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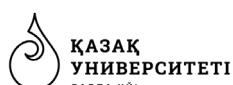
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Халықаралық катынастар және халықаралық құқық сериясында қазіргі кездегі халықаралық катынастар мәселелері, алемдік интеграциялық үдерістер, халықаралық қауіпсіздік мәселелері, халықаралық қатынастар және сыртқы саясат тарихы, халықаралық құқықтың өзекті мәселелері, мемлекетшілік құқық, халықаралық экономикалық қатынастар бағыттары бойынша мақалалар жарияланады.



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1-бөлім

**ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҚАТЫНАСТАРДЫҢ
ӨЗЕКТІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРИ**

Section 1

**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES OF
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

Раздел 1

**АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ**

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RECENT TRENDS OF MIGRATION TO RWANDA: POLICY AND CONTRIBUTION TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Migration and migration policy go hand in hand and every country on earth sets policies to regulate it. When migrants are well managed, they significantly contribute to sustainable development of both hosting and origin country. Regional integration and globalization process are also drivers of migration and cannot be left behind, though mostly the reasons are to find out good standards of living.

This study "Recent trends of Migration to Rwanda: Policy and contribution to sustainable development" had aim to analyze recent trends of migration to Rwanda starting with a brief historical context and moving on to current sustainable developments. This paper also discussed broad trends in the rates and levels of migration to Rwanda over the past decade, the destination they chose on arrival to Rwanda; and policy implication of these trends. It also served as a tool for policymakers working on migration issues in Rwanda to help clarify the basis of current migration policy and indicate the potential of the existing framework for development-oriented approach to migration management in Rwanda.

The results showed that migration and migration policy in Rwanda had contributed to sustainable development in Rwanda. The results showed that those immigrants with necessary skills greatly contribute to the Rwanda sustainable development by doing jobs that Rwandans cannot do and pay high taxes to the Government. The government also gains taxes and Rwandans learn from their counterparts from the regions. Skilled migration to Rwanda played an important role in filling labor needs in various sectors of the economy that are essential for Rwanda economic growth and development.

Key words: migration, sustainable development, migration policy, regional integration, immigrants.

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Руандадаға көші-қонның соңғы тенденциялары: саясат және тұрақты дамуға қосқан үлесі

Көші-қон және көші-қон саясаты бір-бірімен байланысты және жер бетіндегі әр ел оны реттеу саясатын белгілейді. Мигранттар жақсы басқарылған кезде, олар қабылдаушы елдің де, шыққан елдің де тұрақты дамуына айтарлықтай үлес қосады. Аймақтық интеграция және жаһандану процесі де көші-қонның қозғаушы құші болып табылады және оны артта қалдыру мүмкін емес, дегенмен негізінен себептер жақсы өмір сүру деңгейін табу болып табылады.

Бұл зерттеу Руандадаға көші-қонның соңғы тенденциялары: саясат және тұрақты дамуға қосқан үлесі Руандадаға көші-қонның соңғы тенденцияларын қысқаша тарихи контекстен бастап, қазіргі тұрақты оқиғаларға көшүді талдауға бағытталған. Бұл құжат сонымен қатар соңғы онжылдықта Руандадаға көші-қон қарқыны мен деңгейінің жалпы тенденцияларын, Руандадаға келген кезде таңдаған бағытын және осы тенденциялардың саяси салдарын талқылайды. Ол сонымен қатар қазіргі көші-қон саясатының негіздерін нақтылауға және Руандадағы көші-қонды басқаруға бағытталған көзқарастың қолданыстағы шенберлерінің әлеуетін көрсетуге көмектесу үшін Руандадағы көші-қон мәселелерімен айналысатын Директивті органдардың құралы болды.

Нәтижелер Руандадағы көші-қон және көші-қон саясаты Руанданың тұрақты дамуына ықпал еткенін көрсетті. Нәтижелер көрсеткендей, қажетті дағдылары бар бұл иммигранттар Руанданың тұрақты дамуына үлкен үлес қосады, руандалықтар орындаі алмайтын жұмысты орындаіды және Үкіметке жоғары салық төлейді. Үкімет сонымен бірге салық алады, ал руандалықтар аймақтардағы әріптестерінен сабак алады. Руандадаға білікті кадрлардың көші-қоны Руанданың экономикалық өсіүі мен дамуы үшін қажет экономиканың әртүрлі салаларында жұмыс қүшіне деген қажеттілікті қанағаттандыруда маңызды рөл атқарды.

Түйін сөздер: көші-қон, орнықты даму, көші-қон саясаты, аймақтық интеграция, иммигранттар⁷

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Последние тенденции миграции в Руанду: политика и вклад в устойчивое развитие

Миграция и миграционная политика неразделимы, и каждая страна в мире устанавливает политику для ее регулирования. Правильное управление мигрантами вносит значительный вклад в устойчивое развитие как принимающей страны, так и страны происхождения. Процессы региональной интеграции и глобализации также являются движущими силами миграции и не могут быть оставлены без внимания, хотя в основном причины заключаются в том, чтобы достичь хорошего уровня жизни.

Данное исследование «Последние тенденции миграции в Руанду: политика и вклад в устойчивое развитие» направлено на анализ последних тенденций миграции в Руанду, начиная с краткого исторического контекста и переходя к текущим устойчивым изменениям. В этом документе также обсуждаются общие тенденции в темпах и уровнях миграции в Руанду за последнее десятилетие, место назначения, которое они выбрали по прибытии в Руанду, а также последствия этих тенденций для политики. Оно также является инструментом для политиков, занимающихся вопросами миграции в Руанде, с целью прояснения основ текущей миграционной политики и указания потенциала существующей основы для ориентированного на развитие подхода к управлению миграцией в Руанде.

Результаты показали, что миграционная политика Руанды способствовала устойчивому развитию Руанды. Результаты показали, что иммигранты с необходимыми навыками вносят большой вклад в устойчивое развитие Руанды, выполняя работу, которую руандийцы не могут выполнять и платят высокие налоги правительству. Правительство также получает налоги и руандийцы учатся у своих коллег из регионов. Квалифицированная миграция в Руанду сыграла важную роль в удовлетворении потребностей в рабочей силе в различных секторах экономики, которые необходимы для экономического роста и развития Руанды.

Ключевые слова: миграция, устойчивое развитие, миграционная политика, региональная интеграция, иммигранты.

Introduction

People migrate to respond to economic or other problems they feel in their home country and for the promise of attractive alternatives elsewhere. Migration is therefore, a coping mechanism for changing circumstances (Kepinska 2007, 14). Past analyses have demonstrated that the direction and intensity of movements can often be explained with the “push” and “pull” factors. Previous African studies have often focused on rural push factors, such as low agricultural prices, urban pull factors such as the promise of high income, to help understand the urbanization process, but they have often neglected to contemplate how these factors may have changed in a country over time (Olson 1990, 1).

International mobility of people has significant impacts not only on the lives of migrants but also on the fortunes of people they leave behind and those where they make their new homes. Due to this therefore, policymakers pay much attention to the trends and patterns of international migration.

There is also another trend of changing dynamics in what is motivating movements of people. For example, some skilled experts have been targeting

emerging economies with gaps in expertise to take advantage of the existing needs (Olson 1990, 13). This has been the case where Kenyan and Ugandan experts have increasingly been moving to Rwanda and Burundi to provide them with much needed skills and expertise (Olson 1990, 13). Also business people have been targeting virgin and less competitive areas which has led to a number of companies including banks from Kenya to move to Rwanda and Burundi (A case of Kenya Commercial Bank “KCB” and Nakumatt).

Migration is one of the features that define the 21st century. It significantly contributes to all aspects of economic and social development everywhere, and as such is key to achieving the sustainable development Goals (SDGs) (AID 1987, 11). Although the relationship between migration and development is recognized, it remains underexplored. We know that lack of opportunities and investment in origin countries can drive migration (Brown, Lawrence A. and Victoria A. Lawson. 1985, 432). But we also know that migration can improve development and investment in origin countries, fill labor gaps and foster innovation in host countries, and can contribute to development along the journey (or, in

“transit countries”) (Albert, T, Maxime A, Crener, and G.Gagnon. 1982, 33). It is an effective poverty reduction tool- not just for migrants themselves, but also for their families and their wider communities.

After Rwanda has joined the East African Community July 9, 2009, the country gets a big number of inflows especially from neighboring countries of Kenya, Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo (Official Homepage of the East African Community, EAC, 2021). As per the Rwanda migration report of March 2017, in/outflows of people to Rwanda have increased to 18% compared to the last 5 years. A good number of foreign workers started to migrate to Rwanda after 1994 genocide against Tutsi (Amin, Samir. 1974, 11). This article analyzes recent trends of migration to Rwanda starting with a brief historical context and moving on to current sustainable developments as a contribution of migration to Rwanda.

This paper also discusses broad trends in the rates and levels of migration to Rwanda over the past decade, the destination they choose on arrival to Rwanda; and policy implication of these trends. It also serves as a tool for policymakers working on migration issues in Rwanda to help clarify the basis of current migration policy and indicate the potential of the existing framework for development-oriented approach to migration management in Rwanda.

Many researchers in Rwanda and in the region have conducted research in the field of migration, regional integration, etc. but limited only on remittances sent to/from Rwanda. The purpose of this work is to have a critical analysis of migration and migration policy in Rwanda, its trends and contribution to sustainable development. The results will help political decision makers to look into the current migration policy and see if they have to do any amendments; forecast the future of Rwandan citizens in the mirror of migration; they will also be aware of what migration contribute to sustainable development and so adequate majors can be taken.

Research Methodology

This section outlines the research scope, strategy as well as the method used to produce this research paper. It aims to contribute to the body of research about the enabling environment of diaspora contributions to their country of origin. It attempts to provide an overview of the most salient policies implemented in order to encourage contributions. When policy makers know which and how policies enable diaspora to contribute, a more focused approach can be initiated. This paper concentrates

on migration policies in Rwanda and their effects on sustainable development. It is important to note that there may be some positive aspects for the recipient country by receiving cheapo labor as well as negative aspects like poor integration, unemployment among local people who may cause conflict in a country. It is further important to point out that this paper is dealing with the development potential of migration and remittances rather than a predetermined impact in terms of gross domestic product (GDP). It is therefore essential to conceptualize migration as an endogenous variable, which is part of a wider development process. In a bid to carry out this study, this work bases its methodology on primary and secondary data. Reliable data were collected from relevant information sources from Ministry of Public Service and Labor in Rwanda and Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration. I also conducted phone call interviews with relevant government and non-government stakeholders as well as individual actors affected by migration policy and migrants activities in Rwanda. The total interviewees were 25 in number. 13 from Government and 12 from Private Institutions. Data were analyzed with SPSS and assessed the variance and relationship of migration and migration policy to sustainable development of Rwanda. Trends of migration to Rwanda were also attended.

Migration background in Rwanda

1. The Migration Policy in Rwanda

The migration policy in Rwanda is a newly prepared document that seeks to fulfill the key principles of the Rwanda Economic Development and Poverty Reduction (EDPRS) and the vision 2020. The above important document provides a clear road map of how Rwanda and its people envisage being in the year 2020 (ILO 2020, 3). The main goal in the vision 2020 was that Rwanda seeks to transform its economy from the agriculture driven to knowledge-based economy. The engine of the knowledge economy is highly skilled labor and well-educated workforce whom is able to increase productivity and competitiveness (Bernard, Frank E. 1982, 63).

The migration policy is developed along these principles of vision 2020 that seeks to transform Rwanda into a prosperous welcoming and secure nation built on principles of good governance, human resource development, infrastructure development, entrepreneurship and private sector driven, modernization of agriculture and regional integration.

The Rwandan Migration policy aims to achieve the following objectives (ILO 2020, 3):

- Facilitate and encourage tourists to come to Rwanda without challenge and hesitation;
- Allow entry of foreign skilled workforce found to be lacking in Rwanda's labor market;
- Allow and facilitate entry of investors with substantial funds to come and invest in the country;
- Enable the Rwandan Diaspora to contribute towards nation building;
- The policy intends to maximize the benefits of the skilled migration at the same time alleviating

the consequences of illegal migration through a skilled work program. The government of Rwanda believes that those immigrants with necessary skills will greatly contribute to the Rwandan economic development by doing jobs that Rwandese cannot do and pay high taxes to the Government. The government will gain taxes and Rwandese will learn from their counterparts from the regions.

Skilled migration to Rwanda will play important role in filling labor needs in various sectors of the economy that are essential for Rwanda economic growth and development.

Table 1 – Immigration and Emigration provided services and cost per service

No	Service	Time Frame	Cost in Rwandan Francs	Observation
1	Ordinary Work Visa/Permit)	3 working days	50000	Originally it was costing 200000
2	Religious And Student Visa	3 working days	50000	
3	Diplomatic Visa	2hours	Free	
4	Resident and Work permit	4 working days	50000	It used to cost 200,000
5	Extended Resident Visa	3working days	50000	
6	Foreign Identity card	2 working days	5000	
7	Temporary Resident Permit for refugees	7working days	Free	
8	Single entry visa for non EAC, COMESA member states and those without bilateral agreement with Rwanda	2 working days	\$60	
9	Emergency travel documents for foreigners	2 working days	50000	
10	The Rwandan passport	5 working days	50000	
11	Certificate of nationality for naturalization	3 months	100,000	
12	Certificate for foreigners born on the Rwandan Territory	3 months	20,000	
13	Certificate for foreigners married to a Rwandan	3 months	20,000	
14	Registration certificate for International NGOs	7 working days	free	
15	Laissez-Passer	2 working days	3000	

Source: Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration. Received by email: diaspora@migration.gov.rw : Received on May 29, 2019

From the table above, clearly the procedures to obtain the required documents to come to Rwanda have been simplified. For instance, it takes on average three days to get the required documents and the cost has been extremely reduced which illustrates Rwanda's commitment to facilitate movements of people. Indeed, most of these services can be received online on the website www.migration.gov.rw.

The new migration policy mainly seeks to facilitate tourists, promote foreign direct investment and attract high skilled workers to fill the existing

gaps in the labor market. The long-term objective is to position Rwanda as a major tourist destination as well as a skills and investment hub in the region. The migration services seek to contribute towards the creation of a high income, knowledge based and innovative economy built on excellent public service delivery.

2. Policy Options for Addressing Migration and Development

Clearly the current migration policy well aligns with investment, tourism and skill development

policies in Rwanda. The tourism and investment promotion have been designated as the potential engines for the Rwandan Economic development (Morlachetti, A. 2015, 91). From the analysis of the Rwanda migration policy, there is an enormous economic advantage that accrues to the country which should be replicated by the EAC (East African Community) partner states and these advantages include:

Increased productivity and competitiveness due to skilled work force;

Emigrants are able to share and exchange their best practices and experiences with local citizens.

On a concluding note, it is important to take account of the fact that the Rwandan migration

policy has been developed to drive investment, skills development and tourism promotion, which are key components in the Rwanda's economic development and poverty reduction strategy (EDPRS) and the vision 2020. The basis being that the country needs talents and skills to ensure innovation, build institutions and implement developmental programs to speed up its socio-economic development programs as articulated in the vision 2020.

Results and Discussion

The presented results derive from different data sources. Migrant tables by their status, sex and area of residence are presented.

Table 2 – Distribution (Number and percentage) of the resident population by migration status, sex and area of residence

Area of Residence	Number of migrants	Number of non-migrants	Not stated	Percentage of foreign born Migrants
Male	188,841	4,870,438	5,589	3.7%
Female	181,390	5,263,858	5,861	3.3%
Total Urban	370,231	10,134,292	11,450	3.5%
Male	95,770	794,172	1,864	10.7%
Female	84,459	759,553	1,866	10.0%
Total Rural	180,229	1,553,725	3,730	10.4%
Male	93,071	4,076,266	3,725	2.2%
Female	96,931	4,504,301	3,995	2.1%
Total	190,002	8,580,567	7,720	2.2%

Source: Rwanda Ministry of Public Service and Labor. Rwanda Population and Housing Census. Received on May 29, 2019

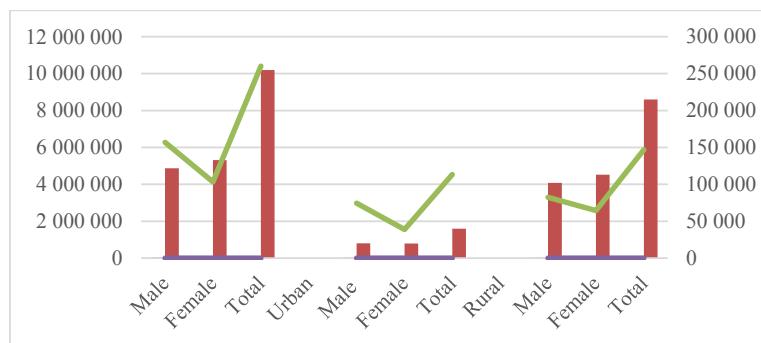


Figure 1

Source: Author's own work based on the Statistics from the Ministry of Public Service and Labor, Rwandan Population and Housing Census 2012

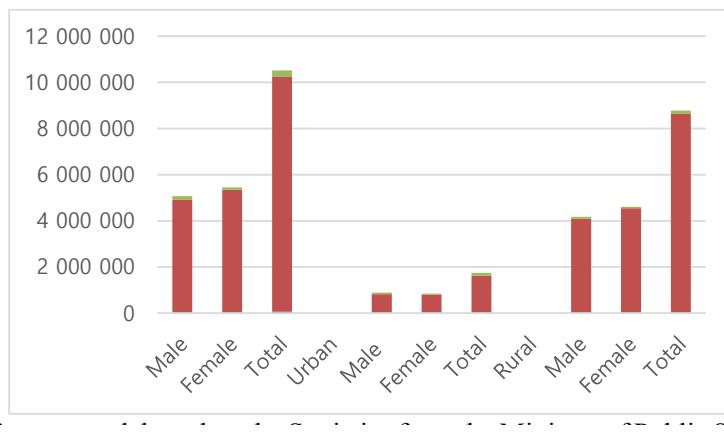
The distribution of foreign-born residents by sex and province of residence shows that the percentage of foreign-born females is slightly

higher in all provinces except in Kigali city, where 55% are males, and in the Eastern province where the percentage of females is equal to that of males.

Table 3 – Distribution (number and percentage) of the resident population by recent migration status, area of residence and sex

Area of Residence	Number of migrants	Number of non-migrants	Not stated	Percentage of foreign born Migrants
Male	469,795	4,394,994	200,079	9.3%
Female	470,798	4,816,712	163,595	8.6%
Total/ Urban	940,593	9,211,706	363,674	8.9%
Male	222,815	591,051	77,940	25.0%
Female	204,594	596,577	44,707	24.2%
Total/ Rural	427,409	1,187,628	122,647	24.6%
Male	246,980	3,803,943	122,139	5.9%
Female	266,204	4,220,135	118,888	5.8%
Total	513,184	8,024,078	241,027	5.8%

Source: Rwanda Ministry of Public Service and Labor

**Figure 2**

Source: Author's own work based on the Statistics from the Ministry of Public Service and Labor, Rwandan Population and Housing Census 2012

Table 3 bellow presents the distribution of the resident population that experienced a recent migration by province and area of residence. It shows that, as observed in Table 1, the highest percentage of recent migrants is also found in Kigali City (about 29%) and the Eastern Province (about 14%). Again, as expected,

the percentage of recent migrants is always higher in urban areas than in rural areas. The difference between urban and rural areas ranges from a six-fold difference in the Western Province (about 12% urban and 2% rural) to a two-fold difference in the Eastern Province (about 23% urban and 13% rural).

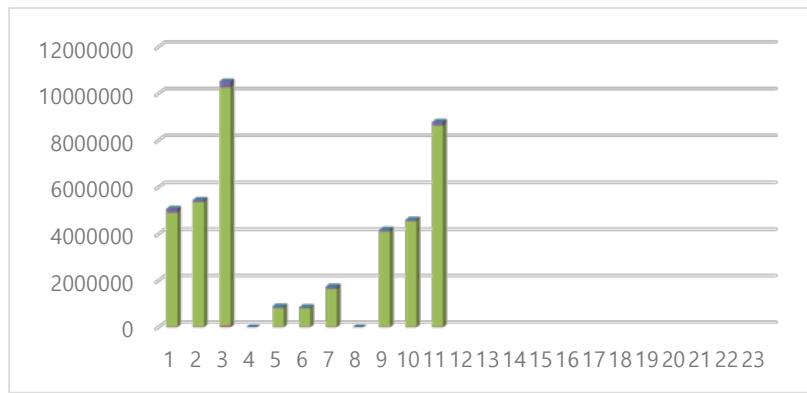
Table 4 – Number and percentage of resident population that has experienced a recent migration by sex, province and area of residence

Province and area of residence	Male		Female		Both Sex	
	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants
Urban	222,815	25.0%	204,594	24.2%	427,409	24.6%
Rural	246,980	5.9%	266,204	5.8%	513,184	5.9%

Continuation of table 4

Province and area of residence	Male		Female		Both Sex	
	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants	Number of Migrants	% of Migrants
Total/ Kigali City	469,795	9.3%	470,798	8.6%	940,593	8.9%
Urban	155,190	34.4%	139,152	34.1%	294,342	34.3%
Rural	17,925	13.3%	16,767	12.1%	34,692	12.7%
Total/South	173,115	29.5%	155,919	28.5%	329,034	29.1%
Urban	19,490	16.3%	18,623	16.9%	38,113	16.6%
Rural	46,168	4.1%	50,900	4.1%	97,068	4.1%
West	65,658	5.3%	69,523	5.1%	135,181	5.2%
Rural	17,626	11.8%	17,121	11.3%	34,747	11.5%
Total	15,873	1.6%	19,751	1.7%	35,624	1.6%
North	33,499	2.9%	36,872	2.8%	70,371	2.9%
Rural	8,357	10.8%	8,946	10.7%	17,303	10.8%
Total	9,836	1.3%	14,469	1.8%	24,305	1.6%
East	18,193	2.2%	23,415	2.6%	41,608	2.4%
Rural	22,152	23.6%	20,752	22.4%	42,904	23.0%
Total	157,178	13.5%	164,317	13.2%	321,495	13.3%
	179,330	14.3%	185,069	13.8%	364,399	14.0%

Source: Rwanda Ministry of Public Service and Labor. Rwanda Population and Housing Census. Received on May 29, 2019

**Figure 3**

Source: Author's own work based on the Statistics from the Ministry of Public Service and Labor, Rwandan Population and Housing Census 2012

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the recent migrant population by previous province of residence and area of residence. It shows that the lowest percentages of recent migrants residing in their current province of residence are found in the Eastern Province (about 22%) and Kigali City (about 24%). This means that, first, these groups have experienced a recent migration within the boundaries of their current provinces of residence

and, second, that these provinces have registered the highest intake of recent migrations (about 78% and 76% respectively). Recent in-migrants currently living in the Eastern Province are mainly from the Northern Province (about 27% of all in-migrants in the province), the Western Province (about 16%) and Kigali City (about 14%). Migrants who are currently living in Kigali City have mainly resided in the Southern Province (about 26%), Western (about

16%) and Eastern (about 12%) provinces. It is clear from the data that proximity plays an important role in recent migration trends. This means that migrants that are more recent have moved to a neighboring

province than far from their place of origin. In the case of Kigali City, besides the proximity factor, the fact that it offers diverse economic opportunities is also attractive to in-migrants.

Table 5 – Distribution (number and percentage) of the resident population by recent international migration status and by sex and area of residence

Area of residence	International Migration Status			Percentage of those who have lived abroad in the last 5 years
	Number of those who have lived abroad in the last 5 years	Number of non-migrants	Not stated	
Male	35,258	4,872,675	156,935	0.7%
Female	30,505	5,317,461	103,139	0.6%
Total/Urban	65,763	10,190,136	260,074	0.6%
Male	16,768	800,492	74,546	1.9%
Female	13,965	793,130	38,783	1.7%
Total/Rural	30,733	1,593,622	113,329	1.8%
Male	18,490	4,072,183	82,389	0.4%
Female	16,540	4,524,331	64,356	0.4%
Total	35,030	8,596,514	146,745	0.4%

Source: Rwanda Ministry of Public Service and Labor. Rwanda Population and Housing Census. Received on May 29, 2019

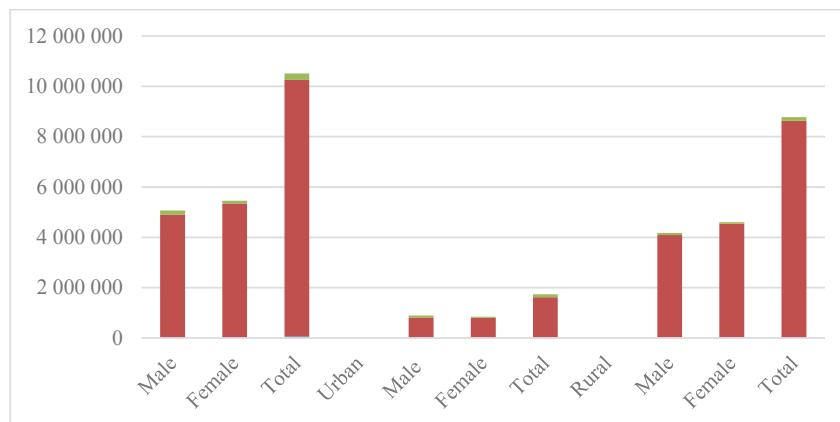


Figure 4

Source: Author's own work based on the Statistics from the Ministry of Public Service and Labor, Rwandan Population and Housing Census 2012

The distribution of the resident population that lived abroad in the last five years by province of current residency and sex shows that the percentage of males is higher in all provinces, except in the western and the northern province, where females represent, in both cases, about 52% of the recent international immigrants.

Trend of Migration to Rwanda

As indicated by various data sources, the trend of a growing migration to Rwanda has continued in 2009 and 2010. As noted from the emigration and immigration service data, the number of migrant skilled workers in 2009 was on average and increased to 21% compared to 2010. This was actually the

largest increase since independence of Rwanda in 1962. In each of the first two quarters of 2009, the number of migrants was higher in comparison with the corresponding quarters of 2010, by 19%, 16% respectively, coming to 41,562 in the third quarter of 2011. In every quarter of 2010, the increase in the number of migrants in comparison with the corresponding quarter of 2009 were smaller than the preceding years. In addition, the number of migrants in the third quarter of 2013 was slightly smaller in comparison with the preceding quarter, by 2.8%, while for the last five years, the number of migrants in the third quarter was always higher than the number of migrants in the second quarter. The data for the third quarter of 2009 may suggest a slowing dynamics of migration to Rwanda.

As the data from the Ministry of Labor show, a total number of 2056 people in 2011 received work permit as expatriate staffs. In addition, were located in different institutions around the country

as compared to approximately 1985 work permits issued in 2009, and approximately 1902 in 2008. Apparently, the number of migrant workers was on decline in 2008 compared to 2009 and preceding years. Between January and June 2018, however, already around 3241 migrant workers were registered, which indicates an increase in the whole year of 2018. It seems that after initial declines and the establishment of migration policy, the country keeps encouraging skilled foreign workers to come to work in Rwanda.

Interview guide to respondents

In order to have views of different people about migration and how it contributes to sustainable development, I conducted interview with government and non-government stakeholders and individual migrants affected by migration policy in Rwanda. The total interviewees were 25; 13 from Government Institutions and 12 from Private Institutions.

Table 6 – Interview questions and domain of discussion

No	Questions
1	What is your country of origin? Previous occupation? Reason for migration?
2	For how long have you been to Rwanda?
3	What is your monthly earning? Do you experience any financial change after you migrated to Rwanda?
4	What is your life situation in Rwanda now? Occupation? Finances? Social network?
5	Do you run a business in Rwanda? Does your investment make profit?
6	Can you give an account of the return on your investment in Rwanda for the last three years?
7	What is migration according to you?
8	What is the inflow of migrant workers in Rwanda as of June 2019?
9	Does Rwandan migration policy facilitate people to migrate to Rwanda?
10	In your views, does Rwanda benefit from migrant workers in Rwanda?
11	What do you learn from migrants working with you?
12	According to you, does migration contribute to increase of sustainable development?
13	What benefits do you get from your job apart from your monthly pay?

Source: Interview questions formulated by the author [May27, 2019]

Table 7 – Characteristics of interview participants

No	Country of origin	Working Institution	Position	Marital status
1	Rwanda	Ministry of Public Service and Labor	Public Service Management Unit Director	Married
2	Rwanda	Ministry of Public Service and Labor	Public Service Inspection& Advisory Services Specialist	Married
3	Rwanda	Ministry of Public Service and Labor	Employment Policy and Labor Economist Specialist	Married

Continuation of table 7

No	Country of origin	Working Institution	Position	Marital status
4	Rwanda	Ministry of Public Service and Labor	Chief Labor Inspector	Single
5	Rwanda	Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration	Diaspora Issues Manager	Single
6	Rwanda	Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration	Communication and Customer Care	Married
7	Rwanda	Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration	Legal Officer	Married
8	Rwanda	Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration	Citizenship	Married
9	Rwanda	Rwanda Directorate General of Immigration and Emigration	Legal Advisor to the Director General	Married
10	Rwanda	Marriott Hotel	Manager	Single
11	Rwanda	Marriott Hotel	Waiter	Married
12	India	University of Rwanda	Professor	Single
13	India	University of Rwanda	Professor	Married
14	Uganda	University of Rwanda	Professor	Single
15	Uganda	University Teaching Hospital of Butare	Surgeon	Married
16	Uganda	MTN (Mobile Telecommunication Network)	Data analyst	Married
17	Uganda	Rwanda Revenue Authority	Tax Collector	Married
18	Kenya	Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB)	Customs officer	Married
19	Kenya	Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB)	Cashier	Married
20	Burundi	University of Rwanda	Professor	Married
21	Kenya	Restaurant (Kigali City)	Manager	Married
22	Kenya	Restaurant (Kigali City)	Waiter	Single
23	Tanzania	Teaching in High School	Teacher	Married
24	Tanzania	Teaching in High School	Teacher	Married
25	Tanzania	Teaching in High School	Teacher	Single

Source: Information collected by the Author from respondents and their respective working institutions. [May 29, 2019]

Interview questions were categorized into two categories. First category questions were addressed to Rwandans working in the Ministry of Public Service and Labor and Rwanda Immigration and Emigration Service and who have some connection with migration policy and labor policy in their attributions. The second category of questions were addressed to migrants working in Public and Private Sector.

Questions related to migration policy and migrants' contribution to sustainable development, 99% of interviewees confirmed that the Rwanda migration policy was set to open the door and facilitate foreigners to visit the country. They affirmed that Rwanda's economy is dominated by subsistence agriculture, while tourism and services are becoming increasingly more important sources

of national revenue (services being the most valuable, contributing 43.6% to GDP). The poverty rate decreased from 57% to 39% between 2005 and 2013, while life expectancy rose from 55.5 to 65.6 years in that same interval. The country has therefore strengthened external connectivity and encouraging regional flows of both people and goods in order to transition from a mainly agrarian to a knowledge-based economy.

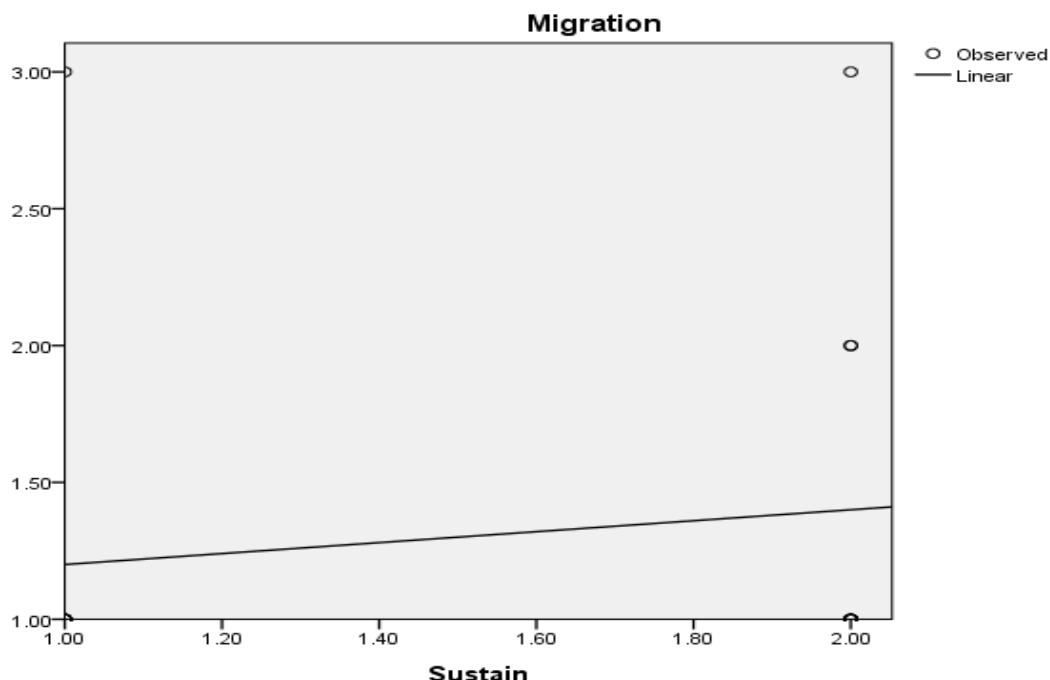
Interview questions about life situation in Rwanda, occupation, Finances and social network, 97.34% of migrants expressed satisfaction of their life, finances and social network. They revealed that many of them are able to support financially their families back home. Interviewees from Ministry of Public service and Labor added that migrants contributed more to government revenue in 2012 as

a fact. They presented a potential fiscal surplus of RWF 32.7 billion (Rwandan Francs), representing about 2.5% of the approved budget of 2012.

The linear regression analysis was used to examine the relationship between migration to

Rwanda and sustainable development. As indicated in this table, the linear curve goes exponentially regarding sustainable development. It therefore correlates to the criterion, indicating that migration to Rwanda contributes to sustainable development.

Table 4 – Linear regression analysis for Migration and sustainable development



Source: Author's own work based on the Statistics from the Ministry of Public Service and Labor, Rwandan Population and Housing Census 2012

Table 8 – Correlation between sustainable development and migration

Correlations

		Sustainable	Migration
Sustainable development	Pearson Correlation	1	.156
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.511
	N	20	20
Migration	Pearson Correlation	.156	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.511	
	N	20	20

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.2 level (2-tailed)

Source: Author's own work based on the Statistics from the Ministry of Public Service and Labor, Rwandan Population and Housing Census 2012

Table 9 – Correlation between sustainable development and migration policy

Correlations

		Sustainable	Policy
Sustainable development	Pearson Correlation	1	.189
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.424
	N	20	20
Policy	Pearson Correlation	.189	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.424	
	N	20	20

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.11 level (2-tailed)

Source: Author's own work based on the Statistics from the Ministry of Public Service and Labor, Rwandan Population and Housing Census 2012

The tables 5 and 6 above show the correlation between the three main variables: Migration, Sustainable development and Migration policy. Table 5 shows that migrants contribute to sustainable development. This is indicated by the Pearson correlation equivalent to 2.0, equivalent to 20% as its contribution to sustainable development. Table 6 shows the correlation between migration policy and sustainable development. It is clear that migration policy contribute to sustainable development at the Pearson correlation of 0.11, which equivalent to 11%. Migration policy contributes as it facilitates migrants and makes easy their stay and work in Rwanda.

Conclusion

This study shows that it is important to note that currently migration issues in Rwanda in general and free movement of people in particular is not far from a smooth situation with the East African Community (EAC). Migration to Rwanda was indeed made easy by the migration policy and the need for the country for socio-economic development. Through the migration policy, the country received high skilled migrants who work in public and private institutions, and closely with local people. Important to note as

well is that foreign investors are also encouraged and as of now, many have established their business in country.

Again, on a final note, it is important to note that the East African Community has particular interest in promoting labor migration for development for two main reasons. First, migration of skilled workforce will harness the benefits in areas with gaps; and secondary, labor migration will boost interaction and cooperation within the partner States back and forth with spillover effects and thus contribute significantly to poverty reduction in the region.

Migration and migration policy has greatly contributed to sustainable development of Rwanda. As linear regression puts it, the relationship between migration to Rwanda and sustainable development's curve goes exponentially regarding sustainable development. The three main variables correlates as well: Migration, Sustainable development and Migration policy. The Pearson correlation coefficient shows 2.0, equivalent to 20% as migrants contribution to sustainable development; while migration policy contribute to sustainable development at the Pearson correlation of 0.11, which is equivalent to 11%. Migration policy contributes as it facilitates migrants and makes easy their stay and work in Rwanda.

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MAIN TRENDS IN COMBATING TRANSNATIONAL EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM OF REGIONAL AND NON-REGIONAL ACTORS

The object of the research of this article is new trends in the spread of ideas of radicalism among young people in the conditions of modern geopolitical realities in Central Asia, taking into account international practice.

The purpose of the article: to conduct a comprehensive scientific study aimed at identifying the causes of the spread of the ideological influence of transnational religious extremist organizations on the youth of the Central Asian countries and to prepare recommendations for the state structures of the Republic of Kazakhstan that form the system of regional and national security, taking into account the analysis of international experience and new trends in this area.

Research methods: system approach, general historical methods, institutional and structural-functional analysis, level-sector analysis, scenario forecast and interdisciplinary approach, etc.

The study identified effective measures to combat radicalism; studied the impact of geopolitical contradictions in the Eurasian space on the radicalization of young people in order to ensure the national and strategic interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan; analyzed the main areas of cooperation with international organizations to combat the spread of radical extremism, in order to identify opportunities to improve their effectiveness. The results obtained allow us to present recommendations and forecast estimates aimed at anticipating threats to national and regional security for state and non-state structures of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Key words: new trends, extremism, radicalism, terrorism, Central Asia.

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Трансұлттық экстремизм мен терроризмге қарсы қүрестегі аймақтық, және аймақтық емес акторлардың негізгі трендтері

Бұл мақаланың зерттеу объекті – халықаралық жағдайды ескергенде Орталық Азиядағы қазіргі геосаяси ақуалда жастар арасындағы радикализм идеяларының таралуындағы жаңа трендтер.

Мақаланың мақсаты: Орталық Азия елдеріндегі жастар арасында діни экстремистік ұйымдардың идеологиялық, әсерінің таралу себептерін анықтауға бағытталған кешенде зерттеу жүргізу және осы саладағы халықаралық тәжірибе мен жаңа трендтерді ескере отырып, ұлттық қауіпсіздік жүйесін құратын Қазақстан Республикасының мемлекеттік құрылымдарына ұсыныстар дайындау.

Зерттеу өдістері: жүйелік бағыт, жалпытарихи өдістер, институционалдық және құрылымдық-функционалдық талдау, деңгейлік-секторалдық талдау, сценарийлік болжам мен пәнаралық бағыт.

Зерттеу барысында Еуразия кеңістігіндегі геосаяси қайшылықтардың жастардың радикалдануына әсері ҚР ұлттық және стратегиялық мұдделерін қамтамасыз ету мақсатында зерделенеді; халықаралық ұйымдармен радикалды экстремизмді құрес жөніндегі ынтымақтастығының негізгі бағыттарын анықтау мақсатында олардың тиімділігін арттыру мүмкіндіктері зерделенеді. Шығарылған нәтижелер ұлттық және аймақтық қауіпсіздік қауіп-қатерлерін алдын ала ескертуге бағытталған мемлекеттік және мемлекеттік емес құрылымдар үшін ұсыныстар жасауға мүмкіндік береді.

Түйін сөздер: жаңа трендтер, экстремизм, радикализм, ланкестік, Орталық Азия.

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Основные тренды в борьбе с транснациональным экстремизмом и терроризмом региональных и нерегиональных акторов

Объектом исследования данной статьи являются новые тренды распространения идей радикализма среди молодежи в условиях современных geopolитических реалий в ЦА с учетом международной практики.

Цель статьи: провести комплексное научное исследование, направленное на выявление причин распространения идеологического влияния транснациональных религиозных экстремистских организаций на молодежь стран ЦА и подготовить рекомендации для государственных структур РК, формирующих систему региональной и национальной безопасности с учетом анализа международного опыта и новых трендов в данной сфере.

Методы исследования: системный подход, общепротиворечий методы, институциональный и структурно-функциональный анализ, уровнево-секторальный анализ, сценарный прогноз и междисциплинарный подход и др.

В ходе изучения выявлены эффективные меры в борьбе с радикализмом; изучено влияние geopolитических противоречий на пространстве Евразии на радикализацию молодежи с целью обеспечения национальных и стратегических интересов РК; проанализированы основные направления сотрудничества с международными организациями по борьбе с распространением радикального экстремизма, с целью выявления возможностей повышения их эффективности. Полученные результаты позволяют представить рекомендации и прогнозные оценки, направленные на упреждение угроз национальной и региональной безопасности для государственных и негосударственных структур РК.

