonstrated that think tanks are also able to conduct rescue operations for fleeing individuals [15], providing humanitarian and legislative assistance and bringing knowledge and ideas into real actions.

Talking about the role of EU non-governmental think tanks in addressing migration crisis, it can be said that truly they can be a valid and valued source of information [13: 255], and many of key decisions on migration policy really correlate with their recommendations, whether they were made regarding them or not [23].

However, there are problems in the relations between the authorities and experts: in some cases, the think tanks may become heavily dependent on the state and instead of doing their jobs will just enforce interest of their political counterparts, and in others, the different understanding of the essence of the problem may lead to serious controversies between potential partners [21].

But it seems like there is a possibility for mutual endorsement and beneficial cooperation between these two parties [11]. In Europe, in principle, reasonably effective support mechanism can be created, provided that politicians and think tank experts come to the conclusion about the benefits of close working contacts.

However, the problem of relations between the state and NGOs is still present. In some cases such centers may heavily depend on authorities and protect their interest in favor of reality; in other cases it may contribute to an existing gap between two sides [19]. And the third option is still present that such NGO activity may simply be ignored due to various reasons, which will lead to demise of the latter [14: 81].

5   Results

Considering everything mentioned above, it can be argued that European analytical centers are one of the best and safest way for an NGO to function. At least it constitutes no direct provocations, and since no physical actions were performed, there is less possibility of being pursued or banned, especially if you work directly with the authorities, as it definitely lets NGOs stay within legal boundaries, at the same time making an impact, though it also should be said that their opinion sometimes is put aside for the sake of state's own agenda or for a variety of other different reasons. Decision-making figures and institutions sometimes fairly, sometimes not, view

data provided by these think tanks as something unequal to their efforts or unreliable [12]. This may lead to a serious loss of credibility of such centers as at many times no direct implementation of their activities is being conducted.

But still at first view, the picture looks optimistic in regard to future cooperation between these potential partners. The needed mechanism of cooperation may be created, if the state really wants to exercise democracy and ideas of civil society giving their input to reach the common goal, and both sides may benefit from such connection. Ideologically, from a liberal point view, that may be a representation of Immanuel Kant's idea about monarch having a scholar or philosopher as a consultant – that would be a tremendous achievement for liberal democracy.

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Part VI
Sustainable Development

Approaches to "Environmental Security" in the Theory of International Relations

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Abstract Security issues and the place of environmental agenda in it are still among the most controversial. The concept of "environmental security" has passed through several stages of development and formation due to the circumstances in the international arena. The twentieth century has become a significant period in the conceptualization of "environmental security": new, non-traditional threats have emerged and, as a consequence, the need to react and adapt to them. A new wave of interest in environmental issues leads to a rethinking of environmental security in the world policy, the development of programs and the institutionalization of "green" movements. The article contains an analysis of the changing of the concept of "environmental security," as well as scientific approaches to its study. The twenty-first century is less theoretically structured, but individual approaches to "environmental security" have played a role in filling the concept under study. As a result of the study, the authors draw conclusions about the existence of various interpretations of environmental security, largely depending on the subject and the reference object of its ensuring.

Keywords Environmental security · Securitization · Non-traditional threats

1 Introduction

The diversity of the approaches to "security" as well as the place of the environmental protection in it produced a great discussion in the theory of international relations (IR) and political science.

The idea of this article is to distinguish the development of the concept of "environmental security" and show the progress of various ideas. With the aim to make a

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disclosure on the mentioned idea, the study is divided into two methodological and two substantial parts. The task of the second part is to discover the correlation between the environmental agenda in world policy and the formation of the theory of "environmental security," and the third part of the study aimed to analyze modern approaches to "environmental security."

A. Wolfers [1], H. Morgenthau [2], and K. Waltz [3] completed an important part in the creation of the content of the term "security" in the realist paradigm, presenting a common understanding of "security" and the position of the state as the main actor of the political arena. B. Buzan, J. de Wilde, and O. Waver [4] (Copenhagen School of IR) expanded the meaning of "security" and formed a new vision of threats through the securitization theory.

This work is conceptually based on the securitization theory proposed by the mentioned trio of scientists. The "securitization process" involves politicization of the any bothering issue and its intussusception as a security threat. Due to the securitization of environmental issues, scientists managed to expand the understanding of security and subsequently to highlight environmental security as a separate aspect of the policy of states, international organizations, and various transnational actors in international relations. This work is adhered to the understanding of "environmental security."

The authors use the term "reference object" in the meaning developed by the representatives of the securitization theory, B. Buzan, J. de Wilde, and O. Wæver. They defined the reference object as: it is "someone who is threatened due to certain conditions and circumstances" [4].

In this work, a comparative method was used to collate attitudes of various IR theoretics to the evaluation of environmental security. The improvement of the understanding of "environmental security" in the IR theory was shown with the help of historical analysis.

2 Environmental Agenda and Theoretical Approaches to the Problem of "Environmental Security" in the Twentieth Century

The twentieth century has become a fundamentally new stage in the theoretical understanding of the idea of "security." Both classical IR theories and particular ones that became widespread nearby the end of the reviewed period contributed to its evolution. Supporters of political realism considered the state to be the only reference object of security [2]; for a long time, their views were focused only on such concepts as military threat, balance of power, and military alliances [3]. In contrast to the previous ones, supporters of liberal institutionalism pointed to the existence of global threats, the key role in solving which could be played by international institutions and international regimes [5]. A common feature of traditional theoretical approaches was that they considered the state to be the sole "object" and

"subject" of "security." The merit of critical approaches was the identification of the individual as a security subject. Moreover, the idea of "human security" is centered around the protection of his rights, health, and his environment.

At the same time, in the works of representatives of various non-classical IR approaches, the concept of security is being revised by expanding (accumulation new points) and extending [6] (emphasis on multilevel and multi-personality) which includes the ecological issue in the discourse of traditional trends of international political thought.

The civic interest to the environmental agenda was drawn after the second part of the twentieth century. Globalization made it necessary to identify and respond to new threats, which as a reference object meant not only states but also societies, individuals, ecosystems, etc. By virtue of the attitudes of representatives of think tanks [7], non-governmental organizations, scientists [8–10], and the press [11], the topic attracted the attention of politicians [12, 13] and was included in the political agenda in influential countries in the international arena. Under the aegis of the United Nations, several major conferences were held in Stockholm (1972), Rio de Janeiro (1992, 2012), and Johannesburg (2002), dedicated to certain issues of environmental protection, a specific meeting of the General Assembly of UN in New York (1997), etc.; in 1972 the UN Environment program was established. There is a securitization of the environmental problem, that is, its "elevation to the rank of an existential threat" [4].

One of the catalysts of this process was changes in the world policy – the failure of the bipolar system, the breakdown of the socialist bloc, and the emergence of new international actors, including those outside sovereignty. Scientific research and reports of international organizations, which can be divided into several groups, have contributed to the identification of environmental problems as foreign policy. The research and work of the first group focused on the influence of environmental factors on the international agenda of severe countries: according to researchers, the shortage of natural [14], especially water [15], resources, overpopulation of the planet, global warming, and extreme weather conditions [16] become threats to national security [11], and consequently, they influence the emergence of international conflicts. Such studies established a correlation between environmental and national security.

These studies have caused a new round of interest in the environmental problem at the international level; after their emergence, several reports of the UN and its specialized agencies and programs are published, which are important for understanding the "reference object" of environmental security [17]. The reports were devoted to the impact of the environment on human health: the impact of ozone depletion on the spread of cancer and the way extreme weather conditions affect the spread of diseases [18]. In 1994 UN Development Program performed a report with a fundamentally new definition of environmental security emerging, in which the main theses are "freedom and protection from threats of environmental pollution" [17] and "protection from environmental disasters" [17].

On the other hand, the conceptualization of the "reference object" of "environmental security" continues to expand. J. Barnett drew attention to the obsolescence

of the idea of "environmental security" as part of the state, since such a view shifts the emphasis and does not allow leveling risks for humans or solving environmental problems [19]. A. Harrell pointed out that the environmental problem goes beyond national security, and the policy of one state as an international actor is not enough to ensure it [20].

Nature protection and human protection from environmental threats are interrelated through the concepts of "ecosystem," "ecosystem approach," and "environmental security." According to the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992), the ecosystem is "a dynamic complex of communities of plants, animals and microorganisms, as well as their inanimate environment, interacting as a single functional whole" [21]. This explanation contains the idea that a person is part of an ecosystem, while if we consider the biosphere as a single ecosystem, then such environmental security becomes global. This is not the only possible interpretation of the concept, but most often the definitions of environmental security are centered around measures and rules to prevent environmental threats of various kinds.

Securitization of the environmental problem was caused both by changes in the international arena and the widespread radicalism of the green agenda in the twentieth century, which originated in the wake of youth riots in the 1960s and 1970s. The emergence of radical environmental movements has prompted the scientific community to consider this phenomenon from the position of a new, non-traditional threat to environmental security. 1987 was marked by the beginning of a debate between representatives of two main approaches to radical environmentalism – the "social ecology" of M. Bookchin and "deep ecology" (or "super ecology") by A. Naess [22]. Scientists shifted their focus from traditional questions about the relationship between man and nature and methods and tools for solving environmental problems: deep ecology advocated political activism with revolutionary tools, while social ecology [23] saw the future behind the formation of ecological consciousness.

The aspiration to resolve environmental issues as soon as possible, to fundamental changes in society and the desire to obtain security, emanating from the population of various states, accelerated the transformation of the environmental movement and its institutionalization in such non-governmental environmental organizations, for example, Greenpeace, and also strengthened their tools of struggle for many years. The radical methods laid down in the basis of most of the "green" movements and, as a result, non-governmental environmental organizations are still considered one of the most effective among both direct activists and some representatives of the scientific community. Along with the growing importance of environmental organizations in the role of global figures in the international political arena, a fundamentally new type of relations of political actors is emerging, capable of expanding and existing in parallel with interstate relations and the activities of transnational corporations [24]. In this context, the excessive involvement of ecological problems in the political agenda, as well as radical mechanisms to combat problems, has turned into a new threat to environmental security, which requires constant monitoring.

3   Modern View of the Environmental Security

Environmental security issues in the twenty-first century have become part of world politics through regional [25] and even local level [26]. Nevertheless, the modern approach to understanding the seriousness of threats and challenges in the sphere of environment protection has been formed over a long process, passing from the field of politicization of the issue to its securitization. Kazakh researchers distinguish four steps of the development of the conception of "environmental security": "the revision of the concept of security after the end of the cold war and the connection of environmental problems with security," "establishment of empirical relationships between the environment and security," "deepening and theoretical expansion of the concept," and "the concept of balance" [27].

The last stage takes place against the background of the final formation of environmental problems as global, threatening the development of the world community [28]. Chronologically, we can link these changes with the beginning of the new millennium when environmental problems headed to the change of the complete model of human development. It should be stated that the current world policy was not ready to face with ecological risks and hazards. There was a necessity to explore a new way of development. And in this context, there is a need today to understand what a priority in the formation of approaches to "environmental security" is. In modern world, issues of interaction between countries and the problem of resources have come to the fore. Without the cooperation of states and building, in some way, an ecological balance at the global level, it is impossible to offer a solution to environmental security problems. Since environmental problems depend largely on technical growth and the introduction of technological solutions, reforms and transformations are required from states, as well as the political will to implement environmental protection. Nevertheless, the difference in approaches and understanding of environmental security often makes it difficult to find consensus on this issue.

German scientists G. Zurlini and F. Muller believe that the subjects of researching concept consist of severe parts – "complex adaptive systems with two main components – social, characterized by human intention, and ecological, arising without intention; they have historically interacted, and society strongly determines the landscape-ecological components of such systems" [29]. Researcher Elizabeth Lio Rosvold also emphasizes that "the idea that the environment can negatively affect human security is not new" [30]. J. Barnett proposes to reduce the variety of meanings of the concept of "environmental security" to six main interpretations: "Firstly… as the impact of human activity on the environment. Secondly… as the impact of the military–industrial complex, including war, on the environment. Thirdly, environmental change can be viewed as a security problem common to all States, therefore requiring collective action. Fourth, environmental change can be viewed as a threat to national security. Fifth, environmental change has been identified as a possible cause of violent conflict. Sixth, environmental change can be viewed as a threat to human security. The following discussion focuses only on the

last three of these interpretations, as they were the most prominent in terms of research and their impact on politics" [31].

As for the Russian modern approach at the state level, it could be pointed that we are primarily talking about national security. Environmental sustainability is more like its component [32]. But nevertheless, in the scientific Russian discourse, we would like to highlight two main directions in the formation of approaches to the problem, which, on the one hand, are opposed to each other and, on the other hand, complement each other. This is, firstly, the protection of a person from harmful environmental changes and, secondly, the safeguard of the environment from the person. But in both cases, it is quite obvious that the environmental agenda today is a top-of-mind issue and the next task for humanity is not only to understand and accept this fact but also to agree on a unified approach to "environmental security" at the worldwide stage.

4   Conclusions

Analysis of the political and international agenda of the twentieth century has shown that it significantly influenced the formation and modern content of the idea of "environmental security."

The revision of views on security in general, caused by the international agenda, led to the securitization of the ecological issue and, across period, and to the allotment of "environmental security" into a separate type of policy. Due to the expansion of the conceptualizing of the "reference object" of environmental security, the authors were able to identify three types of "environmental security" – national (the state is a reference object and a policy-forming actor capable of ensuring security); human security (the object of protection is a person); and the security of natural systems.

