World Politics

NIKA CHITADZE

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Nika Chitadze

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Preface

Mass media sources every day spread information about events in the different regions of the world. And, most probably, there is no person, who by different levels of interest does not observe the news. On the information line, there are the meetings and negotiations, terrorist acts, conflicts and cooperation, wars, big financial and trade deals. How to understand and analyze all those factors? Which do regularities act in the world political arena?

At first sight, all news can be divided into those, which concern the internal policy and those, which belong to the foreign one. It is worth to mention, that on such principle was constructed the headlines on the television and radio stations in many countries within the XX Century. Is such division considering the modern realities? The answer most probably can be negative. In the modern world, internal and external events are interconnected with each other by closest ties, which finds its reflection, how the broadcasts are presented. Let`s bring one example which was broadcast by the leading US TV programs on January 8, 2020. Within the same day, there were discussed future Presidential elections in the United States, attack of Iran by the ballistic missiles to the US military bases, which are deployed in Iraq, increasing of international oil prices by 5%, air catastrophe of Ukrainian plane at the air space of Iran, escalation of the confrontation at the Armenian-Azerbaijan border, forest fires in Australia, activation of the rebel movement in Libya, etc. The first, which is in the focus of the interests, is the absence of a clear division on the events inside of the country and abroad. In this regard it should be mentioned, that the news is presented by the level of importance and by those fields, which are considered within that news: concretely political, politico-economic, environmental, military, humanitarian, security, etc. Approximately the same methodologies were presented in the news within the whole first decade of the XXI century. All this, having been taken together, has a direct attitude to World Politics.

World politics – a new scientific discipline, which has been established only in the second half of the XX century, but which gained rapid distribution in many countries. In the focus of its attention – political processes, which are going on in the modern world, but with the perspectives of their further development. In this regard, world politics (in comparison for example from history) is oriented on the present and future periods and by this means has the closest ties with the political practice. One more significance of world politics relates to the fact that it cannot be understood without the knowledge of the relative fields – history, economics, law, social sciences, psychology, etc.

Overview of the Book

The purpose of the book is to introduce the people – who are interested in World politics – scientists, researchers, representatives of civil society, public sector, students, etc. with the main characters of the modern political structure of the world, problems of world politics, and approaches for their resolution.

The book is divided into four main parts. The first part is dedicated to the history and theory of world politics and discusses such issues, as world political system, theoretical schools in the framework of the international researches, main transnational actors of the modern world, the transformation of the international relations system, changes on the world political map and grouping of the states according to the different parameters, role and place of the world politics as an academic discipline, etc.
In the second part of the research, there are discussed and analyzed such basic tendencies and at the same time perspectives of the development of world politics, such as globalization, integration, and democratization, etc.

Regarding the third part, the main attention is paid to the basic challenges before the international community, which are interrelated with the problems of arms control and security, conflicts, terrorism, organized crime, failed states, demography, migration, environment, relations between “Global North” and “Global South”.

The third part is focused on the new dimensions of contemporary international relations and world politics, which are connected with economic, legal, moral, and educational aspects and their role within world politics.

In part four of the book, there are reviewed such issues in the framework of world political processes regulation, as foreign policy and diplomacy, also main aspects of global governance.

Part 1
History and Theory of the World Politics

Chapter 1. The short version of the development of World Politics.

The modern political world, which is under the research of world politics, is very complex and contradictory, which has been developing within the past thousand years. The social-political organization of the human society was changing, there were developing the mechanisms of the interrelations among the people. The heritage of the past in the different forms is presented in modern times, therefore, to understand what was going on the planet is possible only through historic development. The historic analysis gives the answers to the questions, what and why were the changes in the political structure of the world and, on the contrary, what was remaining unchangeable; what is the common vector of development and what is possible to expect in the future.

1. World Political system: Prehistory

During the many centuries the people were setting together, they were creating villages, cities, and even states. The settlements were interrelated with each other – they had trade and wars, they were signing the agreements, and even had different types of representations. All those factors were bases for *International Relations and World Politics*.

In the historic literature, it is possible to find many stories about the fact, how the interrelations among the people were implemented. One of the first classic works, in which the conflict among the nations was considered, was the description by the ancient Greek historian Thucydides of the Peloponnesian war (431-404 years. B.C.). Among the unions of the Greek policies were – Delian Leagues – headed by Athens (Britannica, 2019), and the Peloponnesian league under the leadership of Sparta (Britannica, 2019). This work gained the title: “Melian Dialogue” and serves as an example of using force as the main argument for resolving international problems (Thucydides).

It is interesting!

Thucydides, an Athenian historian, captures the exchange between the Melian commissioners and the Athenian envoys:

Melians: "...all we can reasonably expect from this negotiation is war if we prove to have right on our side and refuse to submit, and on the contrary case, slavery."

Athenians: "...we shall not trouble you with specious pretenses---either of how we have a right to our empire because we overthrew the Mede, or are now attacking you because of the wrong that you have done us---and make a long speech that would not be believed; and in return, we hope that you, instead of thinking to influence us by saying that you did not join the Lacedaemonians, although they are colonists, or that you have done us no wrong, will aim at what is feasible, ...since you know as well as we do the right, as the world goes, is only in question between equal power, while the strong do what they can and the weak suffer what they must."

The Melians pointed out that it was in the interest of all states to respect the laws of nations: "you should not destroy what is our common protection, the privilege of being allowed in danger to invoke what is fair and right...." They reminded the Athenians that a day might come when the Athenians themselves would need such protection.

But the Athenians were not persuaded. To them, Melos' submission was in the interest of their empire, and Melos.

Melians: "And how to pray, could it turn out as good for us to serve as for you to rule?"

Athenians: "Because you would have the advantage of submitting before suffering the worst, and we should gain by not destroying you."

Melians: "So [that] you would not consent to our being neutral, friends instead of enemies, but allies of neither side?"

Athenians: "No; for your hostility cannot so much hurt us as your friendship will be an argument to our subjects of our weakness and your enmity of our power."

When the Melians asked if that was their 'idea of equity,' the Athenians responded:

"As far as right goes...one has as much of it as the other, and if any maintain their independence, it is because they are strong and that if we do not molest them, it is because we are afraid..."

By subjugating the Melians, the Athenians hoped not only to extend their empire but also to improve their image and thus their security. To allow the weaker Melians to remain free, according to the Athenians, would reflect negatively on Athenian power.

Aware of their weak position, the Melians hoped that the justice of their cause would gain them the support of the gods, " and what we want in power will be made up by the alliance with the Lacedaemonians who are bound, if only for very shame, to come to the aid of their kindred."

Athenians: "...Of the gods we believe, and of men we know, that by a necessary law of their nature they rule wherever they can. And it is not as if we were the first to make this law, or to act upon it when made; we found it existing before us, and will leave it to exist forever after us; all we do is to make use of it, knowing that you and everybody else has the same power as we have would do the same as we do. Thus, as far as the gods are concerned, we have no fear and no reason to fear that we shall be at a disadvantage. But...your notion about the Lacedaemonians, which leads you to believe that shame will make them help you, here we bless your simplicity but do not envy your folly. The Lacedaemonians...are most conspicuous in considering what is agreeable, honorable, and what is expediently just...Your strongest arguments depend upon hope and the future, and your actual resources are too scanty as compared to those arrayed against you, for you to come out victorious. You will therefore show great blindness of judgment unless, after allowing us to retire, you can find some counsel more prudent than this."

The envoys then left the conference allowing the Melians to deliberate on the Athenian offer and decide the best course for them to follow (Thucydides).

The Greek city-states (polis) had a comparatively small population, and their power was limited by the walls of those cities. Some of them were stronger and they were established under their influence others, and weak city-states very often asked for military defense. The interrelations among the city-polis were fulfilled also by the changing representatives, who have presented some preconditions, particularly, they had to have a good memory and a strong voice. Those politicians were involved in resolving the dispute cases and were signing the trade and peace agreements.

Map.1. Ancient Greek City-States.

Source: https://www.pinterest.com/pin/799318633849126078/

It is an interesting example of interactions between ancient Greece and Persia. After the fact, that the latter could not manage to occupy Greece, Persians started to supply with money and military ships the stronger Greek cities and their coalitions and by this way conducted political and economic pressure on the other Greek city-states (polis). Despite this, the army of Alexander the Great defeated Persians.

The Roman Empire also takes its foundation from the city-polis, which later managed to expand its territories to the Mediterranean Sea. The rapid growth of the Roman Empire brought difficulties, which related to the control over the territories. Their administration was implemented by different methods – from the appointment of the Roman Consular to the use of the local administrative structures. In the I and II Centuries A.D., Rome preferred non-direct governance, when the local authorities had the responsibilities for the organization of daily life. Therefore, the local traditions were not only disappearing but, on the contrary, very often they were supported by Romans.

The Centers of civilizations, as it is known, were founded not only in the Mediterranean. The high level of development has gained the cultures of China, India, Japan, the Near East, Central America. Thus, in China, during approximately the same period, when the old Greece city-states were functioning, new territorial units were formed, which very actively used the military means during the fighting for the establishment of dominance. It has found its reflection in the classical work of old Chinese author Sun Tzu „The art of war" (Sun Tzu). Chinese civilization has obtained huge success in the field of social organization, art, education, economics, outdistancing by the many parameters of the Europeans. By possessing a common religious base – Hinduism was spread in old India. This religion's direction was formed in the First Millennium BC. And within the political sphere was represented by the several separate units, which also were interrelating with each other (History, 2019).

In general, in the old world were developed such elements of interstate relations, as negotiation and agreement practice (conducting negotiations and signing the agreements), sending the state representatives for the discussion of the different problems.

Approximately in VII-IX c. (period of expansion, which later was replaced by the disintegration of the Arab Caliphate); X-XI c. (period of maximal dominance of Arab-Muslim culture) its development achieved the Arab civilization.

In XIII-XV cc. Islam was on the rise. Having been established later, the Ottoman Empire occupied the Balkans, Mesopotamia, and North Africa. Reflections of the above-mentioned period have their influence in the contemporary period, for example in the mottoes of pan-Arabism, which offers the unification of the region based on religion and language, etc (Chitadze, 2011).

In XIV C. France and England, whose political systems were the most developed in Europe, started the Hundred years war. In general, the XIV Century for most Europeans turned out to be difficult. Exactly during this period, the plague across Europe was spread, which gained the name of "Black Death" and which took away the lives of thousands and thousands of people. At the same time, the middle centuries in Europe are interconnected with the fact that can be called as a development of the "new technologies" for this period, particularly, the appearance of powder and compass, which was imported from China.

Development of the Chinese civilization has caused the appropriate result in the East, particularly to the fact that under the strong cultural influence of China became Japan. Later (since XVI c.), this country was isolated from the rest of the World, first from the European civilization, till the middle of the XIX Century, when its modernization and industrialization started.

What is going on in the other part of the planet? In Latino America, the Maya civilization got its highest development in the period from III to X Century, Aztecs and Incas – in about XV c. In equatorial Africa, one of the earliest Kingdoms was founded in Ghana in about the V Century. In XIV c. in the North of the African continent, in Mali, the center of education and trade was founded. In the region, the intensive exchange of gold, salt, cotton, iron, and copper, etc. was going on. In general, the African states become under the strong influence of the Europeans, who introduced slavery and by this way opened the new and brutal page of the history of Africa (Chitadze, 2011).

Western Europe, practically during the 1000 years (approximately from 500 to 1500 years), despite the ethnic and linguistic differences of the European people, was developing based on the unified Christian principles. The Pope of Rome in many cases was playing the role of a judge in the territorial and other kinds of disputes among the principals. At the same time, at the beginning of XVI c. in several countries, again the process of strengthening the Royal power was started, which became the threat for the power of the pope. Within this period, the movement was started, which was directed against the catholic church itself. Western Europe entered the epoch of reformation. The first founding of the reformation was the speech of Martin Luther in Germany in 1517 (History Magazine, 2019). Supporters of reformation fixed the opposite position before the catholic church and its strong hierarchical structure, the rights for land ownership, etc. Reformation created the base for Protestantism.

Europeans again applied to the classical culture of ancient Greece and Ancient Rome. Italian city-states of the Renaissance epoch again discovered for themselves many principles of international interrelations, which were adopted in ancient Greece, including the principle of power. It finds its reflection in the works of the thinkers of this period (first in the research of N. Machiavelli) and it influenced the construction of International Relations. In XIV c. in Italy, the first foreign representations have appeared, which become the prototypes of the diplomatic missions.

Approximately in XV-XVI cc, from the epoch of renaissance and reformation, Europe became the dominant region in the World. During the period of the geographic discoveries and common level of economic development, the occupation of the new territories by the European nations was started. At the end of XV c. the Portuguese traveler Vasco da Gama reached India and Portugal declared about opening the new maritime route from Europe to South Asia (Gaspar, 2001).

Later, via this route toward Asia traveled Dutch, who later founded in the South of Africa the settlement, for the providing with water and foods those ships, which were traveling toward Asia. The formation of the European settlements in the region around modern Cape Town.

It is interesting!

As the patron of diplomats was selected the god of fertility, trade, and profit Hermes – the symbol of charms, trickery, and craftiness. In Greek mythology, it comes out as the patron of herdsmen and travelers, the envoy of gods (herald of their will), and the symbol of eloquence.

After discovery by the Christopher Columbus American continent in the middle of XV c. the mastery of these territories has begun. At the first stage, the leaders were Portugal and Spain, and later, toward America traveled to England and France, who had chosen the North-western direction. On the occupied territories beyond Europe, there were founded those political institutes and developed such processes, which had been characterized before for the European continent.

The big importance for Europe represented the starting process of industrialization. With its foundation, the new epoch of the introduction of new technologies and human development has appeared, which made possible the foundation of the centralized states as a base of the political structure of the World.

So, concretely in Europe was founded the political model, which later, as a result of the colonization by Europeans the people from the other continents, has become universal. Therefore, sometimes – during the development of history, it is mentioned about the westernization of the political system of the world.

1.2 Signing of the Westphalian peace and formation of the state-centric political system of the world

In the middle of the XVII c. in the divided and disintegrated Europe, the principals, who gained the de-facto independence from the Pope of Rome and Emperor`s power, have strengthened their control over the different territories. During this period, several internal and interstate wars were held in Europe. The largest war turned out to be the thirty years war, in which, for different reasons - including religious, dynastic, territorial, etc. many European states and principalities were involved. The signing after it ended the Westphalian treaty in 1648, became an important historic event, which has signified by itself the formation of the new political system. On its base was introduced the idea of the formation of the national state (nation-state).

The model of the political structure, which was founded in Europe, has been later spread to the other continents and by this way gained the status of the global model. Within the next 350 years of history (in comparison with the age of humankind it is a short period), it has obtained further development and has been preserved till the modern period.

At the same time, countries from the other part of our planet did not become "totally the same" as the European nations. Those countries represented from itself as not the result of the historic development, but as a consequence of the colonial occupation, with the simple determination of state borders, complex interdependence, and a mixture of the local traditions and social organization of life with those, which brought the other style of life from outside. All those factors reflected on the situation in the XX Century.

Westphalian peace included two peace treaties, about which the negotiations were held in two cities – Münster and Osnabrück (Westphalia). They were signed in 1648, accordingly, between Saint Roman Empire of the German Nation and France in Munster (Croxton, 2002), and between Saint Roman Empire of German Nation from one side and protestant German principalities and Sweden from another side – in Osnabrück (Mowat, 1928).

Westphalian peace confirmed in favor for France, Sweden, and their allies the obtaining of important territories and rights to interfere in the internal affairs of the Empire. Holland and the Swiss Confederation gained recognition as sovereign states and German Principals were recognized as independent rulers. Thus, the Saint Roman Empire of the German Nation has transferred to the conglomerate of almost 300 de-facto independent formations. Westphalian peace also recognized religious rights and freedoms for Lutherans and Calvinists. Sometimes to above-mentioned Treaties is also belonged the agreement from January 30, 1648, between Holland and Spain, which finished their 80-year war (military operation between those states for the 1625 year can be considered at the same time as part of the thirty years and eighty years wars) (Chitadze, 2016).

The new political system was not founded in an empty place. It was the consequence of the historic development of Europe in XV-XVI cc. Therefore, by its "roots" it returns to the relations between the territories from the period of ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, and political traditions of Italian cities of the later middle centuries. Having been recognized as a key principle of national (state) sovereignty, Westphalian peace promoted the foundation for the new system of relations, which later gained the name of the Westphalian or state-centrist model (system) of the world.

Map 2. 1648 The Treaty of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years War

Source: https://www.sutori.com/item/1648-the-treaty-of-westphalia-ends-the-thirty-years-war-the-germanic-states-we

The principle of national sovereignty has proposed that each state has the whole power on its territory, it determines the internal and external policy priorities. But this power was not determined only by politics. As it was mentioned by English researcher *P.J. Taylor*, the state has also gained the power for the determination of economic, social, and cultural strategies (Chitadze, 2011). It became so “natural”, as a geographic landscape with its rivers, mountains, and seas. The presented right of power was respected by the other countries, and those did not interfere in the internal affairs of their neighbors. It is important also fact that the principle of national sovereignty did not suggest the presence of any additional supreme power.

In general, in the base of the idea of the national state, which had sovereignty, there were four main principles:

- Presence of the territory.

- Presence of the population, which lived on this territory.

- The legitimate ruling by population.

- Recognition by other nation-states.

During the absence of even one of the above-mentioned criteria, the state was finishing its existence or was becoming sharply limited in its possibilities (for example, if it was not recognized by other states). The recognition of the states became especially important during the contemporary period. In case, if most of the states refused to recognize any territorial unity, this territorial entity faced economic and political difficulties.

The founders of the Westphalian peace, it is mentioned by one of the modern French researchers, *Jean Marie Guehenno*, were understanding very good, that the formation by them of the international order could not be constructed on the principles of values, particularly on religion. Values could not be considered. Due to it, and it was the progressive decision, that the base of the state-centric model of the world become the national interests, according to them the foundation of the compromise decisions as possible (Guehenno, 2014). Sovereign states are interrelated with each other, creating the *system of International Relations* (interrelations and interactions between states – participants of the international cooperation, which occupied the various fields – political, economic, legal, social, cultural, etc.).

Later, it was constructed the system of internal and interstate relations with the appropriate mechanisms and administration staff, political and legal norms, and national states transferred to the entity for the construction of the political system of the World, with the clear dividing on the internal and foreign policy. Such division of the political practice with the determination of the competencies of the state itself and foreign environment was characterized not only for the Westphalian system of the world. In this way, *J. Elshtain* sees the roots of dividing the responsibilities within the internal and external policy in ancient Greece, where the clear boundary between policy and "world outside of policy" has existed. As a result, between the internal and external world there existed a radical difference. Justice was the key moment of the interrelations among the citizens inside of the policy. When the discussion was about interrelations between Athens and "others", the key role was playing the power (Elshtain, 2018).

It is interesting!

Today territory – one of the clearest characters of the national state. However, in the past, before its foundation, the authorities were mostly taking care only of controlling the population (collecting the taxes, fighting against rebel movements, etc.). The sources of income, which was getting from the population were the main motivation factors for the occupation of the new territories. At the same time the authorities, as a rule, did not interfere in the daily life of the people, which related to the national traditions and family affairs.

Accordingly, there started the development of the social sciences. Political science, sociology, criminal law, administrative law, etc. were involved in the making of the analysis of the functioning of the state, at the same time, as international relations, international law, international economic relations were engaged in the study of the interrelations among the states on the international arena.

Foreign policy, which represents the actions of the state and its institutes outside its sovereign territory for the realization of the national interests, at the previous stages of the state-centrist model of development, was different from such foreign policy, which we observe today. In its formation and realization was involved only aristocracy, when representatives of the elite from the various states very often had relative ties with each other. Anyway, as in modern times, foreign policy was directed toward the regulation of interstate relations.

Thus, having been founded in XVII c. the state-centrist political system of the world, due to the monopoly of the possessing the right to use the force on its territory, has promoted the finishing of the feudal clashes inside of the state, but at the same time has caused the many interstate conflicts in the consequent period, including two world wars of the XX century (Burchill, 2005).

It is interesting!

It is necessary to point out that the main language of international relations was Latin. For example, the Westphalian Treaty was signed in this language. Later, in XVII c., in foreign affairs, Latin was replaced by the French language (Donnelly, 2005).

At the first stage, interrelations among the states in the international arena were strengthened through the unions, which by several parameters had the agreements related to the foreign policy activities. At the beginning of XVII c. when the war for the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) ended with the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht (followed in 1714 by the treaties of Rastatt and Baden), between France and Spain, from one side, and a coalition of the states headed by Great Britain – from the another, for the first time, the term “*balance of power*” has been appeared, which gained the wide development in the political dictionary since the second half of the XX century (Falkner, 2015).

At the end of XVII and the beginning of XIX c., the role of Great Britain in the international arena was increased. England was one of the first countries in the world, where the industrial revolution started. The main geopolitical rival of Great Britain was France. At the same time, Sweden, Spain, and the Netherlands started to lose their former influence. Within the same period, the stronger states become Prussia and Russia, which become the important participants of International Relations.

The consequences of the French revolution and Napoleonic wars failed in France. In 1815, the Vienna Congress concluded those processes and restored the principles of state sovereignty, which were violated as a result of the imperialistic policy of Napoleon. In the framework of the Westphalian model of the World, the new system of International Relations has been established, which gained the name of “Concert of Europe”, or *the Viennese system of international relations* (Kissinger, 1994).

Later, based on the new principles of the world order, the leading European nations were trying to cooperate to prevent the new wars on the continent, but the conflict of interests among the different states still existed. The Vienna system of international relations was based on the common consensus of the most powerful European Monarchies related to the political and territorial status quo in Europe; Possibilities of the involvement into internal affairs of those states, which were under the threat of revolution; requirement of the diplomatic consultations about territorial and other problems. In general, as it was mentioned by the American scientist, diplomat, and political activist H. Kissinger, in XIX c. in Europe, precisely the traditional national interests and changing the balance of power were determining the diplomatic game, creation and disintegration of unions, changing the sphere of influence (Kissinger, 1994).

The end of XIX c. is characterized by the intensive occupation of the colonies by the leading powers. The World de-facto was divided among the leading Countries. European political system was spread over the whole planet. In this regard, the state-centrist model became the first and the only accepted world political system.

At the beginning of the XX century, in the world arena appeared new states, first of all, the USA (which become the world economic leader), also Japan, Germany, Italy. From this moment Europe is not the only continent, where the new world states-leaders – powers were founded.

The XX Century was characterized by two World Wars. First (1914-1918) was ended by the failure of Germany and its allies. In June 1919, in Versailles, the peace treaty was signed, which fixed the new territorial borders of Germany. Separately, the peace agreements with its allies. The important part of the Versailles treaty was the status of the League of Nations. League of Nations – Interstate organization, which as a basic purpose has determined the promotion of cooperation among the states, nations, and guarantee of peace and security. At the first stage, it was signed by 44 states. The USA did not ratify the agreement and did not join the League of Nations. Besides, during this period members of this organization did not become Germany and Soviet Russia (later USSR) (Chitadze, 2017).

Picture 1. Paris Peace conference, 1919.

Source: https://face2faceafrica.com/article/the-only-black-representative-at-the-paris-peace-conference-of-1919-was-this-haitian-voodoo-priest

It is interesting!
As a result of World War 1, Germany lost about 13,5% of its territory and 10% of its population, and all colonies. At the same time concretely this country and its allies were recognized responsible for the victims, having been caused by the war (Chitadze, 2017)

One of the key elements of the foundation of the League of Nations was the idea of collective security. It was proposed that the states had the legal right to resist the aggressor. In practice, as it is known, this principle was not fully introduced into the practice and the World was involved in the new World War. The League of Nations de-facto stopped its functioning in 1939 (since the beginning of World War 2), but formally was dissolved in 1946 (UNOG Library). However, many elements, structures and procedures, and the main purposes of the League of Nations have been inherited by the United Nations.

The completion of the formation of the system of International Relations after the ending of World War 1 was held at the Washington Conference in 1921-1922, which was held by the initiatives of the United States. It has fixed the new balance of power in the Pacific Ocean Region (Rondeli, 2003).
The system of International Relations itself, which was created between the two World Wars, gained the name of Versailles -Washington. As a “European Concert”, it was in the frame of the Westphalian model (political system) of the World. However, in the XX century, for the first time, it was established concretely the system of international relations, which has been spread outside of one continent and covered the whole world. At the same time, world powers recognized the interests and rights of the small states (Kissinger, 1994).

Versailles -Washington system of international relations, which was established mostly under the influence of political and military-strategic positions of the winner – countries, has ignored the interests of the defeated states, and also the interests of the newly independent countries (in Europe, nine new states). As a result, this system becomes contradictory and unstable. As a result, it did not manage to avoid the start of World War 2 (1939-1945).

The End of the second world war promoted the starting of the creation of a new system of international relations – *Yalta-Potsdam* (post-war), which, as a previous, became part of the Westphalian model of the world. Its base represented the agreements of the winning powers at World War 2, which were formed during the Yalta (4-11 February 1945) and Potsdam (17 July – 2 August 1945) conferences (BBC, 2020).

International relations after World War 2 were developed by very complex and contradictory scenarios. The positive moment was the foundation of the United Nations, main purposes of which, according to the charter of this International Universal Organization were:

1. “To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends" (United Nations, 2005).

Factually, the UN Foundation has become the second attempt to realize the idea of collective security. The important part of the post-war period was the signing in the framework of the Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, later OSCE) *Helsinki Final Act* in 1975. During this event, one of the main topics of the agenda was decreasing international tensions (OSCE, 2020).

But together with the cooperation, the post-war period in the World was characterized by a new type of confrontation. The planet was factually divided into two antagonist blocks, which were founded based on the superiority of the two powers - USA and USSR over the other countries, and new world order was first of all determined by the possessing of the nuclear weapon by two superpowers, which guaranteed the mutual destroy for them several times.

The system of International Relations, which was interconnected with the confrontation of two blocks, gained the name "bipolar". The arms race, its limitations, and the problems of military security were the central topics of International Relations. The radical confrontation of the two blocks, when the world faced the threat several times to be transformed to the third world war, gained the name *cold war*. One of the most dangerous moments in the history of the post-war period was the Caribbean (Cuban) missile crisis in October-November 1962 when the USA and USSR seriously considered the possibilities of the nuclear attack on each other (Kissinger, 1994).

Two opposite sides had military alliances – North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which was founded by the initiative of the USA and Western European countries in 1949, and Warsaw Treaty Organization – Warsaw Block, which was founded in 1955 by the initiative of the USSR (NATO, 2006). The understanding of "balance of power" became one of the key elements of the Yalta-Potsdam system of International Relations. The World becomes "divided" on the zones of influence between two blocks. And for the expansion of the spheres of influence, the radical confrontation was going on.

The creation of bipolarity causes arguments about the time of the establishment of this system. Many researchers consider the fact that the structuration of this system was held immediately after World War 2. Many leading specialists in the field of the study of the problems of the cold war were writing that the roots of the cold war could be found even during the existence of the anti-Hitler coalition, "the transition toward the large-scale cold war was held in 1947". According to some experts, during this period the "bipolarity" – as a model of stable international relations did not exist. For its structural formation, about 10 years was necessary. There are other points of view. Some analysts consider that the Bolshevik Military coup in 1917 and the foundation of the Soviet state was the basic point of the cold war starting (Lebedeva, 2007).

The important stage in the development of the world political system is the disintegration of colonialism. In 1960th, colonial dependence was liberated almost the whole African continent. The Westphalian model has achieved its maximum: based on its principles and norms (at least from a formal point of view), there were founded and restored the independence of those countries, which have lost their freedom before.

Developing countries for the first time started making an influence on the political development of the World. They joined the UN, and in 1955 founded the Non-Aligned Movement., which according to its founders, had to be opposite to the two confrontational blocks (Chitadze, 2017).

At the same time, those countries tried to attract attention to their difficult economic situation, and in this regard, they were presenting the common positions at the UN and UN specialized agencies. For example, in 1964, at the first session of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 77 countries, or the so-called "Group of 77" declared that they jointly, with the support of multilateral diplomacy, would do their best to resolve the most important International Economic problems. In 1990, 130 states were listed in this group (Rondeli, 2012).

The end of the 80th and the beginning of the 90th of the last century was characterized by the disintegration of the USSR and Warsaw Block; cardinal changes were held in the countries of Eastern and Central Europe and post-soviet republics. In the post-soviet and post-communist space many independent states have been founded. Together with those changes, the World entered a new stage of development, which related to the end of the cold war.

The Yalta-Potsdam system of International Relations is characterized by:

- Absence (in comparison for example with Versailles - Washington system) strong legal base, which was making it very fragile for the critics;

- Bipolarity was the basis of the military-political dominance of two superpowers (USA and USSR) over the other countries. Around them, the formation of blocks was going on. Bipolarity was not limited only by the military dominance of two states but covered practically all spheres – social-political, economic, ideological, scientific-technical, cultural, etc.

- Confrontational, which means that sides always contradict their actions against each other. Competition, rivalry, and no cooperation between the blocks were the leading characters of those relations;

- Possessing the nuclear weapon, which is threatened by the repeated mutual destruction of superpowers and their allies, becomes the most significant factor in the confrontation between the sides. Gradually (the key historic event was the Cuban Crisis in 1962) the sides started the consideration the nuclear clash as the most radical resource to make an influence on International Relations;

- Politico-ideological confrontation between west and east, which brought in the international relations the additional non-compromises during the conflicts and disagreements;

- The comparatively high degree of the management of the international processes is a result of the fact that it required the agreement of the positions of only two superpowers.

At the same time, it should be taken into consideration that the bipolarity of the Yalta-Potsdam system was not absolute, the USA and USSR could not control all subjects and events of international life. At the first stage, the events, which were interrelated with the disintegration of the USSR and ending of the cold war, etc. in many countries, first in western ones, were perceived with great enthusiasm and even romanticism. In 1989, the USA has published the article by F. Fukuyama "The end of the History?" In this research, the author predicted the dominance of democracy, the absence of the forceful methods of resolving the disputes and armed conflicts in the world, and under this understanding – end of the history. The work of F. Fukuyama caused an important resonance in the World (Fukuyama, 1989).

Information for Consideration

"One of the biggest bombs which were put in Europe, having been written in the early 1990s by American researcher John Mroz, is a big difference between the economically developed Western Europe from one side, and the poor eastern and central Europe, Balkans and post-soviet space - that previously were belonged to the Communist bloc of the East from the second side. In the long run, this will lead to social instability, which can turn into open conflicts " (Mroz, 1991).

Later, the beginning of 1990th was followed by the number of conflicts, first – which was comparatively less expected in the calm and stable Europe (which caused the special worries of Europeans and Americans). This determined the opposite disposition within the scientific circles. Samuel Huntington in 1993, in the article "The Clash of Civilizations" presented the opposite to F. In Fukuyama's position, he predicted the conflicts based on civilization. This article also gained wide consideration in various countries (Huntington, 1993). Then, when the number of armed conflicts has decreased, for example after the signing of agreements on a cease-fire in Europe (on the examples of Bosnia and Kosovo), the ideas of S. Huntington about wars among the civilizations have been gradually forgotten. However, the explosion of the brutal terroristic acts at the beginning of 2000th in the different parts of our planet, when behind of them was standing the radical terrorist organization "Al-Qaeda", the hooligan actions in the cities of France, Belgium and other countries of Europe, which was implemented by the immigrants from Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, has forced many people, especially journalists, to talk again about the conflict of civilizations. It was started the discussion, about the reasons and specific characters of modern terrorism, nationalism, and extremism.

In general, the World after the ending of the cold has been turned out to become complex and non-predictable and the system of International Relations, which was formed within the post-cold war period, did not get any common and acceptable for everybody name, despite the attempts, to determine the base of the new world order. Because the USA remained the only state, which satisfied all requirements (political, economic, military, cultural, etc.) to be a superpower, which was reflected for example during the US military operations in the Persian Gulf, against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq. It has even appeared in the term, which was characterizing the US foreign policy – *unilateralism*. Many considered that the post-cold war period was unipolar (under the US dominance). But neither the processes nor the term covered the whole complex and base parameters of the all-political processes, which were going on in the different regions of the World.

Thus, we very shortly analyzed the picture of the interrelation of the world nations in the different epoch of their existence. But, is it possible to discuss some stages in the development of the whole spectrum of the various interrelations in the international sphere? One of the versions of answers on this question gives B. Buzan and R. Little in the book "*International systems in World History*", which caused many disputes and responses. The authors emphasize the four stages in the development of international relations. At the same time, under the system, they understand not the system of Interstate Relations, which is mostly distributed (i.e., having been existed in the frame of the Westphalian model of the world), but political systems of interrelations, or stages of the development, which were formatting and developing during the centuries among of the comparatively independent participants (Buzan, Little, 2000).

The first stage, having been called by those researchers pre-international, was characterized by the period of primitive relations on the planet. At this time, the tribes interrelated with the closest neighbors. Even during this time, it was observed the exchange of products and goods among the people, which were in long distance from each other. The Second stage – ancient and classical international systems, which were formatted by civilizations of the old world, which was characterized by the development of the trade, permanent occupations, threats of the attacks, foundation of the alliances, conducting negotiations related to the inter recognition and status of the different political entities, distribution of the natural resources. The third – modern period, according to B. Buzan and R. Little was started about the XVI c. and is connected at the first stage with the many participants of international interactions – middle period city-states, monasteries, catholic church, etc. Then, it is going on the formation and enlargement of the whole planet, and the foundation of the nation-states.

The further development of this system causes the appearance of the new "units" of international relations, as non - governmental organizations, transnational corporations, etc. Finally, at the end of XX and beginning of XXI c. according to them, we may be becoming the witnesses of the fourth period in the development of international relations. However, if it is true, the researchers are writing, that the moving forces will be different, in comparison with the previous changing periods and stages. Today we observe "two worlds": In one, enough changes are going on, but at the same time the second is continuing to remain the same. In the "First World", there are developed states, "second" – developing countries. The last ones are continuing to live under such conditions, where the forceful relations among the states are very important. Even in the states of Eastern Asia, which had a rapid period of modernization, as it was mentioned by B. Buzan and R. Little during the Round table of the Journal "International Studies Review" in 2000, the states prove to be extremely brittle and come running to the force.

And anyway, with the entire uncertainty of the modern political world, it can be pointed out, is clearly outlined the interdependence of the one territorial entities (states, regions, megapolises) to the another, one problem (economic, political, ecological, politico-military, cultural, etc.) to another. Therefore, political practice more and more radically requires a comparatively complex approach. Political consequences of the actions on the international area often become much wider and deeper, than was expected at the first stage. Accordingly, the analysis of world politics should be based on this reality. Therefore, it is important to determine the basic most significant characteristics of the modern political system of the world and answer the questions: Does the Versailles system have the principal changes?

If yes, in which direction? How should the states and International Organizations act? What is the role of non-governmental organizations, Transnational corporations in the modern political processes? What is hiding behind the processes of the globalization and regionalization of the World, its democratization, and distribution of terrorism? Those and other many questions consist of the content of World Politics as a science, one of the specific characteristics of which determine its direction in the future, to find the answers on those questions, to which humanity should answer and resolve the different kinds of problems.

Key Terminologies

International Relations

World Politics

World Political System

National State

The Principle of National Sovereignty

Westphalian (State-Centric) Model, or World Political System

The System of International Relations

Foreign Policy

Balance of Power

"European Concert" (Vienna System of International Relations)

Versailles Peace Treaty

League of Nations

Intergovernmental Organization

Collective Security

United Nations

Versailles - Washington System of International Relations

Yalta-Potsdam System of International Relations

Discharging the international tension

Bipolar System of International relations

Cold War

North – Atlantic Treaty Organization

Warsaw Treaty Organization

Non-Aligned Movement

Unilateralism

Questions for Consideration:

What are the main stages and characteristics of world development before the formation of the system of national states?

How can be described the vital parameters of the Westphalia model of the world?

What are the main parameters of the system of International Relations in Europe, which gained the name “European Concert”?

What are the main stages and characteristics of the Versailles-Washington system of international relations?

By which key components are characterized the Yalta-Potsdam system of international relations (how did it change?)

What are the main problems during the discussion about world political development after the "Cold War"?

Practicum

By the using historic literature, please fill the presented table

Data	Country/Region	Main principles of the political organization of society	Main principles and forms of International Interaction

CHAPTER 2. Theoretical schools in international research

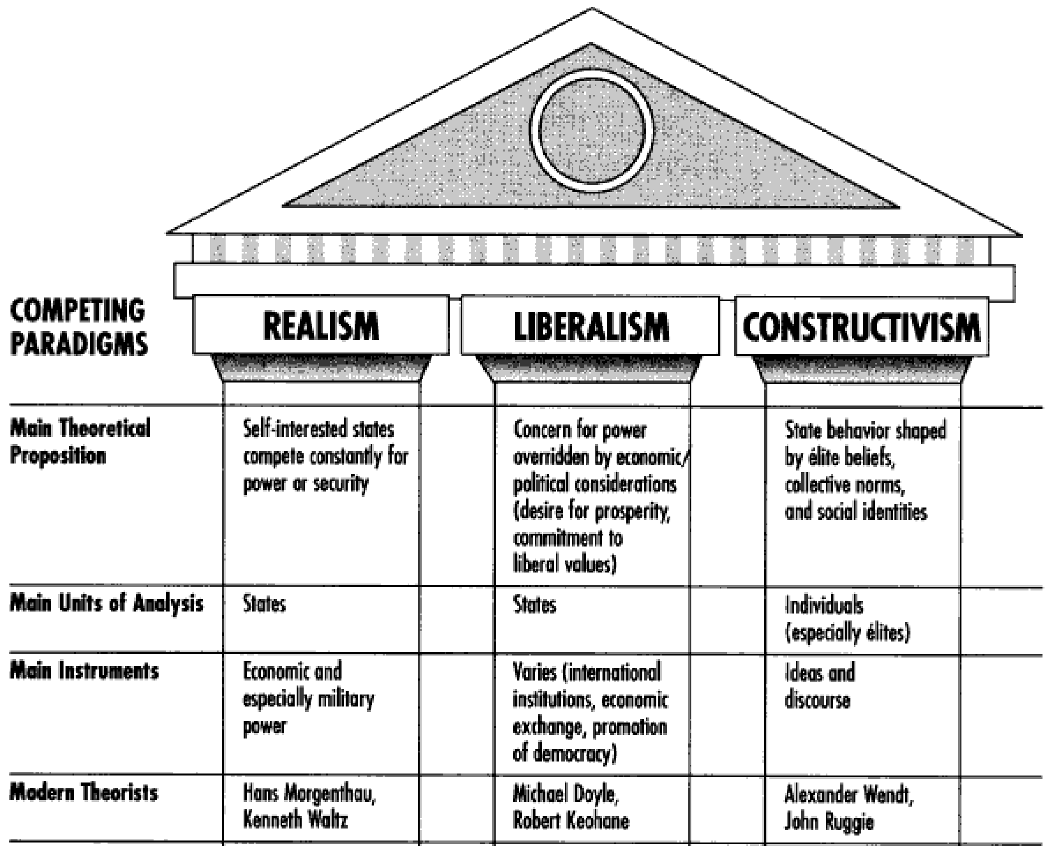
The events, which have been going on at the international arena, should be theoretically considered because facts themselves determined only those events, which have happened but do not explain why this or another event was held. Understanding and explaining the events are important not only for the researchers but first for those, who work in the practical sphere, who is somehow linked with the international interrelations, for politicians, diplomats, businessmen, journalists, etc. Concretely based on such explanation can be evaluated and making prognosis on comparative tendencies of the further development: according to the expression of the famous psychologist K. Levin, there is no more practical theory than the good theory (Lebedeva, 2007). At the same time, as it was later ironically noticed, the problem remains concretely to find such a theory. But it is the task of researchers.

Theoretical approaches during history were developing and changing and were making an influence on each other. At the first stage, the understanding of International Relations was going on in the framework of the different scientific disciplines, first – history.

Many historic events of the XX Century (two world wars, creation of the weapon of mass destruction, cold war, international terrorism development, etc.) also was stimulating the development of the theory in the field of international researches. Besides, the potential of the scientific thought itself in the social sciences of the XX Century promoted a more theoretical understanding of the processes, which were going on in the international arena. For these reasons, the theories of international relations and World Politics gained rapid development in the XX Century, first of all in the USA, which has given the reason for the famous researcher Stanley Hoffmann, who gained the education in Paris, but who later emigrated to the USA, to call the theory in international relations with a sufficient portion of the sarcasm "American Sociology" (Hoffmann, 1965).

International Relations are very complex and consist of many aspects, due to it, there is no common theory, which could explain the whole diversity of international reality. During the research of international relations and World Politics, it is important to discuss as a basic one the following theoretical approaches: *Realism* (in the modern version it is presented mostly by *neo-realism*), *liberalism* (today it is based on the *neo-liberalism* direction), *neo-Marxism* and *postmodernism*. Discussions among the representatives of those schools give the possibility for a better understanding of the meaning of those processes, which are going on in the international arena.

Table. 1. Introduction to International Relations Theory & Its Problems. A Starting Point In Global Politics



COMPETING PARADIGMS	REALISM	LIBERALISM	CONSTRUCTIVISM
Main Theoretical Proposition	Self-interested states compete constantly for power or security	Concern for power overridden by economic/political considerations (desire for prosperity, commitment to liberal values)	State behavior shaped by élite beliefs, collective norms, and social identities
Main Units of Analysis	States	States	Individuals (especially élites)
Main Instruments	Economic and especially military power	Varies (international institutions, economic exchange, promotion of democracy)	Ideas and discourse
Modern Theorists	Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz	Michael Doyle, Robert Keohane	Alexander Wendt, John Ruggie

Source: https://medium.com/discourse/introduction-to-international-relations-theory-its-problems-500197447a63

2.1. Realism and neo realism

The theoretical school of political realism, or just realism, is connected by its origin with the works of such authors, like Thucydides, N. Machiavelli, T. Hobs, etc. Among its modern representatives, it should be first to mention E. Carr, G. Kennan, H. Morgenthau, R. Niebuhr, K. Thompson, etc.

Realism – one of the oldest theoretical approaches in international researches, which requires maximally and as much as possible exactly and "realistically" (from here is the name of the approach) to describe International Relations i.e., to research those factors, which exists today and not those, which will most probably or possible to have appeared in the future. Realism, as a theoretical direction, has been created in the first half of the XX c. in the western scientific tradition - at the first time, as a critic of the moralistic and utopian approach in politics, when the last one was ignoring the realities of the force in the international arena. By this meaning, to the realists, but some conditionally, (because the discussion is not going on about the national state), can belong the works of such old Chinese authors, as Sun Tzu with his work "The art of war" (Sun Tzu).

This direction is based on the egoistic nature of the human, which, according to the imagination of those authors, who are involved in this paradigm, remains unchangeable. Realists review the state as the "entities" and consider International Relations as a chaotic interrelation of the states on the international arena, which is presented at the "political field" in the form of the sharp rivalry to each other. According to the metaphor of A. Wolfers, one of the leading political analysts – representative of the realism school, the states, by the interrelations, they are staging to each other like billiard balloons (Wolfers, 1962). In this regard, International Relations represent itself, according to the opinion of T. Hobbs, “The war of everybody against everybody” (Hobbes, 2010). From this point of view, those relations are described by realists as anarchic.

Critics blame the realists on such issues, that they do not consider the possibilities of the improvement of International Relations. However, it is not true. Chaotic interrelations, according to realists, are regulated by different agreements. Here should be appreciated the position of A. Wolfers for the concrete theoretical explanation of the problems of Interstate cooperation (Wolfers, 1962). However, the states themselves, according to realists, are acting at the global arena, based on the three main motives, having been presented by T. Hobbs: 1. Gaining and providing the security of the state; 2) Satisfaction of the economic requirements of the politically important parts of the population; 3) Increasing the authority of the state (Hobbs, 2010).

For fairness it should be noted, that to be focused on the state, as an “entity” of the analysis, was characterized not only for the researchers of International Relations. The political practice itself in the framework of the state-centric model of the world has offered, that as the starting point should be taken the state. Besides, the period of the formation of the modern social sciences – end of XIX-beginning XX c. was the period, as it was noticed by Y. Ferguson, flourishing of the state. Because of this, sociology, political sciences, and economics, and other disciplines expressed so-called statist installation (Etatism) (Lebedeva, 2007).

The existence of the states and the system of International Relations itself, by the opinion of realists, is dependent on the exact following of the *national interests*: it is one of the key understandings in the theory of realism. National Interests, as it is asserted by realists, have an objective character, because they are determined by such objective factors, as traditions, the unchangeable nature of human beings, geographic conditions, etc. In the frame of realism, the problem is, how to determine those interests and by which factors are causing the differences in their imaginations from the concrete politician’s side. For example, which foreign policy reflects the national interests of the USA? The opinions of analysts will be different. The same can be mentioned about any other country.

Acting on the international arena and following its interests, the states must be based on the evaluation of their resources and capabilities. And because of this, one more category in realism is “force”, or “power”.

The other, not less important meaning in realism is “*national sovereignty*”. This is the main foundation stone of international law, which gives the states, from one side, the freedom for actions, but does not liberate them from the responsibilities of their actions from the other side.

Realists take into consideration the importance of political actions from the moral point of view and the inevitable confrontation between political actions and moral factors. They underline that no one state has any monopolistic right for the introduction of the moral principles, and to determine, “what is good and what is wrong” within the moralistic relations. Concretely the concept of national interest prevents the abuse of such kinds of actions.

The most effective means of keeping the peace - by the opinion of realists represents the *balance of power*, which is emerging not only from the clashes of national interests to the providing of which the states are striving but from the unity of cultures, the mutual respect of the each other’s rights and consensus related to the basic principles. It is not by accident that the famous French theorist, representative of the realist school R. Aron, determined international relations as a "field of diplomats and soldiers" (Aron, 1953).

Emigrated to the USA after the coming to power Nazi regime in Germany, H. Morgenthau, whose views mostly were formatted under the influence of the historians of the end of XIX-beginning of XX c. who were involved in the analysis of the states and their interrelations, presented his manifesto of the classical realism and has formulated the six main principles. He was writing that the foreign, and in general, any politics is the fighting for power. And despite what the aims of the policy are, this policy always presents as a basic motive the intention for obtaining the power (Morgenthau,1948).

Realism was dominant in the 1940-1970 years, which reflected the realities of World War 2, and later the "Cold War". Later, it was replaced by neo-realism. On the first stage in the research of this period were the relations and rivalry of the states in the international arena. All remaining things were in the second category. For this reason, during the analysis of interstate relations, realists paid special attention to the military sphere.

As one of the directions of realism in the postwar period has emerged the approach, which gained the German name *realpolitik*, but this term was introduced in the circulation by German publicist, Ludwig Von Roshay in XIX c. (Rondeli, 2003). This approach is based on the principle that the states should be prepared for the war, for the keeping of peace. In "softer" version the realpolitik means the principles of the political activity, according to which the special attention should be paid to the real interests of the rival, and not to those things, which he declares, and be ready even use the force, but only in such case when the all-other options and resources of influence are exhausted.

It is interesting!

Six Principles of Hans Morgenthau:

1. Political realism believes that politics, like society in general, is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature.
2. The main signpost of political realism is the concept of interest defined in terms of power, which infuses rational order into the subject matter of politics, and thus makes the theoretical understanding of politics possible. Political realism avoids concerns with the motives and ideology of statesmen. Political realism avoids reinterpreting reality to fit the policy. A good foreign policy minimizes risks and maximizes benefits.
3. Realism recognizes that the determining kind of interest varies depending on the political and cultural context in which foreign policy, not to be confused with a theory of international politics, is made. It does not give "interest defined as power" a meaning that is fixed once and for all.
4. Political realism is aware of the moral significance of political action. It is also aware of the tension between the moral command and the requirements of successful political action. Realism maintains that universal moral principles must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place, because they cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation.
5. Political realism refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe.

6. The political realist maintains the autonomy of the political sphere; the statesman asks, "How does this policy affect the power and interests of the nation?" Political realism is based on a pluralistic conception of human nature. The political realist must show where the nation's interests differ from the moralistic and legalistic viewpoints (Morgenthau, 1956).

Many processes, which were going on in the world, and especially in Europe, in 1950-1960th, were badly presented for the explanation in the framework of classical realism. Discussion, first of all, is going on about the development of trade, cooperation, integration processes. Due to the cardinal changes in the World - based on the requirement of time, the realism itself has been changed. At the end of 1970th, the new direction *neorealism* or *structural realism* was established. The classic of this approach is American researcher K. Waltz. His work "Theory of International Politics" became the base on the new stage of the realism paradigm development. In the frame of neorealism were involved such well-known researchers as R. Gilpin, B. Buzan.

Neorealism kept many positions of classical realism, first of all, the consideration of the state as a key element during the construction of International Relations. Being remaining the main and independent units of the analysis of international relations, by the neorealists, the states become to be considered not only by themselves but by taking into account those structures, which they create, including unions, alliances, and interstate organizations (from here is the other name of this direction – structural realism). This system of international relations in many cases determines the foreign policy of the different states.

The category of "force" was also kept within the neorealist approach as a leading one (Art, 1983). However, during the consideration of interstate relations, the neorealist approach started to consider not only the military advantage, even though this issue remained the most important. K. Waltz compared international relations with the market, where the states, as a firm, act for their interests, have competition with one, and cooperate with others. But the basic accent in neorealism is concentrated on conflicts and competition. In this regard, the notes of K. Waltz. He writes, when the countries cooperate and obtain some common profit, they have the question, how this profit can be divided. At the same time, they are forced to solve not only the problem, will they finally gain the profit or not, but who concretely will get more (Waltz, 1979).

It is Interesting!

The main tendencies of classical realism are the follows:

- international Relations represent themselves the interaction among the states, they are similar by their nature, there are unitary participants and, as a people, are egoistic within their intentions;

- The interactions among the states are implemented chaotically, due to the absence of the "supranational center of power". As a result, the international relations are "anarchic";

- Striving toward the power, particularly to the military advantage, which guarantees the security of the states – is the main motivation of their actions;

- States first of all are based on their interests. At the same time, they can consider the moral positions, but no one of them possesses the right for the determination, “what is good and what is bad”. Concretely the category of “interest” defenses from the abuses of the speculation on moral;

-Political reality differs from the economic one: for politics, the main issue is power, for the economy – wealth;

-In the world of international relations, where the factor of force is dominant, the states should always be in full readiness.

States act in the international arena, according to neorealists, independence of their power. At the same time, the meaning “balance of power” is kept, which, in their opinion, permits the participants to abstain from using the force in international relations. It is different from each other, the simple balance of power, known as the bipolar system, and complex balance of power, which offers several centers of force (multipolar, or multipoles system).

Neorealism has introduced a significant contribution to the understanding of the interrelations of the states in the international arena. Thus, famous researcher B. Buzan considers in the modern world “mature anarchy”, which is the subject of the regulation (Buzan, 1993). The role of the regulator, in their opinion, is played by western democratic states, which represent the guarantee of international security.

Its scholar constructions K. Waltz founded on the deduction method, supposing that it is necessary to transfer the previous discussion of realists to the scientific theory. He was based on the fact that the induction constructions of the proposed theory, based on systematic observation, covered only the seen connections. K. Waltz supposes that the system of international relations cannot be explained, based only on characteristics, which belong to the different participants (actors) or the groups of participants. Therefore, the important step in the development of the neo-realism theory was the position, according to which the global level makes the decisive importance within the modern international relations, i.e., the system of International Relations itself. It also causes the distribution of resources (first of all military) among the states. At the same time, K. Waltz does not deny the necessity of studying the various states for the understanding of international relations (Waltz, 1979).

He formulated the three main principles of the structure of international relations (the structural Triade of K. Waltz). According to the first, The States are led by the motives of survival. Researchers consider that the states can have countless different goals. However, the basics for reaching the goal is survival. The second principle is related to the determination of the participants of the international relations, which for the K. Waltz represents only states. He underlines that the non-state participants (for example transnational corporations) will play the decisive role only in such cases within the system of international relations when they can catch up and overtake the superpowers by possessing an appropriate authority and power. States are the subject of the influence and coercion of the system of international relations, but they have the right to decide how they will act under those conditions. Finally, the third principle of K. Waltz relates to the fact that the states are not similar, but they own different possibilities or potential. They try to increase their power, which can bring, and bring to changing the structure of international relations (Waltz, 1979).

Big attention K. Waltz paid to the analysis of the balance of power, considering it as one of the main meanings in the theory of International Relations. He is based on the fact that the nuclear weapon represents the most important factor, which provides the balance of power in the world (Waltz, 1979). At the same time, its distribution does not destabilize the system of international relations, and on the contrary, strengthens it, thus it provides the guarantee against the armed conflicts as an effect of the scare.

In the last years, inside the realism school, *neo-traditional*, or *neoclassical* realism as a reaction to structural realism has appeared. Representatives of this direction presented an idea for the returning to the basics of realism and necessity of the study the foreign policy of the states, which, as it is mentioned by F. Zakaria, can be explained, if we analyze the behavior of the concrete state, and not the structure of international relations as a whole (Zakaria, 2011). Neoclassical realism does not deny what has been done by structural realists – it changes the accents by returning to the foreign policy of the state and underlining the importance of taking into consideration the foreign policy factors, and also personal characters of the political leaders. The representatives of this direction underline the role of the action beginning in international relations and as opposed to neorealists, whose structures turned out to be self-sufficient. Neoclassical realism gets its popularity in the USA at the end of XX – beginning of XXI c.

Finally, some authors consider *postclassical* realism. After J. O` Hagan, some experts belong to this concept of S. Huntington, who presented the concept of the *clashes of civilizations*. With the realism of H. Huntington comes closer the fact that he pays special attention concretely to conflict, and not to cooperation; Underlining the intention of the participants of the World Politics to authorities, for the better realization of its interests, and also understanding the international environment as anarchic.

During the last period, realism in the different forms of its modification gained development and continues to remain one of the important theoretical directions of the modern period.

2.2 Liberalism and Neoliberalism

The theoretical school of liberalism, being also one of the oldest theories of International Relations, by the main principles opposes realism. Researchers, who were working in the framework of the presented paradigm, focused their theoretical views on the works of Jan-Jacque Russo, John Lock, Immanuel Kant, John Steward Mill, Adam Smith, David Ricardo.

The liberal approach in the theory of International Relations twice during its history had the period of rising – at the beginning of XX. c. Liberalism is largely associated with the name of the 28th President of USA Woodrow Wilson, who declared the openness of the foreign policy activity and diplomacy, and orientation in the foreign policy on the principles of democracy, cooperation and morality.

At the beginning of the XX Century, there were three directions within liberalism. First related to those hopes, which were connected to the possibilities of the legal regulation of International Relations. In Hague, two conferences in 1899 and 1907 were held, as a result of which, the multilateral agreements about laws and customs of war were adopted. At the first conference, 27 states participated. During this event, the following conventions and agreements have been adopted: *Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes; Convention concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land; Convention for the Adaptation to Maritime Warfare of the*

Principles of the Geneva Convention of 22 August 1864. Furthermore, participating countries adopted several declarations, particularly: *Declaration concerning the Prohibition of the Discharge of Projectiles and Explosives from Balloons or by Other New Analogous Methods; Declaration concerning the Prohibition of the Use of Projectiles with the Sole Object to Spread Asphyxiating Poisonous Gases; Declaration concerning the Prohibition of the Use of Bullets which can Easily Expand or Change their Form inside the Human Body such as Bullets with a Hard Covering which does not Completely Cover the Core, or containing Indentations* (Peace Conference at Hague, 1899).

At the conference in 1907, 44 states participated (among them all participants of the first convention – 1899.) There were adopted 13 conventions, particularly:

Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes; Convention respecting the Limitation of the Employment of Force for Recovery of Contract Debts; Convention relative to the Opening of Hostilities; Convention respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land; Convention relative to the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in case of War on Land; Convention relative to the Legal Position of Enemy Merchant Ships at the Start of Hostilities; Convention relative to the Conversion of Merchant Ships into War-ships; Convention relative to the Laying of Automatic Submarine Contact Mines; Convention concerning Bombardment by Naval Forces in Time of War; Convention for the Adaptation to Maritime Warfare of the Principles of the Geneva Convention (of 6 July 1906); Convention relative to Certain Restrictions with regard to the Exercise of the Right of Capture in Naval War; Convention relative to the Establishment of an International Prize Court; Convention concerning the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Naval War. (International Committee of the Red Cross, 1907)

Furthermore, one additional document: *The declaration Prohibiting the Discharge of Projectiles and Explosives from Balloons* was adopted. (International Committee of the Red Cross, 1907)

Even though the adoption of the above-mentioned documents could not prevent the beginning of World War 1, optimism about possible legal resolution was revived again after the ending of the war.

The second direction of liberalism was oriented mostly for avoiding anarchy in international relations through International Organizations. Realization of those ideas of collective security and the foundation of the League of Nations was for them the priority.

Finally, representatives of the third direction were focused on disarmament, their ideas, particularly, have found embodiment at the Washington Conference 1921-1922. Representatives of Belgium, Great Britain, Holland, China, Portugal, the USA, France, and Japan, dedicated to limiting the maritime weapons, and some pacific and Far eastern problems (Buell, 1922).

It is important!

The main characters of classical liberalism are the following:

-Human is not aggressive by his nature. His main purpose is cooperation;

-War-it is a problem, which should be resolved only by joint efforts;

-International community should understand the necessity of the functioning of such international institutions, which are capable to prevent armed conflict;

-States should reformate their political systems for the reasons, that democratic governance inside each of the states is capable to promote the establishment of peace and cooperation development on our planet;

-In the international arena they are acting not only forcefully, but other factors too, such as economy and morality.

In comparison with realists, liberals have opposite views on the nature of personality. They underline the human`s intention for cooperation, peace; orientation on justice and morality (for this reason this approach is called idealism). So, the only thing, where the positions of realists and idealists coincide with each other on the nature of the personality, is its rationality: acting by this or other motivations (egoistic according to realists and universal, according to liberals), the human`s behavior itself is reasonable. This point later caused a critique among the representatives of the other theoretical directions, who pointed to the possibility of impulsive, irrational behavior. Besides, the majority of realists (except for those people, who represent the neoclassical approach) and representatives of liberalism see the world, i.e., they are based on the position of *Holism*.

Liberals underline the necessity of the development of values, which are directed on the unification of humanity; formation of anti-war principles; promotion of the idea of free International Trade; "open diplomacy". States, as they were supposed, are not oriented only on the maximization of the short-term profit. Big benefits are given by long-term Mutually beneficial cooperation.

After the ending of the cold war, during which, in the theoretical sphere of International Relations dominated realists and neorealists, again started the epoch of the liberal school. This direction, as a realism, has been transferred to neo-liberalism - considering the new realities. The famous theorists R. Keohane and J. Nye were writing that among the countries there exist many connections and relations, in which for the realization of special policy, the power does not represent the most acceptable instrument. Thus, the factor of military power, according to the liberal approach, is not so important, as it is considered by neo-realists. According to liberals, the influence of the armed forces on the other participants of international relations becomes very expensive from a direct and relative point of view. More effective means of influence are economic and legal methods. In connection with it, neo-liberals especially underline the interconnections of politics and economics and decreasing at the end of XX Century in World Politics such factors as a military power (Keohane and Nye, 1977).

According to the liberal approach, even though the states are still considered as main participants (actors) in the world arena, they are not alone. It is mentioned, that together with them, in the modern world, the *intergovernmental organizations* – IGOs are functioning: Universal (UN), Regional (particularly OSCE), organizations, which are specialized according to the sphere of activity (for example in the field of trade – World Trade Organization), and also *non-governmental organizations* – NGOs, first of all, International NGOs – human rights organizations, ecological, feminist, etc. which do not belong to the state and are not oriented on the gaining the profit. Besides, active participants of the international interrelations are *transnational corporations* (TNC) and *regions* of the different states.

Neoliberalism has many forms and directions, which, from one side, largely intersect, but, from the other side – sometimes are considered as an independent theoretical school. To their list belong the concept of transnational relations, having been offered by American researchers R. Keohane and J. Nye in the work: "Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition", which for the first time was published in 1977. Its third edition was published in 2000. This research underlines the role of international actors in the modern world, it is recognized the variety of authors, types, and channels of interrelations among them, and accordingly, the necessity to refuse from the analysis the states, as the only participant of International Interrelations. Instead of the term, "International relations", which means only interstate relations, the researchers introduce the new, wider meaning – "transnational". For this reason, this theoretical direction gained the name *transnationalism.*

Because neoliberals pay special attention to the plurality of participants of the modern world processes, the presented theoretical direction has another name – *pluralism.* Active involvement of the new (nontraditional) actors in International Relations, according to neoliberals has a list of different consequences. From one side, the states are "divided" by the part of their responsibilities and competencies, "delivering" them to the other participants, and from the other side – they can gain the new functions of power, for example, to be connected with the coordination of attempts of various actors on the global arena; or by the working out the new rules of interrelations. It is deleting the boundary between the internal and external policy. The world is becoming more complex.

One more direction in the works of R. Keohane and J. Nye has become the concept of *complex interdependence*. Following it, there are many channels of connections in the world, based on which it is constructed, including the non-formal relations among the political elites, networks among the governmental and non-governmental structures, etc. At the same time, there are separately named domestic structures (for example local regions, cities, etc.). Violation of one network and relations causes the whole chain of consequences by the principle of "domino effect" practically for all participants of international interrelations. In the researches, which are conducted in the framework of the theory of complex interdependence, there are analyzed, for example, the several states during the working out the concept of national security - take into consideration the principle of interdependence; by which methods it is strengthened, etc. (Keohane, Nye, 1977).

American authors Ch. W. Kegley and Eu. R. Wittkopf presents the comparison of four theoretical directions – realism, neo-realism, liberalism, and neoliberalism by the same parameters, which is significantly noticeable.

However, during the comparison of (neo) realism and (neo) liberalism to the presented aspects – it should be added one parameter – time. If the first approach is oriented on the explanation of historical, and particularly current realities, the second is mostly oriented to the attempts to describe the future and find its elements in the contemporary period.

Table 2. **Theory Questions: Four Directions**

Criteria's	Realism	Neorealism	Liberalism	Neoliberalism
Key units of analysis	Independent states	Structures of the International system	Institutes – replacing the states	Individuals, „updated" states. Non-state actors
Main spheres of the research	Problems of military confrontation and security	Fighting for the power and leadership under the condition of the anarchic organization of the international relations	Institutionalizing of the relations, which are promoting a peace	Developing the interstate cooperation; Economics, social and ecological problems
Main Problems	Balance of power	Balance of "Deterrence", military readiness, Retention	International law, International Organizations, Democratization	Complex interdependence, regimes
Evaluation the perspectives of the world development	Pessimism/stability	Pessimism	Optimism/Progress	The expectation of the further development of cooperation, the foundation of the global community
Motivation of actors	National interest, competition in terms "game with the zero - sum" (losing by one is equal to the victory of other), power.	Force, prestige, gaining the advantage in comparison with the other states	Cooperation, mutual aid, a satisfaction of the basic needs of the human	Global Interests (general profit), justice, peace and prosperity, freedom, morality.
Key understandings	Structural anarchy of the international relations, power (force), national	Structural anarchy of the international relations, rational	Collective security, world order, law, integration,	Transnational relations, right, free market, interrelations, integration, liberal

	interests, the balance of power, polarity	choice, armament	international organization	ruling, human rights, gender
Main Interests	Strengthening the national power, resistance to the limitations of the national independence	Keeping the nuclear "retention", to avoid the disarmament and foundation the supranational organizations	Conducting the Institutional Reforms	Development of the International Regimes, promoting the democracy enlargement and international institutes for the coordination the collective efforts during the resolution of the global problems

Source: Kegley Ch. W., Wittkopf Eu. R. World Politics: Trend and Transformation. Eight Edition. N.Y.: Bedford/St. Martin`s, 2001.

2.3 Neo-Marxism

Besides the two above-mentioned theoretical schools – realism and liberalism and modern versions of those concepts – neorealism and neoliberalism, is comparatively widely also distributed the neo-Marxism approach, which underlines economic inequality in the modern world and the dividing of the population of our planet by the economic parameter, which, if we are talking about the current period, is passing not by the lines of the boundaries of the national states, but due to the main reasons the axis "North-South". In the framework of Marxism, to the scientific circulation, the meaning is "countries of the third world" (developing countries) and "countries of the second world" (under communist regimes during the "cold war period").

As it is coming from the term itself, the conceptual sources of neo-Marxism are concentrated in the works of Karl Marx. The representatives of this theory are Immanuel Wallenstein, Andre G. Frank, Robert W. Cox.

World-systems theory – is one of the well-known versions of neo-Marxism. It is based on the following position. First of all, the world is divided not only on the states but according to the above-mentioned scientists on more other important - structural units – classes. The appearance of the states was necessary for the transition to the world economic system (world-economics) and its victory over the world – empires of the past. The second, in the modern period, exists only one world – economy – capitalism. The development of capitalism passed through several cycles of expansion and stagnation, which started from its birth in Europe. At the first stage, this socio-economic formation covered the comparatively small territory of Europe but later has been distributed in the whole world. As a result of capitalist development, the division of the countries following their economic indexes on the three parts: The Center (the Core), periphery, and semi-periphery. The countries, which are in the center, have much higher standards of living and dominate over the others.

Representatives of the world-system theory are based on the fact that the development of the core is implemented at the expense of the other countries. According to them, this leads us to conflicts. World-system theory, after V. Lenin, underline the continuous struggle between the imperialistic states (core countries), but points out, that their common purposes, which is determined by the belonging of them to the „one club", dominate during their relations with the periphery, where they have the access to the cheap resources, labor force, sale markets.

At the same time, the periphery and semi-periphery try to resist, by organizing the different types of rebel movements. Having been published in 2000, the work "The end of the World as we Know It: Social Science for the Twenty-First century" I. Wallerstein writes that the "leaders of October Revolution consider themselves as those who organized the first proletariat revolution in modern history. It was one of the first, probably the most dramatic national-liberation rebels on the periphery, and semi-periphery of the world-system" (Wallerstein, 2001). In general, world-system theory pays special attention to polarization, which today crosses the line "rich North-poor South" and which leads to potential conflicts.

Dependence theory – represents comparatively another version of neo-Marxism. In comparison to the world system, dependence theory pays attention not only to the historic development of the world and its cycles but to the contemporary period. The representatives of this theoretical approach (particularly, A. Frank), following the neoliberals, point out the rapid development of economics in the world in the second half of the XX century. However, neo-Marxists are more pessimistic, because according to their position, economically less developed countries are dependent on the more developed countries. The followers of the dependence theory underline that economic development or backwardness is not the natural stage of humanity`s development, which is characterized for all states but has emerged as a result of inequality of interstate relations. During the long period, there was going on the redistribution of the surplus product from the periphery (colonies, semi-colonies) in favor of the center–metropolis (James, 1997). As a result, this process has brought to the "dependent backwardness" of peripherals ("South"), which could be successfully functioning, if it would be oriented on its development.

Nowadays, the developed states continue the exploitation of the developing ones, but in the contemporary period, they do not use the force methods and instead are acting based on economic coercion, which represents by its nature the new form of colonialism – *neocolonialism.* Due to this, in developing countries, we observe the phenomena *of a dual economy.* It is emerged by the interactions of the developed states with the developing, as a result of which, it is going on the uneven development of the last ones: one field of the economy are becoming super modern, with the open borders, prosperous and competitive, at the same time, other fields remain traditional, with the backward methods of production. All those factors alone cause social and political instability in developing countries.

Finally, in the framework of neo-Marxism, its development has gained the Gramsci School (Italian School), which possesses the name of the Italian theorist of Marxism, also the founder of the leader of the communist party of Italy A. Gramsci. One of the key moments there – the situation about "World Hegemony". It is founded by the powerful state, which factually imposes on the other countries the World Order. This school adjoins others, as a result of which the "The Historic Hegemonic Block" is created (Gramsci). By increasing the confrontation within the block, it is possible for its disintegration. The examples of such blocks are serving Great Britain at the second part of XIX c. and the USA at the second part of XX C.

2.4. Postmodernism and other theoretical approaches

Postmodernism – in the theory of international relations appeared in 1980th: from one side, as a reaction to classical theory (neoliberalism and first of all neo-realism), from the other – under the influence of neo-Marxism during the search for the other theoretical alternative. The French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard has introduced into scientific circulation the term "postmodernism", having been determined as skepticism in the relations with concepts, which were based on the rationalistic approaches and claiming the true explanation of reality (Jean-François Lyotard, 1979).

On the development of postmodernism, the sufficient influence had the processes, which were going on in the world within last several decades, which were difficult to explain from the traditional theoretical positions of neorealism and neoliberalism: the oil crisis of 1970th years and activities of the countries – oil exporters, currency shocks, increasing the disproportion between rich "North" and poor "South". In the agenda has appeared so-called "low-intensity conflicts", which were hardly fit into the confrontation of the two superpowers

Postmodernism is very varied by the theoretical schemes, which are used within this theory, and also according to directions and authors. Researchers, who work in the framework of the postmodern paradigm: for example, J. Der Derian, C.T. Sjolander – mention, that the world is very complex and multidimensional, for its simplification during the analysis – the method, which is used by classical theories, which are rationalistic (based on the rational behavior of its participants), first of all, realistic and liberal paradigms (Sjolander, 1994). In general, their task postmodernists consider the decreasing of differences: from one side, between the philosophical positions, from the other - observations and data from the social practice, from the third – the social practice as such. They also try to go outside of opposition to the theory of international relations and political science, by the way, to apply to such wider philosophical categories, as justice, values, etc.

The Postmodernist approach writes J. Der Derian, does not intend to reflect the realities of World Politics in the mirror of intellectual analysis. Rationalists, he continues, are waiting, when the scientific progress let them find the right method, dreaming for the fixation, to simplify the reality, decrease it to one, when each view on the world, according to the postmodernists, is limited by its "starting point" (Derian, 1997). The theory itself, as it is mentioned by R. Cox, following J. Haberman exists always for anybody and concrete purposes (Lebedeva, 2007).

Postmodernists criticize the realists, declaring that it is impossible by some objective characters to determine the state interests. Even more, there are no universal interests. In general, they have declined to consider the state as "fiction". They declare that some meaning, which is used by the researchers for the determination of the group of the people, finally leads us in the wrong direction. For example, within the realist concept, USSR was considered as an integral member of International Relations. On a matter, as it is underlined by post-modernists, it is not true. Due to it, realists are worried about the disintegration of the USSR.

Representatives of postmodernism present the ideas about "deconstruction" of the key understandings of International Relations (such as "State", "International System" etc.) through the analysis of texts and discovering the hidden content.

Criticism of the classical approaches – in general, is one of the important directions in postmodernism (it gained the name of *critical theory*) but does not limit this theory. Some authors consider this direction as independent.

However, since the beginning of the 90th, one of the most popular directions is becoming social constructivism, which considers World Politics as a social construct. Constructivists underline that the world is eternally changing and people themselves cause such types of changes, by the foundation of new institutes, relations, etc.

From its turn, the newly created unit is starting to make an influence on its founders, etc. Constructivists apply to pay special attention to the social, ethnic, religious, and other groups. To study, how they determine their identity, their interests, etc.
In general, as it was mentioned by one of the leading theorists of constructivism A. Wendt, constructivism cannot be called a theory of international relations; This approach intends just toward the determination of the differences and comparativeness of one or other characters of international politics. Constructivism mostly offers somehow to view the subjective sphere of world politics (A. Wendt, 1997).

Despite the critics of the classical schools of international relations, constructivists somehow tried to overcome the radical confrontation between neorealism and neoliberalism by underlining the importance of not only the reality, as such, not also the perception of this reality.

One more important issue in constructivism: its representatives in comparison with neorealists and neoliberals, who just consider the state as an actor in the international arena, ask the question, why are they as they are. States, according to constructivists, represent the main actors, however, in the external environment, their interrelations are going to be based on the working out by themselves rules, which creates some social construct. Here manifests itself the intention of constructivists to underline an active, business base in world politics.

Several representatives of constructivists concentrated their attention on the fact that with the support of language (understanding) people construct the political world, where they live, and as created by them the constructs influence their political behavior. Necessary, as it is mentioned by the representatives of this direction, to pay special attention to the research of the text, hidden meaning in them.

Other constructivists pay less attention concretely to the language constructs. They are more interested, for example, in how the state interests are perceived and formulated by the government, different nonstate structures, etc. Thus, if the small state is the mediator in the conflict with the big states, according to the constructivist approach it should be affected by its perception (particularly, as the active participant of international interrelations), which in the future, most probably, can be reflected in other situations.

By criticizing the classical schools of the theory of International Relations, first of all, realism, constructivists underline that the several foreign policy actions in the modern world are explained in a bad manner by them. J. Goldstein, while describing constructivism, asked the question: what forced the USA in 90th to send troops to Somalia – a country, from the strategic plan that did not represent to the USA the special interests? From the realism point of view, it is difficult to explain this factor. One of the constructivist explanations of this action was connected with the attempt of the USA to construct the new rules of international behavior, providing a humanitarian guarantee for the population (Goldstein, 2011).

Constructivists underline the double function of international institutes: regulative and formative. The regulatory function is provided by norms and procedures, creative – permits to create something new. For the explanation, the importance of the difference of those functions, sometimes applies to the metaphor of the chess game, where the rules (regulative function) are very tough, however, it is a huge space for the creation (creative function).

Together with the real positive moments, which constructivism has introduced in the development of the theory of international relations, it, like any approach, has its limitations. Constructivists' picture of world politics becomes very mosaic, and it is difficult to determine how different its parts are in the relationship with each other. At the same time, this remark can belong to any postmodernist direction.

One more approach, which is associated with postmodernism, although today it is more frequently considered as an independent – feminism in international research.

Feminism emerged at the first stage as a critical approach for international researchers in 1960th, by denying the classical theories of understanding the international sphere. However, in the theory of International Relations, till the periphery of 1980th it was remaining on the periphery, and gender differences, i.e., connected with the social aspects of the sex, were ignored. Representatives of feminism paid attention to the fact that all existing theories of international relations had been based on the views of males and did not take into consideration the expressions of women and also their contribution (status, role, system of assurance, expressions, etc.) in its political development. The article of one of the well-known representatives of this direction J. A. Tickner was published in the journal "International Studies Quarterly" in 1997 and it is called "You do not understand: the complex relations of feminism and other theoretical directions in International Researches". By taking as an example the problems of security, J. A. Tickner shows, if in the realistic paradigm, which mostly reflects the masculine position, security is determined in politico-military terms as providing the security of borders from the external invasion and territorial integrity of the state, in feminism security is understood in a wider perspective – as any violence (Tickner, 2011).