Ключевые слова: новые тренды, экстремизм, радикализм, терроризм, Центральная Азия.

Introduction

The growing radicalization of society and socio-political life are becoming a common sign of the current moment. The world community is facing this problem everywhere.

The world community is facing this problem everywhere. Conflict in one form or another is becoming an important tool for resolving political or socio-economic issues: anti-government demonstrations, mass riots, political strikes, and a rapid increase in destabilization is observed in Latin America, Asia, the middle East, and Africa. There is a protest against the establishment as such, regardless of political views, ideologies and development concepts. The problem is that recently, under the influence of events in the middle East, the ideology and forms of radical extremism and terrorism around the world have changed dramatically. They have evolved and modernized, but, unfortunately, many states did not feel these changes and were not ready for them.

At the same time, the countries of the region are undergoing serious political and socio-economic transformations aimed at modernizing the traditionally Eastern state and society. Slowed down by the global pandemic, but marked industrial development is accompanied by changes in the organization and structure of society, caused by

urbanization and the breakdown of traditional social ties, the politicization of religion, which in turn causes various consequences for the political life of Central Asian countries, and for the regional security system.

Radicalization among young people, which is typical for the entire world community, is becoming the main and General political trend of our time. In this regard, for the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian States as a whole, the issue of identifying dimensions of this phenomenon that can explain the mechanisms of youth radicalization and contribute to the adoption of adequate and effective measures by the state and society to de-radicalization is being updated.

Research methods and Literature Review

The interdisciplinary nature of the research requires the use of various research methods based on a combination of economic, political, religious, demographic, socio-cultural, socio-psychological and comparative approaches. To study a given problem, we used systematic and comparative methods that give a holistic view of the problem under consideration and allow us to identify the special and General. The situation analysis helped to understand the specifics of youth participation in terrorist and extremist organizations. Along with

the methods discussed above, we use an analysis based on a combination of a systematic approach, a comparative historical method, methods of synthesis and analysis, empirical research, content analysis of available documents and materials, as well as structural, functional and institutional approaches, which allowed us to comprehensively present the phenomenon of youth involvement in extremist and terrorist organizations.

The problem of extremism and terrorism in Central Asia attracts much attention of researchers from states with interests in this region. Western researchers working on the problem of extremism and terrorism are widely represented: J. Baudrillard (Baudrillard J., 2013), A. W. Meinhof (Meinhof W., 1971), A. Rashid (Rashid A., 2002), B. Lia (Lia B., 2008), C. Murray (Murray C., 2006; Murray C., 2007), U. Musharbash (Musharbash Y., 2007), F. Gerges (Gerges F., 2005) etc.

But at the same time, the main topic of their research is the problem of terrorism in general, the question of the definition of terrorism, its origin, as well as the reasons for its spread. Most Western researchers believe that radicalism and its extreme outcome – terrorism – can be explained in terms of the theory of social division through the dynamics of existing intergroup conflicts (Newman E., 2006; Schmid A., 2005)

Russian scientists began to consider terrorism as one of the first not only a political state, but also a social one with its own roots (Icaeb M., 2007). There is a sufficient number of interdisciplinary works devoted to the reasons for the spread of extremism and terrorism, but they dealt with the issues of terrorism in general, not focusing on the participation of Central Asian youth in terrorist and extremist organizations (Антоненко М., 2015)

In Central Asia, most of the authors, analyzing the reasons for the involvement of youth in extremist movements, focus on terrorism, and not on the reasons for radicalization, which is more important, since understanding these causes will lead to effective prevention measures. However, many scientific articles devoted to the analysis of factors and features of terrorism in Central Asia cooperation within the framework of regional organizations in the context of the fight against terrorism and extremism can be useful in analyzing the problems under consideration (Рахмонов А.).

Among Kazakhstani experts and scientists should be noted scientific works E. Karin (Karin E., 2011), M.T. Laumulin (Laumulin M., 2007), K.I. Baizakova (Baizakova K.I., Kukeyeva F.T., 2011; Baizakova K.I., 2017), F.T. Kukeyeva (Kukeyeva

F.T., 2016), E.S. Chukubayev (Chukubayev E.S., 2016), Zh. Baizakova (Baizakova Zh., 2016; Baizakova Zh., 2018), A. Chebotarev (Chebotarev A., 2016) and others.

Despite the fact that the phenomenon of terrorism and extremism in modern conditions is constantly evolving and acquiring new forms and methods, there is no special study in the scientific literature that allows a comprehensive review of new trends in the theory and practice of combating religious extremism and terrorism, to study the causes of radicalization of young people in the countries of Central Asia.

Dynamics of changes in the geopolitical environment of Kazakhstan in the context of preventing the growth of radicalism among Central Asian youth

The study made it possible to reveal the fact that the foreign policy factor can often become important in the problem of radicalization of the society of a particular state. It is the geopolitical trends that are the determining factors in the development of the trend of radicalism and terrorism in a large territory of Eurasia, especially in the Middle East and southeastern part of it.

By now, international relations around the region are undergoing qualitative changes. At the same time, many processes launched during the years of the end of the «cold war» and earlier, in one form or another, continue to determine the vector of state and social development of countries with a traditional oriental organization of society, as well as regions bordering with them.

Analysis of the current situation shows the correlation of the dynamics of the military-political situation with the evolution of the foreign policy interests of the world's leading actors. This allows us to conclude that often the aggravation of the military-political situation in a number of Middle Eastern states is directly or indirectly determined by the presence of a serious clash of geopolitical and geostrategic interests of the consolidated West and its allies on the one hand, as well as Russia, Turkey, Iran and China on the other.

There are a number of risks that require an adequate response. First of all, this is a narrowing of the space for maneuvering within the framework of a multi-vector policy in the process of the development of the geopolitical struggle in Central Asia between global players: China, the USA and Russia. At the present stage, tasks for Kazakhstan within the framework of a multi-vector approach have become

noticeably more complicated and the risks associated with such a policy are increasing. At the same time, in our conditions, another approach is not acceptable.

In the wide area of Eurasia, the security system of which is inextricably linked with the global security system, the problem of «new challenges» is especially acute. International terrorism, religious extremism and ethno-national separatism; organized crime, illegal circulation of drugs and weapons, illegal migration have found fertile ground in the territory of the «Eurasian Balkans». Territorial proximity to Afghanistan is also a destabilizing factor.

The main military-political threats from the «hot spots» of the Middle East or Afghanistan for the countries of Central Asia and the Republic of Kazakhstan, in particular, are related to the fact that, due to the absence of an effective central government, there may remain territories free of state power, where they can appear and function radical groups that can pursue a variety of interests. Including in relation to Kazakhstan.

In the case of Afghanistan, we are talking primarily about the territories bordering with Central Asia, which can be used as a springboard for religious-ideological or military-political expansion.

Among other things, Central Asia and Kazakhstan have come into direct contact with the Islamic world. This is a fundamentally new situation for the Central Asian states and their societies, which have long been on the periphery of the Islamic ecumene. However, at present, the political role of the religious factor is increasing, since the stormy and unpredictable political processes in the countries of the Greater Middle East are beginning to influence the course of socio-political and religious-ideological processes in the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan.

The countries of Central Asia in the process of their development, to one degree or another, repeat the path that many Middle Eastern states have traveled with the traditionally Eastern organization of society. Therefore, the factor of rapprochement with the Islamic world can have a serious impact on the political sphere, for example, for that part of society that understands political Islam as a possible alternative to social or state development.

In this regard, the contacts of the leaders of the Islamic Ummah with Kazakhstan, as the northernmost border of the Islamic world, not counting the Muslim regions of Russia, are being actualized. For Turkey and its allies in the international arena, Kazakhstan represents an important link between the West and the East, which can actively contribute to

the development of the agenda. It is noteworthy that Kazakhstan was important for the settlement of the Iranian nuclear program and one of the phases of the Syrian confrontation.

Thus, as the experience of the escalation of the armed conflict in Syria and Iraq with the Islamic State/Daesh shows, as well as the subsequent decrease in the degree of tension, the radicalization of certain circles of society, primarily young people, is associated not only with military activities, but primarily with a change in the geopolitical situation in the region. This indicates that the evolution of the foreign policy of such world centers of power as the United States can directly influence the regional security system and, in particular, the complex of economic, socio-political and military security of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

Radical forces are fueled by contradictions between different powers and states, and often radicals are instruments of settling geopolitical scores between warring countries. It is noteworthy that the largest number of attacks in the world and the active activities of international terrorist organizations occur in the conflict zones in South Asia and the Middle East, where an active process of delimiting geopolitical influence between global and regional powers is taking place.

Thus, the further situation in the Central Asian region will largely be determined by how the United States and China will build their relations on the one hand, Russia and the consolidated West on the other, Russia and China, Russia and Turkey, Russia and Iran on the third. The military-political situation will be tightly tied to the strategic and national interests of the leading world and regional powers. At the same time, it is necessary to clearly understand at what cost stability is achieved in Central Asia, and who is interested in maintaining the status quo.

The study and analysis of existing geopolitical contradictions in the vast Eurasian continent shows not only the multi-vector nature of interests, but also an obvious connection between the strengthening of geostrategic competition between world and regional powers and the growth of destabilization potential in a particular country. Moreover, an important role in enhancing the processes of destabilization lies, first of all, on that part of society that is usually referred to as young people.

An analysis of external factors allows us to conclude that, firstly, certain threats to the national security of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the medium and long term are associated with the growth of religiosity of the younger generation and a shift in emphasis towards radical or extremist interpre-

tations of the doctrine. Secondly, a public threat is posed by those citizens who took part in «hot spots» on the side of illegal armed groups, as well as members of their families subjected to appropriate propaganda and indoctrination. Thirdly, external forces can use the national, ethnic or socio-economic factor in Central Asia and in the surrounding regions, which can also directly affect the long-term national and strategic interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In this regard, it can be noted that at the state level, the cause of a violent armed conflict in countries with a traditional eastern organization of society often also lies not in cultural, religious or ethnic traditions and differences, but in the procedure for distributing natural resources and income from their sale between tribal leaders, which does not meet their expectations. That is, under various slogans there is competition for resources, distribution of benefits and privileges. For example, violence against Christians in Syria, Egypt or Lebanon can also be explained by the desire of radical Islamists to limit their ability to participate in parliamentary elections and, thereby, narrow the capacity to defend and defend group and community economic interests.

Along with this, it should be taken into account that in recent years the ideological and religious-ideological factor has been strengthening, which is more typical for the Middle East and South Asia. Thus, in contrast to the 20th century, geopolitical space is currently determined primarily not by geographical or physical boundaries, but rather by economic, military-political, civilizational, cultural and ethno-religious parameters. The concept of political boundaries is increasingly acquiring a tinge of relativity, although these boundaries, of course, continue to exist, and between some regions they are even tightened.

Special and Common in the Methods of Combating Religious Radicalism, Extremism and Terrorism in the Central Asian States

In order to determine the possibility of creating a regional anti-terrorist system, it is necessary to identify the specific and common in the methods of combating religious radicalism, extremism and terrorism in Central Asia.

In *Kazakhstan*, Islam has a Salafi-Wahhabi direction. This trend of Islam is particularly intolerant, fosters isolationism and encourages violent action. The nature of the terrorist attacks in Kazakhstan lies in their predominantly anti-state nature, as

was the case in 2011 and 2016. In general, according to the estimates of the US State Department, the law enforcement agencies of the Republic of Kazakhstan have demonstrated a high level of professionalism in detecting, arresting and preventing terrorist attacks in the country. The protection of civilians has become a priority. Kazakhstani legislation in the field of combating terrorism and extremism is regularly updated and amended, changes and additions are made. It can be said that Kazakhstani legislation in the field of combating terrorism is the most advanced of the Central Asian countries. In Kazakhstan, the emphasis is on preventing radicalization, especially among young people. Various social and youth programs and economic projects work. NGOs are also working in the mainstream of the rehabilitation and re-integration of convicts under the articles of terrorism and extremism, including relatives of convicts.

The counter-terrorism strategy of the *Kyrgyz Republic* focuses on countering the spread of violent extremism, preventing terrorists returning from abroad from participating in terrorist activities, and the departure of potential Islamists outside the country. Although the Kyrgyz Republic is seriously concerned about ISIS and other regional terrorism threats, the country has not directly participated in the activities of the global coalition against ISIS, mainly due to a lack of material and financial resources. The situation with informing the population about regional and national security threats associated with extremism and terrorism remains poorly organized, irregular and thus makes it difficult to conduct full-fledged research. The Kyrgyz Republic remains vulnerable to transnational threats, especially in the remote south, where border problems with Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and porous borders can contribute to the creation of terrorist havens. Cooperation is hampered by factors such as interagency rivalry, lack of coordination between the SCNS and the Interior Ministry, and budgetary constraints. The government does not systematically screen potential terrorists, and does not have a shared biometrics databank at border posts. The exchange of information on a regional scale is rather limited and is carried out upon special request in a bilateral format. At the same time, there is a shortage of qualified specialists in Islam in the country and at the same time the general level of religiosity is growing, especially in rural areas. Most Kyrgyzstanis are radicalized abroad. At the same time, the country does not implement programs for the rehabilitation and reintegration of former prisoners in general and those who have been convicted of terrorism.

The situation in *Tajikistan* can be described as one of the most difficult in the post-Soviet space in terms of radicalization and the fight against terrorism. Directly adjacent to Afghanistan, the country is on the edge of the influence of extremists of various kinds. After the withdrawal of NATO troops from Afghanistan in 2014 and increased instability on the Tajik-Afghan border, the Tajik authorities continue to strengthen their military capabilities in conducting operational tactical operations. The country has the National Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan on Counteracting Extremism and Terrorism for 2016-2020 (Указ Президента Республики Таджикистан, 2016). The United States and Russia assist Dushanbe in carrying out numerous trainings, programs, provide material support aimed at strengthening borders, combating drug trafficking and terrorism.

Negative factors include interagency bureaucracy, poor coordination between major law enforcement agencies, and widespread corruption. A large percentage of the country's male population leaves to work in the Russian Federation, and according to reliable data, radicalization is taking place there. It is from the Russian Federation that Tajik young people leave for the Middle East. Among the soft measures, it can be noted that imams from Tajikistan were sent to Kazakhstan and Russia to communicate with Tajik migrants on the topic of the dangers of radical religious thought (Пути решения, 116).

The government of *Turkmenistan* continues its efforts to strengthen the capacity of law enforcement agencies to counter terrorism, ensure border security and detect terrorist financing, working with international organizations and participating in training. To date, no terrorist attacks have been recorded on the territory of Turkmenistan. Turkmenistan pays great attention to its borders with Afghanistan and Iran, for obvious reasons. The country, due to its neutrality, is trying to restrict participation in international cooperation and other programs and projects. At the same time, Turkmenistan is a member of the Eurasian Group for Combating Money Laundering and Financing of Terrorism (EAG). As you know, the authorities and law enforcement agencies of Turkmenistan exercise total control over their own population, in particular over those practicing various forms of Islam in the country. All mosques and Muslim institutions are funded by the state budget and, accordingly, are under state control. Any radical extremist groups that exist in Turkmenistan are small, underground and scattered.

Uzbekistan's security policy prioritizes the fight against radicalism and the fight against drug

trafficking. Like Tajikistan, Tashkent was deeply concerned about the security issue in Afghanistan. Uzbekistan's border control infrastructure varies widely, from a heavily militarized section on the Afghan border to loosely controlled areas along the borders with its Central Asian neighbors. Uzbek law enforcement agencies maintain their own terrorist list and contribute to Interpol's databases.

In Uzbekistan, law enforcement agencies effectively restrict unauthorized religious or political organization and access to unauthorized religious materials. However, Uzbek migrants working in relatively open Russia or in other countries can be recruited by violent extremists online or in person (Country Reports, 2018).

As a soft measure, the government uses the work of local communal communities (makhallas) and religious committees to identify potential extremists and conduct advocacy. Representatives of local communities themselves monitor the situation in their district for suspicious religious behavior.

Thus, the Central Asian republics are trying to coordinate and balance between hard and soft measures in the fight against terrorism and extremism. This balance is uneven, fragile, and in most cases the preponderance is towards tough measures. However, this does not mean that countries are not trying to change their attitudes, tactics and strategies towards a more liberal and democratic approach. Another important factor hindering research in this area is the lack of transparency and inaccessibility of information from government agencies.

However, there is also an optimistic forecast, according to which the situation is changing today. The emergence of radicals in the countries of Central Asia and Kazakhstan is not a mass phenomenon. Actually, their outflow to the Middle East means that within the framework of the Central Asian states, radicals do not yet have special opportunities to implement their destructive ideas. ISIS is losing its appeal, and for the radicalized youth of the entire Islamic world. But they still have resources and old contacts, and they will make themselves felt for a long time. «Any new group in the region that is capable of decisive action can win thousands of young people over to its side. The danger lies in the fact that such a grouping may form not somewhere in the Middle East, but in Central Asia, possibly even within our societies» (Душанбе хочет говорить с ЕС).

All five countries cooperate to one degree or another within the framework of international organizations and on a bilateral basis in the field of combating terrorism and extremism. Participate in regional

exercises, trainings and projects. It can be said that the reasons pushing the youth of Central Asia towards radicalization should be sought in socio-economic factors, rather than in religious ones. One of the most important differences lies in the scale and degree of advanced legislation on counterterrorism, financing of the fight against extremism and terrorism, various kinds of border problems: lack of regulation, poor material and technical equipment, etc.

Perspectives for the development of the national security system of the Republic of Kazakhstan together with leading geopolitical partners

Kazakhstan's security policy has incorporated the most successful examples of other states in the fight against radicalism and extremist activities. If earlier the state in many respects reacted to manifestations of extremism, one can recall the tightening of the extremely liberal "Law on Religions", the increased responsibility for conducting subversive activities, now the circle of potential threats to national security is very clearly defined and each direction is being worked out according to the system – "non-admission and prevention".

The main goal of Kazakhstan in domestic politics has been and remains the strengthening of interethnic and religious harmony, the prevention of social, religious and other conflicts. The implementation of such a policy should further strengthen a tolerant environment in the field of interethnic, intercultural and interfaith interaction, foster a culture of interethnic communication and contribute to the prevention of manifestations of political or religious extremism in the state, region and at the global level.

For the Republic of Kazakhstan, the issue of creating conditions for creating immunity against the propaganda of religious and political extremist organizations is being actualized. It is necessary to develop close international cooperation, which can be used in the implementation of the task of creating mechanisms for humanitarian security. It is also obvious that deepening and expanding humanitarian cooperation in the field of information security will help the entire world community to adequately respond to the emerging complex threats to humanitarian security, including crimes against humanity, international terrorism and religious extremism (Жулмухаметова Ж., 2017).

Along with these measures, it should be borne in mind that efforts to combat mercenarism include: prevention, control and minimization of consequences. Kazakhstan should pay the most attention to the first stage. The prevention of mercenarism

should include a whole range of social, economic, political, legal, organizational, ideological and other measures directly aimed at eliminating, weakening, neutralizing the criminogenic factors that cause the commission of this crime.

Analysis of the situation allows us to talk about serious changes in the field of interstate relations of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the past two decades. The fact is that the intensive trade, economic and other relations of the state with the outside world, on the one hand, naturally led to the creation of favorable conditions for socio-economic, political and humanitarian cooperation, on the other hand, it makes it possible to build contacts more productively to solve pressing problems, including number and lying in the field of countering extremism and radicalism. It is noteworthy that the strategy of the leading geopolitical powers has changed in relation to certain terrorist groups.

In order to counter the spread of radical ideas and extremism, in recent years, Kazakhstan has formed an agenda for a number of influential international organizations (UN, OSCE, SCO, OIC) in the direction of combating extremism and eradicating the causes of its occurrence. Cooperation of the state with international organizations can contribute to the development of effective mechanisms for the comprehensive protection of humanitarian security.

In the process of research, it was revealed that in recent years, in almost all countries of Central Asia, completely new, in comparison with previous years, trends in the manifestation of extremism and terrorism are observed, characterized by the following main factors. First, there are events with the traditional manifestation of extremism and terrorism in the form of terrorist acts and armed attacks on state facilities, contributing to a sharp exacerbation of the internal political situation of a particular country. Secondly, the level of criminalization is noticeably increasing in the process of political struggle in the countries of the region. This is reflected in the active participation of criminal structures in the struggle for the seizure and exercise of state power. Thirdly, the number of various mass protests is increasing, some of which result in an open confrontation between citizens against government officials.

The study showed that the situation in the field of national and regional security is influenced by a whole range of factors. A number of threats are objective in nature, associated with geopolitical circumstances, changes in the demographic situation in a particular country, the crisis of ideology and the reassessment of values in society. A certain part of the risks is caused by the transformations

taking place in the country and society and by the general processes caused by globalization. We are also talking about an increase in the level of threats to national security in the information sphere, which actualizes the problem of international cooperation in the development of cyber security.

The experience gained by Kazakhstan in the prevention of various conflicts can be useful to other countries in developing concepts of humanitarian and information security. Another positive experience of Kazakhstan is the measures to re-educate those convicted of radical extremism. Further stabilization of the socio-economic situation in the CA countries, and, consequently, victory in the fight against radical extremism and terrorism, is unthinkable without improving the quality of life of its population, ensuring employment and a decent standard of living for the people. If we consider socio-economic measures, then we are talking about the need for cooperation between government and business in the socio-economic development of the region.

Raising the economy, building up production capacities, creating additional jobs in the region is a very important task indeed. In order to avoid the growth of protest sentiments, it is necessary to diversify the economies of these countries by reducing their dependence on remittances and commodity exports, so that they can more effectively cope with the economic difficulties they are experiencing today. This can be done with large projects. One such project is Belt and Road (OBOR). The countries located on the Silk Road Economic Belt have accumulated some experience of interaction, and special structures have been created to combat the «three evils» (extremism, separatism, terrorism). The security structures operating in the New Silk Road area may be in line with the current level of threats. But the prospect of active opposition to this super-project dictates the need for a qualitative improvement in the work of anti-terrorist organizations, the use of new forms of struggle. The creation of a new international organization, especially in the field of security, must go through several stages of discussion and planning, which will take some time. But now it is worth starting to coordinate the existing forms of collective security. Observers from China could join the activities of the CSTO and ATC CIS headquarters structures.

When shaping medium-term measures to fore-stall threats to regional security in the form of radical extremism, it is advisable to focus primarily on identifying and eliminating the causes and conditions conducive to the growth of radical sentiments. At the same time, all levers for providing a prevent-

tive impact on the real situation should be involved: political, social, economic, legal, educational, informational, propaganda, etc.

One of the topical aspects is the identification and suppression of the financing of extremist activities. It is urgent to define the sphere, or area, of interests of extremist and terrorist organizations, to identify the centers of origin of groups and organizations preaching the violent nature of actions, as well as structures that support and «feed» them materially. At the same time, according to researchers, there are serious shortcomings and omissions in the formation of a general policy of countering extremism and terrorism. Among them are: the lack of a common interpretation reflected in operational work, since a dispute arises over the competences of different departments and services. The lack of an agreed understanding of what radicalization and extremism mean, say Kyrgyz researchers, “and their explicit or implicit identification with religiosity and Islam, not only causes conflict between different sectors of society, as well as between the state and society, but it also shapes the development and implementation of response measures – and, naturally, has an impact on their effectiveness” (Алимжанов С., 2016).

Consequently, preventing radicalization means a comprehensive package of measures aimed at preventing the emergence of extremist views and sentiments that can trigger violent action.

In modern conditions, there is a need to consolidate efforts with geopolitical partners to counter manifestations of motivated violence, ethnic hatred, and the growing involvement of young people in informal youth associations of an extremist persuasion. The system of counteracting extremism among the youth does not function effectively enough: the actions of state authorities are poorly coordinated between themselves and with their partners; the system of information exchange between strategic partners needs serious improvement. According to the experience of European countries, within the framework of measures to combat extremism, it is necessary to create special bodies whose work is related to the analytical and coordination activities of departments related to the issues of countering extremist activities of organizations.

Conclusion

Geopolitical trends are determining factors in the development of the trend of radicalism and terrorism in the space of Central Asia. It is the foreign policy interests of certain countries, under special circumstances, that can become extremely

important in the problem of radicalization of youth circles of society. The security of the region will also continue to be influenced by events in Syria and Afghanistan and the strength of relations between the United States and Russia in the fight against extremism and terrorism. Unfortunately, in general, the countries of Central Asia are creating dangerous internal conditions for recruitment with the prospect of constantly filling new recruits among young people.

It was revealed that the most successful example of combating the modern challenges of religious radicalism, extremism and terrorism is the combined efforts of the world community within the framework of international universal organizations, namely the UN, where the so-called convention mechanism for combating manifestations of religious radicalism, extremism and terrorism comes to the fore.

The countries of Central Asia, unlike European countries, have applied a more comprehensive approach – in addition to the ban, the threat of imprisonment and other violent measures, the states of the region have also proposed alternative options: amnesty, as well as after a period of rehabilitation, the opportunity to integrate into normal life, including the free return to their homeland of children and widows of militants (Operations "Zhusan" carried out by the special services of the Republic of Kazakhstan).

The predictive and analytical scenario for countries that have accepted and forgave Islamists is a possible terrorist attack under extremist slogans committed by the same persons in their own country against their own compatriots; returning militants may become new preachers and teachers for recruited recruits.

The study of the set of questions on the topic of the article makes the following recommendations:

A thorough study of the environment from which future extremists originate is needed to successfully combat terrorism. Therefore, it is so important to understand the use of "soft" measures: through communication, and other forms of cooperation, you can attract terrorists to your side, and even de-radicalize. A more comprehensive approach to the fight against terrorism and the spread of radical Islamist ideology should take into account the problems and needs of the local population and seek their support. This is how you can succeed in the long run.

Greater efforts should be made to prevent the radicalization of young people, especially in prison settings. Another weakness in the fight against

terrorism is the lack of inter-agency coordination. Different law enforcement agencies often duplicate each other's work, or on the contrary miss certain tasks. This is especially noticeable in the interaction of the police and the military.

Kazakhstan's position on IS should be built from the point of view of condemning and suppressing its activities in the country within the framework of international initiatives approved by the UN Security Council, without Kazakhstan's military participation in the international coalition. The experience of other countries affected by the mass exodus of citizens to join ISIS on the policy of their return, criminal prosecution and rehabilitation and reintegration back into society should be monitored. The main areas of general prevention of mercenarism should be aimed at: organizing monitoring; improving the socio-economic environment aimed at reducing social tensions; organization of international cooperation in the field of combating crime, as well as the formation of a single migration policy at the interstate level, especially within the CIS.

Despite the work carried out by the state bodies of Kazakhstan and the countries of Central Asia, it is necessary to maintain vigilance and extreme caution. The CIS anti-terrorism center and other structures have information that ISIS plans to activate the so-called "sleeping cells" in the region to more destabilize the situation. Kazakhstan, having an advanced legal framework and strong partnership with geopolitical actors, has the necessary prerequisites for developing a common agenda for Central Asia to ensure security in the field of countering radical extremism.

Regional cooperation with other Central African republics should be developed as vigorously as possible. And not only through the SCO or CSTO. The country should have its own reserves. The countries of the region need a single coordinated strategy to combat international terrorism and extremism. This requires the integration of various aspects of counter-terrorism programmes, including political, economic and social aspects. Cooperation should be evenly implemented in all areas – border control, the fight against drug trafficking and arms smuggling, and more.

Despite the measures taken by the authorities of the Central African States in the field of combating radical extremism, they cannot be called quite effective. This is because less attention has been paid to preventive measures. At the same time, all levers of preventive influence on the real situation should be involved: political, social, economic, legal, educational, information, propaganda, etc.

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THE IMPORTANCE OF IRAN'S NUCLEAR DEAL FOR BIDEN'S DIPLOMACY IN MIDDLE EAST

Multilateral agreements between countries around the world on challenging issues often pave the way for the parties to play a role in the developments following such agreements. The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) was such a tool for Iran to become an effective player in international bargaining at a time when Iran was trying to isolate itself by trying to build nuclear weapons. The deal that in 2018 US decided to withdraw from it. The American interests in the Middle East, on the one hand represent a single package that is affected by each other, and on the other hand it is the nature of the region's crises and problems that is seen as an interconnected chain. The "Iran Nuclear Case" is important for future diplomacy of Biden in the Middle East.

This paper describes the importance of deals for Middle East diplomacy of the US and which challenges in the way of the new President. The research is essentially important for the newly elected US President Biden's foreign policy towards further relations with Iran that is widely estimated by experts for its positively changes in regional balance context. The scientific and practical essence of the paper is seemed to be as an expertise analyze towards enhancing the realistic approach for further isolating Iran in a time when the competition for strategic influence is being increased day by day. The methods used in paper is widely described in framework of as an analytical tool for the Middle East expert in terms of comparative, historical as well as descriptive analysis. The results of analysis might be useful for policy decision-makers as well as for academia that is to say the research conclusion is the Biden's foreign policy in the Middle East would change its direction in comparison with Trump's policy in the region. The article intends to have a small contribution in the social science in the context of today's vague and biased approach in conceptualization of Middle Eastern impact to world affairs. As a final practical essence of the research is dedicated for US sanction policy for Iran's place in the region by and large.

Key words: Iran, USA, Biden, Diplomacy, Nuclear Deal.

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Байденнің Таяу Шығыстағы дипломатиясы үшін Иранның ядролық келісімінің маңыздылығы

Әлем елдері арасындағы қурделі мәселелер бойынша көпжақты келісімдер көбінесе таралтадың осындаі келісімдерден кейінгі оқигаларда көрініс табуда. Бірлескен іс-қимыл жоспары (JCPOA) Иранның ядролық қару жасауға тырысып, өзін оқшаулауға тырысқан кезінде Иранның халықаралық сауданың тиімді ойыншысына айналуы үшін осындаі құралдарды жүзеге асыруда. 2018 жылы АҚШ одан бас тарту туралы шешім қабылдады. Таяу Шығыстағы америкалық мүдделер бір жағынан бір-біріне әсер ететін бір пакетті білдіреді, ал екінші жағынан, бұл өзара байланысты тізбек ретінде қарастырылатын аймақ дағдарыстары мен мәселелерінің сипаты болып табылады. «Иран ядролық ісі» Таяу Шығыстағы Байденнің болашақтағы дипломатиясы үшін маңызды екендігі көрініс табуда.

Мақалада АҚШ-тың Таяу Шығыс дипломатиясы үшін келісімдердің маңыздылығы және жаңа Президенттің сыртқы саясатында қандай қындықтар туындаитындығы туралы сипатталған. Зерттеулер АҚШ-тың жаңадан сайланған президенті Байденнің Иранмен арадағы қарым-қатынасқа қатысты сыртқы саясаты үшін маңызды болып табылады, оны сарапшылар аймақтық тереңдік жағдайындағы он өзгерістері үшін кеңінен бағалайды. Мақаланың ғылыми және тәжірибелік мәні стратегиялық ықпал үшін бәсекелестік – күн өткен сайын артып келе жатқан уақытта Иранды одан әрі оқшаулауға шынайы көзқарасты жетілдіруге бағытталған сараптама ретінде қарастырылады. Мақалада қолданылатын әдістер салыстырмалы, тарихи және сипаттамалық талдау түрғысынан Таяу Шығыс сарапшылары үшін аналитикалық құрал ретінде кеңінен сипатталған. Талдау нәтижелері саясатты қабылдаушылар үшін де, академиялық орта үшін де пайдалы болуы мүмкін, яғни Байденнің Таяу Шығыстағы сыртқы саясаты өзінің

бағытын Трамптың аймақтағы саясатымен салыстырғанда өзгеріске үшірағандығында. Сонымен қатар, мақала Таяу Шығыстың әлемдік істерге әсерін тұжырымдамалаудағы бүгінгі түсініксіз және біржақты көзқарас тұрғысынан әлеуметтік ғылымға өз үлесін қосуды көздейді. Зерттеудің тәжірибелі мәні ретінде АҚШ-тың Иранның аймақтағы орны үшін санкциялық саясатына арналған.

Тұйін сөздер: Иран, АҚШ, Байден, дипломатия, ядролық келісім.

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Важность ядерной сделки Ирана для дипломатии Байдена на Ближнем Востоке

Соглашения между странами по сложным вопросам часто дают возможность сторонам сыграть свою роль в развитии международных процессов. Уже долгое время Иран пытается создать свое ядерное оружие вопреки воле мирового сообщества, и данное стремление стало поводом для введения санкций против официального Тегерана и привело к международной изоляции страны. Администрация Барака Обамы добилась определенного успеха в процессе сдерживания ядерных амбиций Ирана. Однако после того как в 2018 году президент-республиканец Дональд Трамп объявил о выходе из многостороннего договора, ситуация усложнилась. Изменились и приоритеты во внешней политике официального Вашингтона в регионе. Но, однозначно, «ядерное дело Ирана» будет оставаться важным элементом в Ближневосточной дипломатии Джо Байдена.

Статья посвящена рассмотрению важности сделок в рамках «ядерной папки Ирана» безопасности интересам США в регионе. Научная и практическая значимость статьи заключается в экспертном анализе изучения политики США, направленной на дальнейшую изоляцию Ирана. В статье немаловажное значение уделяется анализу изменений во внешней политике США с приходом новой администрации.

Ключевые слова: Иран, США, Байден, дипломатия, ядерная сделка.

Introduction

Joe Biden is a Democratic president who ends all his sentences with the word “BUT”. Likewise, when his government says on his behalf, we will reconsider our partnership relations with Saudi Arabia, but we will continue to support Riyadh; or when he says I will hold China accountable in the Indo-Pacific strategic region, but China needs to be cooperative with us. The situation is the same with the Israeli regime as well. He claims that the legal issue of ownership of the Golan Heights should be addressed in properly way, but at the moment, for security reasons, the situation is not suitable for this by and large! Is he looking to hide in the uncertainty bubble he has adopted in his unclear approach, on the other side surprising with the winning card that will face at the last minute?

At the very least, Biden seems to be talking about Iran, as State Department spokesman Ned Price claims by having adopted such a policy. Regarding Iran, Price announced, “the new Washington administration has no intention of making the options on the table public”, “another thing I can tell you now is that we want to avoid the temptation to negotiate publicly”. Price announced in another key

sentence that will help us complete our hypothesis of the Biden administration’s approach to Iran. With that in mind, there has to be something going on behind the scenes, the whispers of which, of course, make their way to the public stage. For example, while sources familiar with Biden’s theory speak of a “step-by-step” return to JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action); EU foreign policy chief Joseph Borrell discusses it during visit to Moscow, concluding that Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Ryabkov has stated a common position with Iran that the priority is for the United States to return to JCPOA and lift sanctions. “But it is probably impossible to do it all at once, but it is also wrong to postpone it” (D. Herszenhorn, Feb 2021).

At the same time, while the US State Department removes the title of Responding to the Concerns of the Israeli Regime from the text of its statement in order to pretend that it is not too bound by the nuclear agreement with Iran, Biden’s cabinet secretary of state, Anthony Blinken will hold a virtual meeting with his counterparts from the European troika on behalf of the UN Security Council, or Robert Mali, the US special envoy for Iran will hold talks with officials from China, Qatar and the UAE. Then suddenly Qatar officials speak of mediation to revive

JCPOA, while earlier, just a few days after the reconciliation with Riyadh and Abu Dhabi, it had announced its readiness to mediate between the Arab countries and Iran (Charlene Rodrigues, Feb 2021).

Here the research question is why Iranian Nuclear Deal so important in Biden's diplomacy and is the importance just for US or also Middle East countries? In this article, we will try to describe the connection between the Nuclear Deal and the Diplomacy of Biden for the Middle East region; which challenges are in the way of the new president of the United States and what we can predict from his diplomacy in the Middle East Region by and large. Historically, the US is always concerned with the Iranian nuclear programme as a foreign policy tool and impact strategy in the Middle East that make experts to be involved in it from the analytical perspectives. This research is primarily essential for the further analysis the topic in eyes of the newly elected US administration.

The object of research is the Iranian nuclear programme as the subject is the US Policy in the Middle East particularly emphasizing on the Iranian nuclear deal in the regional context.

The methodology of the paper is a number of methods of comparative, political analysis and forecasting approaches in detail. The article uses the historical method as well. It is aimed at revealing the introduction and development of the concept of "nuclear deal" from historical perspective. The comparative analysis gives the readers further discussion on Biden's foreign policy for its realization in world's political agenda as the key element to mention about superiority in international affairs by and large.

The authors were involved in writing this paper in order to give a correct understanding of the concept of "nuclear deal" and its application by the United States, they used information only from reliable primary sources.

The Iran's Nuclear Deal (JCPOA)

Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is an international agreement on the Iranian nuclear program between the P5 + 1 countries (US, Russia, China, France, Britain and Germany) and Iran, set up on July 14, 2015 in Vienna, Austria. The talks were one of the longest-running international talks on a specific issue, which began in 2013 and ended in 2015. Although the initial so-called JCPOA agreement was reached in July, negotiations between the two sides continued until they finally reached the "Lausanne Accord" in April 2015 as a framework for the Vienna Agreement.

The most important points agreed upon by JCPOA can be summarized. One of the points was about the amount of uranium that Iran had enriched and abandoned before JCPOA. Iran was supposed to keep only 300 kilograms out of the 10,000 kilograms of enriched uranium and hand over the rest (UN 2018). Another point is about the extent of uranium enrichment. Uranium must be enriched to 90% to make an atomic bomb, and 20% uranium is used for medical purposes. Iran had stated that it had achieved 20% enrichment. JCPOA allows Iran to continue enriching, but only to the extent of 67.3, which is the minimum sufficient for peaceful purposes (USDS Official).

The next issue is the number of centrifuges used for enrichment. Iran agrees in JCPOA to reduce the existing 19,000 centrifuges to about 6,000 by 10 years, of which it will continue to enrich with only 5,000 centrifuges, and another 1,000 will be active for research purposes only. The Arak heavy water reactor must be redesigned to produce the least amount of plutonium. To the extent that it can not be used to make nuclear weapons. The Fordow Enrichment Center will be closed for 15 years and will become the center of nuclear technology and physics. And most importantly, the nuclear agency's oversight will be many times greater and much stronger than before. The number of inspectors triples. Some centers (such as Natanz and Fordow) are monitored around the clock (MFA of RF 2018).

According to JCPOA, in exchange for fulfilling all these commitments, all sanctions related to Iran's nuclear program (emphasize only nuclear sanctions, not other sanctions) imposed by the European Union, the United States and the UN Security Council, are removed; Iran has other sanctions that have nothing to do with its nuclear program or the IAEA; For example, sanctions for human rights violations or Iran's support for terrorism. These sanctions have nothing to do with Iran's nuclear program and will not be lifted by the IAEA Board.

JCPOA goes ahead and openings are provided from the other side. For example, as soon as JCPOA is signed, Iran's GDP, which has grown negatively, begins to rise. In 2015, GDP growth was negative one and a half percent, which in 2016 it reached a positive twelve and a half percent. Then the growth rate slowed down and in 2017 it was positive four and two tenths percent (IMF 2015).

However, we need to mention something important here. With the arrival of Ahmadinejad, Iran's position changed. In his first speech to the UN summit, Ahmadinejad said, "Get rid of the idea that Iran

should abandon enrichment!" "Iran continues to work." He calls on foreign companies to invest in Iran's nuclear projects. This is the period of stubbornness between Iran and the West. The West imposes sanctions and Iran expands its nuclear program. Meanwhile, tensions between Iran and Israel escalated and the two sides boasted about each other. It is even said that Israel was planning to attack Iran's nuclear facilities (UN 2005).

With Rouhani taking office in 2013, Iran's nuclear program entered a new phase; The stage of "Heroic Flexibility." When you come down from your position, but not out of weakness, but like a hero who has achieved something and now changes his position. Rouhani became president with the slogan of agreement with the West, and the Islamic Republic fell short of its position. A few months after taking office, Rouhani reached the first interim agreement with the P5 + 1 in November 2013 by changing the negotiating team, this time led by Mohammad Javad Zarif.

The reason why we mentioned two different Presidents in case of negotiations and agreements with the West is because you can see the huge difference between reactions and diplomacy in different periods of time in Iran.

The next stage is the post-Trump stage, in which, with the beginning of his presidency in 2017, Iran's nuclear program entered a new phase. Trump has always described JCPOA as a "bad" and deceptive deal by Iran. In fact, Trump opposes this deal for three main reasons:

1. There is no agreement that has blocked Iran's missile program.

2. JCPOA has not been able to stop Iran's influence in the Middle East. Trump claims that Iran is constantly helping Hezbollah in Lebanon, Syria and the Houthis in Yemen (Strategic Council on FR 2019).