The analysis of modern approaches to "environmental security" has shown that the interpretation of the notion of "environmental security" depends on the status of the actor of international relations, which is the subject of security. For the main international actors – states – environmental security, as a rule, remains part of national security. For example, this approach is typical for the Russian Federation and some CIS member states. International organizations more often associate environmental security with environmental protection, sustainable development, and the need to solve global problems and adapt to their consequences through international cooperation. For them reference object of environmental security is the environment and man as part of it. This position is generally held by the UN and the EU. At the same time, some private participants in international relations, seeing the environment as a reference object, emphasize the anthropogenic nature of threats and problems that need to be addressed. This view is distinguished by supporters of some environmental movements and influential individuals (as actors in international relations).

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Russian Attitude to Sustainable Development Strategy: System Factors of Pro-ecological Behavior

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Abstract The paper deals with topical aspects of the sustainable development strategy related to the relationship dynamics in hybrid socio-natural and technological environments. In this regard, the study of sustainable development factors goes beyond the natural and geographical sciences, as it requires an interdisciplinary integration of knowledge. The authors consider the systemic factors of sustainable development and analyze the evaluations for ecological situation in 2019–2021 in the Russian regions. The paper objectives are related to the identification of the conditions for the eco-consciousness formation among the people as a non-economic factor of Russian sustainable development. The study is based on an interdisciplinary system paradigm combined with actor-network theory in sociology. In the analysis of the ecological situation assessments in the regions, the authors used statistical data from the reports of the Russian Public Opinion Research Center (VCIOM). The identification of pro-ecological behavior stereotypes in the conditions of a modern city was based on the survey data of student youth. On this base, authors emphasize the factors that cause ecological concern of Russian citizens and motivate their inclusion in environmental practices. The conclusion notes that Russian citizens are sufficiently informed about the state of the ecological situation in their region and many apply environmental practices in everyday life. But on the question the formation of ecological consciousness is considered the most effective fine and other measures of administrative control.

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1 Introduction

Analysis of the factors of sustainable development of human civilization on Earth in the new reality is an urgent task of modern science. Features of the technological development of infrastructure in modern cities create new ecological problems associated with traffic flows, pollution of the environment, and violation of the human life biological rhythms. The phenomenology of the modern world is determined by the dynamics of virtual information and communication systems. The movement of human flows depends on the infrastructure of the transport network, which relies on smart technologies in management, the specifics of mobile communications, and the Internet. The risk to the safety of human life and society is enhanced by the increasing introduction of alienated, abstract technological structures, creating a specific communication infrastructure in everyday life and activities [1]. J. Urry characterizes the structures of the new reality and emphasizes the socio-economic conditions and digital environments of the human life world [2]. To analyze the formation of socio-digital natural realities of the hybrid type, the possibilities of their sustainable development, interdisciplinary attitudes, and theories are in demand. Thus, the actor-network theory emphasizes the mutual influence of social, technical, and natural aspects in forecasting the sustainable development of civilization, taking into account the qualitatively different functionality of artificial and hybrid agents of social and natural action that are built into the global ecosystem [3].

Identifying and maintaining the life-sustaining potential of human civilization on Earth is a central issue of sustainable development strategy. The life-sustaining potential of the physical and biological survival of humanity as a genus or population has always existed as an objective condition of life. It is this potential that determines the possible limits of human existence in the conditions of the Earth. The role of the life-sustaining potential for the development and preservation of mankind was most clearly pointed out in the nineteenth century by Malthus, who specified the problem of survival in numerical terms, showing the discrepancy between the growth of food and the growth of the world's population. In the twentieth century, the potential for a sustainable existence of human civilization was correlated not only with the volume of food but also with the technology of their production. Importantly, any method of obtaining or producing food is energy-intensive and ultimately dependent on the planet's energy resources. The Malthus line was continued by the Club of Rome, predicting in its reports the limits of demographic growth. By the end of the twentieth century, the concept of sustainable development was emerging, which emphasizes that the life-sustaining potential of modern civilization is determined by the energy resources of the biosphere. The limits of human survival are correlated with the reserves of non-renewable energy sources and water. The technosphere and its products in the form of a digital culture are functionally tied to the stable existence of society in the conditions of the biosphere unity of the Earth. In this regard, it is possible to consider the negative consequences of anthropological pressure on natural ecosystems, including regional

landscapes and trophic chains that determine the biotic cycle in a particular natural ecosystem [4].

A global ecosystem is formed on the basis of the preservation of stable dynamics of its constituent elementary units as smaller ecosystems. The main parameters of its preservation are manifested in the consistency of the constituent structures. The requirement of consistency for the internal elements of the ecosystem is perceived as a macro-condition for their existence and self-organization. The interconnection of global systems in the human environment involves the consistent inclusion in the natural ecosystem of the Earth of the sociosphere, which in turn includes the materially objective environment of life (as the technosphere) and then the socio-cultural environment, mainly semantic. Individual being and specific communities are realized within this space of life, so they are forced to adapt their life cycles to the criteria of functional coherence of global systems in the habitat. New realities related to the functional coherence of systems include in the concept of sustainable development the problems of forming new individual and social forms of behavior motivated by awareness of environmental problems in the region and the global world [5].

Our aim is to examine perspective of the ecosystem approach in the analysis of modern civilization problems, to highlight the role of non-economic aspects of the sustainable development strategy, and to identify the factors of the pro-ecological behavior formation based on the assessments of the ecological situation by Russian citizens (according to the VCIOM survey in 2019, 2020, and 2021) and assessments of the pro-ecological motivation of youth behavior (according to a survey of SPbPU students).

2 Literature Review

The formation of the ecosystem paradigm of sustainable development in modern science and philosophy is associated with dilemmas that have highlighted the complexity of the analysis of preservation resources for the global world. The basic attitude of this paradigm highlights the fact that the existence and sustainable development of human civilization on Earth are determined by the balance of potentials for the renewal of natural ecosystems and social priorities for the development of the global world (technological and economic) [6]. The conceptual apparatus of the ecosystem approach is formed in the interdisciplinary field of cognition on the basis of the expansion of the content of the concept of ecosystem, which correlates not only with biota in the form of communities of plants, animals, and microorganisms interacting as a whole in an environment limited by landscape and climatic conditions. In broad terms, the concept of an *ecosystem* does not specify the exactly spatial boundaries for really system and can be attributed to a functioning unit of any scale. Modern authors emphasize the content expansion of ecosystem according to various system-forming features, among which the habitat specifics, the mechanism of interconnection, the method of activity, and the means of interaction are highlighted [7].

The authors substantiate a new class of socio-economic ecosystems, which are characterized by multidimensionality and complexity of development under the influence of ongoing changes in the environment.

The establishment of the ecosystem approach in the analysis of sustainable development resources is characterized by the recognition of the complex dynamics of ecosystem, which includes not only the natural and technological environment but also the consciousness and behavior of people [8].

The factors in the formation of eco-consciousness, which motivates responsible environmental management in people's behavior, are connected with the spread of the moral economics ideas, which defines ethical standards as the main regulators of the economic system instead of profit. Authors from the PRC, exploring the impact of the compatibility of political and financial incentives on the environmental management of local governments at different stages, emphasize that environmental indicators have consistently been an important political incentive for promotion for officials, especially after 2007. Local governments sacrifice certain rates of economic growth – in other words, local budget revenues – and take action under the new performance appraisal system, which mainly focuses on assessing environmental protection through strategic behavior [9].

Pro-environmental behavior is characterized by actions aimed at reducing harm to the environment or its restoration [10]. Such actions include saving natural resources, saving electricity as a result of installing "smart" meters; rational management of household waste (separate garbage collection); refusal to use personal transport; and the purchase of energy-efficient equipment [11].

In modern literature, the idea of responsible consumption aimed at minimizing negative environmental consequences is popular, as well as the concept of moral economy [12], according to which ethical standards should act as the main regulators of the economic system [13]. Responsible consumption assumes as a priority the pro-ecological motivation of actions in society, for example, orientation toward "green" consumption, environmentally conscious consumption [14], and environmentally responsible consumption [15].

An important factor in the sustainable development of civilization at the modern level of technology is the acceptance by the population of environmental values and attitudes as a priority motivation for everyday actions [16]. Modern psychological research notes that efforts in this direction have led to an increase in people's acceptance of environmental values but are very limited in everyday practice [17]. Thus, the adoption of priorities for pro-ecological behavior, in particular, is hampered by the perception of global climate change as a very distant possibility of catastrophe in time.

3   Methods and Materials

Issues of sustainable development strategy traditionally belong to the field of ecology, the subject of which is the functional interaction of living organisms in the natural habitat. In the modern world, environmental problems go beyond the natural

and geographical sciences and require a philosophical understanding of the dynamics of global development in order to prevent a catastrophe with tragic consequences for people. Ideas about the need to move to a sustainable development strategy are beginning to develop. The ecosystem approach orients the analysis of global and regional processes to the co-evolution of systems and environments and acts as a conceptual model for predicting measures to prevent the threat of an environmental catastrophe.

Analysis of human living conditions in the new reality involves the consideration of various classes of ecosystems, including the inclusion of socio-economic systems at different levels, ranging from the macro-level (national) to the meso- (regional, sectorial, municipal) and the micro-level (holdings and enterprises), and obliges to add a list of essential features. The ecosystem approach to the development of territories is a strategy for analyzing and forecasting socio-ecological and economic conditions, which allows you to plan the adaptation of economic entities to changes in the external environment and the development of cooperation. The organization of seamless interaction between management structures, users of resources (business), and end users through digital services and network forms of interconnections is especially relevant [18].

An important non-economic factor of sustainable development is the formation of environmental consciousness among the population of the Earth and the education of new stereotypes of behavior in everyday life. In an empirical study of the pro-environmental motivation of behavior, the authors used forms of an online survey of social network users in the amount of 101 people and a random sampling method. Respondents filled out a Google form, and the link was placed on the user's page. The survey was attended by representatives of different age groups of 18–24 years, 85%, and 25–34, 15%. Of these, 74% are women, and 26% are men. The study analyzed the problem of youth's attitude to environmental practices in the city and their involvement in these practices and motives. In the analysis of young people's awareness of environmental practices, the method of focus groups was used among SPbPU students studying in the direction of training "Advertising and Public Relations."

4   Results

To the question asked during the focus group "What do you associate with environmental practices?", the respondents gave the following answers: useful habits that help preserve nature; actions that help preserve the environment; measures to maintain the environment; and points of processing glass and other household waste (Table 1).

The question about the respondents' awareness of environmental practices gave the following range of answers; they highlighted:

- Separate waste collection: 99%

Table 1 Answers to the question on what practices young people use

Environmental practices	Proportion of those who apply the practice (%)
Saving resources (turning off the water when brushing my teeth, etc.)	74
Purchase of only the most necessary	42
Cleaning up after your pet on the street	31
Share	29
Separate waste collection	27
Choice of an eco-friendly way of movement (on foot, bicycle, scooter, roller skates, skateboard)	23
Rejection of disposable things, bags	1
Vegan practices	1
I don't use any	8

- Share: 56%
- Saving resources (turning off the water when brushing my teeth, etc.): 91%
- Purchase of only the most necessary: 74%
- Cleaning up after your pet on the street: 86%
- Choice of an eco-friendly way of movement (on foot, bicycle, scooter, roller skates, skateboard): 85%
- I don't know: 1%

Answers to the question about the awareness of respondents about the holding of city actions for the collection of separate garbage showed that 56.4% of respondents are aware of these actions and the rest are not informed. Eighty-one percent of respondents do not take part in such actions. To the question "Are there containers in your yard for separate garbage collection?", 37% of respondents answered that there are such containers, while 20% of respondents constantly use them; 17% use sometimes; 16% answered that they do not use containers; and 43% of respondents noted that there are no such containers. Most of the focus group participants noted that special containers for separate waste collection are quite far from them, and therefore they do not follow this environmental habit.

Sixty-one percent of respondents are informed about the possibility of participating in waste recycling campaigns (plastic bottle caps) arranged by stores. The question about the rational use of plastic bags showed that 12% of respondents constantly buy them in the store when paying for purchases, sometimes 46% buy, and 43% of young people visit stores with their shoppers or reusable bags (Table 2).

Environmental practices are also characterized by attitudes toward the reuse of personal goods and sharing. Today, sharing services are widespread, young people are well informed about them, and, as the survey showed, young people often resort to them.

Half of the respondents know about the presence of special containers near the house, where you can hand over clothes and shoes. Participants in the focus group, when asked about the secondary use of clothing, answered that they willingly

Table 2 Answers to the question what do you do with unnecessary clothes and shoes

Practices of handling unnecessary clothing and footwear	Proportion of those who apply the practice (%)
Give to relatives/friends	55
Give in special containers ("Thank you," "Lepta," etc.)	44
Leave near the dumpsters	31
Sell	31
Give as a gift to those in need	30
Submit for processing to stores for a discount	25
Throw it in the trash	20
Submit to the commission/second hand	14
Exchanging clothes (swap parties)	4
Other	1

transfer it to friends, acquaintances, or relatives. They tend to take unnecessary clothes to "Thank you" or "Leprosy" containers for recycling or take them to thrift stores.

Discussing during the focus group the issue of factors influencing the development of citizens' eco-consciousness, we found that the participants in the discussion tend to believe that administrative fines are needed here. The survey result showed that 57% of the young people surveyed consider the introduction of fines to be the most effective measure. Eighteen percent of respondents answered negatively, and 25% found it difficult to answer.

Thus, modern youth is aware of the possibilities of an ecological approach to everyday practices; many of them apply its however, taking into account how convenient and comfortable it is for them. In the presence of obstacles associated with overcoming distances, wasting time, and showing additional activity during the actions, environmental practices give way to familiar and more convenient actions. Young people are disposed to sharing, reuse, and are ready to expand the range of these services [19]. But in the development of environmental consciousness and culture, it relies on traditional institutional practices applied by social and administrative control bodies.