Feminism itself is not monotonous and is divided into several branches (directions). J. Goldstein underlines about three of them. Difference feminism points out the role of women in world politics concretely within such fields – as a woman`s character. He discusses the significant gender differences; thus, women and men cannot implement at the same level the same work. Part of the representatives of this direction explain the gender differences by biological reasons, but the majority – by social (Goldstein, 2011).

Opposing especially against the (neo) realistic paradigm, they follow the liberal's point on the importance of the interdependence of the states, protection of human rights, limiting the force methods. However, the differentiative feminism has the requirements and claims to (neo) liberals too, and they criticize the liberals and are pointing out such factors, that the state, as a unified entity is still being considered as the main actor in the world arena, and by this way to keep the principles of the androcentric world. In general, the idea of a plurality of actors, as another imagination of (neo) liberals, does not take into consideration the special characters of women. Together with the representatives of such theoretical directions, the surveys show the stark difference in the approaches to world politics by men and women. Thus, women on average for 10% are less declined to support military actions (Lebedeva, 2007).

The differential feminism underlines that the women in politics can and should play a special role, particularly, to be more involved in the mediation during the conflict situation, during the adoption of the decisions, etc.

The second branch of feminism – liberal feminism. Its supporters have a skeptical attitude to the ideas of differentiative feminism and making the accent on the gender equality of men and women in politics, by pointing out, that the differences between the sex are caused by the stereotypes of perception, but have by essence the little differences. When a woman is involved professionally in international relations, her behavior is the same as male`s, as it is considered by liberal feminists and they bring historic examples. The problem is not in the issue, that women perceive the world in different ways, but that they have some limitations in their capabilities to be involved in world politics. And there are many examples. Thus, according to the information of J. Singer, in 1995, during the sessions of the UN General Assembly, the delegations of the different states were presented with 80% by man and 97% of the heads of the delegations, in general, were men (Lebedeva, 2007).

The task is connected with the fact, related to the more involvement of women in world politics. But, to do it is not recommended because they have a different perception of the world. Just in the opposite case, we lose many talented and initiative people. At the same time, the representatives of such a direction point out the necessity to research the social roles of women: lady as a political activist, as a participant of international negotiations, etc.

It seems somehow that differential and liberal feminism are acting from principally different positions. However, it is not true. J. Goldstein explains it in the following way. Let`s suppose, that the capability to fulfill this or other activity on average with men and women differ from each other. Let`s suppose, that one type of work is managed better by women. However, there are men, who can fulfill this task much better than women on average. In other words, the existence of the middle group (in this case gender) differences are not always distributed on all individuals of the group (Goldstein, 2011).

Finally, the third direction in feminism – *postmodern feminism*. Its supporters, to be agreed with the representatives of the other feminist directions concerning critics first of all neo-realism, object to a whole series of questions. They have remarks toward the representatives of the differentiative feminism, that it should not be open to praise and glorify women. They are to be more adaptive to the world, which is constructed by man, but not always with the better way from the moral point of view, but, in general, suffer both sexes. Besides, there is less chance of the existence of a fixed biologically or socially determined male or female base. More chance, they underline, that discussion should be conducted about interconnections of gender and power authorities. Postmodernists also fix their positions against the attempts of liberal feminists, related to the inclusion of women in world politics. In their opinion, it again means the acceptance of the existing world.

The representatives of this direction pay important attention to the topics of the deconstruction of the texts. They mention, for example, that the nuclear bomb, having been used by Americans in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, had the male names: “Fat Man” and “Little Boy”. In the sending cipher telegram after the using the bomb, was mentioned about success by the mentioning it was “a boy”. It was supposed that if the nuclear bomb would not work, there would be information about the “girl”.

It is important to notice, that feminism is radically different and there is no common classification in the relations of the tendencies, which exist within this direction: There are listed, for example, radical feminism, post-Marxist feminism, etc. Besides, feminism as a theoretical direction in international relations is connected with the several feminist movements, which are fighting for disarmament, protection of the rights of women, etc.

2.5. Private theories in the International Researches and the specifics of the several national schools

To the private theories of international relations and world politics, it is necessary to point out those, which have no claims to cover the whole sphere and all aspects of the international environment, because they try to create the classical theories or to formulate the scholarly principles, as a postmodern direction. The private theories are limited by any field or type of situation, and due to it, there are many, and they often are developed by the researchers, who are involved in the various theoretical paradigms.

The theory of international regimes has found its reflection in the works of J. Ruggie, St. D. Krasner, and R. Keohane. Under the international regimes, there are understood the principles, norms, rules, and procedures of the decision-making process, in the attitude of which the expectations of the participants of the international community in one or another field of international relations and world politics coincide with each other. For example, in the field of tariffs and trade, finance policy, consumption of the marine bottom, cosmos, etc. The regimes can include a different number of states, and the countries themselves are joining or, on the contrary, leave one or another regime (Krasner, 1983).

Examples of international regimes can be considered WTO, the agreement about nuclear nonproliferation, prohibition of chemical weapons, etc. Regimes can be regional or global, in the significant part institutionalized as, for example, WTO, or do not have an appropriate institute and to be significantly informal, but in any case, they offer the consent of the states, which are involved within those regimes.

Because the regimes, first of all, are oriented on cooperation, from the theoretical point of view they especially attract the attention of neoliberals. At the same time, neorealists are interested in the role of state power during the working out and promotion of the regime.

Democratic Peace Theory. It was worked out by such authors as M.W. Doyle, B. Russett. Researchers pay special attention to the fact that the modern liberal-democratic states based on the common political principles are not inclined to be involved in the wars with each other for the gaining of their purposes and choose the peaceful means for the resolution of the disagreements (Doyle, 1983).

Democratic peace theory, as a theory of international regimes, is possibly conditionally to belong to neo-liberalism, even though many authors consider it as an independent director. The argument, in this case, represents the fact that, for example, representatives of the democratic peace mostly are oriented on the state-centrist model, because they consider only the foreign policy of the states, and that brings them closer to neorealism. More concretely about the theory of democratic peace will be considered in the next chapters.

Another direction in the theory of international relations – geopolitics (German: Geopolitik), on the contrary, is closer to (neo) realism, especially due to the fact, how important attention is paid to the factor of the power of the state. Many specialists of geopolitics consider that traditional geopolitics was involved to study geopolitics - as a space phenomenon. The question about determining the powerfulness of the different countries is directly connected with the size and characters of the territory, which it covers. The main task of the states, according to the geopolitician's point of view, is interrelated with the expansion and enlargement of the territorial resources. The founder of geopolitics is considered Friedrich Ratzel, but the term “geopolitics” itself has appeared in the works of Rudolf Kjellén (Kjellén, 1916). Halford Mackinder from itself is considered as a founder of the Heartland theory (despite the fact, that he did not introduce this term), the essence of which is connected with, that in the history was and is going on the confrontation of the marine and ground powers, and as he considered at the beginning of the XX Century, the advantage was gained by sea powers. The realists and geopoliticians in geopolitics pay main attention to the force factor in politics, also to the natural resources (Mackinder, 1904).

At the same time, geopolitics includes several aspects, which go out from the frames, which connect them with realism. Thus, the absolutization of the geographic factors, which reflected the imaginations within the end of XIX and beginning of XX c. when the first geopolitical theories were established and the late period, the moment of the formation and development of realism, when geographic factors were gradually losing their importance. The Power of the state, national interests are considered by realists in a wider way. In realism, there are no elements of mysticism, which appeared in the works of geopoliticians, and also elements of ideology, which gave an opportunity of it being used in Germany for the service of the aggressive purposes of the “Third Reich”.

All those factors permit us to consider geopolitics as an independent director of theoretical thought. Traditionally, the term has applied primarily to the impact of geography on politics, but its usage has evolved over the past century to encompass a wider connotation.

In academic circles, the study of geopolitics involves the analysis of geography, history, and social science concerning spatial politics and patterns at various scales (ranging from the level of the state to international).

For the avoiding from one side from the ideological explanation of this discipline and its association with Nazi Germany, and the second side – geographic determinism of the classical geopolitics, several researchers prefer to use the term “political geography” as a more neutral terminology (Chitadze, 2011).

In this regard, Political geography is determined as a scientific discipline, which is involved to study the influence of geographic factors on politics. There are some objections. Particularly, it is pointed out that political geography – is another discipline, which represents the field of geographic science. The discussions about this topic are continuing (Chitadze, 2011).

To the private theories belongs the big group of theoretical directions, which relate to the research the study of peace – *peace study*. The questions related to war and peace always concerned the interests of humanity. However, only from the second half of the XX Century the theoretical topics related to the presented problem started to be intensively discussed and analyzed and this factor was mostly determined by two world wars, and also by the "cold war", which was followed by many regional conflicts and threatened to be transferred to the new world war.

M. Griffits and T. O`Callaghan analyze the following events, which become the key in the development of this field:

- antiwar movements in the 1960th, especially those, which were opposing the war in Vietnam;
- activation of the movements for the reduction of the number of nuclear arsenals, and also for disarmament;
- ending of the "cold war" and disintegration of the USSR (Griffits, Callaghan, 2001).

The theoretical findings during the peace studies process were promoted at the crossroads of many sciences – psychology, international studies, ethnology, political sciences, law, sociology, etc. It affected the theoretical approaches, which from themselves are oriented on the different disciplines. For example, several theories, which explain the difference and understanding of the sides in the conflict, were based on psychological approaches. At the same time, attempts have been made to work out an interdisciplinary theory of war and peace. Among them, one of the first, who started to work in the interdisciplinary sphere, was Q. Wright. He paid significant attention to the legal regulation of the international problems, proving by this, how the international law is changing and developing – for the adaptation to the changing conditions. Together with it, presenting himself from the realist positions, Q. Wright considered that the state would not refuse to use the force in the foreign policy. Q. Wright was one of the first, who pointed, that the international conflict is heterogeneous in time. There are several phases: 1) Understanding the differences in purposes; 2) Increasing the tension; 3) Making pressure without using the force for the resolution of conflict; 4) Resolving the conflict by military means (Wright, 1955).

Besides interdisciplinary research of the problems of peace, as a rule, it is also discussed about applied direction. Many researchers participated in the conflict resolution process as an expert in official delegations, and on a non-official level, they were organizing meetings, roundtables, seminars, and other events among the representatives of the conflict sides, with the purpose to close their positions. For example, the seminars of J. Burton, H. Kelman, and others at the end of 1960th and beginning of 1970 years, the base of those events were the idea about necessity the influence to the conflict on the level of mass and determination, what is the external part of the conflict, and also to try to determine the possible ways of the resolving the confrontation. This direction gained the name "*conflict resolution*". At the first stage, it was in opposition to the tradition of *conflict management*, which was oriented toward approaching the positions of sides. In the future, the majority of authors started to consider both approaches as not opposite, but complementing each other, at the same time, as a rule, to prefer one of the approaches.

Not only researchers but also political activists, diplomats, very frequently work in this field, among them – former President of USA Jimmy Carter.

In the framework of the research of those peace problems, there are worked out theoretical topics too, which are connected with the different forms of violence. One of such theories – *structural violence has* presented by Norwegian author J. Galtung. Its content is the following – in the modern world, the structure of relations is such that powerful states by the using of various methods, first of all economic, cause such damage to the weak countries, which can be compared with armed conflicts (Galtung, 1996).

There are many theories related to conducting the negotiations, which partly can be considered to the direction of the peace problems studies. It concerns the negotiations for conflict resolution. In this case, in the framework of neoliberal position is formulated the approach on the base joint problem-solving. It comes from the cooperation of the participants of the negotiations for finding the accepting solution for both sides, which should satisfy the interests of both participants. This approach is worked out by H. Raiffa in the field of business, R. Fisher, W. Ury – in the widest spheres of the negotiation practice, including international relations.

The big group of private theories is worked out in the field of foreign policy decisions. As during the research in the field of the problems of peace, here the object of the research proposes the interdisciplinary interconnections. An example of the private theory can be considered the *Theory of Rational Choice*, which is significantly based on the realistic paradigm. According to this theory, persons, who adopt the decision, conduct themselves very rationally, taking into consideration the positive and negative sides of the existing alternatives.

Finally, some private theories come not from the subject area, but the type or class of the concrete situation. Usually, those are significantly formalized and use the materialistic apparatus. To their list belongs, for example, *game theory*. **Game theory** is the study of mathematical models of strategic interaction between rational decision-makers. It has applications in all fields of social science, as well as in logic and computer science. Originally, it addressed zero-sum games, in which one person's gains result in losses for the other participants. Today, game theory applies to a wide range of behavioral relations and is now an umbrella term for the science of logical decision-making in humans, animals, and computers.

The modern game theory began with the idea regarding the existence of mixed-strategy equilibria in two-person zero-sum games and its proof by John von Neumann. Von Neumann's original proof used the Brouwer fixed-point theorem on continuous mappings into compact convex sets, which became a standard method in game theory and mathematical economics. His paper was followed by the 1944 book *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*, co-written with Oskar Morgenstern, which considered cooperative games of several players. The second edition of this book provided an axiomatic theory of expected utility, which allowed mathematical statisticians and economists to treat decision-making under uncertainty (John Von Neumann, 2007).

This theory was developed extensively in the 1950s by many scholars. Game theory was later explicitly applied to biology in the 1970s, although similar developments go back at least as far as the 1930s. Game theory has been widely recognized as an important tool in many fields. As of 2014, with the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences going to game theorist Jean Tirole, eleven game theorists have won the economics Nobel Prize.

Within the most similar version, it is directed on the analysis of the interrelations of two sides, which has the two versions of behavior: To conduct the action in a cooperative, or competitive manner. Participants are informed in advance, what types of consequences can be developed in case of competitive or cooperative behavior of both sides, and also during the choice by one side competitive, and by the second side cooperative behavior, thus, so-called *payoff matrix* is presented. But, by making the choice, participants do not know about the choice of another player. The payoff matrix can be different: one of the most popular versions is *Prisoner`s Dilemma*.

The **prisoner's dilemma** is a standard example of a game analyzed in game theory that shows why two completely rational individuals might not cooperate, even if it appears that it is in their best interests to do so. It was originally framed by Merrill Flood and Melvin Dresher while working at RAND in 1950. Albert W. Tucker formalized the game with prison sentence rewards and named it "prisoner's dilemma", presenting it as follows:

Two members of a criminal gang are arrested and imprisoned. Each prisoner is in solitary confinement with no means of communicating with the other. The prosecutors lack sufficient evidence to convict the pair on the principal charge, but they have enough to convict both on a lesser charge. Simultaneously, the prosecutors offer each prisoner a bargain. Each prisoner is given the opportunity either to betray the other by testifying that the other committed the crime, or to cooperate with the other by remaining silent. The offer is:

· If A and B each betray the other, each of them serves two years in prison

· If A betrays B but B remains silent, A will be set free and B will serve three years in prison (and vice versa)

· If A and B both remain silent, both of them will only serve one year in prison (on the lesser charge) (Tucker, 1950).

It is implied that the prisoners will have no opportunity to reward or punish their partner other than the prison sentences they get and that their decision will not affect their reputation in the future. Because betraying a partner offers a greater reward than cooperating with them, all purely rational self-interested prisoners will betray the other, meaning the only possible outcome for two purely rational prisoners is for them to betray each other. The interesting part of this result is that pursuing individual rewards logically leads both of the prisoners to betray when they would get a better reward if they both kept silent. In reality, humans display a systemic bias towards cooperative behavior in this and similar games despite what is predicted by simple models of "rational" self-interested action.
An extended "iterated" version of the game also exists. In this version, the classic game is played repeatedly between the same prisoners, who continuously have the opportunity to penalize the other for previous decisions. If the number of times the game is played is known to the players, then (by backward induction) two classically rational players will betray each other repeatedly, for the same reasons as the single-shot variant. In an infinite or unknown length game, there is no fixed optimum strategy, and prisoner's dilemma tournaments have been held to compete and test algorithms for such cases.

The prisoner's dilemma game can be used as a model for many real-world situations involving cooperative behavior. In casual usage, the label "prisoner's dilemma" may be applied to situations not strictly matching the formal criteria of the classic or iterative games: for instance, those in which two entities could gain important benefits from cooperating or suffer from the failure to do so, but find it difficult or expensive—not necessarily impossible—to coordinate their activities.

The model of the game theory is situated in the base of the whole sphere of international situations – arms race, conflict confrontation, etc. In 60th, American researcher Th. Schelling introduced the concept base of the research of behavior with the assistance of game theory, and in 2005 he together with the scientist from Israel R. Aumann, who produced the mathematical apparatus, has become the winner of the Nobel prize in economics (Schelling, Aumann, 2007).

In the future, there were implemented many experimental types of research related to cooperation and conflicts by the agency of game theories. Particularly, in the works of R. Axelrod has been shown, that during the permanent interconnections, which are not limited by the time frames, participants start to act cooperatively, because it turns out to be the most profitable. At the same time, one of the books of R. Axelrod, which was published in 1984, is titled: *The Evolution of Cooperation* (Axelrod, 1984).

Other examples of the private theories can be served by the Chaos Theory, which gained its popularity within the international researches of 1990th. Its supporters were interested in, what regularity is in action under the conditions, when the radical changes are held and other different factors are in action i.e., in the crisis, for example, immediate disintegration of USSR, etc. For this purpose, there were some attempts to use mathematical models.

Discussing theories within international research, it should be pointed out about scientific traditions, which were developing first of all as national approaches due to one or other reasons and did not obtain the wide distribution. Here first of all we should mention the *English School of International Relations and the French School of Sociology in International Relations*.

The English School of international relations theory (sometimes also referred to as liberal realism, the International Society school or the British institutionalists) maintains that there is a 'society of states' at the international level, despite the condition of anarchy (that is, the lack of a global ruler or world state). The English school stands for the conviction that ideas, rather than simply material capabilities, shape the conduct of international politics, and therefore deserve analysis and critique. In this sense, it is similar to constructivism, though the English School has its roots more in world history, international law, and political theory, and is more open to normative approaches than is generally the case with constructivism.

The 'English-ness' of the school is questionable - many of its most prominent members are not English - and its intellectual origins are disputed. One view (presented by Hidemi Suganami) is that its roots lie in the work of pioneering inter-war scholars like the South African Charles Manning, the founding professor of the Department of International Relations at the London School of Economics (Suganami, 2017). Others (especially Tim Dunne and Brunello Vigezzi) have located them in the work of the British committee on the theory of international politics, a group created in 1959 under the chairmanship of the Cambridge historian Herbert Butterfield, with financial aid from the Rockefeller Foundation (Vigezzi, 2005). Both positions acknowledge the central role played by the theorists Martin Wight, Hedley Bull (Australian teaching at the London School of Economics), and R J Vincent.

The name 'English School' was first coined by Roy Jones in an article published in the *Review of International Studies* in 1981, entitled "The English school - a case for closure" (Grader, 1988). Some other descriptions - notably that of 'British institutionalists' (Hidemi Suganami) - have been suggested but are not generally used. Throughout the development of the theory, the name became widely accepted, not least because it was developed almost exclusively at the London School of Economics, Cambridge, and Oxford University.

The international system within the English School. The classical English school starts with the realist assumption of an international *system* that forms as soon as two or more states have a sufficient amount of interaction. It underlines the English school tradition of realism and *Machtpolitik* (power politics) and puts international anarchy at the center of International Relations Theory. Hedley Bull defined the international system as being formed "when two or more have sufficient contact between them and has sufficient impact on one another's decisions to cause them to behave as part of a whole (Bull, 1977).

***International society within the English School*.** Hedley Bull, however, argued that states share a certain common interest (usually the "fear of unrestricted violence") that leads to the development of a certain set of "rules". He thus defined an international society as existent when:

…a group of states (or, more generally, a group of independent political communities) which not merely form a system, in the sense that the behavior of each is a necessary factor in the calculations of the others, but also have established by dialogue and consent common rules and institutions for the conduct of their relations, and recognize their common interest in maintaining these arrangements.
In Bull's view, any type of society needed to have rules about restraints on the use of force, the sanctity of agreements, and property rights. Without elements of these three, there would be no society (Bull, 1977).

These *rules* are expressed in a set of institutions that capture the normative structure of any international society. In the classical English School, these were: war, the great powers, diplomacy, the balance of power, and international law, especially in the mutual recognition of sovereignty by states. To these could be added: territoriality, nationalism, the market, and human equality. Since these rules are not legally binding and there are no ordering institutions, speaking of norms would probably be more appropriate. States that respect these basic rules form an international society. Brown and Ainley, therefore, define the international society as a "norm-governed relationship whose members accept that they have at least limited responsibilities towards one another and the society as a whole". States thus follow their interests, but not at all costs. Another way of looking at this would be through Adam Watson's term 'raison de système', a counterpoint to 'raison d'état', and defined as 'the idea that it pays to make the system work' (Corneliu, Kornprobst. 2013).

There are differing accounts, within the school, concerning the evolution of those ideas, some (like Martin Wight) arguing their origins can be found in the remnants of medieval conceptions of *Societas Christiana* (Wight, 1976), and others such as Hedley Bull, in the concerns of sovereign states to safeguard and promote basic goals, especially their survival (Bull, 1977). Most English School understandings of international society blend these two, maintaining that the contemporary society of states is partly the product of a common civilization - the Christian world of medieval Europe, and before that, the Roman Empire - and partly that of a kind of Lockean contract.

World society within the English school. Based on a *Kantian* understanding of the world, the concept of world society takes the global population as a whole as the basis for a global identity. However, Buzan also argued that the concept of World Society was the "Cinderella concept of English school theory", as it received almost no conceptual development (Buzan, 2004)**.**

Reexamination of traditional approaches. A great deal of the English School of thought concerns itself with the examination of traditional international theory, casting it — as Martin Wight did in his 1950s-era lectures at the London School of Economics — into three divisions (called by Barry Buzan as the English School's triad, based on Wight's *three traditions*):

1. Realist (or Hobbesian, after Thomas Hobbes) and thus the concept of the international system
2. Rationalist (or Grotian, after Hugo Grotius), representing the international society
3. Revolutionist (or Kantian, after Immanuel Kant) representing world society.

In broad terms, the English School itself has supported the rationalist or Grotian tradition, seeking a middle way (or *via media*) between the 'power politics' of realism and the 'utopianism' of revolutionism.

Later Wight changed his triad into a four-part division by adding Mazzini.
The English School is largely a constructivist theory, emphasizing the non-deterministic nature of anarchy in international affairs that also draws on functionalism and realism (Wight, 1976).

Internal divisions

The English School is often understood to be split into two main wings, named after two categories described by Hedley Bull:

· The pluralists argue that the diversity of humankind - their differing political and religious views, ethnic and linguistic traditions, and so on - is best contained within a society that allows for the greatest possible independence for states, which can, in their forms of government, express those differing conceptions of the 'good life. This position is expressed most forcefully by the Canadian academic Robert Jackson, especially in *The Global Covenant* (2001) (Jackson, 2001).
· The solidaristic, by contrast, argue that the society of states should do more to promote the causes of human rights and, perhaps, emancipation - as opposed to the rights of states to political independence and non-intervention in their internal affairs. This position may be located in the work on humanitarian intervention by, amongst others, Nicholas Wheeler, in *Saving Strangers* (2002) (Wheeler, 2002).

There are, however, further divisions within the school. The most obvious is that between those scholars who acquire that the school's approach should be historical and normative such as Robert Jackson or Tim Dunne (Dunne, 1998), and those who think it can be methodologically 'pluralist', making use of 'positivist' approaches to the field - like Barry Buzan and Richard Little (Buzan, Little, 2000).

THE FRENCH SCHOOL OF SOCIOLOGY. The French School of Sociology was formed during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth century. The nucleus of the school was created by Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), whose work was connected with the efforts in the new science that were performed by the team of *L'Année sociologique*, which was founded in 1898. In recent times, scholars have undertaken the examination of the effects of this major contribution to the field by studying the vicissitudes of Durkheim's legacy from the period between the two world wars and onward (Émile Durkheim, 2000).

Thus, the French international studies are coming from a historic-sociological approach, which is characterized by the interests of the structure of societal life and determined historic approaches. At the same time, they were under the influence, from one side, traditions, which take their origin from the works of Max Weber, from the second side to the direction, which is connected with the name of the above-mentioned Emile Durkheim. Within the first case the accent is done on the analysis of the state, reasons, which motivate the states to act by one or another manner and first of all within (neo) realist approach, and here no dough that the classic of this direction is Raymond Aron, at the second case – on identity, culture, values. The second direction became especially in demand at the end of the XX – beginning of the XXI centuries when the attention of researchers was again paid to those problems (Aron, 1967).

Thus, private theories are various: they can be mostly based on one or another theoretical school (for example, the theory of democratic peace, which sometimes is considered as a direction of neoliberalism), to be oriented on the interdisciplinary analysis, on the research method (game theory), or making accent on the determined national traditions (for example, The French School of Sociology).

2.6. Main theories in the field of International Trade

Concerning the theories in the field of international trade, there are two principal differences. First gives the advantage to free trade and second to the protectionist policy, when the state, from the national interest’s position, plays an active role in the regulation of international trade.

The first theory of international trade is considered **mercantilism**, which at the first stage was developed in England because this country first introduced the principles of the market economy.

Representatives of the early mercantilism (English scientist W. Stafford, Italian G. Skaruffi) were functioning in the XV-XVI Centuries. Its main principle was “money balance”. They considered that the wealth of the state was determined by possessing the gold and silver by the state, for which it was important to increase the export and decrease the import by the prohibition of the export of the metals abroad.

Late–developed mercantilism (representatives English T. Mann, Italian A. Serra, and French A. Moncretienn) was established in the XVI Century and was continuing till the end of the XVIII Century. The main issue of this direction was “active trade balance”. According to them, the more positive the trade balance, the richer the country is.

Absolute advantage theory - was presented by the Scottish economist Adam Smith. In his research “Wealth of Nations,” he criticized the mercantilist theory and mentioned the ability of each country to produce the concrete goods with the least expenses due to different reasons, including climatic, etc.

Concerning the ***Comparative Advantage theory***, it was developed by English scientist David Ricardo. According to him, he was proving, that independently from the trade was possible to gain the comparative advantage, if the country would be specialized on the production of such goods, production of which it can with the least expenses.

The basic principle of the trade model of David Ricardo was "The most competitive good for the World Market".

Both above-mentioned theories were meaning only the labor expenses. At the beginning of the XX Century Swedish economists Heckscher and Ohlin, who worked out the Heckscher–Ohlin Theorem and were proving that for the production of any product it was necessary the existence of the three factors of production: Labor, Land, and Capital.

The next theory, which should be considered, is The Theory of Product Life Cycle, according to which, each product passes the four stages – introduction, growth, maturity, and decline.

Theory of competition of M. Porter. According to this theory, the companies from the different countries during their involvement in international trade gain some competitive advantages. Due to it, one of the problems in international turnover is the integration of the interests of the countries and companies. On this question, the answer was given by American Economist M. Porter, who, by the implementation research of the 10 leading industrial states companies practices, has worked out "the international competition theory of the national".

He reviewed the four main life cycles of the states:
First – The stage of production factor;
Second – Investment stage
Third – Innovation stage
Fourth – Wealth stage.

At the same time, it is important to point out other several theories in the field of political science and international relations, which recognize the role of business and International Trade as a key factor of the relations among the states in the contemporary period. In this regard, it should be pointed out about complex interdependence theory, which was presented by two American scientists R.O. Keohane and J.S. Nye. In their book Power and Interdependence, they explain that together with the sovereign states, in the international system more important roles play International Organizations and Transnational corporations, Banks, etc. (Keohane, R. Nye, J. 1989, p.3).

According to R. Murray, in his book "The Internationalization of Capital and the Nation-State". is proving that the International Capital is becoming more and more independent from the interests of the states (Murray, R. 1971. Pp.104-109).

Within the last twenty years, global recognition was received by the Technocracy theory – where are presented the concepts of T. Veblen, D. Bell, and J. Galbraith, etc. From his point of view, as a result of the technological processes, there were changes in political management, which caused the creation of the class of managers. In the future, according to a scientist, our planet will be established an entire technocratic state headed by the Directors-Technocrats (Free Dictionary, 2014).

Discussing Interdependence, it is important to mention the term "International Regimes", which was introduced in 1975 by J. Ruggie in his research: "International Responses to technology: Concepts and Trends" he discussed the concept the following: "General expectations, rules, norms, plans, organizational energy, and financial responsibilities, which are adopted by the group of the states" (Ruggie, J.G. 1975).

The classical example of the international regime is the regime of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), which regulates the main principles of international trade and business. The share of International Trade is about 80% of the World Economic Turnover (Jolia, G. 2008. p. 121).

The most important role in the development of international trade and business was the WTO. Let's consider more deeply the role of these institutions in promoting trade.

2.6.1. Concept of "Geo-economics" of Jacques Attali

Analogical theories of American scientist Fukuyama were received in European scientific circles as well. This is well proved by the works of Jacques Attali. Through the years he worked as a personal adviser of the President of France – Francois Mitterrand; later he was appointed to the position of President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. After retirement, Jacques Attali published the book "*Lines* on the *Horizon*".

In the opinion of French scientists, the modern era can be named as the third era – the "Monetary Era". Money is the universal equivalent of the values, as, by equalization of all subjects with material figures, it is easy to regulate the monetary mass rationally. Attali refers to a similar concept to the coming of the messianic era. In his book, Attali presents his future view that it "has come" already. The ruling of liberal-democratic ideology and free-market economy in the whole world provides development of information technologies and this process will lead to turning the planet into one and united world. Thereby, those geopolitical realities, ruling all through the previous history and related to the geopolitical dualism principles will lose their importance.

As Attali thinks, the global world based on geo-economics principles shapes into a new geopolitical structure. Notably, Fritz Rörig was the first who offered the development of "geo-economics" concepts, and later his ideas were furthered by Fernand Braudel.

"Geo-economics" is one of the most important concepts of Mondial geopolitics, giving priority, not to the geographic, cultural, ideological, ethnic, religious factors, comprising the sense of geopolitical approach, but pure economic realities referring to the space. Settlement areas of any nation, historical and cultural traditions are not of great importance for "geo-economics". First of all, decisively important is the location of the world financial centers, stocks, minerals, information centers, manufacturing companies. Geo-economics perceives the political realities differently, creating the notion that the world government, ruling the united world, is already formed. In his geopolitical researches, Attali sets out the three important regions, which will turn into the Centers of Economical space in one world:

1. "American Space, where both Americas are united in one financial-industrial zone, finally".

2. Space after economic uniting of Europe.
3. Pacific region, zone of re-flourishing, having several concurrent centers: Tokyo, Taiwan, Singapore, etc." (Dugin, 1997).

As Attali thinks, we must not expect special differences and confrontation between these three centers, as there is an important coincidence between ideological and economic types. The geographic location of the developed centers may play the role of the principal differing factor and less developed regions will be concentrated around various centers. This type of regional structure can be formed only in the period of "history end" i.e., at the moment of changing the traditional realities existing in geo-politics. At the beginning of this epoch, civilization-geopolitical dualism will be abolished. Correspondingly, in case of the non-existence of opposing pole to Atlantic, geopolitical space should be reviewed from the new point of view, and spreading of Atlantist ideas in the various regions of the world will cause geo-economics epoch.

At the same time, the second geopolitical theory related to WTO, World Bank, and IMF can be considered "Mondialism". Which is focused on the issues of globalization.

In this regard, there are two – pessimistic and optimistic prognoses related to international financial institutions. Particularly, according to Italian scientist Santoro, the following processes will be developed:

1. The Role of the International Institutions would be weakened;
2. The disintegration of the traditional Blocks would be started;
3. The epoch of the wars of short-term and long-term intensiveness will be started, as a result of which will be the foundation of the new geopolitical creations;
4. The threat of global chaos would force the different blocks to the necessity for the foundation of the International Institutes with the higher responsibilities; which factually means the foundation of the World Government (Dugin, 1997).

From its turn, the optimistic prognosis has American scientist Francis Fukuyama, according to him, the International political and financial Institutions are strong enough (UN, World), for the transformation to the similar structures of the "World Government".

At the same time, due to the interdependence of the political and economic processes, since the 70th of the last century, the new theory and direction started its revival - Political Economy of the International Relations (Rondeli. 2003). The development of this discipline was based on the two interdependent events. One was the fact that it created the gap between the abstract political and economic processes and real politics and economics, the theory becoming far from reality. The second reason was the fact, that for this period, economic problems became more politicized, and political systems, from their turn, were under the process of economization. The big gap between the rich and poor countries, the discussion at the front line about the global problems, the need for the creation of the new economic order have radically increased the interests toward the political economy of International Relations.

In this regard, it is important to point out that, until the 70th, in the framework of the research on international relations, the studies about security, conflicts, military aspects, etc. were prevailing, later, the interests toward the International economic relations have been radically increased.

Key terminologies

Realism
Neorealism
Liberalism
Neoliberalism
Neo-Marxism
Postmodernism
The anarchic character of international relations
Etatism
National Interests
Power
National sovereignty
Balance of power
Real politics
Structural realism
Bipolar system of international relations
Multipolar system of international relations
Actor
Neotraditional, or neo-classical realism
Postclassical realism
Political geography
Collective security
Idealism
Holism
Intergovernmental organizations
Nongovernmental organizations
Pluralism
Transnational Corporations
Internal regions of the state
Transnationalism
Complex Interdependence
World-System theory
Dependence theory
Neocolonialism
Gramsci School (Italian school)
Postmodernism
Rationalistic theories
Critical theories
Constructivism
Feminism
Gender differences
Liberal Feminism
Postmodernist feminism
Postmodern feminism
International regimes theory
Theory of Democratic Peace

Geopolitics
Peace Research Studies
Conflict resolution
Conflict’s regulation
Theory of structural violence
Foreign policy decision-making
Theory of rational choice
Game theory
Prisoners’ dilemma
Chaos theory
English (British) school of international relations
The French School of Sociology

Questions for the consideration

What are the main principles of Realism?
Within which directions has Neorealism become the continuation of Realism?
Which characters of Neorealism can be determined as new in comparison with the realist school?
What is the main content of Liberalism?
What are the main directions in Neoliberalism?
Which main characters of Neo-Marxism can be considered within the researches in the framework of international relations?
What are the main reasons for the Postmodernism appearance? Please list the main directions
Which are the private theories in international relations?

Practicum

1. Please analyze the text of the presentation of any political activist (for example representatives of any political party) related to the foreign policy issues and foreign policy program documents and based on the content of the text analyze - which theoretical questions related to the field – international relations are reflected at those documents

2. Please choose any political event, which was held in the world after the ending of the Cold War (for example terrorist acts in the USA on September 11, 2001) and give comments on this from the position of different theoretical schools. Conduct discussion in the audience between “supporters” of “opposite” schools (for example between “neo-liberals” and “neorealists”); Explain this event

3. Bring the examples of those events, which are explained better by the representatives of one school and worse by other ones. Please find alternative example (s).

4. Choose an international situation, which could be described by the prisoner`s dilemma concept. On this basis, by dividing the audience into two or more teams, create and organize the game. What kind of regularities could be found?

Chapter 3.

The plurality of the Transnational actors of the Modern World

To the world, politics have involved the states, different types of organizations, movements, business structures, etc. Practically every person in the contemporary period more or less is part of world politics and feels its influence on himself/herself. However, among the many different participants, there are those, who actively and consciously form world politics, presents their projects of world development, works out peculiar rules of the political interconnection, determine the tendencies of the political development of the world, etc. thus, representing the “maker” of the world politics – there are *transnational actors* (TNA), i.e., which have their activities beyond of their national states. Concretely significance and scale of the activity differ TNA from the other participants of World Politics.

3.1. States in the world political system

During the foundation of the Westphalian system, the state became the main – creator of the system and factually the only element of the new world order. The states were in history before. However, together with the starting of the Westphalian peace, the state – more concretely the national state obtains new characteristics – national sovereignty and its involvement in the system of interrelations with the other, the same national states. On this basis is constructed the socio-political practice: according to international law, all states possess independence and are equal among themselves. At the same time, many political analysts joke, based on the famous sentence of George Orwell: “All animals are equal, but some animals are more “equal” than others” (Orwell, 1984).

Most of the states, which exist in the modern world, have been founded within the XX Century. The most intensive process of the state’s foundation was going on in 1960th, as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system. At the end of the XX Century, newly independent states appeared as a result of the disintegration of the former socialist countries (USSR, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia). At the beginning of the XX Century, more than 20 countries have appeared on the world political map. Today, there are many national entities in the world, which intend to gain the status of the state – would be nations, therefore, it seems that this process has not been finished (Chitadze, 2017).

It is interesting!

During the foundation of the United Nations in 1945, their members were 51 states, in 1991, (before the disintegration of the USSR) – 166, in 2000, their number gained 189 and in 2021, there are already 193 plenipotentiary members of the United Nations. In general, the number of states has been increased for the three times from the beginning of the XX Century (United Nations, 2021).

Map 3. World Political Map

Source: https://www.amazon.in/BESTPOSTER-Political-Poster-Office-kitched/dp/B07MTGNH5S

National states traditionally are the object of political studies, which consider the topics related to the political systems of the states, political changes, political culture, political ideology. During the more than 350 years period the national state faced significant changes: complicated its political organization, widening its responsibilities and activities.

Its fact, what kind of state system exists and how the state is functioning, significantly determines its behavior in foreign policy, relations with the other states. With this thesis, practically all scholars agree. The problem is the fact, till what time this connection will exist. For example, the theory of democratic peace underlines about hard predestination of using the nonviolence methods in the case of interrelations of two democracies (Rondeli, 2003).

National states are very heterogeneous and differ from each other by many parameters, including – political influence, military power, economic potential, size of the territory, geographic location, type of governance, etc. This topic will be more concretely analyzed in the next subchapter.
During the “cold war” period, it was accepted to identify the superpowers (USA and USSR), big states (France, Canada, etc.), small countries (Morocco, Lichtenstein).

After the end of the cold war, this type of classification lost its significance, and economic factors, on the contrary, turned out to be political forming and therefore, one of the leading. In the first decade of the XXI Century, World Bank identified three main categories of the states by the GDP per capita during one year:

- Law income;
- Middle – this group very often is divided into two subgroups;
- High level of income.

Approximately 40% of the states with a population of more than 55% of the whole population of our planet are included in the first category when at the same time, the percentage of the states with the high level of income does not prevail 15%. The majority of the economically rich countries are members of the International Organization – *Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development* – OECD, so-called "club of riches". Countries with a high level of income in most cases by using economic methods can determine the directions of the political development. More deeply the grouping of the states according to socio-economic development will be analyzed in the next subchapters (Chitadze, 2017).

Several states, despite the fact, when they were founded, are very weak. For them, it is characterized by the disintegration of the political institutes, legislative system, internal conflicts among different ethnic groups and societies, ethnic nationalism, etc. There are some such examples as Somali, Afghanistan, Rwanda, etc. In the literature, such states gained the name failed states. To be weak, they create the threat of stability for the others, being the real or potential sources of conflicts, on their territories very often are based terrorists, drug traders, it is spread the illegal trade of weapons, etc.

During the last few years, there are intensively discussed topics, which are connected with the fact, what should be done with those states. What is the effectiveness of the influence on them from the outside to promote state-building in those countries, i.e., organization of elections, formatting the government, creation of the other institutes of power, etc? Especially actually these problems in the case of Afghanistan and Iraq, after conducting their military operations.

It is one more group of countries, which usually are called by the USA – so-called rogue states. During the discussion of this terminology itself, and also the fact, which states are belonged to this group based on the position of US administration, the problem is connected with the fact, that the modern world seriously considers the possibilities, about capabilities of some dictatorship regimes at the different states, to gain of the weapons of mass destruction, to threaten the other countries. It is clear that there are mechanisms and procedures, especially in the framework of the United Nations, which allow putting pressure on such states, but at the same time, the danger of non-controlling by the international community their actions are remaining.

There are many changes inside economically developed states. Many authors pay attention to the fact that the modern state is not able to act effectively alone for resolving such global problems, such as environment protection, providing economic growth, and other spheres. Together with the states, other international actors should be involved in the resolving of those problems, among them first of all International intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, different types of public movements, etc. In the contemporary period, they play a more significant role in the international arena, affecting the international environment by limiting and controlling the actions of the states.

Due to this, at the beginning of the 90th several authors started to discuss losing by the states some of their power, limiting the meaning of sovereignty and even disappearance of the state as such in the form, in which we are accustomed to seeing it. This point of view was expressed by L.D. Howell (Howell, 1998). And, although such positions are not new (about the death of the state were writing Marxists), to deny this concept the opposite point of view has been formulated. According to those ideas, the state is continuing to keep its form, because the state borders exist; the number of states is becoming not less but more; their functions in economic and social fields are expanded; It is expanded the opportunities to affect their citizens by the agency of electronic means; States themselves actively create international institutes and regimes; finally, it is not such actor, to whom is possible to deliver the power plenipotentiaries of the state. In other words, nothing sufficient comparatively related to changing the functions of the state is not going on. Such a position was defended by the representatives of the different realist directions. It also found its reflection, for example, in the materials of IMF, which were published in 1997 (IMF, 1997).

Further extreme points of view have softened. The existence of the changes becomes to be recognized by the majority, but, at the same time, the illusions related to the changes the possibilities to replace the state by any "supranational" center on the face of an international organization or "global government" has remained in the past. With this position, even those researchers, who work in the framework of the neo-liberal concept and especially underline the enlarged plurality of the number of participants of interconnection on the international arena. Thus, Y. Ferguson and R. Mansbach write, that the sovereign state is continuing its existence, despite all those challenges, which they have as a result of the fact, as to how the political structure can mobilize material and human resources. Since the foundation of the Westphalian model of the world, the state promoted the development of trade, collected the taxes, and provided the security of its citizens (Ferguson, Mansbach, 2007). Thanks to its effectiveness, as the scholars consider, this form of political organization has been spread from Europe to the other continents, including the existing norms of political organization.

At the same time, there are continuing discussions related to the fact, what is happening with the state, by which parameters it is changed, and how serious it is. First of all, in practical and in theoretical context it is being discussed the problem of state sovereignty. In the modern world the states are forced more and more take into account from one side, the positions of international organizations and institutes (as a result it is going on the limitation of sovereignty "from above"), and from the other – with its internal regions, mega policies and municipalities inside of the state, which today are actively involved at the process in the framework of the international arena, by the developing trade, cultural and other relations (limitation of sovereignty "from down"). Besides, states are forced to take into consideration the needs, interests of the other participants of the political processes – transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations, etc.

In this regard it should be mentioned, that the possibilities of the state under the modern conditions are limited in "all spheres of its activity":

- In Providing national security in the traditional understanding of this terminology;
- In the Creation of the conditions for the economic security and sustainable development of the economy;
- In supporting the internal order, which is undermined by terrorism, criminal, corruption, illegal migration, etc.
- In the guarantee the civil rights and freedoms of the people;
- In the protection of the environment in favor of ecological security.

This list can be continued by including the other spheres, which traditionally were "under the supervision" of the states, including health care, education, etc.

American researcher St. D. Krasner proposed to discuss not only about the changing of the sovereignty but about changing the Westphalian sovereignty (or about sovereignty in its classical understanding), i.e., the political organizations, which is based on the issue, that the external actors are not able to influence on the internal policy (Krasner, 2009). But those processes did not start today. During the analysis of the consequences of World War I, the famous English diplomat and scientist H. Nicolson wrote that during this period “the content of the understanding of sovereignty has been changed (understanding of the sovereign power)” (Review of International Studies, 1988).

Discussing Westphalian sovereignty in the modern world does not mean its disappearance as such but signifies the factual transferring of the part of those functions, which before belonged to the state, toward the other actors. At the same time, the state gained some additional capabilities, which it had not before. For example, by using modern technologies (plastic cards, cell phones, etc.), the state is able comparatively easily control the movement of citizens.

Together with the changing of the content of sovereignty, there are differences in the norms and principles of international law – one of the components which should stabilize the world`s development. In practice, those norms and principles more clearly are in the contrast with each other. For example, the rights of the nation for self - determination from one side, and respecting the territorial integrity from another; the principles of non - interference in the internal affairs and implementation the humanitarian aid; protecting the rights of people, and forceful interference in the conflict with the purpose to provide the peace (UN Charter, Chapter VII), and also the problem of the character of this interference (existence the UN sanctions, possibilities of the using Air forces or Marine Forces, such actions, as fighting against the armed formations, providing the transportation of humanitarian goods, “enforcement to the peace” etc.). The clearest examples of the existence of such and other contradictions - the forceful interference in the internal conflicts at the end of 20th and the beginning of 21st century, NATO operation in Kosovo, US intervention in Iraq, military aggression of Russia against Georgia in 2008 and against Ukraine in 2014.

The change in national sovereignty had difficult consequences not only from the legal, but from a psychological point of view – the problem of the state and national identity has emerged. Romanian researcher M. Malitza has noticed, that the peace, which had been signed in Europe after the Thirty Years war, which put the base to the system of national states, has brought to life something new, concretely the feeling of belonging to the concrete one or another state. In the epoch of the non – division dominance of the national state, the identification factor has mostly been based on the understanding to belong to one or another state (Club of Rome Publications). At the end of XX c., the blurring of the state`s identity was held. English researcher S. Strange was pointing out that the state already is not able to require more loyalty of citizens to itself, on the place of the state, the feelings of citizens and their attitude toward the family, company, etc. have appeared (Strange, 1991). Their point of view share the French researcher's A. Dieckhoff and Ch. Jaffrelot, there are also discussions about decreasing the connection of citizens with its state (Dieckhoff, Jaffrelot, 2006).

Weakening of the national-state identity is very often followed by the formation of another identity – frequently with religion or national character. As a result, there are appeared xenophobia, there are created some fascist organizations and movements and the next steps are the open conflicts on the ethnic base. It is not by accident that many conflicts, which emerged in 1990th, gained the name of the conflict of identity. In the clearest form, the identity conflict, where the base for the identity represents belonging to one or another civilization, is described in the hypothetical scenarios of S. Huntington (Huntington, 1993).

During the other cases, there is going on "blurring" of identity, and a new identity appears, which on the psychological level leads the people to uncertainty, doubts. American author A. Frank writes in this connection, that "our psychic and even our body, is more and more based on divided self-identification". In our soul, it is going on the struggle the different aspects of loyalty: toward family, to the ethnical group, to nations, church, transnational corporations, to the concrete organization, most probably event toward institutes, which are based on the common ideals of humanism" (Lebedeva, 2007).

However, in the framework of such multi-identity, there are its positive moments. That due to the choice to self-identify, the same person is at the same time in several "crossing" communities, which sometimes are not in conflict situations one against another. In any case, there is no conflict in open form. In the end, multiple identities can bring us to the identification of a higher level, where all those communities are included, toward some global or cosmopolitical self -identification.

However, in the contemporary period, the cosmopolitan identity, i.e., the feeling of belonging to humanity in general, is not distributed. The biggest percentage of people who felt like a "citizen of our planet" in the first decade of the XXI century, based on a sociological survey of L. Heilmann, P. Ester in the USA consists of only 15,4 % (Lebedeva, 2007).

Facing with the problem of "blurring" the state identity, weakening in some spheres the state sovereignty, the authorities intend somehow to resist this process, trying to reply to the challenges and find new methods and possibilities for keeping their power responsibilities, because from the point of view of any state, the blurring of national borders, losing – even particularly the national sovereignty is very unwanted. Under such conditions, there emerged some demands to resist the loss of sovereignty through the establishment of dictatorship. As a result, it is possible the foundation of corrupted regimes and quasi-states, which, using the legal guarantees – which they gained by the principle of sovereignty, try to support the power by all means, sometimes create the sources of terrorism and instability.

Thus, at the beginning of the XXI Century, the state remained the main form of the organization of political society, the main actor in the world arena. But at the same time, they are changed and developed, have the process of adaptation toward the new conditions, and attract those realities toward themselves. It does not disappear, but is only changing the meaning of "national-state sovereignty". Those processes are going on in a complex way. As a result, the world is facing from one side with the different state and quasi-state formations, which by one or another reason are included from the negative side to the international relations, from the another – the state, as such, is faced before the new challenges, which are determined by the fact, that under modern conditions its functions are changed, and it is forced to be in interconnections with the other transnational actors, including non-state units on the international arena.

3.2 Classification and typology of the countries based on some geographic factors

Many political scientists and political geographers at their works wrote that – In their works, many scholars refer to the fact that in all its originality - the natural, economic, cultural and political - the country is the main object of the study in international relations, world politics and political geography. However, with so many countries in the world, which have already been mentioned above, there exists the need for some classification (grouping) and typology according to the geographic principles. The differences between the two of those terms lie in the fact that classification is usually performed based on various quantitative indicators whereas typology is based on more substantive qualitative attributes.

Let's start with the classification of countries, often based on the size of the territory, population, and geographical and geopolitical position.

According to the size of the territory, countries of the World are subdivided into very large (country-giants), large, medium, small, and very small (micro-states) entities. Undoubtedly, every geographer and political scientist should possess information about the top ten largest countries in the world (Table. 3). This especially applies here since the composition of these countries, together occupying 55% of the territory of the inhabited land is stable and it is difficult to expect any changes – no substantial changes are anticipated in the future (Goldstein, Pevehouse. 2010-2011).

The biggest country in the world – Russia is located both in Europe and Asia. The table below demonstrates that three Asian countries, two North American and two South American ones as well as one in Africa and one in Oceania belong to the largest.

Table 3. Ten biggest countries by territory

Country	**Area, Million Km^2**	**Share of the area in the World %**
Russia	17,1	12,7
Canada	10,0	7,4
China	9,6	7,2
USA	9,6	7,2
Brazil	8,5	6,4
Australia	7,7	5,7
India	3,3	2,5
Argentina	2,8	2,1
Kazakhstan	2,7	2,0
Algeria	2,3	1,9

Source: http://www.listofcountriesoftheworld.com/area-land.html

The concept of the "big country" apparently has its regional specificity. To be more specific, for Europe a big country is the state with more than 500 km2 (France, Spain, Ukraine) whereas in

Africa, for example, the area amounts to more than 1 million km2 (Sudan, Algeria, Libya, Ethiopia, etc.) (Joshua S. Goldstein. Jon C. Pevehouse. 2010-2011).

Such regional differences also exist for the allocation of medium and small-area states. As for micro-states, this concept again more or less is identical for the different regions – more or less equally applies to different regions.

Classic examples of microstates are Andorra, Liechtenstein, San Marino, Monaco, and Vatican City in Western Europe. The biggest of them - Andorra has an area of 468 km2, and the smallest Vatican - only 0.44 km2. Microstates, mainly islands, are also prevalent in other regions of the world - for example, the Caribbean (Grenada, Barbados, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Kitts and Nevis), Oceania (Nauru, Tuvalu, Marshall Islands), and the Indian Ocean (Maldives and Seychelles). By territory, all of them are smaller than Andorra (United Nations. 2004).

By the number of populations, it is possible to have the same gradation of the countries. – The same distribution of countries applies to the population. Obviously, in contrast to the area, this figure is much more dynamic and possibly needs constant updating. This primarily refers to the most populated countries, which together account for approximately 3/5 of the total world population. They can also be called – be referred to as giant countries (Table. 4).

Table 4. Ten biggest countries according to the number of populations

Country	Population, million people (April, 2020)
1. China	1,439,323,776
2. India	1,380,004,385
3. USA	331,002,651
4. Indonesia	273,523,615
5. Pakistan	220,892,340
6. Brazil	212,559,417
7. Nigeria	206, 139, 589
8. Bangladesh	164,689,383
9. Russia	145,934,462
10. Mexico	128,932,753

Sources: Worldometer. https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/population-by-country/

As it might be expected, the list of the ten countries by the number of populations is dominated by Asian states. North America is represented by the United States and Mexico, whereas South America, Africa, and Europe and Asia by Brazil, Nigeria, and Russia, respectively. If you add Japan, Ethiopia, the Philippines, and Egypt to this list, it will cover all countries with a population exceeding 100 million people. In most of the above-mentioned countries in Table 4, the number of people continues to grow rapidly. To be more specific, in India, the annual population growth at the beginning of XXI century equaled 15 million people (that can be compared to the total population of Kazakhstan) whereas in China, Pakistan, the United States, and Nigeria, is equal to 8 million, 3.5 million and 3 million people, respectively (Maksakovsky. 2009). Approximately the same situation is observed within the second decade of the 21-st century. On the other hand, Japan's rate of population has roughly stabilized, but the country has moved to 11th place from 10th place and only Russia remains the country with a constantly decreasing population. That's why, back in 1998, Pakistan overtook her in the top ten, pushing to seventh place and in 2005 this Asian country eventually pushed Russia to 9th place and Brazil to 6th place. Due to the rapid increase of population in Bangladesh, this small country gained 8th place (Worldometers, 2020).

Population between 50 and 100 million people is reported only in the following countries: Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Turkey in Europe, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar and Iran in Asia, Democratic Republic of Congo in Africa. Within the beginning of the second decade of the 21-st century, in 53 countries, the number of inhabitants varied from 10 to 50 million people with the majority in Africa, followed by Asia, Europe, and Latin America. The population of most countries in the world (60) amounted to 1 million to 10 million people, with Africa and Europe holding leading positions. In more than 40 countries, the number of residents did not reach one million people (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2013).

Countries of the world with the smallest amount of population could be highlighted among them. To be more specific, the two micro-states are Tuvalu, with a population of 11 thousand people, Nauru (13 thousand), Palau (20 thousand) in Oceania, San Marino (28 thousand), and Liechtenstein (33 thousand) in Europe. The Vatican is also no exception, with less than one thousand people (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2013).

According to the importance of the geographic and geopolitical location, political geographers usually distinguish between coastal countries and those landlocked to the oceans. The landlocked ones amount to 42, out of which 15 are located in Africa, 15 - in Europe and 10 – in Asia (not counting the exits to the internal Caspian and Aral Seas), and 2 - in Latin America (Table 5). As you know - Admittedly, lack of access to the oceans should be considered as a very unfavorable trait of the geographical position, which negatively affects socio-economic development. Countries of tropical Africa are the most vivid examples.

Table 5. Countries of the World, which have no exit to the Sea

Regions	Countries

Europe	Andorra, Armenia, Austria, Azerbaijan, Check Republic, Belorussia, Hungary, Lichtenstein, Luxemburg, Macedonia, Moldova, San-
	Marino, Slovakia, Switzerland, Vatican.
Asia	Afghanistan, Bhutan, Laos, Mongolia, Nepal, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan.
Africa	Botswana, Burkina-Faso, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Ethiopia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Ruanda, Swaziland, Uganda.
Latin America	Bolivia, Paraguay

http://www.worldmapsonline.com/classic_colors_world_political_map_wall_mural.htm

Countries with access to the sea can also be divided into islands (e.g., Iceland, Ireland, Sri Lanka, Madagascar, Cuba, New Zealand), not to mention the numerous island - microstates, peninsular (e.g. Spain, Portugal, Italy, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Vietnam) and archipelagic countries. Incidentally, archipelagic countries on the political map of the world are not so few as it may seem at the first glance – there is quite an abundance of archipelagic countries on the political map of the world.

Clear examples of such countries are Japan, the Philippines, and Indonesia located on more than 4000, 7000, and 17 500 islands, respectively (Kopaleishvili. 2012.). However, archipelagic States in Oceania should not be missed here. The number of islands there may not be high, but they occupy huge water spaces within official boundaries. For example, the population in the Republic of Kiribati amounts to about 100 thousand people located per five million km2! (UN, 2004).

The number of neighboring countries directly bordering each particular one affects the geographical or rather the political and geographical situation.

Accordingly, Russia and China (14 countries) divide among themselves the first and second places, followed by Brazil (10), Germany, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (9), France, Austria, Turkey, Tanzania (8) (Political Map of the World. 2013). As for the countries with the longest borders, land borders of Russia and China exceed 20 thousand kilometers whereas those of Brazil, India, the United States, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo - 10 thousand km (Chitadze, 2017).

The issue of typology of the countries is much more complicated. Although usually the basis for taking such a typology is determined by the political orientation and their level of socio-economic development, specific types and subtypes, as proposed by international organizations and individual scientists can vary quite significantly. When referring to international organizations, the UN, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are the ones to be mentioned first.

As it was partly considered above, despite discrepancies, three main types of grouping the states in the modern world can be assumed to be the most appropriate method of the division of countries. Until the early 90s of the twentieth century, these three types of countries were: 1) Capitalist "First World" countries, 2) Communist "Second World" countries, 3) Developing countries "Third World" countries (A. Heywood. 2007).

After the collapse of the world socialist system, political scientists, economists, geographers, etc. also have moved to a three-term, but not so politicized typology, with all countries in the division: 1) economically developed, 2) developing countries, 3) countries with economies in transition.

However, a binomial typology, such as, developed - developing countries are also accepted. A closer look is given to these three types below.

About 60 states in the modern world that have reached a higher level of socio-economic development, especially, in comparison with developing countries, belong to the type of economically developed countries, as suggested by the name (Maksakovsky, 2009).

However, a somewhat narrower interpretation of this important concept - economically advanced countries - has appeared recently. International organizations include in this category more than 40 countries and territories worldwide, including, 35, 7, 4, 2, and 1 in Europe, Asia, America, Australia and Oceania, and Africa, respectively (Chitadze, 2017). All these countries have highly developed market economies with a predominance of service industries and manufacturing as well as considerable scientific and technical potential, and are characterized by the high levels of quality and standards of living of the population with, of course, a democratic political regime. They produce most of the world's industrial and agricultural products and various services.

Nevertheless, such countries differ quite noticeably by the internal heterogeneity that allows the identification of four sub-types.

Firstly, the main countries with developed market economies - the U.S., Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Canada forming the "Great Seven" of the leading countries in the world from the political and economic point of view. Those seven countries account for about half of the Gross National Product (GNP) and industrial production, ¼ of the agricultural production (Chitadze, 2017). Their place in world politics cannot be described by quantitative indicators.

Secondly, small Western European countries, such as Austria, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Switzerland, Sweden that also reached a very high level of socio-economic development, and are much more specialized in the international geographic division of labor and, therefore, very actively involved in it. The role of these countries in world politics is also quite noticeable – These countries also play a crucial role in world politics. It is also worth mentioning in this respect that several offices of UN and UN specialized agencies are located in Vienna and Geneva whereas Brussels serves as the capital of NATO and the European Union.

Thirdly, non-European countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Israel. The first three of these countries are former resettlement colonies (dominions) of the UK, which did not know – did not experience the feudalism stage, and today have some peculiar political and economic development. To a large extent, Israel can also be named a resettlement country. In fact, from the typological point of view, Canada also belongs to the former resettlement colony. However, admittedly, it is present rating as a member of the "Big Seven" is much higher (Developed Economy Definition. 2017).

Fourth, it is a subtype of countries and territories that represent the innovative highly industrialized countries and territories. This refers to the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan which in the mid-90s have been attributed to the economically developed states by the International Monetary Fund. Cyprus was added to the list at the beginning of the XXI century.

About 150 countries and territories belong to the type of developing countries, which together cover more than half of the Earth's land area and where over four-fifths of the world population is concentrated (Chitadze, 2017). They form a vast belt on the political map of the world, extending into Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania to the north and an even greater extent to the south of the equator. Some of these countries (Iran, Thailand, Ethiopia, Egypt, most of the countries in Latin America) gained political independence before the Second World War. However, the so-called new liberated countries prevail among developing ones.

Economic slow-down, an economy based on agriculture and raw materials, dependence on international aid is characteristic to the mentioned type of states.

Therefore, it would be more correct to call these countries economically underdeveloped. However, instead of this "offensive" term, the UN initially chose a more optimistic one - developing countries. Although it is not quite accurate: some of the countries of this type are indeed developing rapidly but many remain underdeveloped for decades.

Developing countries are inherently more heterogeneous than economically highly developed states. Several subtypes can also be identified.

The first of them forms the so-called core countries - China, India, Brazil, and Mexico, which have a very important natural, human and economic potential and in many ways serve as the leading countries of the developing world. For example, four of these countries produce more significant industrial production than all other developing countries.

The second sub-type includes those developing countries of the upper tier, which also reached quite a high level of socio-economic development. Typically, these are the countries that have gained political independence a long time ago and, thus, have considerable experience of self-development. Argentina, Venezuela, Uruguay, Chile as examples of such states.

Newly industrialized economies (NIEs) belong to the third subtype. Those are primarily Asian countries, which in the 80-90s made such a leap in their development that they were called "tigers" and "dragons". To the greatest extent, it relates to the previously mentioned Republic of Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, which, as already noted, were transferred to the group of economically developed countries. Today, we can speak about the "second wave" of Asian NIEs - Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines. Some other countries are sometimes also referred to as this subtype.

Oil-exporting countries form the fourth subtype, which, thanks to the export of oil and the constant flow of petrodollars, live much richer than all the rest of the countries from the developing world. Leading among them are the Gulf countries - Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Qatar, Bahrain. But this subtype also includes Libya and Brunei.

Classic underdeveloped countries which still are backward in their socio-economic development belong to the fifth subtype. So, many developing countries belong to them. Sri Lanka in Asia, Ghana, Guinea, Zimbabwe in Africa, Bolivia, Guyana, Honduras in Latin America are examples (Sullivan, Sheffrin 2003).

The sixth subtype of the countries deserves special attention. According to the terminology of the UN, there are the least developed countries, a list of which is updated annually based on the three main factors: low income, dominance in the economic relations, backward agriculture, and the high illiteracy rate among the adult population. Now, there are about 50 such types of countries in the UN list. Most of them are in Africa (34) and Asia (9) (Chitadze, 2017). The list of the least developed countries is contained in various manuals. Sometimes those countries are considered as the "fourth world" countries and, according to many scientists, these countries are "behind forever."

The third type of country, as already noted, belongs to the countries with transitional economies. Many post-socialist countries, i.e., several countries that were formerly part of the Soviet Union, and former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe are included. Some of them in the late 80 's - the early 90s began to shift from the old, largely authoritarian political system to a democratic one based on civil society, a multiparty system, and respect for human rights. No fewer revolutionary changes have been held in the economic sphere, where the fact has already been a transition from the old command system and central planning to the market economy.

China, Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba should belong to the special subtype of the countries, which according to their constitutions and programs of the governing parties, continue to follow the communist path of development.

The economic level, which is measured by the gross domestic product (GDP) per capita serves as the main indicator, based on which the typology of the countries is determined. It is calculated either by the official exchange rate or the purchasing power parity (PPP) and the second method has been used frequently in international statistics. Most industrialized countries have a per capita GDP, which is more than $ 20 thousand or even 40-50 thousand (and more) dollars. Some countries with economies in transition, and some key developing, newly industrialized and oil-exporting ones are all within grades 5-10 and 10 - 20 thousand U.S. Dollars (2013 OECD Tax Database). Most developing countries fall into the group with the index from 1 to 5 thousand dollars, and many of the least developed countries – in a group with exponent less than 1 thousand dollars. So, it turns out that Burundi, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Malawi, where the GDP per capita and GDP (even PPP) is $ 600, are inferior to Luxembourg by 100 times! It should be borne in mind that the calculation of the official exchange rate for the countries with economies in transition and developing countries is much less favorable: in this case, Burundi PPP in comparison to Luxembourg is less by more than 500 times! (2017 OECD Tax Database).

It is important to mention that the UN and other international organizations are searching for a new, more universal indicator of the level of socio-economic development of the modern world. As a result, their typology can now use the so-called human development index (HDI). This index is calculated based on the following three components: 1) average life expectancy; 2) education; 3) the real value of average income of the population. Based on these criteria, the UN experts divide all countries into three groups (The Human Development concept. UNDP. 2012).

The first group includes countries with a high HDI exceeding 0,800. In the first decade of the XXI Century, there were 55 such countries, and Norway, Sweden, Australia, Canada, and the Netherlands (0,942-0,956) are at the top of the list. 86 countries belonged to the second group of the middle - HDI (from 0.500 to 0.800) and 36 to the third group with low HDI (less than 0.500), the majority of the least developed states. In this case, two of them - Niger and Sierra Leone had HDI below 0.300. (Human Development Report 2014).

To conclude the description of the contemporary political map of the world, the following two other categories of objects can be taken into consideration. The first one unites self-proclaimed territories, which, in the majority of cases, exist but are not legally recognized or have been done by several states rather than the international community.

In Europe, there are some foreign breakaway territories (e.g., Kosovo), which were de-facto separated from Serbia. In Asia, it is the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Azad Kashmir ("Free Kashmir"), and, in fact, Taiwan, where the Republic of China was proclaimed in 1949, but Communist China (and International Community) considers Taiwan as its province. In Africa, it is the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR). All these self-proclaimed territories, together with occupied ones (for example: Illegally occupied by Russia Abkhazia and Tskhinvali District - two historic Regions of Georgia) are represented as a source of international tension.

Not self-governed territories belong to the second group on the political map. Some variations are observed here but the remaining colonies, which have no political or economic independence still make up the bulk of these areas. The list of dependent territories by the UN includes 16 such areas, which are still under the control of Great Britain, France, the USA, and New Zealand. But their share in the area of the world is only 0.2 %, while the share of its population is 0.00016 %. These figures may serve as yet another confirmation of the conclusion about the complete breakdown of the colonial system (United Nations General Assembly 15th Session).

3.2.1 Forms of governance in the world

While studying the political map of the world, the question of the forms of government of the states should undoubtedly be included. In its turn, this issue includes three components - forms of political regimes, the form of government, and forms of administrative-territorial structure. Let`s consider those components.

To start with, according to the specifics of the political regime, all countries of the world can be divided into democratic and anti-democratic ones. In the West, there are non-governmental organizations that define the "democracy index" of the countries, based mainly on the nature of the election to the legislature and superiority of law. Results of these calculations can be easily predicted: Western countries usually get the highest score (10 points) whereas the lowest is received by states in South-West Asia and North Africa. Nevertheless, the total number of states consistently advocating the adoption of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 increases all the time (Weiss, Forsythe, Coate. 1997). According to the authoritative Western sources, if after World War I, democratic regimes were established in almost 30 countries, during the period of World War II only 12 democratic states remained. In the 1960s, their number equaled 37 (Rondeli, 2003). In the mid-70s of the twentieth century, less than 1/3 of all countries in the world belonged to the list of democratic states whereas in 2019 the number of free and partly free countries amounted to about 90 and 60, respectively (Freedom House in the World. 2019).

As for the number of non-free countries with authoritarian political regimes on the World Political map, it equals about 45 (Freedom House in the World. 2019). It can be argued that among these modes two varieties are also manifested. Under the authoritarian regime we mean the complete or partial absence of democratic freedoms, limited activities of the political parties and public organizations, persecution of the opposition, the lack of a clear separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers (Mkurnalidze, Khamkhadze. 2000). In today's world, authoritarian regimes are mostly located in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, Latin America, where in some cases, they are of military dictatorships nature. Till 2011 Libya served as an example of such a country, which was officially called the Jamahiriya, i. e. the state of the masses, led by the revolutionary leadership under Muammar Gaddafi, while the government, parliament, and political parties were abolished. On the one hand, the emergence of such political regimes can be explained by internal factors - the legacy of feudalism and colonialism, the socio-economic backwardness, low cultural level, tribalism (from Lat. Tribus - tribe), i. e. manifestations of clashes among the tribes whereas, on the other hand, we should take into account external factors, and primarily the confrontation between two world systems that existed before the 90ies.

When the totalitarian regime is concerned, it implies a special form of authoritarianism, in which the state establishes full control in the life of the public of the state both as a whole and per citizen. It wipes out the constitutional norms and rights and takes severe measures against the opposition and dissidents.

Political scientists have identified two kinds of totalitarianism - the right and the left. Examples of the first of them - the fascist regimes in Germany, Italy, Spain under General Franco are based on the ideology of National Socialism. The second type is based on the ideology of Marxism -Leninism, which took place in the Soviet Union under Stalin, China under Mao Zedong, in North Korea under Kim Il Sung (Mkurnalidze, Khamkhadze. 2000). In the second half of the 70s. of the twentieth century, the totalitarian regime that led to the genocide i.e., the extermination of their people was established by the “Khmer Rouge" headed by Paul Then in Cambodia. And Saddam Hussein's regime in Iraq, which existed until 2003, was certainly too totalitarian.

Let`s start by characterizing the forms of government of the states, which in principle are only of two main types - republican and monarchist.

As it was already mentioned, the republican form of government emerged in ancient times, but it became extremely popular in modern and contemporary times. It is important to note that during the collapse of the colonial system the vast majority of the newly independent countries adopted a republican form of government. Republics were proclaimed in such millennial monarchy countries as Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, Tunisia, Libya, etc. As a result, in 1990 there were already 127 republics in the world, and after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, the total number approached 150. This means that a republican form of government has 4/5 of all the independent states of the modern world (Chitadze, 2017).

During the republican system, the legislature usually belongs to the Parliament, which is elected by the entire population and the executive – to the government (“Republic”. 2010). The system distinguishes between presidential and parliamentary (parliamentary) republics.

In presidential republics, the President, who is the Head of the State, and in many cases the head of the Government, has high authority (Kamenskaya. 2005). There are more than 100 such types of republics. The majority of them are in Africa - 45 (for example Egypt, Algeria, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, South Africa) and Latin America - 22 (for example Mexico, Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina) (Maksakovsky. 2009). Presidential republics are significantly less in number in Asia (e.g., Syria, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia, the Philippines), and in Europe, there are several countries with a Semi-Presidential system of governance (e.g., France, Croatia). In this case, together with the institute of the President, who has high power, the institute of Prime Minister also exists, who coordinates the functioning of the Government (A. Heywood. 2007). The United States can be regarded as the most striking example of the typical presidential republic, where the President is the Head of the State and the Administration (A. Heywood. 2007).

The Parliamentary Republic is based on the formal principle of the supremacy of the parliament, before which the executive (government) power is accountable. The president's role in these republics is much smaller, and the Prime Minister is the main political figure. Parliamentary republics are most typical for Europe (e.g., Germany, Italy, Austria, Finland, Bulgaria), but they are in Asia too (e.g., India, Israel) (A. Heywood. 2007).

As already mentioned above, the monarchy system of government emerged in the era of the ancient world, but it became more widespread in the Middle Ages and modern times. We can say that this is also a kind of relic of feudalism in the modern world political map. The number of monarchies remains stable; there are only 30 (Neidze, 2004).

Table 6. Countries in the world with a monarchical form of government

Countries	**Forms of Governance**	**Countries**	**Forms of Governance**
Europe			
Andorra	Principality	Lichtenstein	Principality
Belgium	Kingdom	Luxemburg	Great Principality
Vatican	Theocratic Monarchy	Monaco	Principality
Denmark	Kingdom	Netherlands	Kingdom
Spain	Kingdom	Norway	Kingdom
United Kingdom	Kingdom	Sweden	Kingdom

Asia			
Bahrain	Emirate	United Arab Emirates	Emirate
Brunei	Sultanate	Saudi Arabia	Kingdom
Bhutan	Kingdom	Thailand	Kingdom
Jordan	Kingdom	Japan	Empire
Cambodia	Kingdom	Nepal	Kingdom
Qatar	Emirate	Malaysia	Sultanate
Kuwait	Emirate		
Africa		**Oceania**	
Lesotho	Kingdom	Tonga	Kingdom
Morocco	Kingdom		
Swaziland	Kingdom		

Source: http://m.ranker.com/list/countries-ruled-by-monarchy/reference

Facts of the formation of new monarchies in modern times are very rare. In recent decades only two were observed. First, in Spain, where the monarchy was overthrown in 1931 and restored in 1975 after the death of the head of the Spanish government (caudillos) Franco (Raymond Carr. 1982). Secondly, in Cambodia, where after the 23 - year break Norodom Sihanouk again became the King in 1993 (UN OHCHR Cambodia). The power of the monarch is usually delivered by the principle of hereditary, but in Malaysia and the United Arab Emirates, the monarch is elected every five years from the local sheiks and sultans.

During the meeting with Table 6, it can be observed, first, that the most monarchies are in Asia (14) and Europe (12), with only 3 in Africa and 1in Oceania and, secondly, that there are monarchies, such as empires, kingdoms, duchies, principalities, sultanates, emirates. But more often they are divided into constitutional or limited, and absolute monarchies.

The vast majority of currently existing monarchies belong to the constitutional (limited) monarchies, where the real legislative and executive powers are vested to the parliament and the government, respectively, while the monarch, according to many experts, "reigns but does not govern." The monarchy system is saved as a concrete type of governance and sometimes based on the millennial traditions, often reminiscent of the past greatness of the "crown". All monarchies in Europe and Africa belong to the constitutional and most Asian monarchies. Britain is considered a classic example of such a limited monarchy.

The British Queen Elizabeth II “reigns but does not rule" from 1952. Citizens of this country encounter monarchical symbols very frequently. The country is ruled by "Her Majesty's Government," and the laws are declared "on behalf of the name of Queen," money banknotes are printed by Royal Mint and Royal Mail delivers letters. The first toast at dinner parties usually goes for the Queen, the English hymn begins with the words "God Save the Queen" and her silhouette is given on any postage stamp. Nominally, the British Queen has considerable political power. It convenes and dissolves the parliament, appoints and dismisses the prime minister, approves laws passed by the Parliament, bestows honors and awards, announces pardon (Dyer, Clare. 2003).

However, in all these cases, it is guided by the advice and decisions of the parliament and government. Additionally, Queen Elizabeth II is one of the richest persons in the country.
Taking into account political realities, many monarchs are not able "to Marry with love." In principle, this is true because dynastic marriages in Europe are usually based on mutual agreement rather than love. However, there are exceptions. For example, King Edward VIII, who came to the British throne in 1936 after the death of George V, the twice-divorced American for love in the same year. But after that, as a result of the crisis of the palace, he had to abdicate in favor of his younger brother. So, George VI - the father of Elizabeth II became the king of Great Britain. It turns out that if this incident had not occurred, Elizabeth would not have been the queen, and the entire postwar history of England could be different.

Japan serves as another example of how the monarch "reigns but does not rule" in a constitutional monarchy, where according to the constitution, the monarch (emperor) is the symbol of the state and the unity of the nation, the guarantor of freedoms of the people. But he does not directly participate in the political life of the country and his role is largely confined to the implementation of the protocol functions.

Interestingly, in Japan, several systems of chronology are considered, and one of them is fixed during the reign of the next emperor. So, a special chronology was established for the reign of Emperor Hirohito, which lasted from 1926 to 1989 and since 1989 is the countdown by the reign of his son Emperor Akihito. This era was called "Heisei" which can be translated as "the establishment of universal peace on earth and in heaven."

Additionally, the literature related to the comparison of the constitutional monarchies contains materials about the UK, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Japan, and their comparison with the presidential republics in Latin America and Africa, especially, at the level of democracy. It turns out that the level of democracy in constitutional monarchies is often significantly higher. Therefore, it can be assumed that it is a big mistake to consider that compared to the monarchical form of government, the Republican one is always progressive.