3. It has an expiration date, and after ten to fifteen years, Iran can resume the normal course of its nuclear program.

Finally, although Iran's commitment to the IAEA Board had been reaffirmed several times by the International Atomic Energy Agency and other parties to the agreement called on the United States to adhere to the IAEA Board, Donald Trump announced on May 8, 2018 that the US had withdrawn from the IAEA Board. After these sanctions against Iran returned in the strongest form. Trump announced that other countries that cooperate with Iran will also be sanctioned, and set a three to six-month deadline for companies to clarify their contracts and financial accounts with Iran. Most coun-

tries express their dissatisfaction with the US move. Showed, except for Israel, Saudi Arabia, the UAE and several other countries. Iran responded by saying that Iran was trying to adhere to the UN Security Council; But if there is nothing left of JCPOA's benefits, there is no reason to adhere to this agreement. The effect of Nuclear Deal and benefits that it brings to Iran, not made happy by countries in the Middle East; because of the increase of Iran's influence and Economy in the region that can not be satisfied by other countries in the region. Nevertheless, now with Biden's administration, the importance of JCPOA is not just for Iran and 5+1 countries, but also the Middle East Region, especially Israel and Saudi Arabia interested in the diplomacy of the US in this case.

The Importance of Nuclear Deal for Middle East Region

While the nuclear deal should improve Iran's relations with countries and regional actors in the calculations of some Iranian foreign policy officials, some international experts and analysts believe that JCPOA has not caused any change in the foreign policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The tone of Iran's foreign policy has changed since JCPOA, but the more Iran's foreign policy changes after JCPOA, the more it looks like before. Nearly a decade before JCPOA, a significant part of Iran's diplomatic power was involved in the nuclear issue, which, with the achievement of JCPOA, freed Iran from this situation and could play a more decisive role in political and international equations, especially in regional crises (Chathamhouse, 2016).

JCPOA removed the Iranian nuclear goal from Iran's foreign policy. In fact, what has happened in Iran's foreign policy since JCPOA is that the West's twelve-year focus on nuclear activities that have accumulated in Iran's foreign policy and taken the time and energy of the country's intellectual and instrumental elites has disintegrated.

Another regional consequence of JCPOA is the increase in Iran's geopolitical importance in the West; In a way, the implementation of JCPOA provides the ground for stabilizing the region in order to prevent the growth of extremism and terrorism and to resolve regional crises. Europe faces a number of security challenges, including a wave of ISIS attacks and a flood of migrants from the West Asian region. EU convergence is at stake, as exemplified by Britain's exit from the bloc. Iran can be considered an opportunity for Europe; In the sense that it

can take the energy market of these countries out of the monopoly of the Russians (Banco, Erin 2016).

The direct impact of JCPOA on increasing the Islamic Republic of Iran's influence in the region is so obvious that regional opponents of Iran, including Saudi Arabia and regional rivals such as Turkey, have increased their interventions and mutual military adventures in the surrounding area; They prefer that political isolation and economic sanctions against the Islamic Republic of Iran remain in place in order to manage developments in the region in their own interests. In fact, the increase in Iran's acting power has forced Turkey to revive the Brotherhood crescent against Iran more than ever. Therefore, this country supports the overthrow of Bashar al-Assad and the return of the Brotherhood to power in Egypt (Freilich, Chuck, 2015).

JCPOA has had profound implications for the equations of the West Asian region, especially for the GCC member states. Through JCPOA, Iran has been able to upset the regional balance in its favor. Iran's oil production and exports increased to about three million and six hundred thousand barrels per day in 2017. The World Bank estimates that the lifting of sanctions will increase Iran's GDP to about 5.1 percent in 2016 and 2017 and 5.5 percent in 2017 to 2018 (The World Bank, 2020). Injecting blocked capital into the Iranian economy; It enables the country to shift the regional balance in its favor. In this situation, Iran is above weak competitors

The implementation of JCPOA, with all its positive economic and geopolitical effects for Iran, is undoubtedly considered a loss by the Saudis in the area of regional equations, and therefore Saudi Arabia has increased its military power. The Peace Institute recently reported that Saudi Arabia was the world's third-largest arms buyer after China, with about \$80 billion (Phillips, James, 2015). Although, JCPOA has removed Iran's nuclear threat from Iran's foreign policy, the headlines in regional and international news have shifted to fears of hegemonic ambitions and US betrayal of Arab countries instead of fears about Iran's nuclear activities. Some experts are of the opinion that despite the short-term psychological effects that JCPOA has had on the regional dimension, this agreement will not be a decisive and key component in shaping the developments in the region due to its nature. This group of analysts even emphasizes that JCPOA can have negative consequences on the political trends and developments in the Middle East and increase regional rivalries and tensions to some extent.

Trump's decision to pull out of the deal with Iran was the result of two factors that have shaped

much of his foreign policy. First, his overwhelming confidence in his talents as a "trader" and second, his desire to stimulate his social standing. Trump has so far refused to engage in a cycle of escalating tensions since the departure of JCPOA. He and those who admire him have no idea how to turn the policy of maximum pressure into a new deal, and seemingly have little inclination to do so. As he has made it clear, Trump has no plans to use military force to increase pressure. Apparently, Trump's plan is to have no plan and let events take place wherever they want.

When we look at it this way, it becomes clear that Trump, like the British politicians who supported Brexit in the referendum, broke an international agreement without having a realistic idea of what could replace it. However, Mr. Trump's ability to do so in relation to Iran reveals a deeper truth about the Middle East's position in American foreign policy: "the Middle East is no longer as important as it once was". Modern American foreign policy in the Middle East has been based on the idea that the free flow of oil from this region is a vital US national security interest. This fundamental fact has played a major role in US foreign policy toward the Middle East since Jimmy Carter said in 1980 that the United States would militarily resist any attempt by a power to dominate the Middle East. But over the past decade, the importance of this oil to Washington has diminished. In 2018, the United States produced more oil than any other country in the world; The United States accounted for 18 percent of world production, compared to 12 percent for Saudi Arabia, 11 percent for Russia and five percent for Canada. As a result, US imports from Saudi Arabia in 2018 had an unprecedented decline (Pollack, Kenneth, 2015).

According to what said in above, for sure now Middle East countries are hoping for better decisions from Biden as a new President of the USA; His diplomacy in case of the Middle East and Iran's Nuclear Deal for sure are connected to each other and it's meaning the importance of this Diplomacy for the region.

The Biden's Diplomacy in Middle East

Although the Biden administration has not yet announced a specific policy on the Middle East, experts continue to predict the White House strategy in this regard, focusing mainly on the strategic importance of the region to Washington. does not have. Since the fourth decade of the 1990s, US governments have sought to prioritize West Asia

because the region has been of strategic importance to the powers and is a global source of energy due to its vast oil reserves.

Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates have the world's largest oil and gas resources in the region, and the Arab Gulf states are major allies of Washington because of its dependence. Now that Joe Biden has won the US election, some in the Middle East are worried and some are hopeful, the question arises as to what President Joe Biden will do with the Middle East and for the Middle East (Singh, Michael, 2015).

The Trump administration's mismanagement of other domestic cases, including insurance laws, because of America's internal problems, including the outbreak of coronary heart disease, which has infected millions of people in the United States and drawn thousands of Americans to hospital intensive care units. Immigrants and the withdrawal from some international treaties, which have widened the gap between Washington and its European allies, are forcing the Biden administration not to make West Asia its top priority. The region's policy priorities are graded based on the US government's share of energy supply. In this regard, some international affairs experts believe that the situation in the Middle East has changed compared to the past, and especially with the United States becoming one of the major oil producers, the Middle East is no longer a priority for the United States in terms of energy supply. The Democratic Party's government is not too worried about energy supply, and most of the first Democrats at the moment are restoring the country's place in the world leadership, so after considering the country's internal cases, open human rights cases. The next priority is to put pressure on countries and get concessions from them to improve America's position in world leadership.

Given these issues, it takes time for the Biden administration to develop and implement plans in West Asia, which is why some countries allied with the Trump administration, including Israel and Saudi Arabia, are saddened by the departure of a Republican representative and the arrival of a Republican representative. Democrats at the helm of the United States are seeking policies to extend this time. Joe Biden is someone who knows the Middle East well, both as the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where he served for 17 years, and during Barack Obama's eight years as Vice President. He has met their elites closely and established friendly relations with them, adding: "But it should be noted that the Middle East today is fundamentally different from the Middle East of

previous years" (MANSOUR, THOMPSON, 2020). The US approach and interests at the time were summarized in the three pillars of the Israeli regime: oil and communism, but today the US oversees almost all pillars.

One of the major concerns of the United States these days is the Chinese government and its growing military and economic power. In the year that Corona has besieged the world, China has grown and won economically. On the other hand, with the growth of digital currency launched by China, the situation for the US dollar is becoming more dangerous every day. Biden is looking for a solution to the crisis that Trump has with China, because today the two countries are at a high level of tension (Office of the Secretary of State, 2020). Accordingly, the Middle East and Israel do not seem to be at the top of Biden's top priorities these days. In fact, China and the problems facing the United States play a major role in Biden's concerns about the White House's foreign policy, and resolving America's problems with the Middle East and even ringing the bell of its main ally in the Middle East is not at the top of the table.

Biden needed at least one great achievement in the Middle East, and he knew that this great achievement must be achieved through Tehran, Ankara and Riyadh; Putting pressure on two old friends without driving them to China and Russia, compromising with an old enemy, without Repeating the mistakes of the Obama era. As the chances of each of these three developments diminish, the role and importance of the other two developments increases. In order for the Islamic Republic to begin its work from the very first day of Biden's return to JCPOA, 20 days before Biden entered the White House, he started the new year with the threat of the Foreign Ministry, which has only a few weeks left in JCPOA's life. Ten days later, the issue of dismissal of inspectors was raised, which provoked only a sharp reaction from Europeans. After a long wait, when Biden described his policies in the Middle East, it became clear that all the efforts of the Islamic Republic were in vain, so that Biden did not even mention JCPOA and sanctions in his speech, and a few days later his secretary of state returned to JCPOA. Put a weight; The return of the Islamic Republic to all its nuclear obligations (MAHSA ROUHI, 2021).

Now that Biden has lost Iran's option for a 'great achievement', he has set an end to the Yemeni war as his main strategy and priority in the Middle East, which, ironically, comes with pressure. Human rights in Saudi Arabia will put additional pressure

on Tehran. Any possibility of an end to the Yemeni war would deprive Tehran of an important card, and any improvement in the human rights situation in Saudi Arabia would highlight the gross human rights violations in Iran, while removing the double standard charge from the United States. Both will continue to be a major achievement for Biden and for the Americans, making the issue of reaching or not reaching an agreement with Tehran a marginal issue.

The main danger for Tehran in this case will be the possibility that with Biden moving away from a compromise with Tehran, this time Israel will take charge of the nuclear case in its own way. The relative coldness of US-Israeli relations in the first 20 days of Biden's presidency should be seen in Biden's efforts to slow down Israel's willingness to act arbitrarily against Iran's nuclear facilities, but there is no doubt that despite all these pressures and colds, Washington is finally will be with Israel.

The Future Challenges & Predictions for Returning to JCPOA

Biden's victory and entry into the White House were expected to fundamentally change US strategy toward Iran. Iranian officials hoped to change the geopolitical climate and reduce economic suffering after enduring the "maximum pressure" campaign of the Donald Trump administration and its stifling sanctions (Mohammed Nuruzzaman, 2020). It will be difficult and complicated to return to the pre-Trump situation. Although Biden is committed to re-engaging with Iran, his aides have not yet made it clear when and how they will do so.

Meanwhile, the Iranians want the Americans to take the first important step. Khamenei openly stated that the "definite message" is that the United States should first lift the sanctions and then return to JCPOA after the fact that Iran has been tested. Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif wrote in an article in Foreign Affairs: The Biden government should start the process by unconditionally lifting all sanctions. Iran, in turn, will reverse all the measures it has taken following Trump's withdrawal from the nuclear deal (Tehran Times, 2021).

The Islamic Republic's plan to persuade the US government to accept the UN Security Council and to halt its aftermath is to implement a nuclear resolution called "Strategic Action to Lift Sanctions and Protect the Nation's Interests." Decision-makers on both sides think that the Biden government is forced to return to the UN

Security Council amid increasing pressure from the Iranian government and fears of escalating nuclear and security challenges. Also, "carrying out 20% enrichment", "producing metallic uranium" and "suspending the implementation of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty" will lead to their termination and reversibility of the JCPOA commitments as new concessions and convince the Biden government and the European troika that more they cannot have these demands from the Islamic Republic of Iran. In fact, JCPOA should be the ceiling of their demands, not the starting point and the bottom of the demands according to the plan.

Rising sensitivities and concerns about the return of the Islamic Republic of Iran to sensitive nuclear measures, and in particular the cessation of intrusive inspections, have created a special situation in the world and the region to make appropriate decisions to deter the reduction of the "nuclear escape point."

The current stalemate between the governments of Biden and Iranian President Hassan Rouhani has been exacerbated by internal pressures in both countries. Republicans and supporters of the Trump administration's approach seem to be waiting to prevent Biden from making any acceptable concessions to Iran. Iran's regional enemies, especially Israel, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates, also believe that Biden should use the leverage exerted by Trump. Some Iranian policy analysts argue that there is no leverage and that Iran has shown considerable resistance despite the pressure of sanctions.

What is clear is the great distance between the two sides from each other's positions and the attempt to impose their views on the other side to take the first step. Simultaneous implementation of measures is not applicable, at least in the whole issue. Step-by-step measures also require a new executive dialogue and agreement. Therefore, JCPOA is still in a coma and its fate will be determined in a new period of violence between the governments of Iran and the United States. If JCPOA is revived, it will go through a rocky, time-consuming and ups and downs path, and contrary to the Rouhani government's expectations, it will not be a quick step. Unlike the Europeans, the Biden government does not see the Rouhani government as a privilege to solve the problem, and has come to the realistic conclusion that the main and final decision-maker in Iran is the "Velayat-e Faqih" (DAVAR, 2021), and that Iran's executive branch and diplomatic apparatus play a subordinate role.

Although Iran is primarily seeking the lifting of US economic sanctions imposed under the Trump administration, there are other possible situations in which the United States may use them as a tool to lubricate the negotiations. One option might be to remove the block on Iran's request to the International Monetary Fund for a loan related to the outbreak of the coronavirus. What Robert Mali, Biden's representative in Iran, said last year. The United States may authorize Iran's oil trade with the Asians, in return for which Iran reverses recent steps, such as increasing the volume and purity of its enriched uranium. To release the US financial system blocked by the tightening of sanctions on the Trump administration. This money can be transferred through Switzerland and the channel maintained to continue the humanitarian financial flow to Iran.

We also see the possibility that preventing the flexibility and resilience of the "no war, no negotiation" and "armed peace" policies and the full implementation of the 11th Majlis (Parliament) nuclear law will lead to the implementation of a strict view that the Biden government will abandon Burjam and Use the legacy of the Trump administration and converge with Europe to impose a new agreement on the Islamic Republic. The Biden government's initial intention is not to do so, and it wants to revive JCPOA as much as possible and lay the groundwork for complementary agreements. But if the current stalemate continues, then it is unlikely that it will inevitably move in that direction.

Conclusion

Biden's decisions to return to the UN Security Council and lift sanctions on Iran come at a time when unprecedented US pressure on Iran has so far failed to halt Iran's regional activities and bring Iran to the negotiating table. The Trump administration's attempt to activate the trigger mechanism has failed. Iran and its regional allies have become more courageous against the United States and its allies, endangering the interests and security of the United States and its allies in the Middle East, especially in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, and Syria; Iran's direct military confrontation with the United States over the shelling of Iraq's Ain al-Assad base and the launch of the ultra-modern Global Hawk drone in the Persian Gulf has damaged US international credibility.

International trust in the United States has been severely damaged as a result of its unilateral actions in withdrawing from international agreements such

as the Paris Climate Agreement and international organizations such as the World Health Organization. The US economic war with China has jeopardized US interests and strengthened Iran's ties with those countries. The protests and failure of the US government in controlling Covid-19 and the resulting economic problems have posed many internal problems for the Biden administration.

On the other hand, Iran's regional activities in Yemen, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan have been expanded and Iran's ballistic missile program has been upgraded. Maximum US pressure has now escalated to the point where, according to experts, effective sanctions are no longer in place, and Iran has reached the point of saturation of sanctions, and the Iranian economy has gradually been able to adapt to sanctions and find ways to escape sanctions and seeks to solve the internal problems of the economy by relying on internal capabilities.

With Trump's departure from the IAEA Board, Iran's nuclear commitments to the IAEA Board were virtually canceled, and Iran withdrew from its commitments on enrichment, research and development, the volume of nuclear material accumulation, the number of centrifuges, and the changing nature of some nuclear facilities. It has created the mind of America and its allies.

Biden published his official policy toward Iran in a note on CNN on September 13, 2020, (Joe Biden, 2020) entitled "A Smarter Way Against Iran." The implication of this memorandum is that the United States will make the decision to return to the UN Security Council and lift sanctions subject to negotiations with the new Iranian government after the results of the 2021 presidential election are known. According to the memo, Biden will emphasize the precondition for confirming Iran's "full and accurate" return to all of its obligations under the International Atomic Energy Agency to return the United States to the IAEA and suspend sanctions.

The Biden administration will also emphasize the precondition of expanding restrictions and strengthening the UN Security Council's provisions on issues such as Iran's regional presence and Iran's ballistic missile capability. Another possible precondition for Biden to return to the UN Security Council will be the amendment of the sanctions clause (extension of the time required to lift the sanctions). Biden is also likely to emphasize the presence of other international partners in addition to the P5 + 1, including Saudi Arabia, Israel and other Middle Eastern actors such as the UAE. Of course, all of these

preconditions would at least mean prolonging the preparations for the US return to the UN Security Council and easing sanctions.

However, what is clear with all information and analysis that the Iranian society has paid a high

price for sanctions. Ordinary people in Iran have so far paid for US sanctions. As Trump imagined, deteriorating economic conditions did not lead to the collapse or surrender of the regime, but it has harmed the people.

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2-бөлім

**АЙМАҚТЫҚ ҚАТЫНАСТАР МЕН
АЙМАҚТЫҚ ҰЙЫМДАРДЫҢ
ӨЗЕКТІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРИ**

Section 2

**CONTEMPORARY ISSUES
OF REGIONAL RELATIONS AND
REGIONAL ORGANIZATIONS**

Раздел 2

**АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ
РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ
И РЕГИОНАЛЬНЫХ ОРГАНИЗАЦИЙ**

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НЕКОТОРЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ СЕКҮЮРИТИЗАЦИИ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ КИТАЯ ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО СОПЕРНИЧЕСТВА С США В АТР: ОСНОВНЫЕ АСПЕКТЫ И ДИНАМИКА ОТНОШЕНИЙ

Данная статья рассматривает формат и динамику стратегических отношений между США и Китаем в контексте стратегии Индо-Тихоокеанского региона. Отношения между двумя странами стали важным и центральным элементом системы современной международной безопасности. Геополитический подъем Китая, как глобальной сверхдержавы, вызвал стратегический отклик со стороны США. Китай, в рамках формируемой многополярной системы, стремится сформировать международный порядок, который является альтернативным американской системе международных институтов. В данном отношении, в рамках возросшей политики соперничества держав, глобальная геополитическая стратегия США не может не игнорировать изменяющийся статус Китая как региональной державы, переходящей на статус глобального, гегемонистского уровня. Соответственно, это требует выработки определенной внешнеполитической линии по отношению к Китаю, в частности, и региону АТР, в целом. Восхождение Китая и укрепление его военной мощи стали неизбежным объектом секьюритизации со стороны США и его региональных союзников и партнеров. Администрация Трампа приняла доктрину свободного и открытого Индо-Тихоокеанского региона, которая определяет Китай как ревизионистскую силу, и, соответственно, исходя из данного определения, выстраивается общая стратегическая линия США. Логика реализма заставила стороны принять в своих внешнеполитических расчетах игру баланса сил, где стороны действуют на сдерживание друг друга. Несмотря на попытки США по сдерживанию Китая, Индо-Тихоокеанская стратегия Китая носит неоднозначный характер. Китай осознает свой стратегические лимиты в АТР, и поэтому избрал иную стратегию. Под воздействием логики политического реализма формат отношений между Китаем и США перешел из партнерства на уровень соперничества, что и определяет современные стратегические нарративы между двумя странами.

Ключевые слова: США, Китай, Азиатско-Тихоокеанский регион, ребалансирование, военная безопасность, дипломатия, Индия, Япония.

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Some aspects of China`s foreign policy securitization through the prism of geopolitical rivalry with the United States in the Asia-Pacific Region: main aspects and dynamics of relations

This article examines the format and dynamics of the strategic relationship between the United States and China, in the context of the Indo-Pacific strategy. Relations between the two countries have become an important and central element of the modern international security system. China's geopolitical rise as a global superpower has generated a strategic response from the United States. China, within the framework of the emerging multipolar system, seeks to form an international order that is alternative to the American-led. In this regard, within the framework of the increased policy of rivalry between powers, the global geopolitical strategy of the United States focuses on China's changing status as a regional power transforming to the status of a global, hegemonic stage. Appropriately, this requires the development of specific foreign policy narratives in relation to China, in particular, and the Asia-Pacific, in general. The rise of China and the strengthening of its military power has become an irreversible object of securitization by the United States and its regional allies and partners. The Trump administration has adopted the doctrine of a free and open Indo-Pacific region, which defines China as a revisionist power, and accordingly, based on this definition, a common US strategic line is built. The logic of realism

forced the parties to accept the balance of power in their foreign policy calculations, where the parties act to restrain each other. Despite US efforts to contain China, China's Indo-Pacific strategy is ambiguous. China is aware of its strategic limits within the Asia-Pacific, and therefore has chosen a different strategy. Under the influence of the logic of political realism, the format of relations between China and the United States moved from partnership to the stage of rivalry, which determines the modern strategic narratives between the two countries.

Key words: USA, China, Asia-Pacific region, rebalancing, military security, diplomacy, India, Japan.

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Қытайдың сыртқы саясатын АҚШ-пен геосаяси бәсекелестік призмасы арқылы секьюритилендірудің кейбір аспектілері: қытанастардың негізгі аспектілері мен динамикасы

Бұл мақалада Үнді-Тынық мұхиты стратегиясы аясында АҚШ пен Қытай арасындағы стратегиялық қытанастардың форматы мен динамикасы қарастырылады. Екі ел арасындағы қарым-қытанастар қазіргі заманғы халықаралық қауіпсіздік жүйесінің маңызды және орталық элементтің айналды. Қытайдың жаһандық бәсекелестік жағдайға қабілетті ел ретінде геосаяси түрғысынан өсүі АҚШ-тың стратегиялық реакциясын тудырды. Қытай, қалыптасып келе жатқан көпполярлы жүйе шенберінде, америкалық халықаралық институттар жүйесіне балама болатын халықаралық тәртіпті қалыптастыруға тырысады. Осыған орай бәсекелес ел арасындағы саясатының күшөюі аясында АҚШ-тың жаһандық геосаяси стратегиясы Қытайдың әлемдік, гегемониялық деңгейге ауысқан аймақтық бәсекелестік жағдайға қабілетті ел ретінде өзгеріп отырған мәртебесін ескермеуге болмайды. Атап айтқанда, Қытайға Азия-Тынық мұхит аймағына қыттысты накты сыртқы саяси бағытты дамытуды қажет етеді. Қытайдың әскери қүшінің нығаюы АҚШ пен оның аймақтық одактастары мен серіктестерінің секьюритизацияның басты объектісіне айналды. Трамп әкімшілігі Қытайдың ревизионистік құш ретінде анықтатын Үнді-Тынық мұхиты аймағының еркін және ашық доктринасын қабылдады және сәйкесінше осы анықтамаға сүйене отырып, Америка Құрама Штаттарына ортақ стратегиялық бағыт орнатты. Реалистік жағынан қарағанда сыртқы саяси есептеулерде екі жақ бірін-бірі тепе-тендік жағынан тежеуге тырысады. АҚШ-тың Қытайдың тежегеніне қарамастан, Үнді-Тынық мұхиты стратегиялық шектеуге қарай, басқа стратегияны таңдады. Саяси реалистік үғымның әсерінен Қытай мен АҚШ арасындағы қарым-қытанастар негізі серіктестікten бәсекелестік деңгейде екі ел арасындағы заманауи стратегиялық жағдайды қарастырады.

Түйін сөздер: АҚШ, Қытай, Азия-Тынық мұхиты, тендерімдеу, әскери қауіпсіздік, дипломатия, Үндістан, Жапония.

Введение

Китайско-американское соперничество стало центральным элементом современных процессов в области международной безопасности. Зона обширного Индо-Тихоокеанского региона становится ареной соперничества между ведущими державами. Геополитический подъем Китая, безусловно, стал объектом долгосрочной американской стратегии, первоначально в АТР, а затем и на глобальном уровне. Соединенные Штаты формируют систему альянсов и институтов в рамках доктрины Индо-Тихоокеанского региона, целью которой является сдерживание военно-политической активности Китая, и осуществление давления на региональную политику Пекина. Китай, в свою очередь, прорабатывает свою стратегию и принимает в расчет свой геополитический потенциал для соперничества с США.

Динамика соперничества двух ведущих государств происходит в условиях формирования многополярной системы международных отношений. Очевидно, что участники в рамках системы региональной безопасности в АТР имеют свой перспективы и видение секьюритизации своей национальной и стратегической политики по отношению к Китаю, и, разумеется, процесс секьюритизации зависит от уровня национальной мощи участников в рамках регионального процесса. Отмечая вышеупомянутые тренды, можно отметить, что уровень секьюритизации для США будет отличаться от Японии, Индии или малых государств АСЕАН.

Помимо этого, последние события отобразили тенденцию глобализации китайско-американского соперничества, что, в любом случае, подчеркивает статус Китая как восходящей державы, способной формировать альтернативный мировой порядок. Исходя из данной аксиомы,

теперь внешнеполитический расчет Вашингтона строится на необходимости выработки и принятия новой внешнеполитической доктрины, отвечающей особенностям новой динамики отношений. Поэтому в данных условиях актуализируется значимость Индо-Тихоокеанского региона, как зоны, где генерируются тренды современной международной безопасности.

Проблема исследования

На данный момент Индо-Тихоокеанский регион генерирует основные тренды безопасности. Геополитический подъем Китая коренным образом изменил региональный расклад сил. Военная модернизация НОАК и растущая наступательная политика КНР в отношении территориально-морских споров, а также преобразование китайской политики на глобальном уровне повлияли на формат системы региональной безопасности. Характеристики безопасности региона выделяются преимущественно государственными конфликтами. Геополитическая логика развития региона и системы региональной безопасности вписывается в логику политического реализма, где выделяется гегемон. По утверждению ряда экспертов, формирование Китая, как гегемона формирует дилемму безопасности, где Китай становится объектом секьюритизации его соседей. Линия приоритетов США, в отношении АТР и Китая, в частности носит несколько иной характер. США как гегемон стремятся сдерживать формирование альтернативного миропорядка, ведь Китай накопил значительный геополитический потенциал, который он может уже проецировать. Поэтому параметры региональной безопасности в АТР измеряются двумя факторами:

Стремление соседей Китая обезопасить себя от наступательных возможностей НОАК, и либо сдерживание или подстранивание в отношении Китая;

Стремление США сдержать формирование альтернативного миропорядка, где АТР будет выступать базой для сдерживания либо вовлечения Китая в американскую региональную стратегию.

В целом параметры безопасности АТР представлены рядом факторов, где Китай занимает центральное положение. Помимо Китая, здесь немаловажную роль играет и КНДР, а также Россия. Политика вокруг северокорейской ядерной программы также косвенным образом затрагивает и вопросы безопасности Китая, где приоритетом Пекина будет являться стремление сохра-

нить буферный режим на полуострове. Другой фактор – это фактор России, который вписывается в общую логику российско-американского соперничества в посткрымский период.

Цели и задача исследования. Рассмотреть формат и динамику китайско-американских отношений в контексте стратегии Индо-Тихоокеанского региона.

Методология исследования

Исследование данной статьи базируется на идеях политического реализма, а именно наступательного реализма Миршаймера. Наступательный реализм утверждает, что основным смыслом государства на международной арене является выживание, и поэтому государства будут стремиться к расширению своего влияния, так как не существует наднациональных органов, которые могут остановить войну между государствами. Формат отношений между Китаем и США строится по принципу наступательного реализма.

Актуальность системы региональной безопасности заключается в том, что Китай может тестируировать свой качественно обновленные вооруженные силы, и поэтому военный компонент занимает центральное положение в контексте региональной безопасности. Помимо всего прочего, Азиатско-Тихоокеанский регион включает в себя и Индию, что привело к обозначению региона, как Индо-Тихоокеанского, который отображает геополитическую реальность современного периода и значимости Индии, как полноценного регионального актора.

Результаты и обсуждение

Военная модернизация НОАК и дилемма безопасности в Восточной Азии

Армия Китая, в новых стратегических условиях, прошла ряд преобразований. Сейчас военная модернизация НОАК является объектом национальной безопасности соседей Китая в обширном Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе (Hughes, 2012). Новые задачи НОАК определяют не только стандартную миссию защиты суверенитета страны и ее территориальной целостности, но и выполнение новых задач, в рамках логики геостратегического подъема КНР как державы мирового класса.

Существенным элементом эволюции китайской внешней политики представляется модернизация вооруженных сил КНР, увеличение качественного состава НОАК (Народно-Осво-

бодительная Армия Китая) и рост возможностей проецирования глобальной мощи, которая, безусловно, меняет стратегический баланс в регионе.

Доктринально, принято считать 2003/2004 гг. началом процесса развития Вооружённых Сил Китая в новых стратегических условиях. Бывший председатель КПК Ху Цзиньтао объявил о «Новой исторической миссии НОАК», что стало официальной доктриной касательно модернизации ВС НОАК в условиях после окончания холодной войны. В рамках данной концепции были указаны следующие стратегические нарративы:

НОАК будет способствовать сохранению внутренней стабильности;

НОАК будет способствовать сохранению территориальной целостности и суверенитета страны;

Для НОАК становится актуальной защищать расширяющихся национальных интересов (Kamphausen, 2012).

Третий пункт является центральным элементом в определении современной стратегической линии развития НОАК. Как было отмечено выше, в контексте геополитического подъема Китая армия Китая приобретает новые функции, и соответственно, выполнение задач и целей выходит на новый, глобальный уровень. На данный момент, в рамках вопросов обороны, наиболее приоритетными районами для стратегической безопасности КНР выступают Восточная Азия, Юго-Восточная Азия, регион Индийского океана, Африка и Центральная Азия. Специфика безопасности в обширном Indo-Tихоокеанском регионе определяется аспектами военной безопасности в противостоянии с США и их союзниками, в Центральной Азии и Африке, в защите национальных экономических интересов.

Приоритет в развитии современных вооруженных сил Китая, опирается на три основных рода войск:

Военно-морские силы;

Военно-воздушные силы;

Ракетно-ядерные силы.

Развитие данного вида войск в большей степени определяется основной линией приоритета в обеспечении национальной безопасности страны. Как отмечают западные эксперты, в период холодной войны, во время советско-китайского противостояния основной вопрос национальной безопасности и обороны находился в советско-китайской пограничной линии. Сейчас Китай расширяет свое политическое и экономическое

влияние в АТР, где специфика безопасности в немалой степени определяется географическим фактором, тиражей расстояния (Kamphausen, 2012).

Основные параметры безопасности в АТР, с китайских приоритетов, определяются тремя существенными компонентами: первое – Пекин стремится решить тайваньский вопрос, где военная сила играет немаловажную роль, от психологического сдерживания до потенциального военного применения; второе, Китай вовлечен в территориальные конфликты со своими соседями в Восточно-Китайском, Южно-Китайском морях с рядом государств; помимо этого, регион Индийского океана стал играть важную роль в обеспечении экономической безопасности страны, где сформировались значимые морские коммуникации. Возросшая военная активность ВМФ НОАК не может не беспокоить Индию, учитывая союзнические отношения Китая и Пакистана.

На данный момент, Китай ставит своим приоритетом развитие ВМФ и ВВС и применение РСМД (ракеты меньшей и средней дальности), развивается в рамках данной стратегии. НОАК в первую очередь, учитывает стратегический и политический контекст, в котором силы НОАК могут принимать участие. Стратегическое значение в данном случае означает технологические и политические факторы. Доктринальная основа нынешней НОАК – это «война в условиях информатизации» принимает во внимание пару важных аспектов: 1) технологический и 2) военно-политический/стратегический. Технологический фактор основывается на принципе ведения сетевой и сетецентричной войны, что дает импульс развитию китайских ИТ-технологий. Военно-политический/стратегический фактор учитывает специфику современной войны, в первую очередь, в ее политическом контексте. Так, согласно американским специалистам, Китай принял стратегию A2/AD (anti-access/area-denial), которая должна сдерживать гипотетическое вторжение США и их союзников в территориальных водах Китая, естественно, учитывая и географические особенности региона (Glaser, 2015).

ВМФ Китая обладает более чем 300 надводными кораблями, подводными лодками, десантными кораблями, патрульными катерами со специализированными задачами. Силы ВМФ НОАК представлены современным противокорабельным, противовоздушным и противолодочным вооружением и сенсорами. Эта модернизация согласуется с растущим акцентом Китая

на морской сфере и растущими требованиями к PLAN для выполнения оперативных задач на увеличивающихся расстояниях от материковой части Китая с использованием многоцелевых, устойчивых военно-морских платформ большой дальности, обладающих надежными возможностями самообороны.

В плане стратегических вооружений, ВМФ НОАК эксплуатирует четыре атомные подводные лодки с баллистическими ракетами (ПЛАРБ), шесть ударных подводных лодок с атомными двигателями (ПЛА) и 50 ударных подводных лодок с обычными двигателями (SS). По расчетам некоторых аналитиков, количество подводных лодок к 2020 г. будет измеряться в количестве 65-70, что, безусловно, повлияет на систему региональной безопасности.

В рамках системы региональной безопасности в АТР стало очевидным, что развитием Китаем различного класса ракет меньшей и средней дальности, крылатых ракет, а также гиперзвуковых систем меняет стратегический баланс в регионе. Так, в 2014 г. Китай подтвердил наличие у него некоторого числа ракет средней дальности DF-26C (дальность 3 500 км), так называемых «убийц Гуама». На наземных пусковых установках с 2007 г. развернуто от 40 до 55 крылатых ракет CJ-10 с дальностью 1 500 км, общий арсенал которых оценивается в 500 единиц, они могут запускаться с бомбардировщика H-6K, а в перспективе с надводных кораблей и подводных лодок. Своебразным оружием сдерживания может служить противокорабельная баллистическая ракета DF-21D, способная поразить обычной маневрирующей боевой частью подвижную надводную индивидуальную цель на расстоянии до 1 500 км (Secretary of Defense, 2019).

Развитие Китаем ракетно-ядерного потенциала класса ракет средней и меньшей дальности преследует две стратегические цели: 1) это процесс естественной модернизации НОАК в новых технологических условиях; и 2) охват обширной территории АТР, где располагается сеть американской военной инфраструктуры. Таким образом, поражение американской военной инфраструктуры становится важной задачей НОАК в современных условиях.

Как было указано выше, основной особенностью ракетно-ядерных сил НОАК является приверженность стратегии «минимального сдерживания», где Пекин обосновывает свою позицию наличием ограниченного количества ядерных боезарядов, но, тем не менее, НОАК активно модернизирует класс ракет меньшей и средней

дальности, поэтому в этих условиях формируется неясная и, можно сказать, аморфная среда для адаптации СЯС Китая в системе ВГУ, где Китай обладает незначительным количеством ядерных боезарядов, но обладает всеми средствами доставки ЯО (Легволд, 2017).

Таким образом, можно сделать вывод о том, что ВС НОАК адаптируют свою стратегию в новых геополитических/военно-политических и стратегических реалиях. Ошибочным является мнение сторонников китайского экспансионаизма о тотальности ведения войны Китаем, в гипотетическом плане, как против России, так и против США. Китайская военная стратегия в целом адаптирована по определенным регионам, или стратегическим областям, где НОАК может принимать участие в боевых действиях.

Военное измерение доктрины Индо-Тихоокеанского региона

Несмотря на то, что официальные лица Вашингтона утверждают, что военное измерение американской региональной стратегии не занимает центральное положение, но, тем не менее, именно модернизация, а также качественное и количественное изменение вооруженных сил США лежит в основе региональной стратегии и ее основных императивов. С геополитической точки зрения, учитывая окончание периода однополярного момента и начала многополярной системы, изменилась и общая стратегия вооруженных сил США, политика противостояния с крупными державами стала задавать тон в выработке военно-стратегических приоритетов (Истомин, 2019).

Военное измерение доктрины «Ребалансирования» и свободного и открытого Индо-Тихоокеанского региона также не являются исключение, и тоже свидетельствуют о переменах в восприятии и трансформации американских военно-стратегических императивах. Так, в доктрине от «Ребалансирования» от 2012 г., перед ВС США ставятся следующие задачи:

Сдержать и победить агрессию

Вооруженные силы США должны быть способны сдерживать и отражать агрессию любого потенциального противника. Достоверное сдерживание является результатом как способности лишить агрессора перспективы достижения его целей, так и дополнительной способности налагать на агрессора неприемлемые издержки.

Наше планирование предусматривает достичь таких сил, которые буду способны полностью сломить агрессивные цели государства в одном регионе, проводя объединенную кампанию вооружений во всех областях – на суше, в

воздухе, на море, в космосе и в киберпространстве. Это включает в себя возможность обеспечить безопасность территории и населения и облегчить переход к стабильному управлению в небольших масштабах в течение ограниченного периода времени с использованием постоянных сил и, при необходимости, в течение длительного периода с использованием мобилизованных сил (Department of Defense, 2012).

Проектирование силы, несмотря на ограничение и воспрещение доступа и маневра (A2/AD):

Чтобы надежно сдержать потенциальных противников и чтобы помешать им достичь своих целей, Соединенные Штаты должны достигнуть возможности проектировать мощь в тех местах, где наш доступ и свобода подвергаются вызову. В данных районах продвинутые противники будут прибегать к ассиметричным возможностям, таким как ведение электромагнитной и кибервойны, применение баллистических и крылатых ракет, усовершенствованная система воздушной обороны, минирование и другие методы, для того, чтобы усложнить наши операционные расчеты. Такие государства, как Китай и Иран, будут продолжать прибегать к ассиметричным средствам для сдерживания наших возможностей проектировать силу, в то время как распространение усовершенствованных видов вооружений и технологий будет распространяться также и на негосударственные акторы (Department of Defense, 2012).

Другой государственный документ, который отображает стратегическую линию Вашингтона по отношению к региону и к Китаю, это документ Министерства Обороны США под названием «Доклад Индо-Тихоокеанской стратегии: готовность, партнерство и продвижение сетевого региона» от 1 июня 2019 г. Документ в целом формулирует общую стратегическую линию Вашингтона по отношению к региону, в двух ключевых областях – военном и дипломатико-институциональном. Документ определяет Китай как государство-ревизионист, в частности подчеркивается, что Китай стремится к гегемонии в Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе на среднесрочную перспективы, а также к глобальному доминированию на долгосрочную перспективу (The Department of Defense, 2019).

Основная характеристика военной стратегии Китая, согласно документу, это A2/AD, основной задачей которого выступает ограничение и подрыв действия вражеских сил в районах, близких к Китаю в территориально-географическом отношении. Как пример указывается размещение Китаем антикорабельных ракет и ракет

дальнего радиуса действия класса «земля-воздух» на спорных островах Сенкаку/Дяюйдао, а также патрулирование островов в Восточно-Китайском море средствами морского патруля и военной авиацией. Согласно официальной позиции США, это является нарушением национального суверенитета, свободных торговых передвижений и данные действия подрывают региональную стабильность.

В целом доклад идентифицирует три основных вызова в системе региональной безопасности, куда относятся Китай, Россия и КНДР. Китай классифицируется как сила, которая способна изменить и трансформировать (где-то военными средствами, где-то геоэкономическими мерами) региональный порядок (The Department of Defense, 2019). Россия не выделяется как центральное звено системы региональной безопасности, но кризис европейской системы безопасности отражается и в этой части света. КНДР больше рассматривается как угроза единичного характера, т.е. которая не обладает такой комплексностью как Китай, но чей ядерный потенциал способен подорвать безопасность и процветание американских союзников.