The data obtained during the survey are in many respects similar to the data of surveys of Russian citizens in 2019–2020 [20]. According to these data, Russians in a significant proportion (32–43%) practice the transfer of unnecessary clothes, furniture, and household appliances to friends, acquaintances, and neighbors and the purchase of exactly the amount of food that is needed so as not to throw away excess. More than half of citizens monitor the use of energy-saving household appliances and energy-saving light bulbs, turn off the light in an empty room, and save water (avoiding situations when water flows in vain during washing or washing). However, the overall share of sustainable environmental practices does not exceed 30%.

5   Discussion

Modern environmental management is characterized by the consumption of natural resources without taking into account the resource potential of the biosphere. The expanded use of minerals cannot ensure the sustainable development of human civilization. The growth of an economy focused on supply and demand, and profit cannot be an indicator of sustainable development, since it does not take into account in principle the laws of conservation of the life-sustaining potential of the biosphere. The specificity of the ecosystem approach as a conceptual model of the sustainable development strategy is represented by two principles: the organization of the environmental management system and the creation/implementation of new energy-saving technologies. An important condition for rational nature management is the creation of technologies that reproduce the biosphere processes occurring in the Earth's ecosystems [6].

Currently, the ecosystem approach is used in the field of environmental and ocean management and is also spreading to other sectors of the economy and regions of the planet. The benefits of the ecosystem approach are determined by the desire to use conceptual thinking to find a viable and sustainable solution for the natural environment conservation in the socio-economic ecosystems that are formed around innovation [21].

The emerging industries of biopharmaceuticals, automotive industry, information systems, and technologies do not demonstrate the same level of ability to form ecosystem interconnections. In a networked industry environment, innovation does not arise from a single invention but from the integrated development of new products, processes, and technologies with a large number of participants. The emerging internal context that determines the attitude toward open innovation determines the different ability to quickly and flexibly integrate into ecosystem processes. The scale of implementation of such processes in the innovation ecosystem requires interest and support from the state [22].

New socio-economic ecosystems also give rise to a new type of environmentally friendly competition, which corporations can no longer ignore in their promotion in the market [23]. Thus, the worldview orientation toward the sustainable development of the global world and its region becomes a full-fledged part of the corporate culture and is displayed in the company's brand, which is designed to translate into the minds of buyers the involvement in responsibility to nature [24].

5.1   Models of Formation of Ecological Behavior

The nature of consumption in the new reality is greatly influenced by social networks and trends loaded with a green agenda, which broadcast a careful attitude to the natural environment and regulate patterns of behavior based on beliefs [25]. At the same time, environmental information and eco-education do not have much

motivational power if consumers do not consider environmental protection to be the predominant value for them. In today's world, the awareness of consumer behavior is guided by the source of information. At the same time, preference is given to Internet resources, including social networks, forums, and blocks, where environmentally oriented behavior, types of responsible practices, consequences, and new problems are actively discussed. The most obvious indicator of the motivation of pro-environmental behavior is environmental concern [26].

Considering the cultural aspects of sustainable behaviors, Kaharonen and Strelkovsky emphasize a combination of personal, environmental, and social factors as the basis for their formation in the modern world. In particular, the structure of the environment influences the adoption of pro-ecological patterns of behavior. Understanding even possible negative changes in the ecology of the city can cause a change in collective behavior. This model provides additional justification for urban design policy in terms of the pro-ecological motivation of behavior. The authors illustrated their idea on the experience of cycling in the organization of the transport system of Copenhagen [27].

The attitudes that motivate the pro-ecological behavior of people include social norms and values that correspond to the green agenda [28]. In social networks, materials that are loaded with motives of global warming, environmental disaster, greenhouse effect, and carbon emissions are actively promoted. Network information influence increases the psycho-emotional background of perception of life situations, increasing anxiety.

In a sociological survey of the Russian population conducted by the Russian Public Opinion Research Center, on average, almost half of the respondents expressed environmental concern, highlighting the negative factors affecting the situation in their region of residence (Table 3). At the same time, from a third to a half of respondents identified the activities of industrial companies as reasons for concern about the environmental situation in their region, as well as the lack of administration interest in improving the environment state. This circumstance is expressed in the low level of environmental responsibility of industrial enterprises and people.

6   Conclusion

The prospects for sustainable development in the new reality are determined by the desire to use an interdisciplinary conceptual apparatus to find a viable solution for the natural environment conservation in conditions of rational nature management, including the formation of an ideological orientation of the world's population toward awareness of responsibility to nature.

Common practices of environmental behavior of Russian citizens are associated with the transfer of unnecessary clothes, furniture, household appliances to friends, acquaintances, and neighbors, the purchase of only the necessary amount of food, and saving water in everyday life. However, the total share of sustainable

Table 3 Factors causing environmental concern among the population of Russia (according to VCIOM) [29–31]

Basic living conditions in the region of the Russian Federation	Factors influencing the ecological conditions in the Russian region	2019 %	2020 %	2021 %
The environment state	Landfills	26	58	42
	Transport exhausts	22	66	33
	Deforestation	6	57	31
	Pollution of forests, water bodies, coastal areas	13	64	28
Activities of industrial companies	Ural Federal District			31
	Siberian Federal District			44
	Volga Federal District			39
Attitude of administrative authorities to environmental ecology	Administration disinterest in improving the environment			34
	Lack of state ecology policy			44
	Low of ecological responsibility of people			47
Attitude of Russian citizens to sustainable development technologies	Introduction of more advanced production technologies			38
	Modernization of collection and processing of garbage and industrial waste			41
	Monitoring of the environmental situation			33
	Modernization of treatment facilities			42
	Implementation of resource-saving technologies			31

environmental practices does not exceed 30%; the share of citizens who do not think about environmental problems in routine actions is still large.

For the formation of environmental consciousness, value attitudes are important, which act as non-economic factors for motivating pro-ecological behavior. The empirical study allows us to conclude that Russian citizens are sufficiently informed about the state of the environmental situation in their region; many apply environmental practices in everyday life. Young people positively perceive the expansion of practices aimed at energy saving and secondary use but, in the matter of forming environmental consciousness, rely on traditional measures applied by social and administrative control bodies.

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Can Fiscal Decentralization Degrade the Urbanized Environment?

Meredian Alam

Abstract When government finances are decentralized, it may have both beneficial and bad effects on the economy as a whole. The present paper argues fiscal decentralization plays an important role in ensuring environmental sustainability while also favourably affecting other areas of government. There are, however, policy ramifications to address. First, local governments should be given more autonomy to develop environmental laws tailored to the unique environmental difficulties in their areas. Furthermore, in order to attain overall environmental sustainability, green energy must be adopted, and the central government should provide green energy programs to local governments while also overseeing their implementation at the local level. This may be accomplished by increasing the fiscal expenditures ratio in both the current and development domains. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) suggests these strategies as well. In addition, a long-term strategy for cubing industries' free-riding behaviour in order to minimize their carbon contributions should be proposed.

Keywords Decentralization · Environment · Fiscal · Green energy · Sustainability

1   Introduction

Building a sustainable environment became a top priority and a major worldwide problem after World Earth Summit in 1997 held in Kyoto, Japan [1–3]. The conference emphasized the need to protect our world from environmental disasters. About 80% of the world's population lives in areas afflicted by serious environmental challenges. Because of tremendous economic progress and affluence, human living standards have grown considerably in the recent decades [4], consequently leading to biodiversity loss, emissions, environmental imbalance and ecosystem imbalance

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[5]. As a result, developing and attaining long-term environmental sustainability tops the global priority list. Scholars have lately suggested various variables that might help to sustain the environment, including fiscal decentralization, green energy and lowering economic policy uncertainty.

China has continuously made an effort towards decentralizing its highly centralized fiscal management because fiscal decentralization played a major part in transforming China into a market economy. For this reason, they have employed different forms of fiscal contracting frameworks (1978–1993); however, in 1994, they introduced a tax sharing framework which they still utilize to date. Fiscal decentralization has positively influenced world economic trends; it involves delegating authorities to political authorities so that they can regulate economic choices aimed towards a common goal [6]. This conflicting relationship between environmental sustainability and fiscal decentralization might be attributed to two ways, and they include the "Race to Bottom" theory and the "Race to Top" hypothesis.

A race to the bottom is a competitive scenario in which a corporation, state or country strives to undercut the pricing by sacrificing workers' safety and quality (sometimes defying legislation) or lowering labour expenses. A race to the bottom situation can also occur between a nation's regions. For example, a jurisdiction may lower taxes and relax laws in order to attract investment. According to the "Race to the Top" scenario, globalization increases competition among governments in public investment on human capital building. Theoretically, it is based on basic assumptions about the motives of government and investors.

According to Lin et al. [7], environmental degradation is greatly influenced by fiscal decentralization, and the "Race to Bottom" hypothesis is to blame for the reduction in environmental sustainability because it encourages government relation to environmental regulatory laws [8]. On the contrary, Hao et al. [6] suggest that the "Race to the Top" theory is responsible for the favourable relationship between environmental sustainability and fiscal decentralization. As a result, we believe the link between environmental sustainability and fiscal decentralization is asymmetric [9]. The negative and positive impact of fiscal decentralization on environmental sustainability is relative because of the cyclicality of spending in fiscal systems; fiscal decentralization may have a more significant negative impact on sustainability than a positive one [10]. However, Li et al. [11] have argued that fiscal decentralization has an unequal influence. Aside from that, there are claims that asymmetry is inherent in fiscal decentralization and that both theoretical and empirical contributions might benefit from taking into consideration the unequal character of fiscal decentralization [12].

This paper will discuss the effect of fiscal decentralization on the environment in relation to how it affects the economy, poverty rate, corruption, a nation's political system, the morale of paying taxes and government service delivery. A critical analysis of expenditure and revenue decentralization was done to answer these questions. The indicators of pollution were also considered, and the environmental preference of China was discussed in connection with how the central government and local government play their collective roles.

2 General Impacts of Fiscal Decentralization

Many nations worldwide have delegated budgetary and political authority to subnational administrations during the past few decades. According to Garman et al. (2001), 75 developing countries were studied at the turn of the century, and over 80% had begun to decentralize power. In developed countries, the situation is almost the same. Hooghe et al. [13] revealed that 70% of nations from the calculated regional authority index for 42 democracies and semi-democracies have decentralized since 1950.

A variety of factors prompt decentralization. Decentralization has been pursued by a significant number of unitary nations in the recent decades as a method of achieving a more efficient and smaller public sector [14]. Other nations grew dissatisfied with the previously planned and centralized policies' performance [15]. With this in mind, it is safe to say fiscal decentralization is concerned with the organization of the public sector and the creation of prospects for greater development and welfare. Decentralizing governance may help to rebuild trust in public policies and provide the groundwork for greater policy agreement [16].

Decentralization is often used to accomplish democratic objectives at the grassroots level. Some decentralization initiatives are intended to limit ethnic disputes, centrifugal tendencies and separatist movements and ease political tension by implementing local autonomy [17]. More than ever, it is important to understand the effect of fiscal decentralization in politics on society and the economy because subnational governments are now significant players in the supply and production of public goods and services to residents worldwide. The range of socioeconomic concerns is broad. It encompasses growth and development, enhancing the public sector, reducing poverty and achievement of the Millennium Development Goals and attaining better macroeconomic stability and budgetary sustainability [18].

The underlying issue is whether the current decentralization trend is beneficial or detrimental to these essential policy objectives. Furthermore, other essential institutional and political dimensions of fiscal decentralization and public opinion need consideration. The concerns are once again broad and diversified, including country unity and separatism, corruption, accountability, political representation and the nationalization of political party systems.

2.1 The Impact on Service Delivery

Oates' [19] theory predicts that decentralized service delivery will be more efficient in the aspect of allocation. Besides allocation efficiency, it has also been shown to improve production efficiency, which involves supplying some percentage of public services at the lowest possible cost for an enhanced quantity and quality service delivery. Education and healthcare are regarded as the most decentralized services [20], and as a result, empirical studies are focused on these two areas. However, the

emphasis is not concentrated on educational outcomes. Instead, it focuses on indirect assessments of allocative efficiency that look at the overall effect of changes on expenditures and outcomes like enrolment rates and student achievement.

Several scholars have discovered that decentralization improves educational results [21–23]. Falch and Fisher [24] discovered in their research that decentralization is favourable to education in OECD countries. The model leads to the effective delivery of high-quality primary and secondary education by delegating educational policies to the sub-central government. The results for healthcare services show that decentralization has comparable beneficial benefits. Habibi et al. [25] found positive outcomes in Argentina, Jiménez-Rubio [26] showed positive results in Canada and OECD nations, Cantarero and Lago-Peas found positive results in Spain (2012), and Porcelli [27] found positive results in Italy. However, the outcomes are often worse than those for education, and in certain circumstances, decentralization has a detrimental influence. This might be because decentralized governments prioritize healthcare services above education services.

Most literature share the same opinion on the consequence of decentralization on spending composition. A common finding shows that it leads to a higher resource allocation in the sectors mentioned above as against what was obtainable in a centralized system [28]. However, there are some exceptions; Schwartz et al. [29] and Ferrario and Zanardi [30] quoted the opposite for the Philippines and Italy case studies. For other public service sectors, available data shows that the effect of decentralization is uneven but leans towards the positive. Wade [31] demonstrates that decentralized irrigation systems in Korea are more efficient than comparably inefficient centralized ones in India.

2.2 The Impact on Infrastructure

In the area of infrastructure, there has been a significant decentralization drive all over the globe [32]. Sub-national governments' percentage of a country's total capital expenditures is generally double their share of overall recurrent expenditures. However, some nations channel up to 90% of their public spending via the local sub-governments, while others channel just around 10%. Urbanization is the main tendency that influences the development of infrastructural gaps. Overall, fiscal decentralization creates considerable regional coordination issues in areas such as funding, planning, regulation, expenditure and, most importantly, maintenance. Furthermore, most nations see considerable volatility and up-and-down swings in the amount of decentralized investment expenditure across the economic cycle.