However, along with the majority of democratic constitutional monarchies, a few absolute monarchies on the political map of the world exist, which cannot be regarded as countries with democratic political regimes. All these monarchies (Saudi Arabia, Oman, UAE, Qatar), except Brunei, are located on the Arabian Peninsula. In Saudi Arabia, the head of state (king) carries out the legislative and executive power. He is the prime - minister and chief of the armed forces and the chief judge. State structures are mainly formed by the members of the royal family, which in total include several thousand people. In Oman, full legislative and executive power also belongs to the Sultan as the head of the state. Sultan is the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces. This country has no Constitution. The United Arab Emirates consists of seven emirates each representing itself as an absolute monarchy. In Qatar, all power belongs to the local emir too.

A peculiar kind of absolute monarchy is the theocratic monarchy (from the Greek Theos - God and Kratos - power). In such a type of monarchy, the head of the state is at the same time the religious leader. The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and the Sultanate of Brunei also belong to theocratic monarchies, and in Iran, despite the post of the president, the head of the state is considered the spiritual leader - Ayatollah. The Vatican is undoubtedly a classic example of a theocratic monarchy. This is the City-State, in which the supreme legislative, executive, and judicial powers are in the hands of the Pope, who is elected by the College of Cardinals till the end of life. From 197 to 2005 this post was held by Pope John Paul II, the 264th in a row. After his death, Pope Boniface XVI became the pontiff, i.e., head of the Roman Catholic Church, who later resigned from his post. Today, Pope Francis is the Head of the State of the Vatican. He was born Jorge Mario Bergoglio in Buenos Aires, Argentina, who was elected to his post on March 13, 2013.

To conclude the description of the forms of government, the Commonwealth, led by Britain, should be mentioned once again. The majority of its members have one of the two traditional forms of government - it is either a republic or a monarchy. Along with this, 16 of these countries (e.g., Canada, Australia, New Zealand, many small island states in the Caribbean basin region) are neither republic nor monarchies but simply recognize the head of the state Queen Elizabeth II (Commonwealth Secretariat. 2008).

3.2.2. Countries according to Administrative-territorial division

Let`s now consider the forms of the administrative-territorial structure of the countries in the world. Such a device that finds expression primarily in the grids of administrative-territorial division (ATD) can be formed under the influence of several factors or approaches, the main of which is historical and ethnocultural. Countries of Western Europe serve as an example of the historical approach, where historical regions and provinces create the base of ADT, which in the Middle Ages, and in the modern period of history were independent states, such as, Saxony, Thuringia, Bavaria, Baden-Wurttemberg in Germany or Lombardy, Tuscany, Piedmont in Italy. The ethnocultural approach is mainly spread in multiethnic countries. For example, in India, the primary consideration was given related to the ethnic boundaries while defining the boundaries of the states. This principle was widely used in the formation of ADT in the former USSR. In practice, historical and ethnocultural approaches often coincide, being combined in turn with the natural boundaries (river, mountain, etc.).

Parallels and meridians also marked administrative boundaries. The United States serves as an example of this kind of ATD (Map 4).

MAP. 4. Border of the states of the continental part of U.S. A. Borders of the states: by the rivers; by the mountain ranges; along *with the meridians and parallels.*

Source: http://www.50states.com/us.htm

Countries of the world greatly differ from each other by the degree of granularity of their ATD. France (22 Districts and 96 departments, including 4 overseas) (Neidze, 2004), Russia (86 subjects of the federation, including 21 Republics) (Neidze, 2004) have very fractional ADT. The U.S. (50 states), Spain (50 provinces), Japan (47 prefectures), India (28 states and 7 union territories), Germany after the unification - 16 Federal Lands, Austria – 8 Lands, Australia 6 states and 2 territories (Chitadze, 2017) are the countries with an average level of granularity of ADT. Some countries have recently begun the policy of downsizing their ADT (e.g., India) whereas others, on the contrary, started the enlargement (e.g., Russia).

Thus, there are two major forms of administrative-territorial division of the world - unitary and federal.

The Unitary State (from Lat. Unitas - Unity) is a form of administrative-territorial division, in which the country has one constitution, there are common legislative, executive, and judiciary powers and its constituent administrative units do not use any meaningful self-government. Unitary states are most of the countries in the world. This applies to Europe, where Britain, France, Italy, Sweden, Poland serve as examples of such states. In Asia, 33 independent states among 38 ones are with unitary administrative-territorial structure (Chitadze, 2017). In Africa and Latin America unitary states are also dominated.

The Federal State (from Latin Federation – Union, Association) – is such a form of the administrative-territorial structure, in which, along with unified, federal authorities and laws, there are more or less self-governing administrative units - the republics, states, provinces, lands, cantons, territories, federal districts which have their own legislative and executive authorities, although in the "second-order" compared with the federal institutes. In the U.S., each state has its legislature (legislative assembly) and the executive (governor) organs - bodies, structure, and competence of which are defined by the constitution of that particular state. Legislation in different states can also vary quite strongly. In most of the federal states, the parliament consists of two chambers, one of which provides a representation of the republics, states, provinces, etc. For example, in the U.S. it is the Senate, in Germany - Bundesrat, in India - the Council of States, in Russia - the Federation Council.

The total number of federal states on the modern political world map is not large - there are only 24 (Table. 7) (Chitadze, 2017). Moreover, this number is relatively stable. However, there are examples of new federal states too: Belgium became a federation in 1993 and Ethiopia in 1998.

Table 7. Countries of the World with a federal administrative-territorial Division

Countries by the Region
Europe
Austria
Belgium
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Federal Republic of Germany
Russian Federation
Switzerland
Asia
India
Malaysia
Myanmar
United Arab Emirates
Islamic Republic of Pakistan

Africa
Federal Islamic Republic of Camorra Islands
Nigeria
Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia
South African Republic
Latin America
Argentina
Brazil
Venezuela
Mexico
Federation of Sent-Kits and Nevis
Australia and Oceania
Australian Union
Federal States of Micronesia

Source: http://www.answers.com/Q/List_of_federal_countries_in_the_world

Table 7 clearly illustrates how federal states are distributed in major regions of the world. It can also be noted that the federal structure is reflected in the official names of many of those countries.

Some representatives of political geography work out a question of developing a typology of the federal states. For example, it is proposed to allocate the Western European, North American, Latin American, Afro-Asian, Nigerian, and insular types of federations. But we will not consider them in detail. We can confine ourselves to the statement that the federal form of ATD is primarily characteristic of multinational or at least bi-national states. Russia, Switzerland, Belgium, India, Nigeria, Canada serve as examples of this kind. Yet, in most of currently existing federations there are countries with a more or less homogeneous national (ethnic) composition of the population. Consequently, the occurrence of these federations reflects historical and geographical features of their development rather than national and ethnic.

Additionally, one of the types of the federation is considered a confederation whose members retain formal sovereignty and the right to withdraw from this voluntary association. Several such confederations exist in the world in modern and contemporary times. But, at the beginning of the XXI century, the status of a confederation was preserved only in Switzerland. Incidentally, the first three cantons of the country united in a confederation a long time ago, particularly, in 1291 (Fleiner, Töpperwien. 2009).

It is also worth noting that in federal states with complex national and ethnic compositions there are more common domestic conflict situations that are reflected on the political map of the world.

3.3. Intergovernmental organizations in the world political system

During the XVII-XVIII centuries, the national state was practically the only actor of international communication. But, in the XIX century the first intergovernmental organizations - IGO`s were founded. Some of them are also called supranational creations. Intergovernmental organizations are founded by the states based on international agreements (due to it, very often intergovernmental organizations at the different literature sources are considered at the direction of international law) for the realization of common purposes and are acting based on statutory documents. At the same time, IGO`s are the source for the development of international law through the creation of the legal norms and procedures of intercommunication in the international arena. Intergovernmental organizations offer the foundation of concrete institutes (including the existence of the headquarters, staff, etc.) and create the mechanisms for the realization of their purposes. The members of international intergovernmental organizations are the states, which join the concrete organization based on voluntary purposes.

At the first stage, international organizations were founded in Europe for the implementation of cooperation in the economic sphere. After the end of the war against Napoleon, the Central Commission for Navigation on the Rhine was founded, later, there were founded others, including The International Communication Union and the International Telegraph Union, etc. (UN, 2005). However, the real development of the international organizations is dated to the XX Century, especially in its second part, when the number of international organizations, number of members within those structures and spheres of their activities has been radically increased, which covered the whole world and almost all fields of the international problematic. If we take the historic perspectives, the political "weight" of International Intergovernmental Organizations and formations also radically raised within the XX Century.

Today, Intergovernmental Organizations are very important actors of modern world politics and in many directions determine the basic tendencies of the political development of the World.
It is interesting to mention that in 1900 there were only 30 intergovernmental organizations.

From 1945 to 1985 the number of IGO`s practically increased three times, gaining the number 378. The ending of the "cold war" was followed by the disintegration of several intergovernmental organizations ((for example, Warsaw Treaty Organization (Warsaw Block), Council for Mutual

Economic Assistance, and some others)). In 1997, the number of IGO`s decreased to 258, and at the beginning of the XXI Century, there were about 250 (Lebedeva, 2007).

The rapid development of International Organizations in the second half of the 20th Century has been determined by several reasons. Among the main, we can mention the following:

- World War 2 has led humanity to the understanding of the danger from the conflicts and the necessity of the creation of such a system, which would promote the resolving of those problems. One of the ways – the foundation of those International Organizations, which would be involved to consider such topics. Keeping the peace and preventing wars were the main purposes during the foundation of the United Nations.

- World division of labor, strengthening, and development of the contacts was required the formation on the international arena such organizations, which would provide the cooperation through the IO-s. In this connection, many appropriate IGOs-`s on the global and regional levels have been found.

- Appearance of the global problems (ecology, starvation, etc.) which could not be resolved in the framework of one country or group of the countries, has emerged the question for strengthening those efforts.

- For the several states, especially those which have emerged again after the disintegration of the colonial system, the joint activities in the International Organizations were giving an opportunity for the resolving many actual problems, and by this way, their influence on the development of political processes has been gradually increasing.

Picture. 2. United Nations Headquarter

Source: https://www.tehrantimes.com/news/440453/Time-to-move-UN-headquarters-from-U-S

There are different classifications of Intergovernmental Organizations. Usually, they differ from each other in accordance with purposes and membership. There are Universal IGO-`s. Members in such organizations can become any state of the world and the purposes are oriented on the wide spectrum of international problems, including political, economic, military, social and other topics. The examples of Universal organizations served and served the League of Nations and United Nations.

It is Interesting!

There are six main institutions within the structure of the United Nations: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice, Secretariat. Headquarter is in New York (UN, 2005).

Other types of international organizations also propose many purposes, but the membership at those organizations is strictly limited by one or another parameter, mostly by geographical location. To them, they belonged, for example, to the European Union, the African Union, Organization of American States. However, geographical factors are not the only parameter for the formation of intergovernmental Organizations with multiple aims, but limited membership. Thus, Commonwealth (former British Commonwealth) unites most of the states, which before were members of the British Empire, and the Group of Seven (G-7) includes itself economically and politically most influential countries of the world (Chanturia, Kereselidze, 2012).

It should be mentioned that the multifunctional IGO`s are by the high level involved in world politics as an actor. But, here also are some exceptions.

Intergovernmental Organizations, which are founded for resolving the concrete topics in one or another sphere, i.e., have special purposes and sometimes they are called functional intergovernmental organizations. Many of them are founded by the UN and have the status of specialized agencies of the United Nations. For example:

1. International Labor Organization (ILO).
2. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).
3. **United Nations** Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).
4. International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO).
5. World Health Organization (WHO).
6. World Bank Group.
7. International Monetary Fund (IMF).
8. International Atomic Energy Agency (UN, 2005).

Part of the functional organizations act on the basis of Intergovernmental agreements outside the frame of the United Nations: For example, OPEC – Organization of the Petroleum Exporter Countries, WTO – World Trade Organization – which has the special agreement with the United Nations; International Organization of the Criminal Police (Interpol), etc. (Karumidze, 2005)

One IGO-s have an unlimited membership, others are limited (particularly regional economic organization, which unites part of the states from Latino America, MERCOSUR). Mostly, the majority of IGO-s have special purposes and a limited number of members. By the estimation of C. Kegley and E. Wittkopf, the number of such organizations consists 72% of all International Intergovernmental Organizations (Kegley, Wittkopf, 2011).

Table 8. Classification of IGO-s according to their aims and membership, and examples of the concrete types of Organizations.

Purposes	Universal membership	Limited Membership
Multifunctional	League of Nations, United Nations	G-7, AU, EU, Commonwealth
Special	IMF, World Bank, UNESCO	OPEC

It is necessary to mention that such classification is anyway comparative (to this fact attention is paid by many researchers) because, in parallel with the functioning of Intergovernmental organizations, its purposes can be changed. For example, European Union at the first stage was founded for the promotion of economic cooperation among several European countries and even had other names. However, the purposes of this organization started to be expanded and included itself in the coordination of foreign policy actions. As a result, the EU factually has been transferred to the organization for many purposes.

Some researchers in the framework of IGO`s consider the political movements of the groups of the countries. In this regard can be considered the non-aligned movement, "Group-77" (Chanturia, 2012).

First was founded in 50th years by the initiative of the coalition of the countries, where most of them were developing nations, which have been united with the common purposes, to protect their common interests, including the topics related to the national progress and to avoid the involvement of superpowers in their domestic affairs or to be attracted to the competitive blocks (politico-military) during the "Cold War" period.

"Group - 77" has been mostly established by the representatives of the developing countries. This movement was created in the middle of the 70th when more or similar countries by the level of socio-economic development were united with the suggestion of conducting the economic reforms with the purpose to overcome the disproportion between developing and developed states.

During the birth of intergovernmental organizations and even in the middle of the XX Century, when the rapid growth of the number of such organizations was fixed, most of the politicians and researchers considered, that IGO`s would become somehow the "providers" of the policy of the states, which were founders of such international institutions. However, gradually it became clear that the interests of the intergovernmental organizations did not always coincide with the interests of the state-founders of such institutions and even had different positions in some cases. As a result, those organizations start to play a fully independent role and they themselves make an important influence on world politics in general and on their founding states too. The reasons can be different, for example, together with the expansion of the number of the member states of IGO`s, the interests of the state-founders "blur" by the interests of the new members. Or, during the other case, as a result of strengthening the positions of any member states of the organization, the IGO with more and more levels starts the realization of the interests of this concrete state together to the detriment of the interests of other members.

At the same time, due to the fact, that the number of IGO`s in the world is significantly increased (for comparison: in the modern world the number of states is approximately 200 and the number of IGO`s – about 250) (Chitadze, 2017), it has been increased their activities and they are gradually becoming politically more influential, and the membership at those institutions raises the authority of the concrete state.

The fact, that the International Organizations, from one side, are founded by the states and from another – they play a significant independent role in the International arena, makes the question about their belonging to the state actors to be ambiguous. C. Keglew and E. Wittkopf without any remarks consider them as state actors (Keglew, Wittkopf, 2011), other authors consider that they should belong to the list of non-state actors.

Thus, based on the two opposite versions, it can be analyzed the main functions of International Organizations and their role in world politics, particularly:

- Several IGO`s consider the participation as a member of the territories, which are not the sovereign states. Such organizations belong, for example, the International Telecommunication Union, World Meteorological Organization, etc.

- Several IGOs` have structures, which are similar to non-governmental organizations.

- IGO`s are founded on the basis of the decision of the executive power of the states. Other branches of power do not participate in this process.

In general, most probably it's not so important, to consider or not the IGO as the state actors, most enough is the fact, which are the functions of this organization. R. Keohane, St. Hoffman considers the six main functions, which fulfill or can implement the International Intergovernmental Organizations.

- Through the IGO the state makes a political influence on the international processes.
- IGO serves as the place of the agreement between the interests of the different states by the agency of negotiations.

- One International Organization is used for weakening others or interconnection with them (for example France intends to strengthen the EU in the field of defense and security and decrease in this field the role of NATO).

- IGO are used by the states for informing others about their (state`s) intentions and purposes.

- Documents, which are adopted by IGO`s, serve as some directions for the states, which are the members of concrete IGO`s, for the formulation of their own policy.

In the concrete circumstances, IGO`s formulate the basic principles too, from which are acting the states within the future actions (for example, after the ending of the "cold war" the independent states from Eastern and Central Europe admitted the ideas and principles of democracy, including through the IGO`s).

It is necessary to point out that IGO`s, together with the other actors of International Interconnections, are developing and changing. Especially intensively this process has been going on since the second half of the XX Century with the process of transformation, which covers the whole world. The activity of International Intergovernmental Organizations during the cold war reflected its realities and mostly was oriented on the resolution of the problems, which were connected with providing security, promoting peace, cooperation in the field of economic and social affairs, humanitarian aid, and human rights, etc. At the same time, one of the main contributions of the United Nations was the fact that the UN together with other International Universal, and Regional organizations did not admit to starting World War 3.

Following the collapse of the bipolar system, the agenda of many International Intergovernmental Organizations has been excluded from the topic related to the ideological confrontation between west and east. At the same time, IGO`s were faced with new realities. They were determined by the new international realities, and at the same time with the problems of the development of International Organizations itself. To those realities are belonged the topics, which are connected with the threat of terroristic acts (on the examples of September 11, 2001, and July 2005, etc. this topic has become especially actual); new dimensions of the topics on security and new approaches for the conflict resolution; providing the equal socio-economic development and decreasing the disproportion in the economic development between economically developed and developing countries (at the same time, many IGO`s, which were founded after 1990th, had economic orientation), problems of ecology, democratization, etc. The sufficient problem remains in delivering the part of functions from the state to the IGO. At the same time, there exists the necessity to reconcile interests of the all-member states of the concrete IGO`s among themselves, from one side, and among the different IGO`s – from the other. Due to the last point, it is being discussed the issue related to avoiding the duplication of functions, which are observed in the activity of the several IGO`s.

In the contemporary period, one of the dilemmas of IGO`s is the fact that the changes, which are going on in the world, require the reformation of International Organizations themselves.

Sometimes it is asked the question, maybe in very radical form, how those IGO`s are adequate to the new realities those IGO`s, which were founded during the cold war and acted on the basis of those documents, which were adopted and existed during this period of world history? How can they react to the new situation in the World? For example, at the end of the cold war, changes in the international arena forced several countries to think about the necessity of the reorganization of several international organizations. Thus, the economic development of such states, like Germany or Japan, emerges from the topic of the reformation of the United Nations with the changes in the status of those states at this organization. At the same time, for example, including Germany or Japan as a permanent member of the UN Security Council creates the problem, connected with strengthening the European Continent in world politics. In this case, Africa, Asia, and Latino America, where most of the countries are located, will not be presented by such status.

The next problem is interrelated with the fact that the development of IGO, as any other organization, very often is followed by the increasing the number of staff, bureaucracy, duplication of functions, sometimes even reconstructions inside the IGO, also among those institutions. The staff is not capable operationally to solving the problems, which are faced before the organization. As a result, the IGO is becoming less effective. Even more, the decisions of International Organizations are not always fulfilled in practice, and sometimes they are absolutely ignored. Such examples are when several countries do not participate in the working activities of concrete IGO or are eliminated from this organization. A clear example of such a case is the League of Nations, when the USA was not a member of this institution, Japan, Italy, Germany and USSR were eliminated from this structure because of military aggressions, having been implemented by those states against other independent countries.

The activity of IGO is also reflected in the difference among its members. Some states possess higher political and financial capabilities, others less. Sometimes the problem is resolved by the creation of a coalition of the states, for the consolidated actions with the purpose of strengthening their influence.

3.4 International Non-Governmental Organizations, Transnational Business, and other Transnational Actors

Except for the states and international intergovernmental organizations, there are different international non-governmental organizations (INGO), businesses, internal regions, etc. which are acting in the international arena and make their contribution to International Politics. Among those participants are also considered different movements, mass-media means, etc. Usually, all of them are included in the list of non-governmental, non-state, or new actors. However, this formulation is conditional. First, they are not always and not fully non- governmental. There are some businesses, which are involved on an international level with the important part – a high share of the state capital, sometimes even the whole shareholder is the state. K. Segbers describes such a connection between state and non-state structures as a hybrid formation. They are acting in different spheres: in business, where the transnational corporations have the mix (public and private) capital. There are hybrid creatures in Mass-media (Segbers, 2019).

With regard to the novelty of those actors, it is natural that most of them were founded a long time ago, before the foundation of the Versailles system of the world. At the same time, business was always striving to go out beyond some geographical borders – states, regions, etc. The foreign activity of the cities (polices) is well known from the history of Ancient Greece and the Middle Centuries. They created different types of unions and allies; it is enough to consider the union of the ancient Greek cities and the Hanseatic League. However, as it was noticed by the German researcher T. Risset, "the concept of transnational relations proposes that the world system includes nation-states and actors inside of those states. It makes absolutely senseless the discussion about transnational actors in the historic periods, which was interconnected with the expansion of empires or the period of Middle Centuries" (Risset, 2005).

From the second point of view, all those participants radically differ from each other, and it is difficult to find one common character. Some researchers pay attention to the fact that even the name of those institutions reflects an inconsistent side of the International NGO-s activities.

From the third position, the problem emerged, which structural creatures can be recognized as an actor in the international arena and which not? If the International NGO-s and Transnational Business companies have no doubt that they are actors in the international arena, such categories as Mass-media emerges in some discussions. But even among the International NGO-s and businesses, not everything is simple, when the discussion is going on about concrete organizations or corporations.

Finally, it is logical to question the issue, for how long is durable this or another actor. For example, the so-called "Islamic State", about which the world gained information after 2010, tomorrow can disappear from the political arena. It is enough the whole decade for the functioning of the concrete institutions, for the determination, can this or another organization be considered as a player on the international arena? Most probably, this question will be possible to answer only after the passing of the concrete period of time.

At the same time, the scale of the influence of non-state actors on world politics is becoming more and more significant, and that means that those actors should be under the research.

International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) or sometimes just non-governmental organizations (NGO`s) are very active and influential in the contemporary period. To them, there belong such organizations, which are not founded and registered on the basis of intergovernmental agreements and act not only on the territory of one state (due to it they are also sometimes called transnational). They can be professional organizations (for example International Association of Political Sciences, International Organization of Journalists); Sports organizations (International Olympic Committee, FIFA – International Football Federation); Religious (World Council of Churches), ecological (Greenpeace), Humanitarian (International Red Cross), etc. The members of INGOs can become national NGOs and associations, also private persons. INGO`s are functioning on the basis of their charter. At the same time, their activity is not focused on gaining profit.

Picture 3. Headquarters of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland

Source: https://www.dreamstime.com/editorial-image-headquarters-international-committee-red-cross-geneva-switzerland-august-geneva-switzerland-image52056750

The big diversity of the NGO-s, their difference from the qualitative point of view, principles of organization, purposes, etc. complicates the research. Thus, by this formal sign, this group can belong to some absolutely opposite organizations, such as terrorist groups and pacifism organizations. It is clear that nobody refers to the terrorist organizations to the category of NGO-s, however, this example shows how difficult is the determination of non-Governmental organizations.

Having been founded in the XIX century, nongovernmental organizations gained intensive development in the XX Century, especially in the second half of the previous century. It is increasing the number of such institutions and also the number of those people, who are involved in the activity of those NGO`s;

In 1900, there were 69 International Non - Governmental Organizations and at the crossroads of the 20th and 21-st centuries according to the different estimations, their number were between 6 to almost 30 thousand (Karumidze, 2005). The activity of those organizations is becoming more and more diversified from geographical and subjective points of view. They have sufficient influence on public opinion. Thanks to their activity at the concrete places, NGOs gain the information from "first hands" and often are familiar with the concrete details. Their activity promotes the creation of new international regimes, working out a new agenda for the resolution of global problems and democratization of the world.

Modern international nongovernmental organizations represent the significant political power, which organizes some actions against nuclear testaments, the burial of the toxic wastes (for example Greenpeace), for the keeping the peace and stopping the arms race (for example Pugwash movement), protecting the woman`s Rights (Feminist movements, etc.).

Many International NGO-s have the significant support of the population, which permits them to act very effectively. Thus, according to the results of one survey, in France, NGO-s trust five times more people than that of the government and for 9 times more in comparison to the mass-media means. Half of the citizens of the USA, Great Britain, Germany, and Australia - who participated in the survey, have declared, they are more inclined to the NGO-s than to their authorities.

One of the main contributions of the non-governmental organizations at the international arena is the fact, that during the preparation of the UN charter in 1945, "Rotary Club" and International Red Cross have achieved the result, to include to article 71 the text, in which is pointed out, that UN Economic and Social Council to empower to conduct consultations with the non - governmental organizations (Karumidze, 2005).

It is important!

The International Non-Governmental Organizations of the XXI Century are characterized:

- Radical growth of their number and quantity of employees, who are involved in the activities of those organizations;

-Enlargement the geography of their activities;

-Increasing the political influence;

- Increasing the list of the spheres, in which they are involved.

In 1990th, non - governmental organizations made huge contributions to the working out and signing of the Convention on the prohibition of the use, stockpiling production, and transfer of anti-personnel mines and on their destruction.

The initiators of this company represented nongovernmental organizations, particularly Handicap International, Human Rights Watch, Medico International, International Red Cross, and others. Beginning with 1992, they in coordination started to activate their activities for the adoption of tough measures about the use of the anti-personnel mines, from which the peaceful population is suffering, first of all, children. In 1996, by the initiative of Canada, in Ottava the conference with the purpose of the full prohibition of the anti-personnel mines was organized. At the conference, the International Company for the Prohibition of antipersonnel mines was invited. It was the first case of the NGO`s participation in the international negotiation on disarmament issues. In 1997, the International Company for the prohibition of anti-personnel mines and its coordinator J. Williams gained the Nobel prize (Chitadze, 2016).

Together with it, as a result of huge varicosity, activities of International NGO-s sometimes can be radically contradictory. Possessing concrete information, they cannot observe the situation as a whole. NGOs can be involved in competition with each other or with governmental structures. The autonomous actions of some non-governmental organizations can even promote the development of conflict relations. Thus, American researcher A. Natsios brings the example of the distribution of humanitarian aid in two neighboring African villages, where the two different non-governmental organizations had their activities. At one of the villages, the humanitarian aid was distributed only among them, who were participants and directly involved in the project, which was oriented on decreasing the tensions, and at the second village – the aid was released for all poor people. As a result, the conflict between the two settlements has emerged (Natsios, 1997).

Due to the development of information and communication technologies, the structure of non-governmental organizations is often becoming more amorphous. In its radical expressions, it begins to show the activity of participants of "Flash mob", which is connected with the fact that on the internet the announcement about organized actions has appeared, were all willing people are participating. During the next time, the analogical action is initiated by others. As a result, first, the function of the leader of the organization is leveled. From one side, practically everybody can check himself in this role, and from the other side, for the "external world" it is becoming nonunderstandable, with whom to conduct the negotiations, who is responsible for this or other actions, etc. From the second side, the organization – concretely as the organization stops its existence, by the gaining amorphous and permanently changing structure. All it significantly differs from those, what was in the moment of the foundation of the International non-governmental organizations.

In general, it should be mentioned, that for the international non-governmental organization of the end of XX and beginning of XXI century is characterized:

- Rapidly increasing the quantity and number of the people who are involved in the activity of such organizations.
- Widening the geography of its activity.
- Strengthening political influence.
- Widening the sector of those topics, where they conduct their activities.

The next important actors of world politics are Transnational Corporations – TNC, or multinational corporations (MC). They represent the business structures, activities of which are spreading in several countries. In comparison with International Organizations (Intergovernmental and non - governmental), the purpose of TNC – attract profit.

During the analysis of TNC, the following question emerged: At which level are they the independent actors of world politics, or are they connected with those states, where they were founded? Several authors consider that such connection exists at least with the part of corporations. The argument here serves the fact that the majority of such transnational corporations are based in the northern hemisphere and are part of the economically developed global north, part of the western style of life. It can be assumed that the existence of the national specifics with such organization, which acts in the whole world, or its absence, can be explained by the terminology. Some researchers indeed consider that TNC possesses the national specifics, but at the same time, it is absent with Multinational Corporations, others think on the contrary. In this situation, to avoid complicating the analysis, the meanings TNC and MNC are used as synonyms, especially if we take into account the fact that the national specifics of the TNC do not automatically mean the keeping of this character in the international arena. For example, German researcher U. Beck once declared: “What is good for Deutsche-bank, for a long time it's already not good for Germany”, considering that the interest of big business cannot coincide with the interests of the majority of the population (Beck, 1998).

A slightly different position, which also denies the close links between the state and TNC, is connected with the fact that transnational corporations act outside of the national-state frames and de-facto break off the agreements about loyalty with the institutes of the national state. Explaining this point of view, C. Kegley and Y. Wittkopf bring the example of “Sony”, where less than 50% of Japanese; more than half of its profits – the IBM, Procter and Gamble and other companies gain outside the USA (Kegley, Wittkopf, 2011).

The significant growth of the Transnational Corporations and other actors of World Politics is coming in the second half of the XX Century. Based on the United Nations data, at the beginning of the XXI Century, there were more than 53 thousand Transnational Corporations. About 90% of all TNC`s were based in the developed countries of the Northern hemisphere. Only one hundred leading TNC in the world at the beginning of the XXI Century worked with more than 12 million people. In 2009, only the foreign branches of TNC`s employed about 78 million people (UNCTAD, 2009). According to the data of American researchers J.T. Rourke and M.A. Boyer, one of the biggest transnational corporations in the world, “General Motors” in 1998 produced a production of 161,3 Billion USD, which was more than the Gross Domestic Product of many economically developed countries. For comparison: GDP of Greece was 137,4 Billion, Israel – 96,7: Ireland – 59,9, Slovenia – 19,5 (Lebedeva, 2007). Of course, to compare directly the GDP with the capital of TNC is not fully rational. In this case, it is important to underline which capital is possessed by the biggest TNC`s.

TNC Growth is stimulated by the development of Transnational Banks, which implement the finance operation in the whole world. As it was mentioned by C. Kegley and J. Wittkopf, 20 biggest transnational banks had at their asset the sum, which prevailed 425 trillion USD (Kegley, Wittkopf, 2011). TNB attracts its capital in a very mobile way, allowing the rapid development of Transnational corporations. At the same time, if we take into consideration the big financial stock exchanges, in general, we can discuss the financial institutes in the modern world as important actors of world politics.

It is clear that by the owner of such finance, staff, and other kinds of potential, and also by acting in the whole world, TNC and TNB can sufficiently influence political processes. Transnational Corporations are actively involved in the internal policy processes of the countries, where they have their activities and at the international activity as a whole. Thus, when at one of the branches of the enterprise “Ford” in one of the Latino American countries the strike of laborers has been started, the representatives of the governmental agencies applied to the management for the asking of the dismissing the leaders of the strike with the purpose of the avoiding the disorder in the future. The enterprise did not do it, because they considered that it would be better to conduct the negotiations with laborers. With this purpose, it became an initiator of the foundation in the country, the first trade union in the field of the auto industry, which became the base for the formation of the political party.

The finance instruments, which are under the control of the transnational corporations, allow them to act effectively in the international arena: investments in economic projects give them a chance in several cases to prevent the conflict. It is known as the mediator role of TNC. For example, in 1970th, when in the world the fuel and energy crisis took place, the government of OPEC member states gained financial support from the different TNC-s, which promoted their more flexible positions during the negotiations with the western countries.

However, the activity of TNC has the opposite side too. It is well-known the role of the company International Telephone and Telegraph (ITT) in the events in Chile at the beginning of 1970th. Wishing to keep its interests on the market of the telecommunication service in Chile, ITT tried to prevent the election of Marxist-oriented S. Allende to the post of president by the way of funding his opponents. Then, when he was anyway elected, ITT started to put pressure on the government of the USA to undermine the economy of Chile. As a result, President Allende was overthrown as a result of the military coup.

Picture. 4. Headquarter of General Motors

Source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/General-Motors-Corporation

Striving to gain maximal profit, TNC strengthened the division of the world by the line “Rich North – Poor South” to keep the cheap, but low qualified labor force in the countries of “South”.

Independent steps on the world arena also involve regional entities within the state (administrative-territorial units of the state – cantons, federal lands, state, etc.). They use the possibility for the purpose, that on the small territory is going on the concentration of the educational, scientific, finance, etc. resources and structures, as a result of which, by the remarks of O. Anderson and D. Anderson the “gateways” are forming, which open for their new opportunities and somehow even the “gates” to the global economy (Chitadze, 2016). Such territories for example become New York, London, Tokyo, Washington and its surroundings, South California, Miami, Vancouver, etc. However, this is going on only in such a case, if the region determines for itself this sphere or several spheres, in which it becomes significant on the international level. Less scaled projects permit us to go out to the level of international regions (for example Europe, Asia-Pacific, Latino America, etc.).

Information for consideration

It can be discussed the several points about positive and negative consequences of the activities of TNC as an actor in the world arena

Positive consequences:

Development of world trade.
Investment in the economy of the developing countries.
Creation of the labor places in the developing countries.
Promotion of democratization as a result of market relations.
Training of the national staff.
Interest in the peaceful resolution of the disputed and conflict situations.

Negative Consequences:

Weakening national sovereignty.
Strengthening the gap between developed and developing countries.
Readiness for their stability not only to support repressive regimes but to cooperate with them.
Interest in keeping the cheap labor force in developing countries.
Weakening the national characters by the introduction of its technologies and products.
Agreement with the other TNC – s for the division of markets and decreasing the competition.

Intensively is developing the transborder cooperation. Under modern conditions, the infrastructure very often is constructed in such a style, that the links between the regions and mega policies of the neighboring countries are closer than the interregional ties inside of one country. For example, the Northern districts of Italy are cooperating more intensively with the closing cantons of Switzerland than with the Southern provinces of its own country.

All those above-mentioned factors take the countries to economic regionalization, and it, from its turn, influences politics. Regions, by having the leverage (first of all economical), claim independence in world politics. For example, Scotland declared its intention to enter the EU structures. This process is a significantly important factor in the way of European construction, which even caused the appearance of such meaning as "Europe of the Regions".

Together with the regions, the political role started to play in the metropolis. Concretely in Metropolises, especially in capitals, it is possible to find all phenomena and tendencies of the World Politics: Here is going on the working out the political course, there are working the governmental structures, including parliament, government, ministries; in the metropolises are registered and located the headquarters of the International Organizations and are based the leading Transnational corporations. Metropolis itself is at the center of the most important political events and processes. First of all, Metropolis and not the town or any rural settlement is under attack by terrorists and extremists. First of all, around the metropolis is constructed the shield of the anti-missile defense. Practically every mega police are facing ecological problems, which cannot be mentioned about rural areas (here, of course, are their own "problem zones", for example, Aral Sea, Baikal, Amazon Forests, etc.). Concretely inside the metropolis are especially the problems of nationalism, migration; Metropolis is the subject of attacks, first of all in the conflicts and wars. There are politically most important demonstrations. Only very seldom the events, which are going on in small towns and settlements are in the center of public attention on the global level (usually extreme events - earthquakes, technological catastrophes, political murders, etc.).

Finally, at the metropolis are concentrated finance, economic structures, are located scientific, research institutes, and also Universities, theatres, libraries.

As a result, the metropolis is the place where the nets among the different fields of activities ("gateways") are created, which for the mega police becomes some "gate" to the global world of the "post-Westphalia epoch". It is observed not only as regionalization but at the same time as a mega polization of world politics. Even more, M. Castells pay attention to the fact that thanks to modern communication and information technologies mega policies are starting to create networking structures (Castels, 2006). They are based on the book of S. Sassen "Global City", in which it is shown how, for example, three cities – Tokyo, London, and New York, which are located at different time belts, fill each other and determine the finance markets. At the same time, other cities – Chicago and Singapore – are involved in the futures operations, the third – Zurich, Paris, Amsterdam, etc. are specialized in financial services. However, all those cities together represent themselves as a unified complex. Analogical processes are observed in the other spheres too (Sassen, 2001).

Gaining the additional autonomy by the internal – states, regions and metropolises has its own "underwater rocks". Non-controlled regionalization weakens the central power, creates the threat for the non-equal development of the different regions within one state, and takes us to the development of the conflict situation. Kosovo, Chechnya, Gaza sector are the most dramatic examples.

Within the last period, it is paid attention to the fact, that the activity of the internal state regions at the international arena can take us to the paradox, at the first glance, the process of the weakening democracy in the country. The issue is that the regions of one or other countries can be managed by corrupted, authoritarian authorities. In this case, "escaping" from the control of the central powers takes us to strengthen the negative processes on the local level.

From the legal point of view, neither metropolises, nor internal state regions cannot conduct independent foreign policy, and their foreign activities are limited by the spheres of economy, trade, culture, science, etc. The present situation is determined by international law and is reflected in the constitution of the different countries by the political documents.

However, the objective processes of world development bring us to the fact that comparatively small territorial entities, which are the internal state regions and metropolises, are becoming politically influential.

Ethnic and religious movements are also represented in the international arena as independent actors. They are various groups according to their purposes, methods, and quantity. Ethnic movements, for example, are very often found by the group of indigenous people, which inhabited the territory of one or another country much earlier than the foundation of the state. Those people are united by the common culture, language, belonging to one concrete nation. As usual, they organize the movements for their rights till they request to form their state. Methods, which are used by the ethnic movements on the way of self-determination, can be different, beginning from the parliamentary methods of fighting, ending with the armed and terrorist actions.

Religious movements as political actors at the world arena represent the unification of the people to the group on the religious base, with the purpose of the realization of political purposes. They can get their political aims as a result of political influence or can use the violation methods, approaching by this way to the terrorist organizations. One example of such a radical religious organization is Aum Shinrikyo, which used the nerve agent gas in the metro of Tokyo in 1995.

"Al-Qaeda", which implemented the terrorist acts in New York, Washington, Madrid, London, and other cities, also declared about itself as an actor of the world politics, by fighting not only against the one concrete state (even though the USA was called the main enemy) but against of the Westphalia political system of the world as a whole, including the state in the modern form, international organization, etc. The same should be pointed out about the so-called Islamic State – a terrorist organization, which within the period 2014-2015 was controlling about 11 provinces on the territory of Iraq and Syria (Chochua, 2016). "Islamic State", or ISIS by this way declared about its claim on the other socio-economic project of the organization and development of the world, in which there are used the determined, the most radical interpretation of the several rules of Islam, but the first task is the destroying the existed political system of the world, and terrorism is taken by "ISIS" as a method of the realization of those purposes.

Besides the above-mentioned, several researchers as an independent actors consider the separate people (for example, leaders of "Al-Qaeda" U. Bin -Laden), and also Mass-media means such as CNN, Al-Jazeera – which become well known as a result of the terrorist actions, etc.) which have the strong influence on the mentality of the people and formulate the relations toward the political events.

The modern technical methods permit them to do it comparatively quickly and often in the framework of real-time, covering different countries and continents. The finance opportunities of mass media factually locate them equal with TNC, and opportunity to influence the massive view about the most actual spectrum of the problems, draw closer the mass-media with the states.

In general, it is worth recognizing that the process of becoming the actors of world politics is going on. Endless of this process emerges from the difficulties of one definite answer, which concrete participants of world politics are their actors.

Key Terminologies

Transnational actors
World Bank
Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
Failed States
State-building
National sovereignty
Identity
Conflicts of Identity
Westphalian sovereignty
Forms of Governance
Administrative-territorial division
Geographical location
Intergovernmental Organizations (IO)
Supranational Organizations
Universal International Organizations
African Union
Organization of American States
Great 7
Functioning of the intergovernmental organizations
European Union
Nongovernmental, nonstate actors
International nongovernmental organizations
NGO-s
International Regimes
Transnational (Multinational) corporations
Transnational Banks
“Rich-North-Poor South”
Ethnic and religious movements

Questions for consideration

What are the main characters of the modern states as participants of the International Interrelations in the World?

What is the main problem of National Sovereignty?

What is the role of Intergovernmental Organizations as international actors?

How is the controversy presented in the activities of TNC-s within the international arena?

What is the role of International Nongovernmental Organizations and Internal Regions of the States at the World Arena?

How can the international activities of the Internal regions and big cities be explained?

Practicum

Analyze how your region is presented at the International Arena. Which spheres concern its activity (trade, scientific, cultural, etc.)? Which tendencies are observed? Which type of foreign activity is the main in the region? What are the tendencies of changing the character in the region?

Chapter 4

Transformation of the system of international relations and political system of the world

4.1. Modern system of international relations

In the second half of the XX century, despite the activity and plurality of TNA (TransNational Actors), complication of their interaction, the system of *the international (interstate) relations* (IR) remains the most significant structural element in the modern political system of the world that is defined by a key role of the states. But at the end of the XX century, there were also important changes in this area. With the end of the Cold War, the era of the *bipolar* world dividing the world into two camps has ended. But what succeeded this IR system? In the 1990s the discussion about the nature of the IR new system returned. Disputes, mainly conducted by the researchers working in realistic tradition went around two main points of view on the new system of international relations:

1. the world became *mono-polar (or unipolar).*
2. the world became *multipolar (multipolar)* where several centers of force are allocated.

In the early 1990s, during the war in the Persian Gulf, the president of the USA George Bush said that in connection with the disintegration of the Soviet Union one of the "poles" disappeared (Chitadze, 2011). This idea was picked up by Z. Brzezinski in the book "The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives" (Brzezinski, 1997). The author mentioned that "as a result of the rival's crash, the United States fell into a unique state: they became the first and the only world power". Further, he specifies that "even when the superiority of the USA will begin to decrease, it is improbable that any state will be able to achieve that world superiority which the USA has now" (Brzezinski, 1997).
This point of view gained the support of several researchers and practitioners mainly in the USA, with these or those nuances, remarks, and explanations. There were talks about the formation of Pax Americana - the unipolar world led by the USA. At the same time, some researchers claimed that the

unipolarity of the world does not mean the existence of the one pole being presented by only the USA. It can be much more difficult. For example, several authors consider that this pole began to be developed even during Cold War and represents certain coordinated actions of the management of the world by the group of seven leading states which turned subsequently into "Group of Eight" (G-8) at the end of 90th but have again transferred to the "Group of Seven" after the occupation the Crimea by Russia.

Nevertheless, general works, especially the works of the end of 1990th - the beginning of the 2000th, are devoted to discussion not only unipolarity and leaderships of the USA in the post-bipolar world, but also the so-called policy of unilateralism, assuming that foreign policy decisions are adopted even without positions of close allies, for example, was held during the making decision about starting the military operation by the USA in Iraq in 2003.

At the beginning of the 2000th intensive discussion began on the topic, how the policy of unilaterality of the USA had to be proved. According to S. Huntington, the leadership of the USA is justified by the fact that this country is the freest and liberal. K. Waltz in the work "Intimations of Multipolarity", which was published in 2000, approaches each other the concepts of "unipolarity" and "unilaterality" (Waltz, 2000). He connects unipolarity with a lack of serious threats for the USA from any other state and consequently an opportunity to act proceeding from own positions. At the same time, several authors emphasized the responsibility of the USA for the events in the world, taking into account the US's leading position on the global level.

The idea of unipolarity and especially the policy of unilaterality sparked criticism both in the USA and beyond its borders. Under the question was the expediency for the United States to assume all burden of such leadership and also need to play the role of "the international police officer". During the argumentation to take by the USA more restrained behavior on the international arena, as an example were George Washington's statements, for example, concerning the fact that America has to avoid the involvement into the realization of the purposes, alien for it. By the way, Z. Brzezinski, noting leadership of the USA after the end of the Cold War, points also to the restrictions connected with its realization. He sees them in the most American society as, according to results of polls, carried out in 1996, the vast majority of Americans (74%) prefer, "that the USA equally should solve the international problems with other states" (Brzezinski, 1997).

It is worth mentioning that concepts of "unilaterality" and "unipolarity" quite often coincide or differ from each other, but the policy and unilaterality can be implemented in any system of international relations, and powerful state can consider its interests and actions in coordination with other countries, etc., i.e., to be oriented on versatility in the solution of the international problems.

Nevertheless, the criticism of the policy of unilaterality often was followed by instructions on multipolarity of the modern world where along with the USA, there are also other centers, just as it was in Europe, for example during "the European concert". G. Kissinger reminds the society of the fact when he writes that "the international system which existed the longest term without great war was that which had arisen at the Vienna congress in 1815" (Kissinger, 1991).

By the way, the model of a multipolar system of international relations was discussed in western science even during the Cold War period in connection with the recession of power of the USA, having assumed then the emergence in the world of the new centers of force. Then this idea did not get support in the Soviet Union.

In the 1990s the ideas of multipolarity of the world had a response among the political analysts from the different countries. After the end of the Cold War, several scholars considered that there was the same time for the formation of the new centers, or poles, in particular, China, Western Europe became them. At the same time the multipolarity in several scientists' works acted not so much as the developed reality after the crash of the bipolar world, but as a system, to which it is necessary to aspire, using the developed conditions and directing all foreign political and diplomatic efforts.

Information for consideration

"End of the Cold War... - S. Huntington wrote, - does not mean the end of the fight for power and influence... Perhaps, it will mean the end of lasting peace" (Huntington, 1989).

Question for reflection

Whether the world of the period of the Cold War was more stable and safer in this sense? What steps are necessary to take for the formation of a more stable structure of international relations?

The idea of multipolarity of the world as a reference point of an official foreign policy gained development in the late 1990s in several countries, for example in China, Russia, etc. that found reflection in several official documents.

According to several political analysts, this sense of the concept "multipolarity" and "unipolarity" are senseless. The speech has to go more likely about the centers, but not about poles. However, terms of "polarity" are widely used not only in journalism but also in scientific literature. J.T. Rourke generalized the researchers conducted in this area, presenting various options of systems of international relations.

1. Unipolar World.
Characteristics of the unipolar world:
1. the central (main) power establishes "rules of the game" and dominates, using military and economic levers;
2. the central power resolves disputes between "subordinates";
3. the central power prevents "subordinates" in their aspiration to find independence.

In literature, unipolarity is usually offered to understand such a situation on the world scene, when one power according to military, political, economic, and other indicators is in an obvious separation from other countries. The hypothetical option of a world federal system at discussions about unipolarity is considered much less often.

2. Bipolar system
Characteristics of the bipolar system:

1. rather hostile relations between two poles;

2. attempt to reduce the influence of the opposite block;
3. strengthening of power about other blocks due to involvement of new members.

3. Three polar system
Characteristics of the three polar worlds:

1. Intention to keep good relations with the two other participants, or, at least, attempt to avoid the confrontations with them;
2. Intention not to admit to improve the relation among the two other participants of the process.

1. **Multipolar system**

Characteristics of the multipolar world:

1. To oppose to each of the participants, who intends to be a leader;
2. Intention to strengthen own position, or at least, not to admit its weakening (it is implemented by the way of the negotiation procedures, but, if it is inevitable, by the force methods too;
3. Even in case of confrontation, to intend, not to admit the destabilization of the system.

As a whole, during the multipolarity of the world, it is the balance of the potential of the several countries, but under the condition of unipolarity, one country stands away from the other states. Thus, the discussions about the polarity of the world are constructed from the different suggested schemes and variations and are traditionally constructed on the following basic principles:

· The pole is the state (non – state actors during the discussion about the polarity of the World are not taken into consideration);
· Strength of the pole is first of all determined by its military-political character. Only within the last few years does it start to take into consideration the economic factor too.

· Usually, during the consideration of the poles, it is mentioned the three groups of the states: Superpowers, middle states, and small countries;

· The ideas about the polarity of the world in the classical version are oriented mostly on the concept of realism and neo-realism (Rourke, 2007).

If during the development of the state-centrist model of the world, the economic and military-political potentials of the states have coincided, at the end of the XX Century and the beginning of XXI Century economic factors have become comparatively independent. It was shown, for example, during the energy crisis of 1970th, when the western countries, which had comparatively huge military-political potential, were forced to conduct negotiations with OPEC member countries. Today many researchers point out the role of the economic factor, calling Japan as one of the poles, even though this country does not possess strong military-political potential. Several researchers consider China as a pole, first of all, due to the economic factors.

It is difficult to say, will the economic factor determine the strength of the "poles" in the XXI century or not? Probably, they will be other indexes, particularly the level of the development and using the new technologies, water and energy potential and also education, political activity at the international arena, etc. For example, S. Strange supposes, that the future will determine not the armies and resources, but this, how the participant of the international interrelations will be influential during the introduction of the new “rules of the game”, i.e., those norms and principles, on the base of which the interrelations will be constructed (Strange, 1996).

If we talk about the modern time, according to J. Nye, in his book, which was published in 2002 “The paradox of American power: Why the World's Only Superpower Can`t Go it Alone”, the polarity becomes multidimensional. He points to the three levels. First – it belonged to the military-political field, and here the USA is dominant. Second – to economics. At this level, there are three main centers: the USA, Western Europe, and Japan (in the modern period we can discuss China). Finally, third – level of transnational relations, where it is difficult definitely to point about leadership. J. Nye considers that the mistake is the fact that several politicians see only the first level, and do not pay attention to the existence of others (Nye, 2002).

Determination at the transnational level brings us to the important conclusion about not considering the world political system only as of the interstate relations.

4.2. Plurality of political actors as a factor of the changing the political system of the world

Initially, the Westphalia system was constructed based on the fact that a state is a unit of international interaction. It acts on the international scene independently or forms coalitions, blocks, unions, etc. with other states. In other words, the system of interstate relations at the same time is the political system of the world. The activity of another TNA-s was not significant.

The Westphalia system received a logical conclusion in the second half of the XX century when the colonial system collapsed, and the world completely began to consist of a set of independent states. However, at the same time in a subsoil of state-centrist system essential changes have begun: on the world scene, except the states, have actively appeared other actors - intergovernmental organizations, the international non-governmental organizations and the movements, multinational corporations, interstate regions, and megalopolises, etc.

Of course, many of the above-mentioned actors acted earlier as well on the international scene. So, the first IGO and NGO appeared before the beginning of the XX century; the activity of the English Ost-Indian company can be mentioned as an example of a role of transnational business, and the political activity of the cities is known even before the formation of the Westphalia system, it is enough to remember the Ancient Greek cities policies. Therefore, to call most of the modern transnational actors new ones is possible only conditionally. All this has caused structural changes in the political system of the world.

In the second half of the XX century, there was a radical growth in the number of TNA-s of all categories, including the states, and also the fact that their interaction became much more difficult.

The researchers working within the neoliberal tradition were the first who paid attention to the changes which were going on in the second half of the 20th century and were related to the political system of the world. In the late 80th, J. Rosenau noted that as the result of TNA`s activity, the foreign and domestic policy begins to represent in many respects the unified reality (Rosenau, 1990). Going back from this idea, R. Keohane and J. Nye in 1972 in the introduction part of the book "Transnational

Relations and World Politics", showed that interrelations both within the external environment and at the internal state level are not limited only to interstate cooperation (Keohane, Nye, 1972).

Within the classical Westphalia system of the world, international relations represented interstate relations. The state, being, in fact, the only actor (the others played a role rather than participants, but not actors) of world politics, also exerted an impact on the internal political institutes and processes and substantially controlled them.

In the modern world the states, remaining as a key actor, started to enter to the complex relations not only with each other, as it was earlier, but with the other transnational actors, which from their turn, started also the intensively interact with each other and with the different internal state's institutes.

In the 1970th changes, the principally new scales of the activities of transnational actors were discovered, which became possible thanks to the new stage of the development of information and communication technologies. Finally, the number of actors and interactions with each other are going on and become more complicated. English researcher J. Groom has given an interesting description of this phenomenon – the "growing multiplicity" of TNA. From its turn, it brought us to the phenomena, which was called by M. Nicholson – the paradox of participation. Its main issue is the fact that as fewer participants are in the world arena and as more, they are similar, it is more predictable their actions and consequences of those actions (Chitadze, 2018).

Founders of the Westphalia political system, which faced with the analogical situation, but with the fewer scales, when they were standing before the necessity of working out the rules of interactions, have found the way out, that have limited the number of actors by the states, and for the latest determined some "general index" (If somehow, we use the mathematical terminology) – national sovereignty. This social discovery was great. It allowed the construction of the vitality political system of the world.

However, the development of the state-centrical system, how it is always going on, has brought us to the qualitative changes of the system itself and the appearance of the many other actors. They started to interact with each other through many interactions and relations. With the taking into account the intensification of the political relations in the modern world, the appearance of the phenomena "time compression" (speed of the development of the events) under the modern conditions - world political processes become not only hardly predictable, but sometimes hardly observed. Finally, the problem is complicated with the fact that there are so many Transnational actors, and they differ from each other by many different parameters, particularly according to the resources of influence, main purposes, and tasks, internal structures of the organization, etc.

For example, the states, for making influence are very often based on their political resource, but at the same time, they use economic, military, and other resources. Economic resources are most significant for TNC-s and TNB-s. At the same time NGO-s, who do not possess serious economic and financial possibilities and especially military resources, are capable of making an influence because they have the necessary and exact information "from the local place". One of the main reasons is that with NGOs cooperating with many volunteers, they use the trust from the population, etc. From its turn, internal regions of the states and metropolis are using the possibilities, which they gain because on the small territory the "interconnection" of network links is going on. As a result, the different resources are not only summarized, but they strengthen each other.

Transnational actors are various by their purposes. Their activity can be focused on the creation of any product (at the same time this product is different – goods, services, buildings, new links, and relations, etc.), also on destroying the existing ones (some anti-globalist movements, terrorist organizations, etc.)

The purposes of TNA differ, also, by the time parameter. If the states act based on the fact that they “exist eternally” (i.e., there is no limitation in time for them), the other actors at the first stage can determine for themselves “the limits for their existence”. In this regard, it emerges the question about responsibilities (political, legal, moral) of the non-state actors for their activity. Some specialists underline that the non-state actors do not always recognize their responsibilities on the full scale, by presenting themselves at the international arena as participants with limited responsibilities. With such participants to construct long-term relations is very difficult, because it is not clear that the taken responsibilities will be fulfilled. And at the same time, short-term interaction with them can be very attractive.

The structural organization of transnational actors is important for understanding how political decisions are implemented and how this actor behaves during interaction with others. There are two types of social communications: network (horizontal, or democratic) and hierarchical (vertical, or authoritative). The absence of the organization represents chaotic interaction. It is obvious that to speak about a network, hierarchical, or chaotic structure of TNA is possible only conditionally as the domination of a certain type of communications, as the same "a government vertical" can be built extremely rigidly, and then we face authoritarian regimes, or less rigidly with a set of coordination, horizontal communications, etc. that is characteristic of the democratic states.

On mainly hierarchical types are constructed many multinational corporations, and mainly on the network - a significant amount of NGO-s. For example, both types of communications have expenses and advantages. The network relations allow considering opinions of certain people, small groups, etc. So, the existence of too large several necessary discussions and coordination leads to the fact that decisions "languish", and even are not accepted at all. Procedural questions are capable of eclipsing the essence of decisions. Today the EU faces a similar threat, by several estimations, for example. Another problem with the network organization is that the network organizations as researchers in the field of terrorism and the Internet have shown, can reach so-called SPIN - structures (segmented, polycentric, based on the united ideological principles) representing by itself the cell structure. The danger of such network organizations consists in the possibility of their disintegration in a number of the corporate groups, which are closed for others.

At the same time the excessive hierarchy, rigid "vertical power ", as a result, means that decisions do not consider the whole range of interests and consequently do not satisfy the interests of certain groups.

Together with the increase and complications of transnational actors and also their interaction on the world scene became complicated. Today it cannot be described by A. Wolfers's metaphor about the collision on the world scene like billiard balls on a table. However, early interaction of the states about which A. Wolfers spoke was not simple and casual as it can be represented if understood in the literal sense (Wolfers, 1967). The states always formed the coalitions, the unions, blocks, etc., and by that ordered their relationships. It becomes even more difficult in modern conditions when consequences of actions on the world scene become less obvious by several aspects. Therefore, if to use this metaphor, then it should be only to emphasize that the actions of actors entail the whole chain of consequences within which the final results are almost impossible to predict. As a result, once the president of the Czech Republic Václav Havel noticed, everything is possible in the world and almost nothing is precisely established (Lebedeva, 2007).

The activity of modern transnational actors was a serious challenge to the states, the state, and the centrist system of the world. However, the relations which are developed among the various actors on the world scene can be described, as before, in terms of cooperation, conflict, and neutral relations.

It is often possible to observe the cooperation of the states and other transnational actors. For example, international non-governmental organizations, business structures are attracted during the settlement of the internal political conflicts. Here the interests of many participants quite often coincide. So, the states can be interested in decreasing tension in a conflict point as the conflict threatens to spill over their territory. In its turn, conflict areas for the business - obstacles for business management, a zone of violation of transport communications, increase of political risks in nearby territories. For several NGOs - settlement of the conflict answers their authorized documents. As a result, the conflict will be settled not only on a multilateral but also on a multilevel basis.

Certainly, at the same time, there can exist some business structures, groups of interests in the state, etc. for which development of the conflict, on the contrary, is favorable. Nevertheless, during the domination of the parties interested in the settlement of the conflict, cooperation in many respects is based on the fact that different actors have various advantages.

Also, various options of confrontation of TNA are not less obvious. For example, the interests of the multinational corporation working in the sphere of chemical production can conflict with the interests of ecological NGOs. By the way, ecology - this sphere on the example of which the interlacing of interests of various actors - these or those states are especially accurately traced (including groups of interests in the state), different corporations, NGOs, etc. It is also possible to present cases of parallel activity of various TNA when they act at the same time, but their interests are not crossed with each other.

It is obvious that specific species and types of interaction on the world arena of the states among themselves, with TNA, transnational actors with others – are in a great number. At the same time, as notes T. Risse, non-governmental organizations well adapt to national conditions therefore, for example, Honda in the USA differs from the parent Japanese company, but it at the same time differs also from the American carmakers, such as Ford and General Motors (Chitadze, 2016). What allows these actors to be adapted so easily? Or another question: whether a particular projection of the theory of the democratic world within the interaction of other actors is admissible? In other words, whether there will be two transnational actors constructed mainly by the horizontal principle (democratic type of the organization) during interaction with each other to behave amicably and to try to resolve contradictions in the negotiation way? The example of interaction between the USA (the democratic state) and “Al-Qaeda” (the organization which was constructed by the network principle) replies negatively to this question. So, the principles of the organization of the actor are insufficient. A uniform system of values is necessary, probably.

All these and a set of other questions represent the field that still waits for the researchers. It is a transnational level about which J. Nye wrote, analyzing poles or the centers of the modern world (Nye, 2004).

4.3. Contours of the new political system of the world and scenarios of transition to it

Changes in the political system of the world haven't led to its change yet. The Westphalian model continues to exist, and it is difficult even to assume that it can stop its existence. Nowadays, it is observed the process of qualitative changes within the changing nature of the system of both internal political and foreign policy arrangement of the world. Similar transitions in the depth of transformations can be compared to the process of the formation of the Westphalian system of the world. By the way, in this plan, the interesting parallel between the middle of the 17th century when the Westphalian model of the world was created, and the end of XX - the beginning of the XXI century was presented by some researchers. K. Holsti noted, for example, that in the first case Europe, being united by cultural, civilization parameters (after the destruction of the conflict between Protestants and Catholics), was politically divided. And in the second case, during the extreme strengthening of economic integration, the world in the framework of the political relation is represented by more than 180 various states. If, comparing these two historical processes, to take into account that now there is a discussion about the formation of the political structure of the world not only on one continent as it was before and in reality, this process is going on the global level, then becomes obvious that transition is much more considerable and difficult (Holsti, 2004).

Even more degree of similarity has been determined by Ch. Kegley and G. Raymond in the book "Exorcising the Ghost of Westphalia" which was published in 2002. They define the middle of XVII and the end of the XX century as rotary points in history when one model of international interaction is replaced by others. Changes in political life, the emergence of many new problems are characteristic for both periods. This and other periods are also characterized as "the clashes of civilizations", clashes of moral values, and clashes of views. And then also the disintegration of big national entities on smaller ones etc. is now observed (Kegley, Raymond, 2002).

The process of "global transition" in various degrees differently covers the countries and regions. At the same time, the objective processes proceeding in the modern world are going on somewhere smaller somewhere by wider scales. This period is extremely contradictory, that is expressed in the phenomenon which is possible to call a transitivity paradox. On the one hand, old regularities and norms continue to work; on another hand - new ones appear at the same time.

Information for consideration

Some researchers see much in common between the situation which developed in Europe in the middle of the 17th century and a situation in the world at the end of XX and the beginning of the 21st century, namely: disintegration, the collision of views, values, etc.

Question for reflection

What more parallels can you name between those periods? What do they essentially differ in?

In modern conditions, the paradox of transition has two components – Westphalia and Yalta-Potsdam, as a part of Westphalia, which is connected with interconnection in an international arena.

The paradox of the Westphalian system is reflected in the contradiction of the processes of changing the state sovereignty (losing one and appearance of the other functions), the role of the non-governmental actors, and also increasing interconnection. Transparency of the borders and determination of interdependence motivate the states more and more actively to react to the processes, which are going on in the other countries, especially, if they are connected with the conflicts. At the same time, interference in the internal affairs and limitation of sovereignty from outside (in this regard it is interesting to discuss the crisis in Kosovo and the use of the force by NATO, also, military aggression of Russia against Georgia and Ukraine) force other states (including those, against whom the violation was not used) to "protect" their national interests by all means. It can obtain different and very dangerous forms. For example, to motivate the non-nuclear states for the development of the programs for producing their nuclear weapons. By the "cheaper" version, they can be oriented on using the chemical weapon.

The Yalta-Potsdam paradox of transition is connected with the changes in interstate relations after the ending of the cold war. First of all, it is being discussed bipolarity, which was formed after World War 2 and became some "kernel" of the postwar system of international relations. At the same time, together with the disappearance of bipolarity, some elements of the previous system have remained, including the signing of international agreements, which represent the stabilization factor of modern international relations. In this regard, the Yalta-Potsdam system is wider than the bipolar world order.

A more complex problem is another. Before, all big wars were ended by negotiations about a new world international order (by this way was created the "European Concert", Versailles-Washington and Yalta-Potsdam system of international relations). At the end of the XX century, it was not held. There were no negotiations by the results of the cold war. Reason -difficulties to explain the fact, how those negotiations should be organized; what is the agenda; who are participants; in which form and how to take into account the interests of the non-state actors, which possess significant economic and political weight etc. In other words, it is the coincidence of the "two transits": The system of International relations and the political system of the world.

The process of "global transit" is described by different means: as an epoch of uncertainty, turning point, and transition. J. Rosenau uses the metaphors from Physics, calling the modern period a period of turbulence, especially the moment after which the development can go in different directions (Rosenau, 1990).

According to J. Rosenau, today the meaning "International Relations" itself loses the previous explanation, when it factually was associated with the interstate interconnection, because together with the systems, where the nonstate and supra-state actors are actively involved, when they create a polycentric world (i.e., such, where the many the different by their character centers are united in one network), also exists the state-centric world. For the description of the new phenomena, it offers the term post international relations, similar to this, how the prefix "post" is used in such words as "post-industrial era", "post-ideological society", "postmodernism", "post bipolar world" etc. when the determination the character of the new formatting quality is difficult (Rosenau, 1997).

The idea of the polycentric world, where the Transnational actors create various transnational centers (TNC), which are connected by a network of relations, are intensively promoted by other actors, for example, S. Anderson and its colleagues in the book "Field Guide to the Global Economy" (Anderson, 2005). Their analysis is that reality mostly belongs to the economic sphere, even though the idea itself, which exists in its base, is significantly wider. Its concept is connected with the fact that it is going on the distribution of the industrial, educational, scientific, finance, and other structures thought of our planet with their "intersection" on the small territories. Exactly here are created gateways, which represent the gateway to the global world. As a result, different geographic creatures (cities and small territories) are "integrated" into the world of the post-Westphalian epoch by different means. Some of them, including New York, London, Tokyo, Washington, South California, Frankfurt, Milan, Miami, Vancouver, Singapore, etc. are at the "front line" of globalization and the new world order. By its varicosity and specifics of the above-mentioned territories, their common is the fact, that within there is going on the interconnection of international networks – finance, scientific, cultural and others, which are connected with communication, information, knowledge, education i.e., the attributes of postindustrial world.

Gateways can be on the level of national and regional scales. For example, Paris, according to D. Anderson, K. Sasaki, is not, at least for the contemporary period, to be included in the list of "city-gateway" to the global world, and remains at this stage on the national level. They consider that Paris is no longer the developed city, which is connected with the global economy better in comparison with other French regions, but it is first of all the gate of France to Europe, that the European gate to the World (Chitadze, 2017).

"Territory - Gates" create the new standards of the post-industrial epoch, in which, according to their capabilities, they are forced to follow other territorial creatures. At the same time, they have very high requirements for the human, demanding from him the highest mobilization with all consequences. At the same time, the industrial system does not disappear at all and is not fully integrated into the next economic system.

The model of "gate-territory" permits us to conduct some analogy with the role, which played by city-states in ancient Greece and other regions of the world and Italian cities in the middle centuries as a specific "unit" for interactions. At the same time, the model of "gate-territory" represents some alternative to geopolitics, but in this and another case, significant importance is given especially to the territorial factor. However, in the framework of geopolitics to the head of the corner is considered the whole territory of the national states. In this way, the geopolitical model in comparison to the model of "gate to the global world" remains in the framework of the Westphalian system of the world.

Except for the question, what can come for the substitution of the Westphalian model of the world and according to the postwar system of international relations, it emerged the question, how will it happen.

There are considered three different scenarios of the further process of the transformation to the new political structure of the world and new system of international relations.

The first is connected with the comparatively simple process of transition. Interestingly, the principles of those scenarios are shared by the representatives of the neo-realist school, as a radical neo-liberal. For the first group, the absence of qualitative changes in the modern political world means evolutionary development without any "leap". For the second group, and the most significant representative here is F. Fukuyama, the dominance of the liberal values represents the guarantee from the huge clashes (Fukuyama, 1996).

This scenario has been under the critics many times. From one side, objections to the radical liberals were interrelated with the fact, that it is not consistent with the real development of the political events; after the ending of the cold war the wars have not disappeared; from other – the attention was paid to the qualitative changes in the world, which were determined with the active appearance on the world arena the new actors. At the same time, this scenario, according to neoliberal position, significantly reflects the final result of the transition, and not the closest stages of this process, on which pays attention in his last works F. Fukuyama.

Alternative prognosis related to the transition period, and also possible in the future the political structure of the world - give the researchers, who discuss the split. At the same time, the fundamentals of the different schools differ from each other. For example, western, Latino American, African, Islamic, Confucianist, Hindi, Orthodox, Buddhist, Japanese civilizations with S. Huntington (Huntington, 1993); the civilizations, but other types have considered A. Toffler – Agricultural, industrial and post-industrial (Toffler, 1995). Wallerstein discussed social-economic development of the world regions (high, middle and law, on the base of which, there are considered Center, partly periphery and the periphery (Wallerstein, 2001); Scientist A. Nekless determine six space-economic zones – North-Atlantic, Pacific Eurasia, "Southern", which is mostly located in the regions of the Indian ocean, and also two transnational areas, which are located outside of the geographic space (Chitadze, 2016). To those, and also other analogical approaches, which underline the differentiation of the world, it is especially pointed on the real or potential conflicts.

As English researcher, K. Bus has written: “New Century it is possible will be more resemble the restless middle centuries than to the static 20th century, where will be taken into account the lessons, from both periods” (Lebedeva, 2007).

This type of scenario is also under the critics. One of the main rejections is: the bases for the split are several, but which are clearly “intersected”. In the other words, the same person is included in several groups at the same time (for example, professional, Buddhist, etc.), which determines somehow the decreasing of the conflictual situation. Another argument against the theory of disintegration is based on the fact that humanity possesses some sense of self-preservation and will not admit for various reasons the global conflict, which can destroy any civilization.

Finally, in the framework of the third scenario “global transition” there are some attempts to take into account the tendencies, from one side, toward the unification of the world, from another – to its division, contradiction, fragmentation of the different parts, and spheres. One of the first, who paid attention to the action of both tendencies at the same time, was B. R. Barber.

At the beginning of 1990th, he noticed, that in the different regions of the world, there are distributed the unified samples of MTV, McDonald's, Macintosh, which represent somehow some global world - “McWorld” (according to the first letters of the called symbols of the global world). At the same time, there is a contradictory tendency, which is reflected in the separatist movements, ethnic and confessional conflicts. This tendency the researcher called “Jihad”. In comparison with S. Huntington, who was writing about “clashes” of civilizations, B. Barber mentions clashes of “Jihad” with the global world. His work is named: “Jihad vs. McWorld”. And one more difference in the point of view of authors. If for the first this process has somehow global character, for the second the similar event is more local, which covers just the separate parts of our planet (Barber, 1992).

Following B. Barber, to point out simultaneously about two tendencies started discussions with other scientists. Thus, Director of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute – SIPRI A.D. Rotfeld writes that the relations in the modern world are determined not only by centrifugal but also by centripetal processes (Rotfeld, 2001). J. Rosenau in connection with it proposed even the special terminology – “fragmentation” and “integration” (Rosenau, 1990). Analogically another terminology was created “glocalization”, which describes this event and has obtained a wide distribution. In the scientific circulation, it has been introduced by R. Robertson, who in 1995 published the article with a similar title (Robertson, 2012). Globalization has found its reflection the processes of globalization and localization at the same time, i.e., isolation of the separate regions and cultures to their similarity in the modern world.

4.4. Theories about World Political Order

New World Order (Lat. Novus ordo Mundi) — the term is used in politics, for the designation for the diverse phenomena in the present and forecasts to the future related to the world political order. This term does not have a conventional definition.

This term is frequently connected with the erroneous transfer of the Latin motto “Novus ordo seclorum” (correct translation: the order of the new century, new era, new epoch). In its turn, it goes back to the famous eclogues of Virgilio’s: Magnus ab integro sacrum nascitur ordo — “A new time it is founding the great order”.

The ironic treatment of the word combination “marvelous new peace” or “Brave New World”, Kipling and Huxley argue with these ideas and which already has an anti-utopian nature.

World order — nature (state) or direction of the external activity, which ensures the stability of those purposes of the community of the states, which are for it, from one side, elementarily necessary, with another — vitally important, with the third — general for all.

The term was introduced to Hedley Bull into the scientific circulation of the political scientists in 1977 (Bull, 1977), however, by itself, the universal order was formed much earlier.
Traditionally the are separated several historical forms of the world order:

Westphalian (1648-1815) — is fixed in the Westphalian Peace Treaty. The status of the states as the leading actors of world politics and predominating elements of the international system was designed. World order began to be formulated based on relations precisely between the states. In this case, by word “world” it is worth first of all to understand the European order since this system almost did not concern the other regions of the world.

Viennese (1815-1871) - is designed by the signing of the Viennese Peace in 1815 after the Napoleon wars. In this form of the world, the order was determined by the Great Powers —sovereign states, which have a larger influence, than the rest. As a result, this order became the basis for the epoch of colonialism and it assisted in the final forming of empires. World order partly became universal, after being extended by the means of strengthening the colonial empires to the other regions of the World.

Versailles (1918-1939) —Versailles Peace treaty was the result of the First World War. It was institutionally fixed poly-centric peace, in which the adoption and realization of the decisions of major importance occur via the mutual agreements of the Great Powers taking into account the interests of the others. It was founded by the League of Nations —institute, which had the purpose of supporting the existing world order, for the non-admission of the destabilization of the international system by the will of one of its elements. It proved to be insufficiently effective in connection with the fact that the interests of the states were standing above the interests of the international organization.

Yalta-Potsdam (1945-1991) — was formed during the conferences in Yalta and Potsdam, and also in the framework of the postwar regime in 1945-46 years. For the first time, it has changed the structure of the world order — from the poly-centric to the polar (bipolar, double-pole, and so forth). The world was divided into two antagonistic centers, conditionally to the US and Soviet blocks. It is unique also because of the appearance of a nuclear factor and phenomena which was coming from this. By the opinion of the majority of experts, it is the most stable form of world order from those, existed before.

Post-Bipolar (1991-2000) — it was formed as a result of the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the ending of the Cold War. It is characterized as mono-centric, in connection with the dominant role of the USA, which is confirmed by the rapid activation of American policy in the different regions of the World – Middle East, Iraq, Afghanistan, Europe (conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia, etc.) Gradually, with the strengthening of China and the European Union and partly Russia, and after accepting the contemporary form, this system de facto has stopped its existence.

4.5. Contemporary world order

In modern times, the World Order is characterized either as relatively mono-centric with the existence of other important centers of power, or as poly-centric. World order is a sufficiently abstract notion, in connection with which the representatives of the different schools are inclined to discuss it from different positions. Let`s analyze the positions of different authors:

Anne-Marie Slaughter the Forming world order can be described as non - aggressive, that is set under the conditions of the transformation of states into the structures, which continue to act on the world stage as unitary, sovereign formations, although they are in reality the same not entirely. The state remains the most important author of world politics, but the institutes – which are the part of the states, in the process of fulfilling their functions escape from the entire control, they find relative independence and enter into interaction with the analogy institutes of the other states. So, there are formed structural and functional governmental networks — which cover the entire world. Therefore, the forming world order is not only non - aggressive, but also more integrated based on networks. Government networks —represent the key feature of world politics in the 21-st century, they are multifunctional according to their origin, structure, functions, scales, nature, the number of participants, and other factors. Networks can function in parallel not only to states but also too long ago prevailing international institutes, they can be constructed into them or to be built on above them.
The core of the non-aggressive world — horizontal networks, which are constructed in the non - regular form and spontaneously as a result of the cooperation of the officials of the states. It can exist both independently and within the framework of the official international organizations, for example, the meeting of the ministers of G7, etc. The vertical networks are less numerous but are more promising. They are formed as a result of the establishment of stable communications between the officials of states from one side and officials of the supranational and global organizations from another. Horizontal and vertical networks in this case are united into "the lattice", which wraps the entire planet. States as a result do not disappear, but they are entered in the lattice (Slaughter, 2004).