Исходя из вышеперечисленных параметров системы региональной безопасности, доклад определяет следующие основные цели национальной стратегии:

обеспечить баланс сил в пользу США в наиболее важных регионах;

продвижение международного порядка, который в большей степени будет соответствовать безопасности и процветанию США.

В документе подчеркивается, что Минобороны США не выработало соответствующую стратегию, а также качество и количество ВС США в регионе, для противодействия давлению со стороны Китая и России. Касательно вырабатываемой военной стратегии отмечаются следующие особенности: «Негативный сдвиг в региональном балансе сил может побудить конкурентов бросить вызов свободному и открытому порядку, который поддерживает процветание и безопасность США, их союзников и партнеров и подорвать их. Чтобы справиться с этой проблемой, Министерство обороны разрабатывает более смертоносные, устойчивые и быстро внедряющиеся инновации в Объединенные силы и расширяет сотрудничество с надежной группировкой союзников и партнеров» (The Department of Defense, 2019).

Как отмечают специалисты РСМД, американское военное строительство вновь начинает ориентироваться на стратегические условия со-

перничества держав. Возрождение России и геополитический подъем Китая, как внешнеполитический фактор, стали определять стратегическое видение и военное планирование США с середины 2010-ых гг.

С другой стороны, ядерный фактор в период «однополярного момента» не играл существенной роли в системе международной безопасности, и в большей степени ядерная безопасность была институциональным форматом контроля над стратегическими вооружениями. Но с возвращением периода политики держав и тенденции становления многополярной системы ядерное оружие вновь стало «применяться» как средство военно-стратегического воздействия. Разумеется, применение стратегических ядерных вооружений остается маловероятным сценарием, но, тем не менее, отмечается рост значимости системы ядерных вооружений на глобальном уровне.

Как отмечают аналитики из РСМД, действия США по выходу из Договора о ракетах меньшей и средней дальности в большей степени продиктованы азиатским вектором американской политики, что вынуждает Вашингтон к адаптации своих вооруженных сил к специфике противодействия росту ракетно-ядерных сил НОАК и расширенных возможностей ВМФ НОАК: «Разворачивание такого рода вооружений на Тихоокеанской сцене, так же как и наращивание противоракетных систем на американских военных кораблях и в Японии, рассматривается в Соединенных Штатах как механизмы оказания дополнительного давления на КНР (Истомин, 2019). В целом, американские официальные документы подчеркивают необходимость смены парадигмы в концепциях ядерных сил, а также необходимости адаптации вооруженных сил к новым стратегическим реалиям. ДРСМД как международный институт создал такую ситуацию, при которой силы и средства (разработка и тестирование) России и США ракет меньшей и средней дальности были под юридическим запретом, давая Китаю возможность спокойно развивать данный класс ракет. Так, Китай имеет значительное количество баллистических ракет средней и меньшей дальности: 11 устаревших DF-4 и 88 новых грунтово-мобильных DF-15, DF-15A, DF-15B и DF-11A. Парк китайских ракет средней и меньшей дальности состоит приблизительно из 55 ракет «Дунфэн-21» с дальностью полета 2100 км (Баклицкий, 2019).

Многие эксперты и аналитики отмечают формирование последней тенденции, которая вписы-

вается в парадигму становления многополярной системы. Так, американское военное планирование на рубеже конца 10-ых гг. возвращается на уровень противостояния держав (power competition), и преимущественно американское военное планирование уже строится с учетом специфики противостояния с Китаем и Россией. Поэтому, несмотря на официально декларируемую риторику об отсутствии стремления США сдерживать Китай, стратегия Вашингтона в АТР в любом случае может восприниматься как часть политики или проявления политики противостояния держав. Так, в докладе Обзора Ядерной Стратегии от 2018 г. отмечается специфика политики противостояния держав. Ядерное оружие и его стратегическое, т.е. военное, и институциональное значение может служить тому примером. Так, при администрации Обамы (исторический отрезок позднего «однополярного момента») ядерное оружие играло институциональную роль, т.е. наличие ядерного оружия исключительно рассматривалось как политико-символический статус, что исключительно выражалось в его институциональной сущности или специфики для системы международной безопасности. Главным достижением президента Обамы в этом направлении стало подписание с Россией Договора СНВ-3 и продвижение инициативы безъядерного мира. Конечно, немаловажную роль здесь сыграл и технологический фактор, эволюция ядерных сил, где существенным образом возросла роль тактических ядерных вооружений, но уже в новых стратегических условиях. Наиболее ясное выражение в перемене американского стратегического мышления можно найти в Обзоре Ядерной Стратегии от 2018 г., периода президентства Трампа, а также в официальных данных и высказываниях американских официальных лиц касательно стратегии в АТР/Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе. Так, в документе по ядерной стратегии от 2018 г. подчеркиваются такие важные составляющие ядерной доктрины, как приоритет сохранности гибкой и способной ядерной триады, и необходимость поддержки в составе ядерной сил таких элементов триады, как стратегические бомбардировщики, АПЛ и ракеты наземного базирования. Также в доктрине подчеркивается необходимость развивать средства КРМБ (крылатые ракеты морского базирования). В докладе отмечается, что данный класс ракет потерял свою актуальность при администрации Обамы, но в силу изменяющихся геополитических реалий данный класс ракет вновь занял одно из центральных положений в американском военном планировании (Evans,

2019). Поэтому, как ссылаются авторы доклада, необходимость в возрождении и развитии КРМБ выросла на фоне дипломатических трений и усиления военного противостояния с Россией и Китаем. Также развитие средств ракет меньшей и средней дальности и крылатых ракет вписывается в парадигму американской стратегии по военно-му строительству в АТР для сдерживания Китая.

В целом, исходя из стратегической линии, можно отметить, что ядерная стратегия США в период формируемой многополярности вновь ориентируется на политику противостояния держав (Evans, 2019). Поэтому, нарративы, заданные в ядерной стратегии от 2018 г., в большей степени направлены на усиление ядерного компонента, и по этой причине ядерное оружие вновь возвращается к роли сдерживающего фактора, в рамках мировой политики и дипломатии.

Важной составляющей частью региональной стратегии играет фактор «тиrания расстояния» (Berteau, 2012) и плюс географические особенности региона, которые оказывают косвенное влияние на специфику вырабатываемой военной стратегии. Так, аналитик из Национального Бюро Азиатских Исследований Даниэль Блюменталь отмечает фактор «command of the commons» в контексте военно-стратегических условий АТР (Blumenthal, 2012). В данном случае, слово «commons» можно перевести как «общинная земля», но в контексте исследуемой темы слово в своем смысловом субстрате больше тождественно понятию «domains», что означает ресурсы либо сферы, т.е. субъект с пространственным геофизическим значением. Поэтому многие американские аналитики уделяют немаловажное значение фактору расстояния в рамках разрабатываемой стратегии. Данная концепция исходит из идей Бэрри Поуззена, которая выражается в том, что США или любая другая страна, которая стремится к доминированию, должна обеспечить себе доступ к обширному использованию таких сфер, как море, космическое пространство и воздушное пространство. Для достижения полноценного военного доминирования США должны получить обширный контроль над этими ресурсами, а также США должны сдерживать другие государства от доступа к данным ресурсам (Posen, 2006). Поэтому американская стратегия в АТР с учетом данной геофизической специфики региона должна ориентироваться на данные стратегические основы.

Исходя из доктрины контроля над сферами/ресурсами, американские аналитики стали делать упор на разработку стратегии «Air-to-Sea

Battle» (воздушного и морского боя). Концепция Air-to-sea Battle включает в себя ряд особенностей, среди которых можно выделить: контроль над воздухом, морем, космическим пространством, а также киберпространство. В целом, в американской стратегической литературе отмечается упор на модернизацию военно-воздушных и военно-морских сил. В рамках стратегии адаптации вооруженных сил США учитывается и ядерный фактор, который стал играть одну из ключевых ролей, поэтому, с одной стороны, не вызывает удивления тот факт, что многие эксперты и официальные лица выражают озабоченность по поводу роста ядерных вооружений в формировании политического курса ведущих государств.

Мы не будем рассматривать все аспекты военной модернизации США, а больше сосредоточимся на основных моментах. Главной стратегической задачей США, в плане военного планирования, в рамках современной стратегии является военное сдерживание Китая. Американские аналитики отмечают, что китайская военно-стратегическая доктрина, в ее обширном понимании военных, стратегических, технологических и иных аспектов строится на учете опыта Тайваньского кризиса 1996 г. Отличительной особенностью современного роста военной мощи Китая стало то, что, с одной стороны, Китай нарастил свой способности проецировать влияние, но в тоже время, китайская стратегия заключается в том, чтобы сдерживать проецирование США своего влияния в своих территориальных водах. Вышеупомянутая концепция Air-to-Sea Battle учитывает данные трансформации. Для поиска на вызов со стороны роста военной мощи Китая официальные лица из Вашингтона отмечают о стратегической необходимости роста до 60% военных сил ВМФ США в регионе к 2020 г. (Hagel, 2013).

Учитывая стратегические условия региона, и прежде всего географический, который оказал влияние на формирование концепта Air-to-Sea Battle, можно указать, что приоритетом США является наращивание военно-морских сил, которые будут действовать в регионе для сдерживания военной активности Китая, в контексте различных операций. Так, Вашингтон намерен довести общее количество кораблей в зоне действия Индо-Тихоокеанского региона до 355 единиц (Истомин, 2019). Также США намерены увеличить количество подводных лодок различных классов, которые несут оперативное дежурство. Подводные лодки будут оснащены штурмовы-

ми, управляемыми и баллистическими ракетами, на таких классах подводных лодок как Лос-Анджелес, Морской волк и класса Вирджиния (The Department of Defense, 2019). Помимо всего прочего, сдерживание Китая также включает в себя и ядерный компонент, Ядерная стратегия также входит в военное измерение Индо-Тихоокеанского региона. Здесь, ядерное измерение доктрины совпадает с качественной трансформацией стратегических ядерных вооружений. Здесь, новая парадигма военно-стратегического сдерживания Китая будет основываться на упоре на тактические ядерные вооружения, т.е. приоритет будет делаться на тактические крылатые ракеты, ракеты меньшей и средней дальности, а также нового класса гиперзвуковых ракет. При этом, по мнению ряда аналитиков, распад и деградация ДРСМД стали продуктом модернизации ядерных сил НОАК, которые проводят всестороннюю модернизацию своего ядерного потенциала. Поэтому, стратегические ядерные силы остаются объектом переговорного процесса между США и Россией в рамках СНВ-3, как институциональный механизм, но при этом новые виды ядерных вооружений стали играть видную роль в развертываемой системе региональной безопасности.

Выход США из ДРСМД, как отмечалось выше, продиктован новыми условиями безопасности в АТР. Развитие и интеграция наземно-мобильных средств доставки ядерных вооружений, а именно ракет меньшей и средней дальности, вписывается в данную стратегию. В связи с выходом США из ДРСМД Вашингтон обеспечил себе свободу действия в плане развития полноценных средств и мер стратегического сдерживания Китая и его растущей военной мощи. Так, исходя из американской стратегической литературы, можно понять, что США развиваю интеграционную структуру по сдерживанию Китая в рамках концепций Air-to-Sea Battle и размещение противоракетной обороны, а также ракет меньшей и средней дальности. Но, несмотря на усилия Вашингтона, американская стратегия сталкивается с рядом трудностей, в особенности нежелания соседей Китая, и в тоже время союзников и партнеров США, по установке данных ракет у себя в странах, что вызовет ответную реакцию со стороны Пекина (Баклицкий, 2019).

Основной технический вопрос касательно военного измерения стратегии Индо-Тихоокеанского региона заключается в плоскости его прямого применения. Так, китайская сторона утверждает, что действия США по наращиванию своего военного присутствия в регионе подры-

вают региональную стабильность и являются актом прямого сдерживания Китая. Официальные источники из Вашингтона, разумеется, отвергают данные доводы Пекина, но, тем не менее, военное строительство в регионе остается одним из основных приоритетов Вашингтона. Стоит понимать, что военная сила, как элемент национальной силы, здесь, в рамках развертываемой стратегии Индо-Тихоокеанского региона является институциональным механизмом, т.е. играет скорее символическую роль. Принимая во внимание уровень экономической взаимозависимости региона, то вероятность крупномасштабной войны маловероятна, ограничиваясь исключительно локальными конфликтами и стычками. Поэтому, в современной стратегической литературе конфликты рассматриваются как часть общей дипломатической стратегии (Burles, 2007). Исходя из данных соображений, можно отметить, что «применение» военной силы, скорее всего, будет ограничено дипломатической стратегией противостоящих сторон. Системность военной модернизации ВС США необходима не для войны с Китаем, а для оказания морально-психологической поддержки для союзников и партнеров США, но при этом не стоит забывать, что при уходе США как регионального участника, региональная политика будет вестись по логике дилеммы безопасности и соперничества региональных игроков.

Китайский ответ на стратегию США в ИТР

Сейчас основная внешнеполитическая дилемма в Восточной Азии или в Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе развивается по двум направлениям. Первое направление включает в себя классический подход, основанный на двухсторонних отношениях, и второе направление – это доминирование институционального подхода в системе межгосударственных отношений. Китайско-американское соперничество теперь лежит в основе системы региональной безопасности.

Китайская стратегия в ИТР, в отличие от американской концепции, не отличается какой-либо системностью. Разумеется, Пекин обладает полноценным и стратегическим видением региональной политики, где вопросы региональной безопасности тесно связаны с внешнеполитическими устремлениями Пекина как ведущей региональной силы, которая находится в стадии преобразования в сверхдержаву. Особенность американской региональной стратегии заключается в том, что она обладает четко выраженным институциональным подходом и формирует с собой региональный каркас (Кортунов,

2018). Даже несмотря на то, что администрация Д. Трампа отказалась от институциональных механизмов в рамках региональной стратегии, в любом случае прослеживается определенная институциональная структура, которая «делегирует» ряд полномочий тем или иным странам в рамках стратегии сдерживания Китая.

Китай, как таковой, не обладает четко выраженной или официально оформленной региональной стратегией, в отличие от США. Последние китайские внешнеполитические доктрины, отличаются общей декларативностью, и в целом нацелены на общий концепт внешней политики, нежели чем на конкретную и ясную тематику. Сейчас, в китайской внешнеполитической доктрине доминирует концепция «Сообщества единой судьбы», но данная доктрина не очерчивает конкретные грани стратегических устремлений КНР, отмечая общие принципы международной солидарности и развития. Наоборот, в американской стратегии «Ребалансирования» от 2012 г. были четко подчеркнуты региональные проблемы и необходимость поиска коллективного решения. Стратегия «Ребалансирования» и последующая стратегия свободного и открытого Индо-Тихоокеанского региона ясно разделяют три сферы стратегического партнерства: военная, институциональная и экономическая. Поэтому, в рамках своей региональной стратегии Китай сохранит приоритет в развитии формата двухсторонних отношений.

Это в некоторой степени напоминает формат отношений «Срединного царства» с другими государствами в Восточной Азии, где Китай являлся политическим и культурным центром региона. Китай, безусловно, обладая колоссальными экономическим, демографическим и военным потенциалом, уже, по сути, является региональным лидером/гегемоном. Военный потенциал НОАК способен бросить вызов любому государству региона, хотя, учитывая и экономический вес КНР, Пекин может искусно применить свои геоэкономические механизмы. Поэтому теперь становится ясно, почему Пекин отдает предпочтение двухсторонним форматам отношений. С другой стороны, это позволяет Китаю строить имидж своей внешней политики, как свободной, потому что наличие институтов или наднациональных институтов «налагает» ограничение на внешнюю политику тех стран, которые входят в какую-либо организацию. Например, НАТО, ОБСЕ и ряд других организаций подвергаются критике из-за их сугубо прозападного либо проамериканского уклона. Поэтому, сохранение двухстороннего формата отношений позволяет

Китаю позиционировать себя как государство, которое не вмешивается в дела других государств, и все это соответствует провозглашенным Пекином курсу.

Но, тем не менее, несмотря на наступательную политику Пекина в Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе, Пекин не намерен в полной степени идти на конфронтацию с США. Для политического руководства КПК придется принять и понять, что противостояние с США это надолго (Тимофеев, 2021). И усиление военной конфронтации, а также прямое военное столкновение с США ни к чему хорошему ни приведут. Поэтому, как отмечают аналитики РАНД, стратегическим объектом гегемонистской политики Китая становится не ИТР, где у него нет реальных союзников, а районы внутренней Евразии. Данная стратегическая линия получила название «поворот на Запад» (RAND, 2020). Так, еще в 2010 г., профессор Пекинского университета Ван Джиси выдвинул концепцию «Марша на Запад», которая обозначает расширение стратегического влияния Китая на Запад, т.е. в район Евразии, путем геоэкономических методов.

Китай осознает, что в значительной степени уступает Соединенным Штатам в плане развития и внедрения полноценной региональной стратегии. Так, у Китая нет реальных региональных союзников в АТР, за исключением Пакистана, который входит в стратегический треугольник Пакистан-Индия-Китай. Естественно, геополитический подъем Китая должен способствовать формированию системы макрорегиональных механизмов, которые должны противодействовать американскому влиянию, но этого не происходит, даже в АТР. С точки зрения логики политического реализма, Китай может и должен создать систему альянсов для противодействия американскому влиянию. Но этого не происходит. Китай может объединить свои усилия с Россией и Ираном, как с наиболее антиамериканскими странами. Теоретически, данные государства обладают весомым потенциалом для противодействия американскому влиянию, но, тем не менее, Китай не предпринимает данного рода действий. Этому есть ряд причин, которые лежат в основании или формируют современную систему международных отношений:

Фактор глобализации и взаимозависимости.

Нестабильность альянсов и их стратегическая ограниченность.

Внешнеполитические приоритеты и перспективы КНР, трансформация наставлений Дэна Сяопина в новых стратегических условиях.

Суть советско-американского глобально-го соперничества заключалась в том, чтобы установить свою собственную гегемонию. Гегемония в случае советско-американского со-перничества означала построение такого ми-ропорядка, при котором та или иная держава становилась центром глобальной системы, и данная стратегия в большей мере вписывалась в парадигму американской внешней политики. Сторонники реализма, а именно теории гегемо-нистской стабильности, утверждают, что международные институты не являются объективно действующим фактором в мировой политике, т.е. НАТО в любом случае будет проталкивать национальные интересы США, так как именно США составляют ядро данной организации. Но в случае Соединенных Штатов, международные структуры или институты являются продуктом американской гегемонии. Как утверждают не-которые эксперты, благосостояние стран Западной Европы и Восточной Азии стало возможно благодаря тому, что во время холодной войны США обеспечивали защиту стран от возможно-го советского вторжения, а внутренние ресурсы государств, находящихся под американским влиянием (Германия, Япония), способствовали их внутреннему процветанию и росту экономического сотрудничества, тем самым избегая дилеммы безопасности. Развитие экономики азиатских тигров стало возможным благодаря американскому военно-политическому и дипломатическому присутствию. Под международны-ми структурами в большей степени подразумевается глобальная экономическая система, основанная на взаимозависимости и взаимосвя-занности. Именно экономическая база создает систему глобальной взаимозависимости, кото-рая и утверждает систему американской гегемонии, корни которой берут начало еще со времен холодной войны. Поэтому и США составляют ядро глобальной экономической системы, где остальные страны тесно зависимы от действия данной системы. Поэтому здесь уместно вы-ражение Бжезинского о том, что Россия, Китай и Индия не могут организовать континенталь-ный союз из-за фактора экономических связей с США. Конечно, возводить геоэкономику в Абсолют и отметить полностью фактор геополитики будет неправильным подходом, но суть заключается в том, что международные структуры в любом случае будут способствовать со-хранению американской гегемонии, и где-то они будут иметь косвенный характер воздействия.

Другим стратегическим приоритетом ки-

тайской внешней политики может стать форми-рование альянсов. Особенность современного механизма баланса сил заключается в том, что он сузился исключительно до регионального уровня. С точки зрения логики классического реализма Китай должен организовать военно-политические союзы с Россией и Ираном для сдерживания США. Конечно, нельзя исключать формирование такого союза, но в случае ис-ключительного обострения ситуации, максимой которой стала ситуация вокруг Ирана в начале 2020 г. Но, тем не менее, данный формат со-юзов не формируется. Этому есть ряд причин: с одной стороны, несмотря на свой геополити-ческий подъем, Китай, как субъект глобальных экономических отношений вполне чувствует себя комфортно в современной рыночной си-стеме, и подрыв данной системы может отразиться и на благосостоянии самого Китая. С другой стороны, Китай хотя и формируется как новый гегемон, но, тем не менее, его военно-по-литический потенциал в плане создания систе-мы региональных институтов весьма слабоват, в отличие от американского, европейского или российского вариантов. Если даже Китай и смо-жет установить свою гегемонию в Азии, то ны-нешний военно-политический потенциал Китая находится в зачаточном состоянии. Например, возникает логический вопрос? Почему Китай не способствует созданию системы институтов безопасности в Африке? Разумеется, здесь роль Франции и США больше в силу их историческо-го присутствия на континенте и выработанных связей, которые и лежат в основе системы регио-нальных институтов безопасности. Несмотря на то, что Китай и отходит от стратегии Дэна Сяо-пина, внешнеполитическое руководство Пекина осознает свои лимиты, и прямое столкновение с США не сулит ничего хорошего, поэтому воен-но-политическое соперничество с США ограни-чивается исключительно Азиатско-Тихоокеан-ским регионом, где Китай может проецировать свою военную мощь.

С другой стороны, должен сформироваться российско-китайский стратегический альянс, который может стать ядром формируемой многополярной системы, и российская концеп-ция «Большой Евразии» может стать базой для формирования данного альянса, предлагая альтернативу проамериканскому порядку. Но, фор-мирование такого рода альянса также выглядит туманным. Несмотря на то, что и у России, и у Китая имеются напряженности в отношениях с США, как основным геополитическим соперни-

ком, стороны не стремятся к созданию стратегического союза. Россия, в некоторой степени опасается роста геополитического подъема Китая, который может иметь и долгосрочные последствия для безопасности самой России. Сейчас Китай заметно усиливает свое влияние в регионе Центральной Азии, что не может не беспокоить Россию, а также влияет фактор Арктики, которая становится объектом соперничества держав. Хотя у обеих стран и существуют геополитические предпосылки для альянса, тем не менее, опасения России сильны. Так, согласно некоторым западным аналитикам, после столкновений между пограничными войсками Индии и Китая в июле 2020 г. Россия отменила продажу систем С-400 Китаю (Grossman, 2020). Потенциал союзников у Китая весьма ограничен, и поэтому Китай, во-первых, не будет идти на прямое столкновение с США, и второе, это ограничивает военно-политическую институционализацию дипломатии Китая, где Китай может выступать стержневым государством вне своего родного региона. Единственное, где Пекин сумел осуществить данную стратегию, это Центральная Азия.

Как отмечают российские эксперты, в докладе от 19 съезда КПК отсутствовало упоминание таких организаций, как ШОС и БРИКС, что может свидетельствовать о том, что Китай отходит от практики формирования не-западных международных структур, которые воспринимаются США как вызов глобальному статусу-кво. Поэтому, учитывая в комплексе вышеизложенные факторы, можно отметить, что Китай не будет вступать в прямое стратегическое соперничество с США. Стоит отметить, что китайские аналитические институты уделяют немаловажное внимание изучению темы истощения великих держав в исторической перспективе (Маслов, 2021). Поэтому стоит ожидать, что, скорее всего, формат и динамика китайско-американского соперничества будет весьма дозированным. Китай, в своей стратегической линии, будет избегать прямого столкновения с США. Несмотря на то, что уровень и качество китайской внешней политики вышли на новый уровень, Китай будет весьма осторожен в своих действиях, и в большей степени сосредоточится на освоении Запада, чем в прямом и радикальном утверждении в АТР.

Система региональных альянсов в контексте доктрины Индо-Тихоокеанского региона

Система региональных альянсов в рамках развертываемой стратегии Индо-Тихоокеанско-

го региона является центральным звеном американской внешнеполитической линии. Несмотря на то, что первоначально американская стратегия по региону воспринимается в рамках реалистической парадигмы, т.е. баланса сил и сдерживания Китая, она обладает рядом особенностей, которые не дает трактовать доктрину Индо-Тихоокеанского региона в одном ключе.

Стратегия «Ребалансирования» включает в себя три основных аспекта:

Военный, что означает модернизацию ВС США в АТР;

Институциональный, организация и внедрение региональных институтов для создания институциональной платформы для разрешения общих проблем;

Геоэкономический, привлечение экономических средств для сдерживания активности Китая и поддержки союзников и партнеров.

Тем не менее, несмотря на общую стратегическую линию по отношению к региону, в целом, и к Китаю, в частности, стратегическая политика двух администраций отличается в подходах. Администрация Обамы делала упор на формирование многосторонних региональных институтов, в то время как администрация Трампа на официальном уровне поддержала идею многосторонних институтов, однако на практике осуществлялся упор на страны, входящие в «ромб» (Истомин, 2019). При Трампе снизилась значимость институциональных форматов сотрудничества и многосторонних контактов, уступив место формату официальных встреч и двухсторонних личностных отношений (Истомин, 2017). Многосторонний институциональный формат, по мнению Трампа, мешал выработке более ясной и четкой стратегии, что только могло тормозить американскую политику в регионе. Поэтому основная политика США в период президентства Трампа двигалась по трем направлениям: геоэкономическое и дипломатическое сдерживание Китая, а также приоритет к странам «Ромба», чем многосторонним институциональным механизмам, что означает приоритет таких стран, как Индия, Япония и Австралия.

Параметры безопасности Индо-Тихоокеанского региона весьма разносторонние, при этом регион обладает незаурядной особенностью системы региональной безопасности. Регион представлен чередой прямых и косвенных конфликтов, которые обладают той или иной потенциалом эскалации, которая может подорвать региональную стабильность. Так, специфика ре-

гиональной безопасности Индо-Тихоокеанского региона определяется вопросами демаркации границ, небольшими островами и морскими границами, а также относительно небольшими вопросами. Исключение составляют только следующие конфликты, которые обладают высоким потенциалом эскалации: Индо-Пакистанский конфликт

вокруг Кашмира, Корейский полуостров и вопрос независимости Тайваня, развязывание которых могут привести к широкомасштабному конфликту. Также, по мнению ряда экспертов, в кластере безопасности Индо-Тихоокеанского региона даже небольшие конфликты могут привести к значительным последствиям (Cliff, 2020).

Таблица 1 – Активные милитаризированные диспуты в Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе

Диспут	Стороны
Кашмир	Индия, Пакистан
Корейский полуостров	Северная Корея, Южная Корея
Тайвань	Китай, Тайвань
Курильские острова/Северные территории	Япония, Россия
Острова Сенкаку/Дяюйдао и газовое месторождение в районе Восточно-Китайского моря	Китай, Япония, Тайвань
Острова Докдо/Такешима	Япония, Южная Корея
Риф Скарборо	Китай, Филиппины
Острова Спратли	Китай, Вьетнам, Филиппины, Малайзия, Бруней, Тайвань
Парасельские острова	Китай, Вьетнам, Тайвань
Китайско-Индийская граница	Китай, Индия
Китайско-Бутанская граница	Китай, Бутан
Индонезийские сепаратисты, действующие из территории Папуа Новой Гвинеи	Индонезия, Папуа Новая Гвинея
Повстанцы, действующие на территории Мьянмы, из территории Бангладеша	Мьянма, Бангладеш
Повстанцы, действующие на территории Мьянмы, из территории, из территории Таиланда	Мьянма, Таиланд
Камбоджско-Тайская граница	Камбоджа, Таиланд
Индонезийско-Малайзийская морская граница в Сулавеси	Индонезия, Малайзия
Индонезийско-Китайская морская граница в районе островов Натуна	Индонезия, Китай

Источник: A New U.S. Strategy for the Indo-Pacific. By Roger Cliff. P. 70

Доклад Национального Бюро Азиатских Исследований «Новая стратегия США для Индо-Тихоокеанского региона» дает четкую методологическую формулу для понимания и динамики развития конфликтов, в рамках специфики региональной безопасности. В докладе отмечается, что с учетом специфики двух стран и обстоятельств в условиях, при которых возникают войны, вероятность возникновения войны включает фактор, когда относительная мощь двух стран находится на уровне паритета, или смещается к паритету. Или когда один член пары является союзником. В тоже время, с другой стороны, войны между двумя странами маловероятны,

когда они представляют с собой продвинутые экономики и зрелые демократии (Geller, Singer, 1998).

Американскую стратегию в рамках доктрины свободного и открытого Индо-Тихоокеанского региона можно рассматривать не только в ключе реалистической или неолиберальной парадигмы международных отношений, но и в плане глобальной политэкономии. Экономический потенциал АТР весьма высок, и в случае усиления геополитической нестабильности, а также роста эскалации конфликтов в регионе это может привести к широким последствиям для международной экономической системы, а

точнее для Западного велфейра, поэтому стратегические императивы США складываются в стремлениях сохранения не гегемонистского порядка, политэкономической системы, которая является частью глобального американского порядка. Разрыв экономических связей может иметь долгосрочные последствия как для региона, так и для мира, поэтому закономерен рост американского внимания к региону. То есть, линия приоритетов США в рамках доктрины «Ребалансирования» и свободного и открытого Индо-Тихоокеанского региона выстраивается в двух направлениях: первое – это логика сохранения гегемонии, которая вынуждает США реагировать на Китай, и в рамках парадигмы политического реализма, это вполне естественное и нормальное поведение сверхдержавы; второе – это стремление обезопасить глобальную политико-экономическую модель в условиях глобализации. Здесь, уместно будет отметить критику работы Фрэнсиса Фукуямы «Конца истории». Основная ошибка знаменитого американского ученого заключается в том, что он приписал автоматическое внедрение западных политических институтов и социальную эволюцию незападным обществам, по чисто западным стандартам, после окончания холодной войны. Это показывает утверждение рыночных механизмов и рыночной экономики, но при этом политические институты незападных обществ сохранили свою инклузивность, что непременно повлияло на сохранение геополитического мышления и затормозило глобальный «конец истории».

Поэтому, в американской стратегии свободного и открытого Индо-Тихоокеанского региона прослеживается четкая и логическая взаимосвязь между приоритетами демократизации и сохранности паттернов глобализированного мира. Также по этой причине доктрина напрямую не ставит меры военного противодействия, а прибегает к гибким институциональным подходам, в плане региональной безопасности.

Аккумулирование Китаем значительного военного потенциала и затем преобразование внешней политики привело к формированию дилеммы безопасности в Восточной Азии, и в целом в АТР. В обширном Индо-Тихоокеанском регионе существуют ряд конфликтов с потенциалом широкой эскалации с глубочайшими стратегическими последствиями. Так, конфликтный потенциал Китая и Японии в силу исторических особенностей и геополитической специфики обладает широким потенциалом эскалации. В данном потенциальном конфликте возникает стра-

тегический треугольник Япония-США-КНР, где для Японии вопросы безопасности носят перманентный характер, а для США – институциональный. Региональная стратегия Японии по сдерживанию Китая сводится к мерам военного и дипломатического характера. Япония и США ведут переговоры по установке на операционной основе американских ракет средней дальности. Так, в октябре 2019 г. обе стороны обсуждали вопросы размещения ракет средней дальности в ходе визита бывшего министра обороны США Марка Эспера в Токио. Помимо этого, Япония разрабатывает собственные ракеты средней дальности (2 000 км), которые смогут сбивать цели на территории Северной Кореи и значительной части Китая. На дипломатическом уровне, Япония поставила своим приоритетом усиление политики по направлению к АСЕАН. Так, в 2016 г., Япония поддержала вьетнамское видение поддержки усилий АСЕАН по соблюдению принципов международного права, в отношении морских районов и воздушного пространства, а также мер по выполнению различных спасательных операций. Японские инициативы включают в себя формат двух- и многосторонних инициатив, обучение, посещение стран региона японскими военно-морскими кораблями и авиацией и технологическое сотрудничество. Также Япония наращивает свое стратегическое партнерство с Индией, которое включает в себя ежегодные встречи министров обороны, выполнение совместных учений между военными и представителями береговой охраны, усиление военного сотрудничества и обмена информацией. К тому же, Япония профинансировала строительство инфраструктуры в Северо-восточной Индии, где другие страны в силу политической специфики отказывались от участия в проекте (Cliff, 2020).

Аналогичная ситуация сложилась и вокруг Индии, где существует стратегический треугольник Пакистан-Индия-Китай. Индия обладает территориальными спорами с Китаем и Пакистаном, а также Китай расширяет свое влияние в Индийском океане. Военные характеристики стратегического треугольника выражаются в следующих действиях: Индия и Пакистан ведут соперничество из-за Кашмира, две страны являются обладателями ядерного оружия, Китай оказывает дипломатическую поддержку Пакистану, и на рубеже 2010-х гг. Китай значительным образом модернизировал свои вооруженные силы, которые влияют на стратегический баланс в регионе. Так, согласно индийским источникам, Китай модернизирует военную инфраструктуру

в Гималаях, а также размещает ракеты средней дальности, которые охватывают значительную часть Индии. Также Нью-Дели беспокоит активность ВМФ НОАК в водах Индийского океана, где Китай стремится развить достаточную и продвинутую инфраструктуру транспортно-логистических коммуникаций в обход Малаккского пролива (RAND, 2018). Помимо этого, Индию не может не беспокоить активность ВМФ НОАК, и модернизация ядерных сил Пакистана, что нарушает стратегический баланс. Поэтому, в период правления Нарендры Моди, Индия усилила стратегическое партнерство с США, что преобразовывает стратегический треугольник в четырехугольник. Наиболее выразительным является активное участие Индии в совместных военных учениях с флотом США и Японии.

Основной спектр национальной безопасности Индии на данный момент преимущественно сосредоточен на Китае и возможном сдерживании Китая. Так, стратегия Нью-Дели ориентируется на усиление дипломатических контактов со странами Indo-Тихоокеанского региона, такими как Япония, Австралия, Индонезия и Вьетнам. С военной точки зрения, Индия модернизирует свою военную инфраструктуру в районе северо-восточной границы с Китаем, а также ставит приоритетом усиление военного присутствия в регионе Индийского океана. Стратегическая значимость Индии лежит в плоскости к доступу в Индийский океан, где проходят основные транспортно-логистические коммуникации Китая, поэтому, обладая таким преимуществом, индийская стратегическая концепция полностью вписывается в рамках стратегии Indo-Тихоокеанского региона (Cliff, 2020). В районе Индийского океана складывается чистый механизм баланса сил, где Индия окружена Пакистаном, Шри-Ланкой и Мьянмой, странами, которые признают стратегическое партнерство с Китаем. Тем, более нельзя исключать даже возрастающую значимость Индийского океана в рамках морского Пояса и Пути, что делает регион значимым в глазах стратегического восприятия Пекина, поэтому, исходя из данной точки зрения, можно утверждать, что существует стратегический перевес по направлению к Индии и региону Индийского океана. Нельзя исключать такого варианта, что Китай не будет стремиться к прямому военному столкновению в АТР, но при этом будет тщательно оберегать линии коммуникации в регионе Индийского океана.

Конфликт на Корейском полуострове также вписывается в потенциал стратегического

треугольника. Так, как отмечают американские специалисты, Пекин ставит своим приоритетом сохранение за КНДР статуса буферного государства, даже в случае коллапса режима. КНДР не является прямым объектом китайско-американского соперничества, но, тем не менее, сохранение и выживание государственности КНДР лежит в плоскости китайско-американского соперничества. Военная сила НОАК не является здесь прямым триггером региональной конфронтации, это выполняет ядерный потенциал КНДР, но значимость конфликта на полуострове сохраняет его стратегический потенциал.

В целом, теперь ясно, почему администрация Д. Трампа в реализации своей региональной стратегии опиралась на страны «Ромба», которые в силу своего потенциала способны выстоять против китайского давления, в то время как страны АСЕАН будут в большей степени балансировать, и чьи действия ограничены потенциалом самих стран. Фигурная идентичность важна для понимания действия механизмов системы региональной безопасности. В докладе «Новая стратегия США для Indo-Тихоокеанского региона» классифицируются следующие особенности конфликтного потенциала региона:

Страна была создана правящим режимом, который пришел путем насилия;

Страна находится в процессе демократизации;

Страна высоко милитаризирована. Как показатель высокий уровень личного военного персонала на общую численность населения или расходы на оборону от числа ВНП;

Страна является региональной державой;

Страна является региональной державой, которая переживает трансформацию в состояние сверхдержавы;

Страна граничит со страной, находящимися в состоянии войны;

Страна обладает большим количеством границ;

Страна обладает большим количеством союзников (Cliff, 2020).

Вышеперечисленные особенности, безусловно, относятся к специфике региона, и отмечают явные технические характеристики региона. Поэтому параметры военной безопасности Indo-Тихоокеанского региона будут доминировать в среднесрочной и долгосрочной перспективах. Динамика системы региональной безопасности в большей степени будет формироваться такими факторами, как китайско-американский стратегический диалог; состояние в стратегическом

треугольнике Япония-Китай-США, стратегическом треугольнике Пакистан-Индия-Китай, и на Корейском полуострове. Основной вопрос будет заключаться в мерах по применению вооруженных сил для формирования региональной политики, насколько применимость, осознанная либо спонтанная, вооруженных сил и даже ядерных вооружений может повлиять на состояние региональной безопасности.

В рамках вырабатываемой региональной стратегии нельзя утверждать исключительно о доминировании какого-либо единственного подхода. Так, американская стратегическая линия в период президентства Трампа формировалась под влиянием субъективного видения и приоритетов главы Белого дома, которая больше подходила под реалистическую парадигму международных отношений. Нельзя исключать того, что после начала президентства Байдена формат стратегического диалога вновь вернется к периоду президентства Обамы, где демократическая администрация продвигала многосторонний институциональный подход, который будет выражаться в большей дипломатической гибкости и стремлении инициатора, т.е. США намерены выработать поистине институциональную модель стратегического диалога в регионе.

Заключение

Таким образом, Китай в большей степени приветствовал избрание президентом США Байдена. Избрание Байдена на пост президента США в большей степени отвечает интересам Китая. Хотя и демократическая администрация продолжит стратегическую линию по сдерживанию Китая, стратегия Байдена в отличие от своего предыдущего одно партийца Обамы уже носит глобальный характер. Стратегия демократической администрации Байдена отличается дипломатической гибкостью, данная характеристика дает Китаю определенное пространство для маневра. Поэтому Китай приветствовал избрание Байдена президентом США.

Вашингтон отходит от жесткой риторики, и намеревается принять стратегию вовлечения Китая, в то время как для Пекина институциональная площадка американской стратегии открывает поле для маневров, где Китай будет действовать свободно в отличие от периода правления Трампа. Исходя из вышеизложенных мыслей и опасения того, что Китай может уже столкнуться с geopolитическим источением, поэтому внешнеполитическая стратегия Пеки-

на не будет обладать какими-либо наступательными особенностями. Безусловно, Китай будет рассматривать Восточную Азию, и обширный Индо-Тихоокеанский регион как сферу своего стратегического влияния, но, тем не менее, существуют опасения по поводу вовлеченности в долгий конфликт с Соединенными Штатами. Исходя из данной точки зрения, можно отметить, что стратегической целью Китая будет являться избегание прямого столкновения с США.

Американская стратегия по сдерживанию Китая приобретает глобальные черты. Если в период президентства Обамы стратегия «Ребалансирования» задумывалась как региональная платформа, то сейчас в период позднего президентства Трампа и начала Байдена формат китайско-американских отношений окончательно принял форму стратегического соперничества и уже распространяется на весь земной шар (Тимофеев, 2020). Так, Турция может быть привлечена для сдерживания Китая в рамках новой американской стратегии. Хотя администрация Байдена относится к политической персоне Эрдогана весьма скептично, тем не менее, Турция может стать одним из компонентов сдерживания Китая в Центральной Азии (Садыхзаде, 2021).

Конечно, здесь также играет немаловажную роль и фактор общей стратегической ситуации, в которой находится современная система международных отношений. В теоретическом плане международная система, или распределение баланса сил, в том числе и материального, в 1990-х и 2000-х гг. была сосредоточена в США период, который обозначается как «однополярный момент». Сейчас же произошло смещение и увеличение материальных возможностей других держав, которые начали проецировать свое влияние. Геополитическая особенность периода однополярной гегемонии США заключается в том, что в международной системе доминировали институты, или проамериканские международные структуры: США выстраивали институты и режимы проамериканского доминирования, не представляя экзистенциальную угрозу другим великим державам. Нынешняя система, несмотря на глобализацию, делает больший крен в сторону многополярности, поэтому так возрос фактор военно-политических отношений в системе международных отношений. Сама многополярность влияет на усиление полярности и соответствующего проецирования государствами своего влияния.