There is a paucity of empirical research on the impact of decentralization on infrastructure investment and its composition and quality. Decentralization is often expected to increase production efficiency due to local construction materials and labour, better project design and minimal bureaucracy [33]. The World Bank study

gives empirical evidence for multiple situations in which decentralized infrastructure is of higher quality and finished at a cheaper cost than centralized infrastructure. According to Estache and Sinha [34], their studies on OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries concluded that decentralization increases the overall expenditure on public infrastructure. The same was the case for some European countries (2008).

However, using a larger sample of rich and developing nations, Viuela [35] found that fiscal decentralization can lead to a lower level of fixed capital but a high quality of infrastructure. One way to measure or monitor the changes of decentralization in public service infrastructure is to ask residents directly, beneficiaries and taxpayers to state their feelings about decentralized services with respect to infrastructure. A rising number of household surveys have consistently shown greater citizen satisfaction with decentralized public service delivery [36]. Other studies have shown that decentralization is correlated with increased public confidence in government [37]. Finally, recent research has shifted focus to the effects of decentralization on happiness, which is not within the scope of this research.

2.3   The Impact on Economic Growth

The premise that fiscal decentralization improves economic efficiency may have a similar influence on the dynamic setting of economic development [38]. In theory, more fiscal autonomy may be connected with better production per unit of labour and faster growth rates [39]. However, there is no obvious causation line, and decentralization may affect development indirectly due to its impact on socioeconomic factors such as government quality and macro stability [40]; it can also be by its interaction with the institutional framework [41]. The subject of the economy has garnered more attention on decentralization than any other subject. This is due to the importance of a country's economic growth. On the negative side, Xie et al. [42] show that fiscal decentralization can lower GDP growth (e.g. China). Development scholars such as [43–46] find positive effects on growth.

Thiessen [47] explained the positive relationship between fiscal decentralization and economic growth. He stated that the relationship is positive when fiscal decentralization increases from lower levels; however, it turns negative when it attains its highest point (peak). There might be many explanations for the disparities in outcomes. For example, jurisdiction heterogeneity may be too difficult to capture [48] or simply because political and administrative dimensions are not appropriately explored [49] or the institutional structure may be too complicated and largely undetected [50]. Another theory is that sub-national government policies reduce economic efficiency by diverting resource allocation away from efficient applications.

2.4 The Impact on Fiscal Sustainability and Macroeconomic Stability

Due to the hyperinflation experienced by Argentina and Brazil, it's safe to say that decentralization will risk a country's economic sustainability. Although the decentralization framework offers some advantage, they are vulnerable to issues of ineffective borrowing regulations, soft budget limits and the failure of central authorities to adhere to no bailout policies [51]. On the other hand, decentralization may foster budgetary restraint in governments. Providing adequate tax autonomy to all levels of government would foster fiscal discipline, while Leviathan's monopolistic power would be reduced fiscal competition [52]. From available data, it is shown that the link between fiscal stability and decentralization yields conflicting outcomes. However, all theoretical predictions point in one direction. Depending on the sort of dependent variable studied, two strands of research may be identified: inflation targeting vs fiscal discipline; the focus of the study is often on the latter since it is more in the hands of governments. Presbitero et al. [53], Neyapti [54], Rodden [55] and Eyraud and Lusinyan [56] employed cross-country panel data and discovered that borrowing regulations and tax autonomy might lead to enhanced fiscal discipline.

However, the usefulness of tax autonomy as a disciplining element has been called into doubt in numerous other research, all of which used panel data and had negative or negligible findings [57]. Some studies indicate no influence of fiscal decentralization on inflation [58], while others find that sub-national tax autonomy leads to reduced inflation [40]. Overall, revenue is affected by fiscal decentralization, and it has proven to increase fiscal discipline and macroeconomic stability. However, these findings might be undermined by untreated endogeneity. Indeed, sources of data endogeneity might occur not just between fiscal discipline and fiscal decentralization but also for other variables included in the analysis (e.g. unemployment).

2.5 The Impact on Poverty and Income Inequality

Fiscal decentralization improves access to basic services, thereby positively influencing income distribution. It can also have an indirect impact on poverty in a variety of ways, such as through quality governance, expenditure composition and growth. Ultimately, the effects will be determined by the unique peculiarities of each decentralization process. The subject is relevant since many national governments and international organizations have recommended or begun poverty reduction income disparity concurrently as fiscal decentralization measures [59]. The main issue is whether these policies complement or undermine one another. Despite their close relationship, income disparity and poverty do not have to increase in the same direction but should be determined by how changes in distribution impact the poorest nations and citizens.

The empirical literature examines the two concerns independently. First, a large number of research show that decentralization has a positive influence on the Gini coefficient [60]. Sepúlveda and Martinez-Vazquez [61] find a similar conclusion, but only when government size is at least 20% of GDP. Decentralization methods in these circumstances are primarily expenditure-based. Fiscal decentralization improves access to basic services, thereby positively influencing income distribution.

2.6   The Impact on Interregional and Geographical Disparities

Gil et al. [62] state that the interregional economy can be influenced by fiscal decentralization. In fact, it can increase or decrease the difference in the provision of public services. From a theoretical sense, the net impact is far from obvious. On the one hand, it may also create regional inequalities by highlighting gaps in institutional capacity and socioeconomic resources between areas, as shown in China [63]. Furthermore, decentralization may reduce the effect of impoverished communities on the distribution of financial resources [64]. It may assist in lowering interregional inequalities via increased transparency as well as increased efficiency and equalization among jurisdictions [65].

Beyond the Leviathan hypothesis's constraining effects on government growth, the manner with which the public sector is assessed and the pattern of decentralization adopted may have an influence. There is substantial evidence to prove that the amount of public employment in the local government outnumbered those at the central level [66].

2.7   The Impact on Public Policies and Government Size

Jin and Zou [67] state that decentralizing revenue will reduce the overall public sector. This might be due to inefficiency or simply a reaction to the increase in labour-intensive public services. It can also be attributable to increasing budgetary prudence across the board, as well as more tax competitiveness. The growing body of literature on this subject may be traced back to Zodrow and Mieszkowski [68]. In their pioneering work, they extensively discussed the subject of government size and public policies in relation to fiscal decentralization. The most important conclusion is that sub-national governments' battle on tax mobility yielded a positive outcome seen in the tax rate reduction. The process that made this possible is the "race to the bottom" hypothesis. As a consequence, government spending is ineffectively low.

In subsequent research, the theory was expanded and improved through various approaches. Smaller jurisdictions, for example, maybe more vulnerable to this form of competition due to increased base mobility [69]. However, this outcome depends on the type of taxation; it is fixed and often unpredictable [70]. Furthermore, the

effects may be less noticeable if policy actions are started by Stackelberg leaders rather than non-cooperative participants.

2.8 The Impact on Accountability, Corruption and Governance

With a few notable exceptions, such as China, most financially decentralized nations are also politically decentralized. Therefore, it is clear that decentralization and governance would mutually support one another in a bidirectional causal connection [40]. Decentralization has been shown to enhance governance by increasing institutional quality [71] and accountability [72, 73]. If accountability is high and assured at the sub-national level, it definitely would yield several benefits. One such benefit is yardstick competition, and as a result, this subject has garnered so much attention in the literature [74].

Uninformed voters tend to compare the government's performance in a neighbouring country as a standard or yardstick to rate and judge their incumbent leaders. Several kinds of research have proven that the pattern of governance in a border or neighbouring countries is often replicated in another country, especially on issues that concern tax and policies [75–77]. Most times, when a neighbouring country implements fiscal decentralization, and the citizens of other nations see the positive impact, they are likely to agitate for replication of such laws in their domain. Furthermore, voters tend to use these performances and comparisons in deciding whether to re-elect an incumbent official [75, 78]. Periodic elections for office are the most effective strategy to increase accountability at the sub-national level.

Speaking of accountability, the decision of whether an official is accountable or not lies with the citizens. Electoral accountability may be compromised when citizens are not properly informed and, as a result, get confused about whom to applaud or blame for the outcome of a policy. At the national level, an official of the decentralized nations is more demanding for voters because some uninformed voters feel that the development in their region is implemented by the sub-national leaders [79]. As a result, the absence of public corruption would be the most conspicuous sign of good administration.

The competition and responsibility among local government leaders would theoretically cause a rapid drop in corruption because decentralization would introduce options of exit and voice, openness at the sub-national level and better levels of information [80, 81]. The downside of fiscal decentralization is that it can diminish central agency supervision, audits and controls, which increases the potential for corruption [82]. Political decentralization has led to an increased interference of local chiefs and elites in government-sponsored projects. They form clientelism, where they negotiate commissions with investors and contractors; this act has led to a higher level of corruption [83]. Nonetheless, empirical findings validate the value of decentralization, especially when the focus shifts from corruption to the economy [84, 85]. On the other hand, countries with many sub-national administrators tend to be corrupt even when fiscal decentralization laws are implemented [86]; this

is due to the fragmentation of political zones given rise to numerous political heads [87], which often become the main drivers of corruption.

In summary, fiscal decentralization and democratic government have a mutually reinforcing connection. Also, elections and comparing standards improve government accountability; besides the negative justifications and the theoretical advantage, decentralization is often viewed to promote corruption in the public sector. However, it is shocking to note that in spite of all these claims, enough empirical data still demonstrate that decentralization reduces corruption in the shadow economy.

2.9   The Impact on Social Capital and Tax Morale

A quick question would be does decentralization influence how the government is perceived? Two genres of literature have emerged to investigate how fiscal decentralization can influence citizens' faith in government, the drive to pay tax (tax morale) and social capital. While Putnam's fundamental contribution [88] finds no strong evidence for or against decentralization's influence on social capital, Hooghe and Marks [89] demonstrate that decentralization may stimulate greater collaborative activity, engagement and, ultimately, social capital. De Mello [90] confirmed these findings by investigating a large sample of market economies. In the aspect of governmental trust, Ligthart and van Oudheusden [37] discovered that fiscal decentralization boosts the trust of citizens in government; furthermore, it also puts the political institutions and legislators in good light. Güth et al. [91] provide empirical evidence on tax morale. They stated that people are more loyal to a decentralized society and, as a result, excitedly fulfil their civil obligations through paying taxes. This results from the fact that they see the infrastructure and amenities in their region. In a decentralized system, the taxes collected from a particular region are spent on the region on a per capita basis.

3   Results and Discussion

3.1   Environmental Effects of Fiscal Decentralization

Recently China government has emphasized the need for ecological reconstruction and environmental governance at all levels. In 2014, China promulgated an environmental law that consistently emphasized the clause "finance". This goes to show how determined they are to use fiscal decentralization to control environmental pollution. The local government can participate in protecting the environment through investment in energy conversation initiatives and formulation of environmental protection and policies. However, it depends on the preference of the local government

because Zang and Liu [92] opined that the amount of fiscal expenditure spent by the sub-national body on environmental protection reflects how urgent and important they view the situation at hand. On the other hand, most local governments prefer economic growth over environmental protection. This stems from the unhealthy GDP performance competition among local governments because officials are promoted based on GDP performance [93]. As a result, it won't be easy to implement local environmental policies.

In China, the decentralization system allows the central government to obtain revenue for the purpose of control while also allowing the local government a certain level of fiscal decentralization. The system practised by China may be replicated by another developing country because it is the world's largest and fastest developing country. In a bid to motivate local government on the need to control its local pollution rate, the central government charged an environmental protection fee on citizens and handed the collection of these taxes to local revenue collectors and also made them in charge of the maintenance. In turn, the local government introduced a tax reduction for companies and enterprises that reduce their emissions. According to Xue and Pan [94], since 2007, the fiscal expenditure of the local governments has been subsidized by the central government, and this payment has played an exemplary and leading role.

Shen [95] states that empirical studies on the effect of decentralization on the environment are mixed due to the difference in environmental pollution indicators. List and Gerking [96] demonstrated that fiscal decentralization could positively impact the environment. Following Reagan's decentralization strategy, the quality of the environment has increased considerably, leading to a race to the top in the USA [97]. However, cross-country estimates also showed that pollution increased in over 80 developing and developed countries. Fredriksson et al. [98] confirmed these claims and added that it is particularly true for air pollution policies. Further studies on the outcome of China's decentralization policies have achieved mixed results. Kuai et al. [99] confirmed that fiscal decentralization reduced the concentration of particle matter with a size range lower than 2.5 microns (PM2.5). He achieved this by using the principle of spatial econometric models and utility maximization model.

He [100] found that fiscal decentralization has no influence on per capita wastewater emissions by examining examined Generalized Method of Moments (GMM) systems estimation, although he reported that it has a considerable beneficial effect on pollution abatement expenditures and fees. Other writers contend that fiscal decentralization worsens pollution. In terms of carbon emissions, more fiscal autonomy does not promote environmental pollution reduction [101]. Because of local government rivalry, authorities tend to prioritize buildings and other infrastructure above environmental protection, which in turn exacerbates environmental degradation [102].

Li et al. [11] suggest that fiscal decentralization has, directly and indirectly, contributed to environmental sustainability. It affects the development and growth of the economy, which consequently impacts environmental sustainability and leads to

the destruction of the environment. First-generation fiscal federalism (FGFF) asserts that fiscal decentralization is advantageous for maintaining the sustainability of the environment. This theory claims that those that make public decisions render public goods and services. They are also known to be good intensifiers of social welfare [103]. When there is no external influence, local governments outperform the central government in providing public goods and services and facilitating the locals' preferences and requirements [104]; hence, fiscal decentralization enhances ecological sustainability. Despite being built on first-generation fiscal federalism, second-generation fiscal federalism (SGFF) implies that political institutions more often divert from promoting the citizens' benefits, making fiscal decentralization detrimental to environmental sustainability in this situation.