Henry Kissinger, There is a wide spectrum and a variety of international systems, which are based not only on the different principles but are also in the different historical times. As a result, the different attitude to the order and probability of its change using the war. 1. the USA and Western Europe. It covers the most developed countries. Idealistic ideas about peace are based on the principles of democracy and economic progress, wars are excluded, they can be explored only on the periphery, where ethnic conflicts can become their source. 2. Great Asian powers — India, China, Japan, and Russia. Conflicts and wars are not required, but they are possible. 3. The Near East — permanent and regulated conflicts only by very difficult means, resemble Europe in the 17th century. 4. Africa —

European historical analogies do not work, ideological principles are stepped back, large numbers of “wild Civil Wars”, which can overgrow into international conflicts. Contemporary world order Kissinger characterizes as unstable and vulnerable. It is also noted about the disagreement of the international economic and political institutes —while the economy became global, states as before remain the basic political structures. The foreign policy asserts boundaries, while globalization requires the elimination of national boundaries. Another problem of the world order consists in the fact that the effective mechanism of the consideration by the largest powers of those problems, which require the joint solution, is absent. The numerous international forums do not make it possible to work out the united long-term strategy. Kissinger proposes 4 systems of the world order: 1. European systems, based on the Westphalia model of sovereign states, are allotted by the equal status inside the system; 2. Islamic system — so-called Umma — an idea about the general peace based on the laws of Islam; 3. Chinese system — traditional ideas of the “middle kingdom”; 4. American order — unprecedented pressure, the realization of its interests in the search for global leadership. The world views outlined above are characterized by the different base of values, historical tradition, consequently, it is not possible to build a united order, it is necessary to make it possible to be developed within the framework of the wider model of the world order, into which all data of the system could be entered. World order, in the opinion of H. Kissinger, is based on the “merit of individuality” and joint control, on international collaboration following the conventional rules. It must become our purpose, but the implementation of this purpose must be gradual and pass into several stages (Kissinger, 1994).

Joseph Nye. Model is connected with the force since the world order is the distribution of force at the different levels. Soft and hard forces were separated, more lately he turned to the concept of the clever force (smart power). The Force, according to Nye - the ability to achieve the desired result, in this case, methods are distinguished depending on the situation. Soft force (soft power) — the ability to achieve the desired results not via coercion, but via “cheating” — with the help of the democratic and other political and cultural values. Clever force (smart power) — the ability to combine hard (rigid) and soft force for the formulation of the winning strategy. There is no universal center of the world order in this case. Until today, the force is distributed between the countries in such a way that this resembles the complex game of chess on three boards simultaneously. The military aspect is found on the upper board and here peace is, in essence, the mono-centric; however, economic forces are distributed on the average board; therefore it bears poly-centric nature. To the USA, Europe, and Japan it belongs to 2/3 of the world's products, and the successes of China make it possible to assume that it will become one of the most important players. Bottom slide - the reign of TNC, on which the force is atomized and there is no sense to speak about the centers. Hence it follows, that the serious politician must see what is going on on all three boards and at the same time he should consider the connections between them. In the next 10 years, according to several experts, we will hardly see the post-American world, but the USA will need clever strategies, in which the hard and soft forces are combined. Special importance is given to the alliances and networks, which sensitively react to the new context of the global information epoch. For the change to a pyramid with the rigid hierarchical structure comes the network of the diverse actors, which are found in interaction. In this case, the number of such actors can include public movements, political groups, activists’ groups inside the countries, toward which are directed the actions (so-called the groups of influence) (Nye, 2004).

The theory of hegemonic stability - the supporters of this theory mention that the world order is inclined to be the most stable if there is prevailing hegemony or a predominant power. In this case, this theory in the given moment is not practically-oriented, since reaching the hegemonic order is possible only with the significant superiority of one actor over all others.

4.6. World Order models and balance of power

The development of civilization determines the co-existence and interaction of those countries, which are in “various weight categories”. According to the scales of geopolitical task solution, we may figure out the following:

Superpowers: i.e., states having power and necessity to protect their national interests on the whole earth. Superpower has military, economic and cultural potential, allowing it to hold leading positions in the world and make the all-leading state consider its and the interests of its allies. In the past Mongol Empire and Roman Empire, later the USA and the Soviet Union claimed to be the Superpowers. At present, there is only one Superpower – the USA.

Great States: i.e., states having interests not only towards neighboring countries but in key regions of the earth and not on the whole earth. The potential of the great state allows it to protect its interests actively and make other states consider it and its allies. For example, Russia strives to become such a state, by introducing its imperialistic politics.

Regional states: i.e., states having interests in regions located on borders. Their potential allows controlling the situation. Though, it is not enough for their serious participation in economic, cultural-informative, and political space. The necessity of controlling any space by the states provides a kind of balance in the world for keeping the world stability and order during interstate relations and establishing international economic contacts. This is called the balance of power in geopolitical space. Balance of power can be grounded on a unipolar basis (one predominant state), bipolar basis (two superpowers), and multipolar basis (with several power and influence centers, giving general guarantees for power and balance).

4.7. The possible models of the world political order of the XXI century

The configuration of the world order of the XXI century is not so obvious, as it seems since the differently directed actions of many converging factors generate the different scenarios of the development of contemporary international relations. The establishment of one or another version of the global political order depends on the combination of the factors, which act during the relatively prolonged period.

The model of the world hegemony of the USA

The model is based on the domination of the USA in the economic, financial, technological, military, and commercial spheres. This hegemony is connected with the supremacy of the USA in the formulating of the international standards and rules, the attractiveness of ideology, skillful mobilization of the American resources, and weakening the potential enemies. The global hegemony of the USA can be prolonged during the quarter of a century. This contributes to the position of the countries of Western Europe, which do not dispute global US leadership. The European Union, till now, does not have a united geopolitical purpose, but the institutes of NATO are presented as the effective control by the USA. Furthermore, the global elevation of the USA does not prevent China, since it is more greatly occupied with the internal problems and therefore it is interested in the American investments, technologies, and markets for sale. Russia also cannot resist the American hegemony, since it needs Western investments, technological renovation, the admittance for the American market.

The bipolar model of the world

In the world with the bipolar structure exists several centers of global influence, the opposition of two and more country leaders. The world hegemony of the USA is disputed by the new global player - competitors such as China or European Union. It can seem that forces for the opposition to the USA in the separately undertaken country will not be sufficient. In this case, the coalition of the countries can resist the hegemony of the USA. In particular, the expanding European Union as an economy can be compared with the USA: The share of the European Union in the worldwide gross product comprises 19.8% and the USA – 20.4%. However, the most serious challenge for the USA can be China. According to the forecasts, by 2025, Asia, headed by China, will produce about 40% of the world's gross product, and the GNP (Gross National Product) of China will reach 20 trillion dollars. In this case, the USA will be in second place (Chitadze, 2019).

The multipolar model of the World

This model is based on the balance of power. Such geopolitical structure is connected with the issue, that the phase of the hegemony of the USA cannot be infinite, which is connected with the limitedness of the resources, their liquidity. The Multipolarity will be formed in the framework of the fighting for the regional hegemony between the European Union and Russia, between China, India, and Japan. Each of the centers will strive for the creation of its zone of influence. The main process, proceeding in this direction, is connected with the forming of three blocks: European Union – NAFTA (North American Free Trade Association) – East Asia. In Russia in this respect are only military resources of influence, but economic and technological resources are absent.

Poly-civilization model

The appearance of this model is connected with the parallel existence of the seven civilizations – Western, Latin American, East-European, Muslim, Hindu, Chinese, Japanese. The global conflicts in XXI c. will occur along the lines of these civilizations since each of them possesses the specific resources of influence on the competitor.

New challenges and risks in the system of international politics

The radical changes in world politics are date to September 11, 2001; when the World Trade Center and part of the Pentagon were destroyed by a terrorist attack. This event emerged from the number of the problems, which became at the center of the contemporary stage of foreign relations.

4.8. The perspectives of the international society and World order development

Many experts question, by which way will the world order be developed in the future? Which form will it have?

The British scientists even Luard presents the five main possibilities: 1. Transnational Society; 2. International Society; 3. A society with the spheres of influence; 4. A world with the different Regions; 5. The Society of the riches and poor (Luard, 1976).

1. **Transnational society.** Under this type of political and economic order, one of the main tendencies of the modern world, the decreasing role of the state borders- will be more intensive. The national state, the state with the territory, will almost lose its importance. The transnational processes in the World will dominate. Due to the reducing the importance of the borders, at the same time will be decreased the role of the territorial conflicts and their main source – nationalism. Conflicts will have more civil character, but at the same time, it is possible to develop the different types of terrorism, which can become a big problem.

2. **International Society.** It will be different from modern international society. First of all, the role and power of the international organizations will be significantly increased. In this case also, similar to the transnational society, the authority will be delivered from the governments of the states to the International Organizations. The power of the International Institutes will be supreme for both states and individuals. Already existing or other international organizations and institutes (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, World Health Organization) may be transferred to similar bodies like the World Ministries, which can become something similar with the World Government.

3. **The society with the spheres of influence.** The leading, powerful states may divide the World under their spheres of influence and world order will be developed in this direction. In this case, clear spheres of influence will be established, within which the leading states will implement full dominance and control. This type of system will be an oligarchy. In this case till the minimum will be decreased the risk of the war, but at the same time, it will not be possible the protection of human rights on the global level, because in each region hegemony will establish such norms and rules, which will be acceptable only for the concrete regional power.

4. **The world with the regions.** The process of regional integration can bring humanity to the concentration of power on the regional level (for example continent), which means the significant weakening of authority on the universal and national level. Each region will develop its economy and political institutes and regions will not interfere in the affairs of each other. It should be paid attention to the fact that in comparison with the model of the spheres of influence, regions will not have superpowers, hegemony.

5. **The Society of the Rich and poor.** It has existed the possibility of the establishment such type of society too. In this society, the dividing will be held not by the geographic or ideological characters, but according to the level of the economic development. The world will be divided into two antagonistic classes. It will be a very unstable international society, where the order can be established by the agency of the military intervention of the rich states. Under the condition of this order, the conflict of interests and confrontation will be the economic character.

Picture 5. 9-11 and the re-focusing of international society

Source: https://imhowarth.wordpress.com/2013/11/17/9-11-and-the-re-focusing-of-international-society/

During the discussion about other concepts of the world political and economic orders, it is interesting to observe the research of American scientist J. Rosenau. In his research, he discussed the three paradigms – realism, pluralism, and globalism (structuralism). The scientists use the terms – state-centrism, multi-centrism, and global-centrism (Rosenau, 1993).

The same three paradigms are considered by K. Holsti and P. Viotti and M. Kauppi (Holsti, 1985). According to this concept, for the realists the international system is the endless interrelations of the independent states, for the pluralists, the World is a huge spider`s net, where it is interconnected with different kinds of relations. For the Globalists, the International system is connected with the attraction of the wealth from the weakening periphery toward the developed centers. Realists consider the task during the research of international order the "behavior" of the states, pluralists – the explanation of all events in the World, the globalists try to explain the reasons for the differences between the rich and poor states.

During the discussion about the international order, M. Banks, M. Light, and A. Groom discuss, that realists prefer to use the term "International politics" instead of International Relations, pluralists widen the frames of the discipline and include their transnational corporations, international markets, ethnic groups, and nationalism. Globalists the determinate role given to the unity of the World system, its economic structure, rules of production, and at the same time discuss the political relations among the states on the surface (Banks, 1985).

4.9 International economic order

International politics cannot be considered without the knowledge of the economic aspects, and modern international relations means international political, cultural, and other relations, but at the same time, and maybe first of all economic relations.

International economics can be explained as the separate, independently acting system, with its own rules and laws, but it is so closely interconnected with the international political system, that it is very difficult to divide those two notions from each other. International economic systems sometimes are seeming like independent event, which has their structure and dynamics. Capital, together with the needs of humanity, is the source of this dynamic, and the international division of labor is its fundamental structure. The international economic system or world economy has its own very complex and dynamic history, generators of which were: growth of population, technical and technological discoveries, strengthening the political organization, and development of economic theory. During its development, the international economic system created huge wealth, providing millions of people with jobs, food, and accommodation. The international economic system created not only strong national economies but even established economic unions among them. The complex system of the international economic systems, first of all, international trade has become the indivisible issue of humanity's existence. International economic processes have given to the world population the real global economy, and in this case, the international political system and order in comparison with the economic order seem much more backward. International capital, as it is mentioned by R. Murray is becoming more and more independent from the interests of the states (Murray, 1972.).

Despite the economic globalization and intensification of international economic relations, the national economy remains the main element of the international economic system and order. The economic possibilities of the states and strengths have the basic importance and international politics itself is by many factors the economic policy. In modern times, many consider, that it is not necessary to divide from each other the international economic and political systems because international economics is very strongly interconnected with the state structures and dynamics of power and security, the same is, that the state systems are interconnected with the industrial structures, consumption, dynamics of wealth. At the same time, we should recognize that for both systems its structure and dynamics are characterized. In the theoretical literature, there is going on a wide discussion about the fact, which system has the dominant position, etc.

The interdependence between the international economic and political processes since the 70th of the XX Century started the recovery of the subject – the political economy of international relations. The revival of this discipline was based on the two connected events:

One, the fact that it appeared the difference between the abstract events of the political and economic processes, between real politics and economics – The theory became far from the reality. The second reason was the fact, that for this time, the economic problems became more politicized, and political systems, from their turn, were more and more economized. The difference, which has increased between the rich and poor states, the discussion about the global problems, the requirements – related to the establishment of a new economic order, has increased the interests of the international relations toward the political economy (Rondeli. 2003).

The process of the establishment of the World economic system is the process of capitalist development. In the XIX Century, when the development of capitalism was accelerated and under the dominance of Great Britain, the so-called “free trade” system was functioning, which created the base for the World Economic System. The development of capitalism was the development of the market economy, but the market economy could not be developed by itself, there had to be conditioned. One of the main conditions of it was the establishment of the neoliberal state. The state is the creator of domestic and foreign policy. The traditional Marxist view, according to which the state is presented as an instrument of the ruling class, is of course primitive.

States differ from each other by the conditions of foundation, main characters of the development, ideology, and political culture. Western states in the XIX Century were under the influence of two political cultures – Liberalism and Nationalism. The state, which is founded on the base of nationalism, is more militarized, in this state the influence of the state is high in all spheres of life, including the economy. In the nationalist state, the military elite plays a very important role in the determination (and in many cases decisive) of the domestic and foreign policy. The liberal state itself is motivated to be the protector of ownership and human rights. Due to it, the liberal state minimally interferes in economic affairs, its main function is the establishment of fair and effective laws and their protection. The states of Northern America and Western Europe were established during the fighting between nationalism and liberalism. Prussia was the more nationalistic type of state, and the USA become the liberal state. The US Federal Government was minimally interfering in the social and economic life (only during the 1929-1933 “Great Depression” period federal government for the first time interferes in the socio-economic issues). The economy of the strongest state of the XIX Century – Great Britain, also was developing under liberal conditions. The same was going on in the many states of Europe.

International Relations and comparative order in the International System in the XIX Century was developing on the four institutes: 1. Balance of power system; 2. International Golden Standard; 3. Self-regulated market; 4. Liberal state. Among the two institutes are economics, and two internationals. The period 1815-1914, when all four institutes were functioning, is known as a period of “100-years peace”, because, during this period, there were no destructive wars. In the case of the existence of the problem in the field of international economic relations, only a balance of power mechanism would not be able to provide international peace (Polanyi, 1957). The leading states during this period, where the market economy was developing and the state institutes were strengthening, were interested in more peace, because economic development only was possible under the conditions of peace. It was one more factor, which is mentioned by Polanyi – which was partly invisible, but thanks to it becoming possible the establishment of the bridge between the political and economic structures during this period. Which contributed to keeping the peace – those factors were international finances, international banks (Polanyi, 1957). International trade needed peace. Under the conditions of the war, it would not be possible to develop international monetary relations and due to it, the strongest states during this period, whose economy was developing dynamically, were doing their best to avoid the global war. So, the internationalization of economic life promoted the keeping of global peace.

When the fighting for the colonies was transferred to the new stage and leading states were divided into the two antagonistic camps, the balance of power system also was partly disintegrated and international economic unions were weakened. It was functioning only by golden standards, which was not enough for providing peace and stability within the international system.

During the discussion about the international economic system, it is also briefly considering the topic related to Imperialism, which has its ideological importance. The dominance beyond the national borders of the states over the other nations is a historic event, which is called imperialism or colonialism (Doyle, 1971).

After the disintegration of empires and emerging the former colonies as sovereign states, there are remaining economic relations, which mean the un visible or visible political or economic domination. This type of domination is called neo-imperialism or neocolonialism.

According to Kautsky, imperialism is the product of highly developed industrial capitalism, and each industrial capitalist country because of the satisfactions its industrial needs is “forced” to subordinate the agrarian states. According to the scientists, in the future, capitalism will be transferred to “ultra-capitalism”, when the policy of cartels will be spread on the foreign policy of the imperialist states.
Concerning the Austrian economist J. Schumpeter (1883-1950), in the research “Imperialism and the public classes”, he spread the view that capitalism and aggression do not agree with each other (Schumpeter, 1951). Under capitalism, the economic relations establish the new type of personality, which in comparison with the aggressive policy of the predominant formations, tries to resolve all its problems by the peaceful means, to get the wealth by the agreements and not by a valance, as it was going on during the feudal period. According to the economist, who did not agree with the Marxists view (first of all Lenin), when the latest was considering imperialism as the last stage of capitalism etc. According to Schumpeter, the imperialistic policy is not the policy of the high development of capitalism but is the result of not enough development of this formation.

Today imperialism is mostly presented by the use of economic mechanisms. Due to this, it is sometimes called neo-realism or neo-colonialism.

During the first half of the XX Century, the international economic system, as a political system, was in a deep crisis. The second half of the XX Century is the period of the rapid and dynamic development of this system. The international economic system, the base of which is the international division of labor and increased International Trade, from the post-war period gained a real global dimension.

Key Words

The system of International (Interstate) Relations

World Political System

Bipolar World

Unipolar World

Multipolar World

Unilateralism

Stability

Superpowers

Middle States

Small States

Paradox of participation

Polycentric World

Transnational Centers

Fragmentation

Glocalization

World Political Order

World Economic Order

Questions for Consideration

What is understood under the world political system and the system of International Relations?

What is the essence of the discussion about the polarity of the World?

What is the plurality of the transnational actors in the modern world?

What are the main parameters, according to which it is possible to compare the Transnational actors?

What are the main characters of the modern political system of the World?

What are the basic scenarios of the formation of the new political structure of the World?

Practicum

Please analyze three systems of International Relations. Viennese (European Concert), Versailles, and Yalta-Potsdam and answer the following questions:

How long time existed each of the above-mentioned systems/

What were the main reasons for the changes to the concrete International relations systems?

Which factors were providing stability/instability of each system?
From your point of view, how important is the influence of those factors in modern conditions?

Chapter 5

World politics as a scientific discipline

World politics as any scientific discipline has a history of its formation and development. Its study allows us to better understand the subject area in which researchers work: to find out how it comes into contact with the fields of other scientific disciplines, which have close relations with world politics, in what directions are going on the scientific novelties, and where discoveries can be expected and what problems are most promising and perspective.

Science is impossible without defining research methods. In world politics, there are sharp discussions about how to study the rich political reality of the modern world.

5.1. The formation of world politics as a science and its relationship with other disciplines

World politics is a relatively new scientific discipline, which is in the process of establishment. The novelty and the absence of an established understanding of what World politics mean leads to the fact that this term includes a variety of meanings. World politics in some works is presented as an external environment and in others as a cumulative political activity and the system of relations of transnational actors, in the third - as the foreign policy of superpowers, and for the English researcher P. Calvocoressi - the author of the two-volume "World Politics after 1945", world politics means the history of international relations (Calvocoressi, 2008).

Confusion is caused also by the fact, that the reality and scientific discipline are designated by one concept - "world politics", in contrast to, for example with the terms politics (political science), and policy (some kind of reality – practical activity of the state, group, even personality in the concrete sphere, for example, foreign policy of the state, etc.).

Having emerged at the junction of various approaches and scientific disciplines, world politics is closely linked with international relations and political science. The first historically formed political science, which began to deal with domestic political problems.

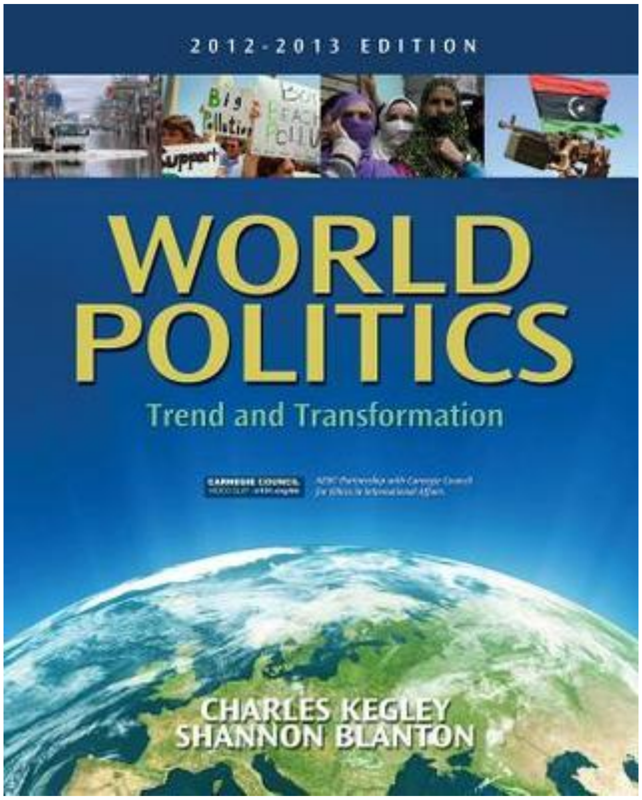
International relations as a scientific discipline arose after the end of the First World War. The English researcher J. Groom writes that initially as the main issues were considered closely related problems: the study of "causes of war" and "conditions of peace.": the study of the "causes of war" and the "conditions of peace". "The goal of the new academic discipline," continues J. Groom, "was to clarify the essence of the processes that led European civilization to the catastrophe of the First World War." Questions of war and peace, and more broadly, the interaction of the states became the main issues in research of international relations (Chitadze, 2016).

The first Department of International Relations was founded in Great Britain, particularly in Aberystwyth, Wales in 1919 (Rondeli, 2003). This date is considered as the beginning of the formation of the new scientific discipline.

In recent years, the range of issues that international relations began to deal with has expanded. After World War II, attention to international relations has increased significantly and discipline has been intensively developed.

A clear division of the spheres of foreign and domestic policy within the framework of the Westphalian system of peace led to the fact that the study of politics was also divided and both scientific disciplines developed independently, that is, without intensive interaction with each other, although their representatives often worked at the same faculty. As a result, separate professional posts were formed both at the national and the international levels: International Political Science Association, IPSA - among political scientists and International Studies Association, ISA (Formally, the North American Association but, in fact, an international) – for "internationalists" with their journals, conferences and so on.

Picture 6. One of the leading books within scientific discipline – world politics



Source: https://www.goodreads.com/book/show/183099.World_Politics

In the late 1960s, J. Rosenau drew attention to the fact that as a result of TNA's activities, foreign and domestic policy began to represent a largely unified reality (Rosenau, 1969). Starting from this idea, R. Keohane and J. Nye in 1972 in the introduction to the book "Transnational Relations and World Politics"(Keohane, Nye, 1972) showed that interconnections both in the external environment and at the domestic level prove to be very complex and are not limited only to interstate interaction. Moreover, the state-centrist political system of the world itself is changing. This work has become one of the most important stages in the formation of world politics as a science.

The creation of world politics can't be considered a merit of only neo-liberals. Secondly, the term itself has been used for a long time, and since the 1940s the magazine "World Politics" has been published in the United States. Secondly, what is particularly important is that the other classical theories of international relations - the neo-realist and neo-Marxism - also made their contribution to the development of world politics as a science. The neo-realists first of all K. Waltz in the work "Man, State, War" were among the first in the 1950s who started to pay close attention to the issues of structure and began to talk about the integrity of the political system of the world (Waltz, 1959). At the same time, K. Waltz used the term "international politics". However, the concept of "world politics" is also spread among journalists, for example, it is presented in the title of the book written by H. Bull – "The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics" (Bull, 1977).

The neo-Marxists, particularly I. Wallerstein and his supporters emphasize the integrity of the political world at a global level, describing it as a world-system although the term "world politics" for them is not typical (Rondeli, 2003). In the studies of the Marxist and then the neo-Marxist trend, one can trace the idea which was subsequently developed in world politics-these are ideas about the unity of foreign and domestic policy.

Thus, all three classical theories of international relations proceeded from the integrity of the political system of the world. However, for the neo-realists, the political system is represented by interstate relations, for neo-liberals by interstate relations and the relations of other transnational actors, for neo-Marxists by the relations between the social classes and division of the states of the world at the political and economic level of development for those who constitute the core of the semi-periphery and periphery. With such a difference in understanding what constitutes the structural units of the political system of the world, it is very difficult to build a unified scientific discipline.

The emergence of world politics as a scientific discipline is largely connected with the magazine "International Organization", which appeared in the late 1940s. It gathered around him actors which are involved in such traditional issues as the activities of transnational corporations, finance, trade in the world, etc. The development of these studies led to the need to study the international system as a whole, the interrelationship of economic and political processes with the interaction of domestic politics with the international economic environment.

All these studies took place during the years of the Cold War when most Western experts in international relations paid little attention to the study of the political aspects of economic processes. Seeing communism the main threat, they focused on the study of security issues or the so-called high politics. The problems of the economy at that time were receding into the background as a low politics. Incidentally, similar research priorities were in Soviet science.

Meanwhile, the economic factor has become increasingly important. There was a revival of the economics of several European countries and also Japan, which was destroyed during the Second World War. The problem of the growing economic gap between developed and developing countries, etc., has become acute. One of the most tangible signs of the growth of the economic component for determining the position of the state in the world was the energy crisis of 1973-1974. Then the Organization of the oil-producing countries OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) limited the extraction of oil. The huge military-political potential of the United States proved to be powerless to do anything (Chitadze, 2012). The negotiations with the OPEC countries to resolve the problem through mutual concessions were held.

At the same time, in the 1970s, several researchers who studied international relations drew attention to the growing role of the economic factor in the world. In the following years in this area, research is actively carried out, the scientific field known as the "international political economy" IPE is developing. An analysis of all these phenomena provided the basis for the formation of the scientific field known as the "international political economy" IPE.

Another important area, as noted by American researchers P. Katzenstein, R. Keohane, and St. Krasner, in the article devoted to the 50th anniversary of the journal "International Organization", was the studies conducted by political scientists to identify the relationship between domestic politics of different countries and international political economy (Katzenstein, Keohane, Krasner, 1998). The issues that were studied were focused on identifying the determinants of the foreign economic policies of the states and the strategies of various corporations. Most of the works were empirically oriented.

They analyzed specific cases that occurred in Latin America and other regions. These studies showed that the internal political organization of the state had a significant impact on economic behavior at the national and supranational levels. The study of the interaction between external and internal factors played a very important role in shaping world politics as a scientific discipline.

Subsequently, researchers began to pay special attention to how domestic policy affects external policy and how the international system affects internal political structures and processes.
As the boundaries between foreign and domestic policy and the research become more transparent, the convergence of international relations and political science, especially comparative politics, takes place in the study of such problems as democratization, conflicts, etc.

Perhaps in the future, taking into account the global trends of development, comparative political scientists will focus not only on a comparative analysis of the political systems of different countries but also on the comparative study of the regions, cities, organizations, etc. creating a kind of "post-Westphalian comparative political science". It is no coincidence that the British researcher K. Boos, not without pathos noted that "political science can be seriously studied only as a branch of understanding policy at a global level" considering that it is world politics that is the house of political science, and not vice versa (Chitadze, 2016).

In the framework of political science, several other important regularities were revealed. For example, public policy was viewed as the result of a clash of groups with different interests. To realize those groups, they form coalitions. And they are not permanent but change depending on specific circumstances. Great importance for the development of research in this field was the work of the American researcher G. Allison, who appeared in 1971, “Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crises” (Allison, 1999). In it, the author showed that the state is not as homogeneous as it was imagined previously. Its policy can be understood if we consider it as the interaction and competition of various structures within the state. In this sense, the national interest is formed through compromise solutions of different groups and is not initially predetermined and homogeneous.

A significant contribution to the understanding of the interaction of external and internal political factors was made by another American author R. Putnam, who developed a two-level model for making foreign policy decisions and showed that the international treaties signed by the states serve as a kind of "double compromise": first, between the states signing the treaty and second, inside each of them. Therefore, to develop a position in the negotiations, it is necessary to agree, for example, between various departments of the ministries and by the leading political parties at the preparatory stages of determining the position and after signing a treaty, especially if it requires ratification. The practical conclusion to which R. Putnam comes to is that the position of the state in international negotiations can be significantly strengthened if it convinces the opposite side that the range of "internal" compromise can’t be too large (Putnam, 2007).

Another direction of study that had a huge impact on the formation of world politics as a scientific discipline was the study of international institutions. After the end of the Second World War, there was a sharp increase of international organizations that became the object of analysis of political scientists, economists, and experts in the field of international relations. In the 1960s, the works on European integration, which became a challenge to realism, were published. They tried to not only describe the activities of international organizations but also to conduct their comparative analysis. Special attention was paid to the UN, its peacekeeping operations. The problems of adapting the UN activities to the realities of the Cold War and the rivalry between the superpowers were discussed.
In the studies of Karl W. Deutsch, who studied the problems of collective security, it was shown that the basis of security lies in the compromise and intensification of interstate relations. The problem of interstate cooperation and integration becomes one of the most important (Deutsch, 1978). Later on, in the focus of the number of researchers, for example, E. Haas, became the paying attention to the fact, why the existing European Economic Community and other international organizations sought to expand their functions but failed to do so (Haas, 1961). They showed that this happened because the functioning of those organizations was limited by their statutes. Meanwhile, some of the goals in the name of which international organizations were created initially required the expansion of functions as their activities have been developed.

Finally, theoretical research related to the identification of transnational relations made a weighty contribution to the formation of world politics: a statement of the fact that the plurality of actors, whose role for several problems was comparable to the state one: an analysis of the phenomenon of interdependence: the study of international regimes, etc.

Thus, world politics emerged at the junction of:

* Theoretical research in the field of international relations postulating the integrity of the political system of the world, with a significant contribution of the neo-liberal tradition to understanding the cardinal changes in connection with the activities of the TNA;

* Views on the relationship between foreign and domestic policy;

* International political economy;

* Analysis of international organizations;

* Political science, where studies on comparative political science were especially important.

It would seem that the new discipline should easily get its design. However, several difficulties have emerged. First of all, they are connected with disagreements of representatives of various theoretical directions in international studies. Disputes continue as to what is particularly important in the political system of the modern world: the structure of interstate entities, the activity of non-state actors and their interaction with states, or the division of the world according to the class principle, which determines the difference in income. As a result, the totality of theoretical approaches in international studies is a fairly mosaic conglomerate.

If we agree with the realist tradition (and its various modifications) that the political system of the world is gradually evolving, but this does not undergo any drastic changes, and the state as it was and remains the only important element of the political system of the world, for the simple reason that other actors can't act with it on equal terms, in this case, there is no need to replace the discipline "international relations" that developed during the 20th century, designed to study the interstate interaction of any other. It is enough to make only some adjustments and take into account, if necessary, the influence of other transnational actors. To the number of these insignificant modifications, it is also necessary to attribute the fact that the Westphalia political system from the regional one has become universal because nothing has changed. Accordingly, in this case, "world politics" is synonymous with a more familiar scientific discipline - "international relations." The truth then is the necessity of introducing a new term-world politics-is not obvious.

Approximately the same logic of reasoning can be constructed when considering the approach of the neo-Marxists; since the capitalist world-system continues to exist, there is no need to change the names of the scientific disciplines that study it. However, as noted, neo-Marxists usually do not talk about such a scientific discipline as world politics.

If, on the other hand, we acknowledge the fundamental nature of modern world-political changes, which are primarily connected with the activity of transnational actors, which is emphasized by the versions of the neoliberals, there are three. The first is to understand modern international relations underworld politics. Both concepts - "world politics" and "international relations" again act as synonyms only to the traditional term "international relations", the adjective "modern" is usually added, which indicates their special character at present. Such representations adhere for example American author J. S. Goldstein, French researcher M.-K. Smuts and several others. The logic of preserving the old name of the discipline, in this case, is partly clear: it is necessary to continue the scientific traditions to show the historical outline of the development of science. But at the same time, such a position introduces uncertainty, and sometimes confusion in the research (Goldstein, 2011).
The second option assumes that international relations preserve the traditional field of research related to interstate relations that form a key part of the modern political system of the world. World politics as a scientific discipline is called upon to study the political system of the world about including both classical international relations (i.e., interstate relations) as the activities of other transnational actors.

This point of view is reflected in the American dictionary on international relations presented by G. Evans and J. Newnham. The authors write that "unlike international relations or international politics, this term does not apply exclusively to interstate relations" (Evans, Newnham, 1998). In this sense, the sample can be the textbook "World Politics", which was published in 1976 by one of the founders of the ideas of the new discipline J. Rosenau, in co-authorship with two other researchers - K. Thomson and G. Boyd. The research consists of four parts. The first three are devoted to the analysis of the foreign policy of states and interstate interaction, and only the last, the fourth one, is devoted to the discussion of general trends in the development of the world (Rosenau, Thompson, Boyd, 1976). After almost 45 years, the structure of American textbooks on world politics has changed: the analysis of interstate interaction covers less space, but it is necessarily present in the texts of each book – related to world politics.

Finally, the third option is also proposed, when the responsibilities of international relations remain the study of interstate relationships and interactions, and behind the world, politics is the entire layer of political aspects of the activities of other transnational actors. However, this option is hardly possible, at least shortly. Due to the fact, if the Interstate relations are still possible to consider to a certain extent in separation from the activities of the other actors (the traditional sphere of studying international relations), then the research of the political activities of the latter on the world arena without its correlation with interstate interaction is practically meaningless. Activities of TNCs, intra-state regions, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), etc. are integrated into the political system of the world, which was established after the signing of the Peace of Westphalia. In addition, too large a pile of companies of these actors severely limits the possibility of comparing international activities, for example, the TNC-s and NGOs. Therefore, it is not advisable to isolate their "total political development" in the world arena as an independent sphere.

Thus, accepting the thesis of a cardinal transformation of the political system of the modern world makes it necessary to distinguish between two scientific disciplines: international relations that are engaged in the study of interstate relations that remain today the key, and world politics. The latter encompasses international relations, as well as an analysis of other transnational relations, that are the result of the activities of various transnational actors. In other words, world politics turns out to be wider than international relations.

Another criterion for the distinction between international relations and world politics lies in the research focus. The title itself "world politics assumes that the political aspects are primarily the key elements. All other issues are cultural, economic, legal and are analyzed to the extent that they are necessary for understanding politics. It is true, at the same time, there arises the problem of correlating world politics, on the one hand, with political science, on the other hand, with international relations. International relations, the main issues in which World Politics has developed, first of all, used the dates and approaches of such disciplines as law, history, economics. Depending on the specific conditions, including national ones, the emphasis is focused on one of the disciplines. Then, with the development of science, they began to emphasize the interdisciplinary nature of international relations, including all historical, economic, and legal knowledge. After the Second World War, the circle of disciplines expanded significantly: political science, psychology, sociology, demography, ecology, and others, although partly the earlier scientific results of these disciplines were used in international relations.

The principle of inter-disciplinary undoubtedly played a positive role, the impact of various factors on the international sphere, especially for those who are engaged in practical work, is very important for the training the staff, so, most universities where international relations are taught - are interdisciplinary, but there is a danger of losing the political component, its dissolving in other aspects.

At the same time, the closer rapprochement of world politics with political science is constrained by the historically established tradition of dividing the external and internal politics and study of those sciences. Therefore, there arises the problem of creating a single conceptual apparatus, new theoretical developments, as well as changing the institutional foundations of science (the formation of new professional associations, the creation of new journals and magazines), with all the ensuing institutional difficulties.

All this undoubtedly has an impact on the development of world politics as a science. Too significant and large-scale consequences associated with the possible reorganization of scientific disciplines lead to the fact that many authors, including the Americans, prefer not to make a strict distinction between world politics and international relations.

There are also national traditions that should be taken into account. Thus, world politics has developed in the United States, in Europe, for example, there has been established a "sociology of international relations." The term itself focuses well on the structural characteristics of the political system of the world, which is very important, although again the political component is lost.

It is difficult to determine the regularities to use the terminologies. So, several authors, for example, J. T Rourke, R. J. Art, and R. Jervis, after K. Waltz, write about international politics, although the realistic orientation of such works is not always obvious (Art, Jervis, 2016). Others, in particular, R. W. Mansbach and Ed. J. Rhodes prefers the term "global politics", although this concept is usually used in the analysis of global problems (Mansbach, Rhodes, 2012). In addition, local processes can be part of the world (i.e., to be part of the political system of the world), but it has not a global nature.

In the scientific literature, if one speaks about research, they often resort to a relatively neutral notion - *international studies*.

In general, both in the academic and practice fields in the contemporary period, terminological redundancy is observed. Therefore, it is very important the context, in which one or another concept is presented, as well as the methodological foundations from which the author proceeds.

5.2. The development of world politics in the late 1990s and early 2000s and its modern state

Events of the last decade 20th and the two decades of the 21st centuries had a huge impact on social science, including World Politics. This is the third wave of democratization, and disintegration, which was often very painful through conflicts and crises, which even struck a relatively calm post-World War II Europe, in some cases, “the divorce” was going on calmly - a so-called "Velvet divorce" in Czechoslovakia. Along with the disintegration, further development of integration processes, especially in Europe, with the significant enlargement of NATO and the EU took place. The activity of some international organizations (in particular, NATO in the Kosovo, Bosnia, and Libya conflicts) was traced against the background of insufficient influence of others, primarily the UN, in solving the same problem.

At the same time, the world was confronted with anti-globalists, riots in the poorest districts of European cities populated mainly by immigrants from Asia and Africa, the challenge of transnational terrorism which acted not only against a specific state or states but against the political system of the world as a whole.

Difficulties arose also with the building of a new system of international relations. Unilateralism in the United States was largely ignored even by their closest allies, and the military operation in Iraq gave rise to more questions than it decided. The military intervention of Russia against Georgia in

2008 and Ukraine in 2014 and adoption of sanctions by the western countries against Russia has again increased the tensions between east and west and created the soil for the new realities, which were characterized for the cold war period. The problem of nuclear nonproliferation has become more acute, nuclear technologies have become more accessible both in scientific and technological terms, and this problem has been especially worried by the possible access of the terrorist organization to weapons of mass destruction. Financial Crises of 1997-1998 which broke out in Asia, Latin America, and Russia, and the world economic crisis in 2008-2009 demonstrated the interdependence and fragility of the financial and economic systems of various countries. The war in Iraq and Syria, activation of the terrorist organization so-called “Islamic State” on the territories of those states, the difficulties with Iran in connection with its nuclear program and tensions between the US and Iran, instability in Nigeria exacerbated the problem of oil supplies to the world market. The list of the events that "shocked” the world at the turn of the millennium, can be easily continued.

At the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, the comprehension of the political realities of the world was not successful in the development of the processes themselves. Many authors, including I. Wallerstein, R. Keohane, J. Ferguson, P. Mansbach, etc., have drawn attention to this fact, for example, in the early 1990s, American researchers of J. Ferguson and R. Mensbach noted bitterly that various theoretical approaches compete too much with each other and little cooperation (Chitadze, 2016). As a result, science is experiencing a paradigm dispute, and no one can offer a sufficiently adequate explanation for what is happening in the world.

Even more sharply expressed his view by the American historian J. Gaddis in a vivid and polemical article "International Relations Theory and End of the Cold War", which was published in the journal "International Security” in 1992. He reproached the researchers of international relations, as well as political scientists, for not being able to predict either disintegration of the USSR or the destruction of the bipolar structure. Surprise never leaves us, he believed and noted that "the sudden end of the cold war, the unexpected war in the Persian Gulf, the sudden collapse of the Soviet Union was struck literally by all government circles, the scientific community, the media, political analysts. Although in all these events there was not anything particularly improbable: the cold war was about to end, there were always armed clashes in the Middle East, and the impending defeat of communism was obvious for several years already. Nevertheless, the very fact that it happened so unexpectedly shows that how modern politicians and their prophets are trying to determine the political future of the world are inadequate” (Gaddis, 1993).

The reproach of J. Gaddis is unlikely to be fair in its fullness. And it's not just that, on the one hand, the understanding of world politics and international relations and the forecast of their development, on the other, as R. Keohane noted, are not identical. But also, that at the critical point of the "breakthrough", in which the world is at the turn of the 21st century, and the direction of further development is extremely uncertain: too many factors influence this process, and for this reason, it can, therefore, in the period of transition, political forecasts become especially difficult (Chitadze, 2016).

One should keep in mind one more moment, the frank confusion was first observed by the specialists of political scientists and researchers in the field of international relations. The decisions that were rigidly oriented toward the state-centered model of development were inclined to emphasize the force interaction of states. In the era of major political turmoil, as write, J. Ferguson and R. Mansbach usually do not see much: they did not understand at one time the French revolution and the explosion of nationalism that accompanied it, did not appreciate the significance of the Bolshevik military coup as well in 1917 (Chitadze, 2016).

In the 1990s, stormy discussions about the theoretical interpretation of the political development of the world at the end of the twentieth century were held. The main struggle unfolded between those who adhered to the idea of a change in the state-centrist system of the world, and who proceeded from the nonessential, non-fundamental nature of such changes. This was the so-called "third great dispute", or discussion of the theory of International Study.

The first discussion took place between idealists and realists. "The Second Great Debate" was held in the 1960s between those, who used traditional methods of the analysis of international relations (traditionalists) and those who believed that their research should be built on the principle of natural sciences (the scientist orientation of international relations, or scientism, when methods capable of accurately assessing phenomena (modernism) dominate (Lebedeva, 2007).

As a result of the "third great dispute", the main parameters for the disagreement of theoretical approaches have been preserved, while the convergence of various schools and trends has taken place. R. Cohen and J. Nye in the third edition of the book “Power and Interdependence”, published in 2001, emphasize the need to combine the efforts of supporters of realism and liberalism (Keohane, Nye, 2012).

From a political analysis point of view, it can be outlined the following provisions, currently shared by most researchers, regardless of which school they work for.

- Even though anarchy in international relations continues to exist, there are opportunities for its regulation;

- The number of actors of international interaction is constantly growing and include not only states, the international governmental and non-governmental organizations, transnational corporations, various firms and associations, and even particular individuals;

- The challenges and problems that the world is facing today have a universal nature and can’t be solved by one or a group of countries.

The most important point, according to which the assessments of most researchers coincided, has become the recognition that states remain the main actors in the world arena. In addition, few people today insist that both the states and the system of international relations have not been changed within the more than 350 years period.

For world politics, the events of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as well as the theoretical discussions of the 1990s and during the first 15 years of the XXI century, meant a lot. On the one hand, the complexity of the modern political system of the world, its irreducibility to interstate relations, became obvious. It confirmed the basic principles of the authors, who within the long period have worked in the framework of world politics, although it required some clarifications: for example, the superpower's foreign policy can the following - not only determine the system of international relations but also at some stage set many parameters of the world political system. On the other hand, it was discovered that with all the interdependence and integrity of the world political system, it consists of extremely "heterogeneous material". From here, many difficulties and even failures in political practice have emerged.

So, to build a viable state, it is not enough to overthrow the dictator and to hold general elections, it has to be taken into account historical experience, cultural traditions of the state or respect the traditions, religion, which means no less (and sometimes even more) than economic prosperity. As a result, the attention of scientists, who are involved in world politics, is now focused to attract a topic that had previously been with a significant degree on the periphery of international research (they were not concerned by classical theories – realism, liberalism, Marxism), There are the characteristics of different cultures, the perception of the world by different actors and so on. At the same time, about those issues very often talked the post-modernists. Thus, one of the most important lessons of the 1990s and the beginning of the 21-st century for world politics can be defined as the correlation between the local and global, the general and the particular.

During the last period, significant distribution has received Constructivism, which became one of the most popular approaches. Its significance was determined by creative basics. By using the ideas of constructivism, it can be mentioned that the political system of the world is not constructed by itself, but is created by the efforts of all actors who, transforming it (whether consciously or not) are changed themselves. Here arises the question of the responsibility of those, who turns out to be in the role of creator. All those factors have shown several new subjects in the study of world politics. In addition, the complexity of the social world of the present, the strengthening of the political factor in various spheres, have emerged a closer interaction with those disciplines - whose subject areas are more or less connected with politics. The processes that M. Dogan called the “hybridization” of science, began to develop, i.e., “the creative exchange of information, with the focus on the peripheral areas of the research ". In this connection, it is possible to assume that the most interesting results are to be expected sooner than the onset of various sciences. If within international relations, in the center of the attention are the state actors, in world politics, which is also studying non-state actors, the “onset” of the subject fields represents the problem of interaction within the framework of cooperation and opposition between state and state actors. For example, their cooperation in the settlement of conflicts, the confrontation of terrorist organizations and state structures, and so on (Dogan, 1996).

Finally, one of the most important outcomes of the end of the last century and beginning of the 21-st century was the gradual understanding of the fact, that separately neither political scientists nor specialists in the field of international relations can adequately analyze and realize the essence of current processes, and especially to make prognosis on the serious political changes in the future. In the better case, it means to listen to the next remarks and criticisms like those, which was mentioned in the early 1990s by J. Gaddis about the no prediction of the ending of the “cold war” (Gaddis, 1993). In the worst scenario, the price of non-professionalism may be much higher.

Understanding this factor encourages researchers to talk about the need to create a unified political science. It should be emphasized that specific works, which are performed at the intersection of internal and external political problems, i.e., political science and international relations (world politics) are too many. In this case, it is precisely important the construction of a unified scientific discipline, with a single scientific apparatus, in which the subject area is politics. This was exactly what was said, in particular, by H. Milner and especially intensively by B. de Mesquita, when in 2000 he became the President of the International Studies Association (ISA). However, so far it has only taken the first steps (De Mesquita, 2002).

Today, world politics is an intensively developing scientific discipline that studies the totality of political activity, the political relations of various transnational actors that promote the formation of political institutions and processes. It encompasses the whole spectrum of worldwide problems.

World politics as a scientific discipline presupposes an analysis of the political system of the world; its actors, activities, and interconnection of those actors; determination of the basic tendencies of the political development of the modern world (such as globalization, regionalization, localization, democratization, the development of authoritarianism in one or other states, integration, disintegration), the study of the possibility and limitation of the impact on the political system of the world and directions of its development; theoretical comprehension of all these issues, etc.

Separate problems are studied by world politics by taking into account the changes taking place at the level of the political system as a whole, and within a general context of world political development. In this regard, it is important not only the problem itself, for example, security, but also how it is related to other topics (including with the international political economy, migration, ecology, etc.); how all these problems affect each other and the process of global political development, and also what impact, in its turn, this global development has on specific international problems; what are the interests of various transnational actors about this issue, what do they take to implement their interests and so on.

In world politics, the theoretical approaches are not something purely academic. Politicians always are based on some provisions that are correlated with theoretical views. It is hardly that any of them is based on this or another theoretical approach in its “pure form”. Usually, in practice, there is a combination of the positions of different theories. Thus, according to J. Goldstein, the most conservative political figures in the US share the liberal views on economic policy, but at the same time consider the strengthening of the military power of the state to be the most important national interest, and some European social-democrats combine the liberal position on freedom with a virtually neo-Marxist understanding of justice (Goldstein, 2011).

It is important!

World Politics

1. Scientific direction was founded in the second half of the XX Century, mostly in the framework of neoliberal theoretical tradition.

2. Its baes covers the research of International Organizations, International politico-economic processes, political science (first of all comparative), theoretical studies of International Relations.

3. Is involved to study the problems of the current situation, and also tendencies of the development of the world political system.

4. As a participant of the international interactions consider not only the states (which it recognizes as the main actor) and international intergovernmental organizations but also non-state actors (nongovernmental organizations, Trans-National Corporations, the regions inside the state, etc.).

5. It observes the International Problems in the interconnection with each other and the unified global context.

6. Does not make the sharp contrast between internal and external policy.

5.3. Levels of analysis and methods of research in the world politics

World politics encompasses a very wide range of issues of international communication and interaction. The researcher always faces the question: how to explain a different phenomenon caused by a whole series of factors, which also has many aspects? Let us use the example of B. Buzan, who writes that the reasons for the outbreak of World War II can be looked at the intention for revanchism by Germany, and in the weakness of France, and the personal characteristics of Stalin or Hitler, and in the instability of the system of international relations in the late 1930s as a whole. In other words, an explanation of any event in international life can be found at the level of individual politicians, states, and the entire world system. In connection with this, a methodological question arises about how to identify the cause-effect relationship (Buzan, 1983).

The idea itself of distinguishing the levels of analysis arose in the late 1950s under the influence of scientism in international studies. Scientist orientation required a clearer awareness by the researcher of the relationship between the individual elements and the system as a whole. The term “levels of analysis” began to be widely used thanks to the American researcher J.D. Singer, "The Level-of-Analysis Problem in International Relations", published in 1961(Singer, 1961). Scientists singled out two levels of the international system as a whole and the level of the individual state. However, the main contribution to the development of the problems of the system and its elements was made earlier, in 1954, with the work "Man, the State, and War" by K. Waltz. In reality, he spoke not about the levels of analysis, but about the images that the researcher operates on (Waltz, 1954).

Currently, as a rule, they have usually distinguished in world politics the three levels:

- individual level of analysis;
- state-level of analysis;
- global level of analysis.

The first assumes the analysis of individual characteristics of people, who are involved in the political process in the world arena. Most of the research in this area is carried out within the framework of some initiatives within political psychology, where two sublevels are determined: political elite and masses.

During the study of the sublevel of the political elite, much attention is paid to the personality of politicians. For this, psychological, psychoanalytic, and other methods are used within the description of psychological methods. Another direction of the research for the political elite consists of a process of decision-making. Thus, American researcher O. Holsti notes that the development of the events of 1914, which led to World War I, was strongly influenced by such a factor as stress (Holsti, 1969).

In the framework of this direction, problems related to the adequacy of perception are also studied. Those concepts are based on the research of R. Jervis, R. Smoke, and W. Ury. One of the Particular directions is the personal characteristics of decision-makers. For example, in the study of R. Hermann and M. Hermann, it was analyzed how important were the personal characters of the decision-maker politicians on the eve of the First World War. Having conducted game experiments, which were imitating the events in which psychological participants, who were close to the real politicians of that epoch, have been selected based on psychological tests and they have shown that the personal factor played an essential, if not the main, role in the real historical process (Chitadze, 2016).

At the level of the political masses, issues such as the perception of other peoples, attitudes, values, imaginations, existing in the society and relating to the international sphere are explored. Much attention in these works is drawn to the formation of perceptions in the context of conflict, including the desire to simplify information, which leads to the fact that the whole diversity of reality lies within the framework of polar concepts like: "victory or death", "friend-enemy”, "we-they", "good-bad" etc.

At the same time, people formulate so-called “mirror" images, the essence of which is that the parties to the conflict begin to evaluate the same facts in such a different way that it acquires a mirror, i.e., the diametrically opposite character, with a sharply expressed negative emotional evaluation of the opposite side. There is also a phenomenon called "attributing distortion," according to which any actions of the opposite side are explained by evil intent. This phenomenon is described figuratively by the American psychologist R. White, who called it the devil's image of the enemy (Lebedeva, 2007). Following him, "the devil" always appears on the opposite side, but his behavior is perceived as exceptionally righteous.

At the level of analysis of individual states, for example, the processes of political decision-making are examined, but not from the point of view of psychological characteristics, thus, accordingly the subject of the research represents - what is the mechanism of decision-making in one or another country. Thus, in the research of the American author R. N. It was discovered that the pressure of the internal factors can force politicians to concentrate their vision of foreign policy on assumptions and expectations that are far from reality (Lebow, 2016). As other studies have shown, important is also the role of the military and civil actors in the decision-making process, the structure of the government, and so on. In addition, this level of analysis presupposes the consideration of economic, military, internal political, and other issues that determine the formation of a foreign policy course and influential factors on the global processes. Comparative political science plays an important role during the research of the level of individual states.

The global level of analysis is perhaps the most difficult. It involves the study of the interaction of both - state and non-state actors in the world political system. At the same time, the latter is regarded as a kind of unity, integrity. The role of individual structural elements in the formation and functioning of this system is examined. The issues of cooperation and competition of various actors are considered, and the development tendencies of the system itself are determined.

The isolation of levels of analysis in modern world politics is traditional enough. Nevertheless, discussions are underway about what exactly is meant under the levels.

W. Moulin the early 1970s drew attention to differences in the definition of levels of analysis. Some authors understand them as the elements under which international relations are built, while others see the levels as some explanatory principles (Chitadze, 2016). By the opinion of B. Buzan, both approaches to the determination of levels of analysis do not exclude each other, but they overlap one another, forming a matrix. Believes B. Buzan's determination of the levels of analysis turned out to be productive, as it compelled scientists to pay more attention to the methodological problems, which are existing in international research. However, to better understand the international relations themselves and the methodological foundations of study, further research is needed (Buzan, 2003). Other important components for international research – data and the choice of method. World politics uses all kinds of data to obtain information and a wide range of research methods.

It is customary to distinguish between primary and secondary data. To the primary ones belong such elements, as statements and speeches of politicians, official documents, and other sources of information: statistical data, historical facts, etc. Materials that are based on primary data and are reflected in scientific publications belong to the secondary ones.

Research methods in world politics, as well as international relations, are often divided into two groups: qualitative and quantitative. The first assumes the use of analytical procedures for the study of certain facts, processes, and so on. At the same time, researchers by using qualitative methods of analysis (traditionalists) are based on different methodological and theoretical approaches. Previously, these methods were often called *historical-descriptive,* which were offered to rely on historical knowledge, and also *intuitive-logical*, i.e., oriented on scientific work in the form of essays. Nevertheless, even today they are widely used in world politics and international relations.

Quantitative methods appeared in international studies later than qualitative ones (for this reason, the scientists who used them were called modernists) and were targeted to identify certain numerical parameters. Their use was especially popular in the 1960s. At the time, many mathematicians were involved in the study of the social sciences of international relations: At that time, it seemed that such an approach would avoid subjectivity in the study.

The researchers, who use quantitative methods, pay attention to such categories, as validity, i.e. the determination of such factors, whether this method allows obtaining the information that is needed. Another important parameter in choosing a method is its reliability. It assumes that similar results will be obtained when using this method by the other researchers.

Content analysis, as well as event analysis, is mostly distributed among the quantitative methods of research. The first has been introduced by the American political scientist N. Lasswell and represents a study of the text from the point of view of the frequency of appearance of certain keywords and collocations. Having analyzed the articles published in this way, Lasswell showed its pro-fascist orientation, which was the reason for the judicial proceedings and emerging the question about the closure of the newspaper (Lasswell, 1946).

When using content analysis, the right choice of keywords is necessary. The restriction on the use of content analysis imposes a context problem. If an article, presentation, document, and such texts are written in the so-called Aesop language, where are not important the words themselves in context, there is difficult to be analyzed such an approach with the help of content analysis.

Event analysis is aimed at revealing the frequency of occurrence of certain events. As in the case of content analysis, initially determine the criteria by which events are taken into account and classified. In other words, certain analogs of "keywords" are identified that characterize the frequency of the intensity, duration of the event (for example, conflict relations). Further, the dynamics of the development of the process are determined. Using the event analysis, it can, in particular, track the dynamics of the negotiations, how fast they are conducted, which of the participants is the first to make compromise decisions, etc. The Event Analysis method was developed in the works of E. Azar, L. Bloomfield, as well as some other authors, and expects the creation of a fairly large database of event data (Chitadze, 2016).

Cognitive mapping is less common than the previous methods. This method was used in the works of O. Holsti, R. Axelrod, and others and it is based on the prediction of cognitive psychologists, according to whom, to understand behavior, it is extremely important to know how a person perceives and organizes the obtained information. In international studies, this method is oriented towards studying the so-called "natural logic", primarily politicians (Axelrod, 1997).

The point is that based on the texts of speeches, key categories are identified that use this or that policy, and causal links are established between them. Thus, American researchers M. Bonham and M. Shapiro, after analyzing the texts of speeches of politicians, predicted their behavior in the Near East conflict (Chitadze, 2016).

The whole trend in international studies is based on the application of the mathematical theory of games. It was developed in the US in the late 1950s and early 1960s to study Soviet-American relations. The essence of this direction is that, as a starting premise, the assumption is made that participants behave rationally and, evaluating alternatives, choose the most profitable behavior strategy for themselves. The whole variety of behavioral options, according to the theory of games, can be reduced to two types - cooperation or rivalry. As a result, the consequences of the simplest interaction in game theory are the so-called Matrix of outcomes for two participants, each of which has two variants of behavior, cooperation, and competition, and their combination gives four possible outcomes (results). It is important that the outcomes are assigned to the participants of the interaction in advance and expressed in numerical form, for example, depending on the priority. Using the matrix games, they studied various international situations: the Cuban crisis of 1962, the nuclear clash of Pakistan and India, etc. Criticism of this method is possible mainly in the relation to the fact that in reality the results for the participants are not so obvious as in the game situation, and they do not necessarily conduct themselves rationally. Nevertheless, a lot of interesting results were obtained with the help of the game theories. Particularly, in the theory of gaming, R. Axelrod showed that with virtually unlimited time interaction (and in fact, by this way the states interact on the world stage), the sides conclude that the expediency of cooperative behavior, which is more useful (Axelrod, 1997).

There are other quantitative methods of analysis. In general, they are quite laborious. This since the very beginning limited their use. Attention to quantitative methods was again attracted in the connection with the wide introduction of computer technology, which allows solving the problem of labor intensity up to a certain degree and giving a quick quantitative evaluation, for example, computer processing of text allows content analysis to be carried out. At the same time, researchers began to pay more attention to the problem of interpreting the obtained data.

In the meantime, after the qualitative methods, procedures began to be introduced that envisaged certain formalized moments, but from the points of view of not so much as quantitative assessments as the organization of the research. In several cases, the requirements for the organization of work, formulation, and substantiation of the hypothesis were taken into account, which is typical for natural sciences.

The development received *situational analysis*, which represented the expert seminars, which analyze the situation, identify key points, and prepare forecasts for possible scenarios for further development. Situational analyzes have become widespread, especially in scientific and practical organizations and institutions.

Situational analysis is a special case of such procedure as *a case study*, which makes use of theoretical provisions in the study of specific events on the world arena. An analysis of a particular situation can be conducted by one or more researchers to study, for example, how mediation contributed (or did not help resolve the conflict) to regulate the situation in Kosovo. If the situational analysis is forecast-oriented, then the possible scenario versions of the development of the event are not usually considered when analyzing specific situations.

Currently, international research has widely developed the methods of related scientific disciplines - sociology, political science, psychology, and so on. Thus, rather popular in Western Europe and the USA is a method of *interviews*, conducted by sociological research, but adapted to international research. It assumes a conversation with an expert on a pre-planned scenario. The nature of the interview can be rigidly circumscribed by the prepared questions in advance, but more often it is conducted in a fairly free form.

In the arsenal of qualitative methods, there are also traditional approaches such as the study of documents, events, statistical data, analytical materials.

The convergence of the two groups - quantitative and qualitative methods made the separation of the "logical-descriptive" and "historical-intuitive" approaches obsolete. At present, the dichotomy of the "quantitative-qualitative" methods in general in international studies has been removed. Accordingly, the division of researchers into the modernist and traditionalists has also remained in the past. Many authors rely on this fact. For example, one can point out the illegitimacy of contrasting quantitative and qualitative methods, which not only do not exclude but, on the contrary, complement each other. Simultaneously, with the development of constructivism in the late twentieth century, popularity began to be gained by methods that are not connected with the positivist tradition. First of all, it is about "building" social reality, when the researcher (the practitioner) is involved in the development of procedures, mechanisms, institutions, etc. to solve an international problem and thereby studies it. It has to be mentioned that this approach is not completely new. Ideas of "International Engineering" can be traced, for example, in the work of W. Wilson, his attempts to form a single community of people based on the League of Nations. It is another matter that this method still requires a rather serious methodological justification. In addition, an ethical question arises that can be articulated by words usually referring to medicine: "Not harm!"

Key Terminologies

World Politics
International Relations
International Politics
High-Level Policy
Law - Level Policy
OPEC – Organization of Petroleum Exporter Countries
International Political Economy

Comparative Politics
Interdisciplinary Character of International Relations
Sociology of International Relations
Global Politics
International Researches
Traditionalists
Scientism
Modernism
Multidisciplinary
Analysis levels
Political Psychology
Decision – making
Primary and Secondary Sources
Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods
Historical – Descriptive Approach
Logical Intuition
Validity of the Research Methods
Reliability of the Research Method
Content-Analysis
Event-Analysis
Cognitive Method
Game Theory
Case Studies
Interview

Questions for Consideration

Which main scientific disciplines gave a contribution to the World Politics formation?

What are the interrelations of the subjective fields of World Politics, Comparative Politics and International Relations?

What are the main characters, which determine World Politics as a Scientific Discipline?

What are the main problems of methods in International Researches?

What is understood under the qualitative and quantitative methods in World Politics and International Relations?

Practicum

Analyze the articles in three-four newspapers with different directions related to the international problems with the help of content analysis. Determine the specifics of each newspaper.

Part 2. Main Tendencies, Problems, and Aspects of the World Politics

Transformation of the basis of the world political system is connected with the macro-political tendencies of the modern world – globalization, localization, integration and disintegration, democratization and keeping the main forms of authoritarian power, etc. All those factors cause many other consequences.

New problems and challenges have emerged, which did not exist earlier, or which were not considered so actually (for example, ecological problems). The new way and in the other context has started to review old problems (particularly related to security, poverty, conflicts). At the same time, in the political agenda the previous questions, first related to disarmament, arms control have remained.

The outgoing epoch of the Westphalia world is replaced, far from without contradictions, by a new era, the contours of which are "outlined" so far only in the most general form. With more and more clear forms are determined the new aspects and dimensions of International Relations – economic, legal, ecologic, and directions, which are connected with the development of the human resource. Finally, the necessity of managing the complex, new formatted world and finding the ways and mechanisms of the alignment of interests and aspirations has emerged.

Tendencies of world development, as the challenges of the modern world, its new dimensions, and problems of regulation on the world arena, the actions of different actors are located in the center of attention of world politics as science and are reflected in the appropriate parts and sections of this book.

Division 1

Trends in the development of the modern world

Chapter 6. Politics and International Relations

Till the modern period, by the authorities of the different countries - politics was considered as such field of activity, where its subjects are the individuals, social groups, parties, movements, pursuing individual and group interests. However, independent states are not developing in a vacuum, they interact with each other and on the higher - international level. At the level of international politics, national and state interests have appeared. In this regard, during the discussion about the International Politics of the states, there is a need to take into consideration not only the economic, social, etc. but also impacts of the global factors. In the framework of the modern conditions, the growing role of the global factors in international politics (the accumulated potential of nuclear, chemical and biological - weapons of mass destruction, environmental, energy, food issues, the fight against AIDS, international terrorism, etc.) sharply raised the question of the survival and progress of the mankind.

The degree of the relationship and interaction of the various states in the modern world is so great, that no one of them can implement its policy by ignoring the interests of the international community. However, the realization of the interests of one state often conflicts with the national interests of the other states and the result of it is the emergence of international conflicts, which are still predominantly settled by war. So, for the last 55 Centuries, humanity has lived in peace only during the 300 years. Throughout those centuries there were 14.5 thousand wars (including two world wars - 1914 - 1918 and 1939 - 1945). As a result of those wars, more than 3.6 billion people were killed. During the past 40 years, the world population was involved in war 250 times and in those wars 90 states participated and their losses amounted to more than 35 million people. The infamous aphorism "the history of mankind – is a history of wars" raises questions about the nature and content of international policy, as it affects the internal politics of the states (Mukhaev. 2000).

6.1. International relations and International Politics

Before determining the nature of international politics and its main differences from the domestic, as well as to identifying the nature of their relationship, it is necessary to understand how the terminologies “international relations" and "foreign policy" are related to each other.

Taking into account that the situation in the World is constantly changing, the contents of those terminologies do not remain unchanged. This is the fact that if at the beginning of the XX century there were only 52 independent states in the World, by the mid-century, they would have been 82, but today their number exceeds 200 (Mukhaev, 2000). All these states and nations interact with each other in various spheres of human life. Primarily in international relations theory, to describe the interaction between sovereign states the term "foreign policy" was used. However today, the international community does not consist only of independent states, but there is also a variety of economic, trade, military alliances, blocks, and structures that have developed on a bilateral or multilateral basis.

Besides them, in the international arena are active such institutions as the United Nations, also international governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as the specialized agencies and organizations, which are involved in politics, social and economic development, security and disarmament issues, etc. All of them are subjects of international relations. Consequently, international relations represent a system of economic, political, social, diplomatic, legal, military, and cultural relations and interactions that occur between the subjects of the international community. Not all relationships between the people and government organizations are political by their nature. However, due to the expansion of the number of subjects of international relations - in political science, along with the term "foreign policy" was used the term "international politics".

International politics is at the core of international relations and represents itself the political activity of the subjects of international law (states, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, unions, etc.), which is related to the issues of war and peace, providing global security, protection of the environment, overcoming the backwardness and poverty, hunger and disease. Thus, international policy is oriented on the issues of survival and progress of human society, development of the mechanisms to coordinate the interests of the subjects of world politics, the prevention and resolution of global and regional conflicts, and the creation of fair world order. It is an important factor of stability and peace, and the development of equitable international relations.

6.2. The Nature of the International Politics

International politics is the most important part of international relations, it can ensure progress and development. But why does humanity spend most of its time in wars and not in peace? To answer this

question, it is necessary to identify the nature of international politics. The analysis of this problem is impossible without understanding the relationship between foreign and domestic policy.
In modern political science, there are at least three points of view on the problem of the relationship between domestic and foreign policy. Supporters of the first point of view, try to find connections between two fields of policy. So, professor of the University of Chicago, Morgenthau believes that "the essence of international politics is identical to the internal politics. And both - internal and foreign policy is a struggle for dominance, which is modified only by various conditions, which are formulated in the domestic and international spheres. (Mongenthau, 1948) The second point of view is represented by the scientific works of the Austrian sociologist L. Gumilovich (1833 - 1909), who believed that foreign policy determines the internal one (Mukhaev. 2000). Considering the struggle for existence as the main factor of social life, L. Gumilovich formulated a system of laws in international politics, among them the most important - the law of the constant fighting between the neighboring countries due to the boundary line. Based on this law the scientist deduced the second law which includes the fact that any State should prevent the strengthening of the power of a neighbor and take care of the balance of power. In addition, any state is committed to profitable acquisitions, for example, to get access to the sea for the reaching to be a sea power. Finally, the meaning of the third law is expressed in the fact that the internal political objectives should be subordinated to the purpose of strengthening the military power, with the help of which ensures the survival of the state.
The third point of view on the problem of the relationship of the internal and external policies is presented by Marxism, according to which foreign policy is determined by the internal and is the reflection and continuation of society's relationship. The content of the latter is determined by the dominating in the social-economic relations and the interests of the ruling classes. Obviously, in each point of view, the rational grain exists. However, we should notice that the real domination of foreign or domestic policy depends in each case on the specific historical circumstances.

The essence of international politics is also differently understood in political science. Thus, proponents of the "power" concept consider politics as the struggle for dominance. "International politics, like any other, - mentions H. Morgenthau – is a struggle for dominance (H.J. Morgenthau. 1948. P. 15). Whatever the absolute goals of international politics, power is always the immediate aim". "Power" and "Force" represent the base of politics, according to scientists, the result of it is the inherent human desire for dominance. This is the beginning and determines the behavior of the states. In this case, concrete political force Morgenthau classifies as "psychological relations among them, who possess it, and between them, who feels its influence" (Mukhaev, 2000).
However, it seems that the importance of psychological factors in international politics is exaggerated by the supporters of this concept.

Another, quite common, is the statement about the biological nature of international politics. "The Inevitability" of political aggressiveness of the states by authors is explained by the "innate aggressiveness" of man, the "instinct" is "to kill with the help of weapons." According to the remark of the modern French scholar G. Butula, "the international authority of the state is measured by its ability to cause damage." (Mukhaev, 2000).

Psychological and biological interpretation of the essence of international politics is opposed by the understanding of it as a social phenomenon, which is determined by the influence of its economic, social, cultural, and other factors. But the importance of psychological and personal factors in international politics, of course, should be taken into consideration. The objectives of foreign policy are determined every time by the specific context of the concrete historical situations, where the international community is situated, and also by the nature of the relations existing between the states. In the framework of the context, in which the external factors influence the living conditions of a particular state, they also determine the content of international politics. Under the modern conditions, it is increased the impact of such factors, as energy and raw materials (resource) problems; the growing gap in living standards between developed and developing countries; the distribution of nuclear weapons; worsening the global environmental problems, the growth of international terrorism, etc.

6.3. Content and Principles of International Politics

The content of international politics cannot be explained without an analysis of the national interest. What drives the activities of the state in the international arena, on behalf of what one country enters into relations with the other countries? In politics, there are always expressed common or group interests and mainly national interests in the case of international politics.

National interest – represents the awareness and reflection in the activities of the leaders of the states in the field of indigenous needs of the nation-state. Those requirements are expressed in national security and at the conditions for the survival and development of society. The concept of "national interest" was developed by Hans Morgenthau. He defined the concept of interest in terms of the categories of power. He determined the understanding of the national interest with the help of the category of power. His concept meaning national interests includes three elements: 1) the nature of the interest that must be protected; 2) the political environment in which the interest is in action; 3) rational necessity, which limits the choice of targets and the means for all subjects of international politics (Rondeli, 2003).

The foreign policy of an independent state, according to Morgenthau, should be based on the physical, political, and cultural reality that helps to understand the nature and essence of the national interest. This reality represents the nation. All the nations of the world in the international arena seek to meet their primary needs, namely the need to physically survive. In the divided into blocs and alliances world where the fighting for power and resources is not stopped, all nations are concerned about the protection of their physical, political, and cultural identity in the face of invasion from outside (Mongenthau, 1948).

Perhaps, this statement was relevant for the "Cold War" period, when the international community was divided into two opposing camps: the socialist and capitalist. In the modern world, where the "cold war" seems to be over and the countries for various reasons are becoming more and more interdependent and interrelated, their survival and development can be achieved only with full cooperation and collaboration.

Any state, defending its national interest, should respect and take into account the interests of the other states, only, in this case, it can not only ensure their safety but do not violate the security of other states. National security means the situation when the vital interests of the individual, society, and the state are protected from internal and external threats; also, it means the ability of the state to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity and to be presented as the subject of international law. The notion of security for the individual, society and the state does not always coincide with each other. Human security means an integral implementation of its rights and freedoms. For the safety of society, security includes the preservation and multiplication of its material and spiritual values. National security about the state assumes internal stability, reliable defense, sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

In our days, when the danger of nuclear war still exists, national security is an integral part of overall security. Until recently, Global Security was based on the principles of "deterrence by intimidation", confrontation and tensions between the nuclear powers (USSR, USA, France, UK, and China). But to get universal security is impossible. It is impossible to provide security at the expense of the interests of the other states, it can only be achieved on the principles of partnership and cooperation. The turning point in the formation of a new system of global security was the recognition by the international community of the impossibility of surviving and gaining victory in the global nuclear war.

6.4. Theory and Practice of International Relations

Typology of international relations

Relations between the states in the international arena have never been equal. The role of each state was determined by its economic, technological, military, information capabilities. Those capabilities provide the nature and type of the international relations system. The typology of international relations has its practical importance because it allows us to identify the global factors affecting the development as a global community, also the concrete countries.

There is a classification of international relations, based on the chronological principle. For example, U.S. researchers Dr. Modelsky and Dr. P. Morgan, during the consideration of the historical process in terms of dominance in the different “world powers” and the character formed by its "global system", divided the history of international relations on the certain cycles (Modelski, 1978). According to this point of view, beginning from the XV century and till now the history of international relations is divided into five cycles, during which alternately ruled the four "great powers": Portugal, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The fifth cycle, which, according to the authors, started in 1914, they named the "American century." One of the supporters of this concept American political scientist R. Cox defines the meaning of "world hegemony" by the following style: "The hegemony on a global level – is not just the order between states. This is the order within the world economy with a dominant mode of production, which reaches into every country and puts itself in the dependence of the other means of production. It is also a complex of international social relations that links the social classes of different countries. The global hegemony can be described as social, economic, or as political structure, but it cannot be just one of them, but it is the combination of all three issues. Moreover, the global hegemony is expressed in universal terms, institutions and mechanisms, which establish common rules of action for the States and civil society beyond the national borders - the rules of which support the dominant method of production." (Mukhaev,2000). Other authors as the basis of typology of international relations use the balance of power and the nature of the relations, which are developing between its participants. American scholar M. Kaplan respectively distinguishes six types of international systems: the system of "balance of power", the free bipolar system, a rigid bipolar system, the universal system, the hierarchical system, and a system of "veto". For example, in the "balance of power," system key actors in international relations are only nation-states with large military and economic capabilities, and the robust system is that one, that includes five or more states (Kaplan, 1957). It seems that together with all the advantages that exist in these classifications, they suffer from one disadvantage – they are speculative. The history of international relations has always reflected the balance of power and capacities of the individual concrete countries during the implementation of the national interests. Depending on the concentration of power and resources in the hands of one country or distributing them among a group of countries, international political relations knew one subject of world politics – superpower, or a group of such entities - developed countries, which competed with each other. In the early stages of history, international relations were characterized by the presence of a superpower that has dominated over other states because of its military power, economic potential, psychological cohesion within the concrete regions. As an example of such superpowers can be presented Ancient Egypt, Persia, Ancient China, Ancient India, etc. Those superpowers were rising or falling during different periods of history. Entrance to the international arena in the XVII - XVIII centuries at the same period the powers, which were in rivalry with each other, transferred the international relations in the more complex and conflict system. The struggle for resources has led to the fact that in world politics the politico-military block principle has become dominant. The world was divided into two poles. This is especially clearly manifested in the early XX century when the two blocks were formed: the Entente (Britain, France, Russia) and the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria- Hungary, and Turkey).

After the October Bolshevik military coup in Russia in 1917, the bipolarity of world politics remained, but in this case, these poles became socialist and capitalist systems (Ideological poles). After the end of World War II, the power of these systems was represented by the Soviet Union and the United States - the two superpowers, in whose hands, after 1945, a nuclear weapon appeared. Opposing systems entered a period of "cold war" and held back the development of each other by building up their military strength. The whole world was divided into spheres of "vital interests " of the two superpowers, which relied on politico-military blocs - NATO (1949), led by the United States, and the Warsaw Pact (1955), headed by the Soviet Union. Other states in the world just were following the foreign policy of superpowers.

Picture 7. States, as a main participant of international relations

Source: https://wagner.edu/gap/programs/international-affairs/

In 1991, when the "Cold War " ended and with this process the bipolar model of international relations was over, accordingly, the confrontation between NATO and Warsaw Treaty also finished. From the political and security point of view, the world has become unipolar with the dominance of the USA, and multipolar from the economic point of view. In the modern period, the states coexist with diverse interests who seek to realize their interests predominantly by peaceful means having different capabilities and resources - the states large and small, rich and poor, nuclear and non-nuclear.