Исходя из вышеизложенных идей, стоит отметить, что Китай, хотя и расширил свой потен-

циал, но, тем не менее, скорее всего, китайское политическое руководство испытывает ряд сомнений. Нельзя исключать того, что в период правления Си Цзиньпина Китай провел тест своих расширяющихся геополитических возможностей, и по этой причине Китай не намерен активно участвовать военно-политическом противостоянии США. Если рассуждать терминами геополитики, то Китай будет становиться континентальной евразийской державой, целью которой будет проецирование своего влияния на Евразию посредством геоэкономических механизмов и возможного институционального строительства. Скорее всего, политическое руководство Китая учитывает, что прямое соперничество с США и его союзниками, прежде всего Индией и Японией, в АТР приведет к истощению Китая, поэтому объектом китайско-американского соперничества могут стать сферы торговли, технологий, международных институтов, прав человека и т.д. Хотя среди западных аналитиков существует твердое убеждение того, что к рубежу 2030-х гг. НОАК станет качественной армией новой технологической эпохи, тем не менее, военная мощь Китая, скорее всего, будет ограничиваться техническими функциями, демонстрацией силы в контексте более широкой региональной стратегии.

В целом учитывая стратегические особенности Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, можно

отметить, что для Китая возникает ряд сложностей. Хотя Китай по своему геополитическому потенциалу и достиг уровня гегемона, проецирование китайского влияния, сталкивается с рядом проблем, где США, в рамках провозглашенной доктрины Индо-Тихоокеанского региона, намерены сдерживать Китай. США развернули связанную дипломатическую стратегию, направленную на создание системы альянсов против растущего Китая. Китай, как гегемон не может предложить альтернативный миропорядок, так как его позиция по ключевым вопросам в Восточно-Китайском и Южно-Китайском морях противоречат позиции его соседей.

Принимая во внимание сложившийся баланс сил, АТР скорее всего станет зоной противостояния между Китаем и США и его союзниками. В целом региональная геополитика будет формироваться в рамках китайско-американского соперничества, где Китай будет продвигать свои интересы через формат двухсторонних отношений, а США через создание многосторонней региональной институциональной платформы. Таким образом, можно сделать вывод о том, что в дополнение к соперничеству между Китаем и США в АТР ключевым объектом развития гегемонизма Китая станет Евразия, где формирование миропорядка Китая будет осуществляться с использованием механизмов инициативы «Пояс и Путь».

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L'ORGANISATION DE COOPERATION DE SHANGHAI (OCS) DANS LA NOUVELLE ASIE : UNE GENERALISATION D'APRES-GUERRE?

This article analyzes the concept of «New Asia» and the role of the SCO on it. The emergence of the "Shanghai spirit" considered in the context of a strategic change in the post-bipolar period. The purpose of the article is to demonstrate the main milestones in the formation and development of the SCO and to study its potential as a regional system that fills the strategic vacuum in the Eurasian space. Special attention paid to the expansion of the SCO, the role of its partners and observers. This analysis proves that a platform for discussion and common decision-making is being created.

Article attempts to give a conceptual framework of the concept of "New Asia" in the context of an analysis of the process of searching and developing solutions of common interest throughout this global space. A study of the political results of the SCO development process reveals SCO has no hostile intentions, but on the contrary creates an Asian space for member states. The space where the process of regional construction of neighboring states, the construction of a sustainable one, with which one can count on the search for common solutions and the subsequent implementation of common tasks are underway. At the same time, cooperation with the structures created earlier is also developing. In Europe, regional cooperation began after the Second World War, in African countries after the process of decolonization, Latin America has been in search of regional identity for a century and a half since its decolonization.

One of the conclusions of this article is that the new Sino-post-Soviet Asia after the Cold War has a common historical and political basis for the formation of the region. A particular institutional illustration of this process is seen through the influence of the SCO. The SCO confirms the emergence of New Asia within the existing conceptual and contextual framework and offers other hypotheses to designate a modern region beyond Asia. The article raises a controversial question – what effective evidence of a causal relationship between post-war regionalization and regionalization of recent decades can be cited?

Key words: SCO, "New Asia", regional construction, cooperation.

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Жаңа Азиядағы Шанхай Ұнтымақтастық Ұйымы (ШыУ): соғыстан кейінгі кезеңдің қысқаша мазмұны

Мақалада «Жаңа Азия» ғылыми тұжырымдамасы аймақтық, негізде талданып, аймақтағы ШыУ-ның рөлі талданады. Аймақтағы «Шанхай рухының» пайда болуы мемлекеттер арасында өзара сенімді қалыптастырып, биполярлық әлемнен кейінгі кезеңдегі стратегиялық, тепе-тендіктің өзгеруі аясында қарастырылады. Мақаланың мақсаты – ШыУ-ның қалыптасуы мен дамуындағы негізгі кезеңдерді көрсету және оның Еуразиялық кеңістіктең стратегиялық вакуумды толтыратын аймақтық жүйе ретіндегі алеуетін зерттеу. ШыУ-ның қамту аумағын көнештүй мен үйім серіктестері мен бақылаушыларының рөліне ерекше назар аударылады. Бұл зерттеу жұмысы ШыУ аясында талқылау мен жалпы шешімдер қабылдауда ортақ алаң құрылып жатқандығын көрсетеді.

Мақалада «Жаңа Азия» тұжырымдамасы туралы концептуалдық қөзқарас беріліп, осы бүкіл ғаламдық кеңістікте ортақ мұдделік шешімдерді іздеу және өзірлеу процесінің ерекшеліктері туралы талдау үсінілады. ШыУ-ның даму үдерісінің саяси нәтижелерін зерттеу бұл үйімның азиялық, кеңістік құрудары ықпалын айқын түрде көрсетеді. Аймақтағы елдердің аймақтық құрылым құрудары белсенді әрекеттері ортақ мәселелерді ортақ мұдде тұргысынан шешуде он ықпалын тигізетін болады. Сонымен бірге, ШыУ аясындағы құрылымдармен де жұмыс тиімді журуде. Мысалы, Еуропада аймақтық интеграция екінші дүниежүзілік соғыстан кейін ғана басталса, Африка елдерінде деколонизация процесінен кейін, Латын Америкасы елдерінде бір жарым ғасырдан бері аймақтық бірегейлік іздеу тұргысында журуде.

Мақаланың тұжырымдарының бірі ретінде – қырги қабақ соғыстан кейінгі кезеңде жаңадан қалыптасып келе жатқан «Қытай-посткенестік Азия» аймағы елдерінің аймақтағы саяси және тарихи негіздерінің қалыптасусына Шығынның ықпалы аса зор болмақ. Бұл үдерістің нақты институционалды иллюстрациясы Шығы мысалында анық көрінеді. Шығы қолданыстағы тұжырымдамалық, және контекстік шеңберде «Жаңа Азия» ұғымының қалыптасқанын және оның қамту аймағы Азиядан тысқары аймақты қамтитынын білдіреді. Макалада ғылыми талдау жұмыстары барысында қырги-қабақ соғыстан кейінгі кезеңдегі және аймақтық кірігу процесінң соңғы онжылдықтағы ерекшеліктерінің себеп-салдарлық негіздерін басты ғылыми сұрап ретінде қарастырылады.

Түйін сөздер: Шығы, «Жаңа Азия», аймақтық құрылым, әріптестік.

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Организация Шанхайского Сотрудничества (ШОС) в Новой Азии: обобщение периода после войн

Данная статья посвящена региональному анализу «Новой Азии» и роли ШОС. Появление «шанхайского духа», духа доверия рассматривается в контексте изменения стратегического баланса в пост-биполярный период. Цель статьи – показать основные вехи становления и развития ШОС и изучить ее потенциал как региональной системы, которая заполняет стратегический вакуум на евразийском пространстве. Отдельное внимание уделяется вопросам расширения ШОС, роли ее партнеров и наблюдателей. Этот анализ свидетельствует о том, что создается площадка для дискуссии и принятия общих решений.

В статье сделана попытка дать концептуальное видение понятия «Новая Азия», анализ процесса поиска и выработки решений, представляющих общий интерес на всем этом глобальном пространстве. Изучение политических результатов процесса развития ШОС свидетельствует, что эта организация не имеет враждебных намерений, а напротив, создает азиатское пространство. Пространство, где идет процесс регионального строительства соседних государств, строительства устойчивого, с которым можно рассчитывать на поиск общих решений и последующую реализацию общих задач. При этом также развивается сотрудничество со структурами, созданными прежде. Так, в Европе региональное сотрудничество началось после Второй мировой войны, в странах Африки после процесса деколонизации, Латинская Америка уже полтора века с момента деколонизации в поисках региональной идентичности. Один из выводов данной статьи – новая китайско-постсоветская Азия после «холодной войны» имеет общую историческую и политическую основу для формирования региона. Особая институциональная иллюстрация этого процесса рассматривается через влияние ШОС. ШОС подтверждает появление Новой Азии в существующих концептуальных и контекстных рамках и предлагает другие гипотезы для обозначения современного региона за пределами Азии. Статья ставит дискуссионный вопрос – какие можно привести эффективные доказательства причинно-следственной связи между послевоенной регионализацией и регионализацией последних десятилетий?

Ключевые слова: ШОС, «Новая Азия», региональное строительство, сотрудничество.

«Entre deux phénomènes, la concomitance peut être due non à ce qu'un des phénomènes est la cause de l'autre, mais à ce qu'ils sont, tous deux, des effets d'une même cause, ou bien encore à ce qu'il existe, entre eux, un troisième phénomène, intercalé mais inaperçu qui est l'effet du premier et la cause du second».

E. Durkheim, *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique*, PUF, 1973, p. 130

Introduction

Dans un texte consacré aux «reconfigurations régionales» et aux «hiérarchies» qu'elles entretiennent – hiérarchies de «sens» imbriquées en ambiguïtés de puissance –, en quoi les organisations

régionales comme cas particulier d'organismes internationaux servent-elles les hiérarchies politiques? La question sera traitée «depuis» la nouvelle Asie (Zaki Laïdi 1998).

Entre dynamique de nouvelle Asie comme cadre général et signification de l'OCS comme cas particulier, l'apaisement aux frontières puis les négociations de frontières, leur démilitarisation, leur franchissement (libres-circulations) sont les points de départ (1996-2001) puis l'essence (depuis 2001) de la construction de «l'Asie de l'OCS», qui conceptualise «l'impact» de la coopération régionale (et de la concurrence interrégionale) sur la construction d'une région dans l'après-

guerre (froide). La concomitance entre un contexte d'après-guerre et une initiative constructive entre néo-souverains éclaire les dynamiques régionales à l'œuvre dans le cadre international après 1991.

La nouvelle Asie sino-postsovietique de l'après-guerre froide est un cadre général, historique et politique d'invention d'une région et aussi une illustration institutionnelle particulière de cette invention à travers l'impact de l'OCS. Elle situe l'émergence de la nouvelle Asie dans les cadres conceptuels et contextuels existants (I) et propose d'autres hypothèses pour caractériser une région moderne au-delà de la seule Asie (II).

I- Analyser régionalement «la nouvelle Asie»

Situer la nouvelle Asie dans les cadres conceptuels et contextuels existants permet d'analyser l'Asie mais surtout de réfléchir à l'après-guerre froide et à la concurrence interrégionale. Réfléchir à l'Asie mais surtout à l'après-guerre froide et aux formes de concurrence interrégionale. Ces reconfigurations abordées évoquent les rééquilibrages qui les constituent (A) et les élargissements sécuritaires qui les étayent (B).

A) Rééquilibrages stratégiques d'après-guerre

La construction contextuelle d'une nouvelle Asie par l'impact de l'OCS sur un sino-postsovétisme appliqué, c'est i/ la contribution d'une organisation nouvelle à la construction régionale et ii/ des concepts faisant sens de la 'nouveauté'. La contribution de l'OCS à la construction d'une nouvelle Asie à travers les concepts de 'contribution', 'impact', 'construction', 'concurrence' ...

L'impact d'une organisation sur une région suggère la concurrence entre organismes régionaux et entre régions. Dans le nouvel après-guerre de 1991 la nature de la « dynamique de Shanghai » tend à demeurer inaperçue en raison d'un occidentalocentrisme : se méfier d'un organisme concurrent. Le voile épistémologique gêne à considérer les «faits [régionaux]» comme des choses» (Gautron 1977: 57).

Considérer les «faits» régionaux comme des données permet d'élargir l'analyse à d'autres aires géographiques (Europe, Afrique, Amérique ...) et mieux «apercevoir» l'ASEAN, l'ASEM, la CICA etc. L'OCS «s'intercale» doublement entre l'ASEAN et l'Europe: au sens cartographique et en inventant un sino-postsovétisme appliqué. A partir de 1996, le sens de l'ASEM est moins cartographique que de relier l'Europe et l'Asie du sud-est: amener celle-ci sur un pied d'égalité avec celle-là et concrétiser

la politique extérieure de l'Europe de Maastricht, relancée *au moment où finit l'URSS, où commence l'ALENA*, où s'affirme l'APEC et où sont réactivées la SAARC, la SADC, etc. La «concomitance» des faits régionaux (Kellner 2006).

Chercher «en nouvelle Asie» des «choses» dépendantes permet i/ d'établir un lien entre région en construction et contexte de construction ; et ii/ donc de dépasser la «dépendance» unique envers le contexte d'après-Guerre froide. Analyser le contenu et l'impact de «l'esprit de Shanghai» comme cadre général de la nouvelle Asie sino-postsovietique dans «un» après-guerre.

Construire une région entre voisins après la guerre, c'est intégrer les rivalités, non gommer les concurrences ni gommer ces rivalités. C'est les insérer dans une coopération, dans un projet régional assumé, cohérent, ouvert dans le temps et prêt à s'élargir. La spécificité «asiatique» est que l'Asie Centrale élargie par la «coopération de Shanghai», complète la chaîne des dynamiques régionales dans le monde depuis l'entre-guerres mondiales.

En un siècle (années 1920 – années 2010), la deuxième mondialisation est devenue plurirégionalisation. La première (16^{ème} et 17^{ème} siècles) avait «surgi» des grandes circumnavigations du globe. L'achèvement poly-régional du monde avec l'émergence du «coopérationnisme» dans la nouvelle Asie offre des difficultés épistémologiques et ontologiques, imposant de puiser à l'histoire, à la sociologie et au repérage des spécificités régionales de la nouvelle Asie comme régionalisation déterminée en dernière instance.

B) Glissement régional et construction politique: l'élargissement sécuritaire

Le «politique» comme régulation de situations conflictuelles. Après 1991, les conflits frontaliers ont été évités (Santander 2016: 65). Cette capacité régulatrice en néo-Asie nourrit une paix créant une «compétitivité» politique face à l'Europe et au monde. L'émergence d'un esprit transfrontalier même avant 1991 (a), la création de l'OCS en 2001 et son potentiel ouvert dès 2004 (b) précédent une capacité en 2012 à surprendre par l'anticipation (c) et même à accélérer le cours de l'histoire en 2015 (d).

a) L'émergence dès 1996 d'un esprit transfrontalier

La nouvelle Asie est un dépassement de tensions liées à «l'invention des frontières» (Gorshenina 2012). Dès les années 1970 et 1980, des discussions ont lieu entre RPC et URSS (Baizakova 2018).

En Chine, l'ouverture de 1978 exige «la paix aux frontières pour 50 ans» (Li Hongfeng 2014). A Moscou, les réformes après 1985 permettent d'ouvrir les archives et négocier avec la Chine devenue puissance économique. Après 1991, les négociations qui suivent sont un succès à «1+1» (Chine et Russie-Kazakhstan-Kirghizstan-Tadjikistan) (Qing-guo 2001).

Les accords bilatéraux entre la Chine et les autres permettent un glissement vers un format multilatéral «à 5». En 1996, le groupe des «Cinq de Shanghai» dépasse l'objet (frontalier) pour concevoir son rôle futur. Ce premier sommet (Beijing) ajoute à la «paix aux frontières» le concept de «mesures de confiance». Celui de 1997 (Moscou) suggère la démilitarisation des zones frontalières. Celui de 1998 (Almaty) lance une coopération économique entre membres et leur lutte *commune* contre l'instabilité. Celui de 1999 (Bishkek) définit des formes et des niveaux de coopération. Celui de 2000 (Douchanbé) formule l'innovation-clef: une coopération appelée à être multilatérale.

Quelques années pour stabiliser de très longues frontières. La nouvelle Asie naît autour de concepts : «confiance», «esprit de Shanghai», «bon voisinage», «consensus»... La transformation des «Cinq» en «Six de l'OCS» prolonge ce succès tout en desserrant l'exigence de *contiguïté à la Chine*.

b) La création en 2001 de l'OCS et son potentiel ouvert

Avec l'Ouzbékistan, la néo-Asie ouvre la dynamique au-delà de frontières stabilisées. Sans frontière avec la Chine, Tashkent est un régime enclin à l'Ouest. Or la Charte de l'OCS (2002) qui stigmatise trois fléaux (terrorisme international, séparatisme territorial, extrémisme politique) enjoint ses membres à *privilégier* la coopération avec les autres États-membres (Bayasakh 2016: 269).

Ce principe de «proximisation» au-delà du *fait* de bon voisinage infléchit le pays vers l'Asie après les sanctions de l'Ouest (crise d'Andijan 2005). Il nourrit une logique d'élargissement contigu: des «affiliés» (membres, observateurs, partenaires, invités, ...) rejoignent rapidement la coopération de Shanghai.

Deux ans après sa Charte, l'OCS affilie des «observateurs»: en 2004 la Mongolie; en 2005 l'Inde et le Pakistan ensemble et l'Iran jusqu'à isolé. L'élargissement est en marche: Iran et Pakistan souhaitent dès 2006 devenir membres, comme la Biélorussie et le Népal. En 2008, l'OCS crée des «partenaires de dialogue»: Biélorussie et Sri Lanka (île contiguë de l'Inde). Le moratoire de 2008

(Douchanbé) bloque l'admission de membres mais fixe dès 2010 (Tashkent) des critères d'éligibilité de futurs membres, affinés en 2014 (Douchanbé).

En huit ans, la «dynamique OCS» passe de six à douze «affiliés», et deux invités institutionnels (CEI; ASEAN).

c) Les surprises de 2012 par anticipation turque et afghane

L'OCS évolue vite en 2012, par la volonté d'affirmation de la nouvelle Asie, le retrait occidental d'Afghanistan (elle le suggère dès 2005, les pays de l'Ouest pour 2014, la France dès 2011), et l'inflexion de la position de l'Inde: importer l'énergie par voie terrestre *via* le Pakistan. Le sommet de 2012 (Beijing) permet des avancées notables.

La **Turquie** devient partenaire de dialogue, surprise dans l'espace, vers l'Asie de Shanghai, qui ainsi engage le Moyen Orient. Après s'être tourné vers l'Europe (1963+), vers le monde arabe (années 1970 et 1980) et Israël (1996-2012) et au début des années 1990 vers un Grand marché de la mer noire et de l'Asie centrale, Ankara s'engage à l'Est, «passe» du Moyen Orient à «l'Asie de l'ouest» par le truchement de l'esprit de Shanghai.

L'Afghanistan devient observateur, surprise dans le temps, moins qu'il fût raccroché à la nouvelle Asie «s'institutionnalisant» après 2005 (Groupe de contact OCS-Afghanistan) qu'en tant que pays instable malgré les forces étrangères de stabilisation : leur départ est due à cette instabilité qui obère ses chances de devenir membre.

Le Turkménistan devient invité, après son isolationnisme depuis 1991, à peine nuancé fin 2006; donc affilié du bout des lèvres, dans une catégorie créée pour des organisations (CEI, ASEAN). Cette position (d'attente?) étend la contiguïté tout autour de la Caspienne (Iran-observateur dès 2005; Turkménistan-invité en 2012; Azerbaïdjan-partenaire en 2015).

Passant en trois ans de 12 à 15 affiliés, l'OCS confirme sa vitalité. Les critères d'adhésion de nouveaux membres sont parachevés en 2014 (Douchanbé) et deux pays admis en 2015 (Inde, Pakistan).

d) L'accélération de 2015 vers le Caucase, l'Himalaya et l'Asie du sud-est

Lors du sommet d'Oufa (Russie), les affiliés passent de 15 à 19, amplifiant la progression de l'OCS.

Inde et Pakistan, en même temps, deviennent membres en 2017 après les premiers ajustements des règlements intérieurs depuis 2001. Accélération

dans le temps et dans l'espace, qui suit l'évolution en Afghanistan, désormais totalement «contained» par des membres (Chine, Ouzbékistan, Tadjikistan, Pakistan), un observateur (Iran) et un invité (Turkménistan), rejoint le vœu indien: être relié par terre à l'énergie du Turkménistan et de l'Azerbaïdjan, du Pakistan de jouer un rôle dans cet espace-centre et s'articuler sur le groupe régional le plus approprié; de la Chine d'insérer l'allié pakistanais «contre» la Russie; et de la Russie de hisser l'Inde-continent maritime au rang de membre. Ces desseins sont cohérents.

La **Biélorussie**, partenaire, est promue observateur. Désirant devenir membre, soutenue par la Russie, ce territoire-clef après la «défection» ukrainienne est depuis 1991 un allié proche de Moscou et dès l'origine (avec le Kazakhstan) membre de la CEE, Union douanière (2009), puis (2015) Union économique eurasienne, appelé avec d'autres à devenir membre de l'OCS (Iran, Afghanistan?).

Quant aux partenaires, le Caucase s'affilie à l'OCS, **l'Azerbaïdjan** et **l'Arménie** confirmant leur inclination à l'Est trois ans à peine après la Turquie, et la capacité de l'OCS (Chine!) à «engager» les anciens composants du bloc soviétique. Puis le **Népal** enclavé, depuis longtemps candidat à ce statut, sort de l'isolement des États himalayens (avec le Bhoutan), pour être partenaire de la Chine *et de l'Inde*. Le **Cambodge**, excentré et non-contigu, relève de deux symboles: membre le plus récent de l'ASEAN (1999) dans une rivalité OCS-ASEAN; territoire non-contigu de l'espace OCS sauf si le Vietnam se rapprochait de la Chine, ou le Laos (seul pays enclavé de l'ASEAN).

Désormais à 19 membres «affiliés», l'OCS a démontré son potentiel politique d'innovation quant aux hégémôns paradigmatisques occidentaux.

II- Caractériser conceptuellement «la nouvelle Asie»

D'autres hypothèses caractérisent une région moderne au-delà de la seule Asie. La reconfiguration de l'Asie, c'est la capacité de nouveaux voisins après 1991 à transmuer leurs tensions possibles en rivalités constructives. Ces reconfigurations (supra I) sont vues (II) puisant à la durabilité qui les confirmerait par la juxta-souverainisation (A) et aux approfondissements d'interdépendance qui les multiplieraient en sous-systèmes (B).

Rééquilibrages durables et ouverts? si conceptualisables et institutionnalisés

Interpréter les «faits» régionaux d'Asie continentale depuis un quart de siècle permet, parmi

plusieurs concepts, de «faire sens» de la nouvelle Asie, qui n'est ni une néo-verticalité chinoise, ni une nostalgie russe à la recherche d'un empire «perdu».

L'Asie de l'OCS est un *système sous-régional* qui comble le vide laissé par i/ l'effondrement de l'URSS, ii/ le besoin de la Chine de dépasser à partir des années 1990 son **succès économique** depuis les années 1980, iii/ l'obligation de sortir de l'isolement (Iran, voire Turkménistan), iv/ de construire la stabilité en Afghanistan, v/ d'offrir une porte de sortie extra-européenne à la Turquie, vi/ d'enclencher une insertion pour le Caucase (à travers l'Iran) et, vii/ engager l'Himalaya (Népal! Bhoutan?), l'Asie du sud (Inde, Pakistan, Sri Lanka), l'Asie du sud-est (Cambodge), après avoir engagé viii/ une partie de «l'entre-deux» (Biélorussie! Ukraine ?), etc.

Le règlement nucléaire iranien revêt une signification néo-asiatique: sortir le pays des sanctions occidentales et le rendre éligible à l'OCS (critères de 2010). (Le Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action 2015)

Par sa «factualisation», la nouvelle Asie est un multiplicateur de puissance, par le «multi-logue» que l'OCS rend possible. Ce dernier (déclarations annuelles) entraîne la roue régionale: stabilisation des frontières, exercices militaires, priorités d'action, perspectives économiques.

La nouvelle Asie subsume les États selon le double trait de l'après-Guerre : i/ maintien des États et leurs rivalités mais ii/ insertion de ces rivalités dans un cadre inter-régional, et non plus vaguement international ni étroitement souverainiste. Région assumée, elle offre un nouveau paradigme: la juxtaposition souverainisation concentrée et concurrente d'une région face aux autres (Martres 2003).

Au-delà des faits, l'on peut donc caractériser une région moderne comme phénomène *contextuel, coopératif, multi-centré, dé-nivelé et juxtaposé*.

i) Dans un **contexte** pluri-régional de recherche de sécurité élargie après la guerre, la prééminence du facteur militaire recule au profit de la dynamique de constructions régionales. Selon cette « paramilitarisation », la dimension militaire, défensive, est peu régionale (les alliances militaires débordent l'espace des régions); la dimension régionale, constructive, est peu militaire (les constructions régionales ont un objet plus vaste).

ii) Ce phénomène **coopératif** multi-régional d'après-guerre procède par rupture intégrative de l'histoire: la paix comme nouveau mode d'interaction entre voisins, mise en commun des intérêts ouverte dans les secteurs et dans le temps. Un axe intégrateur entre au moins deux voisins dépassant leur antagonisme passé, outil de l'ensemble régional. La

cohérence renforce la région dans la concurrence entre régions. Les rivalités des nations deviennent celles de régions mais au plan global (mondial). Par cette «accélération d'échelle», le pluri-régionalisme structure le jeu international.

iii) La multiplication de centres régionaux remplace les polarités du passé. Une région ne peut dominer les autres. Toutes restructurent ensemble le jeu mondial dans un multi-latéralisme interrégional. Les voisins ne se contentent plus d'alliances, qui échouèrent dans l'histoire. Ils créent des partenariats (association, communauté, marché, union, ...) pour en être des membres ouverts dans le temps (approfondissement) et l'espace (élargissement). Dans cette concurrence **multi-centrée** entre régions, certains acteurs visent un rôle dominant «over» cette nouvelle structuration. Ces «super-régionaliseurs» veulent convaincre d'autres acteurs de l'intérêt pour ceux-ci d'une régionalisation commune. Une multiplication pan-région-centrique remplace les polarités du passé.

iv) A l'accélération d'échelle dans le temps répond un **abaissement d'échelle** dans l'espace (Chabal 2007). Le constat phénoménologique (pluri-régionalisation) est simple: les après-guerres sont un «moment super-structurel» de dé-globalisation des dynamiques mondiales. Après les indépendances (post-coloniales, post-soviétiques), les mondialisations belligérantes ou la forme idéologique de la bipolarité, dans tous les cas les relations internationales se régionalisent. Après la phase nationale, une rupture dans les inconciliables souverainistes permet la fonctionnalisation des voisinages. Les voisins ne se contentent plus d'alliances, ils créent des partenariats.

v) Emerge une «juxta-souverainisation». La multi-régionalisation d'après-guerre ajoute aux paradoxes de la puissance des «ambiguïtés de souveraineté». Tout après-guerre (indépendance, mondiale, froide) engendre une re-souverainisation (recouvrement de souveraineté) qui, même recouvrée par plusieurs voisins, ne suffit pas dans la concurrence globale (interrégionale). La «juxta-souverainisation» se définit au-delà de la co-souveraineté de voisins mais en-deçà de la supra-souveraineté de «nouvelles régions» (pleine intégration ou fédéralisation) comme «la mise en commun, une fois la confiance rétablie par la paix, de dialogues appliqués en actions communes, à l'intérieur de limites mutuellement définies et respectées, par exemple la non-intervention comme principe;

«Cette «juxta-souverainisation» peut mener à harmoniser des législations nationales, voire des

principes de politique extérieure, mais s'arrêter en-deçà de compétences communes, limite qu'elle ne franchit pas;

«Cette innovante souveraineté ouverte permet à des acteurs différents de donner une cohérence à un espace commun sans liens organiques stricts (communautaires, fédéraux ou confédéraux). Elle offre la discipline nécessaire à la cohésion dans l'affirmation concurrente face aux autres régions «juxta-souverainisées» (Chabal 2019).

B) Construction de l'interdépendance juxta-souveraine: l'approfondissement

La région comme «espace rendu cohérent» par un projet et des frontières stabilisées s'approfondit en Asie par un espace de libres circulations transfrontières lui permettant de concurrencer les autres régions. Une définition antérieure à la création de l'OCS en 2001, voit dans un espace régional l'imbrication de trois logiques. (Zaki Laïdi 1998: 35-36)

«La mise en place d'un espace délibératif au sein duquel interviennent des acteurs publics ou privés afin de poser et résoudre des problèmes appelant des solutions communes à cet espace (...) (a); la production de préférences collectives et propres à cet espace dans le jeu mondial (...) (b); la capacité à convertir ces préférences et ces délibérations en performances politiques» (c), instaurant ainsi des Asies concurrentielles autour de l'Afghanistan (d).

a) La mise en place d'un espace délibératif et de solutions communes

C'est un résultat acquis qui résume «l'esprit régional» de Shanghai. L'espace de coopération de Shanghai est essentiellement délibératif. Il impose le consensus «décisionnel» par un dialogue inégal mais permet un «multi-logue» novateur dans l'histoire de la région.

UN ESPACE DELIBERATIF – La mise en place d'un espace délibératif tient à la régularité des sommets annuels des chefs d'État, renforcés par des rencontres biannuelles ou mensuelles de chefs de gouvernement, ministres, hauts-fonctionnaires représentant les trois pouvoirs – ministères, parlements, judiciaires. Sans décisions, elles engendrent un consensus, donc des positions communes.

La présidence tournante de l'OCS permet un choix de ville: Shanghai est moins souveraine que Beijing, Astana plus présidentielle qu'Almaty, Oufa (2015) permet de rassembler loin de Moscou, à la fois l'OCS et les BRICS.

Les déclarations annuelles indiquent peu de positions communes opérationnelles, encore moins

financières. Elles commentent l'état du monde, critiquent les autres. Les partenaires OCS se rapprochent dans un entre-soi novateur de l'esprit de Shanghai.

DES ACTEURS PUBLICS ET PRIVÉS

– Un espace au sein duquel interviennent des acteurs publics ou privés. L'OCS rassemble des acteurs publics (gouvernements, représentants) qui «inspirent»: les sommets «suggèrent». Des organismes «privés» font le travail concret (Conseil des affaires; Association interbancaire). Non formellement inter-gouvernementaux, ils émanent pourtant des États; surtout l'Association interbancaire.

À LA RECHERCHE DE SOLUTIONS COMMUNES – Des acteurs visant à *poser et résoudre des problèmes appelant des solutions* communes à cet espace, originalité de l'OCS. Aux problèmes «communs» – terrorisme, séparatisme, extrémisme – elle i/ a fourni des définitions juridiques, ce que nombre d'États n'ont su faire (Guillot, 2016: 439-460); les parlements nationaux ont légiféré (Gubaïdullina 2016: 405-410). ii/ lancé des initiatives contre des maux «moindres» (trafics illégaux, migrations humaines, ingérences étrangères ...): les positions communes de ses Membres désignent à la communauté internationale les auteurs de ses «maux».

L'espace OCS est *constitué* par le discours politique appliqué, autour de préoccupations matérielles: la stabilité des échanges.

b) La production de préférences collectives propres à cet espace mondial

Par ce processus encore en cours, cet espace constitué devient capable de produire des préférences collectives propres à cet espace, dans le jeu mondial et pas seulement régional.

UN NOUVEL EQUILIBRE DE LA PUISSANCE – Dimension mondiale, l'après-Guerre froide globalisé est le cadre où s'insère l'OCS: ni construire une région autocentré, centripète, ni un hégémon régional «au-dessus» des autres. Exister avec les autres. Ce désir d'égalisation est l'autre essence de la dynamique de Shanghai (avec sa nature discursive): égalisation de la Chine post-Grand Jeu; maintien de la Russie post-URSS à une place élevée; égalisation des anciennes républiques soviétiques envers Moscou; jeu égal des «petits» (Tadjikistan, Kirghizstan) et des «moyens» (Ouzbékistan, Kazakhstan); adhésion des grands (Inde) ou des instables (Pakistan, voire Iran?) sans déstabilisation. Nouvel équilibre des puissances par l'invention d'intérêts perçus comme partagés.

L'OCS AU-DELÀ DES TROIS FLEAUX

– Ces préférences sont collectives par la force du consensus (inégal), ouvertes dans les secteurs abordés. A l'Ouest, les trois «fléaux» sont perçus comme les seules préférences, vision erronée.

Dès 2003, l'OCS se dote i/ de «101 mesures économiques», précisant en 2004 les «moyens de mise en œuvre», pour développer l'espace commun ; ii/ de manœuvres militaires communes, quasi-annuelles, de grande ampleur, affichant une capacité collective à se défendre contre ... tout acteur non-régional d'un néo-Grand Jeu (Mc Dermott 2012). Dès 2008, une mobilité étudiante (Université de l'OCS: Chine, Kazakhstan, Russie) associe l'Afghanistan. Depuis 2005 des Journées culturelles de l'OCS (identitaire): «l'esprit de Shanghai» invente une région: *un espace rendu cohérent ...*

PRINCIPAL RESULTAT: LA CREATION D'UN ESPACE ASIATIQUE – Ces préférences étant *propres à cet espace* asiatique mondial, la nouvelle Asie existe pour elle-même aujourd'hui ; c'est son principal «résultat», dépassant sa nature de Terre centrale convoitée et le blocage de la Guerre froide (l'endiguement par «l'alliance des alliances» OTAN/Pacte-de-Bagdad-/SEATO/ANZUS/US-Japon/US-Corée). Elle existe par elle-même et pour elle-même (Zaki Laïdi 1996: 20).

Sa contiguïté donne à l'espace commun de l'OCS sa cohérence, y compris sectorielle: un Club de l'énergie rassemblerait producteurs et consommateurs sans discontinuité, ni «rupture de charge» (à la différence de l'OPEP).

c) La conversion de ces préférences et délibérations en performances politiques

But encore à atteindre, la construction régionale est une dynamique continue. L'Asie de «esprit de Shanghai» dépasse vingt ans mais l'échelle de temps n'est pas tout. Il faut comparer «la capacité à convertir» ces délibérations (supra a) et ces préférences (supra b) «en performances politiques».

Une «performance» s'apprécie par rapport à un but, pas dans l'absolu. L'OCS veut promouvoir la coopération et la sécurité par la lutte contre le terrorisme, le séparatisme et l'extrémisme, dans la non-intervention et le respect des souverainetés. Son bilan de «coopération intégrative» est riche: i/ coopération politique (frontières stables), militaire (manœuvres conjointes), économique (échanges; investissements), éducative (université de l'OCS), culturelle (Journées de la culture), logistique (Routes de la soie) et touristique (mouvements transfrontières); ii/ lutte contre les trois fléaux avec une structure anti-terroriste (SRAT); séparatisme et extrémisme assimilés à de la violence illégale

(justifiant les coordinations des policiers et magistrats), mais l'OCS « n'intervient » pas (ni à Andijan en 2005, ni à Bichkek en 2006, ni à Osh en 2010). La souveraineté des membres est un étalon (malgré des «décisions» par consensus).

Les «preuves» de «performances» politiques abondent dans la construction institutionnelle de la nouvelle Asie, sans modèle européen. Le compromis de Luxembourg et la fusion des Communautés européennes furent une étape importante de l'intégration. La fusion évoquée de l'OCS et de l'OTSC (secrétariats rapprochés en 2007), pour une coopération sans intégration, est une performance politique.

L'OTSC est un commandement militaire intégré des forces armées d'ex-républiques soviétiques (sans la Chine, donc). L'OCS est une coordination économique des projets de développement communs (avec la Chine). Ce «rapprochement» OTSC-OCS serait plus que la fusion de Luxembourg, à l'aune des buts: coopération Vs. intégration.

La dialectique OCS-OTSC évoque un « test » opérationnel. Si la souveraineté d'un membre était menacée par un tiers, non-affilié de l'OCS, l'issue de ce «test» marquerait une «performance politique». Le Groupe de Shanghai (1996-2001), posa (Astana, juillet 2000) l'union contre «toute influence non-régionale dans la région».

La plus claire «performance» est la crédibilité «dissuasive» de l'OCS, sa capacité à s'élargir, à s'approfondir, (d) à concurrencer d'autres influences et «engager» l'Afghanistan. Nous ajoutons ainsi une hypothèse aux trois logiques imbriquées.

d) Les Asies concurrentielles et «l'asianisation» de l'Afghanistan

L'OCS peut convertir en performances (c) ses préférences (b) adoptées dans un cadre délibératif constitué (a), espace porté par un projet commun opérationnel. L'OCS est un «acteur» régional «assumé» dans le nouvel «ordre» interrégional concurrent (Santander 2014: 65-82). L'Asie est passée d'une région désorganisée par les colonialismes à une région structurée par les dynamiques régionales (ASEAN, SAARC, CEI, OTSC, OCS, UEEA ...) et interrégionale (ASEM, APEC), glissant d'un jeu à deux grands pendant la Guerre froide à un profond jeu multirégional (Katzenstein 2005: 297).

La dimension et la nature concurrentielles du monde livrent deux «néo-formes» dans la nouvelle Asie.

DES CONCURRENCES MULTIPLES ET NOVATRICES – au moins trois tensions : i/ entre l'OCS et l'Ouest autour de l'énergie. Les réserves

énergétiques d'un futur Club OCS de l'énergie sont estimées à la moitié du gaz et de l'uranium du monde, le tiers du charbon et le quart du pétrole, et les tensions actuelles entre l'Europe et la Russie autour de l'Ukraine sont liées au transport de l'énergie entre Eurasie et Europe; ii/ entre organismes régionaux (Bushuev 2012). La CEI moribonde a engendré l'OTSC et la CEE/UEEA, et l'OCS veut être sécuritaire et économique. Chine et Russie se disputent un leadership que l'entrée de l'Inde dans l'OCS reconfigure; iii/ entre Chine et Russie une «concurrence sans animosité». L'ex-URSS russe et la Chine post-révolution culturelle sont (re)devenues des acteurs mondiaux, gérant leur rivalité par la puissance du continent eurasiatique dans le monde. L'OCS est un cadre de gestion de cette néo-rivalité.

LA DIFFUSION DE L'ASIANISATION – «L'asianisation» de l'Afghanistan dans la nouvelle Asie joue depuis quarante ans le changement de statut régional du pays. Occupé par l'URSS (1979-1989), puis dirigé par les Talibans, il accueille depuis 2001 des troupes étrangères de stabilisation. (Chabal 2015: 36-42) Il devait retrouver après 2014 une souveraineté territoriale stabilisée mais l'instabilité conduira au maintien de ces troupes. (Face aux Talibans 2016) L'OTAN devrait «collaborer» avec l'OCS. C'est un glissement de l'Afghanistan vers la nouvelle Asie: sept ans pour passer d'un Groupe de contact OCS-Afghanistan (2005) au statut d'observateur (2012); l'Afghanistan est d'emblée candidat au statut de membre, limitrophe de la Chine (corridor de Wakhan), qui ne pourra accepter un régime islamiste à ses portes.

La pleine adhésion de l'Afghanistan à l'OCS lui fournirait une aide directe dans la lutte contre les maux (terrorisme, séparatisme, extrémisme et ... trafics), dès un retrait final des troupes occidentales. Ce retrait et l'entrée de l'Afghanistan en Asie (nouvelle) seraient définitifs. C'est là l'enjeu de la «question afghane», au-delà du régime politique intérieur.

L'OCS et la nouvelle Asie ont réalisé leur potentiel régional: des logiques nouvelles de l'Asie de l'OCS (les faits) et des logiques régionales suggérées par Z. Laïdi (l'analyse). Pour en suggérer le sens, des bases conceptuelles favorisent les comparaisons.

Ses membres poursuivent leurs intérêts d'État, acteurs classiques de la théorie réaliste des R.I., même leur intérêt égoïste. Le néo-réalisme et le réalisme structurel expliquent qu'ils mettent en avant leurs délibérations communes. La construction de l'Asie est une négociation permanente, comme

dans la théorie de l'interdépendance. L'OCS offre des règles du jeu (Charte de 2002), les modifie en commun (moratoire sur l'élargissement en 2008, fixation de règles en 2010 et 2014, admission de nouveaux membres en 2015). Les États de l'OCS se renforcent: la théorie de l'intergouvernementalisme voit une organisation (régionale) comme «multiplicateur» de puissance.