3.2   Environmental Sustainability and Fiscal Decentralization

Ecologically, the footprint in Australia and the USA is ultimately increased by a total sum of beneficial changes in expenditure decentralization. These discoveries align with those of Li et al. [11], using an environmental indicator with a significant level of 5%. According to Li et al. [11], for Pakistan, between 1984 and 2018, significant increases in fiscal spending have a positive correlation with environmental sustainability. The opposite was asserted by Yan and Zhong [105] and Zhang et al. [106], who claimed that fiscal decentralization could not aid in the regulation of emissions. According to You et al. [107], "Race to Bottom" is the primary factor causing a long-term positive correlation between decentralization of fiscal expenditures and environmental footprint. Decentralized governments with lax environmental restrictions tend to attract the majority of high-profit businesses, which results in a "Race to Bottom" [107].

Du and Sun [108] found a positive but non-linear link between environmental deterioration and fiscal decentralization; he attributed his findings to capital completion and partial technical advancement, nevertheless, the decrease in spending. Although decentralization is not a significant factor in determining ecological footprint, it is long term connected with an ecological footprint in both countries. In a similar vein, He [100] and Li et al. [11] looked into the long-term positive but negligible link between fiscal expenditure decentralization and degradation of the environment. Contrarily, Du and Sun [108] believed that capital rivalry, prejudice as well as technological development were the main reasons for the irregular but overwhelmingly positive relationship between fiscal decentralization and ecological degradation. On the other hand, the reduction in terms of expenditure decentralization is not an important factor in the environmental footprint, although it is long term favourably related to one in both countries. Similarly, He [100] and Li et al. [11] looked at the long-term, favourable but negligible link between decentralization of fiscal expenditure and ecological degradation.

In the UK, Canada and Germany, there is a symmetric long-term relationship between fiscal expenditure decentralization and environmental footprint. In the UK and Canada, fiscal expenditure decentralization shows a positive correlation with the environmental footprint on a long-term basis. Additionally, these findings are consistent with earlier research by You et al. [107]; Liu and Li [92]; Li et al. [11]; Shan et al. [109]; Sun, Zhan and Du [108]; and Cheng et al. [110], all of which demonstrate a long-term link between degradation of the environment and fiscal decentralization. According to Shah et al. (2021), for seven chosen Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) nations, there is a traditional inverted U-shaped association between environmental deterioration and fiscal decentralization. A possible explanation is that local or decentralized governments while considering gross domestic product (GDP) development use relatively inexpensive and easily accessible manufacturing resources to boost higher profit businesses, but at the detriment of environmental sustainability. As a result, the "Race to Bottom Hypothesis" is the main factor contributing to the positive correlation between environmental deterioration and decentralization of government spending.

3.3 The Impact of Fiscal Decentralization on CO_2 Emissions in China

According to Cheng et al. [110], who identify the non-linear relationship between fiscal spending decentralization and degradation of the environment in China, the short-run non-symmetric correlation between ecological footprint and fiscal expenditure decentralization in Germany is consistent with that discovery. Cheng et al. [110] predict that China's carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions will decrease with an increase in per capita fiscal expenditure decentralization. In Pakistan, however, Li et al. [11] find a favourable short-term association between decentralization of fiscal expenditure and environmental impact. It is important to note that Shan et al. [109] show short-run connections between the fiscal decentralization of several Chinese provinces and the environmental degradation proxy, carbon dioxide (CO_2) emissions, that are both positive and negative. According to the study's findings, technical advancement and energy consumption patterns influence the direction of the relationship coefficient between the environment and fiscal decentralization.

Consequently, reducing carbon emissions can be accomplished by fiscal decentralization and technical advancement [109]. Table 1 displays symmetric, substantial and positive connections between fiscal expenditure decentralization and environmental footprint benefits in the UK over a short- and long-term period. Research and studies from the past support these findings. Liu and Li [92] hypothesize that this is because fiscal decentralization (benefit of expenditure decentralization) has led certain governments to prioritize local economic growth over the sustainability of the environment. Such a plan increases environmental contamination.

Table 1 Non-linear ARDL estimation results by Samia and Ramez (2022)

Australia		Canada		Germany	
NARDL with LR asymmetry		NARDL with SR asymmetry		NARDL with SR asymmetry	
FED^+_{t-1}	3.66** (2.04)	FED_t	0.83*** (1.80)	FED_{t-1}	−3.96** (−2.14)
FED^-_{t-1}	2.92 (1.9)	–		–	
GE_t	0.033* (−2.52)	GE_{t-1}	−0.0008 (−0.05)	GE_{t-1}	0.0003 (0.07)
EPU_t	−0.0035 (−0.78)	EPU_{t-1}	−0.006 (−1.26)	EPU_{t-1}	−0.013* (−2.76)
ΔFED_t	−2.55 (−0.80)	ΔFED^+_t	−18.05* (2.85)	ΔFED^+	−1.61 (0.32)
ΔFED_{t-1}	2.60 (0.63)	–	–	ΔFED^+_{t-1}	3.18 (0.69)
		ΔFED^-_t	8.52 (0.81)	ΔFED^-	9.21 (1.50)
		ΔFED^-_{t-1}	5.47 (0.5)	ΔFED^-_{t-1}	16.13** (2.24)
ΔGE_t	−0.11** (−2.34)	ΔGE_t	−0.034 −0.81	ΔGE	−0.09* (−3.73)
		ΔGE_{t-1}	0.04 (0.041)	–	–
ΔEPU_t	0.0004 (0.08)	ΔEPU	−0.004 (−0.62)	ΔEPU	−0.0084** (−1.95)
		–	–	–	–
Constant	1.78* (2.87)	Constant	3.04* (3.57)		5.9* (5.27)

Additionally, emissions of carbon dioxide (CO_2) have a sizable negative outcome; in contrast, decarbonization (carbon reduction) has a sizable positive externality. Free rides are sought after by local governments in an effort to boost regional economic growth, which causes carbon emissions to rise steadily. In their initial research, they looked at the potential link between fiscal decentralization and environmental impact or environmental deterioration, and they empirically demonstrated how there was an inverted U-shaped correlation between the two. These studies have found evidence of a "Race to the Bottom" dominant hypothesis, which is to blame for the localized degradation of environmental sustainability. According to the results, fiscal expenditure decentralization is not a substantial or important short-term influencer on the environmental footprint in Australia and the USA. These findings are also consistent with Cheng et al. [110], who found no connection between decentralized fiscal expenditures and the degradation of the environment in China between 1995 and 2010.

4   Conclusions and Recommendations

Our study on the effect of fiscal decentralization presents a fair assessment of what is known and what would be valuable in developing empirical research and fiscal decentralization practice. Fiscal decentralization is essential for environmental sustainability because it gives the local government right to formulate policies that would improve their environment. Besides the environment, its implementation also influences other aspects of governance.

The studies on the political impact on decentralization are limited to those of economic impact. However, it is essential to know the impact of fiscal decentralization on voters' behaviour and taxpayers and also investigate how decentralization affects the operations of the political party. Also, studying the political impact of decentralization will help understand the overall impact of decentralization on accountability and electoral control. In contrast, substantial contributions have previously been made to the consequences of decentralization on important economic variables such as income growth, GDP, income inequality and poverty and fiscal stability. Even with the extra study that is still necessary for many regions, definitive answers to all issues about the impacts of fiscal decentralization are unlikely to become forthcoming. However, there are grounds to be hopeful about the overall good effect of decentralized systems that have been deployed all over the globe over the last few decades, particularly where such decentralization processes have been well-designed and executed. Finally, considerable work should be done on how to enhance the design and execution of fiscal decentralization reforms based on the academic literature's information and expertise, a portion of which has been discussed in this study.

Future advancements should strive to improve the topic's institutional and methodological features. In terms of institutional advancements, increasing the uniformity and general quality of decentralized data is critical, something that international institutions such as the OECD and the World Bank have already discussed. Countries' attempts to ensure information is available in accordance with international standards are the first critical step since power decentralization undermines data uniformity and comparability. Furthermore, building research networks may aid in decentralization methodology and data sources, as well as the quality and robustness of outcomes. A critical concern at the methodological level is the adoption of more complex econometric methods, such as those based on better instrumental variables approach to cope with possible endogeneity.

In the future, replication studies should be more important since some differing results are likely to result from insufficient estimating methodologies. Finally, a meta-analysis of existing research is viable in certain domains where both the number of articles and methodological convergence are considerable.

Fiscal decentralization impacts all sector either negatively or positively. From extensive research, it is evident that fiscal decentralization plays a role in maintaining environmental sustainability as well as positively influencing other aspects of governance. However, there are certain policy implications; firstly, powers should

be delegated to local governments to enable them to formulate environmental policies that would address their specific environmental challenges.

Furthermore, it takes the adoption of green energy to achieve total environmental sustainability, and the central government should introduce green energy initiatives to the local government and also oversee its implementation at the local level. The central government can achieve this by increasing the fiscal expenditure ratio in both the present and development realms [6]. These tactics are also recommended for OECD nations. Also, a long-term approach should be suggested for cubing the free-riding conduct of the industries in order to reduce their carbon shares.

The challenges often encountered by enforcement committees are the interference of local elites and central leaders. To get the maximum benefit of fiscal decentralization, a separate autonomous committee should be set up at the provincial and central levels to oversee the activities of industries and also monitor the expenditure of the local government. Furthermore, this committee will be free from central jurisdiction, and policies to guide their operations will also be formulated. It is also suggested that the carbon tax be implemented at the provincial and local authority levels, where it will act as a two-edged sword, not only increasing government revenue and prompting fiscal revenue decentralization but also controlling environmental degradation and improving climate sustainability.

Besides creating committees and enforcing agents, the greater authority should be delegated to the provincial government to help manipulate policies in favour of the change from a macroeconomic model to low environmental degradation developmental models, particularly low carbon economic growth models. In addition, to address the policy's consequences, it is important to concentrate on the new focus and also increase the percentage of green energy in overall energy consumption. Similarly, appropriate planning for technical breakthroughs and improvements in the electricity industry to improve carbon capture and storage is required to curb environmental damage. As a result, increasing green investment is critical to promoting environmental sustainability. Another idea is to create separate credit or green credit mechanisms or systems that allow for variable interest rates for companies based on their contribution to environmental deterioration and carbon emissions. The more polluting businesses may provide higher interest rates on borrowing, and vice versa, encouraging firms to create green or renewable energy generation at their facilities.

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US Climate Policy: Features of Evolution and Current State

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Abstract   The purpose of this paper is to analyze the features of evolution of the US climate policy and to assess the impact of internal and external factors on its formation. The United States plays a crucial role in a global climate policy as this country has been holding a special position in the negotiation process within the framework of the Conferences of the Parties on Climate (COP) for many years. The US climate policy is characterized by the protection of the national interests and applying market instruments to the fight against global climate change. The United States insists on making voluntary commitments by all countries to reduce CO_2 emissions. In addition, the US position on combating global climate change is cyclical: under the rule of the democratic presidents, more ambitious programs are adopted than under republican ones. The presidential decisions have a low legal status and can be easily substituted upon the arrival of a new president. Currently, the United States occupies the position of a world leader in the fight against climate change. American President Joe Biden announces the possible achievement of the goals for carbon neutrality by 2050, and he widely pursues the policy of ecological transformation of the national economy and protection of ecosystems and biodiversity. However, his policy can be easily crossed out by any successor in the same way as it was in 2017 under the rule of President Donald Trump.

Keywords   USA · Kyoto Protocol · Paris Agreement · Environmental transformation · Global climate change · Carbon neutrality

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1   Introduction

The United States is one of the central players in the global climate policy and the world leader in greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions in historical retrospect. Throughout the twentieth century, they were the main producers of anthropogenic CO_2 in the world. The US share in the accumulated carbon dioxide in the atmosphere ranges from 25% to 30%. In the middle of the last century, they accounted for more than 50% of all global emissions [15]. At the same time, the United States were the first in the list of industrially developed countries to pursue a climate policy, having adopted it in the early 1960s, and the laws, regulating emissions of harmful substances into the atmosphere (for instance, the Clean Air Act, 1963). In 2020 the United States ranked second in the world in terms of GHG emissions (6.5 billion tons), second only in this respect to China (11.3 billion tons).

The United States are assumed to take decisive actions in the fight against global warming on the international arena. On the contrary, the international climate policy of the United States for the period since signing of the UN Framework Convention on Climate (1992) can be characterized as inconsistent and ineffective periods of political activity in the field of climate protection (during the presidency of B. Clinton, B. Obama, J. Biden), alternate years of virtually ignoring this problem and even carrying out radical "anti-climate" policies (D. Trump). The delay in the negotiation process, its ineffectiveness, and numerous blockades of decisions, taken by the parties at conferences, are at the expense of this country. The aim of the current paper is to give characteristics of the main stages of the US climate policy development, to determine the key factors influencing the climate policy in the country, and to demonstrate the importance of various political actors in its formation.

To study the climate policy and the processes of ecological transformation of national systems in Russia and abroad is a relatively recent trend. Among the experts who carry out the research of certain aspects, it is necessary to highlight the works of N.N. Moiseev (2001), V.I. Danilova-Danilyan (2015), A.A. Averchenkov (2009), A.O. Kakorin (2013), Y.A. Rusakova (2016), etc. To date, the stages of the evolution of international climate policy have been studied in detail (J. Gupta, 2014; O. Edenhofer, 2019; G. Simonis, 2017; etc.). The works on the analysis of the climate policy of individual countries of the world are less represented. The research is based on the foundations in the climate policy by V. Arroyo (2010), R. Harris (2016), S. Bailey (2015), K. Gallagher (2018), etc. The processes of environmental modernization and the identification of national strategies in the fight against global climate change are among the acute global issues. Moreover, the US behavior on the international arena determines the achievement of the goals of the Paris Climate Agreement, thereby should be considered in detail.