6.5. Features of the Present Stage of International Relations

Contemporary international relations are in a stage of the transition from confrontation and conflict, based on nuclear deterrence, to a new world order based on a partnership for peace. However, implementing this change in practice is very difficult. New mechanisms that could ensure stability and global security, are only emerging. There is still mistrust and prejudice in the relations to the recent "enemies" and now partners. Significant funds continue to be spent on the arms race. For example, military spending worldwide in recent years accounted for 1,000 billion dollars a year, more than half of world scientists are working on new types of weapons of mass destruction. At the same time, 800 million people in the world live in absolute poverty and among the 500 million hungry people around 50 million die every year from malnutrition (Mukhaev 2000). The current stage of international relations is characterized by increasing interdependence and interrelation of members of the international community. This is because the survival and development of mankind can only be achieved through the joint efforts of all states. Global problems which confronted mankind (prevention of nuclear war, end the arms race, the peaceful settlement of the inter-state and inter-ethnic conflict, poverty alleviation, economic, commodity, and food crises, create a healthy living environment, etc.), can be solved only by combining the capabilities and resources of the entire world community.

The New World Order is based on principles - such as democratization, demilitarization, humanization of partnerships, regardless of the capabilities and size of a particular state.

6.6. New Trends in the Development of Modern International Relations

Taking into account, how international relations in the coming years should be developed, largely depends on how the world will enter the next decades of the XXI century. For this reason, scientists intend to discover the peculiarities of the current state and the development of international relations to identify new trends of their changes.

Thus, the modern American scientists M. Singer and A. Vildavsky mark the separation of the world into two parts - a zone of peace, prosperity, and democracy and the zone of war, fermentation, and development. Most of the people, according to the authors, live in areas of fermentation, which is dominated by poverty, anarchy, and tyranny. In the area of peace, prosperity, and democracy there are about 35 countries: the countries of Western Europe, the U.S., Canada, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. In those countries about 15% of the world population. These areas are characterized as rich democracies, in which the standard of living of ordinary citizens by historical standards is very high (from 20 thousand to 60 thousand dollars of annual consumption per capita of the gross national product) and life expectancy - at least 75 years (Chitadze, 2016). This prosperity of the countries can only be achieved thanks to the high-quality knowledge-based economy.

Today, post-industrial economics is characterized by the use of computers, electronic communications, and information technology. High technology pushed forward the concepts of such determinations, as flexibility and creativity, pushing into the background mass and power. Here, success is determined by the ability to negotiate, financing and trade and to build highly adaptive and efficient production. The surest way to success, persuasion rather than coercion. In terms of the quality of the economy, the people themselves and not things become the main value. It follows that it is unwise to sacrifice people in the name of conquering territories and sources of raw materials, as people are more valuable than those acquired.

Not all the arguments of the authors of this concept can be agreed upon without reservation. So, it should be recognized that wealth, democracy, and peace are inextricably linked to each other, although this rule has exceptions. It is enough to notice that there are 8 oil-rich countries (countries from the Persian Gulf Region) in the World, with a population of 1 million each (Chitadze, 2016). They are called "rich", but their wealth is not due to the high productivity of their people and it is not associated with democracy. On the other hand, half a dozen small countries that have become rich without oil or other natural resources, are democratic.

An alternative point of view on the development of modern international relations is presented by the previously mentioned American sociologist Francis Fukuyama, author of the concept of "the end of the history." He believes that in the XXI century the world would be divided into two parts, developed the "center" and forever backward "periphery." Naturally, the "center" represents the industrialized countries of the West and a backward "periphery" - states of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the former Soviet republics, and Eastern countries Thus, Fukuyama is trying to prove conclusive, from his point of view, the benefits of liberal civilization, their exclusive right to "make history." The task of the "periphery" - deliver to the "center" the energy resources and act as a dumping ground for toxic waste. In return for this, the developed countries will deliver backward state humanitarian aid. Thus, according to Fukuyama, stability in international relations will be achieved (Chitadze, 2011).

It seems that Fukuyama overestimates the level of development and degree of integration between western countries and states – which are opposing the further enlargement of western civilization. In this case, it should be pointed out about the authoritarian regime in Russia, which still in many aspects lives by the “cold war” principles and tries to keep its sphere of influence on the post-soviet space and support the authoritarian regimes (for example in Syria).

On the other side, it is important to pay attention to some problems of the unity of the western civilization itself. In many ways, their cohesion and integrity were provided by the presence of a common enemy in the people of the socialist countries. The fight against the communist threat forced Western countries to forget about disagreements in their camp, for example, about the contradictions between Western Europe and the United States, the U.S. and Japan, etc. Now, the "common enemy" as if is absent. So, the main question has emerged, what may play the role of unifying principle and stimulus for the development of western countries? On this question, there are different points of view. Anyway, even though the “cold war” is over, the imperialistic ambitions of Russia, nuclear programs of Iran and North Korea, authoritarian regime in Syria, etc. give to the west the stimulus for further serious consideration of the importance of promoting integration in the different fields among the western democratic and developed countries.

International Politics is an integral part of human civilization: Without it, it is impossible to promote international cooperation, social progress, the existence of society and the individual. One of the main purposes of international politics is to guide international community development for the approval of a just international order, the restriction of political-economic, etc. pressure on the state from the other state and ensure the priority of national interests of the state and human rights. However, International politics serves the public good only if there are researched laws of its development, and if there are mechanisms, which prevent its destructive influence on the country, nation, society, and individual.

Keywords

International relations

International Politics

Power

Force

international authority

National interest

Global Security

New World Order

Questions for Consideration

What are the main approaches for understanding politics and International Relations?

Which concrete spheres occur in the principles of International Politics?

What are the New Trends in the Development of Modern International Relations

Practicum

Please analyze the principle of National Interest and National Security of the state.

Chapter 7. Globalization of the World

7.1. Main characters of Globalization

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the word "globalization" was first employed in a publication entitled Towards New Education in 1952, to denote a holistic view of human experience in education. An early description of globalization was penned by the founder of the Bible Student movement Charles Taze Russell who coined the term 'corporate giants' in 1897, although it was not until the 1960s that the term began to be widely used by economists and other social scientists. The term has since then achieved widespread use in the mainstream press by the second half of the 1980s.

Since its inception, the concept of globalization has inspired numerous competing definitions and interpretations, with antecedents dating back to the great movements of trade and empire across Asia and the Indian Ocean from the 15th century onwards.

The historical origins of globalization are the subject of ongoing debate. Though some scholars situate the origins of globalization in the modern era, others regard it as a phenomenon with a long history.
Thomas L. Friedman divides the history of globalization into three periods: Globalization 1 (1492-1800), Globalization 2 (1800–2000), and Globalization 3 (2000–present). He states that Globalization 1. involves the globalization of countries, Globalization 2. involved the globalization of companies, and Globalization 3. involves the globalization of individuals. Thomas Loren Friedman is an American journalist, columnist, and author. He writes a twice-weekly column for The New York Times. He has written extensively on foreign affairs including global trade, the Middle East, and environmental issues, and has won the Pulitzer Prize three times.

Perhaps the most extreme proponent of a deep historical origin for globalization was Andre Gunder Frank, an economist associated with dependency theory. Frank argued that a form of globalization has been in existence since the rise of trade links between Sumer and the Indus Valley Civilization in the third millennium B.C. Critics of this idea contend that it rests upon an over-broad definition of globalization.

Globalization refers to the worldwide phenomenon of technological, economic, political, and cultural exchanges, brought about by modern communication, transportation, and legal infrastructure as well as the political choice to consciously open cross-border links in international trade and finance. It is a term used to describe how human beings are becoming more intertwined with each other around the world economically, politically, and culturally.

The International Monetary Fund defines globalization as “the growing economic interdependence of countries worldwide.

Through increasing volume and variety of cross-border transactions in goods and services, freer international capital flows, and more rapid and widespread diffusion of technology”. Meanwhile, The International Forum on Globalization defines it as “the present worldwide drive toward a globalized economic system dominated by supranational corporate trade and banking institutions that are not accountable to democratic processes or national governments.” While notable critical theorists, such as Immanuel Wallerstein, emphasize that globalization cannot be understood separately from the historical development of the capitalist world-system the different definitions highlight the ensuing debate of the roles and relationships of government, corporations, and the individual in maximizing social welfare within the globalization paradigms. Nonetheless, globalization has economic, political, cultural, and technological aspects that may be closely intertwined. Given that these aspects are key to an individual's quality of life, the social benefits and costs brought upon them by globalization generate strong debate.

Picture 8. Advantages of Globalization for Small Businesses

Source: https://www.advergize.com/insights/advantages-of-globalization-for-small-businesses-things-you-need-to-know/

The economic aspects stressed in globalization are trade, investment, and migration. The globalization of trade entails that human beings have greater access to a plethora of goods and services never seen before in human history. From German cars to Colombian coffee, from Chinese clothing to Egyptian cotton, from American music to Indian software, human beings may be able to purchase a wide range of goods and services. The globalization of investment takes place through Foreign Direct Investment, where multinational companies directly invest assets in a foreign country, or by indirect investment where individuals and institutions purchase and sell financial assets of other countries. Free migration allows individuals to find employment in jurisdictions where there are labor shortages.

Critics of free trade also contend that it may lead to the destruction of a country's native industry, environment, or a loss of jobs. Critics of international investment contend that by accepting these financial schemes a country loses its economic sovereignty and may be forced to set policies that are contrary to its citizen's interests or desires. Moreover, multinational companies that invest in a country may also acquire too much political and economic power over their citizens. Finally, migration may lead to the exploitation of workers from a migrant country and the displacement of workers from a host country. Critics of globalization also contend that different economic systems that either augment or supplant globalization may maximize social welfare more efficiently and equitably.

The political aspects of globalization are evidenced when governments create international rules and institutions to deal with issues such as trade, human rights, and the environment. Among the new institutions and rules that have come to fruition as a result of globalization are the World Trade Organization, the Euro currency, the North American Free Trade Agreement, to name a few. Whether a government is to consciously open itself to cross-border links, is the central question of this aspect. Social activists and non-profit organizations are also becoming more global in scope. These include Amnesty International and Friends of the Earth to mention a couple. Some of these organizations take issue with the economic and political aspects of globalization as they fear that economic interests either subvert the nation-state in its ability to protect its citizens from economic exploitation, or support governments that violate the human rights of its citizens.

Cultural global ties also grow through globalization as news ideas and fashions through trade, travel, and media move around the globe at lightning speed. Global brands such as Coca-Cola, Puma & Sony serve as common references to consumers all over the World. An individual in China enjoys the same soft drink as an individual in Puerto Rico--at opposite ends of the globe. However, these ties may also cause strains: for example, Western Ideas of freedom expression may clash with Islamic views on religious tolerance. And if not strains, critics contend this is an imposition of cultural imperialism to preserve economic interests.

The other aspect of globalization is the revolutionary changes in technology, particularly in transport and communications, which ostensibly creates a global village. In 1850 it took nearly a year to sail around the World. Now you can fly around the world in a day, send an email anywhere almost instantly, or be part of the 1.5 billion viewers watching the final match of the World Cup. Transportation costs have come down as a result of technological advances that make foreign markets more accessible to trade. Globalization describes the process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a global network of political ideas through communication, transportation, and trade. The term is most closely associated with the term economic globalization: the integration of national economies into the international economy through trade, foreign direct investment, capital flows, migration, the spread of technology, and military presence. However, globalization is usually recognized as being driven by a combination of economic, technological, socio-cultural, political, and biological factors. The term can also refer to the transnational circulation of ideas, languages, or popular culture through acculturation. An aspect of the world that has gone through the process can be said to be globalized. While suggestions have been made to distinguish between specific parts of globalization (like increased international trade) and parallel developments (like technological advances), others have pointed out that the separation of interconnected processes is not feasible.

7.2. Main Approaches to the globalization problems

Globalization - is one of the most discussed phenomena in recent years phenomena in the contemporary development of the world and at the same time, perhaps, the least strictly defined. The term itself entered a broad scientific circulation in the 1990s, largely superseding the notion of "postmodernism," which was widely used to describe the complexity and diversity of the modern political world. At the same time, in the late 1980s, the word "globalization" has rarely met in the scientific vocabulary. American sociologist R. Robertson was one of the first to address the study of globalization problems, using the word "global" in the title of his work “Interpreting Globality” (Robertson, 1983). At the same time, in the field of ecology and technological disciplines specialists began to talk about globalization earlier in the 1960s, although in other terms.

Today, for describing the processes, which are connected with globalization, not very seldom are used other meanings - *postindustrial epoch, the age of the information revolution, techno globalism*, etc. All of them reflect the most important changes that it consists of.

There are different points of view regarding the essence of globalization. One research is focused on its economic aspects, in others on the formation of a common information space, and thirdly on the development of common standards. The latter refers primarily to the organization of production, social life, and so on. In this regard, as a metaphor, the meaning *McDonaldization* of the world is used, which is understood as a certain standardization and “conveyance” of processes in the organization of economic and social life. From the universal blocks, such as from the cubes of the "Lego," various kinds of finite forms are formed, which have many variabilities. A vivid example of such "MacDonald" is the furniture, which is offered by the Swedish company “IKEA”: From the standard blocks, there are virtually countless options for furnishing the apartment, depending on the area, tastes, and human needs (Lebedeva, 2007).

Picture 9. The Causes and Effects of Globalization

Source: https://www.slideshare.net/AislingMOConnor/the-causes-and-effects-of-globalisation

There are, although relatively few, skeptical assessments of the processes that have been called "globalization." Thus, M. Veseth considers that globalization is not at all a new phenomenon. The processes, which gained this name, are connected with the complexity of the world processes, which has always existed (Viseth, 2006). However, in his opinion, globalization attracts so much attention, because with its help experts try either to prove the existence of new threats, or, on the contrary, make a prognosis on the prosperity of mankind. A similar position is shared by the many researchers, who point out that globalization is a politically demanded concept.

The understanding of globalization differs depending on the theoretical positions of the authors. Realists, by recognizing the existence of significant changes in the world, consider globalization, rather, as the process of the evolutionary development of the world, and not as a qualitative leap in its transformation. The neo-Marxists see in modern processes an endeavoring stage in the development of capitalism, which generates an ever-greater polarization of the world according to the economic parameter, and as a consequence, political instability. For the majority of researchers who adhere to the neo-liberal tradition, globalization is a qualitatively new stage in the political structure and the world, and also in human civilization as a whole.

There is one more point of perception of the globalization process, connected with political practice and the estimated characterization of changes in the “good-bad” dichotomy. This is more relevant to political practice and generates, on the one hand, many movements conditionally united by the concept of “anti-globalists” (they often come from extremely radical positions against the development of globalization processes, as well as the institutions that are most closely associated with them, in particular, IMF, WTO). On the other hand, although in a less pronounced form, the movements of supporters of the globalization process, for example, Internet users, etc. Such a variety of opinions and views regarding globalization is due to the complexity, complexity of the processes, and the covering of the spheres of human activity and relations.

Returning to the scientific interpretation of such a phenomenon as globalization, let us dwell on its three dimensions, which the French researcher B. Badie singles out as:

1. a constantly moving historical process;
2. homogenization and universalization of the world;
3. "blurring" of national borders (Badie, 2000).

If we take the first of these dimensions, we will see that the history of the development of mankind does indeed observe a tendency to expand the space where intensive interaction takes place: from individual villages, cities, principalities to states, regions, and finally, through the era of great geographical discoveries to the world in whole.

Nevertheless, the process of globalization is complex and ambiguous. In historical development, it went non-linearly and did not at all assume the accession of new peripheral territories to a certain invariable center. So, G. Modelski, using an example of the development of cities in the ancient world, shows the "pulsating" nature of this process (Modelski, 2000). He distinguishes two phases, each of which lasts for millennia: centralization, when the central zones of the world system are formed, and decentralization if the periphery becomes the main one, there is a change of place in the "center-periphery" system. In principle, close to the idea of the Concept of “pulsations” is also contained in the works of Paul Kennedy, when he speaks about the rise and fall of great powers (Kennedy, 1989). If we extrapolate the results of G. Modelski to further historical development, we can assume that such a “pulse” takes place not only on a territorial basis, but which is especially important, and based on which substantial aspects are formed Center and periphery. In history, such a substantive foundation was, in particular, ideology, religion, economic development.

Much more controversial is the second dimension of the globalization process that Badie identifies: the universalization and homogenization of the world in its extreme form. Within the framework of this approach, various assumptions were made regarding the creation of a *global village* - a universal community of all people living on earth or a global government, which would regulate the whole complex of interrelations among the countries and people. In other words, it was suggested the formation of some world confederation (Badie, 2000).

Those examples, ideas, and hypotheses are widely used in journalism, popular literature, reflecting the notion that all people inhabited on our planet are united by a single destiny, and it has become possible thanks to the dissemination of universal cultural patterns, the development of technologies - primarily transport, information and communication, world trade and financial system, that unite all people in an interconnected and interdependent community.

Universalization and homogenization of the world are sometimes considered as its *westernization*. In this case, it means that the values and norms of behavior characteristic of Western civilization are gaining increasing popularity. Indeed, many types of behavior, production, consumption, emerged in the West and then became accustomed to other countries and cultures. Moreover, in these countries, they are often perceived as inherent to them. In this regard, an amusing example is given by the leading New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman in the book "The Lexus and the Olive Tree". The little Japanese woman who first visited the United States exclaimed: "Mom, look, they also have McDonald's" (Friedman, 2012).

Picture 10. The World Interacting together

Source: https://corporatefinanceinstitute.com/resources/knowledge/other/globalization/

There are many other examples in this regard. However, it is necessary to take into account that under external universalization, more complicated processes are hidden.

First, each culture perceives and assimilates the norms inherent in other cultures in its way. This is the focus of many researchers who are engaged in the analysis of the influence of cultures. Samples of the behavior of Western civilization in different regions of the world (including the sphere of consumption) are included in another cultural context, sometimes have a completely different meaning, sometimes the opposite one. In the case of the external identity of the Western types of behavior, completely different things may be hiding: for example, the intention to be “as everybody” in one country to be seen as the person with different views in other countries. In general, external forms always have their fillings in the cultures due to the very complex intertwining of what is imported from the outside, with the existing traditions and norms. Emphasizing the specificity of each culture, the French explorer Thierry de Montbrial believes that when speaking about globalization, “we do not mean the unification and standardization at all" (De Montbial, 2006). As an example, the constructors of automobiles are not intending to create the “world car”, which should satisfy all standards. It is not real. For example, the production of the French company Danone is determined by the different approaches on the tastes of the inhabitants of Paris (for French), London (for the British), Beijing (for Chinese), etc. The difference in taste, as well as in mentality will never disappear”. From the other side, for example, the modification of the car model, or for example any food product, which is oriented on the different consumers are “collected” from the unified structural components.

Secondly, Western civilization itself is not homogenous. In this sense, the universalization of the world like the type of melting pot, about which very much was talked related to the American culture is not going on. It can be mentioned that today in the US more and more is used the metaphor of "salad", thereby emphasizing the preservation of the identity of each nation. Thus, we cannot always mean under globalization the westernization of the world.

Third, it is necessary to take into account that not always the exact western cultural forms are spread. There is also a reverse process, which manifests itself in the interest of the west to the Eastern religions, African culture, etc. Therefore, it is hardly legitimate to speak about globalization as a Westernization of the world.

What has been said, however, does not exclude the processes, which are connected with the unification of mankind into a single whole, i.e., what can be somehow called a *mega-community*.

It should be pointed out that it is a question of creating a global community in which existing national-state entities act as more or less independent structural units. However, the differences between the parts of this new formation do not disappear. Moreover, by some parameters, differentiation can increase.

Finally, the last of the aspects (or measurements) of globalization having been mentioned by B. Badie, “blurring” of the state borders, perhaps most reflecting this process (Badie, 2000). It is manifested in the intensification and increase in the volumes of various kinds of exchanges and interaction beyond the state frontiers, in all areas. As a consequence, one of the most important results is the formation of the world market of goods and services, the financial system, and the global communication network. In this connection, sometimes the concepts of *cross-border interaction or trans boundary processes* are pointed out.

If we talk about the spheres of development of cross-border processes, in the beginning, the borders of national states turned out to be the most transparent in the field economy on the European continent, when the restoration of the economies of various states having been destroyed during the Second World War has required close cooperation. This process then shifted to social, political, cultural, and other relationships, as well as to other regions.

Questions: how transparent the borders are; first of all, which countries are included in this process; what are the consequences and the other topics remain controversial. Nevertheless, several researchers, in particular P. Katzenstein, R. Keohane, and St. Krasner see in the process of transparency of the borders the essence of globalization itself. This point of view is shared by many authors (Keohane, Nye, 1977).

Transparency of interstate borders made the world interconnected. It is for this reason that some scholars, especially those working within the framework of neoliberalism, link globalization to interdependence, which, by J. Nye, determine whether participants or events in the system's parts affect each other (Keohane, Nye, 1977). A close understanding is found in the works of A. Giddens, who speaks about the intensification of social relations linking the different points with each other in such a way that what is going on in one place, is determined by the processes in a quite different part of the planet and reverse. Somehow can be considered, that there is the expansion and deepening of social networks and institutions in space and time by such way, so that from one side, on the daily activities of the people more growing influence have such events, that occur in other parts of the Earth, and on the other hand, the actions of local communities can have important global consequences. Developing this point of view can be underlined, that concretely the interdependence of different societies, their increasing, and not the leveling of the world at all “stairs” of the public reality create the essence of globalization (Giddens, 1995).

Transparency of interstate borders, caused by globalization, "turned" the previous ideas about the security, conflicts, their settlement; diplomacy, and other basic problems into classical studies of international relations. But most important, everywhere it has erased the rigid barriers that existed earlier between foreign and domestic policy. So, in the area of security, the immediate threat of one or a group of states, in the relation of one or several other states, goes into the background and gives the place for consideration to the problems of terrorism, separatism, nationalism, etc. The same can be said about the conflicts that from one side transferred from internal to interstate, or on the contrary. New conflicts require different approaches to their analysis and regulation.

Having opened the interstate borders, globalization has simplified the activities of the new, non-state actors in the world arena: TNCs, regions, and municipalities of the concrete states, nongovernmental organizations, thereby stimulating their activity and quantitative growth. But there is a reverse influence: the non-state actors themselves stimulate the development of globalization and the transparency of the borders.

Globalization affects all spheres of life. Th. Friedman notes that the global international system as a whole form both as domestic policy, also international relations, covering the markets, national states, technologies on such a level, which has never existed before (Friedman, 1999). At the same time, globalization does not deny the existence of Nation-states. The same E. Giddens emphasizes that one of the dimensions of globalization is the system of national states.

7.3. Manifestations of globalization

In the human sciences, the first were economists, who started actively writing about globalization, they paid special attention to the fact of forming a factually unified world market. According to the International Monetary Fund, globalization is just an increasing integration of the goods and services market, as well as capital. The global economy, says M. Castells, a Professor at the American University of Berkeley, "is an economy in which national economies are dependent on the activities of the globalized core. The latter include financial markets, international trade, and transnational production, to a certain extent science and technology, and related types of labor. In general, it is possible to define the global economy as an economy whose main components have the institutional, organizational and technological ability to act as integrity in real-time or in selected time on a planetary scale" (Castells, 1996).

American researcher T. McKeown notes that within the first 15-20 years after the Second World War, the main indicators of international trade were approximately the same as in the 1930s-1940s but did not reach the level of 1914. The situation changed dramatically in the early 1970s. If the import of the developed countries with the strong market economy in the period from 1880 to 1972 was from 10 to 16% of the GDP, then during 1973-1987 this index reached 22%. According to the different researcher's positions, until 2025 the average annual rate of world exports would increase to 7%. Especially great is the role of export of direct investment, which, according to the position of the various scientific institutions, will increase by this time, approximately 3 times (Lebedeva, 2007). Within the first two decades of the XXI Century, import of the developed countries in the structure of GDP prevailed 30% (World Bank, 2020).

In 1996, world import was implemented at the sum of about 5,2 Trillion USD, which is more than 2 trillion in comparison to 1986 (Lebedeva, 2007) and within the second decade of the XXI volume of the world, import prevailed 10 trillion USD (UNCTAD, 2020).

Concerning world merchandise exports, in 1983 it was 1 trillion 838 billion, in 1993 3 688 billion and 7 379 in 2003, 17 198 in 2019. Nominal trade values also rose in 2018 due to a combination of volume and price changes. World merchandise exports totaled US$ 19.48 trillion, up 10% from the previous year (WTO, 2019). In 2019 world trade in goods was valued at close to US$19 trillion, while trade in services accounted for about 6 trillion USD (UNCTAD, 2020).

Transnational corporations and banks are in many ways the founders of globalization. As early as 1878, an American firm "Zinger" – producer of the sewing machine had opened a branch plant in Scotland. Today, the Coca-Cola Corporation has production capacities in dozens of "international countries in all regions of the world." This is called a simple "internationalization" of production. But at the same time, it is growing a circle of companies of the global transnational "citizenship", capital of which is attracted from investors from different countries; Factories and plants are scattered across many states and often change their location depending on the world conjuncture; the sales network covers different continents, and the management network is essentially cosmopolitan. "Global factories" are producing an increasing number of "global goods" from computers to toothpaste, the nationality of which cannot be determined".

Globalization of the financial sector means a sharp increase in the role of centralization of financial markets by integrating cash flows. They easily move around the world with the help of computer networks. If in the first decade of XXI the daily volume of transactions was about a trillion Dollars, this number was significantly increased in the second decade of our century. For example, over-the-counter foreign exchange trading rose almost 30% to $6.6 trillion per day in April 2019, up from $5.1 trillion three years earlier (Forbes, 2019). In this connection, as R. O'Brien pointed out figuratively, for a financier, globalization means "the end of geography". A key role starts to play in such financial centers as London, New York, Tokyo. They promote centralization in the area of finance. At the same time, financial markets impose their own rules of conduct on both - states and individual politicians

How are all those processes in the field of finance explained? According to scientists Ch. Kegley and Eu. Wittkopf, three key factors contributing to the globalization of finance are identified: the first is tied with the 1973-1974 oil crises, followed by a sharp increase in financial flows, which stimulated significant growth in investments and the introduction of new managerial procedures into financial management. The second factor was the introduction in the minds and practice in the 1970s and 1980s of the ideas of the so-called "deregulation of the market", according to which its effectiveness increases if the government does not interfere with the functioning of the market. Finally, the third factor, which has influenced the globalization of Finance – the widespread introduction of computer technologies in such fields, which allowed increasing sharply financial interaction and contacts beyond the national borders (Kegley, Wittkopf. 2010-2011).

At the same time with the process of globalization of trade and finance, the labor market is also being globalized. Here again, a huge role is played by Transnational Corporations (TNC). TNC entirely provides about 50% of the world's industrial production. On TNC is coming more than 70% of the world trade. Within the period 1985-2015, according to the estimations of the World Bank, by transnational corporations more than 15 million jobs were created, among them about more than 10 million job places in developing countries (World Bank, 2016). The number of employees in the largest TNC`s consists of several hundreds of thousands – e.g., General Motors in 2015 employed 708 000 workers, Siemens 486 000, Ford Motor 464 000, etc. (Kordos, Vojtovic, 2016). At the same time, more and more, since the 1970s, there has been a tendency towards a division of labor on a worldwide scale. The well-known American economist L. Thurow in the journal "World Economy and International Relations" brings the characterized example of the existing global manufacturing networks. Particularly, he notes, that "the goods can be produced in any place of the World, depending on the fact, where production will be cheaper, and be on sale there, where it will be possible to sell them by the highest price. Production chains can acquire a global scale. For example, an accelerometer (a miniature semiconductor chip, which is used as a sensor for a Car safety pillow) can be worked out in Boston, produced and tested in the Philippines, packaged in Taiwan, and mounted in a BMW car in Germany with the purpose, that this machine to be successfully sold in Brazil " (Thurow, 1996).

Picture 11. The Global Network

Source: https://www.nationalgeographic.org/article/global-network/

The division of labor is accompanied by fierce competition, which forces manufacturers to constantly seek new reserves for the purpose, whose products would remain on the market. At the same time, the Migration of the labor force has considerably increased. Particularly, according to the estimations of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, in 2017 the world counted 258 million international migrants, which is about 3.4 percent of the global population (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2017). In this regard, together with some negative aspects of international migration, it is necessary to point out some positive tendencies of migration for developing countries. Particularly, according to the World Bank Group report for April 8, officially recorded annual remittance flows to low- and middle-income countries reached $529 billion in 2018, an increase of 9.6 percent over the previous record high of $483 billion in 2017. Global remittances, which include flows to high-income countries, reached $689 billion in 2018, up from $633 billion in 2017 (The World Bank, 2018).

The development of the media is also a manifestation of globalization. The events on which the accent is focused form the public opinion virtually in the whole world. This in turn leading to the fact that the National Governments and international organizations are forced to react to events in the media. This phenomenon has gained the name of the “CNN effect”, due to the Broadcasting Company, which broadcasts news 24 hours a day in many countries of the world. To that news are relied on the national television companies of the various states. Thus, the military actions against Iraq in 1991, or Libya in 2010 the world watched "from the picture" of CNN.

7.4. Development of new technologies – leading factor of the globalization process

The political development of the world, more or less, but always was connected with scientific-technical progress, which during history not only provided economic and social growth but factually formed the political system of the world. F. Fukuyama in his article “Second thoughts: The Last Man in a Battle”, which was published in 1999, has written, that the industrial epoch – the epoch of locomotive, railways, factories - created possible Weber`s theory about the centralized state (Fukuyama, 1999).

The scientific-technical development of the last XX century and the beginning of the XXI century radically changed the face of the usual state-centric model of the world. On the substitute to the industrial epoch, with its factories, enterprises, locomotives, and orientation on the natural resources (gas, oil, corn, forest, etc.), came other epoch, where the dominant position has obtained, from one side, high technologies and connected with their information, communication branches; from the other side – biotechnologies; the central resources has become the knowledge. Lester Carl Thurow called all of this as a whole “man-made brainpower industry” and J. Rosenau, without pathos noticed, that the high technologies accelerated the globalization process.

As a result of such changes, in the countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), more than 50% of GDP is produced in the High-Tech fields. In this regard, in the USA even has appeared the term – new economics, which determined the fields, which are oriented on scientific, high Technological spheres of industry.

Within the new technologies the following issues are considered:

- Information-communication technologies;

- Biotechnologies.

Information and communication technologies occupy the world with high speed. Thus, based on the dates of the US official sources, in 1998, the number of internet users was doubled every 100 days, as a result, 100 million people were connected to the internet, when only 3 million people were internet users in 1994. Concerning the internet users in the XXI Century, according to statistics, as of March 31, 2017, there are 3,731,973,423 internet users in the World, 49.6 % of the World population. At the same time, it should be pointed out that Internet users’ growth within 2000-2017 was about 933,8% (Internet World Stats, 2018). For comparison: for radio, it was necessary 38 years to spread information to over 50 million people, and for television 13 years.

Besides, as a result of the development of information technology, social networks are widely used around the world today. They are one of the best ways to communicate. Through them, from one end of the world to the other, it is easy to connect. Social networks have made community life more interesting, fun, and easy to understand. The term itself, a social network, is not so long ago. The term social network later moved from sociology to the Internet. On the Internet, it lists websites or services that users themselves enrich. There are many social networks widely spread in the world: facebook.com, twitter.com, myspace.com, instagram.com, etc. Representatives of different generations, especially young people, register on these sites, posting personal data, personal information, and photos on them. They unite in the circle of "friends", get to know each other, establish a connection based on the principle of common interests. The members of these associations are involved in various forms of communication and information exchange, through personal websites, blogs, discussion groups. The community is communicated to the whole world through social networks. Recently, social networks have become very popular all over the world. Soc. The networks that we use most actively today have their real functions, both positive and negative, statistical rating, etc. In addition to all of the above, it is also important to know which network has made the greatest contribution to the globalization of the world information space.

It is noteworthy that in the first quarter of 2021, the number of Facebook users worldwide amounted to 2 billion 850 million people.

As for Twitter, the program has 192 million daily users, of which 63% are citizens between the ages of 35 and 65. Interestingly, about 28% of Twitter users come from the United States. It is also interesting to note that only 34% of Twitter users are women and 66% are men.

As for the number of Instagram users, it is about 1 billion people. It is estimated that by 2023, about 1.2 billion people will benefit from this program.

It is also interesting to note that as a result of the Covid-19 pandemic spreading to our planet in 2020-2021, the number of online meetings (lectures, tutorials, conferences, seminars, workshops, business talks) has increased worldwide. Leading platforms in this regard - programs are "Zoom" (Zoom), "Google Meet" (Google Meet).

For example, according to the data for the first quarter of 2021, the "Zoom" platform is used by up to 300 million people every day, which is 2900% more than the date of December 31, 2019.

As for the Google Meet platform, the program was launched in 2017, and in April 2020 it had up to 100 million daily users.

Overall, it should be noted that social networking is the fastest way to spread information used to establish communication. Individuals and different organizations create their blogs, websites, different contact groups are formed for different purposes, etc. (Chitadze, 2022).

By the rapid way is developing an electronic trade. For example, the volume of the e-commerce market grew by 13% in 2017, and its turnover amounted to $ 29 trillion; the number of online shoppers increased by 12% (there were 1.3 billion people) (UNCTAD, 2019).

Information for consideration

It seems that new technologies not only format the new world but also change ideas about our planet. Thus, if earlier the world was described by metaphors, which were taken from classical mechanics, physics, and chemistry, where the core and periphery were the main structural elements, then for its forming structure the samples from the sphere of already new technology are more similar - the world appears as complex Web network on the example of the Internet.

Question for consideration

Compare metaphors about the structure of the world, for example, the theory of world systems, which was developed before the active introduction of new technologies, and ideas about the future structure of the world according to James Rosenau.

Picture 12. Digital Globalization

Source: https://www.newamerica.org/oti/events/digital-globalization-the-new-era-of-global-flows-and-what-it-means-for-the-united-states/

It is no dough, that the development of electronic trade by the agency of the internet introduces serious and significant changes in the organization of trade of those firms, which produce the goods and services. The traditional management of expenses, which are based on the analysis of the used resources, more and more give way to the management of the relations with clients. Under those circumstances' entrepreneurs – suppliers of goods and services concentrate their efforts on keeping the trust from the client's side, by offering to them an additional service and at the same time are trying to be more adapted to the disappearance of borders.

It is becoming a usual event that the high technologies began to gain a legal form. For example, in several US states, it is introduced the concept of recognition as a juridical norm the electronic signature. Analogical questions and as a whole the general problems, which are connected with the legal aspects of the determined electronic trade, are considered in such international organizations, as World Trade Organization, Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD, International Chamber of Commerce, ICC, etc.

Information for consideration

One of the leading American journalists, the observer of "New York Times" Thomas Friedman pays attention to the fact, that the symbols of the bipolar world were a wall, which was dividing the world, and also "hotline" between Moscow and Washington, which was allowing superpowers, at least to the determined time, to control the development of the “dividing” World. Symbol of the end of the XX Century, as he considers, become the internet, with the help of which, all participants of the international community “manage” the world and at the same time, nobody has general control over them. Due to it, if during the epoch of the cold war the traditional question was focused on the fact, how many and which nuclear warheads possessed this and another superpower, today the same question sounds by different way? How successful is your modem?

Friedman Th. L. The Lexus and the olive tree: Understanding Globalization, N.Y. 1999

Question for consideration

What do you think, what can be the symbol of the future?

The influence of *biotechnology* on political processes is less noticeable. What is done in this field, first of all, today is expressed as a curiosity of the experiences of scientists, like the ship Dolli or in fighting against the production of genetically changed products.

However, biotechnologies promise to resolve many problems in the field of health care, open principally new opportunities to fight against hunger, create new types of production, increase the length of life, etc. But at the same time, they provoke new challenges, particularly, which are connected with fact, to determine how secured for the health are those products, which are received as a result of the using the biotechnologies; how are the moral and ethical aspects of the interference in biological development, will the humanity be faced before the problems of the using the biotechnologies; how will be reflected the economic production of genetically changed products on those people, who are oriented on the production and consumption of the natural products; will the discoveries in the field of biotechnology be used by the totalitarian states and criminal groups for the control of the people's behavior. The last problem is especially actual from a political point of view. The consequences of the development of biotechnology, its influence on the political structures of the world, can become more important than the consequences of using high technologies. About it, particularly has been written by F. Fukuyama in his article: “Second Thoughts: The Last Man in a Bottle”.

The problem of new technologies, due to their significant importance for the political development of the world, attracts the leading political activists. For the first time, the problem of new technologies was in the center of attention during the meeting of Great 7 in 2000 at the Ireland Okinawa. At the 55th anniversary of the Foundation of UN (“Millennium Assembly”) in the same 2000 year, Secretary-General Kofi Annan noticed that the consequences of the development of information technologies, internet, electronic trade, will have the same significance, as a result of the industrial revolution.

7.5. Ambiguity and non-equality of the globalization processes

Globalization is a comparatively contradictory process, which has many different consequences. In the phenomena of modern globalization together with the positive moments, there are several negative ones. Former Secretary-General of the United Nations Coffee Annan paid attention to the fact that the “profits of globalization are clear: More rapid economic growth, higher standard of living, new opportunities. However, in the contemporary period the negative reaction, because those benefits are distributed in a non-equal way" (UN Social Summit, 2000).

Two parameters: nonequality of globalization and its bad management – causes the biggest agitation. First mostly is connected with the objective processes, which are going on in our world and at the determined stage of the world's socio-economic development. The second parameter is mostly determined by subjective factors. From this, how humanity will be able to take under its control the globalization processes, is dependent on its future development.

Globalization does not present itself equally in all countries and regions of the world and not by all the aspects at the same time. In one group of the countries globalization, first of all, covers the economic sphere; at the other by the more rapid way is going on the process of the introduction of new, modern technologies. Thus, in South Africa from the beginning, the wide distribution was gained through the system of the distribution of cash machines (ATM), and also cell phone networks. At the same time, the standard of living of the African population was still very low. The majority of the basic population did not use not only modern technologies but even the usual telephones.

In connection with the geographic inequality of the globalization process, the Swedish researcher A.E. Anderson suggested the idea of the "Globalization Gate". Its content is connected with the fact that the different regions and cities are ready and trying different ways to enter into the globalization process. Thus, Canadian Vancouver is the multifunctional center of the North American Region, which connects three continents, and Hong Kong – the regional strategic net of the transnational industrial companies (Davitashvili, 2020).

Many countries in the world, because of several reasons (for example political isolation and self-isolation, technological or economic opportunities, etc.), Are at the periphery of the global processes. Even more, as a result of the high speed of modern globalization, which is determined first of all by technological capabilities, the difference between countries and different regions, which have the leading positions in the process of modern globalization with the other parts of the world is becoming more and more significant. It is going on the division of the population on those people, who use the results of globalization and on those, for whom those results are not accessible. As a result, it is seen as the new type of formation of polarization in the modern world. From one side, the new centers are created, where the new intellectual forces are concentrated, new "intellectual branches" are developing, to which the new financial capital is "attracted". On the other side – there are criminalized spheres with a low level of education and living standards, which are outside the processes of modern communication and globalization in general.

From the territorial point of view, those different "worlds" have some networks. On the global level, it is formed by the developed "North" and developing "South" (on this difference the world community especially actively pays attention to those scholars, who work in the world system paradigm). However, inside of the comparatively developed "North" are created their "elite traces" in face of mega policies (for example Silicon Valley), policy, and even urban blocks. But at the same time, there are created "islands" of outcasts, which are formed mostly from immigrants, who travel in the economically developed states to find jobs. From its turn, developed countries try to secure themselves, by creating barriers on the way of inflow of population from the countries of the "third world". In this regard, the French author O. Dolfius writes, "globalization – it is not only the opening of borders but their closure because the whole misery of the world is not to be transferred to those countries, which consider themselves richer and more privileged" (Chitadze, 2011).

Polarization inside of the various countries, also on the line "North-South" is gradually strengthening. According to several experts, In the USA, the fifth of families concentrate 80% of the national wealth. But, more clearly polarization is seen in developing countries. For example, the incomes of the 10% of the richest families in Nigeria for 80 times prevail the incomes of the 10% of the poorest families (Maksakovski, 2009). As a result, those countries are faced with instability, strengthening of the internal conflicts, bad management, and further back from the countries of the developed "North".

It is more clearly a picture of the differences in the living standards between developed countries of the "North" and poor countries of "South". At the same time, this gap is gradually increasing, especially during the last years, due to the development and introduction of new technologies, which brought to the digital divide. It is not by accident, that during the gradual introduction of the internet, former US President William Clinton at the economic forum in Davos (January 2000), paid attention to the fact and predicted, that those countries, which will use the internet technologies, will successfully enter to the XXI Century (World Economic Forum, 2000). Those countries, who will ignore this success, unfortunately, will not be able to be developed. In recent years, the problem of the technological gap has attracted the big attention of different countries and organizations. On the global level, the resolving of this problem is intensively involved in the United Nations.

Non-equality of the globalization development by geographic parameters brings to the strengthening the positions of its opponents (anti-globalists). It is seen as an attempt to prevent themselves from the globalization processes by the way of finding the specifics of its region, its identity. As a result, it is going on the acceleration of the regional or local aspects, which gained the name "regionalization" or "localization" of the modern world. One author determines it as a tendency, which acts equally with the globalization process, others are declined to consider, that localization and regionalization of the world is also the example of globalization, but from those points of view the tendency of the increasing the differences does not take the humanity to the "automatic division of the whole".

The differentiation is going on by such parameters, as fields of economy. One sphere is comparatively easily adapted to the new conditions and accepts technological innovations. To those spheres belong first of all the banking system, which practically fully is computerized. At the same time, the list of the branches of the industry due to the various reasons are not able to be adapted to new technologies and due to it, are remaining as traditionally oriented fields of economy. Accordingly, the people, who are involved in those fields, who have no connections with computers, the internet, and other innovations during professional activities, in general, are less adapted to new technologies used in daily life.

Not very seldom, those people, who are outside of the globalized processes in both, developed and developing countries, resist those processes and by this way try to abolish the differences. It has appeared in various forms: on the mass level – in anti-globalist demonstrations and meetings, which often are going on in such economically developed states as the USA, Canada, Switzerland, etc.; and on the level of governments of particular countries – in the isolationist policy. In general, significant differences in the level of development of the concrete regions, countries, and groups of the population can become the sources of potential conflicts. The inequality of globalization by the various parameters gave the reason to American author M. Castells to speak about the "global asymmetry" of the modern world (Castels, 2009).

According to the point of view of U. Beck, in his research under the title: "What is it Globalization?", he mentions, that "national state did not become old, even more, it is impossible without it for the purpose to provide the internal policy and geopolitics, political sources of law, etc. The purpose of the national state is also to politically form the globalization process and regulate it transnationally" (Beck, 2001).

Question for the consideration

How do you think, is it possible to manage globalization, is it necessary to do it – or is it the spontaneous process, which is not subject to regulation at all?

Their difficulties have emerged before those who are involved in the globalization process. High speed of activities, the huge volume of information, the increasing the "price of the mistake" (for example the mistake of an operator, via operators mistake can cause the death of more than several hundred people) take the people to psychological overloading, depressions, growth of mental kind of illnesses. This factor especially sharply affects industrially developed countries of the "North".

Another group of problems is connected with the management of the globalization processes. As a result of the transparency of the borders under globalization conditions, governmental agencies are becoming more and more difficult to control political, economic, social, and other processes. The examples can serve the financial crisis in 1997-1998 in South – East Asia and Russia when the states were not able to resist the radical devaluation of the national currencies.

The management with those processes is turned out especially complex if we take into consideration that globalization promoted the appearance on the global level not only of concrete international governmental and nongovernmental or commercial organizations and physical persons but various terrorist and organized crime groups. They have an opportunity to use the results of globalization in their interests. Especially dangerous this factor is in the information sphere, where the danger of information terrorism exists. Talking about management, it is necessary to point out that the delivery of information with high speed and its distribution can create the problem of the possible "multiplication" of the mistakes, about the consequences of which is difficult to make any kind of prognosis.

Finally, the problem of management and control also has the opposite side. The modern sources of information and communication give an opportunity not only for the criminal groups but to the authorities to invade by the easy way in the personal, private life of citizens, by the agency to detect their movement, payments through the cell phones, plastic cards, emails and other sources of communication.

As a whole, the problem of the management of globalization processes in a wide scene is formulated as a regulation of contemporary international relations and world political processes. Here emerged, from one side the question about the coordination activities of the various actors, from another – about the foundation of the active supranational institutes and mechanisms for the management.

Thus, “Globalization” is a meaning that has offered a wide choice of response, several terms have been quite so much used or abused. The term has been presented in different ways as a period, process, a condition, and even as a force. The resulting attributions and acknowledgments are diverse and always invite confusion. For sure, there is one side that will willingly argue for globalization’s advantages, setting it up as a solution to all the contemporary political, economic and social organization problems. And there is an opposite party, who would equally loudly and convincingly argue that globalization has negatively reflected on the development of international society, first of all by establishing inequalities among the different states.

Keywords

Globalization

Postindustrial epoch

Information Revolution

Techno globalism

McDonaldization of the World

Global Village

World Government

Westernization of the World

Mega-society

Trans-border interrelations

Trans-border processes

CNN Effect

New Economy

Information-Communication Technology

Biotechnology

Technological Difference

Questions for Consideration

What are the main approaches for the understanding globalization processes

Which concrete spheres occur in globalization?

What is the role of new technologies in the world's globalization processes?

By which parameters can the non-equality of globalization?

To which aspect is connected the management problem under the conditions of Globalization?

Practicum

By using the internet resources, please show the differences of telecommunication and information networks in the different countries and regions. What are the main consequences that can emerge?

Chapter 8.

Integration and democratization of the world as tendencies of the modern stage of its development

8.1. integrating processes in the modern world

8.1.1 approaches for understanding the integration processes

Globalization, being the central trend of the modern stage of world development, is accompanied by integration processes, or by integration. It’s not by chance that one of the approaches to globalization suggests considering it as continuous in the historical plan expansion of that space, on which happens the intensive interaction of people. Nevertheless, integration is only a part of the globalization process, albeit one of the most significant. First of all, speaking about integration, it's necessary to keep in mind that it implies the rapprochement of state actors. Non-state actors usually are not considered when studying integration processes or at least they end up on the periphery of research attention. In this regard more accurately will be arguments about the inclusion of this or that country in integration, rather than globalization processes, as the state is integrated entirely based on the signing of the intergovernmental agreements. Globalization, firstly, does not imply such agreements, and secondly, it can flow differently for various regions of one state. Alone internal regions of the state are successfully included in globalization processes, others end up as outsiders. With extreme differences, the inclusion of different internal regions in globalization raises a threat of breakdown of the state.

Another important point when analyzing integration is that this process involves cooperation between states in different spheres, areas, and forms. Respectively, there’s division and different kinds of cooperation. Thus, it can be indicated on the following basis for identifying the concrete types of integration:
¨ Political, economic, scientific-technical, etc. (by subject);
¨ Global, regional, sub-regional integration (on a geographic basis).

In this case, it can be noted another version, that cooperation and integration can go “in breadth”, as a result of an increase in the number of participants in the process, also “in-depth”, through intensification of interaction in different spheres among the same participants.

The practice of interstate cooperation has been existing for a long time. However, only in the second half of the twentieth century did interstate cooperation on a large scale acquire constant forms. This, in the first place, is connected with the intensification of cooperation, enlargement of its spheres, and development of integrational processes, which demanded the establishment of intergovernmental formations and institutions. Therefore, another important point, characterizing integration, is not only cooperation, but the creation of a mechanism for interstate cooperation, in other words – the institutionalization of cooperation. In this case, integration is, firstly, closely related to the development of intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), which offer the formation of interstate decision-making mechanisms. Through joint institutions, the integration processes are carried out. Secondly, integration is considered in two points of view: as a process and as a result of the interaction of the states.

What encourages states to integrate? First of all – the existence of common problems, which are easier to solve and only possible, by joint efforts. The development of the world at the end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century led to the strengthening of international contacts, the interdependence of the world, especially in the economic field, which contributes to integration processes and promotes the creation of various kinds of intergovernmental organizations. This interdependence is closely tied to the growth of global problems, and for its solving the concerted action by various states is required.

Another reason encouraging integration processes is the interest of “medium” and “small” states in increasing their international influence. For these countries, it’s easier to impact the international processes with combined efforts rather than by acting alone. With the example of the European Union, it can be indicated, that if the founder members of the European community were 3 “small” and 3 “big” states, from 1973 – 5 “small” and 4 “big”, in the 1980s – respectively, 8 and 4, in 1995 – 11 “small” and 4 “big”, then among the new members, who joined EU in 2004, 9 countries were “small”, except Poland, which can be regarded as “medium” state. In 2007, and later in 2013 all three new members of the EU were “small” states. The State, by joining the international organization formally loses several functions, but simultaneously acquires an additional number of other functions, which is especially important for the “small” states (Chitadze, 2016).

What is integration? The Realist school is prone to considering the integration processes and activity of international organizations as a certain product of state interactions, which fundamentally does not go beyond their external politics. In other words, the emergence and development of intergovernmental organizations, according to this view, did not fundamentally change the nature of international relations.

Unlike realism, the approaches to integration and international organizations were formed in the framework of the liberal tradition, where these questions received the most development. In them IGOs act by new formations. Theoretical understanding of the integration processes starts in the middle of the twentieth century and is connected with the liberal tradition, in the framework of which two theoretical schools (approaches) were formed: *Functionalism/neo-functionalism and federalism.*

David Mitrany is considered to be the father of functionalism, who in 1943 published his work: “A Working Peace System”. In it, he analyzed the reasons, because which the League of Nations failed, and concluded that integration processes cannot start with political aspects. In this case, the state begins to fear for their sovereignty. D. Mitrany focuses on the development of economic, social, scientific, and technical integration that has to be from the start. Political integration remains at the second level. D. Mitrany and his followers insisted that it’s important for people to work out the habit of cooperation and show the benefits of joint actions (Mitrany, 1966).

Initially, functionalism was not connected with the analysis of how transnational corporations develop and focused attention on interstate cooperation. However, afterward, several types of research have concluded that the activity of TNC, which not often leads to the economic integration of various states, was developing in fact according to the logic of functionalism. Representatives of TNC often perceive the world holistically and see themselves as cosmopolitans. All this contributes, according to the functionalist point of view, to expanding of national boundaries and creation of a single economic culture, in the conclusion of which state policy more and more becomes at the same time both - internal and external, thus, *intermestic*.

Until recently, the process of economic integration was considered by many scholars as a passage strictly “ascending” to several steps. It has been determined the following aspects:

1. The creation of a free trade zone, when member countries remove customs barriers and quantitative restrictions in mutual trade. Usually, is taken into account the gradual mutual cancellation of custom fees and other restrictions.
2. The formation of the customs union, within which happens the movement of goods and services at a single customs tariff and by a uniform foreign trade policy about the third countries.
3. Formation of the single market, which includes the elimination of barriers between countries not only in mutual trade but also in the movement of capital and labor. At this stage happens the development of policies for the development of industries and sectors of the economy, common to all integrating countries. Also, general funds form for social and regional development of backward regions, including in the integration association.
4. Organization of economic and monetary union. Previously existing forms of integration are complemented by member countries conducting the unified economic and monetary policy, by the creation of systems of international regulations of social-economic processes.
5. Final, fifth, stage was defined as the transition to political integration and creation of common political institutions.

In recent times, this integration scheme is referred to with more care, meaning that this process, firstly, is not necessarily going in the progressive direction – it can be “slowed down” on this or that stage; Secondly, economic integration does not always lead to political, as many thoughts earlier, highlighting the fifth stage. Exactly the political sphere turns out to be the most complicated and painful in processes of integration, which can be seen in the example of EU, where the question about Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) was fixed in the document of Maastricht Treaty, signed in 1992 (EU, 1990-1999). But still, this area in the EU remains less developed compared to others, although, in recent years significant shifts are emerging.

All these points are marked by the opponents of functionalism. Also, the thesis of functionalism, that political differences will disappear as cooperation develops is criticized. In practice, quite often it’s the other way around – it's not technical and economic cooperation that affects policy, but a political decision leads to the development of cooperation in a particular area. For example, it was precisely for political reasons that the USA left UNESCO during the concrete period.

Representatives of the federalism school, opposite from the previous one, moved political integration to the forefront, believing that international relations must be built on transferring some of the powers to supranational entities from the outset. This direction is characterized by a special emphasis on the creation of political institutions. If the integration process of functionalists is about the principle of "from down-up" then according to federalists, on the contrary – "From top to down".

Federalists, representatives of which are, in particular, researchers like A. Etzioni, A. Spinelli, etc. generally received the least distribution (Etzioni, 2001). Nevertheless, the ideas of federalism became noticeable from the first general elections of the European Parliament in 1979 (1979 Direct Elections).

Within the frameworks of federalism, the ideas of "world governance" were actively developing at one time, which had to unite in the common state and remove, in the opinion of the adherents of this school, inter-state conflicts from the agenda. Ideas about world governance met stiff resistance from the side of different kinds of researchers and politicians, who emphasized the necessity to preserve national and state identity. Later, many works appeared, which showed the failure, at least shortly, to implement these ideas. At the same time the concept of "world governance" stays popular among several non-governmental organizations, which see its realization as their task.

Under the influence of Federalism, functionalism received further development and it exists in the modern world in the form of neo-functionalism. This direction, based on the main premises of functionalism, included some features of federalism. In neo-functionalism practical problems are prioritized in the spheres of health, technological change, legal and other issues that matter to the whole of humanity. Under this, the importance of political decisions is emphasized. Exactly they – the issues that are important on the global scale – contribute, according to this point of view, to integration processes and push the members to the further unification in the sphere of economy. Neo-functionalists usually use the development of the European Union as a model to illustrate their theoretical views.

The integration processes themselves are far from simple ones. The national interest of some states clashes with the interest of other states, units, regions. To this should be added that levels of integration are usually on the different stages of economic and social development. Therefore, despite the mutual benefit from integration, the contribution of some in particular spheres is greater than others. The heterogeneity of interests of various groups within integrating countries means that someone benefits from integration to a greater degree, therefore is interested in it, while other segments of the population or groups are losers. The latter oppose integration processes and put pressure on government structures.

There are other costs of integration. As in the case of globalization, not only the positive aspects that countries possess are integrated, but also the negative ones. So, in the early 1990s, Venezuela discovered that after the opening of the border with Colombia, its territory was used for drug trafficking.

All this compels, along with the traditional theories of integration: functionalism, neo-functionalism, federalism, to discuss problems and, accordingly, to propose theoretical schemes related to the limitation of integration processes. S. Huntington, in an article published in 1996 in the journal "Foreign Affairs", "The West Unique, Not Universal," expressed doubt about the possibility and expediency of any kind of universal "integration" (Huntington, 1996). In his opinion, integration processes should be limited within the framework of civilization. The world, according to the researcher, is becoming more modernized (using modern technologies, with an emphasis on economic development, etc.), but at the same timeless "western", does not accept the values inherent in Western European civilization, as well as its culture and religion. Based on this premise, the United States, for example, as the author believes, should closely cooperate and, accordingly, be part of integration formations with its West European partners, which will help preserve and develop this civilization and to which they all belong, and keep their distance from other civilizations. In a narrower sense, if we are talking for example, about the enlargement of NATO, this organization, according to S. Huntington, should closely cooperate and include such countries close in civilizational relations as the Baltic countries, Slovenia, but not those oriented to Islam or Orthodoxy. In the future, NATO's relations with the "distant" in civilizational terms - Turkey and Greece, according to S. Huntington, will become weakened (Huntington, 1996).

Is the principle of civilization a limiting factor in the processes of development and integration? It seems that such a statement would be a simplification of modern international processes. Moreover, several facts, such as the active role of Japan in the activities of the seven leading countries of the world, according to S. Huntington, belonging to different civilizations, are poorly explained (Huntington, 1996).

At the same time, it is obvious that on the path of increasing integration, when these processes in one area stimulate it in others, which can be called spillover, the opposite processes are also possible, which can be named as spillback, when the regional integration scheme fails, as happened in the case of attempts of integration in East Africa. A regional integration structure can also stagnate, which can be called spill around. Under these conditions, integration in certain areas begins to contradict the processes which are taking place in other areas.

It is important!

For the development of the regional integration processes its necessary the following conditions: geographic location, the stable economic development, similarities of the political systems, positive view of the population on integration – public support of the integration processes, internal political stability, similarity of the historic and social development, comparative forms of governance and economic systems, comparative uniformity in the field of culture, close level of the military development and economic resources, common understanding of the foreign threats, comparative structure of the governmental agencies, possessing the experience for cooperation.

Different processes, leading to the opposite in comparison with the integration of the results – the disintegration of the states or interstate formations, is described in the literature as "disintegration". It's important to underline that it, just like the term "integration", refers primarily to interstate relations. In 1991 when the USSR collapsed, in the place of which 15 new states emerged (Chitadze, 2017), some international organizations also collapsed, in which the Soviet Union played a key role (in particular the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, Warsaw Treaty Organization). In the 1990s the states such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia also disintegrated. In the first case, the disintegration was painful, with several armed conflicts, in the second case it was held gently - peacefully, getting the name of “velvet divorce”. Among newly formed countries, strong separatist tendencies were observed, for example, in the case of Moldova (problem of Transnistria), Georgia (Abkhazia and Tskhinvali District - so-called South Ossetia), Crimea (Ukraine), Azerbaijan (Nagorno Karabakh), Russia (Chechnya), etc.

Relations between integration and disintegration processes should rather be viewed similarly to the existing one between globalization and regionalization. The world after the Cold War is characterized by many intrastate and interstate relations. This restructuring proceeds primarily along the path of integration processes, which is especially clearly seen in the example of the development of the European Union, but at the same time does not exclude the disintegration of the former unions and formations.

8.1.2 European integration as an example of the most profound integration processes in the modern world

In recent years integration processes have been intensively taking place in various regions of the world – in North America, in particular, in the framework of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), in Asia such organizations as ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) was established (Karumidze, 2004). However, the integration processes have achieved the greatest degree of development on the European continent within the framework of the European Union (EU). The main discussion in the EU countries goes just about how far integration can and should go: what should remain under the jurisdiction of the national state, and what should be included in the responsibility of supranational entities.

The idea of the unification of Europe to prevent war was expressed even during the Second World War. After its finishing, one of the active supporters of integration processes in Europe was French foreign minister R. Schumann, who, together with another French author, political analyst J. Monnet, largely laid the foundations for the future development of Europe. The first practical step was the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), designed to coordinate and stimulate the economic development of six European countries – Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and France. The strengths of these countries were directed at facilitating the trade of coal and steel inside the “six” (Kapanadze, Gogolashvili, 2006).

The next step in the development of European integration is connected to the Rome Treaty of 1957 when the same six countries decided to transfer the principles of cooperation that were laid earlier to a different sphere – nuclear energy – and formed the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). The European Economic Community (EEC) was created as well, having a name known as the Common Market. A free trade zone was formed, where tariffs and restrictions on the movement of goods within the borders of the EEC were abolished. ECSC, Euratom, and EEC formed the European Community (EC), which at the beginning of the 90th gained the name European Union (Kapanadze, Gogolashvili, 2006).

In 1981 the single European act was adopted, which set a goal for 1992 to create a real common market with free movement of goods, capital, and labor and services (Kapanadze, Gogolashvili, 2006).

Especially intensively went through the integration processes in Europe after the end of the Cold War (the end of 1980s – the beginning of the 1990s). A significant event in this period was the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, determining a new stage of development of European integration. of great importance was the creation of the Schengen group (zone), which facilitated visa and customs movements inside Europe, and also the transformation of the European Economic Community into a more integrated structure – the European Union (Chochua, 2007).

All the processes of modern European integration is characterized by multidimensionality. They simultaneously cover various spheres – economic, political, humanitarian, etc. in addition, they are characterized by a feature such as a tendency to expand the integration members.

The crisis in Kosovo gave impetus to the development of the EU in the field of common foreign and security policy. There was a decision to create expeditionary forces numbering 60,000 people. Agreement in Nice in 2001 envisaged the formation of European rapid reaction force by 2003 (NATO, 2006).

It is interesting!

The **European Union** (**EU**) is a political and economic union of 27 (the UK officially left the organization in 2020) member states that are located primarily in Europe. It has an area of 4,475,757 km2 (1,728,099 miles2) and an estimated population of about 513 million. The EU has developed an internal single market through a standardized system of laws that apply in all member states in those matters, and only those matters, where members have agreed to act as one. EU policies aim to ensure the free movement of people, goods, services, and capital within the internal market, enact legislation in justice and home affairs and maintain common policies on trade, agriculture, fisheries, and regional development. For travel within the Schengen Area, passport controls have been abolished. A monetary union was established in 1999 and came into full force in 2002 and is composed of 19 EU member states which use the euro currency.

The EU and European citizenship were established when the Maastricht Treaty came into force in 1993. The EU traces its origins to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and the European Economic Community (EEC), established, respectively, by the 1951 Treaty of Paris and the 1957 Treaty of Rome. The original members of what came to be known as the European Communities were the Inner Six: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and West Germany. The Communities and their successors have grown in size by the accession of new member states and in power by the addition of policy areas to their remit. The latest major amendment to the constitutional basis of the EU, the Treaty of Lisbon, came into force in 2009. No member state has left the EU or its antecedent organizations (Greenland, an autonomous territory within Denmark, left the Communities in 1985). However, the United Kingdom signified its intention to leave after a membership referendum in June 2016 and is negotiating its withdrawal.

Containing 7.3% of the world population, the EU in 2017 generated a nominal gross domestic product (GDP) of 19.670 trillion US dollars, constituting approximately 24.6% of global nominal GDP. Additionally, all 27 EU countries have a very high Human Development Index, according to the United Nations Development Program. In 2012, the EU was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. Through the Common Foreign and Security Policy, the EU has developed a role in external relations and defense. The union maintains permanent diplomatic missions throughout the world and represents itself at the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the G7, and the G20. Because of its global influence, the European Union was described in 2006 as an emerging superpower.

Through successive enlargements, the European Union has grown from the six founding states (Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands) to the current 27. Countries accede to the union by becoming a party to the founding treaties, thereby subjecting themselves to the privileges and obligations of EU membership. This entails a partial delegation of sovereignty to the institutions in return for representation within those institutions, a practice often referred to as "pooling of sovereignty".

To become a member, a country must meet the Copenhagen criteria, defined at the 1993 meeting of the European Council in Copenhagen. These require a stable democracy that respects human rights and the rule of law; a functioning market economy; and the acceptance of the obligations of membership, including EU law. Evaluation of a country's fulfillment of the criteria is the responsibility of the European Council. No member state has yet left the Union, although Greenland (an autonomous province of Denmark) withdrew in 1985. Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty provides the basis for a member to leave the Union. Since mid-2017, the United Kingdom has been negotiating terms for its withdrawal from the EU.

Six countries are recognized as candidates for membership: Albania, Iceland, North Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia, and Turkey, though Iceland suspended negotiations in 2013. Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo are officially recognized as potential candidates, with Bosnia and Herzegovina having submitted a membership application.

The four countries forming the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) are not EU members but have partly committed to the EU's economy and regulations: Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway, which are a part of the single market through the European Economic Area, and Switzerland, which has similar ties through bilateral treaties. The relationships of the European microstates, Andorra, Monaco, San Marino, and Vatican City include the use of the euro and other areas of cooperation.

A half-century history of the development of European integration gives us materials for the theoretical understanding of this experience. It can be identified three fundamental principles of the concept and practice of EU integration construction:

- Integration is not a goal but a means.
- Integration requires gradualism.

•	Integration needs an adequate mechanism.

Map. 5. EU Member states

Source: https://op.europa.eu/en/web/general-publications/maps

In the framework of the first principle, there are 2 aspects. Firstly, integration implies that all participants benefit, since their interests are easier to realize with joint efforts. In addition, they also contribute to the general construction, jointly use products, and exclude coercive methods of decision-making. Secondly, integration does not solve all existing problems. It’s a means, it can only help in solving the problem.

The principle of gradual integration implies that this process is long and consists of several stages. In the economic field, they are the same as were listed, but with the reservations made: the creation of a free trade zone of the customs union; the formation of a common market; the formation of economic and monetary union. Haste in the transition to the next phase turns into failures, which is also shown by the experience of the EU. For example, in 1970, a plan for the formation of a monetary union was proposed, providing for the introduction of a single currency in 1980. But it was never destined to come true precisely because the EU was not ready for such steps.

It is also important to formulate five basic principles for the functioning of EU institutions:

· The presence of interstate and supranational institutions, which allows maintaining a balance between national and common interests;
· Separation between EU competencies and national institutions. The decision in some areas is determined by supranational institutions (agriculture, trade, monetary policy), in others – at the same time national and supranational (in particular, regional. Scientific and technical, social policy). Third – the EU only coordinates the actions of its members (economic, cultural policy).
· Variety of types of decisions made: obligatory and advisory, freedom in choosing the means of the implementation at the national level;
· The primacy of EU law over national legal norms within the framework underlying treaties;
· Participation of the EU member states and support of its integration processes.

European integration experience is being intensively studied with a view to its possible application in other regions. However, research and practice show that, despite the presence of common laws, integration processes in each case have their specifics. The future will show whether the integration processes in the world will evolve according to the same principles as this took place within the EU.

8.2 Democratization of the world

8.2.1. The concept of democratization and democratic "wave"

Various authors indicate democratization as a tendency of modern world development. At the same time, the concept itself in political science is mainly used in two meanings. The democratization, firstly, is understood as the indication of raising the number of democratic states; secondly, strengthening and developing democratic institutions and processes in different countries. The latter has special value for states that are in the process of transition to building a democratic state i.e., democratic transition. G. O'Donnel and Ph. Schmitter distinguishes the following steps in democratic transition: Liberalization, democratization, and consolidation (Schmitter, 2017).

And yet, in world politics, in contrast to political science, the notion of "democratization" is more often used in the first sense, as an increase in the number of democratic states. A more understanding of the democratization of the modern world is possible – as an expansion of the circle of participants in international cooperation. However, this approach is not yet well established in world politics.

There are different views and procedures for assessing which countries can be considered democratic. Disputes are often caused related to the states who are in the transition period, in which several signs of democratic development are present, while some other signs are not evident. However, in the most general form, according to the data of American researcher D. Caldwell, in 1941 approximately 25% of the states could be considered as democratic, and in 1996 their number already reached 40%, and in the second decade of the XXI Century – about 50%. If we take into account countries that are in the process of democratic transition, then this figure, according to the American institute Freedom House, which analyses democratic development in the world, can reach about 75% in the third and fourth decade of the XXI century (Freedom House, 2019). American researcher and editor-in-chief of Foreign Affairs, F. Zakaria, was writing that at the beginning of the 21-st century, 118 countries were democratic (Zakaria, 2003). In any case, no matter what specific figures will be taken as a basis, almost all authors agree with the fact that the number of democratic countries in the world is increasing. In this case, however, many researchers have several doubts, which will be discussed later.

The emergence of democratic states in the world was not linear. S. Huntington published in the "Journal of Democracy" an article called "Democracy's Third Wave", as well as a book "The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late of Twentieth Century", distinguishing periods in world history, associated with the development of democratization processes (Waves of Democratization), and peculiar democratic backsliding (Huntington, 1993). Some authors, such as R. Dix, pushing away from some specific events, indicate slightly different dates for the development of waves of democratization than S. Huntington. Or the events of late 1989 – early 1991 in Eastern Europe are distinguished in another fourth separate wave of democratization, for example by Ph. Schmitter (Schmitter, 1991). Nevertheless, in general, if we do not take into account the differences in approaches of various researchers, we can distinguish the following waves, or stages, of democratization.

The first wave of democratization is the longest, it lasted for a century and dates back to S. Huntington 1820-1920. During this "wave" more than 20 democratic states were formed (29 – according to S. Huntington and 21 – according to R. Dix) (Chitadze, 2016). These countries were characterized by parliamentary and party systems with wide voting rights. The first "wave" was followed by a "backsliding" from the main road of democratic development, which lasted from the second half of the 1920s through the first half of the 1940s. and is associated with the advent of fascism in several countries around the world (Huntington, 1991).

The second "wave" (mid-1940 – early 1960s) was caused by the defeat of fascism in the Second World War and the collapse of the colonial system after it comes, according to S. Huntington, a new regressive wave, during which several military and authoritarian regimes were formed (including in 1967 in Greece and 1973 – in Chile). In general, the second backsliding lasts from the early 1960s through the early 1970s (Huntington, 1991).

Finally, a new, third "wave" begins in the first half of the 1970s. democratic processes grip the Wester Europe (Greece – 1974, Portugal – 1975, Spain – 1977); Latin America (Dominican Republic – 1975, Honduras – 1982, Brazil – 1985, Peru – 1988, Chile – 1990 and others); Asia (Turkey – 1988, Philippines – 1986, South Korea – 1988); Eastern Europe (Hungary – 1989, Czechoslovakia – 1989, Poland – 1989, Bulgaria – 1989 Baltic states in 1991, etc.); Africa (In South Africa the first general elections were held in 1994) (Chitadze, 2016).

What causes the democratization processes? Different authors give different answers to the question about the cases contributing to this. Political scientists usually consider two groups of factors, variables:

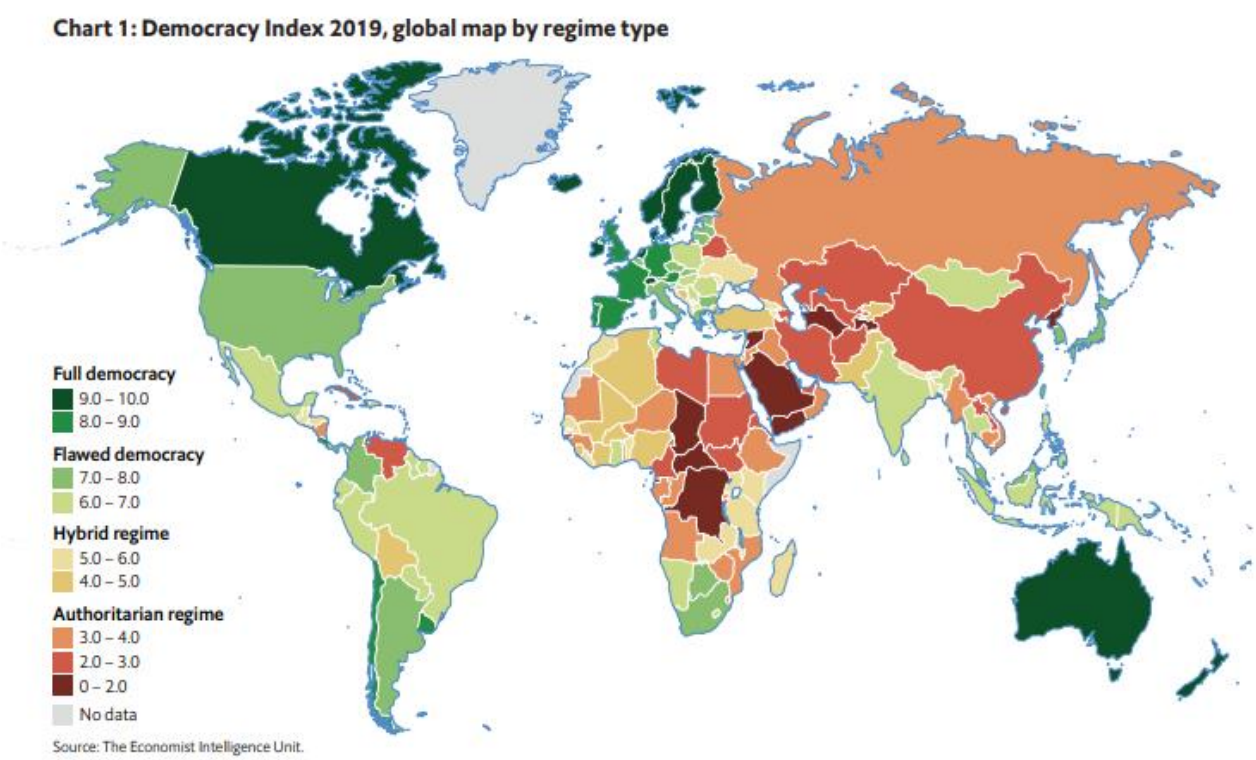
· Structural (independent variables) – the level of economic and social development, social–class processes, dominant values in society, etc.
· Procedural (dependent variables) – accepted decisions, personal characteristics of politicians, etc.

A detailed analysis of these two groups of factors is conducted by the researcher A. Y. Melville. Modified in the "funnel of causality" model, which was proposed by American author D. Campbell and his colleagues to analyze the behavior of the voter, he used it to study transition problems. At the same time in the very process of democratic transition A., Y. Melville highlighted the phases of the establishment and consolidation of democracy (Chitadze, 2016). Further, in the study of factors influencing the institution of democracy, he proposes "a gradual transition from predominantly structural to predominantly procedural analysis", and while studying the second phase - from micro to macro factors.

In political science, the external environment, the trends of world development are usually considered as one of the structural variables of the democratization process: how much does it contribute (or not) to this process? However, in the modern world, with an ever-closer interweaving of foreign and domestic policy, the international environment can act as a structural and procedural variable. And the latter seems to be more and more significant. Decision-making (which is a procedural variable) by the world community about this or that country can lead to the development of democratic processes in them. The UN has repeatedly adopted resolutions regarding the apartheid regime in South Africa, as well as the decision on sanctions, which was the factor influencing the country's refusal from the policy of apartheid and the holding of democratic elections in 1994.

The end of the twentieth century, which coincided with the third "wave" of democratization, which by several states, and by the degree of their involvement in democratic processes, is, perhaps, particularly turbulent, brought with its other trend of world development – globalization and integration of the world. All these processes strengthen each other. Following democratic principles and traditions for the big number of participants is a vital example. Staying out of the world "democratic club" in the modern globalizing world means to be a kind of an outcast. This encourages more and more new associations to be guided by democratic values.

Map. 6. Democracy Index, 2019



Source: https://blog.pressreader.com/public-libraries-have-an-important-role-in-sustaining-democracy

To deny the democratic path of development, state leaders are deliberately going, opposing their country to the rest of the world. In this context, one can view the process of democratic transformation at the end of the twentieth century precisely as a tendency of the political development of the world, in the implementation of which the non - endogenous (internal) factors are becoming more important (level of social-economic development, political processes in society, etc.) and exogenous regarding this state, i.e. international environment. Exactly this encourages democratic transformation.