En conclusion, connaître l'OCS, la comprendre (Chabal 2016: 19-40), montre qu'elle n'est pas une hostilité en marche, un club nucléaire, une OPEP avec des bombes à craindre car elle n'est pas occidentale (Plater-Zyberk 2014). C'est une construction politique et régionale, contiguë et durable, avec qui compter. La «nouvelle Asie» sino-post soviétique de l'OCS est un système régional qui fait sens «avec» toute l'Eurasie, dont elle comble un «vide». Il existe une détermination régionale en dernière instance.

Même avant la fin des systèmes de sécurité existant, qui confirmera un monde néo-international, les glissements de la «juxta-souverainisation» s'accommode d'un décalage entre le moment de la rupture historique (après-guerre, décolonisation, ...) et celui de la construction régionale.

La «concomitance» entre après-guerre et régionalisation existe. La construction régionale est lancée en Europe dès l'après-deuxième GM et en Afrique après l'AGF. En Amérique latine, un siècle et demi s'écoule entre indépendances coloniales et initiatives régionales (Pacte andin et Groupe de Rio). Le décalage tient à un isolationnisme à la faveur de la doctrine Monroë L'Amérique aux [nord]-Américains. En Afrique – et en Asie – les prémisses régionales sont posées dès les années 1970 (CEDEAO) et 1960 (ASEAN).

Quelle meilleure preuve, dans cette diachronie, de ce lien causal entre après-guerre et régionalisation par détermination régionale en dernière instance?

Table 1 – Tableau des «affiliés» à l'OCS, selon la date d'accèsion à leur statut dans l'organisation

État/statut	Membre	Observateur	Partenaire	Invité
Chine	1996			
Russie	1996			
Kazakhstan	1996			
Kyrgyzstan	1996			
Tadjikistan	1996			
Ouzbékistan	2001			
Mongolie		2004		
Iran		2005		
Inde	2017	(2005)		
Pakistan	2017	(2005)		
Biélorussie		2015	(2009)	
Sri Lanka			2009	
Afghanistan		2012		
Turquie			2012	
Turkménistan				2012
Arménie			2015	
Azerbaïdjan			2015	
Népal			2015	
Cambodge			2015	

NB : est indiquée en gras la date du statut le plus récent. Le statut original situe l'évolution.

Le lecteur devrait étudier les catégories d'affiliés par date d'accèsion, non par ordre alphabétique.

Source: compilation de P. Chabal

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ISSUES OF THE INTERNATIONAL IMAGE OF RUSSIA IN THE MODERN WORLD

The image of the country and its perception in the world is one of the most important directions in the politics of modern states. Modern Russia is a country with a controversial image, and today serious debates are raging around this issue in the scientific community. In this article, we will consider issues related to the perception of the image of Russia in the post-bipolar period. Russia, which has a rich history and geopolitical ambitions, is perceived ambiguously today, for some it is an aggressor country, a patron of undemocratic regimes, and for others it is a state that can challenge the hegemony of the United States. The modern image of the country is based on the basis that the Soviet Union formed. As Joseph Nye once noted, the image was associated with victory in World War II, space exploration, and achievements in sports. Modern attacks on Russia are connected with these issues, an active campaign is being conducted to reassess the results of the Second World War, monuments to Soviet soldiers are being demolished in Eastern Europe, their graves are being desecrated, Russia is being accused of using doping in sports, and the anthem was banned at the Olympic Games.

Key words: Russia, Soft power, image, perception, propaganda, Crimea, Putin, regime.

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Қазіргі өлемдегі Ресейдің халықаралық имиждінің мәселелері

Елдің имиджі және оны өлемдегі қабылдау мәселесі қазіргі заманғы мемлекеттердің саясатындағы маңызды бағыттардың бірі болып табылады. Қазіргі Ресей – қарама-қайшылықты бейнесі бар ел ретінде, бүгінде бұл мәселе төнірегіндеғі ғылыми ортада қызы пікірталастар жүруде. Бұл мақалада біз биполярлық кезеңдегі Ресейдің бейнесін қабылдауға байланысты мәселелердің қарастырамыз. Ресейдің тарихы терең, ал геосаяси амбициясы бүгінде екіштылдықпен қабылданады, кейбіреулер үшін ол агрессор, демократиялық емес режимдердің қамқоршысы, ал басқалары үшін АҚШ-тың гегемониясына қарсы тұра алатын мемлекет ретінде. Ресейдің қазіргі имиджі Кенес Одағы құрған негізге негізделген. Кезінде Джозеф Най атап өткендей, КСРО имиджі екінші дүниежүзілік соғыстағы жеңіспен, ғарышты игерумен және спорттағы жетістіктермен байланысты болды. Ресейге қарсы қазіргі шабуылдар дәл осы мәселелермен байланысты, екінші дүниежүзілік соғыстың нәтижелерін қайта бағалау науқаны белсенеңді жүргізілуде, Шығыс Еуропа елдерінде кенес сарбаздарының ескерткіштеріне және олардың қабірлері қатысты даулар күшеюде, спортта Ресей допингтты кеңінен қолданды деп айыпталуда, Олимпиада ойындарында әнұран орындауға тыйым салындығын білеміз.

Түйін сөздер: Ресей, жұмсақ күш, имидж, қабылдау, насиҳат, Қырым, Путин, режим.

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Вопросы международного имиджа России в современном мире

Образ страны и ее восприятие в мире являются одним из наиболее важных направлений в политике современных государств. Современная Россия – это страна с противоречивым имиджем, сегодня вокруг данного вопроса разгораются нешуточные дебаты в научной среде. В данной статье мы рассмотрим вопросы, связанные с восприятием образа России в пост-биполярный период. Россию, имеющую богатую историю, geopolитические амбиции, сегодня воспринимают неоднозначно, для одних она страна-агрессор, покровитель недемократических режимов, а для других – государство, которое можетбросить вызов гегемонии США. Современный образ страны

базируется на той основе, которую сформировал Советский Союз. Как в свое время отмечал Джозеф Най, имидж был связан с победой во Второй мировой войне и освоении космоса и с достижениями в спорте. Современные нападки на Россию именно связаны с этими вопросами, активно ведется кампания по переоценке итогов Второй мировой войны, в странах восточной Европы сносят памятники советским солдатам, оскверняются их могилы, в спорте Россию обвиняют в использовании допингов, на олимпийских играх запретили исполнение гимна.

Ключевые слова: Россия, Мягкая сила, имидж, восприятие, пропаганда, Крым, Путин, режим.

Introduction

In the constantly developing modern world, where the role of information and information technologies is increasing, the positive image of the state, its development and further promotion become essential for the national interests of the country. This is due to the fact that in the XXI century, to increase the political and economic competitiveness of the country on the world stage, the international image of the state is one of the most important factors. Moreover, it is important to take into account not only the formation of a positive image, but also its perception by the world community. Modern Russia has an ambiguous status in world politics, in most European countries there are negative associations with Moscow in most cases, this is due to the historical understanding of the role of Russia in their history. The perception of Russia as a country where aggression comes from did not change at the end of the last century, when post-Soviet Russia pursued a policy of abandoning imperial ambitions. Analysis of current trends in the scientific community and in particular in the media it can be argued that it is not possible to change the image of Moscow in the direction of the positive in the coming years. Either Russia will have to change its rhetoric towards Europe, or Europe will have to accept the existing situation. In general, it can be argued that relations between states also depend on the perception of the image of a neighbor.

The negative perception of Russia as an aggressor country has given rise to russophobia not only in politics but also in other areas such as the economy, culture, sports and medicine. Scandals around Russian athletes, cultural figures and music have become commonplace in the modern world. We believe that it is the political negativity towards Russia that has played an important role in the refusal of many European countries to buy the coronavirus vaccine from Russia.

As the results of the conducted opinion polls show, attitudes towards Russia were more positive during the Yeltsin period, in relation to this, the researchers point out that the Russian

authorities decided to go "from the opposite" and make the former "enemies" "friends", as well as seeking to form in the eyes of the foreign public an idea of the country as free and liberal, forever breaking with the totalitarian Soviet past, Russia, represented by President Boris Yeltsin and his government, took a course towards rapprochement with the United States and Western European countries, and at the expense of refusing to realize their own geopolitical interests and aspirations (Kolokoltseva, 2019).

The current international situation requires Russia to form a new model of behavior in the international arena, taking into account its national interests.

Purpose and methodology of the study

The purpose of the work is to study the perception of the image of Russia in the modern world, to determine the main problems and prospects for the development of its policy in the field of forming a positive image.

In the study of the country's image, we relied on the methodological developments of the school of political realism. The image of the country, its perception, is one of the most important trends in modern political science.

Image of a state is defined as purposefully formed (by public relations specialists and political elite) picture of a country. It is a set of ideas about a country's political, economic, socio-cultural, scientific, ecological activities. So to say, image is kind of intermediary between the state and international community.

According to scientific researches, international image of a country performs several basic functions:

Social and political identification, which allows the society to perceive an image of a country from the socio-political perspective;

Promotion of an image by creating a positive informational field around the state;

Informational and communicative, which allows the state to maintain interstate relations with other countries in the international arena.

Historically, the image of Russia was formed in different countries in different ways, but in general, on the world map of stereotypes, researchers distinguish two images of Russia:

- European-Russia through the eyes of European peoples (this image is associated with the image of Russia as a country of culture, culture and art);
- American-Russia through the eyes of Americans (our country is characterized as barbaric, aggressive and poor) (Imidzh Rossii, 2014).

Results and discussion. Russia in the post-bipolar period: the formation of a new image

In modern realities, the image of the country is closely related to the perception of national companies in the international market, the leader of the country and the image of the capital. These days, Russia faces many geopolitical challenges, which negatively affects its image. The perception of the image of Russia by the international community has been steadily deteriorating in recent decades. In this regard, Polish politicians argue that the current perception of the image of Russia is different from what it was 5-6 years ago, when only the right-wing opposition used to consider Russia the main danger for Poland, but today this idea is common in most political parties in Poland (Christine Huang, 2020).

One of the main reasons for this problem is the global information space. Anti-Russian propaganda is one of the most common things in the international media nowadays, which creates a negative effect on building international relations. Western media are taking active measures to isolate Russia from the international community. In particular, the EU has initiated plans for strategies to combat Kremlin propaganda. For instance, Finland has a special group of state-level officials whose purpose is directed specifically against Russian propaganda.

The formation of a positive image of Russia in the international community is a problem that has only recently begun to be dealt with. The first step was Vladimir Putin's speech on July 12, 2004. He stated that the image of Russia in the world is very far from reality, which is the result of planned campaigns to discredit the country, and set a task for Russian diplomats promote the image of Russia around the world. However, this task depends not only on Russian diplomats, but also on the entire Russian society and state.

In December 2005, the Russian information channel "Russia Today" was created, which broadcasts around the clock in English. Later, in May 2007, the Russian news channel "Rusia al-

Yaum" was launched, broadcasting in Arabic. It broadcasts to the Middle East and North Africa. Hence, Russia has been actively working to create a positive image.

Anti-Russian company after the annexation of Crimea

However, at present, after the situation in Ukraine, the entry of Crimea into Russia, the perception of the image of Russia has sharply deteriorated. To analyze the change in attitudes towards Russia from other countries, let's turn to an international survey conducted by the Pew Research Center. The Pew Global Attitudes project (Clark Letterman, 2018) surveyed 48,643 people from 44 countries. It was attended by Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, Brazil, Russia, India, China and many other countries. According to the results of the survey, it was revealed that after the events in Ukraine, the image of Russia fell sharply in the eyes of the international public. The main reasons for this was publications in the Western media, in which Russia's actions were massively criticized and called aggressive. In addition, many cases of civil rights violations are being advanced, which Russian opposition activists say are being discussed, and even some of the cases are sent to the European Court of Human Rights.

The results of the survey showed that by 2015, the negative attitude towards Russia was more than positive – from 45% to 30%, and the rest found it difficult to answer. The positive attitude was mainly observed in countries like Greece, China, Vietnam and Bangladesh. The positive attitude of China and Vietnam is explained as a negative attitude towards the United States, as the principle of "the enemy of my enemy is my friend". The attitude of the Greeks was based on historical cultural and economic ties. One of the reasons was also the economic problems faced by Greece, caused by high competition in the European market. The sanctions imposed an embargo on the supply of Greek goods to Russia, which mainly caused economic problems. Statistics show that the anti-Russian sanctions imposed by the EU cost Greek agriculture 200 million euros.

Despite the flow of negativity towards Russia, Greece tends to rely on cooperation with Russia and denies support for tougher sanctions. In 2015, the two countries signed an interstate memorandum on cooperation in the construction of a gas pipeline in Greece. Former Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras has repeatedly criticized the sanctions

initiated by EU, saying that this kind of actions lead to economic war.

The deterioration of attitudes towards Russia is observed especially in the United States and Europe. If earlier the percentage of positive attitude was about 35%, and negative – 45%, then after the annexation of the Crimea, the percentage of negative attitude reached 75%. American experts state that Russia has acquired the image of the main enemy by defeating North Korea, China and Iran. Moreover, people tend to believe that Russia's growing military power poses a greater threat to the USA's national security.

The image of Russia in European countries is also very negative. It is also based on anti-Russian propaganda promoted by the media and positioning Russia as an enemy. The Swedish newspaper Aftonbladet published an article in which it was said that Russian criticism has reached the point of absurdity, that nowadays it is possible to say anything about the Russians without attaching any facts or evidence.

Indeed, anti-Russian propaganda has gone too far, which can lead to bad consequences for the allies of the West themselves. Any statements by Western officials about considering friendly relations with Russia lead to massive criticism. Many Western experts tend to believe that the demonization of Putin imposed by the Western media does more harm than good. For instance, former Congresswoman Dana Rohrabacher (Jonathan Weisman, 2014) has often stated that, despite Putin's shortcomings, the benefits of cooperation are much more important. He also said that there are many areas where countries could make the world a better place by cooperating with Russia, rather than by constantly escalating hostility. Rohrabacher does not approve of any hacking attacks by Russia or the annexation of Crimea, but believes that Russia has become a victim of Western double standards.

Richard Sakwa, professor of Russian and European politics at the University of Kent in the UK, argues that the concept of "Russian aggression" has become an echo, so that it prevents people from really thinking. Sakwa also stressed the fact that it is considered normal for countries to have national interests, but when Russia tries to protect its own national interests, it is often seen as aggression and a threat to the rest of the world (Richard Sakwa, 2017).

Many people in American political society also stand in solidarity with the Kremlin. Some of them are neo-Isolationists. They disagree with US attempts to "export democracy" in violent ways,

mentioning the invasion of Iraq or intervention in Syria. In this, they agree with the Kremlin, which opposes interference in the politics of sovereign states.

One of the European countries that does not see Russia as an enemy is Hungary. Hungarian Foreign Minister Peter Szijjarto said that they do not see Russia as a threat to their national security, on the contrary, if Russia and the United States are not able to solve global problems in cooperation, this creates a great threat to the security of Eastern Europe (Robert Velkey. 2017). Hungary is also suffering from anti-Russian sanctions imposed after the annexation of Crimea. Budapest insists that the sanctions are counterproductive and have led to anti-sanctions by Russia, which harms Europe's exports. In Hungary, for example, pig farmers suffer from the Russian embargo.

Rohrbacher also claimed that massive immigration and terrorism makes far more threat than Russia. "To say that Russia is the enemy, when Russia is also threatened by radical Islamic terrorism, is a wrong way to go," says ex-Congressman Rohrbacher. This shows that anti-Russian propaganda and image of an enemy created by western media prevent world from solving global problems and benefit from cooperation of countries.

The image of Russia has always been built on the fact that it is a unique country spanning eleven time zones, rich in natural resources, with strong military power, rich history and culture. Since the times of the WW2, the country is considered one of those who defeated Nazi Germany. The first country to conquer space, having high achievements in medicine and sports. However, in modern world, all these factors that support a positive image of the country have become victims of information warfare.

Nowadays it is obvious that Russia is the target of massive information war. The goal of that war is to discredit Russia in international arena and create the image of an "enemy". To achieve this goal, all existing world media, international channels, social networks are used.

Today one of the terms most used in western media is "Russian hackers". Psychological and linguo-semantic analysis of information space of foreign segment shows that 35% of users of social network "Twitter" associate the image of Russia with the power structures of the state, and most of them show the signs of "cyberphobia" (Alexander Grebenyuk. 2020).

Accusations of Russia of interference in the elections began to circulate in the media in early

November 2016. Theses with unsubstantiated accusations of Russia of interference in the internal politics of other countries continue to appear in both foreign and Russian media.

Due to the spread of coronavirus infection throughout the world, the accusations of Russia of cyberattacks, aggressive foreign policy and other charges have dropped sharply. However, with the November 2020 presidential elections approaching, the accusations began to rise again.

The construction and maintenance of such associations was significantly influenced by massive unsubstantiated accusations of Russia in cyberattacks on educational and medical institutions, broadcast in the media of different countries in 2019-2020.

According to Czech media, in April 2020, Czech hospitals, the Prague airport and the country's Ministry of Health were under cyberattacks. The information was published in the Prague newspapers (Martin Shabu. 2020). In the spring of that year, local authorities decided to dismantle the monument to Marshall Konev, who, together with first Ukrainian Front of the Red Army, liberated Prague from the Nazis. It led to the international scandal. The Russian embassy in the Czech Republic expressed outrage at the dismantling of the monument. The decision to dismantle was taken by a local district official, which was later criticized by Czech President Milos Zeman. As soon as Russia and the Czech Republic found a common language, the Western media recalled the hospital story and attributed Russian hackers to it, allegedly IP traces to Moscow. The same incident took place in Poland, when Foreign Minister Jacek Czaputovich spoke about reconciliation with Moscow, and suddenly a story surfaced with a hacker attack on Polish institutes and schools. Again, the Western media found a "Russian trace". However, no one wonders why some Russian hackers and even more special services of Russia would hack some schools and hospitals.

It is also worth noting the controversial post of the White House "on the victory of the United States and Britain" over Nazism (Greg Evans. 2020). On the official White House Instagram page on 8 May 2020, was published a post stating that the United States and Britain had defeated Nazism, but the contribution of the Soviet Union was not mentioned. Earlier, the secretary of Russian Security Council Nikolai Patrushev stated that Western historians and elites are trying to diminish the role of Russia in the world by expressing false information about the war. Moreover, Russian Facebook users were outraged that the social network was deleting posts

with a photograph in which Soviet soldiers are hoisting the Victory Banner over the Reichstag (Sergey Baimukhametov. 2020), raising the flag of USSR. Facebook later explained the reasons for removing the photos by pointing out the errors of the automated tool. "Youtube" hosting blocked three Russian news channels with a total of under a billion views. Russian journalist Anna Shafran states that these are American platforms that operate according to American rules, and that such cases should not be surprising. In casino, the croupier is the one who always wins.

Campaign against Russian Coronavirus vaccine

Information war is also being actively waged against the Russian vaccine "Sputnik V". There are massive attempts to discredit the Russian vaccine in the world media. For instance, on December 9, 2020, the Turkish newspaper "Haber Turk" published a report (Fatih Atayli. 2020) referring to the head of the Ministry of Health, which stated that "Sputnik V" does not meet the standards of good laboratory practice, and it is not able to obtain a license in Turkey, and therefore "went beyond the scope of interests". Later this information was denied by Turkish Minister Fahrettin Koca.

Ekaterina Mizulina, director of the "Safe Internet League" at the Public Chamber of Russian Federation, reported that a network of more than 430 groups and communities on social networks was identified in Poland and Ukraine, aimed to spreading fake news about the coronavirus vaccination campaign and discrediting the Russian "Sputnik V".

Moreover, at the end of May 2020, the US State Department announced a grant (Pavel Mylnikov. 2020) to "expose disinformation from Russia". The US State Department's Bureau of International Public Affairs has allocated \$250,000 to "an organization with experience in analyzing countering Russian disinformation". Meanwhile, the Russian Embassy in Washington criticized such an initiative. "Even in the period of the most severe global epidemic, when we – both Russia and the United States – are losing thousands of citizens, and everyone should have rallied, efforts are directed towards finding an external enemy" on which "it is supposed to blame – in whole or in part – for the shortcomings of our authorities", emphasized in the message of the diplomatic mission.

Above stated facts proves that Russia is being a target of information war and it is extremely affecting its image. Under the current conditions

of world politics, the development of the image of the country is necessary for further development. According to experts, there are several stages in the development of the image of Russia:

- 1) Promotion of the country's importance in world history by emphasizing scientific achievements of the country and its contribution to the development of world culture and history;
- 2) Promotion of information resources (media) broadcasting abroad;
- 3) Attracting foreign direct investment;
- 4) Organizing international conferences, exhibitions, conferences, forums with the involvement of world figures or politics, art, culture and science;
- 5) Increasing the competitiveness of Russian enterprises in the world market;
- 6) Development of ecological tourism.

By creating national cultural and scientific centers, and stimulating the development of world culture and science, it will be possible to increase the competitiveness of domestic brands and attract promising investors, which will have a positive effect on tourism.

To achieve the above goals, the following main directions were identified:

- 1) Development of a holistic image concept at the state level. The development of the country's image should be one of the main goals of the national interest.
- 2) Enhancing the position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the protection of the Russian-speaking population and Russian citizens living abroad.
- 3) Organization of major international forums and sports competitions.

Based on these directions, we can conclude that a lot of work needs to be done to achieve positive results and a developing image policy in Russia, but at the same time, it should be noted that Russia has a good potential to achieve this goal. First of all, it is necessary to develop a clear concept that will be supported by majority of the population. To build a stable positive image abroad, it is important to gain support of the citizens. One of the main problems of the image of Russia is that the residents of the country themselves often become victims of anti-Russian propaganda. Therefore, it is very important to build a policy that will be aimed not only abroad, but will also work within the country. It is also important to pay more attention to the media channels, including television, radio channels, printed publications and internet resources. With the help of these resources, it is necessary to form a positive image of Russia

both within the country and abroad. To do this, it is important to step up public diplomacy, bringing official and most importantly reliable information to the public masses. The information war against Russia is mainly aimed at isolating Russia from the world, so it is necessary to take countermeasures, namely, holding major international sports, cultural and tourist events that show Russia in a favorable light. One of the most important factors is richness of Russian culture, but for this to happen, the Russians themselves must evoke a sense of national pride and significance in world history and modernity. Then, it is also important to activate the compatriots abroad in order to promote Russian culture and language.

The image of the state is one of the most important factors for increasing its socio-economic and political competitiveness, as well as for realizing its national interests.

Conclusion

Summing up the results of the study, it is worth noting that based on the collected data, we selected only a few areas/situations related to the image of Russia in the modern world.

First, authors of this article consider that the most fundamental problem is the transformation of the Kremlin's political rhetoric in the post-Soviet period. The Soviet past problem is the cornerstone in the perception of the image of Russia. Although, as stated above, in the 90s of the last century, Russia tried to change its attitude to the legacy of the Soviet Union. Russia agreed that the states of Eastern Europe have the right to determine their future and abandoned the policy of pressure on them. Also, Russia practically withdrew from Central Asia, and territorial problems were resolved with the former post-Soviet republics, in particular with Ukraine and the Baltic states. The authors of the article believe that Russia was waiting for a mutual response from the Western countries, and Russia's attempts to make concessions were regarded as a sign of weakness. Western countries and some states from the Muslim world did not support Russia's actions during the Chechen War. The expansion of NATO to the east, contrary to the "gentlemen's agreements", led to the activation of the «instinct of self-preservation». Thereafter it led to changes in the Kremlin's foreign policy directions. The lack of dialogue with the West through strengthening the role of the OSCE, and each side started to consider the other guilty.

The second important issue is the annexation of Crimea, and the unilateral recognition of the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. A

gross violation of the norms of international law and the fundamental principles of international relations has taken place. In this regard, there was a gross violation of the norms of international law and the fundamental principles of international relations. Nevertheless, there is another side, the so-called unpopular view of Russia's actions. Russia's actions in 2008 were a response to the recognition of Kosovo's independence by Western countries and the United States in the first place. For Russia, which considers itself a power, it was vital to create a so-called "security belt", and the attempts of some countries to earn political dividends on anti-Russian rhetoric were regarded as a threat to Russia. Now, as for the issue of Crimea, the return of the peninsula under the control of Kiev is unlikely, over the past 7 years, Russia has invested a lot in the process of integrating Crimea into Russia, and it is unlikely that even with a radical change of power in Russia, someone will decide to return it to Ukraine. However, Moscow must understand that without the support of other centers of power, the recognition of Crimea as part of Russia is not possible. In world politics, there are several similar cases, for example, the fate of the Palestinian Territories, Northern Cyprus, etc., when the issue of non-recognition by the world community faded into the background. But Russia has no allies in this matter, as potential allies of the Kremlin in the person of Beijing, Delhi have similar problems, and their actions can lead to

the destruction of the world order. This issue will remain on the agenda of world politics for a long time to come.

In the end, disputes around the issue of the anti-Russian company in relation to the Sputnik V vaccine flare up. As argued before, the Russian vaccine is seen as another propaganda tool from Moscow. Initially, when Putin announced the creation of the vaccine, there were many skeptics about the vaccine. The authors of this article argue that Moscow needs to depoliticize this issue. Since we are talking about the fate of millions of people. Most of all, questions about the effectiveness of this vaccine are considered to be more of a medical issue. And the more officials talk about the vaccine, the more questions will arise, the first step in this regard has already taken when Russian scientists published their reports in popular international scientific journals. It is necessary to note that the publication of the results of the vaccine trial published in the British journal "The Lancet" caused the growth of the "Sputnik V" popularity in Europe. And in most of the European media, the invention of the vaccine was considered a great breakthrough in Russia in medicine.

In sum, the issue of forming a positive image and its perception in the world will still be an actual direction in research, and authors of this article hope that this article will lay the foundation for further consideration in the scientific community.

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3-бөлім

**ДИПЛОМАТИЯНЫҢ, ГЕОСАЯСАТЫҢ ЖӘНЕ
ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҚҰҚЫҚТЫҢ
ӨЗЕКТІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ**

Section 3

**CURRENT ISSUES OF DIPLOMACY,
GEOPOLITICS AND
INTERNATIONAL LAW**

Раздел 3

**АКТУАЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ
ДИПЛОМАТИИ, ГЕОПОЛИТИКИ И
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ПРАВА**

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«ҰЛТТЫҚ МҮДДЕ» ТҰЖЫРЫМДАМАСЫНЫҢ ТЕОРИЯЛЫҚ ДИСКУРСЫ: САЛЫСТЫРМАЛЫ САРАПТАМАЛЫҚ ТАЛДАУ

Мақалада Рейнгольд Нибур және Ганс Моргентай еңбектері негізінде саяси реализм теориясының қағидалары қарастырылған. Халықаралық қатынастар теориясының даму тарихында саяси реализм теориясы ең алғашқы болып «ұлттық мүдде» тұжырымдамасын талдай бастады. Ұлттық мүдделерді қорғау – мемлекеттің қауіпсіздігін қамтамасыз етуін басты бағыттарының бірі. Саяси реализмді жақтаушылар кез келген мемлекет өзінің ұлттық мүдделеріне немікүрайлы қарамауы керек, – деп санайды. Мемлекеттердің ұлттық мүдделері олардың арасында қалыптасатын қатынастарға тікелей әсер етеді. Ұлттық мүдделер – бұл халықаралық қатынастардың тұрақты негізі.

Халықаралық қатынастардың қалыптасуы мен дамуына елдің географиялық орналасуы, оның саяси, әлеуметтік, экономикалық, мәдени даму деңгейіне байланысты. Рейнгольд Нибурдың тұжырымдамасы бойынша ұлттық мемлекет дегеніміз – өзінің ерекше миссиясы бар қоғам деп санайды. Ұлттық мемлекет өз азаматтары мен сыртқы әлем алдындағы міндеттемелері бар азаматтық қоғам. Ұлттық мемлекеттің қалыптасуына ел азаматтарының мемлекеттің көрсетілген трансцендентальды қызметіне сенімі және азаматтардың өз мемлекеттіне деген адаудығы әсер етеді. Ол сондай-ақ, азаматтардың мемлекетке деген сенімнің плюралистік, генотеистік және монотеистік түрлері бар деп санайды. Ганс Моргентай халықаралық қатынастарды мемлекеттер арасындағы қайшылықтардың сахнасы ретінде қарастырады.

Ғылыми зерттеудің мақсаты әдебиеттерде кездесетін «ұлттық мүдде» тұжырымдамасының теориялық дискурсты салыстырмалы түрде сараптамалық талдау жасау. Зерттеудің негізгі бағыттары тұжырымдама бойынша сараптамалық анықтама беру арқылы ұлттық мүдденің теориялық дискурсына шолу жасай отырып, қалыптасқан идеяларды жаңа геосаяси шынайылықтардың негізінде жаңарту болып табылады. Жұмыстың ғылыми және тәжірибелі маңыздылығы теориялық дискурстың XXI ғасырда орын алып отырған акторлардың белсенәі түрде ұлттық мүдделерді қорғау мақсатындағы бастамаларының маңыздылығы болып табылады. Зерттеу әдістемесі ретінде тек салыстырмалы сараптамалық әдістемесі қолданылды, себебі тақырыптың өзектілігіне орай бүтінгі таңда акторлардың жаңаша көзқараспен іс-кимыл әрекеттері белсенді түрде жүзеге асырылуда. Ғылыми зерттеудің негізгі нәтижелері, талдау және тұжырымдамасына байланысты сарапшылар мен шешім қабылдау тұлғаларға тәжірибелі кеңес беру арқылы тарихи фактордың да өзектілігін ашып көрсетеді. Бұл ретте, шешім қабылдаушылардың тек бүтінгі заманауи идеялардың өзектілігінде емес, сонымен қатар теоретиктердің тұжырымдамалық идеялары өзектілігін жоғалтқан жоқ. Жүргізілген зерттеу жұмысының маңыздылығы әлеуметтік-гуманитарлық, ғылымға теориялық дискурс арқылы кішігірім үлес болып табылады. Жұмыс қорытындысының тәжірибелі маңыздылығы ретінде академиялық орта мен тәжірибелі шешім қабылдаушылардың назарына пайдалы кеңес ретінде қабылдануында.

Түйін сөздер: ұлттық мүдделер, саяси реализм, халықаралық қатынастар теориясы.

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The theoretical discourse of the “national interest” concept: comparative analysis

The article examines the principles of one of the theory of international relations – the theory of political realism – on the example of the works by Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans Morgenthau. In the history of the development of theories of international relations, the theory of political realism was the first

to analyze the concept of "national interest" by and large. The protection of national interest is one of the main directions in ensuring state security. The supporters of political realism believe that any state should not be unserious about its national interests. The national interests of countries determine the nature of relations between countries. The national interests are the stable basis of international relations.

The formation and development of national relations is influenced by the geographic location of the country, the level of its political, social, economic, and cultural development. Reinhold Niebuhr believes that the nation-state is a community with a specific mission. It is a society that takes on obligations to its citizens, to the outside world. The formation of a nation-state is influenced by such factors as the confidence of citizens in the country within the indicated transcendental activities of the state and the devotion of citizens to their country. He also believes that there are pluralistic, henotheistic and monotheistic types of citizens' trust in their country. Hans Morgenthau views international relations as an arena of contradictions between countries.

The aim of the study is to conduct a comparative analytical analysis of the theoretical discourse of the concept of "national interest" found in the literature. The main areas of research are updating existing ideas about the concept based on new geopolitical realities, considering the theoretical discourse of national interests by providing an expert definition of the concept. The scientific and practical significance of the work lies in the importance of the theoretical discourse of the initiative actors of the XXI century in the active protection of their national interests. The comparative analytical method was used as a research method, since today, due to the relevance of the topic, actors are actively using a new approach. The historical results also show the relevance of the factor through practical guidance to experts and policy makers, depending on the main findings of the study, analysis and concept. At the same time, decision-makers have not lost their relevance not only in the relevance of modern ideas, but also in the conceptual ideas of theorists used in the article. The importance of research is a small contribution to the social sciences and humanities through the theoretical discourse of demonstration analysis. The practical significance of the results of the work lies in the perception of the academic environment and persons making practical decisions as a recommendation.

Key words: national interests, political realism, theory of international relations.

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Теоретический дискурс концепции «национальный интерес»: сравнительный анализ

В статье рассматриваются принципы одной из теории международных отношений – теории политического реализма – на примере трудов Рейнгольда Нибура и Ганса Моргентау. В истории развития теорий международных отношений теория политического реализма первой начала анализировать понятие «национальный интерес». Защита национального интереса является одной из главных направлений в обеспечении государственной безопасности. Сторонники политического реализма считают, что любому государству нельзя несерьезно относиться к своим национальным интересам. Национальные интересы стран определяют характер отношений между странами. Таким образом, национальные интересы являются стабильной основой международных отношений.

На формирование и развитие национальных отношений влияют географическое расположение страны, уровень ее политического, социального, экономического, культурного развития. Рейнгольд Нибур считает, что национальное государство представляет из себя сообщество, имеющее свою особенную миссию. Это общество, которое берет на себя обязательства перед своими гражданами, перед внешним миром. На формирование национального государства влияют такие факторы, как доверие граждан страны указанному трансцендентальной деятельности государства и преданность граждан своей стране. Он также считает, что есть плуралистические, генотеистические и монотеистические типы доверия граждан своей стране. Ганс Моргентау рассматривает международные отношения как арену противоречий между странами.

Целью исследования является проведение сравнительно-аналитического анализа теоретического дискурса концепции «национальный интерес», встречающегося в литературе. Основными направлениями исследований являются обновление существующих представлений о концепции на основе новых геополитических реалий, рассмотрение теоретического дискурса национальных интересов путем предоставления экспертного определения концепции. Научная и практическая значимость работы заключается в важности теоретического дискурса инициативных акторов XXI века в активной защите своих национальных интересов. В качестве

метода исследования использовался сравнительно-аналитический метод, поскольку сегодня в связи с актуальностью темы акторы активно применяют новый подход. Исторические результаты также показывают актуальность фактора посредством практических рекомендаций экспертам и лицам, принимающим политические решения, в зависимости от основных результатов исследования, анализа и концепции. В то же время лица, принимающие решения, не утратили свою значимость не только в актуальности современных идей, но и в концептуальных идеях теоретиков, применяемых в статье. Важность исследования заключается в небольшом вкладе в социальные и гуманитарные науки посредством теоретического дискурса демонстрации анализа. Практическая значимость результатов работы заключается в восприятии академической средой и лицами, принимающими практические решения в качестве рекомендации.

Ключевые слова: национальные интересы, политический реализм, теория международных отношений.

Kіrіспе

Тақырыптың өзектілігі «мемлекет» пен «ұлт» ұғымдарының тығыз байланыстарын ашып көрсетіледі. Ұлт – мемлекеттің қалыптасуының негізі мен қайнар көзі, яғни мемлекеттің қалыптасуы, дамуы барысында «ұлттық мұдде» санаты ең негізгі фактор болатындығы сөзсіз және айқын азаматтық қоғамда көрініс табады. Мемлекеттің негізін қалаған ұлттың өмір сүру құқығын мойындау – ол сол мемлекеттің ұлттық мұддесін мойындау дегенді білдіреді. Ұлттық мұдделер доктринасы жоқ мемлекеттер болмайды. Бұл доктрина мемлекеттің құндылықтық-нормативтік ұстанымдары мен идеологиясына негізделеді. Егер әр мемлекет өзінің ұлттық мұддесінің нақты анықтамасын бермесе, онда мемлекетаралық қатынастарда әртүрлі деңгейдегі түсінбеушіліктер пайда болатындығы сөзсіз. Ұлттық мұддені нақты жарайлау мемлекеттің қауіпсіздік шараларының бірі, себебі сол арқылы мемлекеттер арасында туындытын қайшылықтарға жол берілмейді. Мемлекеттің өркендеуіне бағытталған еш өзгермейтін ұлттық мұдделері бар. Сонымен қатар, белгілі бір жағдайда мемлекеттің жүзеге асыратын іс-әрекеттеріне бейімделіп, өзгеріп тұратын ұлттық мұдделер бар.

Алғаш рет «ұлттық мұдде» санатын ғылыми сараптамалық талдау жасай бастаган саяси реализм мектебінің бағыты болды. Саяси реализмнің ең танымал өкілдері Р. Нибур, Ф. Шуман, Дж. Кеннан, Дж. Шварценбергер, К. Томпсон, Г. Киссинджер, Э. Кэрр, А. Уолферс т.б., ал көшбасшылары сөзсіз Г. Моргентау және Р. Арон болды.

Зерттеу тақырыптың нысаны болып, «ұлттық мұдде» тұжырымдамасының теориялық қырлары болып табылады. Пәні ретінде тұжырымдаманың салыстырмалы сараптамасын анықтау болып табылады.

Зерттеу тақырыбы бойынша салааралық болмысы тұрғысынан ұлттық мұдде тұжырымдамасын сараптамалық талдау әдіснамасы негізінде – халықаралық қатынастар, саясаттану, әлеуметтану, экономика, тарих саласындағы шетелдік, ресейлік және отандық авторлардың ғылыми еңбектеріне негізделген. Зерттеу барысында негізінен ұлттық мұдде парадигмасы аясындағы тәсілдер орындалды. Мақала пәннің ерекшелігіне қарай, зерттеудің әдіснамасы ретінде жалпы гуманитарлық ғылымдағы әдістер қолданылды – тарихи принцип, сараптама, синтез, абстрактіліктен нақтылыққа өрлеу, жүйелік талдау тәсілі, сонымен қатар экспликативті әдістер, оның ішінде мәтіндерді сараптау арқылы бағалау және философтар мен саясаттанушылардың немесе ресми тұлғалардың белгілі бір жағдайларда оқиғаларға байланысты бағалау қатынастарын анықтау үшін алғаш рет американлық зерттеуші Г. Лассуел қолданған контент-сараптама. Р. Аронмен ұсынылған тарихи-әлеуметтанулық әдісі, когнитивті картиреу әдісі, сонымен бірге оқиғаның барысы мен қарқындылығын анықтау үшін ивент сараптама. Саяси реализм теоретигі Г. Моргентаумен ұсынылған тарихи сипаттамалық әдісі. Реализм, либерализм және конструктивизм теориялары негізіндегі ғылыми жұмыста тарих ғылымының, халықаралық қатынастар тарихы мен геосаясат теориясының негізгі идеялары, тұжырымдамалары және категориялары қолданылды. Ұлттық мұдде түсінігін біртұтас магынада күрделі және көп сатылы құбылыс ретінде қоғамның саяси мәдениетімен және мемлекет ішіндегі әлеуметтік-экономикалық үрдістермен тікелей өзара байланыстарды қарастыру арқылы жүйелік сараптама қолданылды.

Таңдалған тақырыптың негізdemесінде алдыңғы зерттеушілердің тәжірибелері негізінде проблемалық жағдайдың бар екендігі айтылады. Атап айтсақ, ұлттық мұдде – ең маңызды

мұдделердің бірі ретінде мемлекеттің шет елдермен қарым-қатынас орнату бағытындағы қырларына бағытталған саясат ретінде қарастырылады. Бұл бағыттаушы құрал болуы мемлекеттің мақсаттарына қол жеткізу екендігі анық (Weldes, 1996, p. 276; Edmunds, Gaskarth and Porter, 2014, p. 504). Ұлттық мұдде тұжырымдамасы реалистік көзқараспен кең деңгейдегі байланыстағы қауіпсіздік, яғни мұндағы халықаралық қатынастар негізгі мақсатқа айналады (Humphreys, 2015, p. 571). Бұл тұжырымдама, дегенмен, қазіргі заманға бейімделуі керек, яғни жаһандану кезеңінде барлық болып жатқан өзгерістер бүкіл әлемде қызын болуы мүмкін ұлттық мұдделердің қоргалуында болып табылады. Ұлттық мұдделер басқа акторларға әсер етеді, мысалы, «ұлттықтан жоғары мұдде» ретіндегі қагида кезінде өзінің өзектілігін жоғалтқан емес (Kiyono, 1969, p. 3). Мұндай үдеріс саяси шешім қабылдаушылардың жаңаша көзқарастағы мәселелерді қарастыруға мәжбүр етеді, сонымен қатар басқа да акторларына қатысты жағдайлар іске асырудың тәсілдерін сыртқы саясат арқылы жүзеге асырылады. Такырыптың шенберін ашып көрсету мақсатында авторлар салыстырмалы сараптама жүргізу арқылы, зерттеу сұраққа жауап ретіндегі маңыздылығын әдебиеттерге шолу жасай отырып қол жеткізді.