2 Methodology and Data

The theoretical basis of this study is the theory of "collective goods" by the American economist M. Olson, in which he explains the behavior of actors in relation to "collective goods" [8]. Since the cost of consumption of the collective goods is often zero or very low, there are strong incentives for actors to overexploit the "good": the resources of the seas are exhausted, forests are cut down, and the air is polluted. We imply here the "tragedy of the public domain" or the so-called "problem of common use." The rational economic behavior of people seeking individual (national, regional, etc.) gains destroys the long-term prospect of using the collective good. As a result of human activity, the greenhouse effect of the atmosphere has intensified, which has led to the destabilization of the global climate.

The reduction of GHG emissions is an important condition for preserving this collective good within the environmental modernization of the economy. However, since some subjects of international relations consume the collective good without the desire to pay for their own expensive environmental modernization, they act as "stowaways," according to M. Olson. Thus, the efforts of countries to stabilize the climate will be in vain if other countries do not implement similar measures. This leads to distrust and makes the negotiation process on the formation of an international climate regime extremely complicated. The creation of global mechanisms of universal responsibility affects the "climate" behavior of individual countries. Moreover, the integration of a system of international trade in GHG emission quotas and the requirements of commitments to reduce them for all countries are the first important steps in the right direction. The behavior of the United States in climate negotiations and the meandering of domestic climate policy are perfectly explained by this theory. The US policy in this area reflects the fears of the political elite to be among the "losing countries" in the implementation of climate goals. Developing countries and, above all, the BRICS countries are seen by the American establishment as "stowaways," who are increasing their economic and political power, defending their right to "development." Throughout the existence of climate diplomacy, the United States has insisted on the acceptance of climate commitments by all countries of the world. The Paris Agreement defines the global climate regime until 2100 and includes the position of the United States in international negotiations.

The methodology of this paper is based on the structural-analytical approach. The analysis of the US legislative acts, declarations of climate conferences, and national statistics allows to determine the nature, directions, and achievements of the US climate policy and to assess the impact of various factors (external and internal) on the processes of its formation and development.

The main sources for the provisions and conclusions of this research include declarations of climate conferences (Conferences of the Parties), national documents, and analytical papers in the field of the climate policy.

3   Results and Discussion

In the year 2022, the United States is still seen as one of the world's main sources of GHG emissions. They account for 13.4% of all global greenhouse gas emissions, which makes them the second largest emitter of GHG in the world (first place, China). GHG emissions in the country by the end of 2019 amounted to about 6.5 billion tons [16]. At the same time, CO_2, as the main component of GHG, accounted for more than 5.1 billion tons. Since 1990, the US GHG emissions even increased by 1.6%. In the period of 1990–2005, there was a continuous increase in greenhouse gas emissions. They reached their maximum in 2005, which is equal to 7.4 billion tons (see Fig. 1). Since the year 2006, there has been a noticeable decrease in emissions. A particularly significant drop occurred in the period up to 2010. During this time, emissions decreased by 8.3% and in the period 2010–2019 by 3.8%, respectively. However, the reduction of GHG emissions was not continuous and cyclical in comparison with the EU countries. In 2020 the GHG reduction amounted to more than 1.8%, which is associated with a decrease in business activity during the pandemic.

The United States occupies one of the leading places in the world in terms of CO_2 emissions per inhabitant of the country. In 2019 this indicator was 15 tons per person. This was more than twice the EU level. Only one country in Europe has indicators higher than American ones – Luxembourg (16 tons per person). At the same time, it should be noted that per capita emissions in the United States decreased by more than 4 tons in the period of 1990–2019.
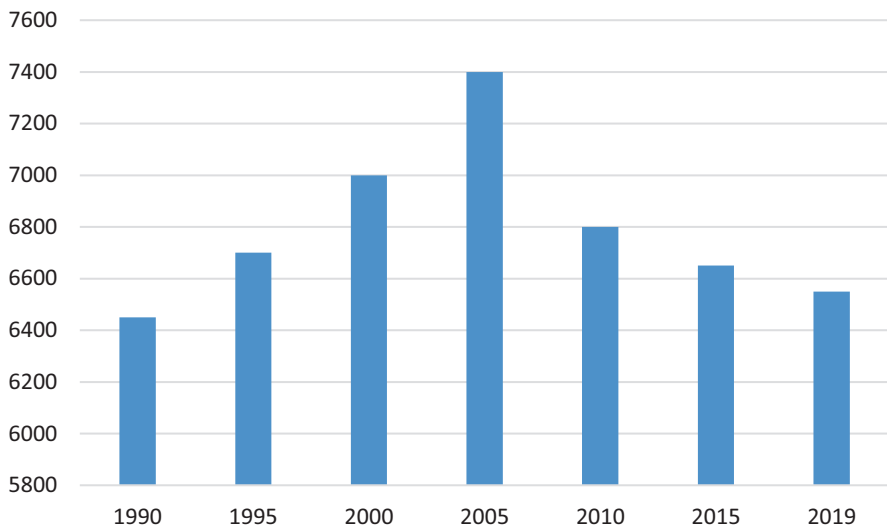
Fig. 1 Dynamics of greenhouse gas emissions in the United States in the period 1990–2019 (million tons of CO_2 equivalent)

The analysis of sectoral GHG emissions shows significant differences from similar EU sectoral emissions. In the United States, the main source of GHG emissions is the transportation sector [17]. It accounted for about 30% of all national emissions, which is equivalent to 1961 million tons of CO_2. Such a high share of motor transport in GHG emissions is explained by the national "cult" of the car, the poor development of the public transportation system, and the lack of alternatives. It is known that Americans prefer large, heavy, and powerful personal cars, which are the type of "SUVs." They accounted for 50% of all cars sold in the United States in the year 2018. It is the "SUV" that is one of the main reasons for the increase in GHG emissions in the transport sector. This type of car accounts for more CO_2 emissions than the entire global aviation industry and even exceeds the emissions of a heavy industry in the world. It is not surprising that President J. Biden pays special attention to the modernization of this sector in his infrastructure program.

The second largest GHG emission in the United States is the energy sector. This sector accounted for 25% of all emissions (1635 million tons). The "greening" of the energy sector forms the "core" of the entire climate policy of the country. Its reorganization, reformation, and renewal were among the top priorities in the climate policy of Barack Obama. The current president is J. Biden who also puts the development of "clean" energy at the center of his climate policy, despite the presence of significant reserves of oil, gas, and coal in the United States [18]. This step actually splits the American elite and society. After all, most republicans prefer to stay within the framework of the traditional energy paradigm based on the use of fossil fuels. Democrats have made a bet on the development of the country without relying on carbon fuels, keeping in mind the serious climate risks that it may face.

Nowadays, the structure of US energy consumption is not much different from most of the developed countries of the world. It is dominated by fossil fuels. It accounted for 79% of all US energy consumption in 2020. The other 21% were nuclear, hydro, and renewable energy sources. Natural gas (35%) was the leader in energy consumption among fossil energy carriers. Renewable sources are represented by wind energy (3.3%), bioenergy (4.9%), solar (1.3%), hydropower (2.5%), and geothermal (0.1%). In the period of 1990–2019, the share of renewable energy in energy consumption has increased markedly. By 2020 it increased from 4.2% to 9.4% [19]. At the same time, the share of fossil energy resources decreased. According to the nationally determined contribution presented by the J. Biden administration as part of the implementation of the Paris Agreement, the United States undertakes to achieve zero emissions from the electricity generation sector by 2035. The task is truly grandiose, considering that the United States ranks third in the world in the number of coal-fired power plants (263), second only to China (1077) and India (281) [20].

The American infrastructure facilities and the industrial sector account for more than 36% of national emissions in the country. Compared to 1990, carbon dioxide emissions in the manufacturing sector decreased by 17%, but at the same time increased in construction and infrastructure by 4% [3]. Here we need to digress and say that American industry and infrastructure are characterized by low energy efficiency and are inferior in this indicator to many other developed countries. In terms

of per capita consumption of energy resources in oil equivalent (6.8 tons per person), the United States is among the top ten countries in the world, second only to the oil-exporting states of the Persian Gulf (Qatar, OEA, Kuwait) and global oil refining centers (Trinidad and Tabago, Curacao) [21]. The priority tasks of the US national climate policy are reducing energy consumption and improving infrastructure efficiency.

Together with the forest territories and settlements that are included in the sector "Land use, land use change, forests," US agriculture accounts for about 12% of all national GHG emissions. However, the agricultural sector is not only a producer of greenhouse gases from the standpoint of national climate policy, which requires specific innovations to reduce them, but also an important source of alternative energy. Harvesting and animal husbandry make about 5% of the energy resources used in the electric power industry and transport. In addition, pastures and meadows play the role of natural GHG sinks. Therefore, the greening of agricultural economic activity and its adaptation to national climate goals are inevitable. Also, the protection and expansion of the areas of other natural sinks (primarily forest lands) are one of the most important goals of President Joe Biden's policy [20]. However, the success of the measures to decarbonize the economy in the USA depends on many political factors, namely, it is finding the consensus between the main political institutions of the United States, such as the US presidential administration, the chambers, and the judiciary. The relations between these authorities are complicated as they mostly depend on the alignment of political forces, pressure from lobbying organizations, the political situation in the world, etc. The continuous confrontation between the republican and democratic parties often leads to mutual blockades on climate policy issues.

4 Evolution of US Climate Policy

4.1 US Climate Policy Before 1990

There is no consensus among researchers of the US climate policy on the date of birth of this political field in the country as various periods of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s appear. The researcher of the US climate policy K. Bailey argues that its origins lie in the mid-1970s by the administration of President R. Nixon [2, 4]. An earlier date is indicated by F. Maulshagen and is connected with the activities of the presidential administration of L. Johnson [7, 19]. Indeed, in 1965 in the message to the US Congress, he is the first US President to recognize the danger of increasing CO_2 emissions for future generations [22]. Three months later (November 1965), the Scientific Advisory Council under President L. Johnson published the report "Restoration of environmental quality," in which the topic of anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide into the atmosphere took one of the central places. An increase in the concentration of CO_2 in the atmosphere is indicated in the report

together with declaring some negative consequences of this phenomenon for the environment (melting of polar ice, warming of the oceans, sea level rise) [23].

In the 1970s the topic of greenhouse warming of the atmosphere strengthens its position in the political discourse of the United States [12]. In 1978 President D. Carter signed the law on the "National Climate Program," developed during the administration of R. Nixon. The law institutionalized climate policy and gave it an important status. At the same time, as G. Henderson notes, there was a rare bipartisan consensus regarding the heating of the atmosphere. Both democrats and republicans recognized the seriousness of the increase in air temperatures and demanded strengthening national efforts to adapt to climate stress. However, there was also a bipartisan consensus that there were no provisions in the program for measures limiting CO_2 emissions or restraining the activities of the US oil and gas or coal industry. These restrictions would have a negative influence on the national security and contradict the "American style of life" [7].

R. Reagan, who came to power in 1981, was very skeptical about the problem of warming the atmosphere and global climate change. The priorities of his policy lie in overcoming the energy crisis and fighting inflation. Any restrictions on economic activity from the standpoint of the neoliberalism policy pursued by his administration were considered unacceptable. A sharp reduction in funding the climate change research is typical of this period. The Institute for Space Research is undergoing financial cuts together with Goddard (GISS) under the direction of J. Hansen and a weather station on Mauna Loa measuring the concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere [9].

The second term of R. Reagan's administration (1985–1989) was marked by a radical change in the climate policy. R. Reagan realized that further denial of obvious facts could lead to the loss of control over decisions taken by the UN. Thus, national interests, namely, the protection of interests of large capital, companies operating both in the United States and abroad, became the decisive factors that determined such a reversal. However, the real concerns of the cabinet members were about the impact of changes in the atmosphere on the US exchange rate. In 1987 the United States signed the Montreal Protocol on the Protection of the Ozone Layer and supported the creation of the Intergovernmental Panel on Global Climate Change (IPCC) at the UN in 1988. In the same year, the Vice President of the Bush administration at the Paris Economic Summit acted as a world leader in environmental protection issues [7, 22].

President George W. Bush, who took office, continued the course of his predecessor and signed amendments to the Clean Air Act in 1990, stressing the importance of improved pollution monitoring processes and launching economic incentives for businesses to reduce emissions. During the preparation of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, the administration of George W. Bush rejected the proposal of the European and developing countries to make specific commitments to the United States to reduce emissions. Instead, the US agreed to stop GHG emissions by 2000 at the level of those of 1990, which was reflected in the final version of the UN Convention (UNFCCC, Article 4, 2a) [24]. The President and the US Senate supported this convention

in its content. The UN Framework Convention was the final climate agreement that was supported in the United States [1, 267].

4.2 US Climate Policy in 1992–2009

The United States were involved in the development of an international climate treaty that defined specific goals and commitments of countries to reduce GHG emissions in the period of 1992–1997. President B. Clinton, then in power, and his administration were interested in concluding such an agreement. However, just before the start of the conference of the parties in Kyoto on June 12, 1997, the US Senate unanimously adopted a resolution (95:0), known as the Byrd-Hagel resolution [25]. The resolution obliged the US delegation not to sign any agreement that does not guarantee simultaneous actions by the developing countries (primarily China, India, Brazil). The absence of these countries in the list with mandatory goals was considered as a threat to the global competitiveness of the United States of America. Thus, the US Senate would not ratify an agreement similar to the Kyoto Protocol if they did not meet the requirements of the resolution.

In 1997 the US delegation signed the Kyoto Protocol, obliging the US to reduce GHG emissions by 7% in the period of 2008–2012 compared to the year 1990 [26]. Developing countries such as India, China, Brazil, and Mexico were exempted from specific obligations. Bill Clinton signed the Kyoto Protocol on November 12, 1998, but it was not submitted to Congress for ratification, as he knew that it would not be adopted.