The democratization of the late twentieth century gave the foundation to F. Fukuyama to talk about the end of history. In the sense that the historical development of humanity has made its choice in favor of democracy enlargement. His article has been criticized a lot. Objections were made by such statements as the forecast about the ending of the conflicts in the world in connection with the ending of ideological confrontation between East and West, linearity and uniformity of historical development, etc. however, the thesis about the processes of democratization as a common tendency, perhaps, was least contested. Indeed, if at the beginning of the twentieth century, a relatively small number of states could be considered as democratic, they not always take responsibility for the electoral and other rights (in several countries the rights of women and national minorities, also people without property were limited) in the start of the twenty-first century these problems turned out to be if not solve, solvable (Fukuyama, 1989).

However, it should be emphasized that democratization is not an unambiguous process. With particular clarity, this appeared as a result of the last “wave” of democratization, when illiberal democracies, hybrid regimes, and imitation of democracies were formed. Their essence lies in the fact that democratic institutions and processes in various states are used as an external form, sometimes used as a way to cover the undemocratic mechanisms for the realization of power. Perhaps, the term “illiberal democracies” has received the greatest distribution due to the work of F. Zakaria, published in 1997, in “Foreign Policy” journal. F. Zakaria pushes away the statement of R. Holbrooke, who in 1996, offered to imagine the example, that during free democratic elections in the country the candidate who openly confesses racist, fascists or separatists’ views and opposes a peaceful solution of the conflict, particularly in Yugoslavia is elected by population (Holbrooke, 1998). This leader democratically comes to power, but he professes undemocratic views and pursues a corresponding policy. F. Zakaria breaks this logic of reasoning and draws attention to the fact that the emergence of the so-called illiberal democracies is possible i.e., those who took only external attributes of democratic transformation. In addition, the number of these kinds of countries, as he wrote, had been increasing. In 1990 they were 22% of the total number of democratic states, and in 1997 – already 35% (Zakaria, 1997).

8.2.2. Theory of the Democratic Peace

The special interest in world politics as a scientific discipline is the analysis of the interaction of democratic states, which is reflected in the theory of the democratic world, which was mentioned when considering the theories of international relations. The origins of this theory go back to the thesis of Immanuel Kant about "perpetual peace." The philosopher put forward the hypothesis that democratic states will behave differently than non-democratic states in the international arena. Focusing on better moral principles, these countries will establish peace with each other (Kant, 1795). The idea of I. Kant was developed in the twentieth century, has emerged as a theory of a democratic world. First, several authors engaged in studying the problems of the world drew attention to the fact that developed democracies are not at war with each other, confirming this based on statistical analysis. But immediately began to raise objections. In general, they boiled down to the following provisions.

1. The history of the interaction of democracies is too small to draw general conclusions based on statistical data.

2. There is no clear definition of which states can be called developed democratic, and it is not always clear what does it mean, "they do not fight with each other."
Discussing within the framework of these two main arguments, opponents of the theory of a democratic world cite historical examples, which, in their opinion, contradict the thesis that "democracies do not fight each other." For example, during the Second World War, Great Britain declared war on Finland, although there was no armed action. Is it possible to consider this fact of declaring war as its actual conduct? There is no answer to this question.

Germany, during the outbreak of the First World War, is often referred to as another historical example of hostilities between democracies. The question here is how far Germany can be viewed as a democratic state if we take into account such features of its government as the de facto independent role of the Kaiser in decision-making. There are other examples too.

In all cases, supporters and opponents of the theory of democratic peace put forward their arguments and counterarguments. In general, at least as a general pattern with possible exceptions, the theory of the democratic world justifies itself. Therefore, discussions are of greater interest not as to whether this is the case and what the exceptions maybe, but why developed democracies do not enter into war with each other.

In general, the analysis of the theory of the democratic world can be presented in full detail by giving a comparative analysis of two main concepts - M. Doyle and B. Russet. The first, based on the ideas of I. Kant, argues that in foreign policy, developed democracies rely on the same principles as in internal ones (Doyle, 1983). Governments of democratic countries, including when entering a war, must justify themselves in front of their citizens. The presence of common principles and values among democratic countries forms their “peaceful union” and at the same time aggressive behavior towards autocracies. B. Russet offers a different explanation of the phenomenon of a democratic world. It comes from the cultural and structural features of democratic states and argues that citizens in democratic countries see themselves as free people who are accustomed to respecting the rights of others (Russet, 1998). The openness of borders, the free exchange of information in democratic states reinforce this perception. These cultural characteristics, which are absorbed by man since childhood, limit the manifestation of aggression against other humans. In addition, people in democratic countries are used to resolving conflicts peacefully - through negotiations, agreements, judicial procedures.
The second factor explaining the phenomenon of a democratic world, according to B. Russet, is the principle of decision-making in democratic countries, including the beginning of the war. War-oriented leaders must conduct these decisions through appropriate legitimate procedures. In the event of a conflict, democratic countries are forced to spend more on making decisions about the start of hostilities. As a result, a “cooling” period arises, allowing to pay off the first emotional reactions and look for a rational way out of the conflict.

In principle, both concepts do not contradict each other. Rather, the latter is only a more developed approach. Nevertheless, many questions remain. For example, why is the aggression of democratic countries towards non-democratic states possible? Is there always a response, or defensive, reaction? If so, what is perceived as a threat? Why did democratic countries wage imperialist wars? If these were not mature democracies, then where is the maturity criterion?

8.3. Main Aspects of the Providing the Protection of Human Rights and Promotion of Democracy on the Global level. Pessimistic and optimistic scenarios and ways for the resolution of the problem.

8.3.1 Main principles of Human Rights and Democracy

Human rights represent the moral and legal principles or norms, which determine the concrete standards of human action and are regularly recognized as legal rights in internal municipal and international law (Nickel, Pogge, Smith, Wenar, 2013). They are commonly understood as inalienable fundamental rights "to which a person is inherently entitled simply because she or he is a human being," and which are "inherent in all human beings" (Weston, 2014) regardless of their nation, location, language, religion, ethnic origin or any other status (The United Nations, Office of the High Commissioner of Human Rights, 2014). They are applicable everywhere and at every time in the sense of being universal, and they are egalitarian in the sense of being the same for everyone. They are regarded as requiring empathy and the rule of law Bass (book reviewer), Samuel Moyn, 2010) and imposing an obligation on persons to respect the human rights of others, and it is generally considered that they should not be taken away except as a result of due process based on specific circumstances; for example, human rights may include freedom from unlawful imprisonment, torture, and execution (Merriam-Webster dictionary, 2010).

The concept of human rights has been highly influential within international public law, also within the International Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations. The policy of the countries and different governmental or non-governmental institutions form the public policy on the global level. The idea of human rights suggests that "if the public discourse of peacetime global society can be said to have a common moral language, it is that of human rights" (Beitz 2009).

Many principles and concepts were formulated by the human rights movement after the Second World War. Within the UN, in 1946 the Human Rights Commission was established, which implemented huge work for the adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in Paris by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. It was followed by the adoption of new International conventions, particularly, the “International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights” and “the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” were adopted by UN General Assembly in 1966, “The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide” (1948), “The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees” (1951), “The International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination” (1966), “The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against Women” (1979), “The Convention against Torture and Other Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment” (1984, “The Convention on the Rights of the Child” (1989), etc. (UN, 2005).

Picture 13. UN Adopts a Universal Declaration on Human Rights

Source: https://www.theguardian.com/law/from-the-archive-blog/2018/nov/28/un-adopts-universal-declaration-human-rights-paris-1948

Democracy: Demokrátiya (other - Greek. δημοκρατία —“government by the people”, from δῆμος — “people” and κράτος — “authority”) — represents the political regime, main principles of which includes the method of collective decision, which is implemented with the equal action of participants on the final result of the concrete process (Hyland, 1995) or its essential stages (Christiano, 2006).

Although this method applies to any public structure, the state today is the most important institution, since it possesses large authority. In this case, the determination of democracy usually narrows to one of the following signs:

- The election of leaders by the people as a result of the free and fair elections (Huntington, 2003);
- People is a singularly legitimate source of power;
- Society achieves self-governance for the satisfaction the common interests (Aristotle)

Public governance requires the guarantee of several rights for each member of society. With democracy are connected several values: legality, political and social equality, freedom, right to self-determination, human rights, and others.

Since the ideal democracy is not easily attainable and is the subject of different interpretations, there were proposed sets of practical models. Until the XVIII century, the most known model was direct democracy, where the citizens achieved their right by the adoption of the political decisions directly, due to the reaching of the consensus or with the assistance of the procedures of the subordination of the minority to the majority. In a representative democracy, the citizens achieve the same right through the elected by the deputies and other officials by delegation to them the part of their rights. At the same time, the elected leaders make decisions by taking into account the preferences of their voters (Shumpeter, 1995).

One of the basic purposes of democracy is the limitation of arbitrariness and abuses of power. This purpose frequently could not be reached in those countries, where human rights and other democratic values were not universally recognized or they did not have effective protection from the legal system`s side. Today, in many countries democracy is identified with liberal democracy, where, in the framework of the fair, periodic and general election, the candidates, for the attraction of the voter's votes, are involved in the free competition, which also includes the supremacy of law, separation of the branches of powers and constitutional limitations of the rule of the majority via the guarantees of the specific person or group freedoms.

On the other side, prominent economists, and also such representatives of the Western political elite as the former President of the USA Barack Obama, the Executive Director of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) Christine Lagarde, and another assert, that the realization of the right of the adoption of political decisions, the influence of citizens on the policy of the country will be impossible without the guarantee of social rights, equality of opportunities and with the presence of low level of social and economic inequality.

Several authoritarian regimes had the external signs of democratic administration; however, in those states, the power was possessed only by one party and the conducted policy did not depend on the preferences of voters. During the last quarter of the XX Century, the World was characterized by the tendency of democracy enlargement.

To the number of comparatively new problems related to the development of the democratic institutions are belonged separatism, terrorism, the migration of population, increasing political and social inequality. The international organizations, such as the UN, OSCE, and European Union, assume that the control over the internal affairs of the state, including questions of democracy and observance of human rights, parts must be in the sphere of the influence of the international community.

8.3.2. Enlargement of Democracy in the Modern Times

After the ending of the “Cold War” and disintegration of the communist system, the convenient base for the enlargement of democracy and promotion of peaceful co-existence among the states has been created. While discussing the democratization of the World, it should be pointed out that it is a comparatively new process, which was characterized for the second of the XX and beginning of the XXI Century. For example, if after World War I, democratic regimes were established in almost 30 countries, during period World War II, only 12 Democratic states have been remained (Rondeli, 2003) In the 60s of previous century, the number of liberal countries was 37, in the mid of 70s of the twentieth century, to the list of democratic states were belonged less than 1/3 of all countries in the world. After the collapse of the USSR and the failure of the communist ideology, the new wave of democratization has started. As a result, in 2012 the number of Free countries in the World was 90, and 83 in 2020 (Freedom House, 2020) In the modern world, the wealth is concentrated in the democratic states. As it is known, in the countries with a strong market economy, as a result of the socio-economic development, the middle class is becoming much stronger, the level of education is increasing and the population expresses its interest in peace when it will be possible to continue the enlargement of the business, trade and accordingly, attraction of more profit. Due to it, the society in the democratic states considers the importance of peace and international cooperation. At the same time, in the democratic state, the process of decision-making does not promote the introduction of the chauvinistic or imperialistic policy and dominance of the militaristic ideas in the foreign policy. It especially concerns the relations among the democratic states and those relations are based on each other's respect and deeper economic and cultural cooperation. Even more, democratic states create the so-called "zone of peace", which is gradually enlarging. However, there are many obstacles in the way of the enlargement of democracy and providing the protection of human rights in the World. In this regard, it should be mentioned about the following negative factors

8.3.3 Main obstacles, related to the democracy enlargement

However, there are many obstacles in the way of the enlargement of democracy and providing the protection of human rights in the World. In this regard should be mentioned about the following negative factors:

Absence of democracy in most of the countries of the World. Despite the increasing number of democratic states in the World after the ending of the cold war, according to the Freedom House Report in 2020: "Democracy and pluralism are under assault. Dictators are toiling to stamp out the last vestiges of domestic dissent and spread their harmful influence to new corners of the world. At the same time, many freely elected leaders are dramatically narrowing their concerns to a blinkered interpretation of the national interest. As a result of these and other trends, Freedom House found that 2019 was the 14th consecutive year of decline in global freedom. The gap between setbacks and gains widened compared with 2018, as individuals in 64 countries experienced deterioration in their political rights and civil liberties while those in just 37 experienced improvements".

Thus, according to the above-mentioned report, there were only 63 partly Free and 64 non-free countries and territories with authoritarian political regimes.

For example, if we take into consideration the most populated part of the World, Asia - where the population in 2021 prevails to 4 Billion 670 Million people (Worldometer, 2021), there are only 3 free countries and one territory (Taiwan), accordingly, it can be assumed, that more than 4 billion people in Asia live in the counties with authoritarian and semi-authoritarian regimes. About Africa, there are only 5 free countries among those 54 states, which are located on the political map of this continent.

Problems of Education related to democracy and human rights: It can be assumed that one of the main reasons for the weaknesses of the democratic institutions represents the educational factors. First of all, there is a lack of information in the Societies of the different countries regarding knowledge by citizens of their own civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. In this regard it is necessary to point out the following issues:

- Lack of information about main principles of Human Rights Protection and models of Democracy in International society, particularly among the Scientific circles, representatives of the governmental agencies, students, NGO-s, representatives of the different regions, etc.

In this case, the following factors are worthy of mentioning:

- Even though today practically in all countries of the World many educational Institutions – Schools, Universities, Colleges, Institutes are registered, there is a lack of Institutes, where discipline-Human Rights Law/Democracy or other directly related to Human rights protection subject is taught. The subjects related to Human Rights are not taught at the Faculties of Political Sciences and law even in the leading Universities of many countries.

- There are no reference literature-for example books about Human Rights Law and Models of Democracy in official state languages of many countries, and if we take into consideration the fact, that according to the data for 2012, approximately no more than 1,5 Billion people speaks the first International language - English (native language for about 400 Million people and second language for about 1,1 Billion) (N. Elizbarashvili, Z. Davitashvili, N. Beruchashvili. 2012) and in most of the schools and Institutes lectures are given in native languages, it is very difficult for many school pupils and students to study Human Rights and democracy issues (for example various International conventions on Human Rights issues) and Democracy in official languages of the different states;

- Shortage of materials about Human rights and Democratic standards can also be observed in central and local governmental agencies. Besides, if we take into consideration the fact, that in most of the regions of the world majority of the population does not speak English on which the Information about Human Rights legislation-first of all International Conventions and Principles of Democracy can be obtained and more than 50% of the world population has no access to the internet (for example the number of internet users worldwide was 3.17 billion in 2015 (Chitadze, 2017), it is clear that majority of the population in the World has no or limited information about main principles of democracy;

-There are a deficit of qualified NGO-s in the different regions of our planet specialized in Human Rights and Democracy studies issues;

- There are a lack of analytical journals on Human Rights protection issues;

-Limited information about models of democracy and legislation in the sphere of human rights protection is presented by television and other mass-media means in many countries;

-Only a limited number of journalists are familiar with the Human rights and Democracy issues. Thus, there are few qualified opinions on this matter in the mass media of many countries.

Recommendations for the enlargement of democracy on the global level

Taking into account, that the providing of international security is significantly dependent on the democracy enlargement, by the international community, the following factors should be taken into consideration:

Geopolitical Factors

For the further enlargement of Democracy, Western democratic states should strengthen their strategic positions, to be prepared with the resistance from different non-democratic forces and for this, it is necessary to work out the common strategy, which will create possible anti-Atlantic tendencies. For this purpose, democratic forces should not admit the cooperation and unification of the different anti-democratic forces. In this regard, the interests of the west require the following:

1. To provide and promote cooperation and unity among the countries of the Global North – especially between North America and Europe – for example, to discuss the issue about the foundation of a common economic market, determine the common strategy for the relations with anti-western unities (for example Shanghai Cooperation Organization, etc.)

2. Maximal support in the implementation of democratic reforms and promoting integration to the western democratic society of those states, whose foreign policy and national security priorities are the establishments of closer relations with the west. For example, to get consensus for the admission of Georgia and Ukraine to NATO and further integration to the European structures of those states. The benefits, which will be received by those two former Soviet Republics during the relations with EU and NATO (for example, according to the experts, in case of an entrance to the force the free trade regime between Georgia and EU, the GDP of Georgia would increase on average for 4,3%) will represent the examples for other post-soviet republics, which will increase the motivation among of those states to implement democratic reforms for the providing further cooperation with EU, etc. In this case, the process of democratization maximally can cover about 1/6 part of our planet (the whole territory of the post-soviet space).

3. To support such International Institutions, which legitimate the western interests and attract the non-western states to those institutions.

Strengthening the principles of International Law.

Reformation of UN:

- For providing the main principle of International Law – the sovereign equality of the states, and for the democratization of the decision making within the most important International Organization in the World – the United Nations, it is necessary to abolish the right of veto for the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations. Thus, all decisions should be adopted by the principle of a simple majority. At least 9 Countries among 15 (permanent and non-permanent members) should support the adoption of the concrete decision related to providing peace and security in the different regions of the World. The international community has examples, how two permanent members of the Security Council under authoritarian regimes – Russia and China were blocking the decision related to the use of force by NATO to prevent from genocide the population of Kosovo in 1999. The same can be mentioned about the nuclear program of Iran when Russia and China were abusing their right of veto, which was seriously hampering the resolution of the problem (when the majority of the members supported the adoption of the resolution); It should be also considered the cases of Russian aggression against Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine within the periods 2014-2015. UN Security Council was unable to adopt any sanctions against the aggressor state;

- Increasing the number of permanent members at the Security Council, thus allowing the different regions of the World to have their representative at the Council. Particularly, to consider the topic of the admission as a permanent member of UN Security Council Germany and Japan - countries with one of the biggest economies in the World. Furthermore, all regions have to have their representatives at the council, for example - Brazil on behalf of Latin America, Nigeria on behalf of Africa, Australia

– on behalf of Australia and Pacific, India and Indonesia on behalf of Asia. All those countries are among the ten leading countries according to the number of population in the World;

- Taking into account the fact, that the main principles of International Law – sovereign equality of the stets is more protected and respected within the UN General Assembly, which is the main deliberative organ and highest International Tribune, It is composed of representatives of all members states, each of which has one vote, but at the same time, the decisions of the Assembly have no legally binding force for governments, many countries, first of all those, who ignore the fundamental principles of democracy and human rights protection, it is necessary – in the framework of the UN reformation, to include to the agenda the issue, according of which most of the resolutions of the Assembly should have the mandatory character, thus, more countries, which violate the human rights and take advantage that UN is not able to interfere in the internal affairs of the states (article. 2 of the UN charter) will have more responsibilities before the UN and international community in General to fulfill its obligations and respect the principles of International Law.

International Court of Justice Taking into account that the International Court of Justice covers all questions that states refer to, and all matters provided for in the United Nations Charter, or in international treaties and conventions, it is necessary to increase the role of ICJ during the resolution of the interstate conflicts. It should have increased the number of judges within the ICJ from 15 to about 30 people and simplified the procedures of the application to the court for the peaceful resolution of the interstate problems. In this regard, by working out the special mechanisms, it should be increased the responsibilities of the states to bind themselves in advance to accept the jurisdiction of the Court, either by signing a treaty or convention that provides for referral to the Court or by making a declaration to that effect. Such declarations accepting compulsory jurisdiction often contain reservations excluding certain classes of disputes.

Transformation of NATO and EU to the organizations with more Global functions

- For the enlargement of democracy, it is necessary to provide security in the different regions of the World. In this regard, it should be mentioned the role of NATO and EU in this process. Taking into account, that both organizations, first of all, represent not only politico-military and security (in case of NATO) and economic (in case of EU) organizations, but they are international regional communities of the democratic states, based on the common values – Superiority of the law and respect and protection the fundamental principles of human rights. Furthermore, taking into consideration the limited resources of the UN and problems – related to the adoption of the decisions within the United Nations for providing peace and security, it represents the great importance to increase the role, functions, and geographical area of actions of NATO and EU. For example, North Atlantic Alliance was the main guarantee of providing peace and security and preventing genocide and mass violations of human rights in case of conflicts in the Balkans (Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia).

Furthermore, NATO member states took the decisive role in combating terrorism and peacekeeping operations in Afghanistan within the ISAF mission and Iraq (by supporting US and UK forces), etc.

Concerning the EU, after the signing Maastricht and Lisbon treaties, also NATO-EU Berlin Plus Agreement in 2003, it has significantly increased the role of the European Union in the fields of Defense and Security. In this regard, it should be mentioned about the role of the EU in the involvement in the peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and Macedonia since 2005 (when EU forces replaced NATO forces), Georgia (functioning of EUMM Mission after Russia-Georgia war in 2008), also in Africa (Congo, Central African Republic, Mali, etc.).

Taking into account the above-mentioned realities, the following aspects should be taken into consideration:

It should be established closed partnership relations with the democratic states from the different regions of the World for the work out joint actions related to combating terrorism and peacekeeping and peacebuilding operations. Special attention should be paid to promoting partnership relations with Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, etc.

Information Campaign

As it is known, different radical groups work (including using about 5000 websites) for spreading the wrong information about the role of the countries from the global North in the World. For example, most of the people from the countries of the Global South consider the existence of the main socio-economic problems in their countries as a result of the exploitation by the economically rich states and the poor states. Or, for example in most of the Islamic states, due to the propaganda from the radical and fundamentalist groups sides, many followers of Islam believe, that the West is fighting against Islam religion, etc.

Taking into account the above-mentioned factors, it is important to work out (for example during the G7 meeting, or in the framework of EU member states meetings) the special strategy and tactics for the maximal using the mass-media mean and information technologies for the distribution of the information about the positive role of the International Democratic Society to support the fighting against poverty, misery, unemployment, corruption, etc. in the developing countries.

Energy Factors

Many events in International economic relations are dependent on the production and trade by oil and gas. Countries, possessing large reserves logically should have a strong bargaining tool to influence their own political and economic status in the world economy.

Taking into account the above-mentioned factors, it is necessary to discuss the issue of providing the energy security of the democratic states, thus, to decrease their dependence on authoritarian regimes in the field of energy and weakening the authoritarian regimes, thus, to make them more accountable before the international democratic society, to decrease the imperialistic ambitions in those countries (case of Russia) and to implement the democratic reforms, etc.

Political elites in the west should take into consideration the development of the processes in the field of energy in the 80th of the XX Century, when as a result of the negotiations between the USA and Saudi Arabia, Official Washington assured the partner state from the Middle East, that one of the main method for the influence on USSR and making official Kremlin decrease its imperialistic ambitions, thus, to provide the international security was depended on the decreasing the international oil prices. In 1985, Saudi Arabia increased oil production by 3 times, as a result, the price on the barrel of oil fell from 28 dollars to 10 dollars (Chitadze, 2011).

Taking into account that one of the main budget incomes of Soviets was the export of the "black gold", the decreasing of the oil prices caused the increase of the budget deficit for the 5 times within the years 1985-1988. As a result of the economic crisis, Soviet Empire agreed on the withdrawal of its armed forces from Afghanistan and later from Eastern and Central Europe, unification of Germany, decreasing the defense costs, etc. Finally, it caused the collapse of the world communist system and the ending of the "cold war".

The second case, which can be considered in the field of energy, is the example of Iran's nuclear program. As it is known, Iran (together with Russia) was interested in the existence of the problems related to the transparency of the nuclear program of Iran. It was providing the existence of the high international prices on oil and high incomes to the Iranian budget. The permanent members of the UN Security Council together with Germany could not work out the common approach for the problem`s resolution until the period of 2014 when the EU adopted the sanctions against Iran related to the prohibition of the import of oil from Iran. Later, when the prices on the "black gold" were decreased, as a result of sanctions and new oil prices, the income of the daily export of oil from Iran decreased by 60 percent, which created the possibilities for resolving the problem. Finally, Iran and the "Great Six" states got an agreement, according to which the official Tehran would stop the nuclear program (the enrichment of uranium) instead of the gradual abolishment of the sanctions against Iran.

USA-EU cooperation in the field of energy. Cooperation between the USA and Europe in the field of energy, for example, in case of the successful implementation the different energy projects bypassing the territory of Russia, also, increasing the consumption of the alternative sources of energy, the convenient base for promoting international peace and stability will be established, which will be connected with the fact, that the influence of authoritarian states and terrorist groups, such as ISIS (which still controls the important parts of the territories of Iraq and Syria, who try to use the energy reserves, having been produced on their territories for the political reasons), will be significantly decreased in the World Politics and will make those states to consider the implementation of democratic reforms inside the country.

The strategic oil reserves have gradually lost their importance for the national and energy security of the USA during the "Shall gas" revolution. Due to it, the USA, by increasing the production of oil and decreasing the export of the "black gold" will be able to influence the International Prices of oil, which will negatively affect the positions of the several authoritarian regimes, who possess the important reserves of oil and gas. For example, according to the Russian economists, as a result of the economic sanctions and decreasing the oil prices, the damage to the Russian economy will be about 570 Billion USD (Chitadze, 2017).

It should be pointed out, that together with the development of the gas industry, it has decreased the consumption of oil, accordingly its import to the USA. For example, if in 2005, the USA satisfied its demands on import oil by 60%, in 2013 this data decreased to 35%. About Natural Gas, its import within 2005-2013 decreased by 32 percent, which also caused the decreasing US foreign trade deficit (Chitadze, 2018).

About the gas, taking into account that as a result of the yearly incomes of Russia for the export of natural gas to Europe prevails 400 Billion Euro per year, it is important to support the idea of the export of shale gas – produced on the territory of the USA to Europe.

Economic factors

It is important for the unification of the American and European markets in the framework of the TTIP – TransAtlantic Trade and Investment Partnership program. Nowadays, the daily volume of trade between the USA and Europe is about 3 Billion Dollars. In case of integration the American and European markets, for the different companies, especially transatlantic companies, can be created a huge unified space, in the consumption market of which will involve about 800 million people.

Relations with the developing countries

According to World Bank Group, the combined stock of developing countries' external debt was $5.5 trillion at end of 2013 (Chitadze, 2018), to the agenda of the different Intergovernmental (UN, EU) Organizations, also World Summits (G7, Davos Forum) and International Financial Institutions (World Bank Group, International Monetary Fund – where most of the decision-making process is adopted by the economically rich states), to discuss the issue of the gradual abolishment the foreign debt of the most of the countries of Africa, Asia, Latino America, and Pacific by the conditions, that countries from the global south with the assistance help of democratic states and International Institutions (who will work the main recommendations according to the specific needs of the concrete state) - will take the responsibilities for the democratization of their political system, will fight against corruption, etc.

Demographic Factors

Taking into account that due to the low level of the birthrate and reproduction in the democratic and economically developed states, it is necessary to implement special programs, which would encourage the birth rate in the democratic states. Particularly, to develop the programs for the financial support of those families, who have 3 or more children, to work out the special programs for the children, mothers, and young families protection.

Educational Factors

For the introduction of democratic political culture among the young part of the population for the long-term perspectives, it is necessary the increase public awareness on Democracy and Human Rights. In this regard, it should be mentioned the importance of the introduction of the study course – Human Rights Law and Democracy Studies as a mandatory course for the school pupils of the 10-11 classes (in the public schools) in each country of the world. In this regard, the methodology and concrete program (teachers training, syllabus, etc.) of the study course should be worked out and presented by the appropriate International Institution (Most probably UNESCO) and recommend an appropriate office of UN and especially UNESCO to include to the agenda the possibilities of the adoption the international convention in the field of education related to the introduction the study course Democracy and Human Rights Protections a mandatory course for the school pupils of the 10 or 11th classes.

In this regard, the special book (or handbook) should be written by the appropriate specialist in Human Rights from the different states in English and should be translated to the official languages of the different nations.

Key terminologies

Integration

Integration processes

European Union (EU)

Functionalism

Neofunctionalism

Federalism

Common Foreign Policy and Security Policy

World Government

Disintegration, Disintegration processes

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

Association of the South-East Asia Nations (ASEAN)

European Coal and Steel Community

European Atomic Energy Community (*Euratom*)

European Economic Community

Common Market

European Community

Schengen Zone

Democratization

Democratic Transition

Democratization “waves”

Non-Liberal Democracies

Hybrid Regimes

Imitational Democracies

Democratic Peace Theory

Human Rights

Questions for Consideration

What are the main characters of integration processes?

What are the main positions of functionalism and neo-functionalism?

What are the main principles of Federalism?

What are the main problems of integration?

What are the main characters of European Integration?

What are the main principles of the concept – European Integration?

What are the basic principles of European Institutes functioning?

What is understood under democracy as a world development tendency?

What is the essence of the Democratic Peace Theory?

How can it be explained that the developed democracies do not fight with each other?

Practicum

1. Please fill two versions:

Democratic Countries

Name	Democratic countries were fighting with each other (examples)	Democratic countries had wars with those countries, which have other forms of governance (a point which countries)

Dates, which countries	Description the situation	Situation description

2. non-Democratic countries

Names	Non - democratic countries were fighting against each other	Democratic countries had wars with those countries, which have other forms of governance (a point which countries)
Dates, which countries	Situation description	Situation description

3. Compare versions 1 and 2 and make conclusions

II. Please analyze the table of the dynamic of the democratic state's growth in the world. By which factors is determined this process?

Chapter 9. Role of sport in the world politics

Over the years, sport played an important role in the social, economic, political, and cultural processes of the different nations. The sport has a long history of development and this is proved by the different historic documents and monuments in the different regions of the World. One of the clear examples of the sports competitions was interrelated with the Olympic Games, which started in Greece in 776 years B.C. Those games were held once per four years period and during the games, all military operations on the territory of the whole of Greece were stopped. Even though several centuries later, the organization of the Olympic Games was stopped, different nations were involved in the various sports categories. Together with the development of the modern types of sport within the 18th and 19th Centuries and the foundation of the International Federations, it became possible to restore the traditions of the Olympic games' organizations. It was the result of the negotiations and cooperation among the different nations. Games were restored in 1896.

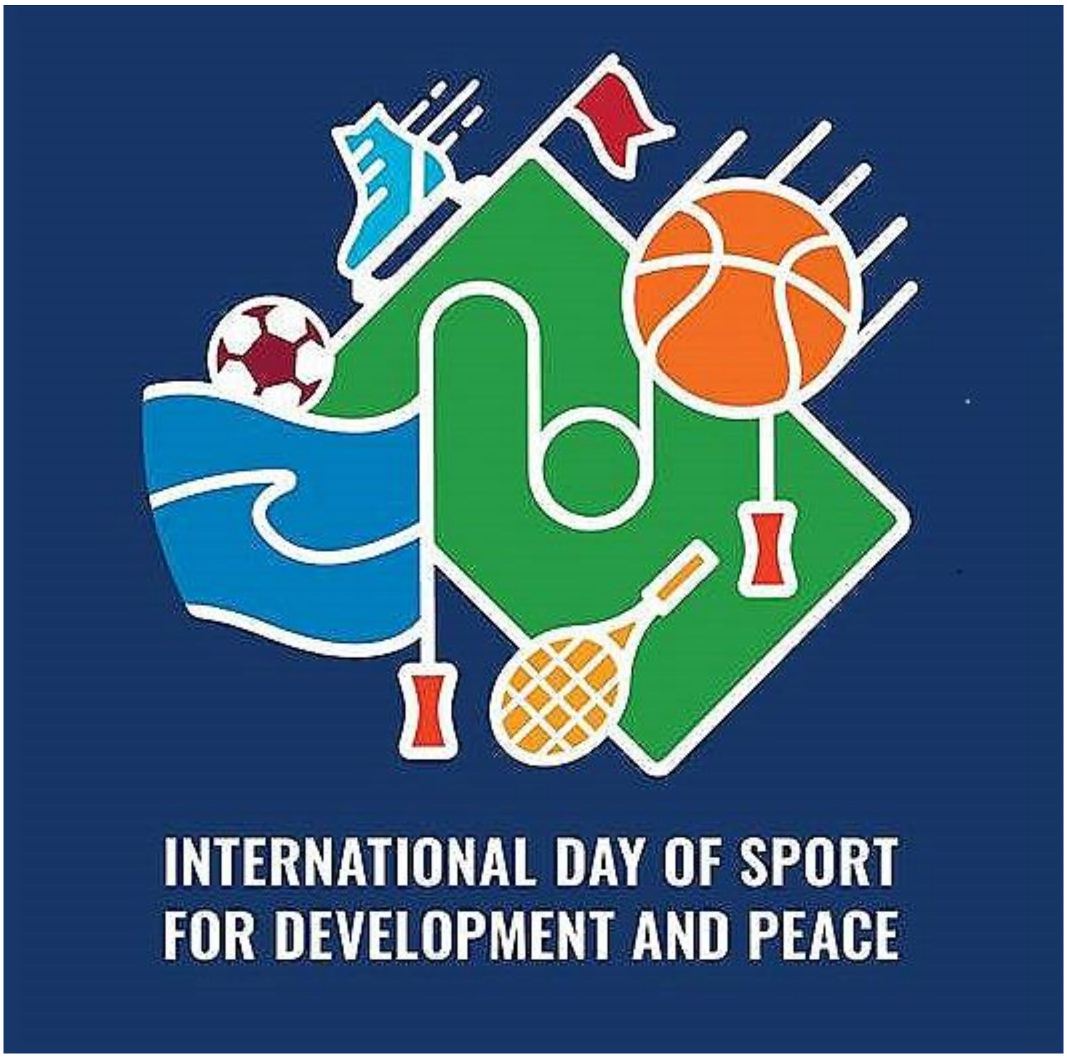
It is necessary to mention positive and negative factors related to sports competitions. From the negative side, it should be pointed out about the conflict of interest during the concrete sports competition. For example, the football war in 1969 between Honduras and Salvador. The conflict between the two states started at the stadium. But, from the other side, it is necessary to discuss the positive side, how different countries and sportsmen cooperate within the Olympic Committee and other international sports Federations.

This chapter tries to explore and assess the main factors, related to the determination of the category – sport, to analyze the history of sport during the different periods of World history, main positive and negative, also psychological factors, which are connected with the sport.

9.1. The role of sports diplomacy

Today, sports diplomacy is organically written in the broad concept of "soft power", which is aimed at increasing the attractiveness of the country. At the same time, like any other diplomacy, sports diplomacy is committed to preventing armed conflict. It has been this noble goal that sport has served since ancient times. The Olympics became a symbol of peace from the beginning. However, the tradition of the Olympic Games, revived by Pierre de Coubertin in the late 19th century, is no longer the reason for the cessation of bloody conflicts during the Games. In the last century, not wars, but the games themselves were stopped during the period of world cataclysms.

Picture 14. International Day of Sport for Development and Peace



Source: https://www.un.org/en/observances/sport-day

9.1.1. Confrontation of trends

With the growing popularity and international influence of the Olympic movement, two trends were observed. On the one hand, meetings of athletes helped to expand contacts and friendly ties. During the Cold War, sporting events have been seen as a guarantee of maintaining peace and cooperation between peoples despite international tensions. In the words of the famous American diplomat Jim

Kane, “It is a sport that can become a means of establishing relations between different cultures and ethnicities, a sign of the existence of such common values as respect, tolerance, discipline, rule of law, and equality of opportunity. Therefore, sport is a more effective foreign policy resource." The winning athletes are playing the role of "ambassadors of peace" today. A wide audience listens to their calls for tackling poverty, defeating disease, and protecting the environment.

On the other hand, over time, games have increasingly become an arena of confrontation not for the athletes themselves, but the national teams. Nationalist and aggressive sentiments often erupt in stadiums.

States are not opposed to using the Olympics to influence the politics of a country. This was seen in January 2018 during the Pyongyang Winter Olympics. Tensions fueled by statements from the media and politicians created the mood for "the most militarized Olympic Games in existence." Up to 50,000 armed soldiers, tanks and artillery were concentrated around Seoul, while police had a security circle around the US embassy (IOC, 2020). A warning was heard from the Pentagon about the possible attack of thousands of North Korean artillery or missile launchers located along the 38th parallel. Fortunately, these games, where the Korean national team came out, became the beginning of a new phase of reconciliation and cooperation between the two countries. Moreover, the last Olympics facilitated the resumption of negotiations on the demilitarization of the Korean Peninsula.

9.1.2. Commercialization of sports

Today there is a growing trend of commercialization of sports. According to 2017 data, the world sports market is estimated at $ 90 billion (Global Sports market, 2017), which is more than the annual GDP of most developing countries in Asia and Africa. In the process of commercialization, the powers have been redistributed among the relevant governing structures. The influence of transnational corporations and the media has increased. Corporations facilitate large-scale sports competitions in different countries. China, for example, would not be able to hold big tournaments without large state-owned corporations.

An example of the positive use of the financial influence of transnational corporations on international sports organizations is the scandal surrounding Qatar's victory to host the 2022 FIFA World Cup. About one thousand five hundred workers died during the construction works during the preparation for the World Cup. Several large companies, such as Sony, Visa, Coca-Cola, refused to sponsor contracts if FIFA would not take steps to improve working conditions. Their position facilitated the prosecution of FIFA officials for accepting bribes from Qatari officials.

However, corporate involvement can also have a negative impact. In Australia, for example, certain corporations were harming the environment while preparing for the Olympics. Despite protests and the law passed in this case, the affected citizens were forced to file a lawsuit in court.
The colossal sums are covered by the broadcasting of sports events by the world and local mass media. It is estimated that the sale of broadcasting rights (as of 2016) accounts for 74% of the revenue of the World Olympic Committee, with NBC making the biggest profit for it (Global Sports Market, 2017).

9.1.3. Boycott or dialogue?

Discussing the involvement of the sport in politics, it is important to point out that the International Olympic Committee had to apologize for holding by Nazis the 1936 Olympic Games in Germany. In 1980, 65 countries, including the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada, Japan, Turkey, Romania, and China, boycotted the Moscow Summer Olympics because of the protest against the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. In response, in 1984, the Soviet Union and other members of the Warsaw Pact boycotted the Los Angeles (USA) Olympics and organized their own "Friendship-84" competition. In 2018, members of the European Parliament called on EU countries to boycott the World Cup in Football in Russia.

Opponents of the boycott see it as unacceptable to confuse sports and politics and have a question about the effectiveness of the boycott. They point out that the ideology and politicization of sports competitions do not allow athletes to meet worthy opponents, gain coveted victory and recognition worldwide. The controversy between these two approaches continues today.

The boycott of the competitions draws the public's attention to the situation in problematic countries, where human rights are violated and the rules of international law are not observed.

9.1.4. Sport in the service of diplomacy

States are actively using sports diplomacy to help in the achievement of foreign policy goals. Effective and successful was, for example, "Ping-Pong diplomacy", which facilitated the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the People's Republic of China in the early 1970s. The 2008 Olympic Games in China shaped the image of this country as an economically strong state. In response, the shortcomings and the ensuing doping scandal during the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi caused significant damage to Russia's reputation. It is important to note that countries that host international games are generally unable to recoup the costs incurred by the competition`s organization. In return, they improve their image, promote tourism, attract foreign investment, and use infrastructure, which was built for competitions to be used for the development of national sports in the future.

At the same time, international sports competitions allow for the meeting of leaders of different countries. This reaffirms the importance of sports diplomacy as a tool for dialogue.

9.2. Integration processes within the sport on the example of International Olympic Committee

The International Olympic Committee (IOC; French: Comité International Olympique, CIO) is a non-governmental sports organization based in Lausanne, Switzerland. Founded by Pierre de Coubertin and Demetrios Vikelas in 1894, it is responsible for organizing the modern Summer and Winter Olympic Games.

The IOC is the governing body of the National Olympic Committees (NOCs), which are the national constituents of the worldwide Olympic Movement. As of 2016, there are 206 NOCs officially recognized by the IOC (IOC, 2016).

9.2.1. History of IOC

The IOC was created by Pierre de Coubertin, on 23 June 1894 with Demetrios Vikelas as its first president.

The IOC organizes the modern Olympic Games and Youth Olympic Games (YOG), held in summer and winter, every four years. The first Summer Olympics was held in Athens, Greece, in 1896; the first Winter Olympics was in Chamonix, France, in 1924. The first Summer YOG was in Singapore in 2010 and the first Winter YOG in Innsbruck was in 2012.

Picture 15. IOC Session : International Olympic Committee likely to conduct virtual session in 2021

Source: https://www.insidesport.co/other-sports/news/ioc-session-international-olympic-committee-likely-to-conduct-virtual-session

Until 1992, both Summer and Winter Olympics were held in the same year. After that year, however, the IOC shifted the Winter Olympics to the even years between Summer Games, to help space the planning of the two events from one another, and improve the financial balance of the IOC, which receives a proportionally greater income from Olympic years.

In 2009, the UN General Assembly granted the IOC Permanent Observer status. The decision enables the IOC to be directly involved in the UN Agenda and to attend UN General Assembly meetings where it can take the floor. In 1993, the General Assembly approved a Resolution to further solidify IOC–UN cooperation by reviving the "Olympic Truce".

During each proclamation at the Olympics, announcers speak in different languages: French is always spoken first, followed by an English translation, and then the dominant language of the host nation (when this is not English or French).

9. 2. 2. Mission and roles of IOC

The stated mission of the IOC is to promote the Olympics throughout the world and to lead the Olympic Movement and by this way:

• To encourage and support the organization, development, and coordination of sport and sports competitions in the whole world;

• To ensure the regular organization of the Olympic Games and involvement in international competitions all countries and dependent territories of the World;

• To cooperate with the competent public or private organizations and authorities in the endeavor to place sport at the service of humanity and thereby to promote peace;

• To act against any form of discrimination affecting the Olympic Movement;

• To encourage and support the promotion of women in sport at all levels and in all structures to implement the principle of equality of men and women.

Key terminologies

Sport

Diplomacy

Boycott

Dialogue

Olympic Games

Olympic Committee

National Olympic Committees

FIFA

World Cup

Competition

Questions for Consideration

What are the main characteristics of the role of sport in world politics?

What are the main functions of the International Olympic Committee?

What is sports diplomacy?

Practicum

Please find and analyze the negative and positive consequences of the sports competition in the history of international sport.

Chapter 10. The role of International Tourism in the World Politics

10.1. Determination of tourism

Tourism - means leisure or business travel. The World Tourism Organization defines tourists as: "People who leave their usual environment and travel to another place for less than one consecutive year for leisure or other purposes."

10.1.2. History of tourism

Travel for relaxation and fun first became popular among the ancient Romans, who traveled mainly to visit the pyramids. Further forms and geography of travel have been expanded. The goals of the trip have also become more diverse: spectacular, educational, religious, and more. Temporary stopping houses for travelers, hotels, caravans, guest houses, summer cottages, residences for the elite were being built.

Representatives of the affluent strata of the population who traveled abroad for curiosity have been called tourists since the end of the 17th century. After the Industrial Revolution, steam locomotives and trains were invented in the 18th and 19th centuries, which had a significant impact on the intensification of travel. Fashion lovers travel to Paris, music lovers to Italy, and travel to various European cities to study has become a big tour. It was during this period, in 1841, that the English clergyman Thomas Cook first rendered the group a commercial service. It was an organized group tour, which included a 20-minute train ride, accompanied by tea, cookies, and a wind orchestra.

Cook himself took the role of tour guide. 450 people took part in this trip and it was priced at 1 shilling for each. This action of Cook served more for social purposes than commercial. He sought to show that he could use his free time wisely. Nevertheless, this fact is considered to be the first step of organized, commercial tourism. It is noteworthy that in Britain there is still this travel firm called Thomas Cook and Son.

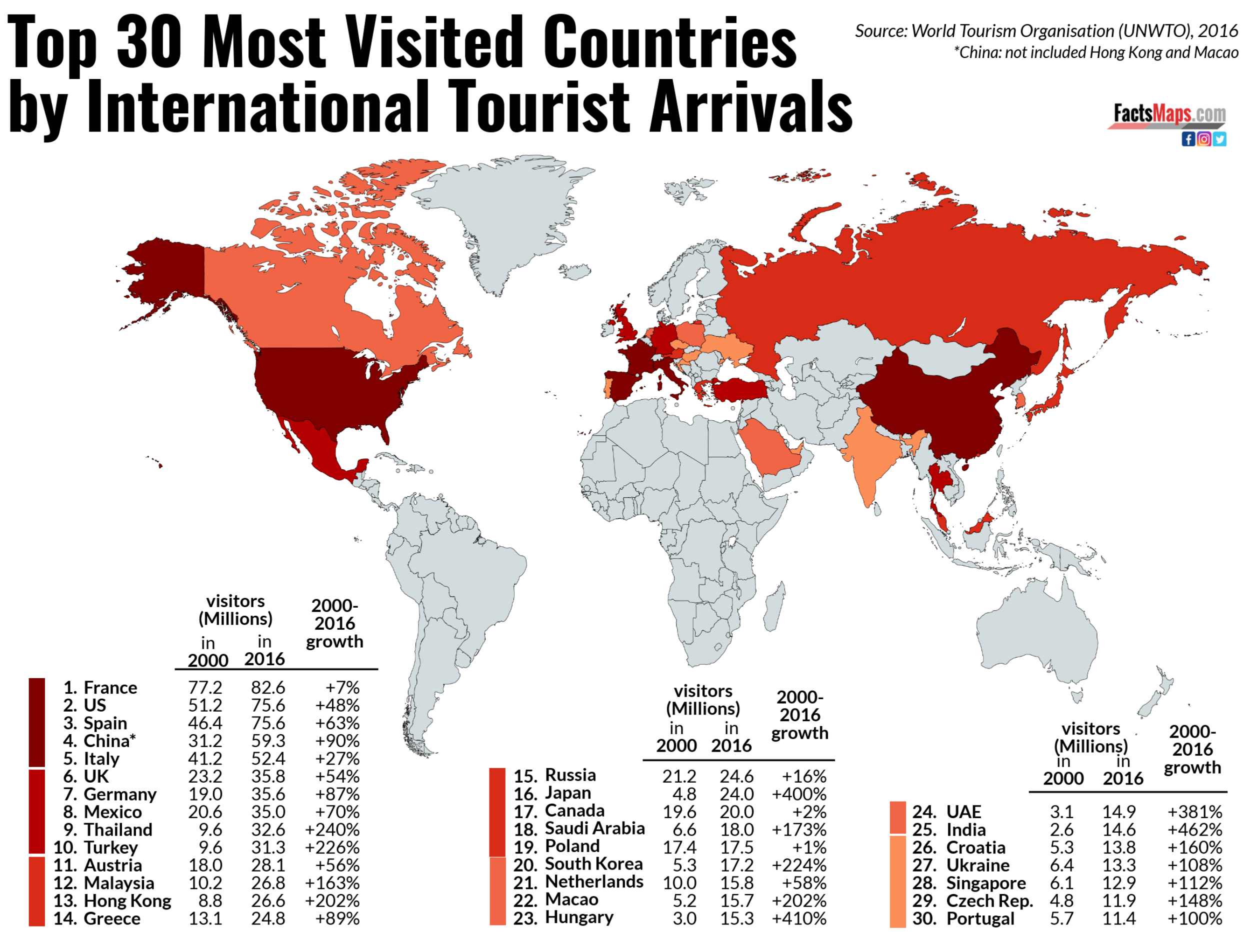
The invention of the automobile can be considered an important event in the early twentieth century, although before the First World War the main flow of tourists was still by rail and boat. In the 20s and 30s, another effective means of transport appeared - airplanes, which enhances tourist activity.
The second half of the twentieth century marks the beginning of the era of mass international tourism development. In 1950, the number of international tourists reached 25 million, in 1970 - 170 million, in 1990 - 400 million. Currently, almost all people are more or less involved in tourism. At the end of the twentieth century, 4.5 billion tourists traveled around the world, including 10% international tourists (about 450 million), spending $ 100-150 billion annually (UNWTO, 2001). As of 2019 (before COVID 19 spreading), International tourist arrivals (overnight visitors) worldwide grew by 4% and reached 1.5 billion (UNWTO, 2020).

The geography of tourist travel is characterized by certain peculiarities. 2/3 of international tourists travel to European countries. Then the most popular region is America, which accounts for 20% of tourists, East Asia and the Pacific 10%, Africa 3% (UNWTO, 2019).

10.2. World Tourism Statistics and Estimates

During the discussion about the most visited countries in the world within the first half of the XXI century, let`s consider the statistical data (number of tourists) of the top 30 most visited countries by international tourist arrivals within the period 2000-2016.

Map 7. Top 30 most visited countries in 2000-2016



Source: https://factsmaps.com/top-30-most-visited-countries-by-international-tourist-arrivals/

10.3. Revenues from international tourism

Concerning the revenues from international tourism, in 2010 there were 979 billion USD, in 2017 they reached 1 trillion 347 Billion USD, in 2018 1 Trillion 457 Billion and 1 Trillion 478 Billion in 2019 (Statista, 2019).

Tourism is vital for many countries, such as France, Egypt, Greece, Lebanon, Israel, the United Kingdom, the United States, Spain, Italy, Thailand, Georgia, and many island nations, such as the Bahamas, Fiji, Maldives, and the Philippines. This is primarily due to the large investments in various activities, especially in the service sector, as a result of which employment opportunities in the service industry are largely linked to tourism. This service industry includes transportation services such as aviation, cruise ships, taxis, hospitality services such as accommodation (hotels and various shelters). The industry also includes amusement parks, casinos, shopping malls, music establishments, and theaters.

Key terminologies

Tourism

Most visited countries

World Tourism Organization

International Travel

Tourism Industry

Service Industry

Number of International Tourists

Questions for Consideration

What are the main characteristics of the role of tourism in world politics?

According to your point of view, what determines the leading role of the different countries in the field of tourism?

How can tourism promote globalization processes in the world?

Practicum

Please collect the materials and analyze the main functions of the World Tourism Organization and its role in people-to-people contact.

Section II

CHALLENGES OF THE MODERN WORLD

Chapter 11. PROBLEMS OF SECURITY AND ARMS CONTROL IN THE MODERN WORLD

11.1. The main approaches to understanding security

Security Problems are classical in the Westphalian political system of the world. The state from the moment of the emergence cared for maintaining sovereignty, i. e. the national security was understood initially first of all as prevention of external aggression. In modern conditions, this concept also includes questions connected with the danger of internal destabilization. Due to the growth of interdependence of the world the problem receives further development within regional security and international security.

All three terms characterize state and Interstate relations. They are more often used in realistic and neo-realistic concepts.

At the same time as a starting point served situation according to which the power of the state necessary for the realization of national interests and influence on the international situation was defined first of all based on its military force, or, by analogy with computer terminology, on the base of "hard power", but not based on culture, the strength of the authority on the world scene and some type of "soft power". As a result, the problem of military strengths was central in international relations from both, practical and the research point of view.

Question for Consideration!

What, from your point of view, should include the understanding of "security" in the period of globalization? What will be changed and what will remain unchangeable within the approaches to this problem?

The situation changed at the end of the XX century. Experts in the field of economy and finance and also environment were some of the first who have paid attention to nonmilitary threats to security. The first group has started talking about an economic component of safety, the second that ecological disruption by pollution poses a huge threat to mankind on the national and global level. However, a controversy was caused by the fact, in which cases the ecological problems are caused by human activity and when the objective reasons. Also, how this problem can be resolved.

A Revolution in the field of new technologies became another factor that has influenced reconsideration of security concerns. As a result, non-state actors were capable of playing a huge role in the field of safety which they didn't have earlier. This has brought to the understanding that it isn't enough to build concepts of security, to be based on the fact that the threat can proceed only from other states or groups of states. With special evidence, it was shown by events of September 11, 2001, when the planes skyjacked by terrorists crashed into buildings of the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, explosions of the train in Madrid and London, etc. Even though the defeat targets have remained the same, as well as were assumed by strategic doctrines of the leading states: the large cities, the central ministries, departments - the source of threats was extremely amorphous and uncertain.

At the end of the XX century many researchers including adhering to realistic views, for whom the emphasis on military aspects and interstate relations is characterized, have begun to speak about such factors in ensuring national security as education, development of the modern technologies, growth of economic power, drug trafficking, AIDS, etc. Within neo-realism one of the most important works within such direction represented a research B. Buzan "People, states, fear" which appeared in 1983 and where the limitations of the traditional understanding of security are shown (Buzan, 1983). Except for this author, the so-called "broad" definition of security concerns including not only military aspects, is connected with the names of several European researchers, in particular U. Beck (Beck, 1998). Along with work B. Buzan, in the same year in the journal “International Security” the article of the American researcher R. Ullman was published. The author wrote that the emphasis on military security problems leads to the fact that other threats are overlooked, including the threats, which are coming from the inside of the state (Lebedeva, 2007).

In the modern period, the discussions concerning a ratio of military-political factors, from one hand, and social and economic, ecological, information, and technological from another continue. Supporters of a “wide” approach to security problems point to the amplifying role of economic and other factors. Their opponent’s object: in this case, a security problem “is blurring” by many other aspects which exist in international relations and world politics.

One more important question in the theoretical plan - a ratio of regional, international and global security. The last term sometimes is used to emphasize that a security concern has not only internal but interstate measurement. There also is no unambiguous decision.

In this regard, the problems about the ways of the harmonization of the national interests of the states – the content of the concept of regional, international and global security cannot be limited only by taking into account the national interests of the states. The coincidence of the national interests of the group of the states causes different types of regional and international unions, which are guided by the determined views (concepts) about the ways of the harmonization and protecting their group interests as a balance between each other, also in the relations with the third countries.

In connection with it, all those questions of International and regional security, are closely connected with the problems of International Organizations. Under modern conditions among the institutes, which are engaged in providing international security, first of all, should be pointed out about the United Nations. The significant role in security issues also includes several regional institutions, especially in Europe, where they have rather accurate functions and responsibilities. First of all, OSCE, NATO. The main problems which are intensively discussed now, reforming of the UN, that to make its activity in the field of providing security and peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding more effective and also to fix the place and role of NATO in the European structures related to defense and security, taking into account the fact that this organization has been formed in the years of the Cold War with definite purposes and tasks.

11.2. Arms race and arms control

The problem of the arms race and disarmament existed in the years of the Cold War. During this period expenses of the states on arms have reached a record point (the peak is considered 1985). Releasing the important funds on defense is going on today at quite a high level although, after the ending of the cold war, the comparative share to GDP of the leading European countries has been decreased.

The military power of the states is defined not only by the facts, how much the state spends on the military needs but also by the fact, what type of weapon is possessed by the concrete country. The

Character and quantity of arms were the decisive factors in the world arena during the cold war period. The sides were constantly increasing military power, which led to the arms race.

It is interesting!

According to several estimates, the share of the budget, which was going for the military needs during the cold war, was for the USA from about 5 to 10%, and for the USSR was reaching 20%.

In 1999, the Military expenditures in the whole world were about 745 billion USD (Kegley, Wittkopf, 2011).

Within the first decade of the XXI Century, World military spending was about 1 trillion every year (Joshua S. Goldstein. Jon C. Pevehouse. 2007. P. 151).

Concerning the second decade of the XXI Century, World military expenditure is estimated to have been $1 822 billion in 2018, accounting for 2.1 percent of world gross domestic product (GDP) or $239 per person. Total expenditure grew for the second consecutive year and exceeded $1.8 trillion for the first time; it was 2.6 percent higher than in 2017 and 5.4 percent higher than in 2009 (SIPRI, 2019).

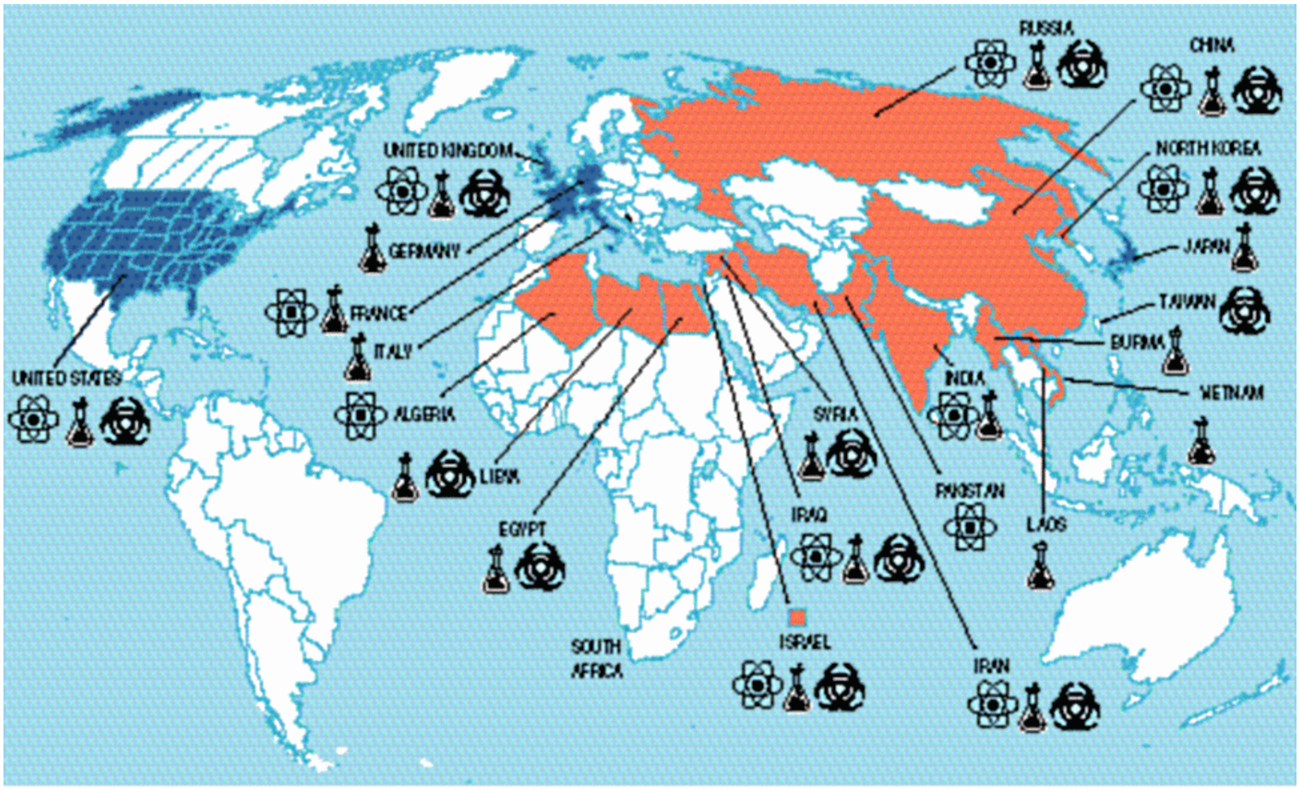
With the advent of nuclear weapons in 1945 and its use by the United States of America against Japan in August 1945, the new – nuclear era in the history of humanity has come. Nuclear weapon becomes one of the leading, if not the first factors in international relations. There are two types of nuclear weapons: Atomic (A-bomb), which is based on nuclear fission, and thermonuclear, or hydrogen (H-bomb), with thermonuclear synthesis as a base. The first type is simpler and less expensive, but at the same time has less potential.

Nuclear weapons are the *Weapon of Mass Destruction* (WMD), with the purpose of the large-scale defeat of the enemy and do not act selectively – only against Armed Forces, but cover the civil population too. In comparison with the other types of weapons, it possesses the most destructive power and long-term consequences. Due to those factors, special attention is paid to nuclear weapons.

“Official” members of the “nuclear club”, or the states, which own nuclear weapons (Nuclear Weapon State, NWS), are all five permanent members of the UN Security Council – United Kingdom, China, USA, France, Russian Federation. Concretely to those states, which till January 1, 1967, produced and exploded nuclear weapons or other nuclear devices, according to article IX.3 of them which was signed in 1968, the status of the nuclear power was fixed (Aleksidze, 2012). The biggest nuclear potential possesses the USA and Russian Federation.

Besides the above-mentioned countries, several other states also possess nuclear weapons. India, for example, in 1974 carried out nuclear tests and in 1998 the nuclear testaments were implemented by India and Pakistan. It is assumed that India possesses a few dozen warheads, and Pakistan has more than ten.

Map 8. The Spread of Weapons of Mass Destruction (1998)



	Weapon	Governing Treaty	Original Possessor States at Treaty Signing	Problem States
	Nuclear	Nonproliferation Treaty, 1970	United States, United Kingdom, France, China, and Soviet Union	Israel, India, and Pakistan. Active proliferators include Iran, Iraq, Algeria, and North Korea
	Chemical	Geneva Protocol, 1925	United States, United Kingdom, France, Soviet Union, Germany, Japan, and Italy	Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Libya, Syria, North Korea, Burma, Vietnam, China, and Russia
	Biological	Biological Weapons Convention, 1975	United States, United Kingdom, Soviet Union, and China	Iran, Iraq, Libya, Syria, Israel, Egypt, Taiwan, Vietnam, North Korea, and Laos

Source: file://the_spread_of_weapons_of_mass_destruction_%281998%29.gif/

In 1980th, the nuclear test was carried out by the South African Republic, which later abolished its nuclear program and destroyed not only devices but also capacities for its production. According to many specialists' estimations, nuclear weapons are owned by Israel. North Korea in 1994 agreed to freeze its nuclear program instead of humanitarian aid, but there are no absolute dates on this issue. There are some concerns about the nuclear program of Iran, at the same time, during the last years this country has been under special attention from the international community (Goldstein, 2011).

Some countries, by having resources - necessary for the acquisition of nuclear weapons, have voluntarily refused this purpose. After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, several former Soviet republics became owners of nuclear weapons. However, all of them later voluntarily refused it. The only post-soviet republic which possesses nuclear weapons is Russian Federation.

Chemical and bacteriological weapons as well as nuclear, being weapons of mass destruction, also causes concern in the modern world. A chemical weapon is calculated for the use of the different toxic substances during the fighting against enemy Binary weapon assumes to use the low-toxic reagents which at interaction with each other during military operations form a highly poisoning toxic agent. The bacteriological weapon is based on the using bacteria, viruses, and products of their life activity.

In comparison with nuclear technologies, the production of chemical and bacteriological weapons is rather cheap and accessible. Due to it, these types of weapons have received the name of "weapon for the poor". At the same time, it has a considerable striking effect. The special alarm concerning the possibility of their use is determined by the existence of the politically unstable countries, with the authoritative forms of government and also the terrorist organizations.

In the history of military operations, chemical weapons were seldom used. For the first time, it has occurred during World War I in April of 1915 when yperite has been used (Aleksidze, 2012). Concern about the possibility of the using of chemical weapons has caused the result, that in 1925 during the conducting of multilateral negotiations by 37 states, in Geneva in 1925, "Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare" was signed. As to 2019, to this protocol, there are joined more than 100 states (Geneva Protocol, 2020). During World War 2, Germany and the USSR possessed chemical weapons but did not use them. In 1980th this type of weapon was used by Iraq against Iran (Chitadze, 2016).

The protocol of 1925 provided non-use of chemical weapons but didn't raise the questions of its production and storage. The problem is that it is quite difficult to detect because a similar process is possible also for peace purposes. However, there were many cases, when this or another country was accused of the production of chemical weapons. For example, the USA had similar suspicions, in the 1990s concerning Libya, Sudan, or Iraq.

In January 1993 after several years of negotiations in Paris, the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) related to the prohibition of production, accumulation, and use of chemical weapons and their destruction was signed. At the beginning of 2019, the participants of this convention were more than 145 states, but among those states, there are not Libya and North Korea (CWC, 2020). The convention provides the ban on the production of chemical weapons and also strict sanctions concerning those countries, who violate these agreements, including the states, which are not members of the Convention.

Bacteriological weapons have several similar characteristics with chemical ones related to production, use, and control. However, in comparison to chemical weapons, this type of weapon was not used in droves, except in the case of it being used by Japan in several villages of China during World War 2. In 1972 the Convention on the prohibition of the development, production, and accumulation of stocks of bacteriological (biological) and weapon and their destruction was signed (Aleksidze, 2012). The official name of the convention is the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention, BWC. To this convention, as of the beginning of 2019 more than 140 states have been signed (BWC, 2020).

The weapons of mass destruction demand delivery systems. Their existence defines the military-political position of the state not to a lesser extent, than the fact of possession of nuclear weapons and technologies of its production. Delivery systems are subdivided into two types: Strategic and Tactical.

Table 9. World Nuclear Forces

It is Important!			
World Nuclear Forces, 2018			
Country	Deployed Warheads Warheads	Other Warheads	Total Inventory
USA	1 750	4 435	6 185
Russia	1 600	4 900	6 500
UK	120	80	200
France	280	20	300
China	–	290	290
India	–	130–140	130–140
Pakistan	–	150–160	150–160
Israel	–	80–90	80–90
North Korea	–	(20–30)	(20–30)
Total	3 750	10 115	13 865

Source: SIPRI (2019)

The strategic delivery systems aiming to strike the opponent in its territory assume the overcoming of enough huge distances (for example, between Russia and the USA). The main among them are ballistic missiles. They differ by the distance which they can overcome, the accuracy of hit, and what type of charge they own. Ballistic missiles can be stationary or to be on mobile platforms. In the latter case, they become less vulnerable to the opponent.

The greatest range of action has intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). This type of weapon is mostly owned by the USA and Russian Federation. Significantly a smaller number of ICBMs have other nuclear countries. Medium-range missiles are in the arms of France, Great Britain, and China. Russia and the USA have them also. Their range of action is from 1000 to 5500 km. Deployment on the European continent of medium-range missiles by the last two countries was limited by the agreement, which was signed in 1987. Rockets of smaller range, short-range ballistic missiles with the range from 500 to 1000 km have, as a rule, the bigger accuracy of hit (NATO, 2006). They can be used also for the delivery of usual warheads as it was, in particular, during the war in the Persian Gulf.

As delivery systems also, cruise missiles can be used. They represent the small pilotless shells equipped with their propulsion system. Cruise missiles possess the high-precision system of targeting for the defeat of the purpose and can bear as a nuclear charge (such cruise missiles possess Russia and the USA) also usual.

Except for rockets, the strategic delivery systems of weapons, first of all nuclear, are represented by the bombers and submarines (equipped with rockets and nuclear torpedoes too). These three types can make a so-called strategic triad, therefore at negotiations on disarmament and arms limitation, they usually are considered in the complex.

Tactical nuclear weapons have the purpose to be used concretely in the theatre of conducting military operations. It is delivered using nuclear warheads for tactical missiles, artillery charges, fighting surface ships, multi-purpose submarines, aviation, nuclear min.

When developing nuclear strategy originally American experts were based on the fact that the opponent had to be destroyed. In this regard, among the military and political analysts the term "mutually assured destruction, MAD" has appeared. It has characterized a hypothetical situation, which can emerge as a result of nuclear opposition and assumed extermination of the opponent in case of nuclear attack.

Later, when it became clear the senseless idea of "mutual destruction", and it especially was shown during the Cuban Crisis, American military strategy became oriented on the principle of adequate retaliation. Its meaning is that the reply must correspond to the damage caused.

During the years of the Cold War, the doctrine of nuclear deterrence, which was also logically connected with the developed nuclear strategies, has appeared. This was based on the fact that the possibility of using nuclear weapons keeps the enemy from aggression.

This doctrine is based on a principle, that participants of the international relations try to behave exclusively rationally to avoid destructive consequences of the use of nuclear weapons and according to it, the state has to be sure that such threat, not just of a word, the nuclear weapon can be used in case of aggression.

This doctrine had also opponents. Their argumentation was based on the fact that first, the logic itself of the gradual development of the conflict can lead to the nuclear collision as a result. Secondly, random error is also possible, which will be interpreted by the opposite side as a nuclear attack that will cause a fatal result.

There were developments in the field of nuclear defense. Thus, the US was involved in the development of the Strategic Defense Initiative, SDI, so-called "Star Wars". It gained development in the 1980-the years when the US President was R. Reagan and the essence consisted in attempts of the creation of a defensive shield for the USA in case of the nuclear threat. However, on the practical level, this idea hasn't been realized.

One of the most important issues in a military-political sphere is the problem of the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, first of all, nuclear and also means of its delivery. Usually, there is a distinguished so-called horizontal proliferation of weapons, when it is increasing the number of the countries which have this type of weapons and vertical proliferation, which means capacity building. However, when it is mentioned about the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, first of all, experts mean concretely the horizontal option.

There are various approaches to a non-proliferation problem. The authors, who are focused on the realistic tradition of research in the field of international relations, in general, have a more calm attitude to this issue, by not seeing any special danger in proliferation, as they believe that the states will behave rationally and not apply for the use of nuclear weapons. In this regard, it is important the point of view of K. Waltz, who recognizes that the expansion of "nuclear club" will even help to preserve the peace, as here the deterrence factor restraining the military confrontation of the parties plays the decisive role (Chitadze, 2016).

The opposite position is taken by researchers and analysts, who share different theoretical views. The problem of non-proliferation is extremely important for them as in the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction they see one of the main threats to international peace. At the same time, they not without justification emphasize that the states, and first of all their leaders, cannot always behave rationally. Besides, in modern conditions, there is a danger of falling into the hands of terrorist groups, weapons of mass destruction, and also the danger of technogenic accidents connected with the storage of this weapon, a human mistake, etc.

The states having nuclear weapons are also quite sensitive to the questions of its non-proliferation. They try to limit a circle of the participants, who have nuclear technologies and appropriate technologies. However, this problem also has another part. The matter is that technologies that can be used for the production of a nuclear weapon, are closely intertwined with the technologies which are used in the field of nuclear energy, which is produced for peaceful purposes.

The existence of delivery systems of nuclear weapons is more difficult to control than possession of nuclear weapons. At the beginning of the XXI Century, the intermediate and shorter-range missiles were developed by Iraq, Iran, Israel, Saudi Arabia, India, Pakistan, North Korea, and also, perhaps, Brazil and Argentina.

During the Cold War, the country saved up a huge arsenal of weapons. As a result, questions of disarmament and arms control remain and today represent one of the key points in world politics. Arms control is understood as efforts of two or more countries on the regulation of the relations in this area.

The Cuban (Caribbean) crisis of 1962, when the threat of the nuclear missile conflict became obvious, was a significant impulse for negotiating disarmament. Soon after the crisis, in August 1963, in Moscow representatives of the USSR, USA, and Great Britain signed the agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapons testaments in the atmosphere, space, and underwater. This agreement became known as the Limited Test Ban Treaty. It has termless character and has been open for signing (more than 100 states have joined it subsequently) (Aleksidze, 20004).

In 1968 was signed an agreement on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, which became known as the Non-Proliferation Treaty, NPT. Those agreements received the continuation on March 5, 1970. Later, 187 countries joined the treaty (Aleksidze, 2004).

Distinguish two categories of member countries of the agreement about non-proliferation of the nuclear weapon - those who were possessing this type of weapon for January 1, 1967 (Great Britain, China, USSR, USA, France) and those who had not those types of weapon. The non-nuclear countries took the responsibility not to purchase nuclear weapons and completely followed normative provisions of the International Atomic Energy Agency, IAEA which is engaged in monitoring the development and distribution of nuclear technologies. In 1993 North Korea left the IAEA. However, as it was noted, later this country has held negotiations and has undertaken the responsibility to freeze the nuclear programs in exchange for rendering economic aid. In September 2002 North Korea declared again about its aspiration to continue the nuclear program (Goldstein, 2011).

In general, it is being discussed the issue of nuclear non-proliferation. Under this regime, it can be understood the totality of international agreements and organizations with participation as nuclear, also non-nuclear states, and also internal legislation of the member states, the purpose of which is the prevention of the gaining of the nuclear status by those countries, which had not it before 1967.

Several important arrangements in the field of disarmament and arms control were reached in the 1970s. First of all, it is necessary to mention the agreement on the limitation of the systems of anti-missile defense – Antiballistic Missile Treaty, ABM, which was signed in 1972. It limits the capabilities of each of the parties - USA and USSR/Russia - to use anti-missile defense for reflection of nuclear attack. At the beginning of the 2000th, the USA started to plan the creation of the national missile defense system and the withdrawal from the Missile Defense Treaty of 1972. The argument was based that the agreement of the thirty-year prescription doesn't reply to modern realities. In the XXI century, according to official American statements, the threat proceeded not from Russia, but from the terrorist organizations that was especially accurately shown by the events of September 11, 2001. Besides, it was supposed, though wasn't advertised, that the new system would become an incentive to develop new technologies in the USA.

The American side, together with European partners have tried several times to assure the Russian side that this type of defense shield was not directed against Russia. In 2001, during several meetings of the president of Russia and the USA, agreements on carrying out consultations in the field of national missile defense were reached. Nevertheless, positions remained various. And at the end of 2001, the USA officially notified Russia about withdrawal from the treaty of 1972, and in June 2002 left it. The consequent years, after the military aggression of Russia against Georgia and Ukraine, proved the necessity of the creation of a new system of anti-missile defense by the American side in Europe, which should be positively reflected on European Security.

Other important documents during the period of the cold war in the field of arms limitation were Strategic Arms Limitations Treaties, Salt-1, and Salt – 2, which were signed accordingly in 1972 and 1979 which have gained further development in the Treaties of 1990th and the first decade of the 21-st century. Particularly, Strategic Arms Limitation Treaties – START 1 and START 2, which were signed in 1991 and 2010. According to the agreement, the USA and Russia had to limit their strategic arsenals by approximately 30%. It is interesting to point out that the START2 agreement was signed in 1993, which was ratified by Russia 8 years later. It offered the reduction of the remaining armaments for 50%, in accordance to which the USA would possess 3000 nuclear warheads, USA-3500. However, it was not ratified by the American side. Thus, a new agreement was signed in 2010 and later ratified by the legislative bodies of both countries (Chitadze, 2016).

One of the most important USA-USSR agreements in the field of defense and security was The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF Treaty, formally Treaty Between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Elimination of Their Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles is an arms control treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union (and its successor state, the Russian Federation). U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev signed the treaty on 8 December 1987. The United States Senate approved the treaty on 27 May 1988, and Reagan and Gorbachev changed the ratified documents on 1 June 1988 (Chitadze, 2019).

The INF Treaty eliminated all of the two nations' land-based ballistic missiles, cruise missiles, and missile launchers with ranges of 500–1,000 kilometers (310–620 mi) (short medium-range) and 1,000–5,500 km (620–3,420 mi) (intermediate-range). The treaty did not apply to air- or sea-launched missiles (Garthoff, 1994).

During the “Cold War” in the 1970s and 1980s, there was going on a dangerous race in Europe between the USSR and the US for nuclear weapon production. The Soviet Union began to deploy SS-20s and SS-18s medium and small range intercontinental ballistic missiles in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the German Democratic Republic, which threatened the Western European countries of NATO. The Alliance responded by deploying ballistic missiles and ground-based cruise missiles of medium-range "Pershing 2" in Britain, Italy, and Germany (Kramer, 2019).