Ғылыми әдіснама

Саяси реализм өкілдері ұлттық мұдделерге неміқрайды қару кез келген мемлекет үшін қате саясат екендігін дәлелдей бастады, себебі ұлттық мұддені корғау мемлекетті қауіп-қатерден сактайты. Ол мемлекеттің халықаралық саясатының тұрақты негізі, сондықтан да әлемдегі барлық мемлекеттер үшін бұл ұғым үстем болу керек деп санайды. Мемлекетінің ұлттық мұдделерін терең түсіну және іске асыру сол мемлекеттің басқару жүйесінің дұрыс саясатының көрінісі. Саяси реалистер ұлттық мұдделер мен қоғамдық мұдде арасында теңдік белгісін қоймайды, себебі, реалистердің пайымдауынша, ұлттық мұдделер сыртқы саясатқа қатысты ұғым екендігін жеткізген. Ұлттық мұдде мемлекеттің тек азаматтарының және сондай-ақ мұдделерінің шенберімен шектелмейді. Ұлттық мұдделер әлеуметтік, экономикалық, геостратегиялық, саяси факторларды қамтиды. Әрине, ұлттық мұдделердің қалыптасуы мен дамуына ғаламдық процестер әсер етеді.

Реалистердің пікірі бойынша:

- ұлттық мұдде барлық елдер мен мемлекеттер үшін үстем ұғым болу керек;
- ә) ұлттық мұдделерге неміқрай қарауға болмайды, себебі, бұндай саясат мемлекетке қауіп-қатер төндіреді;
- б) ұлттық мұдде объективті құбылыс екенін түсіну керек;
- в) ұлттық мұдде мемлекеттің географиялық жағдайының, экономикалық, саяси және мәдени дамуының ерекшеліктеріне негізделген;
- г) «ұлттық мұдде» мемлекеттің халықаралық саясатының тұрақты негізі (Трухачев, 2010).

Халықаралық қатынастар теориясында екі танымал автор өздерінің еңбектерінде талқылап отырған ой-пікірлерімізді қорытындылап сараптау үшін саяси реализм бағытының, бірі діни тұрғыдан, екіншісі ғылыми тұрғыдан негізін қалаған ғалымдар Рейнгольд Нибур мен Ганс Моргентаудың ғылыми көзқарастарына *салыстырмалы сараптамалық талдау* әдісі арқылы жасап сыни тұрғыдан салыстырып көрейік.

Результаты и обсуждение

Рейнгольд Нибур өзінің «Радикальный монотеизм и западная культура» деген еңбегінде ұлттық мемлекет – ол өзіне тән миссиясы бар қауымдастық деген қорытынды жасайды. Нибурдың пайымдауынша, ұлттық мемлекет осы мемлекеттің азаматтарына, сыртқы әлемге өзін жоғары іс жүргізуге міндеттеме алған қоғам. Ұлттық мемлекетте қалыптасатын ерекше екі жақты жағдай, олар:

мемлекеттің азаматтары мемлекеттің трансцендентальды іс-әрекетіне толық сенім білдіреді;

мемлекет азаматтарынан өзіне деген адалдықты қажет етеді.

Нибур батыс қоғамының саяси және діни өмірінде сенім арқылы мемлекетке деген сенімділіктің бар болуын және де жоқтығын анықтау үшін үш манызды мәселеге назар аудару керек дейді:

- мемлекет өз азаматтарының сеніміне арқа сүйей алады ма?

- ұлт мемлекеттің трансценденттік ісін мойындағы отырып біріккен қауымдастық бола алды ма?

- мемлекеттің азаматтарында ұлт ісіне және ұлттық өз-өзіне сенеді деген пікірге сенімділік бар ма? (Нибур, 1996)

Рейнгольд Нибур батыс елдеріндегі саяси қауымдастықтарда құндылықтар орталығына деген сенімділік айқын байқалмайды дейді.

Саяси магынада сенімділікке деген апелляция мемлекет азаматтарын ұлттың өзіне, халықта немесе демократияға сенім артуға қаншалықты қарқынды түрде тарта алатындығынан айқын көрінеді.

Оның пікірінше, сенімділік дегеніміз бәріне құндылық беретін және осы құндылықты сақтайтын құндылық орталығына деген сенім. Сондықтан, саяси өмірде сенімділіктің орталығы әлеуметтік сенім сипатына ие болған қоғамдастық болу керек, – деген пікірге келеді.

Кейір тарихи кезеңдерде, белгілі бір ілімдер мен тәжірибелік іс-әрекеттерге байланысты, сенім бостандық мәселесіне қатысты қарастырылады. Сөз және баспасөз бостандығы, зерттеу бостандығы қоғамдағы адамдарға шындық – өтірікті женетініне, өмірдің, тәртіптің немесе әділеттіліктің дүшпаны емес екендігі туралы сенім пайда болған жағдайдаға тараға алады.

Саяси өмірде сенімділік деген ол қоғамның өзі азаматтарына, азаматтардың бір-біріне, ұлтқа және қоғамның өзіне, сонымен қатар трансценденталды құндылық орталықтарына деген сенім екендігі байқалады. Бұл сенімділіктердің жалғасы адалдық, сондықтан ортақ істің іске асуы адал адамдардың, азаматтардың болуына байланысты.

Сенімділікпен қатар тенденция жүреді. Нибур кепіл ретінде тенденция қағидаты жаңа міндеттесмелерге алып келеді дейді. Тенденция соттардың, заңнамалық тұрғыдағы мәжілістерде дәйекті шешімдерінен кейін, құнделік басқару үдерісі барысында ұлттық және мемлекетаралық саяси іс-әрекеттерде жаңауры керек (Нибур, 1996, 293). Тенденция қатысты жанжал дін мен саясат арасында емес, ол саяси өмірде көрініс тапқан сенімдер арасындағы жанжал, – деп есептейді.

Сенімнің плюралистік, генотеистік, монотеистік түрлері келесі қағидаттарды қабылдаумен және қолданумен біріктіріледі:

- құзыретті шектеу;
- шарттардың қасиеттілігі;
- адамдардың емес, заңның үстемдігі;
- қөпшілік билікті қабылдау және азшылықтардың құқықтарын құрметтейте.

Генотеизмде халықтың дауысы мен таңдауы – Құдайдың дауысы, немесе Құдай – ол халық. Үкімет – басқарылатындардың келісімі негізінде емес, олардың еркімен пайда болады. Халықтың пікірі (немесе қөпшіліктің пікірі) – бұл заң шығарушылар мен судьялар үшін ең маңызды негіз болатын қағида. Қате және дұрыс таңдау солардың таңдауына байланысты анықталады.

Сондықтан, ұлттық мұдде ол мемлекет үшін ең маңызды ұғым, себебі ұлтқа деген адалдық – бұл азаматтар мен мемлекет басқарушыларының арасындағы адалдық ең жоғарғы деңгейі екендігі айқындалады.

Демократиялық үдеріс монотеистік сенім аясында журуі мүмкін. Бұл тұрғыдан, ешқандай билік – мемлекет болсын, сол мемлекеттің халық немесе тирандары болсын – абсолютті егемендікке немесе шексіз адалдыққа үміт арта алмайды. Бір ұлтқа өмір сыйлаған күш басқа ұлттарға да өмір сыйлады, сондықтан барлық ұлттардың өмір сүруі, бостандық пен өркендеу құқықтары жалпы әмбебап адамзаттық қоғамдастықта тен. Адамдар болмыстың абсолютті қайнаркөзіне және тіршілік иесін сақтайтын абсолютті қуатқа сүйене отырып, өз пікірлерінің абсолютті емес, салыстырмалы екендігіне келіседі, сондықтан бар күш жігерін жалпыға бірдей сенімді білдіретін саяси шешімдерді іске асыруға жұмысайды. Генотеистік немесе монотеистік демократия туралы мәселе ұлттық альtruизм немесе ұлттық эгоизм немесе біз жақсы көретін, жақсы көрмейтін нәрселер туралы мәселе емес. Генотеистік немесе монотеистік демократия адамдардың неге абсолютті сенімділік пен адалдық білдіретіні туралы мәселе (Нибур, 1996, 297).

Ганс Моргентау өз кезегінде, екінші дүниежүзілік соғыстың апатына әкелген әлемдік саясатың тәжірибесін сараптап, болашақта осындай апаттың алдын алуға бола ма? – деген мәселе өзінің көзқарасын білдірді (Антанович, Достанко, 2000).

П. Цыганков өзінің «Политическая социология международных отношений» деген монографиясында саяси реализм бағытын жан-жақты талдаған.

П. Цыганковтың айтудынша, Ганс Моргентау халықаралық қатынастарды – мемлекеттер арасындағы өткір қарама-қайшылықтардың сахнасы деп санаған.

Кез келген мемлекеттің халықаралық іс-әрекеттерінің мақсаты – өзінің құшін нығайтып, күшею немесе басқа мемлекеттерді әлсірету. Бұл тұрғыдан «білік» кең мағыналы термин ретінде қарастырылады, ол мемлекеттің:

- а) әскери және экономикалық қүші;
- ә) тұрақты қауіпсіздігі мен өркендеуінің, даңқ пен беделінің кепілі;
- б) идеологиялық қағидалары мен рухани құндылықтарын тарату мүмкіндігі (Медеубаева, 2006).

Мемлекет өз қолына билікті әскери стратегия және дипломатия (және де осы екі ұғымды

мемлекеттің сыртқы саясатының қосымша қырлары ретінде қарастыруға болады) әдістерін пайдаланып алады.

Әскери стратегия күшпен, зорлықпен жүргізілетін саясаттың жалғасы, ал дипломатия – билікке бейбіт жолмен келетін күрес.

Қазіргі дәуірде, Г. Моргентаудың пікірінше, мемлекеттер билікке деген қажеттілікті «ұлттық мұдде» тұрғысынан білдіреді.

Әр мемлекеттің өзінің ұлттық мұдделерін барынша қанағаттандыруға деген ұмтылысының нәтижесі – ол әлемдік саңнада биліктің белгілі бір тепе-тендігінің құрылуы. Осындаи тепе-тендіктің болуы әлемді қауіпсіздендірудің жалғыз нақты әдісі. Мемлекеттер арасында бейбіт қарым-қатынастардың орнауы – тепе-тендіктің көрінісі (Антанович, Достанко, 2000).

Мемлекеттердің билікке деген ұмтылысын шектей алатын екі фактор бар – халықаралық құқық және мораль. Алайда мемлекеттер арасындағы бейбітшілікті қамтамасыз ету ниетінде тек осы факторларға үлкен сенім білдіруге болмайды. Соғыс пен бейбітшілік мәселесінің ұжымдық қауіпсіздік тетіктері арқылы немесе БҮҮ арқылы шешілуі мүмкін емес. Әлемдік қауымдастық немесе әлемдік мемлекет құру арқылы ұлттық мұдделерді үйлестіру де утопия. Әлемдік ядролық соғысқа жол бермеудің жалғыз жолы – дипломатияны жаңарту.

П. Цыганков Г. Моргентаудың алты ұстанымының қысқа мазмұнын ұсынып отыр:

1. Саясат, жалпы қоғам сияқты, тұп та-мыры мәңгілік және өзгермейтін адамдық сипаттағы объективті заңдармен басқарылады. Сондықтан салыстырмалы түрде болса да, осы заңдылықтарды көрсете алатын ұтымды теорияны құру мүмкіндігі бар.

2. Саяси реализмнің басты көрсеткіші – билік терминдері арқылы көрініс табатын мұдде тұжырымдамасы. Мұдде тұжырымдамасы халықаралық саясатты терең түсінуге бағытталған сана мен танымға бейімді белгілі фактілерді байланыстыратын ұғым. Мұдде тұжырымдамасы саясатты этикалық, эстетикалық, экономикалық немесе діни салалардан ерекше тәуелсіз сала ретінде түсінуге мүмкіндік береді және маңызды екі факторға назар аударады:

а) саясаткердің мұдде туралы ой-пікірін онын тәртібіне байланысты емес оны ынталандырған себептердің негізінде қарастыру керек;

ә) саясаткердің мұддесін «қызметтік міндеттерден» گөрі, оның идеологиялық немесе

моральдық ұстанымдарына байланысты екенін түсіну керек.

Саяси реализм рационалды саясатты қажет етеді. Рационалды саясат дұрыс саясат болып табылады. Өйткені ол тәуекелдерді азайтып, пайданы барынша арттырады. Сонымен қатар, саясаттың рационалдығы қаншалықты дұрыс екендігі оның моралдық және тәжірибелік мақсаттарына байланысты.

3. Билік ұғымының терминдері арқылы қарастырылатын «мұдде» түсінігінің мазмұны тұрақты болмайды. Себебі, бұл жағдайда мұдде мемлекеттің халықаралық саясатын қалыптастыру барысындағы саяси және мәдени контекске байланысты. Бұл «қүш» (power), «саяси тепе-тендік», «мемлекет-ұлт» деген ұғымдарға да қатысты. Қазіргі әлемді қалай өзгерту керек деген мәселені қарастыру барысында саяси реализм басқа теориялыш мектептердің бәрінен ерекше пікірі бар бағыт. Саяси реализм әлемнің алға дамуына апаратын өзгерістерге тек тарихта қолданылған, болашақта қолданыла беретін объективті заңдарды шебер қолдану арқылы ғана қол жеткізуге болатынына сенімді.

4. Саяси реализм саяси әрекеттің моралдық маңыздылығын мойындаиды. Бірақ сонымен бірге ол моралдық императив пен сәтті саяси әрекеттің талаптары арасындағы сөзсіз қайшылықтың бар екенін түсінеді. Негізгі моральдық талаптарды мемлекет қызметіне абстрактілі және жалпыға бірдей норма ретінде қолдануға болмайды. Оларды орын мен уақыттың нақты жағдайларында қарастырған жөн. Халықаралық саясаттағы ең жоғары моральдық қасиет – байсалдылық пен сақтық.

5. Саяси реализм кез келген ұлттың адамгершілік ұмтылыстарын жалпыадамзаттық моралдық нормалармен сәйкестендіруден бас тартады. Әр ұлт өз саясатына байланысты өзінің моральдық заңдарына бағынады, мысалы арабизраиль қақтығысындағы ұлттық мұдделердің қарама-қайшылығында. Оны халықаралық қатынастардагы жақсы мен жаманды айыру мәселелерімен бір қатарға қоюға болмайды.

6. Саяси реализм теориясының негізі адам табиғатының плюралистік тұжырымдамасы. Шынайы адам – бұл «экономикалық адамы», «моралдық адамы», «діни адамы» т.б. Тек «саяси адам» хайуанға ұқсас, себебі оның моралдық тежегіші жок. Тек «моралды (адамгершілігі бар) адам» – ақымақ, өйткені ол адамда сақтық жок. Тек «діндар адам» ғана қасиетті бола алады, өйткені оның пендешілігі аз (Цыганков, 1994).

Г. Моргентаудың жоғарыда көрсетілген алты қағидаларының барлығын саяси реализм бағытын жақтаушылар бірауыздан бөлісे бермейді.

АҚШ ұлттық қорғаныс университетінің профессоры Р.Л. Каглер 2002 жылғы АҚШ ұлттық қауіпсіздік стратегиясын сараптай келе, аса маңызды негізгі бағыттарға көніл аударып айқындайды. Қауіпсіздік саласында басқа да дәстүрлі емес мақсаттарға қол жетпес бұрын АҚШ-тың ұлттық қауіпсіздік стратегиясында «тұлға абыroyы мен ар-намысын құрметтеу мақсатындағы талпыныстарды қорғау» немесе «ашық қоғам мен демократия жолымен дамытуға атсалысу», – деп атап көрсетеді (Каглер, 2019). Осыған қатысты қарама-қарсы сұрақтардың туындауына орай: ұлттық қауіпсіздікті қамтамасыз ету саласында бұл бағыттар шын мәнінде белгілі бір мақсаттарды көздей мә? немесе америкалық жаһандық саясатының идеологиялық тұғырнамасын қолдай отырып «ақтау» мақсатындағы атқарған рөлінің функциясын атқарғандығында ма? Әрине, аталмыш тұжырымдамалар мен ой өрбіту үрдістері шынайы түрдегі АҚШ-тың ұлттық қауіпсіздігіне төнген қауіп-қатерлерімен байланысы жоқ, алайда толық зерттеу арқылы сараптама жасай келе түбінде прагматикалық әдіс жатқанын ескереміз. АҚШ-тың ұлттық қауіпсіздігі үшін шын мәніндегі «ашық қоғамды нығайту» мағынасын түсіну үшін «ашық қоғам» концепциясының авторы К. Поппер және қазіргі кезендері (XX ғасырдың аяғы мен XXI ғасырдың басында) белсенді насихаттаушысы Д. Соростың ғылыми еңбектерінде айқын көреміз. К. Поппер «Ашық қоғам және оның жаулары» атты ғылыми еңбегінде «гректер әлем тарихындағы ең үлкен және ауқымды революцияны бастады, мүмкін әлі де болса сол революциялар өзінің бастапқы деңгейінде бола тұра – жабық қоғамнан ашық қоғамға ету кезеңінде»

(Поппер, 1992) екендігін ашып көрсетеді. Спартаны жабық қоғам ретінде қарастыра отырып автордың пікірінше, Спарта саясатының негізі келесі принциптерге сүйенді: дәстүрге сүйенген тайпалық рулардан қалыптасқан қоғамды қорғау, антигуманизм, автаркия, антиуниверсализм немесе партикуляризм, көршілерге үстемдік жасау, мемлекеттердің өте үлкен және әлеуеті жағынан күшті болып қалыптасуына жол бермеу. Осы ретте К. Поппер, жабық қоғамның аса ірі маңызды қауіп-қатерлері болып – мәдени байланыстар, сауда-саттық және теңізде жүзу сияқты қорытынды тұжырымдамаларға келді. К. Поппердің пайымдауынша, Афинды демократиясы тарих шенберінде қалыптасқан көп жылдар бойы дәл осы қасиеттерімен ерекшеленді (Поппер, 1992, 229). Д. Сорос болса, К. Поппер идеяларының маңыздылығын ашық қоғамның жетілдіруінде, – деп түсінеді, әрі Д. Соростың пікірінше, бұл концепция негұрлым маңыздылығын тапса, соғұрлым өзгерістерге ұшырайтын жағдайларды туғызады. Әлемдік экономикаға байланысты, ол (ашық қоғам) өзгерістерге ұшырататын қуатты қозғалтқыш күші рөлін атқаруға септігін тигізеді, – деп пайымдайды (Сорос, 1998).

Соган қарамастан, Г. Моргентау тұжырымдамасының тұжырымдамалы үйлесімділігі, қоғамның дамуын түсіндіруде объективті заңдарға сүйенуге ұмтылуы, халықаралық шындықты объективті және мұқият талдауы саяси реализмнің беделінің кеңеюіне ықпал етті.

Р. Нибурдың адам баласының болмысының күрделілігі және халықаралық саясаттың бірауыз бола алмайтындығы табиғаттан берілген, өзгермейтін қағидалар деген пікірі Ганс Моргентаудың «Ұлттар арасындағы саясат» еңбегінде бірінші постулат болды. Соған байланысты Р. Нибур мен Г. Моргентауга ортақ идеялар бар екендігі байқалады, олар:

1-кесте – Р. Нибур мен Г. Моргентау пікірлері қағидаларының ортақ идеялары (Победаш, 2007)

Қағида	Рейнгольд Нибур	Ганс Моргентау
Халықаралық қатынастардағы анархияның қайнар көзі – ол ...	бәсекеге түсken ұлттық топтардың арасындағы билікке деген ұмтылыс	бәсекеге түсken мемлекеттер арасындағы билікке деген ұмтылыс
Халықаралық қатынастардағы анархияны жоюға тырысады – олар...	моралистер	саяси идеалистер
әлемде белгілі бір тұрақтылыққа қол жеткізуге мүмкіндік береді мә?	қарама-қайши мүдделер арасында орнатылатын тереңдік	қарама-қайши мүдделер арасында орнатылатын тереңдік
әлемде белгілі бір тұрақтылыққа қол жеткізуге мүмкіндік бере алмайды ма?	моральдық императивтер мен рационалды ойлардың негізінде құқықтарды қанағаттандыру мен келісімге келу	моральдық императивтер мен рационалды ойлардың негізінде құқықтарды қанағаттандыру мен келісімге келу

I-кестенің жалгасы

Қағида	Рейнгольд Нибур	Ганс Моргентай
Адамдар ұжымдық тіршілікте....	адамдардың жеке тұлға ретінде ұстанатын идеалдарына сәйкес ұжымдық тіршілік құра алмайды	мемлекеттік қызметкер аbstаркті моральдық қағидат үшін ұлттық мұддеге нұқсан келтірмеу керек, лл оның жауапкершілігі
Адамның табигатындағы кемелсіздік өзгермейді деген ой туралы...	адамның кемелсіздігін алғашқы күнәмен байланыстырады	Бұл пікірді ешқандай діни ұстанымдармен байланыстырмайды. Саяси реализмнің ғылыми табигаты мен объективтілігін баса көрсетеді

Саяси реализм неге халықаралық қатынастардың өзегі болатын буын деңгейіне көтерілmedі? Цыганковтың пікірінше, оған саяси реализмнің елеулі кемшіліктері кедергі болды:

- саяси реализм халықаралық қатынастарды билік үшін болатын күш-қақтығыстың «табиғи жағдайы» деп түсіндіреді, соңдықтан халықаралық қатынас мемлекетаралық қатынастармен бір қатарға қойылады. Бұл халықаралық қатынас ұғымының мән-мағынасын айтартылғай төмendetеді;

- саяси реалистердің интерпретациясында мемлекеттің ішкі және сыртқы саясаты бір-бірімен байланыссыз және мемлекеттердің өздері сыртқы әсерге рекциялары ұқсас ауыспалы механикалық денелер сияқты қарастырады. Айырмашылықтары сол – кейбір мемлекеттер мұқты, кейбіреулері әлсіз.

Күштің рөлін абсолюттендіру және басқа факторлардың маңыздылығын бағаламау (рухани құндылықтар, әлеуметтік-мәдени болмыс және т.б.) халықаралық қатынастарды едәуір деңгейін төмendetеді:

саяси реализм теориясындағы «күш» және «ұлттық мұдде» деген ұғымдардың мазмұны бұлыңғыр;

саяси реализм қазіргі халықаралық қатынастардың сипатын арттыратын маңызды үрдістер мен өзгерістерді елемей, әлемде елдер мен мемлекеттер өзара әрекеттесу барысында өзгермейтін объективті заңдарға негізделеді;

саяси реалистер бұл өзгерістер халықаралық қатынастарды ғылыми талдау барысында жана әдістер мен құралдарды катар қолдануды қажет ететіндігін ескермей отыр (Цыганков, 1994).

Саяси реализмді жақтамайтын бағыттардың өкілдеріне аталған кемшіліктер объективті сыйнайтынегізі болып отыр.

Жалпы, халықаралық қатынастарды зерттейтін теориялардың өкілдері арасындағы ғылыми пікірталастар қалыптасқан шынайы жағдайды саяси талдау барысында әлеуметтанды

ғылыминың талдауымен толықтыру қажеттілігі туындал отыр.

Алайда, мұндай сараптамалық талдау жасаудың тәсілі өз кезегінде қарсы пікірлер тузыруды. Біріншіден, «ұлт» термині латынның «natio» сөзінен шыққаны белгілі. Қазақ тіліне аударғанда «халық» – деген мағынаны білдіреді. Сол себептен, ұлттық қауіпсіздік туралы айтқанымызда, біз ең алдымен аталған елдердің барлық халқының (ұлттарға, діндерге, национальдеге бөлмей) қауіпсіздігін ескереміз. Екіншіден, «ұлттық мұдде» мен «мемлекеттік мұдде» ұғымдарын тенденстіруге болмайды. Жалпы, олар сәйкес келуі қажет, бірақ олай үнемі болмайды. Қауіпсіздік тұрақтылықпен өзара байланыста әрқашан бірге жүреді. Тұрақтылық деп – деструктивті факторлардың ықпалымен өз қызметтері мен қасиеттерін (немесе оларды тез қалпына келтіру) сақтайтын жүйенің қабілеті түсіндіріледі. Осы ретте Бельгия фалымы, Нобель сыйлығының лауреаты И. Пригожин «тұрақтылық» және «тұрақсыздық» ұғымдарын түсіндіре отырып, тілшік (маятник) образын қолданды (Пригожин, 2012).

Корытынды

Сонымен, қауіпсіздік пен тұрақтылық арасында тікелей тәуелділік пен байланыс бар екендігі белгілі. Жүйе неғұрлым тұрақты болса, соғұрлым оның ішкі және ұлттық қауіпсіздігінің деңгейі жоғары болады. Олай болса, тұрақтылық – жүйе қауіпсіздігінің дәрежесін сипаттайтын көрсеткіштердің бірі болып табылады. Соңдықтан, ұлттық қауіпсіздік көбінесе қогам тұрақтылығына, экономикалық, саяси-әлеуметтік, әскери және басқа да қогамдық қатынастарға тәуелді болады (Мұқан, 2014). Ұлттық қауіпсіздікті қамтамасыз ету қарапайым халықтың қамы емес және тек қауіп-қатерді жоюға ғана бағытталмайды. Соңдай-ақ, қауіпсіздік – бұл қогамның аман қалуы ғана

емес, мемлекеттің, бірыңғай экономикалық және қорғаныс кеңістігінің егемендігі мен тұтастырын сақтау үрдісі, сонымен бірге қогамның тұрақты түрдегі жұмыс істеп қызмет атқаруы мен дамуы үшін жағдай жасау болып табылады.

Осы ретте қазақстандық саясаттанушы Е.Т. Карин «Қазақстан Республикасы ұлттық қауіпсіздігінің ішкі саяси аспектілері» атты ғылыми еңбегінде, Қазақстан Республикасындағы ұлттық қауіпсіздік концепциясы, ең алдымен мемлекеттің ұлттық қауіпсіздігінің мән-мазмұнынайқындауға алып баратын жолдыңбасы – республиканың ұлттық мұддесіне деген ресми көзқарастар жүйесі ретінде қаралады. Сондай-ақ, ол елдің ішкі және сыртқы әлеуетін айқынданап отырады. Осыдан келіп, Қазақстанның ұлттық мұддесі деп қанағаттандырылуы мен қорғалуы елдің өмір сүруі ғана емес, ілгері даму үшін де қажетті шарт болып табылатын қазақстандық әлеуметтік мәдени қауым мүшелерінің баршасына ортақ қажеттіліктер мен мұдделер жиынтығын түсінген жөн. Бұл қажеттіліктер республиканың әлеуметтік-экономикалық, ресурстық және саяси құрылыш ерекшеліктерінен, оның экономикалық даму деңгейінен, халықаралық және аймақтық еңбек бөлінісіндегі тарихи қалыптасқан орнынан, географиялық орналасуының, ұлттық және мәдени дәстүрлерінің ерекшелігінен, яғни геосаяси жағдайлар әр алуандығын құрайтын факторлардың болмыстық табигатынан туындаиды, (Карин, 1999) – деп атап көрсетеді.

Қазақстанның өзіндік ұлттық мұддесінің, ұлттық құндылықтары мен өмір салтының бекемделу үрдісіне, сондай-ақ анық пен ықтимал сыртқы және ішкі қауіп-қатерлерді анықтау ісіне ішкі саяси факторлар едәуір дәрежеде

әсер етті. Мемлекеттің ұлттық қауіпсіздігінің негізгі параметрлерін қараған жерде ішкі саяси факторларға екпін түсіру әсте де кездейсок емес, өйткені Қазақстанның өз ұлттық мұддесін қорғап қалу мүмкіндігі түтеп келгенде тәуелді болып отырған елдің әлеуетін дәл солай белгілейді. Ұлттық мұдделерді өндөуде және олардың негізіндегі сыртқы саяси шешімдерді қабылдауда мемлекет басшылары объективті экономикалық, саяси, идеологиялық, географиялық, мәдени және өзге де факторларды, ішкі саяси мұдделерді, әр аluan әлеуметтік құштердің саяси айлакерлігін және т.б. ескеру қажет. Сондай-ақ, халықаралық қатынастар саласында осы шешімдерге мүмкін болатын көртартпалықтар ескеріледі.

Жоғарыда айтылғандай, ресейлік пен батыс және қазақстандық авторлары ұлттық және қоғамдық мұдделерді бірінші халықаралық ортамен, екіншілері – мемлекеттегі ішкі жағдайлар (саяси, экономикалық, әлеуметтік және т.б. салалар) ерекшеліктерімен байланыстыра отырып бөледі. Сондықтан, халықаралық қатынастардың батыс теориясындағы ұстанымдар «ұлттық мұдделердің сыртқы саяси қырлары» сияқты тұжырымдамалар қайталамалық (тавтологиялық) болып келе, сонымен қатар сұрақтың мәнін жасыруға қабілетті болып келеді. Шынымен де, көрсетілген ұғымдарды тенденстіру жағдайында «ұлттық мұдденің» не редукцияланатындығына (және сәйкесінше, сыртқы саясат – ішкіге), не мемлекет құрылымының сыртқы саяси мақсаттары мен этникалық топтардың қажеттіліктерін, сонымен бірге тұлға мұддесін қарама-қарсы ретінде бағалауға мүмкіндік бере отырып мемлекеттікten ажырауына әкелуі мүмкін.

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DIGITAL DIPLOMACY IN THE CONTEXT OF SOFT POWER (example of France and China)

The emergence in society of such new phenomena as the Internet and social media, having influenced the traditional structure of the diplomatic sphere, which has formed over years, served as the basis for the emergence of a new form of diplomatic service and the use of this form in the diplomatic service. In order to implement its internal and external political activities due to the use of the Internet and social media, the state, in the scientific society, especially in the field of international relations, has formed the "digital diplomacy" concept. The digital diplomacy concept, flowing into the "soft power" concept, contributed to the creation of a country image on the international stage. The article analyzes the activities of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is actively developing its image using digital technologies. The flaws in the use of digital technologies in the field of diplomacy in the Republic of Kazakhstan are considered.

In the course of examining the topic, the authors used methods of analysis, collection and retrieval of facts and information, considered by them within the framework of the topic. The control method was also applied to analyze information in periodicals, assess the opinions of authors and systematize the latest points of view formed in headlines.

Key words: digital diplomacy, soft power, Internet, social media, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China, French State, Republic of Kazakhstan.

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Сандық дипломатия жұмсақ күш мәннөтінде (Франция және Қытай мемлекеттерінің мысалында)

Қоғамда ғаламтор мен әлеуметтік желі секілді жаңа құбылыстың пайда болуы, жылдар бойы қалыптасқан дипломатия саласының дәстүрлі қызмет құрылышына әсер етіп, дипломатиялық қызметтің жаңа үлгісінің пайда болуына және осы үлгіні дипломатиялық қызметте қолдануға негіз тудырды. Мемлекет өзінің ішкі және сыртқы саяси қызметін іске асыру мақсатында, ғаламтор мен әлеуметтік желілерді пайдалану салдарының негізінде, ғылыми ортада, әсіресе халықаралық қатынастар саласында «цифрлық дипломатия» (digital diplomacy) үғымы қалыптасты. Цифрлық дипломатия үғымы «жұмсақ күш» концепциясына үласып, мемлекеттің халықаралық аренада имиджін қалыптастыруға мүмкіндік түғызды. Мақалада цифрлық технологияларды қолдану негізінде, өзінің имиджін қарқынды дамытып жатқан Франция мемлекетінің сыртқы істер министрлігінің қызметіне талдау жүргізіледі. Қазақстан Республикасының дипломатия саласында цифрлық технологияны қолдану аясындағы кемшіліктер қарастырылады.

Тақырыпты зерттеу барысында авторлар тақырып аясында қарастырған деректер мен акпараттарға талдау, жинақтау және сұрыптау әдістерін қолданады. Сонымен қатар, мерзімді басылымдардағы акпараттарды талдауға, авторлардың көзқарастарын бағалауға, баспасөз беттерінде соңғы қалыптасқан пікірлерді жүйелеуге бақылау әдісі қолданылды.

Түйін сөздер: цифрлық дипломатия, жұмсақ күш, ғаламтор, әлеуметтік желі, сыртқы істер министрлігі, Франция мемлекеті, Қазақстан Республикасы.

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Цифровая дипломатия в контексте мягкой силы (на примере Франции и Китая)

Появление в обществе таких новых явлений, как Интернет и социальные сети, повлиявших на сложившуюся на протяжении многих лет традиционную структуру дипломатической сферы, послужило основой для появления новой формы дипломатической службы и ее использования в дипломатической службе. Для осуществления своей внутренней и внешней политической деятельности за счет использования Интернета и социальных сетей государств, особенно в области международных отношений, сформировало в научном кругу концепцию «цифровой дипломатии». Концепция «цифровая дипломатия», перетекающая в концепцию «мягкой силы», способствует созданию имиджа страны на международной арене. В статье анализируется деятельность Министерства иностранных дел Франции, которое активно развивает свой имидж с помощью цифровых технологий. Рассмотрены недостатки использования цифровых технологий в сфере дипломатии в Республике Казахстан.

В ходе исследования темы авторы использовали методы анализа, сбора и поиска фактов и информации, рассмотренные ими в рамках темы. Метод контроля применялся также для анализа информации в периодических изданиях, оценки мнений авторов и систематизации последних точек зрения, сформированных в заголовках.

Ключевые слова: цифровая дипломатия, мягкая сила, Интернет, социальные сети, Министерство иностранных дел, Французское государство, Республика Казахстан.

Introduction

Due to the increase in the growth of the Internet and the emergence of social media on mobile phones, the Internet space has become easily accessible to people. The advent of the Internet, the increasing daily use of mobile phones, the installation of mobile applications on mobile devices has opened the way for digitalization of all spheres of society on a global scale. The emergence in society of such new phenomena as the Internet and social media, having influenced the traditional structure of the diplomatic sphere, which has formed over the years, served as the basis for the emergence of a new form of diplomatic service and the use of this form in the diplomatic service. An evidence of this is personalized pages of high-ranking civil servants, diplomats, even heads of states in social and video hosting media, such as Instagram, Twitter, Facebook, Telegram, and YouTube. Moreover, the main evidence is the launch of web-sites on the Internet of embassies of each state directly related to the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of each nation. The state, in order to implement its internal and external political activities on the basis of the use of the Internet and social media, in the scientific environment, and especially in the field of international relations, the state has introduced the “digital diplomacy” concept. Along with this term, conceptual foundations and concepts such as “Internet

diplomacy”, “eDiplomacy”, “Twitter Diplomacy”, “Public Diplomacy Web 2.0”, and “Network Diplomacy” began to develop.

The term of “digital diplomacy”, which is responsible for the development of information and communication technologies in the United States, first appeared during the use of network tools – social media, video hosting sites, blogs and similar media platforms – by the US Department of State in connection with foreign policy. If we rely on the research of the Russian researcher M.P. Teleng, this concept dates back to 2002-2003, from the administrative staff of George W. Bush. The George W. Bush administration began to transfer the source of international mass media, that is, TV programs, radio and newspapers and magazines, to the Internet space. In 2006, Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice formed the Digital Engagement Group, consisting of specialists who monitor information and misinformation about the United States broadcast by social media users. During the presidency of Barack Obama, this project was continued by Secretary of State Hillary Clinton (Telen`ga M.P., 2015). The goal of the project is to form a positive image of the United States. Its purpose is to establish relationships with the internal audience, and to influence the external audience in terms of its thinking using social media. Social media and the Internet were the instrument of the project. In accordance with the trend of present-day developments, the United

States recognize social media and the Internet as a new “weapon” of diplomacy and introduced the concept of “digital diplomacy” into the diplomatic sphere.

A group of researchers studying the “digital diplomacy” concept comes to the conclusion that it is a synonym for the “soft power” concept, introduced thirty years ago by the American political scientist and Professor J.S. Nye. J.S. Nye himself can be considered to be one of the supporters of this working – the “soft power” concept mechanism is the formation of a positive image of the country due to its national values, culture, and traditions of the country. Due to the rapid development of the Internet and information and communication technologies, digital technologies, while turning into an instrument of the “soft power” theory acquire an equal importance (Joseph S. Nye., 2004). In support of the above conclusion, the French state will be considered among Western European countries, which uses digital technologies for these purposes, in particular, within the framework of the “soft power”, and occupies top ranking spots on the use of digital technologies in diplomacy.

State of Knowledge of the Theme

Regardless of the fact that “digital diplomacy” is a highly topical issue in science and is widely studied, there is no clear definition for it yet. Due to the lack of a clear definition of the concept, researchers have different understanding, investigate and give different formulations of the issue, starting from cybersecurity to social media – Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and YouTube video hosting. However, a British researcher, professor at the University of Oxford, author of “Public Diplomacy in the Digital Age”, “Digital propaganda, counterpublics and the disruption of the public sphere: the Finnish approach to building digital resilience”, “Adapting Diplomacy to the Digital Age: Managing the Organizational Culture of Ministries of Foreign Affairs”, and other textbooks, monographs and articles, Cornelius Bililon considers the “digital diplomacy” theory in the context of the “soft power” concept. In his article “Digital Diplomacy in the time of the coronavirus pandemic” the researcher expresses the opinion that the pandemic has forced the entire world to switch online. All spheres began to use digital technologies in their work. One of them is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of each country. They started using social media, such as Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp mobile application to help their citizens who were staying in a foreign country. Taking advantage of

this opportunity, governments began to build their image from scratch. One of such states was China. Initially, countries that did not believe that the Chinese people will cope quickly with such a challenging situation, saw how they overcame all the difficulties over a comparatively short time, and also that China was in the forefront in bringing relief to other countries, providing medical care, which certainly became instrumental in China’s image being perceived in a new light on the global stage. Favourable perception of China by other countries was by merit of digital technologies, as China utilized social media and website platforms as a new form of the concept of “digital diplomacy” and “soft power”, with the aim of enhancing its authority (Bjola C, 2020). In addition, the work of O.E. Voronova and A.S. Trushin “Modern information wars” has made a significant contribution to the consideration of the theory of “digital diplomacy” in the context of “soft power” (Voronova O.E., Trushin A.S., 2021). On the official website, implemented jointly with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of France, the works on “French Diplomacy” are being discussed from theoretical and practical standpoints relating to our subject.

Clarification, Goals and Objectives

Currently, in scientific research, modern society is taking on the value of a “communication society”. The reason for this is the global development of information and communication technologies and the universal coverage of realms of society. In particular, its presence in the political system has opened the way for changing the principles of service of the political system, and establishing virtual relationship between the state and citizens using social media. A virtual relationship is the establishment of communication with an individual and a group of people over a distance using a computer or telecommunication networks. While at first people interacted through direct communication and telecommunication channels (television, radio, newspapers, magazines and books), today virtual communication is established over a distance through social media. Virtual communication is established not only between citizens, but also between the government and a citizen, and even makes it possible to establish relationships with citizens from other countries. Citizens not only establish relations with the authorities, but also get the opportunity to openly express their opinions, thoughts, and complaints about the events taking place in the world arena. In addition, the use of digital technologies has given rise to an

increase in the authority of the state on the international stage. Ilan Manor, a researcher at the University of Oxford, offers the notion that the use of the Internet and social media contributes to the development of a country's branding and image, and active use of social media by countries that are isolated in the international arena, can form a positive image at the global stage (Manor I, 2015). While the Nigerian researcher Olubukola Adesina advocates that digital diplomacy is one of the parts of public diplomacy and an instrument of soft power politics (Olubukola S. Adesina, 2017), the Russian researcher, Arkady Ryabichenko, clings to the notion that digital diplomacy as an element of public diplomacy is an important part of the "soft power" strategy of world powers (Ryabichenko A, 2018).

The purpose of the article is to analyze the above judgments, to study the measures taken by the French state and China in the development of their national image in the international arena, using information and communication technologies and to present its courses to the Republic of Kazakhstan.

To achieve this, the following tasks have been set:

Analysis of the activities of France and China's use of digital technologies in the development of their national brand;

Analysis of the use of the possibilities of some aspects of the French and China experience in the application of digital technologies in foreign policy;

Theoretical and Methodological Background

As noted above, the notion of "digital diplomacy" is being formed as a new concept in the scientific community, especially in the field of international relations. However, despite it being formed as a new concept, non-material research is being carried out within the framework of international relations.

The theoretical background includes the concept of "soft power", information technology theory, the concept of cybersecurity, and digital transformation.

While as a theoretical and methodological background for the study of international relations, the systemic method, the historical and analytical method aimed at studying the external political and economic relations of states were used, then for various facts and information regarding the topic of the research from a critical point of view, it was necessary to use f analysis, collection and retrieval methods. These methods contributed to the systematic application of the accumulated information, increasing the level of reliability through the reciprocal comparison of information. To analyze information

in periodicals, assess the opinions of authors, and systematize the latest points of view formed in the press, a control method was used.