This fact of the struggle in the government, the promotion of the agreement and even its signing by the US President with the knowledge of its rejection by the legislature, raises the question of the motives for such actions. G. Simonis notes that this behavior of the American government is not an exception [10, 340]. The US administration signed many environmental agreements that were not later submitted to the Senate for ratification. It can be explained by the desire of the US administration to present itself on the international arena as a player interested in solving a global problem, on the one hand, and by the impotence of implementing these agreements within the country in the absence of the majority of representatives of the president's party in the Senate and Congress, on the other hand. "Divided power" is considered to be the "brakes" of progressive transformations in the country. The presidential administration of B. Clinton was characterized by a situation of "divided government," in which republicans had a majority in both chambers. George W. Bush (2001–2009) was supposed to rule only with an opposition majority in the House of Representatives during the last 2 years of his term (110th Congress). B. Obama (2009–2017) did not have a majority in the House of Representatives. President D. Trump had a majority only in the Senate. J. Biden in 2021, having a majority in the House of Representatives, is inferior to republicans in the Senate [27].

After signing the Kyoto Protocol, B. Clinton hoped future party constellations in the Congress and the Senate would be favorable for the ratification of this treaty.

However, this did not happen. George W. Bush, who came to power in 2001, completely abolished the Kyoto Protocol and during the next 8 years of his rule suppressed any legislative or administrative initiatives requiring reduction of greenhouse gas emissions [2, 5].

The American researcher M. Lisowski explains the position of the American administration providing three very important facts:

1. George Bush's career in the oil industry (Arbusto Energy, the company of the Bush family) for 11 years.
2. Vice President of the United States D. Cheney served as a director of the largest American oil exploration firm Halliburton (Halliburton).
3. The implementation of the concept of "America first," which was then successfully supported by the 47th President of the United States D. Trump. The Bush administration pursued a new energy policy in order to reduce the growing dependence of the USA on oil imports, as well as to turn the country into an important player on the global oil and gas market. The United States withdrew from the treaty, but participated in the work of the UNFCCC COP as a blocker of many proposals [6].

In addition, according to G. Bush's initiative in 2007, the International Economic Forum on Energy Security and Climate Change (major economies meeting on energy security and climate change) was launched. His goal was to find "market-based" ways to reduce greenhouse gases without slowing economic growth [28]. The German researcher G. Simonis identifies at least four major agreements in the field of climate policy (both multi- and bilateral) concluded by the administration of George W. Bush during his presidency with other countries outside the UN framework (e.g., the Global Methane Initiative, which includes more than 40 countries) [10]. Thus, G. Bush wanted to reduce the role of the UN in solving a global problem and take control of the global climate policy.

The withdrawal of the United States from the Kyoto Protocol shifted the center of the fight against global climate change to the meeting room of both chambers, to the capitals of federal states and courts, where complaints of public organizations were considered. In August 2001 two senators D. McCain and D. Lieberman initiated a bill that provided for the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions in the country by 2010 (the Climate Protection Act) [29]. This bill was not approved, but it received significant support in the 2003 vote (55 against 43). In 2005 at the initiative of the same Senator D. McCain, the Upper House passed the law on "climate management and innovation" [30]. The law stimulated measures to decarbonize the US economy through the use of trade quotas for GHG emissions. He assumed that organizations with high GHG emissions should have emission quotas and participate in trading and exchanging. In addition, it provided for (1) the establishment of a National Science Foundation fellowship for graduate students in climate change research; (2) the formation of a report on the impact of the Kyoto Protocol on the United States; (3) the study of the consequences of abrupt climate change; (4) the study of the impact of climate change on low-income groups around the world; and (5) creation

of educational and awareness-raising programs on climate change for agricultural organizations and individual farmers [30].

Initiatives to combat global climate change are also being formed in a number of US states. In some of them, specific plans are being developed to reduce GHG emissions in various sectors, and specific GHG reduction goals are being set. In 2002 California became the first US state to pass the law to tighten CO_2 emissions by road. According to this law, the state must allow the operation of cars with only low gas emissions. And since 2009 it has been planned to provide state support for the purchase of cars with zero GHG emissions. In 2018 the number of such cars in the state was 4.5%. By 2045, California plans to increase their share to 85% [31]. In 2010-15 the USA had a similar law to California. In addition, a group of northeastern and mid-Atlantic States have established a Regional Initiative to Control Greenhouse Gas Emissions (RGGI), which has established maximum emission quotas in the energy sector and required enterprises to buy permits from the state in cases of exceeding them [1, 269].

Thus, American climate policy was characterized by cyclical nature and influenced by the confrontation of the republicans and the democrats. In spite of the polar views of republicans and democrats regarding the goals and instruments of implementing the climate policy, both parties emphasized the importance of economic expediency, flexibility, and freedom of action.

4.3   Climate Policy by the President B. Obama

The election of Barack Obama in 2008 brought radical changes to US climate policy. During his election campaign, he pointed at the global climate change as a priority for his presidency. The climate policy of the new president included fundamental transformations in the economy (introduction of renewable energy, increasing energy and resource efficiency of production, expanding carbon trading markets, etc.), reducing dependence on energy resources from the Middle East (American Clean Energy and Security Act, 2009). B. Obama's plans were complicated by the onset of the global financial crisis and the recession in the United States. The $700 billion economic assistance plan passed by the Congress included $80 billion investments in the field of clean energy and energy efficiency.

At the same time, the United States has increased its activity on the international arena of climate policy. But, they did not deviate from their traditional line of putting pressure on developing countries to make commitments to reduce emissions. The Copenhagen Conference (COP 15) in 2009, which some researchers consider a "failure" in the history of international climate policy, became an important and successful stage in the implementation of this policy for the United States. According to the Copenhagen Agreement, adopted at the subsequent climate conference in Cancun 2010 (COP 16), both developing and industrialized countries undertake

voluntary commitments to reduce greenhouse gas emissions. In addition, the 2 °C target is recognized by the countries as the upper limit of global warming. In 2009, B. Obama promised that by 2020 America would reduce its greenhouse gas emissions by 20% compared to the level of 2005 [13, 525]. Thanks to its foreign climate policy, the United States was able to guarantee that, firstly, a group of developing countries, especially the BRICS countries, after 2012 will take on obligations to reduce emissions and, secondly, US sovereignty on this area will be guaranteed, since the "goals" are mandatory but at the same time voluntary and cannot be brought to justice or sanctions at the international level. In this model, the United States remained independent from the control of international structures, which they, as a global superpower, have always tried to avoid (the policy of the subsequent US president will clearly demonstrate this).

At the Durban Conference (2011), it was decided to adopt a new global climate treaty in 2015 at a conference in Paris. During the discussion of the new treaty, the envoy from the United States in the negotiation process, T. Stern presented his country's positions as the new regime (from 2020) should have a high degree of flexibility and be "ambitious, effective and reliable."

1. Decarbonization obligations should be determined at the national level in accordance with the national conditions and capabilities.
2. Informal norms and "optional requirements" should be applied.
3. The position of the Durban Platform that the legal form of a future agreement may be "a protocol, another legal instrument or an agreed result having legal force" should be interpreted as flexibly as possible, since strict legal norms limit the political field of the country [1].

In December 2015 the US delegation signed the Paris Agreement. The purpose of this agreement is to prevent the atmosphere from warming by more than 1.5 °C by 2100. It was fully consistent with the plans of the presidential administration to reduce GHG emissions by 32% by 2030. According to the national contribution presented at the conference of the parties in Marrakech, they pledged to reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 80% by 2050 compared to the 2005 level [14]. For this purpose, they propose to increase the share of renewable energy sources in the total US electricity generation to 55% and nuclear to 17%. The presidential decree on "Clean Energy" made the synergetic effects between the economic growth of the American economy and the goals of the Paris Agreement possible. The Clean Energy Plan is the quintessence of the US climate policy during the presidency of Barack Obama. According to him, the new requirements for gas emissions will affect more than 1000 power plants, which include more than 600 coal-fired. The President's climate merits can also include stopping the construction of the Keystone oil pipeline, raising energy efficiency standards, creating the world's largest protected marine area, investing in renewable energy, etc. [5, 120].

4.4   Climate Policy Under President Donald Trump

A radical reversal of US climate policy has occurred since coming to power of the Republican President Donald Trump in 2017. Even in his election campaign, the presidential candidate promised his voters the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement and full support for the energy sector based on fossil sources (oil, gas, and coal industries). In February 2017 the President signed the National Energy Plan (America First Energy Plan). This plan provides for the expansion of the fields of activity of the oil and gas industry for the purposes of national energy security and also declares the national goals of the climate policy of former President Barack Obama invalid [11, 239]. Later on, in June 2017, the US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement was announced. Thus, President D. Trump crossed out the entire climate policy of his predecessor in this post due to the fact that the climate agreement was not ratified by the US Congress but was signed by the President in the form of an executive order.

The priority development of the oil and gas sector in the United States under D. Trump was no longer aimed at ensuring the national energy security of the country (as was observed under the rule of the Bush clan) but was aimed at increasing its energy influence around the world. D. Trump saw the USA among the leading energy exporters, so he expanded the markets for American oil and gas concerns, using his political and economic force (as in the case of the "Nord Stream – 2"). The expansion of the energy companies went along with the simultaneous destruction and subordination of state environmental authorities. The Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has become the main target of President Donald Trump's destructive measures. In the first year of his reign, D. Trump reorganized the department. A significant part of the employees was dismissed. During the transitional period of reforms, M. Ebell was the head of the board and demanded to reduce the number of employees and cut the budget [32]. E. Wheeler (2018–2021) and S. Pruitt (2017–2018) denied global climate change. As a result, this department has practically lost its purpose and has become an instrument of the economic policy of the presidential administration. In 2017–2020 the Research Center on Global Climate Change Legislation registered more than 50 regulations of the Environment Agency, which were directed against achieving the climate goals of the Paris Agreement [33]. For instance, on September 1, 2019, the Agency published a strategic plan for 2018–2022, which never mentions global climate change; permits the extraction of energy resources in protected areas of the Arctic; cancels California's authority to set its own emission standards (September 19, 2019); etc. Summing up the results of the foreign and domestic climate policy of the Presidential Administration by D. Trump, it can be concluded that for the entire period of its existence, the US climate policy has not had such an absolutely dismissive attitude toward itself as under the 45th US President.

4.5 *Climate Policy Under President Joe Biden*

Under the administration of J. Biden, who assumed the presidency in 2020, the United States officially restored its participation in the Paris Agreement. In his message in Twitter, Biden wrote: "Today we are facing overlapping crises: COVID-19, the economic crisis caused by it, climate change and racial inequality. Today, President Biden has taken action to combat these challenges" [34]. Immediately after his inauguration, he signed an executive order obliging the administration to join the United States to the Paris Climate Agreement. In addition, J. Biden instructed federal agencies to completely review and repeal all federal regulations and regulations introduced by the Trump administration, which were related to climate change issues. On January 27, 2021, J. Biden announced the creation of the Bureau for the Management of Internal Climate Policy (Climate Policy Office) under the Presidential Administration, which was endowed with extraordinary rights and functions. In particular, it coordinates the process of developing internal climate policy, advises the President on these issues, ensures compliance of decisions and programs of the internal climate policy with the goals declared by the President and their effective achievement, and monitors the implementation of the President's internal agenda in the field of climate policy [35]. The new President also presented nine key points of his Clean Energy Revolution plan, which provides for 100% CO_2-free electricity generation by 2035 [36]. By 2050, the United States should become an emission-neutral state.

At the Global Climate Summit in April 2021, the United States presented its new climate finance plan and updated the country's nationally determined contribution under the Paris Agreement. The document announced ambitious goals to reduce GHG emissions by 50–52% by 2030 compared to the 2005 level in November 2021 at the Climate Summit in Glasgow (Great Britain) [37]. The United States has announced its intention to once again become an international leader in the fight against global climate change. In his speech from the podium of the climate summit, he said that "climate change is an existential threat to the existence of humanity in its current form. Every day we delay, the price of inaction increases. Let this be the moment when we answer the call of history here in Glasgow. Let this be the beginning of a decade of transformative action. It's within our power, we just have to make a choice in favor of it. So let's get to work" [38].

Climate reforms of the administration of J. Biden are expressed primarily in the form of investment programs within the framework of his economic policy. In November 2021, J. Biden signed an "infrastructure" law that provides for large-scale investments in the renovation of roads and railways, bridges, urban buildings, and residential buildings, the development of electric mobility and environmentally friendly transport, improving the water supply system, protecting the population from the effects of climate change, etc. The total volume of the planned investments will be about $1.2 trillion.

A switch to the traditional course of climate policy is still feasible in the United States regardless the radical changes in approaches at the highest level of the

leadership in the country. Anyway, it will be directly linked to the success of the economic policy measures taken by the current US administration.

5   Conclusions

To sum up, the evolution of the US climate policy since the 1960s has been characterized by its discreteness and opportunism, often blocking functions in the adoption of international documents. Moreover, the goals of the internal climate policy depended entirely on the specific ideas and political priorities of the presidents. As a rule, under the democratic presidents, it was given more attention to, while under the republican presidents, it was pushed to the periphery of the political field of the nation or as under President D. Trump was subjected to oblivion and even persecution.