Around 250 small and mid-range missile complexes were installed in Europe by both sides and in case of the starting the nuclear war, the whole European continent could be destroyed. By the way, small-range ballistic missiles were located by both sides accordingly on the territories of Turkey and Georgia (Resonance, 2018).

"According to the agreement, the Soviet side removed from the operative duty and destroyed the following type of missiles, including mobile: P-10 (SS-20), P-12 (SS-4 for NATO classification), P-14 (SS-5), cruise missiles PK-55, short-range missiles - OTP-22 (SS-12), OTP-23 (SS-23). On the other hand, the American side has destroyed the average interstellar rockets "Persing 2", ground-based winged missiles "VGM" (Tomahawk), and a small rangeland bases "Pershing-1a" (they were deployed in Western Europe, mainly in Italy, Great Britain, and Germany) and "Pursing-2b" missiles (Resonance, 2019).

Within the 36 months after signing the treaty, both sides have destroyed 898 already deployed and 700 non-deployed medium interstellar missiles, and a small range of 1096 missiles. 56% of these missiles were coming on the part of the Soviet Union. Thus, withdrawal from the treaty by both sides can transfer Europe to a more dangerous region.

By May 1991, the nations had eliminated 2,692 missiles, followed by 10 years of on-site verification inspections (SIPRI, 2007).

President Donald Trump announced on 20 October 2018 that the US was withdrawing from the treaty, accusing Russia of non-compliance with the conditions of the agreement. The U.S. formally suspended the treaty on 1 February 2019, and Russia did so the following day in response to the U.S. withdrawal.

An important element in the field of control over the nuclear threats during the “Cold War” period represented the creation of *a Nuclear-weapon-free-zone, NWFZ.*

A **nuclear-weapons-free zone** (**NWFZ**) is defined by the United Nations as an agreement which a group of states has freely established by treaty or convention that bans the use, development, or deployment of nuclear weapons in a given area, that has mechanisms of verification and control to enforce its obligations, and that is recognized as such by the General Assembly of the United Nations. NWFZs have a similar purpose but are distinct from, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to which most countries including five nuclear weapons states are a party. Another term, nuclear-free zone, often means an area that has banned both nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and sometimes nuclear waste and nuclear propulsion, and usually does not mean an UN-acknowledged international treaty (Arms Control Association, 2017).

Today five zones are covering continental or subcontinental groups of countries (including their territorial waters and airspace), and three govern Antarctica, the seabed, and outer space which are not part of any state. The Antarctic, seabed, and space zones preceded all but one of the zones on national territories. Most of the Earth's oceans above the seabed are not covered by NWFZs since freedom of the seas restricts restrictions in international waters. The UN has also recognized one additional country, Mongolia, as having nuclear-weapon-free status.

NWFZs do not cover international waters (where there is freedom of the seas) or the transit of nuclear missiles through space (as opposed to the deployment of nuclear weapons in space).
As of 15 July 2009 when the African NWFZ came into force, the six land zones cover 56% of the Earth's land area of 149 million square kilometers and 60% of the 195 states on Earth, up from 34% and 30% of the previous year; however, only 39% of the world's population lives in NWFZs, while the nine nuclear weapons states have 28% of the world's land area and 46% of the world population (Aleksidze, 2003).

The Antarctic, Latin American, and South Pacific zones are defined by lines of latitude and longitude, except for the northwestern boundary of the South Pacific zone which follows the limit of Australian territorial waters, and these three zones form a contiguous area, though treaty provisions do not apply to international waters within that area. In contrast, the Southeast Asian zone is defined as the territories of its members including their Exclusive Economic Zones, and the African zone is also defined as the countries and territories considered part of Africa by the OAU (now the African Union) which include islands close to Africa and Madagascar. An AU member, Mauritius, claims the British Indian Ocean Territory where Diego Garcia is currently a US military base.

In general, as a result of the diplomatic efforts and activities of the different International Organizations, there have been agreements about four non-nuclear zones – in Antarctica, Latino America, South Pacific, Latino America, South-East Asia, and Africa. Particularly:

The **Antarctic Treaty** and related agreements, collectively known as the **Antarctic Treaty System** (**ATS**), regulate international relations concerning Antarctica, Earth's only continent without a native human population. For the treaty system, Antarctica is defined as all of the land and ice shelves south of 60°S latitude. The treaty entered into force in 1961 and currently has 54 parties. The treaty sets aside Antarctica as a scientific preserve, establishes freedom of scientific investigation, and bans military activity on the continent. The treaty was the first arms control agreement established during the Cold War. Since September 2004, the Antarctic Treaty Secretariat headquarters has been located in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

The main treaty was opened for signature on December 1, 1959, and officially entered into force on June 23, 1961. The original signatories were the 12 countries active in Antarctica during the International Geophysical Year (IGY) of 1957–58. The twelve countries that had significant interests in Antarctica at the time were: Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States. These countries had established over 55 Antarctic stations for the IGY. The treaty was a diplomatic expression of the operational and scientific cooperation that had been achieved "on the ice" (Britannica, 1959).

The **Treaty of Tlatelolco, which** is the conventional name given to the **Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean**. It is embodied in the **OPANAL** (Spanish: *Organismo para la Proscripción de las Armas Nucleares en la América Latina y el Caribe*, English: the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean). Signed in 1967, it was the first treaty of its kind covering a populated area of the world, but now around 40% of the world's population live in a Nuclear-weapon-free zone (NTI, 2019). The second agreement concerned the Southern part of the Pacific Ocean – Rarotonga Treaty – The **Treaty of Rarotonga** is the common name for the **South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty**, which formalizes a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in the South Pacific. The treaty bans the use, testing, and possession of nuclear weapons within the borders of the zone.

It was signed by the South Pacific nations of Australia, the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Nauru, New Zealand, Niue, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Western Samoa on the island of Rarotonga (where the capital of the Cook Islands is located) on 6 August 1985, came into force on 11 December 1986 with the 8th ratification and has since been ratified by all of those states (Weaponslaw. 2019).

The **Southeast Asian Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty (SEANWFZ)** or the **Bangkok Treaty** of 1995, is a nuclear weapons moratorium treaty between 10 Southeast Asian member-states under the auspices of the ASEAN: Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thai land, and Vietnam. It was opened for signature at the treaty conference in Bangkok, Thailand, on 15 December 1995 and it entered into force on March 28, 1997, and obliges its members not to develop, manufacture, or otherwise acquire, possess, or have control over nuclear weapons.
The Zone is the area comprising the territories of the states and their respective continental shelves and Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZ); "Territory" means the land territory, internal waters, territorial sea, archipelagic waters, the seabed and the subsoil thereof, and the airspace above them.

The treaty includes a protocol under which the five nuclear-weapon states recognized by the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), namely China, the United States, France, Russia and the United Kingdom (who are also the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council) undertake to respect the Treaty and do not contribute to a violation of it by State parties. None of the nuclear-weapon states have signed this protocol (UNODA, 2019).

About Africa, The **African Nuclear Weapon Free Zone Treaty**, also known as the **Treaty of Pelindaba** (named after South Africa's main Nuclear Research Centre, run by The South African Nuclear Energy Corporation and was the location where South Africa's atomic bombs of the 1970s were developed, constructed and subsequently stored) established a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone in Africa. The treaty was signed in 1996 and came into effect with the 28th ratification on 15 July 2009. The Treaty prohibits the research, development, manufacture, stockpiling, acquisition, testing, possession, control, or stationing of nuclear explosive devices in the territory of parties to the Treaty and the dumping of radioactive wastes in the African zone by Treaty parties. The Treaty also prohibits any attack against nuclear installations in the zone by Treaty parties and requires them to maintain the highest standards of physical protection of nuclear material, facilities, and equipment, which are to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. The Treaty requires all parties to apply full-scope International Atomic Energy Agency safeguards to all their peaceful nuclear activities. A mechanism to verify compliance, including the establishment of the African Commission on Nuclear Energy, has been established by the Treaty. Its office will be in South Africa. The Treaty affirms the right of each party to decide for itself whether to allow visits by foreign ships and aircraft to its ports and airfields, explicitly upholds the freedom of navigation on the high seas, and does not affect rights to passage through territorial waters guaranteed by international law (Arms Control Association, 2020).

There are also other regions, in which it is possible the appearance of the non-nuclear zones, particularly the Korean peninsula, Central Asia, etc.

In 1996, by the initiative of the developing countries, by 129 votes against three (Great Britain, USA, France) and by 38 states who abstained, the resolution of UN 51/45 about declaration the southern hemisphere as a zone – free from the nuclear weapon (UN Security Council Report, 2000).

At the same time, the Conference on Disarmament (CD) began its substantive negotiations on a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty in January 1994 within the framework of an Ad Hoc Committee established for that purpose. Although the CD had long been involved with the issue of a test ban, only in 1982 did it establish a subsidiary body on the item. Disagreement over a mandate for that body blocked tangible progress for years.

After more than two years of intensive negotiations, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee, Ambassador Jaap Ramaker of the Netherlands, presented a final draft treaty to the CD in June 1996. An overwhelming majority of Member States of the CD expressed their readiness to support the draft treaty. India, for its part, stated that it could not go along with a consensus on the draft text and its transmittal to the United Nations General Assembly. The main reasons for such a decision, as India pointed out, were related to its strong misgivings about the provision for the entry-into-force of the treaty, which is considered unprecedented in multilateral practice and running contrary to customary international law, and the failure of the treaty to include a commitment by the nuclear-weapon States to eliminate nuclear weapons within a time-bound framework.

As a result, Australia, on 22 August 1996, requested that the General Assembly resume the consideration of agenda item 65, entitled “Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty” as provided for in resolution 50/65 of 12 December 1995. For that purpose, it also submitted the draft CTBT, identical to that negotiated in the CD, for adoption by the General Assembly. On 10 September, the General Assembly by resolution (A/RES/50/245) adopted the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty and requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations, in his capacity as Depositary of the Treaty, to open it for signature at the earliest possible date. The Treaty was opened for signature in September 1996 (UN, 2005).

On 29 May 2009, the Secretary-General launched "Securing our Common Future: An Agenda for Disarmament." The Agenda highlights the norm against testing nuclear weapons of a measure that serves both disarmament and non-proliferation objectives (Chitadze, 2016). In that context, the Secretary-General appealed to all remaining States whose ratifications are required for the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) to enter into force to commit to signing the Treaty at an early date if they have not already done so and to accelerate the completion of their ratification processes.

Conventional arms also are at the center of attention of politicians and the public. They are widely used in modern conflicts. For example, they were used by Iraq in the Persian Gulf in the early 1990th of the XX Century for the occupation of Kuwait and missile attacks against Israel. Conventional arms were used in the former Yugoslavia and other regional conflicts during the 1990th and the beginning of the 2000th years.

Based on the above-mentioned problems, The original **Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe** (**CFE**) was negotiated and concluded during the last years of the Cold War, particularly in 1990, and established comprehensive limits on key categories of conventional military equipment in Europe (from the Atlantic to the Urals) and mandated the destruction of excess weaponry. The treaty proposed equal limits for the two "groups of states-parties", the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Warsaw Pact (UN, 2005). In 2007, Russia "suspended" its participation in the treaty, and on 10 March 2015, citing NATO's *de facto* breach of the Treaty, Russia formally announced it was "completely" halting its participation in it as of the next day (Chitadze, 2016).

CFE and Troop ceilings

The CFE Treaty set equal ceilings for each bloc (NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization), from the Atlantic to the Urals, on key armaments essential for conducting surprise attacks and initiating large-scale offensive operations. Collectively, the treaty participants agreed that neither side could have more than:

· 20,000 tanks;
· 20,000 artillery pieces;
· 30,000 armored combat vehicles (ACVs);
· 6,800 combat aircraft; and
· 2,000 attack helicopters.

To further limit the readiness of armed forces, the treaty set equal ceilings on equipment that could be deployed with active units. Other ground equipment had to be placed in designated permanent storage sites. The limits for equipment each side could have inactive units were:
· 16,500 tanks;

· 17,000 artillery pieces; and
· 27,300 armored combat vehicles (ACVs);

The treaty further limited the proportion of armaments that could be held by any one country in Europe to about one-third of the total for all countries in Europe - the "sufficiency" rule.
All sea-based Naval forces were excluded from CFE Treaty accountability (US Department of State, 1992).

Picture 16. Heads of State sign Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe

Source: https://www.osce.org/node/58665

A serious Political problem, especially because of the existence of the internal conflicts, is the use of antipersonnel mines which are installed to establish control over the concrete territory. Minefields in Afghanistan, Bosnia, Angola, and other conflicts have resulted in a large number of victims among civilians, and their number continues to increase also after the end of the conflict. So, according to J. According to Goldstein's data, about 25 thousand people annually are victims of those mines, a third of which are children (Goldstein, 2011). In the late nineties, several non-governmental organizations supported the idea of the prohibition of antipersonnel mines, for which the organizer of this campaign J. Williams was granted the Nobel prize award in 1997 (The Nobel Peace Prize, 1997). Within the same year, more than one hundred states have signed the agreement on the prohibition of the use of antipersonnel mines.

On the way of arms control and disarmament, there are many barriers. First of all, it is necessary to consider that violations of arrangements by any country are possible. For this reason, much attention is paid to various procedures of inspection, for example, on-site inspection. Often agreements provide such an opportunity. However, not all questions are possible to be resolved: the states delay the carrying out the inspections, object on the personal list of the inspection team, as it was, in particular, with inspections of the UN in Iraq in the 1990s. Besides, if the countries for which those procedures are organized - actually refuse to cooperate, then similar inspections are ineffective. Other ways of observation consist of the use of national technical means, NTM – spacecraft, seismic stations, etc. But with their help not all objects can be detected: for example, it is difficult to define how many charges are carried by one rocket.

The serious problem represents the constant improvement of armament with the introduction of new scientific and technological developments. As a result, negotiations and the agreements concluded on their results practically are always late about the real situation. For example, the emergence of rockets with the divided warheads – multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles, MIRVs, has sharply increased the possibility of striking blows on different objects at the same quantity of rockets.

There Exist many internal political barriers on the way of disarmament. Several analysts, in particular, recognize that disarmament doesn't lead to tension reduction at all. From these positions, they act at the political institutes of their states, and it influences the adoption of political decisions. The representatives of the military-industrial complex, military-industrial complex who are economically interested in an increase in military orders. And still in general, despite difficulties, the process of disarmament and arms control has a forward focus.

11.3. Arms Supplies and Arms Trade

The volume of the arms trade in the modern world is very impressive. So, by official American estimations, if their cumulative sale in the world was estimated in 1964 with an approximate sum of 4 billion US dollars, then in 1987 it has already consisted of 82,4 billion. And now, despite the end of the Cold War, traffic in arms hasn't stopped. Its main deliveries go to developing countries. Exactly there the most unstable political and economic situation is often observed.

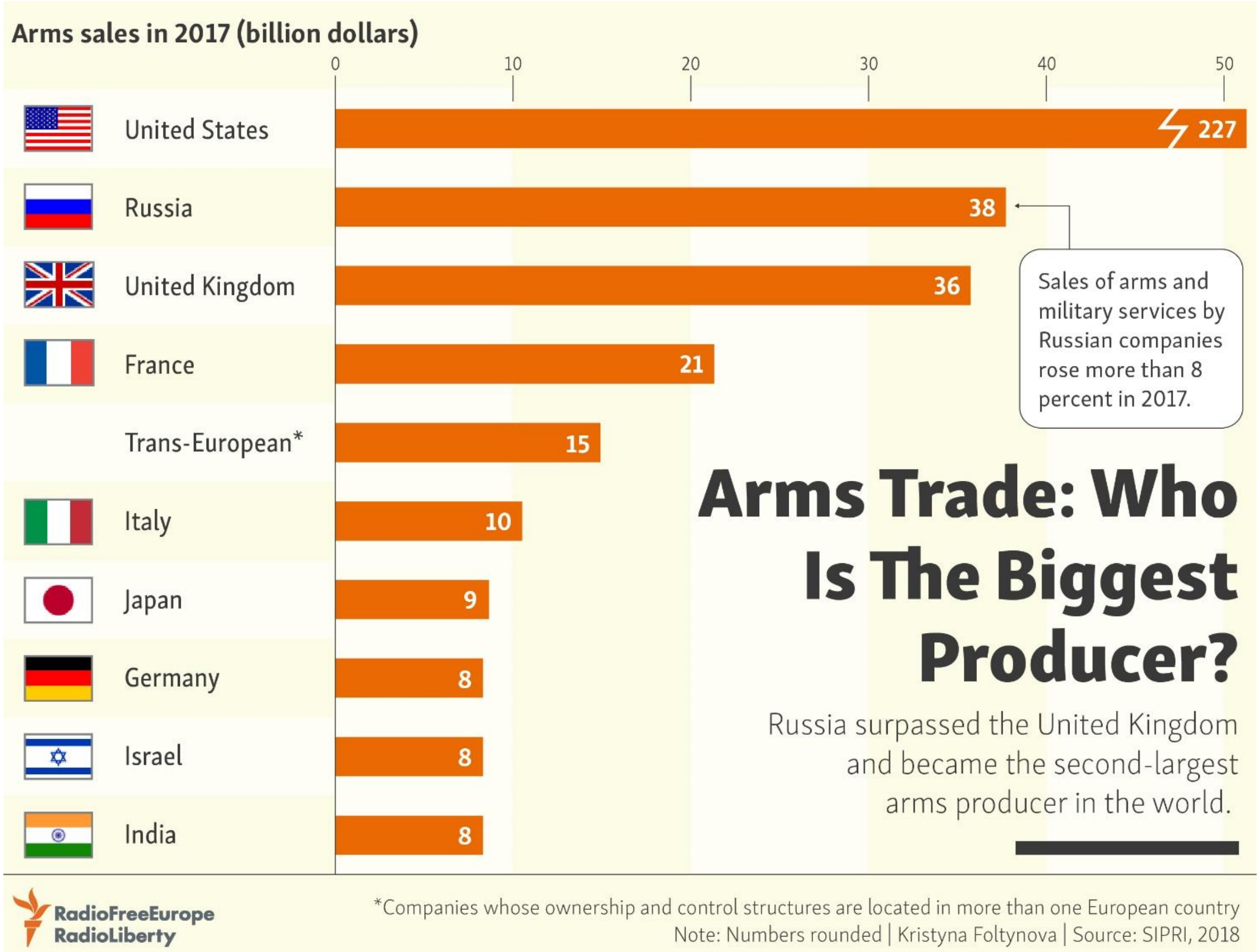
The total amount from deliveries of arms to the period from 1991 to 1998, according to R. Grimmett, has exceeded 250 billion dollars, and three-quarters of those arms were acquired by developing countries. The leading role of the arms market is taken by the Middle East. As it is mentioned by R. Wittkopf and Ch. W. Kegley, if in 1967 deliveries of arms to the Middle East made 11% of a total number of deliveries, then during the period from 1991 to 1994 this figure had increased to 77%. However, with the appearance of the new “hot places,” the situation has changed. In 2019, the volume of arms sales in the world reached US$ 361 Billion.

It is interesting!

From 1995 till 1998, according to R. Grimmett, the world structure of armament had the following structure: USA – 28,3%; main western European states – 31,2%; Russia – 18,4%; China – 3,6%; all other states – 18,5%.

About the second decade of the 21-st century, the volume of international transfers of major arms grew by 7.8 percent between 2009–13 and 2014–18, reaching its highest level since the end of the cold war. This growth is a continuation of the steady upward trend that began in the early 2000s. The five largest suppliers in 2014–18 were the United States, Russia, France, Germany, and China, and they accounted for 75 percent of the total global volume of exports (SIPRI, 2019).

Table 10. Arms sales on the global level



Source: https://www.rferl.org/a/arms-trade/29647986.html

The USA and the USSR were the main exporters of arms during the Cold War. Their share was coming from 50 to 75% of all armament markets. After the end of the Cold War, the USA began to dominate obviously. So, by official American sources, they possessed more than 40% of the export of arms. Even though through the late nineties - the beginning of the 2000th years Russia became more active in deliveries of arms the USA continues to be the leader in this market. As for 2018, the share of the USA was about 60% of the total arms sales in the world (Radio Free Europe, 2017).

Income from the sale of weapons goes on the further development of the military-industrial complex. However, the motive of these deliveries is not only economic but also political goals abroad can serve as a fact, that was especially characterized for the eras of the Cold War. For example, by estimations, which gives M. Klara, the USA in the 1980s supplied with weapons 59 countries, the USSR - 42. As for 2020, the USA was exporting military weapons to 60 countries of the world (Statista, 2020).

Deliveries and traffic with arms cause vigilance as it is obvious that, along with positive economic and political reasons for weapon suppliers, it is characterized also by a set of negative moments. So, increasing the number of weapons in a concrete region can lead to escalation of the conflict, especially in case of instability of the mode which receives it. By estimates of several researchers, in particular to M. Klara, L. Lyumpa, A. Hashim (And. Hashim), and some others, exists a direct correlation between traffic in arms and armed conflicts. It is in many respects caused by the fact that the purchase of weapons by one of the conflicting parties involves similar actions by other sides in the conflict. And sometimes weapons are purchased by both parties from the same state supplier.

It is necessary to mention also trade in the production of dual purposes, i.e., that which can be used by both sides in the conflict for peace and military purposes (for example, several chemical compounds).

Recently the increasing alarm is caused by uncontrollable arms supplies to the states which conflict with the neighbors and also the insurgent movements and various terrorist organizations. By different estimations, more than 10% of all trade is coming on illegal operations in the framework of the arms market.

Key Terminologies

National Security

Regional Security

International Security

Arms Race

Nuclear Weapon

Strategic and Tactical Nuclear Weapon

Ballistic Missiles

Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles

Short-range Ballistic Missiles

Medium-Range missiles

Cruise Missiles

The doctrine of Nuclear Deterrence

Strategic Defense Initiative

Mutually assured destruction

Weapons of Mass Destruction

Arms Control

The Limited Test ban Treaty

Nuclear Powers

Non-Proliferation Treaty

International Atomic Energy Agency

Antiballistic Missile Treaty

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, SALT

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, START

Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, INF

Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone

Chemical Weapon

Biological Weapon

Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty, CFE

On-site inspection

National Technical Means, NTM

Arms Trade

Dual-use production

Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicles, MIRVs

Military-Industrial Complex

Questions for Consideration

How can it be understood under the meanings of national, regional, and international security?

What type of nuclear weapons exists?

What is the history of using chemical weapons?

When are the agreements about the prohibition of chemical and biological weapons?

What is the main problem of non-proliferation?

Which countries are the members of the “Nuclear Club”?

Which countries have the chance to produce or obtain nuclear weapons?

Which countries voluntarily refused or have frozen their nuclear programs?

Which most important agreements have been signed in the field of disarmament and arms control?

What is the essence of the problem related to the arms trade?

Practicum

By using handbooks and other materials, please analyze the correlation between arms export to the different regions of the world and the strengthening/weakening of the conflict situation.

Chapter 12. Problems of Organized Crime

At the end of the XX century, security concern goes more and more beyond interstate cooperation and disarmament issues. With the development of the globalization process, organized crime sharply became a more actual topic. According to several estimates, since the 1980s the number of criminal acts, having been carried out within organized crime, has increased by 5% annually (Chitadze, 2020). Members of organized criminal groups gain huge income. By estimates, which were presented in 1999 the total amount of so-called dirty money in the world was from 500 to 1500 billion dollars per year, which was equal to 5% of the world GDP during this period (Lebedeva, 2007). In 2009 it was estimated to generate $870 billion - an amount equal to 1.5 percent of global GDP for this period (UNODC, 2010). As of 2016, Transnational Crime was a $1.6 trillion to $2.2 trillion Annual “Business” (Global Financial Integrity, 2017).

One of the fields of activity of organized crime is caused by the fact that several goods are not taxed. The illegal transfer of these goods from one country to another brings considerable revenue to the members of the groups of organized crime. Other areas of organized crime are connected with illegal arms supplies, illegal activity in the conflict zones, including recruitment of mercenaries, etc. Processes of privatization in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe have also drawn attention.
This problem already holds a specific place because of the scales but has received an additional boost in connection with globalization and the openness of borders generated by it. Considerable streams of drugs go via post-soviet space from Asia, the USA faces the same problem from Colombia and some other countries in Latin America. In general drug trafficking within the second decade of the XXI

Century, by different estimates, has increased tens of times, giving more than 500% of profit (Chitadze, 2016).

Fighting against drug distribution has become one of the global problems of the contemporary period. At the same time, their main production is arranged in countries with badly developed economies and a set of internal conflicts, with the military and quasi-military regime. The chief suppliers of opium poppy on the market today are Afghanistan and Burma today. By the estimates given by J. Goldstein, the production of opium from 1998 to 1999 has increased in Afghanistan twice and has made three-quarters of the world's production. More and more synthetic drugs which don't demand vegetable raw materials are widely adopted (Goldstein, 2011).

12.1. Approaches for Determinations of organized Crime

Approaches to the determination of organized criminality are an extremely complex phenomenon, because of which there are many different approaches to the fixation of its basic meaningful elements in the normative and doctrinal determinations.

Historically, in the USA, the first attempts to determine the concept of “organized criminality”, as they indicated by D.L.Herbertand, X.Tritt, were made in the 1950-1960th years, “when the committees of Congress began to reveal the proofs of the existence of secret criminal society or cartel by the name of „the Mafia“ or “the goat of nostra“ (Herbert, 1984).

Picture 17. Typical activities of organized crime

Source: https://www.crimemuseum.org/crime-library/organized-crime/typical-activities-of-organized-crime/

During the Oyster Bay conferences, in 1965 and *1966*, which were dedicated to the issue of the fighting with an organized crime the following definition was formulated: “Organized crime is the product of a self-perpetuating criminal conspiracy to wring exorbitant profits from our society by any means - fair and foul, legal and illegal. Despite personnel changes, the conspiratorial entity continues” (Oyster Bay Conferences, 1965).

The US Law of 1968 Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act gives the other definition:

“Organized crime' means the unlawful activities of the members of a highly organized, disciplined association engaged in supplying illegal goods and services, including but not limited to gambling, prostitution, loan sharking, narcotics, labor racketeering, and other unlawful activities of members of such organizations” (Congressional Research Service, 2010).

In general, organized crime — this is the form of criminality, which is characterized by the steady criminal activity, achieved by the criminal organizations (organized groups and criminal associations), which have the hierarchical structure, material, and financial base, and connections with the state structures, based on the corruption mechanisms. The first main reasons for the development of organized crime can belong to the following processes: the inosculation of leaders and active participants in the organized criminal formations with the representatives of the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the authority, business, commerce, mass media, and culture; the incapacity of the state to protect several basic constitutional rights and interests of citizens and society; the cultivation of the ideas of market and private property without the proper legal guarantee; the unjustified delay of the adoption of the basic laws, which ensure normal passage to the market, first of all, related to the fighting with organized crime and corruption; Impoverishment and the legal nihilism of the majority of the population of the country; the lobbying of the interests of separate groups by responsible officials for mercenary purposes. The conditions of criminality - this is the totality of the phenomena, which by themselves cannot create the criminality, but they serve as the circumstances, which facilitate its appearance and existence.

12.2. Organized criminal formations

The organized criminal formations differ from each other, they have both geographical and national specific character and they are distinguished according to the degree of globalization: they can act within the limits of one city, country and even exceed the borders of individual states, becoming transnational. It should be mentioned, that under the common name “organized criminal formations” in the literature are united two types of collective criminal subjects:

•Criminal organization—all forms of the associations of the persons, directly directed toward to the committing of a crime, conducting the criminal activity: the organized criminal groups, gangs, Illegal Armed Formations and so forth;

•Criminal community (association)—forming, which unites the first type of organizations, which organizes, coordinates, and guides their activity, ensures the interests of the criminal association; also it can fulfill the functions of “criminal trade union”, ensuring the social protection of its members. As a rule, such associations are not directly involved in criminal activities, turning these functions to smaller organizations, which are under their influence.

12.3. Prevalence of the organized criminality

The scale of the activity of organized criminality is extremely high and damage from it is enormous. In the report of national reconnaissance Intelligence Council of USA “Global trend of development of humanity until 2015” is mentioned: “Accessible to us data show, that they early incomes from the organized criminal activity comprise: 100-300 billion of dollars from the trade-in narcotics; 10-12 billion of dollars from the flood of toxic and other dangerous withdrawals; 9 billion of dollars from the embezzlements of vehicles in the USA and Europe; 7 billion of dollars from the displacement through the boundaries of illegal migrants; about Billions of dollars from the violation of rights to intellectual property by the illegal copying of video films, computer programs, and other goods"(Intelligence Council of USA, 2015). Harm from corruption is approximately 500 billion dollars, which is about 1% of the world GNP. This damage is the consequence of retarding economic growth, a decrease in foreign investments, and a reduction in profits. For example, according to the data of the European Bank for Reconstruction and the Developments, firms, which carry out business in Russia, spend from 4 to 8 percent of their annual earnings on bribes (Dolgovaya, 2005).

12.4. Transnational criminal organizations

The organized criminality sufficiently frequently established international contacts; however, during the centuries these connections were irregular and usually short-term till the middle of XX. Their bloom began only after the internationalization of the economy and the propagation of trade by the illegal goods (narcotics, weapons, etc.) led to significant income growth from the trans-border criminal operations.

Following basic transnational criminal organizations can be listed:

• Italian Mafia, which is the union of several criminal organizations: "Ndrangheta" from Calabria. In the article "Move over, Cosa Nostra", published by *The Guardian*, on 8 June 2006, within this period this group included approximately 100 families, totaling between 4,000 and 5,000 members in Reggio Calabria. Other estimates mention 6,000-7,000 men; worldwide there might be some 10,000 members. In the FBI report under the name "Italian Organized Crime", there are the following dates about other criminal groups in Italy: "*Kamorra"* from Naples Consists of 111 families and totals more than 6 700 members. "*Nuova* Sacra Corona Unita" from Puglia consists of about 50 clans with approximately 2,000 members and finally the Mafia "Cosa *Nostra" of Sicily* 25,000 members total, with 250,000 affiliates worldwide. There are more than 3,000 members and affiliates in the U.S., scattered mostly throughout the major cities in the Northeast, the Midwest, California, and the South. Their largest presence centers around New York, southern New Jersey, and Philadelphia (Chitadze, 2016).

Picture 18. Al Capone and his mafia members

Source: https://www.pinterest.com/drigol/italian-mafia/

The basic source of income for the Italian Mafia is the trade of narcotics; however, it is occupied by other illegal operations too. Particularly: Smuggling of weapons, alcohol, tobacco, taking hostages, and so forth. In the '90s of the XX century, the influence of the Italian Mafia because of the matched efforts of the law-enforcement agencies of Italy was somewhat reduced, however, it continues to preserve one of the leading places in the list of the criminal organizations in the World.

In the article of the journal LE MONDE: "Atlas der Globalisierung - Die Welt von morgen": Kriminalitätohne Grenzen is pointed out about number and activities of the Chinese, Japanese, Columbian and Nigerian criminal groups, particularly:

• Chinese “triads” mostly operate in the territory of Hong Kong and Taiwan; there are about 50 different organizations, which relate to this group, whose number counts according to the different estimations from 160 to 300 thousand people. Despite the rigid hierarchical structure, the components of triads, which directly accomplish the criminal operations, are part of the flexible net system, capable of changing their structure, being adjusted slightly under the ambient conditions. Triads are occupied by extortion, drug trafficking, prostitution, gambling, are the important suppliers of heroin in the USA.

• Japanese ”*yakuza”* also known as **gokudō,** are members of transnational organized crime syndicates originating in Japan. The Japanese police, and media by request of the police, call them **bōryokudan** ("violent groups"), while the yakuza call themselves "**ninkyōdantai**" ("chivalrous organizations"). It also consists of several self-contained organizations, from which the largest is Yamaguchi -Gumi, which counts more than 26000 members, then comes Inagava-kay (8600members) and Sumiesi-kay (more than 7000 members). These organizations conduct fights between themselves; however, it is also implemented as a matched activity for the involvement in corruption of the government officials and criminalization of the economy. Besides, the interference in the internal economic processes (by yakuza is controlled the film industry, entertainment industry, professional sport, lottery, the financial sphere, and the sphere of the real estate), it achieves the smuggling of sea products and stealing the motor transport, narcotics (including methamphetamine) and weapon (Le Monde, 2007).

• Colombian drug cartels are occupied practically exclusively by the drug trafficking business, being basic suppliers on the World Market of cocaine (to 80 %). The two most known cartels existed in the cities of Medellín and Cali. The Medellin cartel was founded by the families of Pablo Eskobar and Ochoa, and Cali`s - by families of Santacruz and Rodriguez Orikhuella. The leading level of the cartels is built according to a rigid hierarchical diagram, and various cells are separated at the lower level, each of which is occupied by the specific form of criminal activity and it is not informed about the other operations of the cartel. At the end of the 1990's years, the operation of the Colombian police and law-enforcement agencies of other countries led to a significant decrease in the volume of the operations which were carried out by cartels; however, the liberated places have been taken by the smaller criminal organizations.

Picture 19. Neo-paramilitary group “Los Urabeños” has taken the majority stake in Colombia’s drug trafficking business

Source: https://colombiareports.com/how-the-urabenos-beat-los-rastrojos/

• Nigerian criminal organizations appeared at the beginning of the 1980's years as a result of the crisis of the economy of Nigeria, connected with a drop in the prices of oil. These criminal organizations specialize in drug trafficking, and also in the knavish operations including the use of new financial instruments and extortion. As a rule, the majority of operations are small, but this is compensated by their large number (Chitadze, 2016).

12.4.1. Criminal Organizations in Europe

In the report of the European Union about the situation in the sphere of organized criminality in 2004 (European Union Organized Crime Report 2004) and the subsequent years ((European Organized Crime Threat Assessment (OCTA) 2007)) are listed the basic international criminal organizations, which act in the territory of Europe. To this number most dangerous of them are referred Albanian (occupying by trade in narcotics and by people, and also being approached the establishment of control of the criminal markets, including by forced methods) and Russian (economic crimes, extortion, illegal immigration).

Furthermore, it is indicated the action of other ethnic groups: Turkish (trade in narcotics and weapon, money laundering, racket), Nigerian (trade in narcotics and by people, swindle), Moroccan (trade by narcotics and smuggling), Colombian (trade-in cocaine), Chinese (illegal migration), Vietnamese (smuggling, illegal migration, other criminal services).

According to the article, presented by the journal LE MONDE: "Atlas der Globalisierung - Die Welt von morgen": Kriminalitätohne Grenzen, one of the most dangerous criminal activities in Europe, fulfills the Russian Mafia. It includes about 160 000 members and 12 000 groups.
Based on the research, prepared by Chris Matthews under the name: “The biggest organized crime groups in the world” on the first place was located the Russian Organized Criminal Organization

"Solntsevskaya Bratva" (Solntsevo is the district in Moscow), the revenue of which was estimated $8,5 billion in 2014 (Matthews, 2014).

12.5. The international experience of fighting against the transnational organized crime

Understanding with the International community of the seriousness of threats, which emanate from narcotics trafficking, Money laundering, corruption, and other crimes began only in the XX century as the result of the understanding of the increasing of the scales of these challenges, which emerge beyond the framework of individual state and in connection with their negative influence on sociopolitical, economic spheres, National Security and person. The leading role in the legal regulation of the efforts of states and the International Community for the combating transnational organized crime belongs to the UN; in the recent decades, when it became obvious, that the ability of states to separately resist the spreading of international criminality does not correspond to the scales of crimes, under the aegis of the UN many universal documents on the resistance to Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) were adopted, and the work of the world community in this direction acquire sever more system nature. The first international experience of the fighting with the criminal challenges of the international nature was connected with the signing of intergovernmental agreements, including against the slave trade (Viennese convention of 1815), the propagation of pornography (Parisian convention of 1910), forgery of monetary terms (convention of 1929).

At the beginning of the XX century, the international nature of several crimes did not make it possible to carry them exclusively to the scope of one state, and an appropriate situation was emerging, when international collaboration in this field became necessary. In 1927, in Warsaw took place the first international conference on the unification of the criminal legislation, where the number of crimes of international nature was related to piracy, slave trade, narcotics trafficking, trade of pornography materials, the forgery of monetary terms. A number of the legal norms in the sphere of combating international criminality, which was reflected in the international-legal documents were worked out, particularly: The international convention about the fight with the acts of nuclear terrorism (2005), Convention of the UN against the transnational organized criminality (2000), convention of the United Nations against corruption (2003), convention of the UN in the fight against the illegal circulation of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances (1988), Convention of the Council of Europe about washing up**,** revealing**,** withdrawal and confiscation of incomes from criminal activity (1990) (Chitadze, 2016).

In the framework of the Council of Europe were adopted 9 conventions in the field of a fight with the international criminality. Among them –the European convention about compensation to the victims of crimes (1998), protocol to the convention about cyber terrorism (2003), and others. Furthermore, as a rule, many international agreements contain positions about the collaboration in the fight with one or another form of international criminality.

Concerning the European Union, it is important to discuss the EU's 'solidarity clause', Article 222 of the Lisbon Treaty (TFEU), which means the mutual assistance and common fighting of the EU member states against terrorism, including the terrorism prevention by EU member states (Parkes, 2015).

The UN since the beginning of its existence was involved with the problems of warning and suppression of the crimes: under the aegis of the UN is adopted several international conventions, the

General Assembly of UN regularly considers resolutions with the recommendations regarding the combating of separate types of crimes of the international nature. Since 1955, every five years the congress of the UN for warning of criminality and rotation with the lawbreakers is organized. XI Congress of the UN on warning of criminality and criminal justice took place in Bangkok in April 2005. Based on the results, the Bangkok declaration “Synergies and Responses:
Strategic Alliances in Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice” was adopted (UN Congress on Crime Prevention, 2005).

At the beginning of the 1990s, within the framework of the UN was undertaken several major steps, directed toward an increase the effectiveness of the coordination of member states in the fight with the TOC. In 1990, the General Assembly of the UN approved the model standard agreements (in the spheres of criminal justice, extradition, etc.) and the program of the UN in the field of warning of criminality and criminal justice was adopted in 1991. The basic purpose of the program—organize assistance to member nations in a matter of warning crimes and criminal justice.

A Ministerial conference on the fight with transnational organized criminality took place in Naples in November 1994. In the work conference were the representatives of 142 countries; Based on the results, the General Assembly of the UN adopted the Global Action Plan against Transnational organized crime. In 1997, at the sixth session of the commission for warning of crime and criminal justice, a working group was created on the performance of the Naples Declaration (Chitadze, 2016). The working over the determination of the organized crime became a central question in the framework of the working group: as the compromise version was designated the key elements, which characterize the phenomenon of the organized crime—the presence of organization, a constant nature, division of labor inside the group, violence, and deference, the hierarchy, tendency toward obtaining the profit, influence on the society, media means and political structures. In 1998, for developing the text of convention-related the resistance to transnational crime, the commission created the intergovernmental committee of ad hoc, which was opened for the participation of all states, including the states, which were not the members of the UN (Chitadze, 2016). In the operation of the committee, important role-played individual states, which focused attention on the problems, which they directly encountered as most closely. In particular, Austria and Italy raised a question about the illegal migration, Argentina—to trade by children, Japan and Canada offered the inclusion in the text of the future convention a new tool on the fight with the illegal production and trade of firearms.

The signing in 2000 of the convention of the United Nations against transnational organized crime and also three protocols to it became a watershed in the fight with a transnational crime within the framework of the UN. The convention of the UN against transnational organized crime adapts concerning the crimes of transnational nature, perfected with the participation of the organized criminal group. Organized crime is understood through characteristics of the organized criminal groups, the seriousness of the violence accomplished by them (UN, 2000). The convention defines the organized criminal group as “the structurally designed group in the composition of three or more persons, that exists during the specific period and acting in concord to commit of one or several serious crime or crimes, acknowledged as the same following the present convention, to obtain, directly or indirectly, financial or another material benefit” (article.2).

So, fighting against organized crime is a much more complex problem, than fighting with the different types of individual criminality. Effective fighting with organized crime is impossible without the measures, directed toward the sanitation of society as a whole, called to give the legal alternative“ to the social services" of the criminal society: the state must ensure to population the availability for the necessary goods and services, employment of the population, normal functioning of ideological and educational institutes, availability of the lawful means of the resolution the social conflicts.

Which of the enumerated measures will prove to be more effective—it depends on the model, on which is built the activity of the organized criminality under the specific social conditions.

The specialist on organized crime issues, Jay Albanese, in his report "The Use of Models in the Study of Organized Crime" presented at the 2003 conference of the European Consortium for Political Research (ECPR), (Marburg, Germany, 19 September 2003), separated three types of these models:

• Traditional model of the large-scale criminal conspiracy, controlled by a small group of leaders. In that case, the most effective will be the measures, directed toward the neutralization of the leaders via their arrest or by another method, which will lead to the collapse of the Arrangement.

• Model of the local organized ethnic groups. In this case, since no centralized organization has existed, the neutralization of leaders will not give the desired result, since they will be replaced by new ones. In this case, the basic directions of the fight can become the measures of financial, social, and other control, and also other steps, directed toward the removal of financial flows from the shady ("black") sector of the economy.

• The model of enterprise, according to which organized crime is characterized by the informal decentralized structure and appears under the specified social and economic conditions when the legal mechanisms of the guarantee of needs of the population are ineffective. To deal with this type it is necessary to, first of all, eliminate the reasons, which created the results of crime, stabilizing and after making transparent social and economic processes.

Furthermore, the law-enforcement agencies could reach significant results in the fighting with organized crime, were necessary the special normative-legal and material and technical base of their activity, allowing taking the necessary measures for the prevention of commission of a crime as the organized groups, to disorganize their activity, not to allow members of the organized criminal associations the fallen in the field of the sight of the organs of the protection of law to leave from the criminal responsibility.

Key Terminologies

Organized Crime

Transnational Criminal Organizations

Criminal Organizations in Europe

Colombian drug cartels

Italian Mafia

Chinese “triads”

Japanese ”yakuza”

Questions for Consideration

What can be understood under the meaning of International Organized Crime?

Which are the leading organized criminal groups in the World?

What are the main principles of the international experience of fighting against transnational organized crime?

Practicum

By using handbooks and other materials, please analyze the main conditions, which create the convenient base for the activation of the organized crime groups in the different regions of the world.

Chapter 13. Problems of Terrorism in the Modern World

The general point of view on terrorism as a rare and relatively remote threat was challenged by the tragic events of September 11, 2001. The terrible incidents, visited on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, and the crash victims in Pennsylvania forced the International Community to confront a grim new reality: Terrorist Organizations had an appropriate resource for the executing catastrophic attacks almost in each region of the World, even without an arsenal of sophisticated weapons.

9/11 became the first turning point for the whole world to focus on the issues of national as well international security.

As for the most recent developments show terrorism is assumed to be the most significant “enemy” of the 21-st century.

US State Department listed 44 terrorist organizations in 2008 (Joshua S. Goldstein. Jon C. Pevehouse. 2010).

Today`s Boko Haram, Tamil Tigers, Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah play very significant roles even in deciding the scope of the foreign policy of leading superpowers.

It is necessary to add, about the existence of states on the World political map, that fund and supports different terrorist groups and illegal armed formations in the different regions of the World. United Nations, by Resolution 39/159 “Inadmissibility of the policy of State terrorism and any actions by States aimed at undermining the socio-political system in other sovereign States”, condemns any actions of state-terrorism (UN, 1984).

In general, Terrorism represents one of the most serious problems which not only has become aggravated at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century but also has appeared, in fact, among the main threats to security especially in its new forms, which have several new directions. It is caused, first of all, by the level of technological development and possibilities to impact the world, therefore large-scale terrorist attacks can be conducted by a small group of people or even by one person. Secondly, in the modern world, the potential range of terrorist organizations (national and cultural symbols, government buildings, places of big congestion of people, etc.) and also types of weapons which can be used are various. The third, modern terrorists, or, by U. Lakyyuer's definition, terrorists of an era of postmodern, together with other criminal structures look for allies in public institutions that lead to corruption. The considerable sums are spent on bribery of officials and also the intelligence agencies, which are designed to prevent illegal activity.

Picture 20. Most brutal terrorist attacks. New York, USA, September 11, 2001.

Source: https://zeenews.india.com/world/9/11-attacks-new-york-marks-19th-anniversary-of-the-dreadful-terror-attack-2308932.html

Terrorism by itself is not a new phenomenon. It has been known since Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome. In the 19th century, terrorism is connected with anarchical and also some nationalist organizations. By estimates of several authors, for example, R. Kidder, terrorism becomes an international problem since 1960th years. In the 1970-1980th years, the world faced a surge in terrorist operations in Europe (Lebedeva, 2017).

Despite the centuries-old existence of a terrorism phenomenon, in the theoretical plan, this problem is quite difficult to give in to definition. The matter is that the same actions are considered at the same time by the different parties as terrorism from one side and freedom fighting from the other side. For this reason, the attempts to define terrorism within the UN (and various criteria were offered by the USA, Great Britain, other countries) in general have not been crowned with success.

However, the fact that, first, it is politically motivated violent acts or their threat is undoubtedly important in terrorism definition, secondly, they are directed against civilians, and not just directly concerning the power. Concerning them, terrorist attacks for the realization of these or those political goals are conducted. Terrorism is substantially focused on the achievement of a psychological effect. Therefore, terrorists are, as a rule, interested in that their acts have found as much as possible extended coverage in mass media. The psychological effect has multiple focuses, including drawing attention to the organization and its purposes, demonstration of opportunities, population or its certain groups, etc.

Another important feature when determining terrorism is in what is carried out by the non-state actors. Therefore, any armed actions, let unjustified and illegal (for example, capture by Iraq of Kuwait in the early nineties), don't get under terrorism definitions. At the same time, the state can give support to the terrorist organizations (including financial or in the form of granting the territory for the terrorist bases, refusal of delivering terrorists to the other states, approvals of their actions, etc.). In this regard, there has appeared a term "State Terrorism". The USA, for example, even the states which, according to them, get to this category. However, the state in such cases practically never takes the responsibility for recognition in the assistance to terrorism, and to prove the state`s participation in the terrorist act is quite difficult.

The period of the beginning of the 21st century when the political structure of the world is in process of cardinal changes represents itself the convenient base for terrorism development. In modern conditions of globalization terrorists often act out of national borders. Therefore, it is being discussed about international terrorism, or transnational terrorism (that is more precise), which means the use of the territory or involvement of the citizens in terrorist actions in more than one country. And even though it is quite difficult to outline borders between internal and international terrorism as practically all rather large terrorist organizations have links outside national borders, nevertheless feature of the first is the fact that the challenge is thrown down not to the concrete state or group of the states, but the model of development of the world. Construction of transnational terrorist structures to the network principle and finding the structural division in many states of the world strongly complicates the fight against this threat.

Terrorist actions are not seldom included in an arsenal of the means of fighting by various ethnic, religious, and other groups, actually being a form of political struggle and favorable business. Among the different terrorist group's good connections, including military and commercial, are established. Some interact with the criminal structures, in particular, which are connected with the drug business. Incomes from the sale of drugs quite often go for the financing of acts of terrorism.

Special concern is caused by a possibility of access by the terrorist organizations to the modern types of weapons and weapons of mass destruction. So, in March 1995, the Japanese religious sect Aum Shinrikyo has conducted a terrorist attack with the use of nervously-paralytic gas in the subway, as a result of which 10 people have been killed and about 5000 have been forced to ask for medical care. However, one of the biggest shocks was the actions of terrorists on September 11, 2001, when in the USA several planes, which were captured by terrorists, were directed to the buildings of the World Trade Center in New York and also to the Pentagon. One more plane crashed with passengers, but in this case, at least it succeeded to avoid the much bigger victims. Results of the attack were comparable with the destructive effect during the missile attack.

This act of terrorism has raised many security issues differently. Earlier many estimates have brought out the calculation of the time of flight of ballistic missiles. Now, this indicator is insufficient. The second moment is connected with the definition of a source of aggression. If before in strategic concepts one or several states' main threats were coming from the foreign states, then today to the list of potential attackers are included, terrorist groups. The international terrorists, on the one hand, have bases, as a rule, in various countries, with another directly and openly isn't connected with government institutions (if to exclude a possibility of creation of corruption). As it was noted, terrorists act as independent actors on the world scene. At last, threats are extremely certain: poisoning of water of the megalopolis or the gas attack in the subway can be done by civilian airliners, tomorrow. At last, the last major moment connected with lessons on September 11, 2001, and the governments of certain countries (even such powerful as the USA) and the international community, in general, were not ready to adequately answer. The tragic events in Beslan on September 1, 2004, connected with the taking of hostages in the school, have once again confirmed new parameters of modern threats: surprise (several minutes are absent even for preparation for reflection of the attacks), plurality, and heterogeneity of terrorist acts and also means of attack.

Another sphere of modern terrorism - cyberterrorism, including information attacks, is connected with a possibility of destabilization of work of computer systems and networks. Considering the role of such systems in the modern world, it is easy to imagine the consequences of the large failures in the work of transport, communication, power supply, governmental and municipal structures - so-called "Critical infrastructures" of modern society. The feature of cyberterrorism consists of the fact, that the threat of information terrorism is realized quite well by different international actors. According to one of the computer magazines (information Week), viruses and actions of hackers cost large businesses in only one 2000 about 1,6 billion dollars. In May of the same year in Paris, the meeting at the level of computer terrorism experts has taken place. They expressed opinions that the threat of cyberterrorism constitutes a danger for mankind, comparable with nuclear, chemical, bacteriological wars.

All this also induces the states to coordinate the actions in the fight against terrorism. A number of the international agreements, in particular, on providing safe civil via transportation and shipping (The international conventions 1963, 1970, 1988) have been adopted, for example; on the fight against the taking of hostages (1979); to the protection of nuclear materials (1980). International terrorism has received condemnation in 1985 on the UN General Assembly where the relevant Resolution has been adopted (Lebedeva, 20017). The question of the fight against terrorism was repeatedly raised at meetings of heads of states, including members of the G7.

Special divisions in the fight against terrorism exist in many countries. Coordination of national efforts is on the practical level carried out by different international institutes, including Interpol.

13.1. International Terrorism - the main threat to the World Community in the XXI Century

Definition and History of the notion and its evolution through the centuries

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon and even though it has been used since the beginning of recorded history, it can be relatively hard to make the exact definition of terrorism. Terrorism has been analyzed variously as both a tactic and strategy; a crime and a “liberation movement”. It very much depends on whose position and opinion are being represented. Terrorism has often been an effective tactic for the weaker side in a conflict. As an asymmetric form of the conflict, it confers coercive power with many of the advantages of military force at a fraction of the cost. Taking into account the secretive nature and small size of the terrorist organizations, those groups do not offer to their opponents any clear structure. Because of this, preemption is being considered to be so significant. In some cases, terrorism has been a means to continue a conflict without the adversary realizing the nature of the threat, mistaking terrorism for criminal activity. Taking into consideration these characteristics, terrorism has become increasingly common among those pursuing extreme purposes throughout our planet. But despite its popularity, terrorism can be a nebulous concept.

Even in the case of the U.S. Government, state agencies responsible for different functions in the ongoing combating terrorism activities, use various definitions. About the free online dictionary, terrorism is defined as "The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence by a person or an organized group against people or property to intimidate or coerce societies or governments, often for ideological or political reasons" (Free Dictionary, 2020).

Discussing this definition, there are three main factors - violence, fear, and intimidation and each element produces terror in its victims. The FBI uses this type of determination: "Terrorism is the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives."(FBI, 2020) The U.S. Department of State, based on the title 22 of the U.S. Code, Section 2656f(d), defines "terrorism" to be "premeditated politically-motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience" (US Department of State, 2007).

Besides the determination from the United States Government`s side, there are greater variations in what features of terrorism are emphasized in definitions. One of the leading experts on Combating Terrorism issues, Prof. Alex Schmid presented his definition, which is the following: "An anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby - in contrast to assassination - the direct targets of violence are not the main targets"(NATO, 2007). The most recently distributed academic determination is added to the above-mentioned definition. There are presented two more sentences and includes 77 words in general; containing such verbose concepts as "message generators" and "violence" based communication processes." Less specific and considerably less verbose, the British Government definition of 1974 is"…the use of violence for political ends, and includes any use of violence to put the public, or any section of the public, in fear (Rouis, 2017)."

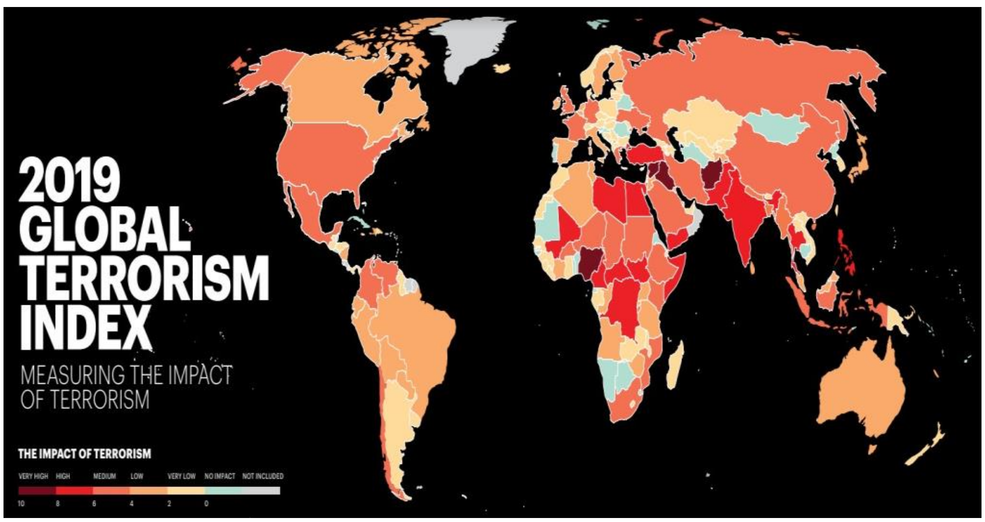
In general, Terrorism is a criminal act that influences an audience beyond the immediate victim. The strategy of terrorists is to commit acts of violence that draw the attention of the local population, the government, and the world to their cause. During the planning of the terrorist attack, the main purpose of terrorists is to obtain the greatest publicity, choosing targets that symbolize what they oppose. The effectiveness of the terrorist act lies not in the act itself, but the public's or government's reaction to the act. For example, in 1972, during the Olympic Games in Munich, 11 members of the Israeli delegation were killed by the Black September Organization. The Israelis were the immediate victims, but the real target was the estimated 1 billion people watching the televised event.

The organization – „Black September" used the high visibility of the Olympic games to publicize its views on the problems of the Palestinian refugees. Besides, in October 1983, terrorists from the

Middle East Region committed a terrorist act at the Marine Battalion Landing Team Headquarters at Beirut International Airport. Their immediate victims were the 241 U.S. military personnel who were killed and over 100 others who were wounded. The direct target of those terrorists was the American people and the government. This one act of violence influenced the United States' decision to withdraw the Marines from Beirut and was therefore considered a successful result for the terrorists.

There are three targets of terrorism: the terrorists, the victims, and the general public. The phrase "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" is a view terrorists themselves would accept. Terrorists do not consider themselves criminals. They are sure that they are legitimate combatants, fighting for the protection of their ideas by any possible means. A victim of a terrorist act and the majority of society sees the terrorist as evil with no regard for human life. The general public's view is the most unstable. The terrorists do their best to create the image of "Robin Hood" with the hope to find additional supporters among the members of society. This sympathetic view of terrorism has become an integral part of their psychological warfare and needs to be countered vigorously.

Map 9. 2019 Global Terrorism Index



Source: https://impakter.com/global-terrorism-in-continuous-downfall/

13.2. Several historic aspects of terrorist activities

Terrorism and terrorist groups have the deep roots since the ancient period. The first known organization that exhibited aspects of a modern terrorist organization was the Zealots of Judea. Known to the Romans as Sicarii, or dagger-men, they committed an underground campaign of murdering Roman occupation forces, as well as any Jews, whom they considered to be allies of Romans and who were serving to the Roman authorities. The motive of those groups was an uncompromising belief that they could not remain faithful to the dictates of Judaism while living under pressure from the Roman Empire. Eventually, the Zealot rebel movement became open and they were finally besieged and were forced to commit mass suicide at the fortification of Masada (Terrorism Research, 2020).

Several centuries later, the Assassins were the next group, whose activities were interrelated with the modern standards of terrorism. A breakaway faction of Shia Islam called the Nizari Ismailis worked out the tactic of the assassination of enemy leaders because the cult's limited manpower prevented open combat. The head of this group, Hassam-I Sabbah, based the cult in the mountains of Northern Iran. Their tactic of sending a lone assassin to successfully kill a key enemy leader at the certain sacrifice of his own life (the killers waited next to their victims to be killed or captured) inspired fearful awe in their enemies (Terrorism Research, 2020).

Even though Zealots and the Assassins were involved in terrorist activities a long time ago, they are relevant nowadays: First as forerunners of modern terrorists in aspects of motivation, organization, targeting, and goals. Secondly, although both were ultimate failures, the fact that they are remembered hundreds of years later demonstrates the deep psychological impact they caused.

From the period of the Assassin's (late 13th century) activities to the beginning of the 18th Century, terror and barbarism were widely used in warfare and conflict, but key ingredients for terrorism were lacking. After the ending of the 30-year war and the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648, when the modern nation-states were founded, the sort of central authority and cohesive society that terrorism attempts to influence barely existed. Communications were inadequate and controlled, and the causes that could inspire terrorism (religious schism, insurrection, ethnic strife) movements typically led to open military operations. By the time kingdoms and principalities became nations, they had an appropriate resource to enforce their power and prevent such activities, as terrorism.

The Revolution in France provided the first uses of the meaning "Terrorist" and "Terrorism". Using this terminology - "terrorism" began in 1795 about the Reign of Terror initiated by the Revolutionary government of France against supporters of the monarchy. The representatives of the Committee of Public Safety and the National Convention that enforced the policies of "The Terror" were referred to as 'Terrorists"(Terrorism, 2020). The Revolutionary processes in France within the period 1789-1793 created the precedent for the other states in oppressing their populations in the future. It also inspired a reaction by royalists and other opponents of the Revolution who was involved in the implementation of terrorist tactics such as assassination and intimidation in resistance to the Revolutionary agents. The Parisian mobs played a decisive role at key points before, during, and after the Revolution. Such extra-radical activities as murder prominent officials and aristocrats in gruesome spectacles started long before the invention of the first time guillotine.

At the end of the 19th century, the development of the political theories, which were based on the principles of radicalism and improvements in the technology of producing the weapons, spurred the formation of small groups of revolutionaries who were involved in the effective attack of the state institutions. Anarchists espousing belief in the "propaganda of the deed" produced some striking successes, killing heads of the states from Russia, France, Spain, Italy, and the United States. However, their weak organizational structure and ignorance of the cooperation with the other social groups and movements in political efforts rendered anarchists ineffective as a political ideology and movement. In contrast, Communism's role as an ideological basis, based on the radical theory of Marxism, found the convenient way for political terrorism. At the beginning of the XX Century, it was just activating and finally became much more influential in the first half of the last century.

Another tendency in the late 19th century, when many territories of our planet were under the colonial rules of the leading powers, was the increasing wave of nationalism in the different regions of the world, in which the nation (the identity of a people) and the political state were combined. As nations started to protect their national identities - language, religion, cultural heritage, etc. people that had been conquered or colonized could, like the Jews at the times of the Zealots, opt for assimilation or struggle. One of the most known ethical and religious conflicts in Europe from this time is still not finally resolved - the multi-century struggle of Irish nationalism which is combined with the protection of the principles of Catholicism in Northern Ireland. The anti-colonial type of Nationalism, like communism, became a much greater ideological force in the 20th century.

The terrorist group from this period that is represented as a model of many directions of the terrorist activities was the Russian Narodnya Volya (Peoples Will). Taking into account the strategy and tactics of this group, it should be mentioned that it differed in some ways from modern terrorists, especially in that they would sometimes call off attacks that might endanger individuals other than their intended target. Other than this quirk, it can be noticed many of the traits of terrorism here for the first time; clandestine, cellular organization; impatience and inability for the task of organizing the constituents they claim to represent; and a tendency to increase the level of violence as pressures on the group mount.

The first half of the 20th century was characterized by the two events that influenced the nature of the conflict to the present day. The effects of two World Wars inflamed passions and hopes of nationalists throughout the world, and severely damaged the legitimacy of the international order and governments. The activation of the nationalism movement became more intensified during the early 20th century throughout the world. It transferred to an especially powerful force in the subject peoples of various colonial empires. Although dissent and resistance were common in many colonial possessions, and sometimes resulted in open warfare, national identities became a focal point for these actions (Goldstein, Pevehouse. 2010).

Gradually, as peoples and nations became closely connected with the concepts of race and ethnicity, international political developments began to support such approaches. Members of ethnic groups whose territories had been occupied by the other states or had ceased to exist as independent nations considered the new opportunities to realize their nationalist ambitions. Several of these ethnic and religious groups chose terror as a method to conduct their struggle and make their situation known to the international community, they hoped would be sympathetic. In Europe, both the Irish and the Basks separatist groups were involved in the terrorist campaigns as part of their ongoing struggle for independence but had to initiate bloody uprisings to further their cause. Both were partially successful.

Further development of Terrorism is interrelated with the Cold War period. The bipolar international system of the Cold War changed the perception of conflicts in the world. Relatively, minor confrontations took on significance as arenas where the superpowers could compete without risking escalation to full nuclear war. Warfare between the East and the West, between two economic and political systems, and between two ideologies took place on the peripheries and was limited in scope to prevent escalation. During the immediate postwar period, terrorism was more of a tactical choice by leaders of nationalist insurgencies and revolutions. National-Liberation movements for independence from colonial rule occurred throughout the world and many employed terrorisms as a supporting tactic. In several cases, terrorism was used within the framework of larger movements and coordinated with political, social, and military actions. Even when terrorism came to dominate the other aspects of a nationalist struggle, such as the Palestinian campaign against Israel, it was (and is) combined with other activities (Hoffman, 2006).

Terrorist actions or the threat of such types of activities have been in existence for millennia.

Despite the fact, that the history of the terrorism movement prevails over the history of the modern nation-state, the implementation of the terrorist acts by the different groups or even by some state institutions and those that contest their power remains hardly researched. From one side, the term - terror itself is more or less clear, when it is associated with acts and actors in the real world it becomes confused. Party it is determined by the fact – using terror strategies and tactics by organizers at all levels in the social and political environment. Who is the person, who uses an appropriate military and another kind of equipment for the explosion of the various civil and military objects, a criminal? Or a member of any revolutionary movement? (Terrorism Research, 2010).

Is it possible, that some people to be compared to the French revolutionary governments who used the term terrorism by justification the systematic state terror against this part of the population of France in the 1790s, which was considered as opposition to the new government by killing tens of thousands? Are either they the same as revolutionary terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof Gang of West Germany or the Weather Underground in the United States?

So, it can be noticed that distinction of size and political legitimacy of the actors using terror raise questions as to which action can be considered a terrorist act and which not. The concept related to moral equivalency is very often used as an argument to broaden and blur the definition of terrorism as well. This approach argues that the outcome of an action is what matters, not the intent. Collateral or unintended damage to civilians from an attack by illegal paramilitary forces on a legitimate military target is the same as a terrorist bomb directed deliberately at the civilian target to create that damage. Simply put, a car bomb on a city street and a jet fighter dropping a bomb on a tank are both acts of violence that produce death and terror. Therefore (at the end of this argument) any illegal activities with the use of weapons are simply terrorism with its different interpretation. This is the reasoning behind the famous phrase "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter" (Hoffman, 2013). It is also a legacy of legitimizing the use of terror by successful revolutionary movements after the fact.

The very flexibility and adaptability of terror during the long period have contributed to the confusion. Those seeking to disrupt, reorder or destroy the status quo have continuously sought new and creative ways to achieve their goals. Some changes in the strategy and tactics and development of techniques by terrorists have been significant, but even more significant is the increase in the number of causes and social contexts where terrorist acts are committed. During the past 20 years, terrorists have implemented extremely violent acts for alleged political or religious reasons. Political ideology, on which terrorists are based, ranges from the extreme left to the extreme right. For example, the leftist groups can be represented by such terrorist organizations as Marxists and Leninists who propose a revolution of workers led by the revolutionary elite. On the contrary, right-wing-oriented groups are based on the typical belief in a merging of state and business leadership. Nationalism is the devotion to the interests or culture of a group of people or a nation. Typically, nationalists share a common ethnic background and desire to establish an independent state. Religious extremists often ignore the power of secular authorities and consider legal systems that are not based on their religious beliefs as illegitimate. They often reject all types of modernization efforts, which they view as corrupting influences on traditional culture. Special interest groups include people on the radical fringe of many legitimate causes; e.g., groups of the people, who commit terrorist acts to uphold antiabortion views, animal rights, radical environmentalism. These people strongly believe that violence is morally justifiable to achieve their purposes.

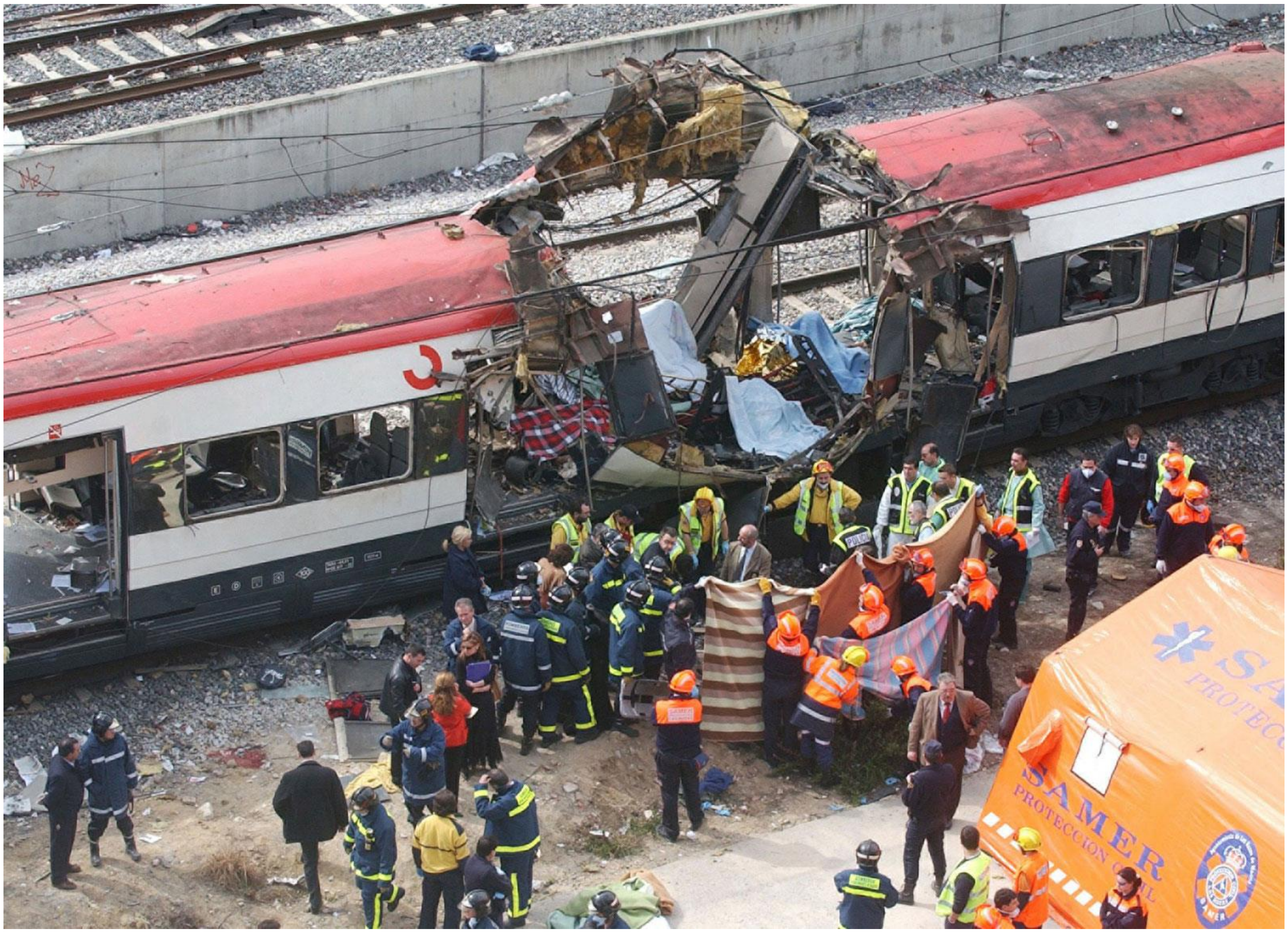
13.3. Terrorist incidents and techniques-terrorist groups and terrorist behavior

These are the most common terrorist incidents include:

Bombings

It is already proved, that improvised explosive devices are not expensive and easy to produce. Modern devices have smaller shapes and are harder to detect (Terrorism Research, 2010). Those devices include very destructive capabilities; for example, on August 7, 1998, two American diplomatic representations, in Africa, particularly in Kenya and Tanzania were under the bomb attack (Gunaratna, Rohan, 2002) terrorist acts claimed the lives of over 200 people, including 12 innocent American citizens, and injured over 5,000 civilians (PBC, 2007). Terrorists can also use materials that are readily available to the average consumer to construct a bomb.

Picture 21. Rescue workers evacuating the bodies of victims of a terrorist train bombing near Atocha Station, Madrid, March 11, 2004



Source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/terrorism

Kidnappings and Hostage-Takings

One of the main policies of the terrorist groups represents kidnapping and hostage-taking. Terrorists implement this type of action for the establishment of a bargaining position and to elicit publicity (Terrorism Research, 2010). Kidnapping is one of the most difficult acts for a terrorist organization to fulfill, but, if in case of the successful implementation of the operation, terrorists obtain an opportunity to attract more financial resources, which later they can use for the releasing of the jailed comrades, and publicity for an extended period. Hostage-taking involves the seizure of a facility or location and the taking of hostages. Unlike a kidnapping, hostage-taking provokes a confrontation with authorities. It determines the positions of the governments of the various countries related to choosing the concrete strategy - either to make dramatic decisions or to conduct negotiations with terrorists and listen to their position. It is overt and designed to attract and hold media attention. The terrorists' intended target is the audience affected by the hostage's confinement, not the hostage.

The legal definition of kidnapping is the taking away of a person by force, threat, or deceit, with intent to detain that person against his will. Kidnapping can be implemented with the request for ransom (economic reasons) or political or other purposes, for example requiring the releasing of the members of the terrorist group from the prison or changing the official policy of the government related to the internal and external policy of the country. In history, under common law, kidnapping was only a misdemeanor, but in different parts of the world as in most states of the United States, the practice is now punishable by death or life imprisonment (TRAC, 2013).

Armed Attacks and Assassinations

Armed attacks include raids and ambushes. Assassinations are the killing of a selected victim, usually by the use of special explosive equipment or small arms. Drive-by shootings are a common technique employed by unsophisticated or loosely organized terrorist groups. From the historic point of view, it can be assumed, that terrorists have murdered specific persons for psychological effect (Terrorism, 2010).

Arsons and Fire bombings

Incendiary devices are cheap and easy to hide. Arson and fire-bombings are easily conducted by terrorist organizations, that may not be as well-organized, equipped, or trained as a major terrorist group. An arson or firebombing against a utility, hotel, government building, or industrial center portrays an image that the ruling government is incapable of maintaining order (Terrorism, 2010).

Hijackings and Skyjackings

Hijacking is the seizure by using the force of a surface vehicle, passengers, who are inside, and/or its cargo. Skyjacking represents the occupation of an aircraft, which creates a mobile, hostage barricade situation. It provides terrorists with hostages from many nations and draws heavy media attention. Skyjacking also provides mobility for the terrorists to relocate the aircraft to a country that supports their cause and provides them with a human shield, making retaliation to be complicated (Terrorism, 2010).

Other Types of Terrorist Incidents

In addition to the above-mentioned types of terrorist acts and acts of violence, numerous other methods of violence can exist under the framework of terrorism. Terrorist organizations conduct violence against their people also by implementing robberies and extortion when they need additional financial resources for the continuation of their activities and when they don't have other sources of funding.

Cyber-terrorism is a new type of terrorism activity that is ever-increasing taking into account that humanity relies on computer networks to obtain a different kinds of important information and provide connectivity to today's modern and fast-paced world. Cyber-terrorism allows the terrorist groups to fulfill their operations with little or almost no risk to themselves. It also provides terrorists a resource to disrupt or destroy networks and computer systems. The main purpose is the interruption of the functioning of the leading governmental institutions or business companies. This type of terrorism isn't as high profile as other types of terrorist attacks, but its impact is just as destructive (Terrorism, 2010).

Historically, terrorist actions by using **nuclear, biological, and chemical (NBC) weapons** are not held very often. Taking into account the extremely high number of victims that NBC weapons produce, they are also considered as weapons of mass destruction (WMD). However, most of the countries are involved in arms races with neighboring countries because they view the development of WMD as a key deterrent of attack by hostile neighbors. The increased development of WMD also raises the chance for terrorist groups to obtain access to WMD. Some experts consider the issue that in the future terrorists will have more opportunities to purchase the WMD, because some states with a high level of corruption and un-stability may fail to protect their stockpiles of WMD from accidental losses, illicit sales, or outright theft or seizure. Determined terrorist groups can also gain access to WMD through covert independent research efforts or by hiring technically skilled professionals to construct the WMD (Goldstein, Pevehouse. 2010).

13.4. Types and forms of terrorism

The main types of terrorism include:

Political terrorism in the broadest sense encompasses all forms of terrorism aimed at changing the social order. In a narrow sense, political terrorism refers to the issue, aimed at making (or preventing) a decision related to the arrangement of the state.

Social terrorism is formed based on internal socio-political confrontation and is mainly presented in two forms: left-wing and right-wing terrorism. Left-wing terrorism is based on any left-wing ideological doctrine (Marxism, Leninism, Trotskyism, Maoism, anarchism, etc.), while right-wing terrorism is based on trans nationalist, conservative values and is directed against the left.

Nationalist terrorism operates on ethnic grounds. It singles out separatist terrorism carried out by nationalist-political groups of ethnic minorities to achieve independence or broad autonomy; Repressive nationalist terrorism perpetrated by the nationalist groups of the dominant nation against ethnic minorities

Worldview terrorism is formed based on contradictory contradictions with prevailing values and norms. The most common form of such terrorism is religious terrorism, which in turn is divided into fundamentalist and sectarian terrorism. The types of worldview terrorism are ecological terrorism, feminist terrorism, and others.

Criminal terrorism is a conditional concept because any terror is a crime. But in a narrow sense, criminal terrorism refers to terrorism that is not related to political, social, nationalist, or worldview goals and is used by ordinary criminals, criminals, to achieve their criminal goals. Therefore, many think that such an act is a common criminal offense and does not fit the classical definition of terrorism.