Results and discussion

France's use of digital diplomacy in the context of "soft power".

In 1995, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs was one of the first government agencies to launch a website on the Internet (<https://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/en/> is a link to the official website of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs). And in the spring of 2009, it was the first ministry to create a Twitter page (<https://twitter.com/francediplo> – link to the Twitter page of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs).

Based on the use of digital technologies by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs on official websites on the Internet and social media, its main goal is to develop the "national branding" of France. To achieve the goal, with the support of the government, projects were created; digital platforms were established in certain fields, such as language, culture, cinema, education, etc. For the development of the French language abroad, the French authorities, who saw the use of English-language platforms as expedient, together with the French Institute and the Orange Company launched the *Afripedia* project proposed by Wikipedia <https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Projet:Afrip%C3%A9dia>). With the aim of bringing together French-speaking foreign and domestic bloggers, the French authorities have implemented the *Mondoblog* platform (<https://mondoblog.org>), which is part of the partners of the French Institute (IF) and Radio France International (RFI). In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with a focus on expanding online French language teaching, has launched projects and special platforms in this regard. These platforms include the following:

1. "100,000 Teachers for Africa" - a project for French language teachers;

"Parlons français c'est facile" – a project for specialists and students of secondary and higher educational institutions (<https://parlons-francais.tv5monde.com/webdocumentaires-pour-apprendre-francais/p-1-lg0-Accueil.htm>);

Also digital tools for communication and sharing experiences among French language teachers (Intraknow, Vizamonde, Sallesdesprofs);

Digital destination site for Higher Education – a digital platform created jointly with the French Ministry of Higher Education and Research (MHER)

and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) (<http://www.sup-numerique.gouv.fr/>);

Together with the Agency for French education Abroad, – an ONISEP online student learning system (<http://www.aefe.fr/agency-french-education-abroad-0>) (France Diplomacy, 2021).

Using the example of France, we became convinced of the usefulness and effectiveness of the “soft power” application in pursuing the country’s economic, cultural and political interests, using digital technologies.

China’s use of digital diplomacy in the context of soft power.

If the increase in the economic and military power of China on the world arena, on the one hand, pleases the leaders of states, on the other hand, there is concern about China’s image on the world stage. Understanding the formation of China’s negative image on the world stage, President Hu Jintao of the People’s Republic of China said at the 17th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 2007, “Strengthening the soft power strategy in the cultural sphere is a prerequisite for the development of science and the achievement of social harmony. And this is necessary to meet the requirements of spiritual culture with a national development strategy” (Xinhua, 2007) and thus, by order of Hu Qintao, with state support, he is implementing a development project within the soft power strategy of the People’s Republic of China. The implementation of the policy is primarily entrusted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which is responsible for China’s foreign diplomatic representatives. The Ministry of Information and Communication, which until then functioned as a separate department, became part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The international media, the Xinhua newspaper, magazines, and TV programs, having become part of the ministry, were under the direct control of the state. In addition, it included the Ministry of Culture, which is responsible for promoting Chinese culture abroad, and the Ministry of Education, which controls the Confucius Institute, which teaches Chinese as a foreign language abroad.

In the next turn, the above ministries are planned to be transferred from paper format to a special Internet space. On this basis, the state launched an information center (resource) «www.china.cn» based on the Chinese Internet space, which provides information about China. This resource covers everything from Chinese language learning, sports, investment opportunities and political statements and other topics. The China.org.cn platform was also launched as an online and offline monologue, based on the PRC’s

information strategy. These websites and platforms were only aimed at foreign citizens inside the country and citizens of the Celestial Empire. In 2009, an independent separate special website CNTV (www.cntv.cn) in an online format was founded from the CCTV television agency in the Internet space. The website is intended for multilingual domains and is aimed at an audience of foreign nationals. However, this platform does not reflect what specific perception foreigners have about China. The reason for this is the lack of feedback from the foreign audience on the site. The solution to this was found in 2015 in the publication on global social media, such as YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook, of the video of the official event on the announcement by representatives of the Chinese Communist Party of an address to the people about the thirteenth five-year plan. The Xinhua Press Agency partnered with a Shanghai-based video company to produce an animation video. The video with a link to English and Chinese was posted on the social media – YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, and Facebook. From that moment, a feedback was established with the foreign audience and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs learned what they think about China abroad. Now representatives of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs have begun to open their official pages on the social media YouTube, Instagram, Twitter, Facebook and video hostings. These global social media provide information about the politics, economy and other spheres of China, and the reputation of the People’s Republic of China is being discussed among foreign diplomats, politicians and citizens. China, evaluating its external image, working on its weaknesses and advantages, and gains its authority in the international arena (Madrid-Morales Dani, 2017). The proof of the above opinion, is the rapid recovery of China from the pandemic, as well as the provision of economic and humanitarian aid to other countries, publication in the social media of the activities being carried out in world has strengthened the power and authority of the Celestial Empire in the international arena.

Use of the digital diplomacy method by the Republic of Kazakhstan in the “soft power” context.

And now let’s turn our attention to the method and level of application of digital technologies in the “soft power” strategy by the Republic of Kazakhstan in the information and communication era. According to the official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Ministry is registered on social media of Instagram, Facebook, YouTube, Telegram, and Twitter. Evidence of this is the picture below.

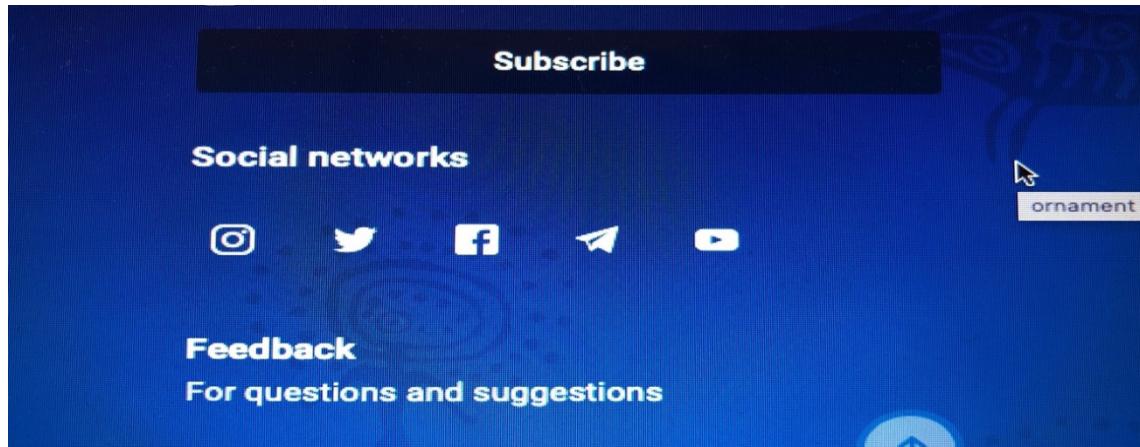


Figure 1 – Official website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan (2021)

If we look at the topics of publications in the above social media, we can see that they only provide information about meetings of the Republic of Kazakhstan with other countries, awarding ambassadors of other states, providing services to citizens, such as granting visas, obtaining citizenship, etc. However, there is no information or special websites, representing the national brand on the world stage. This can be seen in the official pages of the ministry's social media:

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/mfa_kz/?hl=ru

Twitter: https://twitter.com/mfa_kz

Telegram: https://web.telegram.org/#/im?p=u777000_16076648894081719569

YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gDM8LiCr7Q0>

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/KazakhstanMFA/posts/383563735112868/>

And now let us consider in the form of a diagram the percentage of the number of registered domestic and foreign citizens subscribed to the page maintained by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

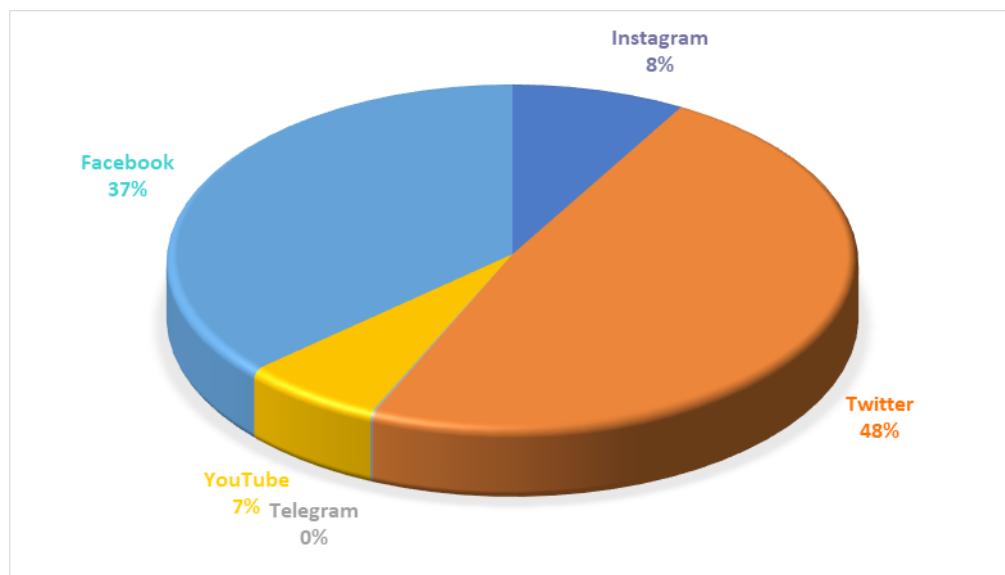


Diagram constructed by the author (2021).

This diagram shows the percentage of registered subscribers in social media where, according to the frequency of use by citizens Facebook ranks first, Twitter and Instagram second, YouTube third, and Telegram, with 86 subscribers, comes fourth.

If we describe the content of the publications of the official social media of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the system and focus areas in social media, only two areas can be distinguished:

1. Mass outreach activities, i.e. dissemination of information about the activities held by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

2. Provision of services to citizens. Implementation of activities for granting visas, obtaining citizenship by compatriots and foreigners, investigation of incoming complaints and claims, and other services.

There are no publications and news regarding the events held within the framework of the “national brand”, at all. Having studied the work carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan on social media, we have noticed a sufficient field for the work of the Ministry on the topic of the “national brand”.

Janibek Bektemisov, a domestic researcher, while examining the place of social media in the diplomatic service, came to the following conclusion: “Foreign diplomats should be active in any social media and they should be creative. Information should not only be published, but it must be interesting, meaningful and attractive to the audience. When publishing information, one could engage domestic masters of sports or performers as an advertising “brand”. Applying such methods in the field of diplomacy, we can represent the image of our country and attract foreign investment in our country” (Bektemisov J, 2020).

Conclusion

Having examined the activities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan in social media within the framework of the “national brand”, we have come to the following conclusion: the social media only function within the framework of receiving and distributing information and providing services to citizens. The social media does not meet the requirements of our time, i.e. the time of “virtual” or “information and communication technologies”. Our diplomats have not yet fully explored and considered the possibilities offered by social media; the reason being is expertise scarcity.

Using social media in accordance with the trends of present-day realities, taking national existence, national values, traditions, customs and our vast expanses as a basis, we have a great opportunity to represent Kazakhstan in the global arena. To achieve the goal, it is necessary to perform the following work – to train specialists; to launch a website for foreign citizens who speak Kazakh; to start a platform for online free Kazakh classes for foreign citizens; acquaintance through social media live broadcasts with health resorts, and beautiful places within the framework of domestic tourism; acquaintance through live broadcasts with national holidays and holidays held at the embassy during their celebration, and more.

Taking as an example the events held by the French and China governments within the framework of the national brand, the use of social media as a tool allows us to open the way for digitalization of the socio-political sphere of the Republic of Kazakhstan and for the development of the country’s image.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSES OF JUDICIAL ELEMENT WITH A NORMS OF WELFARE STATE. CONCEPCION

The prevailing premise, and at the same time, the basis for the creation of a state with its inherent rights, shows and, above all, indicates the existence of a civil society. The creation of such a society in our country is and remains the basic idea and goal of transformation and the introduction of modernized reforms in Kazakhstan. In order to consider and try to reveal the concepts of the relationship between the legal state and the civil society, there is an acute and extreme need for a preliminary analysis and definition of the proposed concepts. That is, it is necessary to define these concepts.

In the Kazakh legal science and literature. It is often defined that a legal entity, namely a state – is a state in which the rule of law is practically determined, a state in which power is based on law, is limited by it and is implemented through it.

Our attention is drawn to all the distinctive and at the same time significant factors that characterize exactly and only the state with the preservation of all norms and rights. In the current situation, the Kazakh society, namely the state with the preservation of all rights, passes the stage of the most active and at the same time steadily and actively developing establishment. The basis for its comprehensive growth was precisely the fact that the society is based and focused on the rule of law and the law, on the preservation and revival of the basic values of people and citizens of the world.

Key words: Social state, Constitution, welfare of the population, civil society, Macroeconomics, citizens' rights, democracy, social norms, social protection.

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Сот элементін Әлеуметтік мемлекет нормаларымен талдау. Концепция

Бұл мақалада әлеуметтік мемлекетте нормалардың негіздерін дамытатын сот элементтерінің құқықтық аспектілері талданады. Үстем алғышарт және сонымен бірге өзіне тән құқықтары бар мемлекет құрудың негізі, ен алдымен, азаматтық қоғамның бар екенін көрсетеді. Біздін елімізде осындай қоғам құру Қазақстанда жаңғырылған реформалардың қайта құру мен енгізуіндің негізгі идеясы және мақсаты болып табылады және болып қала береді. Құқықтық мемлекет пен азаматтық қоғамның өзара байланысы туралы түсініктердің қарастыру және ашуға тырысу үшін үсінілген үғымдарды алдын ала талдау мен анықтауда өткір және төтенше қажеттілік туындаиды. Яғни, бұл үғымдарды анықтау қажет.

Қазақ заң ғылыми мен әдебиетінде көбінесе заңды тұлға, атап айтқанда, мемлекет – бұл заңының үстемдігі іс жүзінде анықталатын мемлекет, билік заңға негізделген мемлекет онымен шектеліп, ол арқылы жүзеге асырылатындығы анықталады.

Біздін назарымыз барлық нормалар мен құқықтардың сақтай отырып, мемлекетті ғана сипаттайтын барлық ерекше және сонымен бірге маңызды факторларға аударылады. Қалыптасқан жағдайда қазақстандық қоғам, атап айтқанда, мемлекет барлық құқықтарын сақтай отырып, барынша белсенді, сонымен қатар тұрақты дамып келе жатқан қалыптасу кезеңінен өтеді. Оның жан-жақты өсүінің негізі қоғамның заң мен заңдылықтың үстемдігіне, әлемнің адамдары мен азаматтарының негізгі құндылықтарын сақтауға және жаңғыртуға негізделіп, бағдарланғаны болды.

Түйін сөздер: әлеуметтік мемлекет, Конституция, халықтың әл-ауқаты, азаматтық қоғам, макроэкономика, азаматтардың құқықтары, демократия, әлеуметтік нормалар, әлеуметтік қорғау.

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Сравнительный анализ судебного элемента с нормами Социального государства. Концепция

В данной статье рассматривается развитие основы норм в социальном государстве. Господствующая предпосылка и в то же время основа создания государства с присущими ему правами свидетельствует и, прежде всего, указывает на существование гражданского общества. Создание такого общества в нашей стране является и остается основной идеей и целью преобразований и внедрения модернизированных реформ в Казахстане. Для раскрытия понятия взаимосвязи правового государства и гражданского общества, необходим предварительный анализ и определение предлагаемых понятий. То есть проанализировать определения этих понятий с различных точек зрения на основе современных источников.

В казахской юридической науке и литературе часто определяется, что юридическое лицо, а именно государство – это государство, в котором практически определяется верховенство права, государство, в котором власть основана на праве, ограничена им и осуществляется через него.

Наше внимание обращается на все отличительные и в то же время существенные факторы, характеризующие именно и только государство с сохранением всех норм и прав. В сложившейся ситуации казахстанское общество, а именно государство с сохранением всех прав, проходит этап наиболее активного и в то же время стабильно и активно развивающегося становления. Основой его всестороннего роста стало именно то, что общество базируется и ориентировано на верховенство закона и законности, на сохранение и возрождение основных ценностей людей и граждан мира.

Ключевые слова: социальное государство, Конституция, благосостояние населения, гражданское общество, макроэкономика, права граждан, демократия, социальные нормы, социальная защита.

Introduction

Not to mention the frequent application and use of the original concept and definition as “civil society” in scientific publications, in various kinds of literature, and also in the mass media and media, it does not appear in the methodology of science. According to representatives of the legal and law-making industry, a civil society or a civil society is a free and democratic society that supports the principles of democracy, a legal society that is oriented or directed at the individual person or individual citizen, provides freedom of creative (entrepreneurial) work, and creates the possibility of realizing human and civil rights (Kerimov, 2012: 7). In other sources or relevant literature, it is characterized as “... civil society or a civil society is a sphere or area of personal socio-economic, spiritual, cultural, moral, religious relations based on the principles of justice, humanism, equality, so to speak, of all citizens, without exception, before the law and contributing to the development of their initiative and enterprise (State and Law, 2002: 12).

In fact or in essence, “... a civil society or a society of the civil type is, so to speak, a democratic, self-developing society, in which the so-called

person, citizen, or individual occupies a central place. Apparently, only in a civilized, developed and democratic state or legal entity can a full-fledged, so to speak, civil society be formed. This is certainly facilitated by democratic institutions of power, namely elections, referendums and, so to speak, political and ideological pluralism. It should also be noted that the relations existing in this case and the existing ambiguities that have arisen between the state or a legal entity and a civil society are as complex as their content and structure. They must necessarily, so to speak, be found, first of all, in order, so to speak, to understand and realize the solidarity between a state or a legal entity and a civil society; secondly, it is their differences and differences, including their characteristics and characteristic features; thirdly, to determine its relations, so to speak. So what is its unity? first, it explains that the establishment of the rule of law and civil society has a common goal; the creation of social institutions that promote human prosperity and development and protect their legitimate rights and interests. The aspect of interrelation, interaction and correlation of research is reflected in the so-called organization and research work of the most important social, financial and social associations in

accordance with the Basic Law of the state, namely the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the applicable laws regulating or governing the equality and unity of laws. In the national legislative literature, great and global significance and meaning is attached to the fact that the fundamental character and basic basis of a civil society is the legal or legal equality of people, since they have so-called rights and freedoms.

Relevance of the study

Special attention was also paid to "the degree of realization and exercise of personal human rights and citizenship as an indicator of the maturity of a civil society", and the independence of individuals and organizations in the creation of a so-called civil society, contributed, so to speak, to the creation of mechanisms for so-called self-regulation and self-realization in the field of non-governmental relations. The obvious fact of this society or community is that the people of this country have the opportunity and the real opportunity to exercise the freedom of political choice of their citizens.

Thus, the right of citizens to unite, enshrined in Article 23 of the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, in fact, is the right to free and independent choice by citizens of any forms of non-state activity that do not go against the requirements of the law. These associations are an immutable component that indicates that this is civil society. In this case, we will highlight the fact that civil society can be provided that the financial component is built on the basis of legal norms, which in turn are formed and provided by the state.

Each of the subjects of economic relations should have protection and guarantees from the onslaught of the state and be protected from the dictates of the supplier. It is in this that a kind of unity and connection between a civil society and a state or legal entity that implements the legal regulation of public relations is manifested. Of course, the state provides guarantees and provides appropriate circumstances for the freedom of a person and his self-expression, his initiative, entrepreneurship, etc., which shows the creation of new socio-economic and political realities in modern Kazakhstan.

Theoretical-methodological bases of the article

The interaction of civil society and the rule of law is also evident in the fact that they are created at the same time. A society of civil content, multi-

faceted and not unambiguous. The number of people corresponds to the number of interests in the community. The rule of law is inseparable and reflects, so to speak, the fundamental foundations of society. The moment when the common interests of the country or citizens arise does not matter. Without the rule of law, society can be divided, and public organizations can be divided. A social structure without the rule of law is an element of civil society that can use its energy to resolve relationships, endless disputes and conflicts. At the same time, such fragmentation can have fatal consequences. This unification is possible only with full democracy. The content of such a regime includes a civilized method, the method of exercising state power and the freedom that it, so to speak, provides to citizens, active participation in politics, the economy, social culture and other social spheres. In addition to these similarities, even authoritarian and undemocratic countries are complex organizations based on hierarchy and subordination to State institutions. Public relations, which determine the structure and algorithm of a country, are always connected. Subordination and vertical relations are inherent in public – power relations, they also determine the structure and algorithm of the state's actions. Given this, the State of law is a public institution that "serves" civil society. In this sense, we can say from the point of view of distinction that the state is a form of civil society. In addition, we note that the state with rules of law and civil society have so-called non-random structures, and, consequently, specific functions. The distinct differences between the public entities under consideration are shown in the following: a civil society is a kind of so-called system of fairly independent and independent states. Social institutions and relations that, so to speak, contribute to the so-called realization of the interests of individuals and collectives. These interests and their kind of needs are determined by all sorts of institutions, industries, and civil-type societies.

Discussion

Such as, the family, the church, the training system, science, professional associations, organizations that carry out their work on the basis of a specific autonomous government, sales (after the territorial product, a simple percentage). There are "bottom-up" alliances that do not operate in the leadership of the highest authorities, such as political parties that coordinate and control their activities on the basis of charters and program documents, with any

with other institutions, civil-type societies. In all cases, they are structures based on unity of interests and operating in a horizontal relationship. "The totality, so to speak, of the relations that bind civil society together is, in our opinion, a complex system of horizontal, single-level ties, in which there is practically no place for the order of subordination. At the same time, it is also the sphere of realization by people of their particular (individual, group) interests" (Popov, 2001: 24). We also tend to pay attention to other factors of all kinds of differences, within the state or legal entity and civil society. Let us remember that the relations between citizens and people, their associations and their unions are based on the principles of equality, freedom and coordination. Their contacts and relationships are based mainly on agreements and contracts officials and authorities are linked by a relationship of subordination; they are directly subordinate to a higher authority (body, institution).

According to the current legislation, citizens, people are allowed everything that is not prohibited by law. Officials, so to speak, are allowed only what is predetermined by their competence or prescribed by an order. Citizens can be brought to legal or legal responsibility, only for, so to speak, an offense, that is, a guilty illegal act. Officials are responsible not only for offenses, but also for official omissions caused not so much by fault as by insufficient qualifications (Leist, 1999: 231).

Interdependence, the interaction of a state or a legal entity and at the same time a civil society. The formation of a state with the presence of legal norms and a civil society does not mean a merger or mutual absorption. Accordingly, it is necessary to see certain lines of interaction of the phenomena we are considering. In this connection, the following judgment is of interest: a state that does not rely on civil society and is not restrained by it is just as dangerous as a civil society that is not regulated by the state, is not united by it into a new generally significant integrity. It means, in particular, that "an undeveloped civil society leads to an excessive strengthening of the state, which absorbs the former" (Masyukevich, 2002: 22). This conclusion and the material discussed above indicate that the state and civil society interact with each other, form a certain unity. The interdependence and interaction of civil society with the state can also be considered in relation to more specific organizational and legal forms. From the point of view of the state's potential, this is:

1. state-legal regulation of the functioning of civil society entities that have established their constitutional and legal status;

2. providing the subjects of civil society-participants in political life with a legal opportunity to realize their interests in various parts of the political system, in a society with the presence of the organization and activities of state authorities;

3. the establishment of legal prohibitions on the total and petty interference of all authorized bodies exercising authority and their officials, without exception, in the personal life and in the private life of each and every person and citizen;

4. legislative consolidation of the state's obligation to ensure economic, financial, political and public security and the protection of human rights and freedoms, which together constitute the content of the constitutional status of the individual (Shchekochikhin, 1998: 91).

On the one hand, a civil society, in many respects and in most cases, determines the functioning of a democratic, people-dominated state and its institutions. For example, State legislative activity is closely linked to the structural elements of civil society, such as political parties, socio-political movements and civil organizations.

We see that civil society and its elements contribute not only to a form of dictatorial rule, but also to an exclusively democratic political regime. This is clear because a democratic regime encourages local autonomy, improves forms of direct and representative democracy, and creates conditions for the intervention of political parties representing different views of social groups. In a democratic regime, thus, the best conditions are created, so to speak, in order to create, build a civil society and interact with the state. In this context,

If a result or outcome is made about the developing state of a civil society, it will be more successful if the state creates favorable conditions. Therefore, civil society requires a strong State power based on democracy, democracy and the recognition of the rule of law and other principles of the rule of law. In reality, there are many factors that do not in any way affect the evolving status and flourishing of civil society or the rule of law. Among them are the lack of an optimal combination of the executive power necessary for today's Kazakhstan (i.e., the presidential power) with the corresponding authorized power, whose powers correspond to the division of power and the importance of legal status; competition between the actions of the President of Kazakhstan and the laws, and internal contradiction with the non-state concept of local self-government. Excessive rigidity, so to speak, of constitutional amendments, etc. In this regard, we should characterize the so-called weakening of the

guarantees of legal rights and freedoms of all citizens in modern Kazakhstan for economic and social reasons (rising prices, bureaucracy, corruption). Much earlier than now, ordinary citizens are usually forced to pass through the “corridors of power” and even claim if it comes to the content of their legitimate rights and interests. Therefore, it is no accident that many resources, so to speak, scientific and popular literature, even some official documents, pay special attention to this. In the plan under discussion, it should also be noted that the practical application of the principle of mutual responsibility of the citizen is burdensome in relation to the citizen and the state. In the state, they prevail over the legal advantages in names over its various bodies and many state servants, and the responsibility for this lies with the general urban residents. In this process, in addition to subjective factors, certain objective conditions are used (developed economy, national goals, culture of society, legal nihilism, etc.). Finally, everything will be what is the largest civil society, the largest, the democracy of the state. They can't live separately, because they have two sides of the same coin.

The social state has its own contradictions, it goes through certain stages of formation and development. These contradictions and problems were reflected in the widespread discussion of the crisis of the welfare state and its future, which entered the foreign scientific and political literature in the 1980s and 1990s. The process of aggravating the problems of the welfare state is based on the cyclical nature of economic development and the sensitivity of the economic and social spheres to inequality and the impact of the development of foreign and domestic policies. The global economic crisis has destroyed the illusion of harmony between economic development and the practice of centralized distribution of socio-economic interests, highlighting the existence of serious financial problems and the impossibility of endless exploitation of cheap imported raw materials. The intensity of a new discussion about the crisis and prospects of the welfare state in Eastern Europe after the collapse (Kerimov, 2002: 52).

Economic difficulties of Germany in connection with the development of the lands of the united East Germany, the further expansion of the European Union. These global geopolitical and economic changes have demonstrated the complexity of the interaction between society and the state and their failure as a simple model of failure based on the separation of state and state territory and further restrictions on the legal status of the state (as defined by neoliberal Robert Nozick), a “minimal state”, it

provides only the function of ensuring the security of the state, and the status of a simple social model based on the passive and secondary status of society and active interventionist policies.

The heyday of the welfare state in the twentieth century coincides with the improvement of the structural division between society and the state, so the scientific debate moves from the problem of “what” to the problem of “how”, that is, how or to what extent the state should and can act in order to obtain effective final results, without causing serious unstable phenomena in the global functioning of the system for a long period. Or, in other words: how should the inter-communal relations between society and the state develop in order to implement an effective public policy with sufficient financial support over time and which are invulnerable to the effects of colonization in the social sphere.

Thus, the main sphere of regulation of interaction between the state and society is the establishment of an optimal balance between production and distribution, and the main contradiction of the social state is the contradiction between expanding social policy and economic growth, economic difficulties and the need to finance social costs. It is these issues that are the subject of theoretical disputes between supporters of economic freedom and defenders of state intervention in the economy.

The difficulty is that there is a real conflict between the individual and the state. This is due, on the one hand, to the fact that citizens want the state to take responsibility for their problems, so that they have the opportunity to adopt an effective social assistance policy, on the other hand, they try to avoid this situation. Information about this is available in the country. In this context, the development of the welfare state can be defined as a process of adaptation to individual needs, in which economic resources, health, housing needs, human ability to work and willingness to work are not independent, but are scales. . Social problems.

Other important reasons for considering the social crisis are the spread and rehabilitation, especially the regional structure and the state bureaucracy and administrative apparatus. This increases the cost of public services, reduces the effectiveness of social assistance and, as a result, reduces the effectiveness of public assistance. It is important to systematically analyze the nature of the crisis in order to understand the scale and depth of the crisis of the welfare state and to cope with the existing problems. It is necessary to decide whether the existing social model will be able to overcome the crisis by traditional methods or whether it is

necessary to apply radically different management in addition to this model. Thus, you provide a new balance of the system. In this context, the experience of solving acute socio-economic problems in France and Spain in the 80s shows that the state model of well-being that developed in the 60s and 70s requires serious adjustments. An attempt to implement an ambitious program that includes the basic principles of traditional social ideas: comprehensive state ownership, active participation of the state in the management of the economy, the expansion of workers' rights in the field of production, etc. With the reduction of the social program, the right-wing government again came to the fore after the next parliamentary elections. Following the example of France, the Spanish government, the government of F. Gonzalez, chose neoliberal reforms from the very beginning.

At the same time, the examples given above are not a historical exhaustion of the welfare State model, since it has not been fully implemented in any country. In theory, welfare States are often contrasted with liberal States, but in practice these categories cannot always be considered as alternatives. As in the United States, "liberal" countries usually have strong government support programs. As M. rightly points out. Aragon, the modern welfare state cannot directly engage in polemics with the "non-social", but is forced to do so in relation to itself. Its crisis is presented not as a problem of "to be or not to be", but as a need for reform, modification and improvement (State and Law, 2002: 24).

At the same time, this seems to be a clear explanation for the identification of the social model of the state as a left-wing political force and as a liberal or neoliberal right. Because, on the one hand, it does not accurately reflect the origin and history of development, a scientific analysis of the most important issues of efficiency with conceptual clicks. Foreign scientists have proposed, among other things, new theories about the relationship between economics and politics, and have discovered new methods that combine the laws of a market economy with the growing demand for wealth. To deny the spiritual understanding of the principle of equality as an example of social activity and to increase the individual contribution of social producers and consumers to production.

The welfare State also has an important role to play in overcoming the crisis in terms of continuous control over the activities of State institutions, their effectiveness and legitimacy. At the same time, it is not enough to be limited to internal control of the administration or external

(accounting, financial) control. Whether this is done directly by the Administration or indirectly by the agencies and bodies it has created, it is imperative that Congress strengthen its control over all State activities. Representatives of the people have the right to investigate the activities of public funds and public services that they manage. Democratic principles should guide not only important policy decisions, but also the day-to-day operations of the administration. In general, the welfare state needs a significant renewal of congressional oversight, which is not yet effective enough.

Complex theoretical and practical problems also arise due to the need to adapt existing models of the welfare state to current trends in global development.

First, the implementation of the principles of freedom of international trade leads to freedom of competition. At the same time, the high social value of developed countries leads to a decrease in the competitiveness of these national products on the world market and uniformity of production costs. Thus, there is an unavoidable link between the need for protectionist policies and their incompatibility with the principles of free trade (Popov, 2001: 26).

Secondly, the principle of relocation or freedom of movement, relocation, gives developed countries a choice. To impose social support on the citizens of less developed countries or strictly to them.

Third, the process of integration of all new countries in the world goes hand in hand with the development of issues of social equality at the international and European level. Solutions to these issues are implemented with the help of the European Community and the implementation of special social programs within the framework of the development and implementation of the concept of social space defined by organizations.

It should be noted that at the international and national level, the problem of the welfare state is not a search for an alternative, but a reference to its reform to meet the new challenges of the time. When drafting the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan in 1993, its developers faced the difficult task of defining a new social system in Kazakhstan. The Constitution declared the country a democratic, secular, legal and social state, the highest values of which are the person, his life, rights and freedoms (Leist, 1999: 235).

The economic basis of the welfare state should be a highly developed, socially oriented mixed economy that reflects the physical and spiritual needs of the population, the preservation of living space, and the harmony between nature and society. This approach inevitably raises the

question of a significant strengthening of the role and responsibility of the State in the economic sphere, as defined in the Constitution. It will be necessary to develop and reform certain types of collective property in order to return the idea of ending the reorganization and increase the amount of property. Only economic freedom and a high level of well-being will truly liberate those who were completely forgotten during perestroika and bureaucratic capitalism. The state supports the further development of knowledge-intensive and high-tech industries, the modernization of industrial and agricultural production by attracting its own resources and creating the necessary conditions for private domestic and foreign capital. The design and exact location of the cars are extremely useless from a technical and moral point of view.

With the possible and proper reflection of the world experience in the social sphere of the welfare state, Kazakhstan needs to restore truly guaranteed social security of citizens of the Soviet era. Among other things, it is the restoration of employment and job security, timely receipt of wages and pensions. States should promote productive and socially useful work, fair wages, and the legitimate desire of citizens to increase their well-being (Masyukevich, 2002: 26)..

At the same time, the goal of the purposeful policy of the state was the artificial creation of a large class of owners before the formation of supreme states, consensus on favorable laws, orders, decrees, and the lack of real action in case of serious violations. Such norms. The action is completely hostile. Instead, the state should strictly control the social level and the level of well-being of the society. The regulation of socio-economic differences between social groups not only increases social and political stability, but also increases the effective demand of the population and creates additional conditions for economic development. At the same time, it is necessary to achieve a gradual gradation of the physical well-being of various social groups, primarily through the fight against poverty, and not at the expense of well-being. The most important issue for the welfare of Kazakhstan is the integrity of the demographic problem. Serious adjustments in the political sphere are needed to reflect the social and active principles of the State of Kazakhstan. First, it is necessary to amend the Constitution in order to effectively strengthen the equality of powers and significantly improve the status and role of the Constitution. An accredited organization where you can identify and link all

your interests in different social areas. Removing the right to dissolve parliament from the President's Constitution will improve the state of the legislature while ensuring political stability.

Conclusion

Numerous studies, different from each other, always remain unchanged only the historical prerequisites for the emergence, so to speak, of the nature of these concepts. It is also safe to say that they are multidimensional and multidimensional, because they attract and attract everyone's attention. It is not defined, today the subject itself is analyzed, a lot is written about it, while finally not imagining what it is. Russian legal knowledge, at certain historical intervals, excluded this very concept from circulation or simply did not scrupulously consider it, for various reasons, so to speak. Despite the fact that in scientific circulation the so-called term "civil society" is actively working, functioning and developing, nevertheless, as a phenomenon it is not thoroughly disclosed, and so to speak, there is a historical excursion on the study of this concept, but they are ambiguous. I think it is assumed that the interest in what is happening is quite obvious. The most important political ideas of modern times were connected precisely with the idea of a society of civil content, the latter is always considered in comparison with the so-called concept of "state" (Dvigalova, 2002: 22).

The concept of "civil society" or a society of civil content has gone through numerous changes, and even at the same time it is considered in conjunction with the concept of "state". The historical date of origin, origin, can be attributed to the mid-17th century of Western Europe. In turn, T. Hobbes and J. R. R. TolkienLocke, in an attempt to characterize civil society, resorted to the most common, so to speak, liberal interpretation. Attempts to characterize the concept of "civil society" have led to a reflection.

The historical formation, the development of human society and at the same time to the civilization itself. It is assumed that a civilization, or in other words, a developing system, and everything connected with it, is dictated by the very natural right and desire of a person to live in a society of similar people.

At the heart of the process of becoming, so to speak, an independent individual, according to J. R. R. Tolkien. Locke, lies the so-called, private property. It is an economic guarantee, its freedom of choice and political independence and self-regulation. The relationship between the state and

civil society, according to the ideas of T. Hobbes and D. Locke, was based on

on a contractual basis. Since the state and civil society together created the appropriate conditions to meet, so to speak, the basic needs of people and human society, as well as to ensure the life of individuals and all people in this community.

A completely different, different tradition or position is represented by the approach of G. Hegel, who considered, so to speak, a civil society as a certain sum of individuals who satisfy their daily needs with the help of labor. The basis of civil society is private property. However, according to Hegel, it was not civil society that was the driving force of progress, but the state. The state ensured, so to speak, justice and realized the universality of interests. The civil society association and the individual were, so to speak, subordinated to the state, because it is the state that integrates the so-called separate groups and individuals into an organic whole, setting the meaning of their life activity.

Civil public association was recognized as a condition for the realization of the most important, so to speak, human needs in food, clothing and housing. The civil public association emerged as a result of the processes of liberation and formation from all branches of social and social life, in which the daily needs and needs of people and people are met (Shchekochikhin, 1998: 95).

According to J. R. R. Tolkien. Locke, at the heart of the original process of formation and formation of the individual, regardless of the so-called private property. This is, so to speak, a financial guarantee of its so-called freedom from political power and independence. The relationship between the state and society of civil content, according to T. Hobbes and D. Locke, were mastered on, so to speak, the principles of the contract, because the civil content society and the state management system, together formed a requirement in order to meet the key needs of the individual also to provide the activity of the people. Another traditional feature is developed by the idea of G. Hegel, the assessment of a civilized

society as a complex of individuals who satisfy their own daily, everyday needs in work. Private property is, so to speak, the key foundation of civil society. However, according to G. According to Hegel, the advancing force of progress was not the so-called civilized public education, but the state itself. Universality and justice of interests were obtained and secured by the State. The individual and civil society were subordinated to the State. Since it unites individuals and individual groups into a single system, while focusing on the meaning of their existence. Without taking into account the words of G. Hegel that the state has the status of primacy in comparison with civil society. Hegel preferred to consider the society of civil content as the basis or basis for the construction of a global society, and he represented the activities and lives of people as a so-called factor of historical development.

This came from the realization of history from the point of view of materialism. The very evolutionary development of society is the result and indicator of material conditions and the standard of living. As a result, society is a set of material and economic relationships of people. Production and circulation are, according to Karl Marx, the key aspects that develop society and collectives in public organizations. Hence, the state, according to Karl Marx, is the so-called mechanism by which the ruling classes become the first and most protected. According to the method, a citizen is only the one who has property or property, so such relations are not equal and are not based on contractual, conditional relations.

Thus, as a logical conclusion to this article, it should be noted that within the framework of constitutional reform, the principles of social institutions should be widely disseminated and contrasted, taking into account the nature of the state system and the nature of the interaction of various authorities, positions and various institutions. All these events violate the principles of the social state, which should apply to the entire territory of the country and its citizens, regardless of nationality

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МАЗМҰНЫ – CONTENTS – СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

1-бөлім Халықаралық қатынастардың өзекті мәселелері	Section 1 Contemporary issues of international relations	Раздел 1 Актуальные вопросы международных отношений
<i>Ntegamaherezo Emmanuel, Kim Kyung-Hak, Muhammad Adnan</i> Recent trends of migration to rwanda: policy and contribution to sustainable development.....4		
<i>Baizakova K., Nassyrov K., Garifulla A.</i> Main trends in combating transnational extremism and terrorism of regional and non-regional actors17		
<i>Ranjbar D.M., Mukan S.M.</i> The importance of iran's nuclear deal for biden's diplomacy in middle east27		
2-бөлім Аймақтық қатынастар мен аймақтық үйімдардың өзекті мәселелері	Section 2 Contemporary issues of regional relations and regional organizations	Раздел 2 Актуальные вопросы региональных отношений и региональных организаций
<i>Деловарова Л., Ермеков А.</i> Некоторые аспекты секьюритизации внешней политики Китая через призму геополитического соперничества с США в АТР: основные аспекты и динамика отношений.....38		
<i>Chabal P.</i> L'organisation de cooperation de shanghai (ocs) dans la nouvelle asie: une generalisation d'apres-guerre?56		
<i>Yermekbayev A., Akimbek D., Ni Meng</i> Issues of the international image of Russia in the modern world.....66		
3-бөлім Дипломатияның, геосаясаттың және халықаралық құқықтың өзекті мәселелері	Section 3 Current issues of diplomacy, geopolitics and international law	Раздел 3 Актуальные вопросы дипломатии, geopolитики и международного права
<i>Макашеева Ж.С., Саудабекова Э.К., Ташибулатова М.К.</i> «Үлттүк мұдде» тұжырымдамасының теориялық дискурсы: салыстырмалы сараптамалық талдау76		
<i>Batyryzhan B., Baktybekova B.</i> Digital diplomacy in the context of soft power (example of France and China).....86		
<i>Issakhov B.S., Bitemirov K.T., Ashgar Ali Bin Ali Mohamed</i> Comparative analyses of judicial element with a norms of welfare state. Concepcion94		