The US climate policy is unique with its typical features that distinguish it from other countries. Firstly, the American administration does not solely rely on a comprehensive UN climate regime but insists on the establishment of multilateral, bilateral special regimes, in which American influence is greater than in the multilateral framework of the UN. Secondly, there is a conflict between the republican and democratic parties regarding the goals, objectives, and tools for implementing the climate policy. The decisions taken are reflected in the presidential decrees, which have low legal force and can be easily canceled by the next president. In this regard, the "strong," modern climate policy of J. Biden may fail in the transfer of power to the republican president, perhaps again to D. Trump. Thirdly, it is the important role of the private sector in the formation and implementation of the goals of the national climate policy. On the one hand, this is lobbying of "anti-climate" decisions in the US Congress by oil and gas companies and, on the other hand, support and investment of many large companies in green technologies; green innovations; "clean energy, waste-free production"; etc. Fourth, along with the "maneuvering" national climate policy, some of the US states are pursuing a more consistent policy in this sphere. Under the administration of George W. Bush, who announced the US withdrawal from the Kyoto Protocol in 2001, California and a number of other states declared their commitment to the treaty. The US Climate Alliance (USCA), including 24 US states and Puerto Rico, was formed in 2017 as a counterweight to the "anti-climatic" course of President Donald Trump. All of these states have by far higher climate policy goals than the federal government.

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Sustainable Development of Active Ageing Policy in Europe, Russia, and China. Before and During Pandemic

Konstantin Galkin

Abstract Population ageing is a global process, characteristic of European states as well as Russia and China. One of the proportional replies to the challenges of global ageing is the creation of conditions that ensure maximum autonomy and activity, as well as social support for senior citizens and the opportunity to be active. The aim of the paper is to analyze the features of social policy in the field of active ageing in European states and the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China before and during the pandemic.

The study highlights key trends and differences within the framework of the European, Russian, and Chinese policies of active ageing. The comparative analysis focuses on the study of the experience of European countries; the policy of these countries is focused around the development of active ageing, which allows us to consider the experience of these countries as a reference. Also in the study, we consider the differences and specifics of ageing and old age within the framework of country differences that are considered in the work. These countries have been implementing a variety of mechanisms in the field of active ageing for many years. The article reveals the specifics of implementation of such policies and provides a review of the strengths and weaknesses of active ageing policies in the three countries under consideration.

Keywords Active ageing · Older people · European countries · Russian Federation · China · Programs of active ageing

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1   Introduction

The increase in the number of senior citizens in the total population of countries is called demographic ageing. This is associated with a transformation in the chronological understanding of age [28, 55, 65]. Of course, this situation requires new measures enshrined in social policy [56, 57, 58]. The concept of healthy ageing is based on the individual viability of older people and functional viability [26, 46]. This leads to two indicators in determining the health of the older. The first refers to the totality of older people's physical and mental states that they can use at any given time to be more active [62]. The second indicator, the conditions within which older people age, refers to the environment, interactions and communication within it, as well as the specific social policies in the country in which senior citizens live [62].

Healthy ageing, as an important starting point for active ageing, was the goal of the European Strategy "Health for All in the 21st Century," adopted in 1998 [2]. The starting point for legitimation and launching active ageing policies was the Madrid Plan of Action on Ageing and Active Ageing in Spain, adopted in 2002, which addresses the issue of ageing and the maintenance of activities in old age [50].

The main feature of the Madrid Plan is the consideration of aging as an active time of life [16].

A comparative analysis of active ageing policy during the pandemic in Europe, Russia, and China allows us to identify its advantages and problems, to outline possible options for its improvement. This comparison allows us to identify and outline the prospects for the development of active ageing policy, taking into account the emerging complexities that pandemic conditions create for active ageing policy.

2   Methods of Research

The empirical basis is sociological and social policy research, as well as various regulations and programs concerning active ageing policies in European states, Russia, and China. The review of the features of active ageing policy after and during the pandemic, and the prospects for transformation of such policy, is based on the study of research and sociological works. A total of 80 scientific articles ($n = 80$) and 100 different programs and regulations on active ageing policy were analyzed. The main method of material analysis is content analysis, in which, when studying the materials, attention was paid to the peculiarities of the development of active ageing in the countries studied. The work uses open, axial, and step-by-step coding. At the open coding stage, we selected all the topics from the programs, documents, and research articles on active ageing in European countries, Russia, and China that we met. Axial coding consisted in highlighting the key topics within which the features of active ageing were described. The raw data was organized into conceptual categories, which formed the basis of the key sections of the article. Further, at the

stage of step-by-step coding, the analysis field narrowed from a set of different topics to specific requests, namely, the study of how the active ageing policy is organized in the countries studied and what features exist within the framework of the development of active longevity policy within specific initiatives.

The European states are considered in the study as reference ones, since it was in European countries that the idea of active ageing arose and began to develop [66]. In this sense, European states can serve as a benchmark for comparing the features in the social policy measures of active ageing and their transformations in the pandemic period. Also, in the context of comparing European states and Russia, an important aspect is the geographical proximity of these states and the orientation of the Russian policy of active ageing to European standards [51, 54]. China's experience in this situation represents a different experience from other countries, where active ageing policy before the pandemic developed according to its own specific criteria and China's experience is related to the fact that this country was most affected by the pandemic itself and therefore it becomes important to study the prospects and specifics as well as the specifics and possible recovery of active ageing policy in this country [61].

3   Results of Research

In continental Europe, before the pandemic, social insurance institutions positioned ageing as an issue related to the provision of financial sustainability policies for senior citizens [3, 55, 63]. In France, Austria, and Germany, adjustments and changes in periods of employability were actively applied [12, 23]. The trends in the development of the pension system in Germany and Poland are such that there is an active development of the insurance part of the pension [6, 21, 36, 47]. Encouraging partial retirement has also been one of the features of continental European social policies for active ageing. Such policy was also adopted in Austria, where incomplete (partial) retirement was encouraged [38]. Key social policies on active ageing, in the welfare states of continental Europe, before the pandemic, focused on bringing older workers back into the labor markets, creating different institutional conditions for development and increasing opportunities for integration into the labor markets of older workers [20]. Social policies for active ageing in welfare states developed predominantly along the lines of a neoliberal approach to ageing, where activities, in particular work, become the basis for the integration of senior citizens into society [45]. The main problem of the development of active ageing in European welfare states is the institutional view of ageing and activity and, consequently, the lack of attention to the importance of implementing local initiatives within the framework of active ageing policy. In European studies, it is noted that attention to research on the situation of older people is given a minor role [10, 18, 34].

During the pandemic, the most significant damage to the development and prospects of active ageing policies in European states has been caused by emerging and evolving ageism and discrimination. Age discrimination is in a wide range of social

spheres, which has been created by forced isolation due to the need to prevent the possibility of infection to senior citizens [37, 42]. There are also differences that can be seen in the poverty of older people across different locations and different countries and the emerging ageism here [17, 43].

Researchers note the lack of real political influence of older citizens in European states during the pandemic, as well as real older initiatives [19]. At the same time, the involvement of older people in political activity contributes to the deinstitutionalization of the policy of active ageing in general.

Researchers point out that one of the opportunities to overcome the crisis set and created by the COVID-19 pandemic for European states is the creation and development of new measures and ways of implementing active ageing policies for senior citizens [30, 48].

Government policy and social programs to support senior citizens in Russia have until recently been largely focused on medical care and the problems associated with the natural ageing of the population. The established geriatric service was engaged in the protection and support of the elderly [49]. However, the health aspect of the elderly in this case comes to the fore, and there is a lack of provision of psychological and medical support for older people within the service [13].

The Conception of Demographic Policy of the Russian Federation emphasizes the importance of taking specialized measures aimed at developing a policy of active ageing and overcoming the difficulties associated with ageing [44]. Among the measures indicated in the text of the document, the need for establishment of special geriatric centers, development of active ageing, and the inclusion of senior citizens in society are also mentioned [52]. Russian researchers of active ageing note that it is the state that should ensure and stimulate the maximum inclusion and integration of older people in active life, through healthcare and prevention of disease treatment to encourage healthy and active lifestyles, the maximum inclusion of senior citizens in social life, and the minimization of poverty and social exclusion of older people [8, 22, 27].

According to Russian researchers of active ageing, it is important in the Russian context to create the necessary infrastructure for the possibilities of reauthorizing the potential of older people. At the same time, measures such as the integration of senior citizens into the labor market and continued employment are usually not taken into account in the social policy of active ageing [4, 14].

In Russia, the crisis of active ageing during the pandemic is not as visible simply because the concept itself has not been fully integrated and has not had time to grow into the system. However, as the researchers point out, the greatest problems and the greatest damage to the policy of active ageing in Russia have been delivered by isolation and a return to the previous most medically overloaded definitions of age as well as the overall specificity of age consideration [1, 9]. This has also created the problem of ageism, not infrequently resulting in the closure of many active ageing programs in Russia.

The concept of active ageing is relevant and quite actively developed in PRC. This policy has been pursued in the PRC for several decades, and the basis for these policies is the increase in the birth rate and the population growth in China [11, 40].

It is now projected that by 2050, the PRC will have a high proportion of its older population over 60, with a high proportion of growth in this age group. This, in turn, will lead the country to a labor shortage and will certainly have a negative impact on economic development and growth rates [33]. The PRC State Council predicts that by 2030, the elderly will constitute a quarter of the PRC's population. Among the main negative trends of active demographic ageing in the country are the increasing pressure on social insurance, the creation of new demand for public services by working people, the active integration of older workers into labor markets, and the reduction of tax revenues from the employed [25, 35]. Ageing is occurring quite rapidly, and very often the labor market has not kept pace with demographic ageing; consequently, there are more older workers every year, which complicates the employment market situation. It is worth noting that the Chinese government has placed great emphasis on anti-ageing measures at the global and national levels. Indeed, as early as 1982, the central government delegated a special representative to the first World Assembly on Ageing and then to the second Assembly in 2002. Since the 1990s, many specific legislations, institutions, and policies on ageing have been adopted. Between 2011 and 2017, more than 100 policies on ageing were published at the national level, with 17 of them published only in 2017 [39, 24, 59]. The Chinese government's active response to ageing, as a national strategy, was confirmed in the 14th 5-year plan. However, the term "activism" has been narrowly understood by the authors of state social policy in the areas of ageing as an increase in state-dominated social welfare through traditional centralized measures, regulating state policy in the area of active ageing [60, 64]. This requires a critical look and consideration of the specifics of how the PRC's active ageing policy is actually regulated and what problems exist in it. The Chinese government is absolutely dominant in terms of social welfare, and older people themselves are seen as passive recipients of social services. In the context of an administrative system characterized by vertical governance, local governments are the main bodies responsible for the social welfare of senior citizens. They tend to provide social support directly, establishing public institutions or internal markets under their control [15, 31]. The International Social Security Association has praised China's unprecedented progress in expanding social security coverage. In addition to social pension and health insurance covering all people, a number of other income security schemes have been established, such as the old-age allowance for the elderly aged 80 and over, income compensation for service costs, and subsidies for the care of older disabled people living in poverty. Long-term care insurance (LTCI) has been piloted in 49 cities across 27 provinces. In general, although many macro-social policies (reports of the National Congress of the Communist Party of China, annual reports on the government, the 5-year plan for the elderly and "China Health 2030") place great emphasis on social services for the elderly, limited progress has been made [5, 41]. The main problem is that most of these policy statements have not been translated into practical applications, creating extreme difficulties during the pandemic when active ageing policies were halted and senior citizens were mostly subjected to the most severe isolation, much more severe than similar measures in Russia and in European countries.

In general, the policy of active ageing in the PRC should be considered, outlining the following points in the framework of its development. "The Five Requirements for Healthy and Productive Ageing" outlines China's development goals in the field of population ageing [7]. It emphasizes the importance of senior citizens using their knowledge and experience to participate in social development and contribute to their families and society. In doing so, as noted in the document, the main structural points are employment, volunteering of senior citizens, development of healthcare, and development of training for senior citizens [7]. The employment of senior citizens is one of the most important components in the widespread implementation and development of active ageing policies. The employment situation of senior citizens in China was characterized by two characteristics: higher employment rates among men than women and higher employment rates among young people compared to senior citizens. Research has shown that while a third of the elderly living in urban areas want jobs, the employment rate of the elderly in urban areas tends to be steadily declining [32]. This is mainly influenced by compulsory retirement policies, which have been adopted and are being actively developed in the PRC. Important for Chinese realities are the development of the fastest and most purposeful integration of older people into social life and the expansion of the policy of opportunities for the elderly themselves, as well as their contribution to the society.

The coronavirus pandemic has marked a long-standing crisis of the concept of active ageing and the social and philosophical foundations that have made it relatively stable. People over the age of 65 are now defined globally as a special risk group in need of isolation and protection. The decade-long persistent struggle for inclusion has temporarily given way to a struggle for exclusion [29, 53, 67, 68]. This appears to be one of the sore points of the coronavirus crisis, one of the greatest challenges for social policy and welfare systems around the world.

4 Conclusions

Summarizing the obtained results of the analysis of social policy documents and strategies of European states of the Russian Federation and China in the field of active ageing, differences and similarities should be noted. The European Policy of Active Ageing is focused on two key contexts, namely, the expansion of opportunities and the creation of jobs for the elderly and the development of medicine and the preservation of the health of the elderly. It should also be noted that, like the Russian and Chinese policies of active ageing, the European policy is too institutionally overloaded, and within the framework of the development of this policy, there are often no opportunities for the implementation of grassroots initiatives.

The coronavirus pandemic has restored age boundaries and shaken the intergenerational contract of most societies. Boundaries of age, opportunity, and desire, which had been erased with varying degrees of success over decades, were suddenly erect again. The crisis reminded us of biology, accentuated vulnerability, which reproduced the elderly as "others." The current situation has revealed the barriers to

implementation of the most important neoliberal link of the whole ageing project "activity - social inclusion," on which both the fight against poverty and social inequality and the opposition to ageism have relied.

It should be important for the development of active ageing policy to focus on individual characteristics in understanding comfort and convenience for the elderly, as well as the development of active ageing policy in the field. Thus, the policy of active ageing in both European welfare states and Russia should take into account the real problems of the elderly, among which the fight against various inequalities created institutionally and the transition to the individual accessibility of the choice of the preferred model/models of ageing are important.

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