The main forms of carrying out terrorist acts are sabotage, kidnapping, assault and murder, robbery (expropriation); Hijacking (seizure of vehicles and taking hostages).
A new form of terrorism is cyber terrorism, or hacking of computer networks, which can cause great damage to a country's defense and security system.

13.5. State Terrorism

13.5.1. Definition

As it was mentioned, there is neither an academic nor an international legal consensus regarding the proper definition of the word "terrorism" (Williamson, 2009). Some scholars believe the actions of governments can be labeled "terrorism" (Nairn, 2005). Using the term 'terrorism' to mean violent action used with the predominant intention of causing terror, Paul James and Jonathan Friedman distinguish between state terrorism against non-combatants and state terrorism against combatants, including 'shock and awe' tactics:

Shock and Awe" as a subcategory of "rapid dominance" is the name given to massive intervention designed to strike terror into the minds of the enemy. It is a form of state terrorism. The concept was however developed long before the Second Gulf War by Harlan Ullman as chair of a forum of retired military personnel (James, 2006).

However, others, including governments, international organizations, private institutions, and scholars, believe the term applies only to the actions of violent non-state actors. Historically, the term terrorism was used to refer to actions taken by governments against their citizens whereas now it is more often perceived as targeting of non-combatants as part of a strategy directed against governments (Williamson, 2009).

Historian Henry Commager wrote that "Even when definitions of terrorism allow for state terrorism, state actions in this area tend to be seen through the prism of war or national self-defense, not terror”(Hor, 2005). While states may accuse other states of state-sponsored terrorism when they support insurgencies, individuals who accuse their governments of terrorism are seen as radicals, because actions by legitimate governments are not generally seen as illegitimate. Academic writing tends to follow the definitions accepted by states. Most states use the term "terrorism" for non-state actors only (Schmid, 2011).

The Encyclopedia Britannica Online defines terrorism generally as "the systematic use of violence to create a general climate of fear in a population and thereby to bring about a particular political objective", and states that "terrorism is not legally defined in all jurisdictions." The encyclopedia adds that "establishment terrorism, often called state or state-sponsored terrorism, is employed by governments—or more often by factions within governments—against that government's citizens, against factions within the government, or foreign governments or groups" (Britannica, 2020).

While the most common modern usage of the word terrorism refers to civilian-victimizing political violence by insurgents or conspirators (Purkitt, 1984), several scholars make a broader interpretation of the nature of terrorism that encompasses the concepts of state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism. Michael Stohl argues, "The use of terror tactics is common in international relations and the state has been and remains a more likely employer of terrorism within the international system than insurgents. Stohl clarifies, however, that "not all acts of state violence are terrorism. It is important to understand that in terrorism the violence threatened or perpetrated, has purposes broader than simple physical harm to a victim. The audience of the act or threat of violence is more important than the immediate victim" (Stohl, 1988).

Scholar Gus Martin describes state terrorism as terrorism "committed by governments and quasi-governmental agencies and personnel against perceived threats", which can be directed against both domestic and foreign targets (Martin, 2006). Noam Chomsky defines state terrorism as "terrorism practiced by states (or governments) and their agents and allies"(Chomsky, 2002).
Stohl and George A. Lopez have designated three categories of state terrorism, based on the openness/secrecy with which the alleged terrorist acts are performed, and whether states directly perform the acts, support them, or acquiesce in them (Stohl & Lopez, 1988).

13.5.2. History of the state terrorism

Aristotle wrote critically of terror employed by tyrants against their subjects (The Claremont Institute, 2001). The earliest use of the word terrorism identified by the Oxford English Dictionary is a 1795 reference to tyrannical state behavior, the "reign of terrorism" in France (Oxford Dictionary, 2002). In that same year, Edmund Burke decried the "thousands of those hell-hounds called terrorists" who he believed threatened Europe (Laqueur, 2007). During the Reign of Terror, the Jacobin government and other factions of the French Revolution used the apparatus of the state to kill and intimidate political opponents, and the Oxford English Dictionary includes as one definition of terrorism "Government by intimidation carried out by the party in power in France between 1789–1794" (Teichman). The original general meaning of terrorism was terrorism by the state, as reflected in the 1798 supplement of the Dictionnaire of the Académie française, which described terrorism as *systeme, regime de la terreur* (Laquer, 2007). Myra Williamson wrote:

“The meaning of "terrorism" has transformed. During the Reign of Terror, a regime or system of terrorism was used as an instrument of governance, wielded by a recently established revolutionary *state* against the enemies of the people. Now the term "terrorism" is commonly used to describe terrorist acts committed by *non-state or subnational entities* against a state” (Williamson, 2009).

Later examples of state terrorism include the police state measures employed by the Soviet Union beginning in the 1930s, and by Germany's Nazi regime in the 1930s and 1940s (Primoratz, 2007). According to Igor Primoratz, "Both (the Nazis and the Soviets) sought to impose total political control on society. Such a radical aim could be pursued only by a similarly radical method: by terrorism directed by extremely powerful political police at an atomized and defenseless population. Its success was due largely to its arbitrary character—to the unpredictability of its choice of victims. In both countries, the regime first suppressed all opposition; when it no longer had any opposition to speak of, political police took to persecuting 'potential' and 'objective opponents'. In the Soviet Union, it was eventually unleashed on victims chosen at random." (Primoratz, 2007).

Military actions primarily directed against non-combatant targets have also been referred to as state terrorism. For example, the bombing of Guernica has been called an act of terrorism (Goodin, 2006). Other examples of state terrorism may include the World War II bombings of Pearl Harbor, London, Dresden, Chongqing, and Hiroshima (Stohl, 1984).

In the modern period, state terrorism can be considered the military operation of Russia in Chechnya during the two wars on the territory of this North Caucasian Republic at the end of the XX century and the beginning of the XXI Century. As a result of those wars, more than 200 Thousand people, first of all, a peaceful population, have been killed by Russian militaries (Modebadze, 2016).

The second example of state terrorism is supported by Kremlin separatist and terrorist movements on the territories of Georgia and Ukraine. For example, at the beginning of the 90th of the 20th Century, Russia supplied military equipment and financed the activities of the so-called " Confederation of Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus ". This group included the terrorist formations from the North Caucasus, who themselves supported the separatist movements in Abkhazia and the former South Ossetian Autonomous District on the territory of Georgia. Those illegal formations committed ethnic cleansing against the Georgian population of Abkhazia. As a result, more than 300 thousand ethnic Georgians and representatives of other nationalities were forced to be exiled from their native places (Chitadze, 2016).

Later, after the occupation of Crimea, Russia supported illegal armed formations in the eastern part of Ukraine.

13.5.3. 9/11 events and a new determination of terrorism.

September 11, 2001, a date when the most brutal in the history of terrorism attack was made on the twin-towers - the World Trade Center in New York. As a result of this action, almost 3000 individuals died at the WTC complex. United States Authorities attributed responsibility for the attack to Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda organization.

The American nation and the whole International community were mobilized; combating terrorism and crippling Al Qaeda and other terrorist groups, together with those regimes, which were supporting terrorism became top national and international priorities. Preemptive use of Armed Forces against foreign terrorist organizations and infrastructure gained increasing acceptance in Administration policy circles. A full-scale campaign was launched, using all aspects of national and international resources, to go after Al Qaeda and its affiliates and support structures. The anti-terrorism campaign included rallying the international community, especially law enforcement and intelligence units to destroy Al Qaeda cells and financial networks.

As a result, the Taliban, which supported terrorism on the territory of Afghanistan, was removed from power with the support of US and British forces of the “Northern Alliance” (paramilitary group, which was opposing the Taliban in the Northern part of Afghanistan), all known Al Qaeda training sites were destroyed, and several Taliban and Al Qaeda leaders were killed. Since then, according to President Bush in his address to the nation on May 1, 2003, nearly half of the known Al Qaeda leadership has been captured or killed. As it is known, later, top Al Qaeda leaders Osama bin Laden and Ayman al Zawahiri also were eliminated.

In the post-9/11 world, threats are defined more by the fault lines within societies than by the territorial boundaries between them. From terrorism to global disease or environmental degradation, the challenges have become transnational rather than international. That is the defining quality of world politics in the twenty-first century. Terrorism became a large-scale threat to all.

During the making an analysis on International Terrorism issues, it can be listed several aspects, based on which the research is conducted. Those issues can be the analytical approach of terrorism, its international character, the stages of its evolution and development, the tactics and strategies used by terrorist groups, and the new dimensional character of international terrorism.

Through the definition seems to be clear, terrorism still proves to be the notion hardly identifiable. What the International society possesses right now are the constant threat and tools to confront the evil of terrorism. Terror has its biases from a very ancient period of history. It is considered a way of conduct in the constant war epoch as a constituent part of the rebellion of non-compliance. It is still hard to believe that in the modern world when the process of democratic enlargement is going on, the existence of terrorism creates constant awareness of counter actions and war against the war. The historical line witnesses are even more strengthening of the position and the terrorist ideologies. The eternal evil in humankind always finds the reason to kill and even has the approval. The suppressed minority takes the flour in the new dimension of terrorism which emerged in the second half of the 20th century. Nowadays, terrorist organizations are better equipped and significantly developed from psychological and financial points of view. The strengthening of the “Al-Qaeda”, “Hamas” etc., and other leading terrorist organizations and the foundation of the new training centers for potential terrorists took place during the 80s and 90s of the last century. The global threat that comes from those countries, which were or are involved in the state-sponsored terrorism activities, posed the rest world astonished.

The tactic and equipment usage by terrorists of the modern era cannot be compared to that of the early centuries. Because of vast financial support, such terrorist groups as the Taliban and al Qaeda established their self-destructive roots in the development of terrorism worldwide. All the tactics and the training results can be seen in the planning of terrorist attacks. So, as the evil became sophisticatedly highly dangerous it is the task of each state to confront it.

The world was stunned and put aside when the time brought the tragedy of 11 September of 2001. The terrorists went too far and dug their death graves. Now the war to be declared and the elimination of terrorism in the world is the moral obligation of each human wishing a peaceful world without terrorism. The terrorist groups were weakened and a good number of their leaders have been destroyed. Terrorism possesses the everlasting dilemma of every society in the world. The world is fighting to heal its torn and suffered organism from cancer plaguing it. The human sufferings are of human invention and the further future of the planet is of our creation. The only message is to do the best to make the world a bit better than it was yesterday, a decade earlier, a century and millennia ago.

13.6. “The Islamic State” and the Iraqi Rebel Movement

Within the second decade of the XXI Century, the main threat within the terrorist activities was the “Islamic State” or ISIS. Its activity represented the new form of terrorism, when this terrorist group, which controlled huge territories, even oil fields of Iraq and Syria, established de facto state formation of the Islamic Caliphate. In August 2014, the Syrian Observatory for Human Rights claimed that the number of fighters in the group had increased to 50,000 in Syria and 30,000 in Iraq, while the CIA estimated in September 2014 that in both countries it had between 20,000 and 31,500 fighters (CIA, 2015).

Picture. 22. ISIS Fighters shown in propaganda video produced by the group

Source: https://upfront.scholastic.com/issues/2017-18/100917/are-we-winning-the-war-against-isis.html

Thus, the principal actor in the crisis beginning in June 2014 was the Sunni radical movement, the so-called Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham. Approximately a month after the commencement of the crisis, the organization announced the establishment of a caliphate subsequently concisely referring to itself as “the Islamic State” and, has named its leader, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, Caliph Ibrahim. On July 5, a video recording emerged, where the latter calls upon Muslims in all countries to declare subservience to the newly elected Caliph and combat infidels and traitors to strengthen and expand the Caliphate. The battle should especially intensify during the holy month of Ramadan, which began on June 28. The aforementioned organization has already been described as the most influential, well-organized, well-funded, and well-armed in the region. It has been noted that the organization is distinguished by its brutal methods of fighting and treatment of opponents. The organization was founded in 2003, when, after the replacement of Saddam Hussein’s regime, an insurgent movement began against the Americans and the Shiite government. Initially, the group was called Tawhid and Jihad (Jama'at al-Tawhid Wal-Jihad), headed by the Jordanian Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, who soon became "enemy number one" for the US. In 2004, the organization associated itself with al-Qaeda and became known as Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). In 2006, after the death of al-Zarqawi, the organization was renamed the "Islamic State of Iraq", with Abu Omar al-Baghdadi as its new leader. Following al-Baghdadi's death in 2010, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, referred to as the Caliph by the members of the organization, was named the leader of the group. During his leadership, the organization declared its international claims, even though its reputation was initially based on its Iraqi origins unlike its predecessors, who, due to their so-called 'foreignness', we're unable to attain a similar degree of trust among the insurgents, which was also reflected on the authority of the organization. In 2011, the organization became involved in the Syrian conflict as it took part in the establishment of the Syrian radical group, the Al-Nusra Front. The leader of the Front, Abu Mohammad al-Jawlani was sent to Syria by al-Baghdadi himself. At a later stage, there was an altercation between them. Al-Nusra remained affiliated to al-Qaeda, while al-Baghdadi's group openly opposed Ayman al-Zawahiri, al-Qaeda's leader. Later, Al-Nusra Front was under a fair amount of persecution, and the situation on insurgent territory in Syria was controlled by the Iraqi group. As mentioned above, the group was rather well-armed. Moreover, in late July 2014, the organization conducted a so-called military parade in the Syrian city of Ar-Raqqah, where it deployed its heavy machinery, which it had acquired as a result of fighting against government forces. As is well known, upon taking control over Mosul and Tikrit, the Iraqi state troops abandoned military equipment and weaponry. Iraq's government has already confirmed that the group had control over the former Iraqi chemical weapons base, where thousands of warheads loaded with the Sarin nerve agent were being prepared for destruction. Even though, given the condition of the substances and weapons, the US and Iraqi specialists ruled out the possibility that the chemical weapons would be employed. According to specialists, the "Islamic State" had a financial system superior to all similar organizations. They had imposed taxes on areas controlled by them. They controlled oil extraction plants in Iraq and Syria. A portion of their income was constituted by ransom received from kidnappings. According to some experts view, upon capturing Mosul, the organization managed to obtain approximately half a billion US dollars from banks in the city. There was also talk of donations from the Sunni states of the Persian Gulf, although, according to experts, this amount was no more than 5% of the organization's income. By unofficial reports, their assets exceeded USD 2 billion. In a relatively short period, they managed to occupy a fairly large territory in Iraq and Syria. Their control was so commanding that al Baghdadi did not shy away from holding worship services at the mosque. All of a sudden, he has become a public figure.

His address did not resemble the customary speeches of insurgent leaders issued from clandestine locations; on the contrary, he addressed Muslims from a particular place, the Grand Mosque of Mosul, which was significant to underscore his stature as Caliph, rather than simply a combatant leader. He was a political and religious leader, who was also able to conduct worship services. The proclamation of the Caliphate also signified a certain opposition with all other radical and non-radical Islamic unions. Al-Baghdadi called on all Muslims to obey him as Caliph, and also, as a politician should encourage them to criticize him. To broadcast its activities, the organization effectively utilized social media (Gvimradze, 2014).

Key Terminologies

Bombings

Kidnappings and Hostage-Takings

Armed Attacks and Assassinations

Arsons and Fire bombings

Hijackings and Skyjackings

Cyber-terrorism

nuclear, biological, and chemical (NBC) weapons

Political terrorism

Social terrorism

Nationalist terrorism

Worldview terrorism

Criminal terrorism

State Terrorism

Questions for Consideration

How can be understood under the main principles of International Terrorism?

Please list the main types of terrorism?

Please list the main terrorist organizations in the world?

Please list the main terrorist organizations in the world according to ideology?

Please list the main methods, which terrorist organizations use during their activities?

What are the main principles of state terrorism?

Practicum

By using handbooks and other materials, please analyze the policy of the states, which support international terrorism.

Chapter 14.

Conflicts in the Modern World

14.1. Features of conflict at the end of the XX - Beginning of the XXI century

It is no exaggeration to say that conflicts are as old as the world. They were before the signing of the Westphalian peace treaty - the time taken for the birth point of the system of national States. Conflict situations and disputes will not disappear in the future, because, according to the aphoristic statement of one of the researchers R. Lee, a society without conflicts is a dead society (Chitadze, 2016). Moreover, many authors, particularly L. Coser, emphasizes that the contradictions that underline conflicts, have several positive functions: attract attention to the problem, force us to seek the ways out of the situation, warn of stagnation - and thereby contribute to global development (Coser, 1957). Indeed, Conflicts are unlikely to be avoided at all. It is another matter in what form they should be resolved - through dialogue and search for mutually acceptable solutions or armed confrontation. Speaking about the conflicts of the late XX-early XXI century, we should focus on two important issues that are not only theoretical but also practical. Whether the changing nature of conflicts? How can armed forms of conflict be prevented and regulated under modern conditions? The answers to these questions are directly related to the definition of the character of the modern political system and the possibility of its impact. Immediately after the end of the cold war, there were feelings that the world was on the threshold of a conflict - a free era of existence. In academic circles, this position was most clearly expressed By F. Fukuyama, when he declared the end of history (Fukuyama, 1989). This position was sufficiently strongly supported by the official community, including the United States, despite the fact, the Republican party was in power at the beginning of the 1990s, as it is known, this party was less likely, compared to Democrats, to share the neo-liberal views.

Even though after the end of the confrontation between the two systems and the ending of the "cold war", the number of conflicts has somehow decreased. For example, through negotiations, it became possible to find a solution to conflicts in Southeast Asia (Cambodia), in Africa (Namibia, Angola), Latin America (Nicaragua, El Salvador), etc. Nevertheless, regional and local conflicts at the beginning of the XXI century continue to threaten international security and democratization. In addition, many of them can generate a kind of terrorist wave and spread them sometimes far beyond the conflict zones. Shortly we can assume, that without understanding the nature of the conflict, it is impossible to fully understand how the protection of the fundamental principles of human rights on the global level should be provided.

About the issue - about the number of conflicts, in this case, if we trust the most authoritative data of the special institute for the study of conflict, which is located in Heidelberg (Germany), in 2013 the total number of conflicts in the different Regions of the World reached 414! (Heidelberg Institute, 2014). According to the statistical data of the same institute for 2020, there were observed a total of 359 conflicts worldwide. About 60 percent, 220, were fought violently, while 139 were on a non-violent level. Compared to 2019, the overall number of full-scale wars increased from 15 to 21. The number of limited wars decreased from 23 to 19 (Heidelberg Institute, 2021).

Two World Wars, about 200 wars, local armed conflicts, terror, armed fighting for power, all those types of conflicts, killed within the previous Century about 300 million people (A. Antsupov. A. Shipolov. 2008).

As a result of the conflicts, it violated the human rights of more than 20 million people, when at the beginning of the XXI Century, some 5,8 million people were displaced within their own countries and 14,8 million people had become refugees by fleeing across international borders (United Nations. 2004). As the year 2020 dawned, according to the latest report of the UN High Commissioner on Refugees, "some 79.5 million people had been forced from their homes due to persecution, conflict, and human rights violations." That number includes 29.6 million refugees, 4.2 million asylum seekers, as well as 45.7 million internally displaced people (IDPs) (UNHCR, 2021).

So, President J. Bush, speaking of the conflict in the Persian Gulf, said that “he interrupted a brief moment of hope, and anyway the international society is witnessing the birth of a new world free of terror ” (Nye, 1992). Events in the world began to develop in such a way that the number of local and regional conflicts with violence in the world immediately after the end of the cold war increased. This is evidenced by the data of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), one of the leading international centers for conflict analysis. According to the Center, most of the conflicts were either in the developing countries or in the territory of the former USSR or former Yugoslavia (SIPRI, 2016). Only in the post-Soviet space, according to the estimates of the author V. N. Lysenko, in the 1990s, there were about 170 conflict zones, in 30 of which the conflicts were inactive form and in 10 has become possible to the use of force (Lebedeva, 2007). In connection with the development of conflicts immediately after the end of the cold war and their appearance on the territory of Europe, which was a relatively safe continent after the Second world war, several researchers began to put forward various theories related to the growth of conflict potential in world politics. One of the most striking representatives of this direction was S. Huntington with his hypothesis about the clash of civilizations (Huntington, 1993). However, in the second half of the 1990s, the number of conflicts, as well as conflict zones in the world, according to SIPRI, began to decrease. Thus, in 1995 there were 30 major armed conflicts in 25 countries, in 1999 - 27 in the 25 points of the globe, while in 1989 there were 36 in 32 zones (SIPRI, 2016).

It should be noted that the data on conflicts may differ depending on the source since there are no clear criteria for what should be the "level of violence" (the number of killed and injured in the conflict, its duration, the nature of relations between the conflicting parties, etc.) to be considered as a conflict, not an incident, criminal disassembly or terrorist acts. For example, Swedish researchers M. Sollenberg and P. Wallensteen define a major armed conflict as "a prolonged confrontation between the armed forces of two or more countries, or one government and at least one organized armed group, resulting in military action to the death of at least 1000 people, the authors call the figure of 100 and even 500 dead (Wallensteen, Sollenberg, 2001).

In general, if we talk about the general trend in the development of conflicts on the planet, most researchers agree that after a certain period, the number of conflicts in the late 1980s and early 1990s began to decrease, and in the mid-1990s it continued to fluctuate by about one level. Nevertheless, modern conflicts pose a very serious threat to humanity due to their possible expansion in the context of globalization, the development of environmental disasters (for example, just remember the arson of oil fields in the Persian Gulf during the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq), serious humanitarian consequences associated with a large number refugees among the civilian population, etc. The emergence of armed conflict in Europe at the end of the 20th century - a region where two world wars erupted and where the density is extremely high and where many chemical and other products are concentrated, the destruction of which during military operations can lead to man-made disasters.

What are the causes of modern conflicts? Various factors contributed to their development. Thus, the problems associated with the proliferation of weapons, their uncontrolled use, and the complex relations between industrial and commodity countries, while increasing their interdependence, have made themselves felt. To this should be added the development of urbanization and migration to the cities and many States, in particular Africa, were unprepared to those processes, the growth of nationalism and fundamentalism as a sharpness for the development of globalization processes. It turned out to be significant that during the cold war the global confrontation between the East and the West to some extent "removed" the conflicts to a lower level. These conflicts have often been used by the superpowers during their military and political confrontation, although they have tried to keep them under control, realizing that otherwise regional conflicts could escalate into a global war. Therefore, in the most dangerous cases, the leaders of the bipolar world, despite the fierce confrontation between themselves, coordinated actions to reduce tension to avoid a direct collision. Several times during the cold war such a danger, for example, arose during the development of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Then each of the superpowers exerted influence on "their" ally to reduce the intensity of conflict relations. After the collapse of the bipolar structure, regional and local conflicts largely "lived by their lives". And yet, among the large number of factors affecting the development of conflicts in recent years, it is particularly necessary to highlight the restructuring of the world political system, its "departure" from the Westphalian model that prevailed for a long time. This process of transformation is associated with the nodal points in world political development. Under the new conditions, conflicts have acquired a qualitatively different character. First of all, the "classical" interstate conflicts, which were typical for the heyday of the state-centrist political model of the world, practically disappeared from the world arena. Thus, according to the researchers M. Sollenberg and P. Wallenstein, among the 94 conflicts that existed in the world during the period 1989-1994, only four could be considered as interstate (Sollenberg, Wallenstein, 2001).

In 1999, according to another author of the SIPRI Yearbook, T. B. Seybolt, only 2 conflicts among 27 were interstate (Seybolt, 2008). Concerning the SIPRI report for 2019, “Active armed conflicts occurred in at least 32 states in 2019: 2 in the Americas, 7 in Asia and Oceania, 1 in Europe, 7 in the Middle East and North Africa and 15 in sub-Saharan Africa. As in preceding years, most took place within a single country (intrastate), between government forces and one or more armed non-state group(s). Three were major armed conflicts (with more than 10 000 conflict-related deaths in the year): Afghanistan, Yemen, and Syria. Fifteen were high-intensity armed conflicts (with 1000–9999 conflict-related deaths): Mexico, Nigeria, Somalia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Iraq, Burkina Faso, Libya, Mali, South Sudan, the Philippines, India, Myanmar, Cameroon, Pakistan, and Egypt. The others were low-intensity armed conflicts (with 25–999 conflict-related deaths). The only one-armed conflict was fought between states (border clashes between India and Pakistan), and two were fought between state forces and armed groups that aspired to statehood (between Israel and Palestinian groups and between Turkey and Kurdish groups). All three major armed conflicts and most of the high-intensity armed conflicts were internationalized”(SIPRI, 2020).

In General, according to some sources, the number of interstate conflicts has been declining for quite a long period. However, a caveat should be made here: it is being discussed about "classic" interstate conflicts when both sides recognize each other's status as a state. This is also recognized by other States and leading international organizations. In several contemporary conflicts aimed for the separation of the territorial entity and the proclamation of a new state, one of the parties, declaring its independence, insists on the interstate nature of the conflict, although it is not recognized as a state by the international community. Three groups can be distinguished among them: conflicts between

Central authorities and ethnic/religious groups; between different ethnic or religious groups; between state/States and nongovernmental structure. Internal conflicts of the 1990s were called "identity conflicts" because they were connected with the problem of self-identification. At the end of XX century - beginning of XXI century identification is based primarily not on the state basis, and on the other, mainly ethnic and religious factors. By the opinion of the American author J.L. Rasmussen, two-thirds of the conflicts in 1993 could be defined as "conflicts of identity" (Yaacov, 2004). At the same time, according to the famous American politician S. Talbott, less than 10% of the countries of the modern world are ethnically homogeneous. This means that the emergence of the problems in more than 90% of States can be expected only on an ethnic basis (Der Spiegel, 2008). Of course, the expressed opinion is an exaggeration, but the problem of national self-determination, national identification remains one of the most significant. Another significant parameter of identification is the religious factor or, more broadly, what S. Huntington called civilizational. It includes, in addition to religion, historical aspects, cultural traditions, etc.

In General, the changing the function of the state, its inability in some cases to guarantee security and at the same time the identification of an individual, to the extent that it was previously in the heyday of the state - centrist model of the world, entails an increase the uncertainty, the development of protracted conflicts that are fading, then erupt again. At the same time, the internal conflicts involve not so much the interests of the parties but the values (religious, ethnic). For them, it is impossible to reach a compromise.

The intrastate nature of contemporary conflicts is often accompanied by a process involving at the same time several actors (different movements, formations, etc.). And each of the participants often comes up with their requirements. This makes conflict management extremely difficult, as it involves the agreement of several individuals and movements. The greater the area of convergence of interests, the greater the possibilities for finding a mutually acceptable solution. As the number of sides increases, this area narrows. However, this does not mean that there is less interest in reaching an agreement. For example, the presence of a global threat can lead to differences of interest becoming insignificant.

In addition to the "internal" participants, the conflict situation is affected by many external actors - state and non-state. The latter include, for example, organizations engaged in humanitarian assistance for the searching for the missing persons in the conflict, as well as business, the media, and others. The impact of these actors on the conflict often adds an element of unpredictability to its development. Because of its diversity, it acquires the character of a "multi-headed Hydra" and, as a consequence, leads to an even greater weakening of state control. In this regard, several researchers, in particular A. Minc, R. Kaplan, K. Booth, R. Harvey, began to compare the end of the XX century with medieval fragmentation, talking about the "new middle ages", the coming "chaos" (Chitadze, 2016). According to such ideas, the usual interstate contradictions are added today also due to differences in culture, values, General degradation of behavior. States are too weak to cope with all these problems.

The decrease in conflict management is determined by other processes too, which are going on at the level of the state in which the conflict is emerging. Regular forces, which are trained for the military actions during interstate conflicts, are not well prepared from a military and psychological point of view (first of all due to the conducting military operations on their territory) for the solution of internal conflicts by force. In this case, the army is very often demoralized. In its turn, the general weakening of the state leads to the deterioration of the financing of the regular forces, which from itself includes the danger of losing the state control over the processes, which are going on in the state, as a result of which, the conflict region becomes somehow the "model of behavior".

It is important to mention, that under the conditions of the internal – especially protracted conflict, it often is weakening not only control over the situation from the center`s side but also from the periphery too. Leaders of the different types of movements often are not able to support for a long time the discipline among their supporters, and field commanders go out of control, by acting independently. The Armed Forces are divided into several groups, which often have conflicts with each other. Forces, which are involved in the internal conflicts, are often disposed of in an extreme way, which is accompanied "to go to the end by all means" for getting the purposes through the not necessary victims. The extreme form of extremism and fanaticism leads to the use of terrorist means, taking the hostages. Those phenomena are more often and often accompanied by different concrete conflicts.

Modern conflicts acquire a certain political and geographical orientation. They arise in the regions that are more likely to be developing or in the process of transition from authoritarian regimes of state management. Even in economically developed Europe, conflicts broke out in countries that were less developed. Generally speaking, modern armed conflicts are concentrated primarily in Africa and Asia and in the post-soviet space.

Information for thought!

English diplomat Robert Cooper wrote that most modern major powers do not seek conquest. Obtaining new territories is not of interest at present, and the unification of new peoples for most states can be a nightmare (Cooper, 1997).

Question for consideration

Do you agree with the following opinion? Does the fact that in the XXI year between the states there will be no conflicts over territorial claims?

The emergence of large numbers of refugees is another factor complicating the situation in the conflict area. So, in connection with the conflict in Rwanda in 1994, this country has left about 2 million people seemed in Tanzania, Zaire, Burundi (UN, 2005). None of these countries were able to cope with the flow of refugees and provide them with the Essentials.

The change like conflicts from interstate to internal does not mean that their international significance is diminished. On the contrary, as a result of the processes of globalization and the problems, inherent in the conflicts of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the emergence of a large number of refugees in other countries, as well as the involvement of many States and international organizations in their settlement, or on the contrary by the involvement in the internal affairs of the independent states to encourage the tensions, (examples are Russian policy in Georgia and Ukraine) intrastate conflicts are becoming increasingly international.

It is important!

Conflicts of the end of XX-beginning XXI c. are characterized by the following principles:

- Internal character of the state;

- International reactions;

- Losing the identity;

- Many sides, which are involved in the conflict and its resolution;

- Important irrational behavior of the states;

- Bad management;

- High level of information unclearness;

- Involve the values into consideration (religious, ethnical).

One of the most important questions in the analysis of conflicts: why are some of them regulated by peaceful means, while others develop into an armed confrontation? In practical terms, the answer is extremely important. However, methodologically, the discovery of the factors in the escalation of conflict into armed form is far from simple. Anyway, the researchers, who try to answer this question, usually consider two groups of factors:

1. Structural factors, or, as they are often called in conflict studies, independent variables (structure of the society, the level of economic development, etc.);

2. Procedural factors, or dependent variables (politics, which is carried out as by the conflict participants, as by the third side; the personal characteristics of the political activists, etc.).
Structural factors are often referred to as objective and procedural factors are subjective. Here there is a clear analogy in political science with others, in particular with the analysis of the problems of democratization.

There are usually several phases in the conflict. American researchers D. Pruitt and J. Rubin compare the life cycle of the conflict with the development of the plot in a play of three actions (Pruitt, Rubin, 2003). In the first, the essence of the conflict is determined; in the second, it reaches its maximum, and then the stalemate or denouement; finally, in the third act, there is a decline in conflict relations. Preliminary studies suggest the reason to suppose that in the first phase of the conflict structural factors "set" a certain " threshold", which is critical in the development of conflict relations. The presence of this group of factors is necessary both for the development of the conflict in General and for the implementation of its armed form. At the same time, the more structural factors are expressed and more of them are "involved", the more likely the development of armed conflict (from here in the literature on conflict studies very often the armed forms of the conflict development is associated with its escalation) and everything is already becoming a possible field of activity of politicians (procedural factors). In other words, structural factors determine the potential for armed conflict development. It is highly doubtful that the conflict, and even more the armed one, arose "from scratch" without objective reasons.

In the second (culmination) phase, a special role is played by predominantly procedural factors, such as the orientation of political leaders on unilateral (conflictual) or joint (negotiation) with the opposite side of the action for overcoming the conflict. The influence of these factors (i. e. political solutions related to the negotiations or further development of the conflict) is quite clearly manifested, for example, when comparing the culmination points of the conflict situations in Chechnya and Tatarstan in the Russian Federation, where the actions of political leaders in 1994 led to the armed development of the conflict in the first case, and in the second - a peaceful way of its settlement.

Thus, in a fairly generalized form, it can be mentioned that when studying the process of formation of a conflict situation, first of all, structural factors should be analyzed, and when identifying the form of its resolution - procedural.

14.2. Regional and local conflicts in the modern world political map

In the era of the bipolar world and the "cold war", numerous regional and local conflicts served as one of the main sources of instability in the world, which the communist and capitalist systems tried to use according to their interests. These conflicts led to enormous damage to the economy, social and political development of many countries' deaths of millions of people, especially in the developing countries. The establishment of a special section of Political Science - Conflict Studies enabled studying such conflicts and the direction of the geography of conflicts appeared in the system of political geography.

After the end of the confrontation between the two systems and the ending of the "cold war", the number of conflicts has somehow decreased. For example, through negotiations, it became possible to find a solution to conflicts in Southeast Asia (Cambodia), Africa (Namibia, Angola), and Latin America (Nicaragua, El Salvador). Nevertheless, regional and local conflicts at the beginning of the XXI century continue to threaten international security. In addition, many of them can generate a kind of terrorist wave and spread them sometimes far beyond the conflict zones. Therefore, it can be assumed that without understanding the nature of the conflict it is impossible to fully understand the modern political map of the world. Therefore, we consistently consider several related issues.
All conflicts can be divided into regional and local.

Regional conflicts, which in the modern world are quite a lot, of course, represent the greatest threat to international security. Not being able to consider all of them, we restrict ourselves by the few examples of such conflicts. You've probably already thought about the Middle East region – The Middle East region, admittedly, plays the role of the "powder keg" throughout the postwar period, which is ready at any moment to undermine the entire system of international security. It is a sensitive nerve center of the planet, where historically a very complex interweaving of cultures and religions got formed and it serves not only the interests of the countries in the region but also many other countries in Europe, Asia, and America.

At the heart of this regional conflict is the Israeli- Palestinian (and wider - the Israeli- Arab) one, which has been in progress for more than half a century, remaining throughout this time perhaps the most complex one attracting the world's attention. (Mayers, David. 1998. p. 14) More than one generation of Israelis and Arabs has grown in an atmosphere of mutual hatred and incessant sharp confrontations, including six wars between Israel and its Arab neighbors, which lasted for several years of the intifada (Arabic - rebel). Some substantial changes for the better situation came only in the early 90s when the Palestinian Autonomy was founded on the part of the State of Israel (Figure 31). But many controversial issues remain so that a sovereign Palestinian state does not exist on the political map of the world (R. Gachechiladze. 2008. P. 462). This conflict got even more complicated at the beginning of 2006 after the victory at the parliamentary elections in the Palestinian autonomy by the radical Islamist group Hamas.

Map 10. The State of Israel and the Palestinian Autonomy

Source: http://news.antiwar.com/2012/04/23/israeli-policies-making-two-state-solution-impossible-says-palestinian-leader

Besides this basic conflict in this region, there were others, such as the one between Iraq and Iran, leading to a bloody long war between them in the 80s between Iraq and Kuwait causing Iraq's aggression against Kuwait in 1990. In the remaining part of Asia, there are several regional conflicts. A long-term conflict in Afghanistan, the stand-off between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, and the conflicts related to the political reconstruction of the former Yugoslavia in Europe can also be included.

As to the local conflicts, i.e., relatively smaller-scale ones, they are the majority in the modern world. The fact that very often it is difficult to make a clear distinction between regional and local conflicts also needs to be taken into account.

The third question is the political status of the conflicts which can be subdivided into external (international) and internal (domestic).

The Israeli - Arab conflict, the conflict between India and Pakistan in Kashmir, conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, former Yugoslavia can serve as obvious examples of the major international conflicts. But the conflicts on ethnic grounds, for example, in Belgium or Canada, can be attributed to several domestic ones. At the beginning of the XXI Century, 71 were interstate and 178 intrastate conflicts (Maksakovsky. 2009. P. 85).

Question four - to categorize the nature of the conflict. This approach, usually determine the violent (armed) and non-violent conflict. Admittedly, the first of them poses the greatest threat and international organizations monitor them carefully (Robert J. Art. Robert Jervis. 2005).

Armed (violence) conflicts, i.e., the actual "hot spots" of our planet are worth noting. The large-scale armed conflicts are officially considered to be the ones in which the loss exceeds one thousand persons. For example, during the conflicts in Afghanistan and Rwanda, there were millions of victims and hundreds of thousands of people were killed during the civil war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1992-1996). In Africa, already in the post-colonial period, 35 armed conflicts were fixed, which killed a total of about 10 million people (Charles W. Kegley, Jr. and Shannon L. Blanton. 2010-2011).

According to the Institute in Heidelberg, in 2013 the world had 45 highly violated conflicts, which were divided into two categories. The first one mainly includes domestic wars whereas outbreaks of serious crises of violently conflicting parties, or at least the threat of its use, constitute the second category, including, one international (between India and Pakistan), and another domestic. The majority of 45 armed conflicts took place in Africa and Asia, including the Middle East (Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research, Germany. 2013).

Map 11. Violence Conflicts in the different regions of the Modern World

Source: http://1389blog.com/2011/09/23/the-dark-side-of-corruption/conflict-map/

The United Nations plays a crucial role in the prevention and peaceful settlement of armed conflict. Its main goal is to maintain peace on our planet. UN operations include peacekeeping and diplomatic measures and the direct intervention of peacekeeping forces of the organization in the event of military conflicts. During the existence of the UN, such "peace enforcement" action was carried out in several countries. However, experience in the 90s showed that the mere presence of the "blue helmets" in the conflict zone is not enough to stop the hostilities. Nevertheless, from 1948 till April 2004, overall, the UN has established 56 operations out of which 43 have been set up since 1988. As of April 2004, there were 14 active peacekeeping operations (United Nations, 2004) (in Sudan and Rwanda, Israel and Palestine, India and Pakistan, Cyprus, Sierra Leone, etc.). At the same time, military-police forces have been reduced. At present, 90% of them are composed of soldiers and officers from such states as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal rather than Western countries. At the same time, the UN Security Council approved the concept of active peacekeeping actions, even allowing peacekeepers to use heavy military equipment. The most ambitious and hardest of such operations have been recently carried out by them against the rebels in DR Congo.

It should be taken into consideration that NATO and the European Union were engaged in the post-cold war period in peacemaking and peacekeeping operations. Direct involvement of NATO in the armed conflicts in former Yugoslavia in (1992-1995 - Bosnia, 1999 - Kosovo) can be considered as an example of such actions (NATO Handbook. 2006). Two leading countries of the organization (USA and UK) have overthrown the ruling of the Afghan movement "Taliban" in 2001-2002. But undoubtedly, the biggest U.S. and U.K. military action was held in 2003 in Iraq to overthrow the dictatorial regime of Saddam Hussein.

Additionally, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) also has several missions to the areas of European and non-European conflicts with military operations taking place in the relatively recent past. The same applies to the EU, which at present is involved in the peacekeeping operations in Bosnia, Macedonia, Georgia, etc.

The fact that non-violent conflicts are in majority in our world is to some extent misleading. Indeed, many of these conflicts used to be "hot spots” and scenes of civil wars and terrorism. That is why they are sometimes called hidden or smoldering conflicts that are dangerous because here the flames of war can kindle again at any time of the accidental spark.

Self-proclaimed but unrecognized territories (quasi-) already discussed briefly serve as notable examples of this kind. According to some estimates, the total number exceeds 120, and even 160, but these figures are yet highly exaggerated. The formation of such states is often associated with military conflicts, civil wars, and occupations, which then reached a temporary, but not a final political settlement (Maksakovsky. 2009).

The fifth question concerns the causes of conflict. Essentially, it is a matter of their typology, which from the standpoint of social and economic geography, perhaps is the most interesting. Reference literature gives different opinions about this issue. However, considering it from the standpoint of the most generalized positions, obviously, three main causes of the conflict emerge territorial disputes, all sorts of internal political differences, and the ethnic-religious nature of conflicts.

Conflicts related to territorial disputes exist in all parts of the world. In Europe, the Rock of Gibraltar - the only remaining region of the colonial possessions serves as an excellent example of this because of a long-lasting dispute between the UK and Spain. In Asia, there are more than 30 such disputes. There are long-standing territorial disputes between Israel and Palestine, Turkey and Greece (over Cyprus and the Aegean islands), Iraq and Kuwait, Iran, Saudi Arabia with several neighboring countries, India and Pakistan over Kashmir, China, India, Vietnam, DPRK, and Japan over several islands in South-East Asia, Russia, and Japan because of the Northern Territories (Southern Kuril Islands), etc.

Africa is famous for its territorial disputes as well. In the colonial era, metropolises conducted the so-called bordering of their colonies without regard to ethnic boundaries. It is estimated that on the present political map of Africa 44% of the entire length of the state border runs along with the meridians and parallels and 30 % - on a geometrically correct line (Political Map of Africa. 2013). This applies, especially, to West Africa, where in XIX century Fulani people were divided between

12 British and French colonies. But territorial disputes have often led to military conflicts prevailing in North Africa (e.g., between Morocco and Western Sahara, Mauritania), East Africa (e.g., between Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea), and South Africa (e.g., between Namibia and South Africa).

In Latin America, there are about 20 territorial disputes (Jorge I. Domínguez. 2003. pp. 3-7) which have repeatedly led to military action. It is enough to recall the conflicts between the UK with Argentina over the disputed Falkland Islands, which Argentina tried to annexin 1982. Territorial disputes are also reported in Australia and Oceania.

Let`s now turn to internal political conflicts, which mostly are associated with an acute confrontation between political parties and groups, which causes disruptions not only in the political but also in the economic and social spheres of life. On the political map of the modern world, there are the countries with similar political instability and armed conflict fraught can be attributed primarily to many African countries, such as Algeria, where local Islamists are fighting with the secular state, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Central African Republic, DR Congo, Somalia, Uganda. The political map of Asia in this group of countries torn by internal contradictions includes Afghanistan, Nepal, Laos, and Latin America - Colombia, Guatemala.

At the same time, many conflicts in the modern world political map take place on the ethnoreligious ground. They are based, as a rule, on militant nationalism, which finds expression in the increasing trend towards creating the sovereignty of the large and small ethnic communities in order to create their own independent states, the growing intolerance towards minorities. These centrifugal tendencies can be expressed using the concept of separatism (from Lat. Separatus - separate), meaning the desire for isolation, separation, i.e., obtaining by a part of the country full political independence or at least autonomy. It would be much more advisable to regard such conflicts as separatist ones based on national–religious grounds (Joseph. S. Nye. Jr. 2007).

Nowadays separatism has a great destabilizing effect on the entire world's geopolitical order. This is not surprising. The book "The Geographic Picture of the World" refers to a map of main sources of separatism, which are only 53 and which together occupy an area of 12.7 million km2 with a population of 220 million people (V. Maksakovsky. 2009). Some scientists connect those conflicts with the so-called "geopolitical fault" or "buffer zones" that are characteristic of the borderland between the world's ethnic and cultural civilizations.

When specific countries are concerned, it is obvious that primarily multinational states, which amount to 60 worldwide, and the states with more or less significant numbers of national minorities, serve as centers of militant nationalism, separatism, and, accordingly, ethnoreligious conflicts. (V. Maksakovsky. 2009). Conflicts in these countries are mostly complex, contradictory, and of long-term nature-based on territorial disputes and historically accumulating grievances related to national oppression, continuous mutual alienation, and hostility (Robert J. Art. Robert Jervis. 2005).

At the first glance, it may seem odd, but separatist conflicts in the national and religious divisions exist in the many Western States with economically advanced and democratic regimes. Europe serves as an excellent example of this, which, for many decades, despite all efforts, has failed to achieve the complete elimination of conflict in Northern Ireland (Ulster), where the confrontation between Catholics and Protestants remained at least until mid-2005. A similar tendency occurs in the Basque Country where extreme nationalists and separatists are fighting for an independent Basque state – the territory between Spain and France and Belgium where Flemish and Walloons are arguing over the disputed territory.

Separatist conflicts on the national-religious grounds caused by the decay in the former Yugoslavia undoubtedly occupy a special place in this region. Two of them serve as main ones. First, the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whose population are Serbs, Croats, and Muslims and who did not want to live in one state and after the bloody war finally the Muslim - Croat Federation and the Republika Srpska were proclaimed, which created the two subjects of federation within one State – Bosnia and Herzegovina. By the UN mandate, stabilization forces – consisting of 32 thousand people with a core of NATO troops - were deployed in this country (NATO Handbook. 2006. Pp.167-173). Second, the autonomous province of Kosovo and Metohija in the south of Serbia where 90% of the population are Muslim Albanians. When Yugoslavia began to disintegrate, Albanians of Kosovo proclaimed the establishment of the independent Republic of Kosovo, which led to a civil war between the separatist forces and central government of Serbia and then the establishment of the control on the breakaway republic by NATO peacekeeping force - KFOR (Map 12). (NATO Handbook. 2006).

It can be said that in Bosnia and Kosovo the "old peace" is established. Another striking example of this kind of conflict in the West is a Canadian province with a predominantly French-speaking Quebec population. This is also a long-standing conflict in which the most radical forces are in favor of the separation of French-speaking Quebec from federal Canada.

Map 12. Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija

Source: http://mapsontheweb.zoom-maps.com/post/114574543300/occupation-zones-in-kosovo

Developing countries serve as the main arena of conflicts with their often particularly complex ethnic and religious composition. This primarily relates to Asia and Africa.

In Asia, such conflicts are common to all four of its sub-regions. In Southwest Asia, this is the conflict over Kurdistan, which is divided by political borders between Turkey, Iraq, Syria, and Iran, around Cyprus, around Afghanistan. In South Asia - a whole series of conflicts in the most multi-ethnic country in the world - India. The conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir has been discussed in connection with territorial disputes but it is an equally separatist conflict too on the basis of ethnic-religious confrontation with old Hindus and Muslims. Another "conflict" state of India – Punjab, settled by Sikhs is also worth noting.

Cultural, religious and then political isolation of the Sikh community from Hinduism began in the first half of the twentieth century. In the middle of the century, independent states of India and Pakistan were founded and Punjab became part of India but at the same time, the idea of a sovereign state Khalistan was put forward which could become a kind of buffer between India and Pakistan. Even though this plan could not be implemented, Sikh separatists continue to insist on it, which causes discord in their relationship with the state. It needs to be stated in this connection that in 1984 two Sikh bodyguards killed the Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (Heywood. 1998).

Armed separatist conflicts on the basis of ethnoreligious factors are characteristic to many other parts of India as well as Sri Lanka. The Countries of Southeast Asia, Cambodia, Indonesia, Myanmar, and the Philippines belong to the same list whereas, from East Asia, it is China (Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Tibet).

There is no one sub-region on the political map of Africa where such conflicts would not occur.

In North Africa, Sudan has already become a dangerous source of such conflicts, which is based on the contradiction between the Nilotic peoples of the south of the country professing Christianity and the peoples of northern Sudan, who accepted Islam. In West Africa, distinguished by a special ethnic diversity, conflicts on the ethnoreligious basis are common to many countries, especially Nigeria, with a similarly highly unstable political situation. Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda, and Burundi belong to the list from East Africa, in Central Africa, these are DR Congo, Angola, and in the Southern part of Africa - South Africa. But the ethnic conflict in Rwanda undoubtedly deserves strong emphasis. It began in 1994 and led to the genocide, which is comparable to the actions of Nazi Germany in the occupied countries or the "Khmer Rouge" in Cambodia.

The former Belgian colony of Rwanda gained independence in 1962. However, this did not lead to the reconciliation between the warring ethnic groups - Tutsi pastoralists and Hutu farmers. Although Tutsis include only 15% of the population, they took practically all leadership positions in the government. This long-running feud escalated into civil war, at the end of which in 1994the Tutsis killed 500 thousand Hutu and forced more than 2 million people to flee from the country. The entire civilized world was literally shaken by the violence which was accompanied by conflict (Basic Facts about the United Nations. 2004. P. 84).

As a result, we can say that it is Africa, where the name "continent of the conflicts" is firmly established. As for the most radical solutions to this complex problem, we did not have time to put forward proposals to reshape the political map of Africa inherited from the colonial era by creating possible mono-ethnic states on the continent. In practice, it is quite impossible to implement. Ethnographers have calculated that in this case, the number of states on the continent would have to increase to 200-300! (V. Maksakovsky. 2009).

In conclusion, we can add that most of the conflicts in the post-soviet space, which, as we have already mentioned, are also categorized on a separatist ethnic basis. In most cases, Abkhazia and Tskhinvali District (Georgia), Transdniestria (Moldova), Karabakh (Azerbaijan) existed and still do so because of the illegal involvement of Russia in those conflicts. As for Russia itself, the North Caucasus has been and remains the main area of such conflicts. In 2020 the world witnessed the new war on the post-soviet space between Azerbaijan and Armenia when Azerbaijan managed to restore control on the almost whole territory of the country, but Russia was again involved at the last stage of the conflict as “peacekeeper”.

Hopefully, now we have the basic approaches to such a complex problem as regional and local conflicts on the modern world political map.

14.3. Forms and methods of influencing the conflict with the aim of its prevention and peaceful settlement

Modern approaches to resolving conflicts largely stem from their features. At present, science and social practice, in principle, have sufficiently developed technologies for this.

Great importance to the procedures and methods of conflict resolution attaches to the UN. The Art. 33 of Chapter VI of the United Nations Charter states: "Parties involved in any dispute, the continuation of which could threaten the maintenance of international peace and security, should, first of all, try to resolve the dispute through negotiation, examination, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial proceedings, recourse to regional authorities or agreements or other means of their choice. " For active activities related to peacekeeping, the UN was noted in 1988 for the Nobel Prize (UN, 2005).

In the early 1990s, UN activity in the area of resolving and preventing open forms of conflict was intensified and the number of its peacekeeping missions was increased. Boutros Ghali, being the UN Secretary-General, proposed an expanded "Agenda for Peace", which details various procedures for the peaceful settlement and prevention of the conflicts. As a whole, in the second half of the 1990s, as well as in the early 2000s, the UN paid great attention to peacekeeping problems. For the activities in this area, the UN and its Secretary-General Kofi Annan were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2001 (UN, 2005).

Since conflicts pose a serious threat to regional security, their settlement also lays in the focus of attention of many regional intergovernmental organizations, including the OSCE, AU, Leagues of the Arabic States, and others. Non-governmental organizations are also involved in resolving these issues, for example, "Doctors without Borders" (Médecins Sans Frontières), "International Red Cross". Nevertheless, the fact remains that contemporary political conflicts - especially internal ones, with their ethnic and religious component - are extremely difficult to influence. They affect the deep value and emotional structures of the participants, therefore, as a rule, they require a long time for reconciliation.

Conflict resolution and prevention activities, depending on the situation, the nature of the threats, and the stage of development, include the main focus of activities - from mediation and monitoring the implementation of the agreement to military operations. Many of these technologies were developed and introduced into the practical field at the end of the 20th century. In general, the influence to the conflict for its peaceful end is affected by:

• Preventive diplomacy

• Peacekeeping

• Peacemaking

• Peacebuilding

Preventive diplomacy is used to prevent the conflict from entering an armed phase. It includes activities related to the “restoration of trust” between the conflicting parties: the work of civilian observers to ascertain the facts of violation of peace, the exchange of information, etc.

Preventive diplomacy began to develop particularly intensively after outbreaks of conflict in the late 1980s and early 1990s, most of all in Europe, when voices were increasingly voiced in favor of the fact that early warning and conflict prevention are more prospective. This topic was especially pronounced in the program "Agenda for the World". The idea of conflict prevention found active support from politicians.

Picture 23. The mixed record of UN peacekeeping in South Sudan

Source: https://odihpn.org/magazine/the-mixed-record-of-un-peacekeeping-in-south-sudan/

However, a specific policy regarding conflict situations in many ways remains reactive, i.e. mostly the actions are adopted after the fact when this or other event was held - only in response to it. There are several reasons for this.

First, there are problems associated with the search for indicators for which we can judge potential conflict areas. Even though the UN monitoring program for potentially hazardous areas has been deployed and is being implemented, there are no clear criteria by which to predict when and where it will arise, and in what form the next conflict will manifest itself.

Secondly, problems are justifying the need for intervention, making appropriate decisions about what kind of actions will be taken, obtaining the necessary permits for impacts, and finally, financing of the adopting actions. When discussing all these issues, purely psychological factors play an essential role, in particular, the need to prevent a threat that does not yet exist.

Peacekeeping involves ceasefire measures. This may be the deployment of missions of military observers, peacekeeping forces, the creation of buffer zones, as well as zones free from flights, etc. Peacekeeping forces can be called "emergency", "temporary", "protective", "separation forces" to have different mandates defining acceptable means of achieving the goal.

Peacekeeping activities for peace protection are oriented not on the peaceful solution of the problem, but only at reducing the severity of the conflict. It provides the separation between the conflict parties and the limitation of contacts between them. As a result, the military actions of the participants become difficult. However, while underlining the analogies with medicine, then peacekeeping efforts are more focused on alleviating the symptoms of the disease than on its treatment.

There are several other issues and limitations. Thus, peacekeeping forces cannot be brought in without the permission of the state, on whose territory they should be sent, and the host state, in its turn, may perceive this as interference in its internal affairs. Another question is what should be the composition of the forces being introduced for their actions to be perceived as neutral, rather than supporting one or another side in the conflict. The activity of the forces being introduced is limited by their mandates. As a rule, they have no right to pursue the attacker. As a result, peacekeepers themselves often become a kind of target.

Peacemaking involves procedures related to the organization of the negotiation process and the implementation of mediation efforts by a third party to find mutually acceptable solutions. Here it is important that, unlike peacekeeping, peacemaking activities should be directed not only at reducing the level of confrontation between the parties, but also to solving the problem peacefully, which would satisfy the conflicting parties.

The result of peacemaking activities is not always the resolution of contradictions. The parties are sometimes forced to sign agreements, knowing that the continuation of the conflict at this stage becomes impossible. In this case, one or the other side may not strive to implement them. In this case, guarantees of the implementation of agreements are often required. The third-party involved in the mediation often becomes such a guarantee. For example, within the agreements signed between Israel and Egypt in 1979, the role of mediator was taken by the United States.

Another problem related to using the measures to influence the conflict in the framework of peacemaking is that all negotiating means are focused on the rational behavior of the conflicting parties. In real conditions, the participants in the conflict are inclined to be unpredictable, even irrational actions, up to "suicidal steps" and emotional reactions.

Finally, the problem exists in the fact that actions to preserve peace are aimed at working with the leaders of the conflicting parties. The level of mass consciousness and behavior is not affected here. Therefore, after reaching agreements, outbreaks of violence often occur (UN, 2005).

It is interesting!

The UN Charter does not explicitly mention peacekeeping forces. This gave reason to Dag Hammarskjöld, former UN Secretary - General, to joke that the use of peacekeeping forces should be mentioned between the sixth and seventh chapters of the UN Charter.

The sixth chapter deals with the peaceful settlement principles, and the seventh chapter takes into consideration the use of force in case of threat before the International peace, the act of aggression etc.

Peacebuilding means the active involvement of a third party in a post-conflict settlement. This may be an activity aimed at preparing elections, managing territories until full restoration of peaceful life, transfer of power to local authorities, etc. In the framework of peacebuilding, measures are also being taken to reconcile the conflicting parties. The great importance has economic development, the development of the projects involving the cooperation of former adversaries (as was in the case, for example, after the end of the Second World War in western Europe). In addition, peacebuilding includes educational work, which is also aimed at reconciling the participants, the formation of tolerant behavior.

In addition to these concepts, in the literature related to the conflicts, one can often encounter others, including such as "peacekeeping operations" or “peace support operations” or missions. In principle, all terms are close to each other, although they do not always coincide. For example, the concept of “peacekeeping operations” is mainly used in NATO documentation (NATO, 2006).

In connection with the intensive development of the practice of influencing the conflicts by the end of the 20th century, the term "peacekeeping operations of the second generation" has appeared. It suggests a wider range of third-party participation in the conflict and using various means, including the use of naval forces and aviation. At the same time, military operations began to be carried out without the consent of the state in which the conflict arose, as was in the case for example, in the former Yugoslavia. This practice has been called “peace enforcement” and is rather ambiguously perceived by various states, politicians, movements, etc.

Other terminologies have also been established in the scientific literature, particularly: *conflict prevention* of the open-armed forms of conflict, accompanied by violent actions - wars, riots, massive disorders, etc. *conflict management*, is aimed at reducing the level of hostility in the relations of the parties, which implies mediation and negotiations procedures: *conflict resolution*, is focused on eliminating their causes, the formation of a new level of interrelations between participants.

Two groups of concepts, having been distributed in the scientific research and practice of conflict resolution and prevention, are two close areas, which M. Lund called the “C-series” and the “P-series”, respectively, by which the scientific terminology begins with the concept of "conflict ", but in practice, usually with the "peace" (Lund, 2002). In recent years, both fields have been increasingly influencing each other. As a result, there is often confusion in terms of terminology.

The practice of conflict resolution at the end of the XX century also created the problem, which is connected with the *humanitarian influence* on the conflict situation. In the framework of modern conflicts suffers first of all civilian population (from 80 till 90%), including the lacking of food, medicines, warm clothes, housing, etc. (Chitadze, 2016). In this regard, there is often the question of the emergence of a *humanitarian catastrophe* and the necessity for *humanitarian aid*. At the same time, the humanitarian impact on the conflict situation became in some cases to be implemented without the consent of the state in which the conflict arose, which has created a legal problem. The essence of the discussions is to review, does it represent the interference in the internal affairs of the state? If the answer is positive, then there are other questions. How to deal with human rights? What to do if, in a conflict situation, a state violates the rights of the civilian population, conducts ethnic cleansing, and in this way creates problems not only within its own country but also for its neighbors because of the flood of refugees rushing towards them? In the framework of existing standards, those problems are solved in extremely difficult ways.

Important in the practice of conflict resolution of 1990-2000 and the beginning of the XXI century has become the fact that many participants are simultaneously connected to this process. In traditional diplomacy, the conflict's resolution is involved states and intergovernmental organizations — the so-called first line of diplomacy – *Track-I Diplomacy*, or *official diplomacy*. In addition, non-governmental organizations and individuals (for example, former political activists, famous writers, scientists) also take part in resolving the conflicts. This practice of *unofficial diplomacy* has gained the name of "*second direction of diplomacy*" - *Track-II Diplomacy* (Chitadze, 2016).

Such multiple impacts correspond to the current realities of varicosity of the conflicts, the multiplicity, and heterogeneity of their participants, as well as the general trend associated with the activation of non-state actors. It is known that different structures of the conflict require different involvement, and through many channels: unofficial participants are often more effectively affected by unofficial ones, and official agents, as a rule, are influenced by official mediators.

The activities of the non - governmental organizations under the conditions of the conflict can be extremely varied. It includes the delivery of the humanitarian aid concretely to those people, who especially suffered as a result of the conflict, collection of the information about the real situation in the conflict zone, and mediation in the establishment contacts (both: officials and non-officials) with the purpose of the decreasing the tensions between conflict participants and introduction of the educational programs, the main purpose of which is the changing the orientation of the people – from the conflict behavior toward the finding the agreement. Another activity of the non-governmental organizations is directly connected with the restoration of the different types of infrastructure, which has been damaged as a result of the military operations, particularly – the restoration of the communication means and providing the population in the conflict or within the post-conflict stage with food, water, etc.

Nongovernmental organizations mostly are oriented on making the influence on the mass level, which is very important for internal conflicts. They usually establish good and close relations with the various target groups of the local population. At the same time, NGO-s themselves on the level of mass understanding are considered in many cases as more neutral and independent mediators in comparison with governmental structures.

Working with the masses, nongovernmental organizations possess rather detailed information from the conflict places. For the official mediators, due to the smaller number of their representatives and other reasons, it is more difficult to collect this type of information.
However, activities in the framework of the second direction of diplomacy have a list of limitations. Sometimes the advantages, which are possessed by unofficial mediators, turn to weakness. Thus, to work with the concrete people in the determined region and gain from their information, the

representatives of the non-official diplomacy often cannot see the real picture as a whole. Even more, the information is not always checked by them, and in some cases, some information is damaged.

Another limitation of the second direction of diplomacy is the fact that its representatives are not always well-prepared from a professional point of view. Non-governmental organizations often go and are involved with those people, who really want to help the people but they do not always have enough knowledge and skills. For example, realizing the functions, which are connected with the psychological rehabilitation of the people in the conflict zones, requires special preparation in the field of psychology. One NGO-s pays the necessary attention to the professional preparation of their staff, who are based on the principle of Hippocrates “Do not damage!”, when others ignore it, which creates difficulties during the involvement of such organizations, and individuals toward the conflict resolution process.

Causes several difficulties also the multiplicity of participants in this process. One of the main problems is coherence. Otherwise, activity may even cause an increase of hostile relations or give reason to new conflicts. The fact is that third parties act in conflict on the basic principles and norms that do not always coincide and sometimes contradict each other. This entails the development of conflicts, which is especially characterized by the non-state actors. For example, former Vice-President of the world's largest non-governmental organizations "world vision" A.S. Natsios gives an example of the spread of humanitarian assistance during the conflict (Rwanda 1994) in neighboring villages by various non-governmental organizations. In one humanitarian aid was provided for everyone while in a nearby village, another non-governmental organization delivered humanitarian aid only under the condition of participation in a project to be focused on reducing tensions. As a result, there was a conflict between the residents of these villages (Natsios, 2012).

A special issue is the relationship of non-governmental organizations with official structures. These contacts are not always easy to establish. Official authorities often try to limit the activities of non-governmental organizations in a conflict zone, considering it, if the NGO is international, as interference in internal affairs. The question of whether non-governmental organizations should be able to remain neutral in a conflict is far from being a simple one. This problem is faced even by such famous and large organizations, as the International Red Cross. In particular, in the 1960s, the French activist of the organization R. Bernard Kushner, the founder of the “doctors without borders” movement, spoke out against the principle of the neutrality of non-governmental organizations in a conflict situation (Chitadze, 2016). His arguments boiled down to the fact that under conditions of an accomplished genocide, humanist-oriented organizations cannot be neutral. However, the abandonment of the principle of neutrality by all non-governmental organizations can generally block access to humanitarian aid through non-governmental channels for those, against whom the genocide was committed since the official authorities simply will not allow its delivery.

Another problem is the interactions of governmental and non-governmental structures to resolve the conflict. Such contacts are necessary. And in this regard, the increasing popularity acquires a new direction of practice, which receives theoretical understanding as Multi-Truck diplomacy.
This meaning itself proposes the cooperation by the representatives of the official diplomacy with those who are involved in the presented activity in the framework of the second direction of diplomacy. Multidirectional diplomacy represents not only the merger of two directions, but only joining to them the business structures, private persons, research and educational centers, religious

activists, local activists, lawyers and philanthropic organizations, representatives of the mass-media means, and also dividing the functions among them.

Key terminologies

Conflict

Interstate Conflict

Internal conflict

Conflict of Identity

Refugees

Internally Displaced Persons (IDP)

Procedural factors

Asymmetric warfare

Asymmetric Conflict

Preventive Diplomacy

Negotiation Process

Peace Support

Peace Keeping

Peace-Making

Mediation efforts (Mediation)

Conflict Management

Peace Building

Peace Enforcement

Official Diplomacy

Non-Official Diplomacy

Track-I Diplomacy

Track-II Diplomacy

Multi-Track Diplomacy

Conflict Regulation

Conflict Resolution

Humanitarian Aid

Questions for Consideration

What are the main characters of modern conflicts?

How can be explained the conflict development at the end of XX and the beginning of XXI centuries?

What kind of difficulties emerged during the regulation of modern conflicts?

How can be understood the terminologies "preventive diplomacy", "peacemaking", "peacekeeping", "peacebuilding"?

What is the main essence of the discussion related to the humanitarian influence on the conflict?

What are the main characters of the second direction of diplomacy?

What is the main problem related to getting an agreement for the joint actions to prevent the conflict?

Practicum

Please analyze one of the conflicts at the end of XX-beginning of XXI centuries by taking into consideration the following parameters: What is the character of participants (movements, states, etc.)?

Who can be the third party (parties) during the conflict resolution process? What kind of procedures and methods has been used during the conflict resolution process? How effective was the interference in the conflict?

Chapter 15. Failed State

A **failed state** is a political body that has disintegrated to a such level, where basic elements and responsibilities of a sovereign authority no longer function properly. A state is also able to fail if the government loses its legitimacy even under the conditions that it is implementing its functions properly. For a stable country, it represents the necessity for the government to be satisfied with both effectiveness and legitimacy. Likewise, when a nation weakens and its socio-economic conditions decline, it introduces the possibility of total governmental collapse. The Fund for Peace characterizes a failed state as having the following characteristics:

· Loss of control of its territory, or the monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force therein
· Erosion of legitimate authority to make collective decisions
· Inability to provide public services
· Inability to interact with other states as a full member of the international community

General characteristics of a failing state include a central (federal) authority so weak or ineffective that it cannot raise taxes or take other steps for the providing national interest and has little practical control over the biggest part of its territory and hence there is a non-provision of public services. After the development of such processes, widespread corruption and criminality, the intervention of state and non-state actors, the appearance of internally displaced persons and refugees and the involuntary movement of populations, radical reduction of the economy and military intervention of foreign countries can occur (Fund for peace, 2015).

Metrics have been developed to analyze the level of governance of states. The precise level of government control required to avoid being considered a failed state varies considerably amongst authorities. At the same time, the declaration that a country has "failed" is generally controversial and, when made authoritatively, may cause important geopolitical changes (Steward, 2007).

15.1. Definition and issues

Based on the political concepts of the author of political sociology Max Weber, a state is determined as maintaining a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force within its borders. When this principle is violated (e.g., through the dominant presence of warlords, illegal armed formations, corrupt policing and other public institutions on the central and regional levels, criminal groups, or terrorism), the further function of the state becomes dubious, and country transfers to be a *failed state*. The complexity of determining whether a government carries out "a monopoly on the legitimate use of force", which includes the problems of the definition of "legitimate", signifies it is not clear precisely when a state can be considered to have "failed".

The problem of legitimacy can be solved by considering what Weber intended by it. The scientist analyzes that only the state has the resources of production necessary for physical violence. This means that the state does not require legitimacy for achieving control on having the means of violence (*de facto*), but will need one if it needs to use it (*de jure*).

Typically, the term means that the state has been rendered ineffective and is not able to enforce its laws uniformly or provide basic goods and services to its citizens because of (variously) high crime indexes, insurgency, extreme political corruption, an impenetrable and ineffective bureaucracy, judicial ineffectiveness, military interference in politics, and cultural conditions in which traditional leaders wield more power than the state over a concrete field. Additional factors of perception may be involved. A derived concept of "failed cities" has also been launched, having been connected to the notion that while a state has capacities to function in general, politics at the substate level may collapse in terms of infrastructure, economy, and social policy. Certain regions, municipalities, urban and rural areas may even fall outside governmental jurisdiction, becoming a *de facto* ungoverned part of the state (Braathen, 2011).

There is no real consensus on the definition of a "failed state"; the subjective nature of indicators that are used to determine state failure has led to an ambiguous understanding of the term (Nay, 2011). Several scientists pay attention to the capacity and effectiveness of the government to explain if a state has failed or not (*Rotberg, 2004).*

Other indices such as the Fund for Peace's Fragile States Index underline the democratic character of public structures to analyze its level of failure (Call, 2011). Finally, other researchers focus their argument on the legitimacy of the state (Kaplan, 2008), on the nature of the state, (Gros, 1996) on the growth of criminal violence in a state (Rotberg, 2004), on the economic extractive institutions (Levitt, 2011), or on the states' ability to control its territory (Taylor, 2013). Robert H. Bates refers to state failure as the "implosion of the state", where the state transforms "into an instrument of predation" and the state effectively loses its monopoly on the means of force (Bates, 2008).

As part of the discussion about the state failure definition, Charles T. Call (2010) tries to abandon the meaning of state failure altogether; as he proves, it promotes an unclear understanding of what does it mean a state failure? (Call, 2011). In reality, one of the main contributions to the theorization of the "failed state" is the "gap framework" developed by Call (2010). This framework builds on his previous (2008) criticisms of 'state failure', as a concept used as a catch-all term for diverse states with varying problems and as a base and explanation for universal policy prescriptions (FFP, 2015). It unpacks the concept of "state failure" focusing on three gaps that the state is not able to provide when it is in the process of failure: capacity when state institutions lack the resource to effectively provide basic goods and services to its citizens; security, when the country can not deliver security to its population under the conditions of the danger of armed groups; and legitimacy, when an "important portion of its political elites and society ignore the laws regulating power and the concentration and distribution of wealth." (Call, 2011) The "gap framework" can be considered to be more acceptable in comparison of other definitions.

Instead of attempting to quantify the degree of failure of a state, the gap framework provides a three-dimensional scope useful to review the interplay between the authority and the population in states in a more analytical way. The call does not necessarily suggest that states that have the problem from the challenges of the three gaps should be identified as failed states; but instead, presents the gap idea as an alternative to the state failure concept as a whole (Call, 2011). Despite the fact, that Call recognizes that the gap concept in itself has limits since often states face two or more of the gap challenges, his conceptual proposition presents a useful direction for more precisely identifying the challenges within a society and the policy prescriptions that are more likely to be effective for domestic and international actors to fulfill.

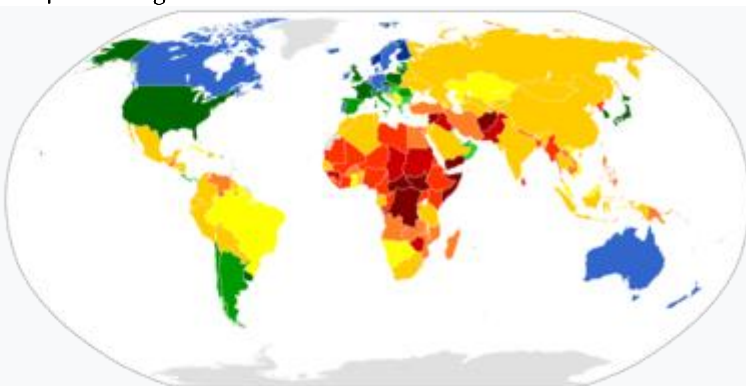
Another critique for how the meaning of the 'failed state' concept has been understood and operationalized is brought forth in scientific works having been presented by Morten Bøås and Kathleen M. Jennings who, describing on five case studies—Afghanistan, Somalia, Liberia, Sudan, and the Niger Delta region of Nigeria—argue that "the use of the 'failed state' label is inherently political, and based primarily on Western perceptions of Western security and interests" (Bøås, Jennings, 2007). They continue to suggest that Western policy-makers explanation the 'failed' label to those countries in which 'recession and formalization of the state are perceived to be a threat to

Western interests (Bøås, Jennings, 2007). At the same time, this offers a hypocritical approach presented by Western policy-makers, because of the fact that the characteristics that would lead certain states failed are accepted in other countries where these characteristics are coincided with the Western interests. In reality, "this factor is not only accepted, but also to a certain degree facilitated, as it creates an enabling environment for business and international capital. These cases are not branded 'failed states``(Bøås, Jennings, 2007).

15.2. Measurement

The measurement methods of state failure are commonly classified into quantitative and qualitative approaches.

Map 13. Fragile States Index 2018



Source: Fund for peace, 2018

- 10-Sustainable
- 40-Stable
- 70-Warning
- 100-Alert
- 120-Alert+
- No Information / Disputed Territory

15.2.1. Quantitative approach

Quantitative measurement of state failure underlines the formulating of indexes and rankings *State Fragility Index* (SFI) are particularly significant. At the same time, several other indexes are generally used to analyze state weakness, often focusing on the developmental level of the state. Examples are the *Freedom House Index* (FHI), the *Human Development Index* (HDI), or the *World Bank Governance Indicators*. In addition, regional evaluation can give concrete details about, inter alia, the level of democracy such as the Report of Democratic Development in Latin America (*Informe de desarrollo democrático de América Latina*) (Konrad-Adenauer-Foundation & Polilat 2013).

However, the Fragile States Index has received comparatively much attention since the publication of the first document on this issue in 2005. Edited by the magazine *Foreign Policy*, the ranking examines 178 countries based on analytical research of the Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST) of the Fund for Peace (Fund for Peace (FFP), 2018).

The Fragile States Index published its fourteenth annual report in 2018, which was prepared by the Fund for Peace and published by *Foreign Policy Magazine*. The Index characterizes the states in four categories, with variations in each category. Among categories should be mentioned about 1. Alert; 2. Warning; 3. Stable and 4. Sustainable.

The FSI total score is out of 120, and in 2018 178 states were making the ranking. Initially, the FSI only ranked 75 countries in 2005. The FSI uses two standards by which a state qualifies to be included in the list: first of all, the country has to be a plenipotentiary member of the United Nations, and secondly, there has to be a significant sample size of content and data available for that country to allow for meaningful analysis. There are three groupings: social, economic, and political with an overall of twelve indicators (Fund for peace, 2018).

Social indicators:

· Demographic pressures
· Refugees or internally displaced persons
· Group grievance
· Human flight and brain drain

Economic indicators:

· Uneven economic development
· Poverty and economic decline

Political and military indicators:

· state legitimacy
· Public services
· Human rights and rule of law
· Security apparatus
· Factionalized elites
· External intervention

The indicators each count for 10, adding up to a total of 120. However, to add up to 120, the indicator scores are rounded up or down to the nearest one decimal place. Within the several years, South Sudan ranked number one, Somalia number two, and the Central African Republic number three. Countries of Northern Europe are currently the most stable and sustainable countries in the list within the last decade.

While it is significant to underline that the FSI is used in many pieces of research and makes the categorization of countries more pragmatic, it is often opposed to alternative opinions because of several factors. The first reason is, that it does not include the Human Development Index during the determination of the final score, but instead pays attention to institutions to measure what are often also considered human aspects for development. The second reason is, that it parallels the fragility or vulnerability of states with underdevelopment. This comparison, first of all, assumes that underdevelopment (economic) creates vulnerability, thus concluding that if a state is "developed" it is stable or sustainable. The third reason, it measures the failure (or success) of a state without taking into consideration the progress of other fields outside the area of the 12 indicators, thus excluding important elements of development such as the reduction in child mortality rates, increasing the percentage of literacy of the population, improvements in the health care system, and improved access to clean water sources and social insurance, amongst others. Nonetheless, when considering failed states it is significant to point out the FSI not just for its use by governmental agencies, other public and non-governmental organizations, the private sector, and experts, but also due to the fact, that it provides a measure of assessment that has the purpose to address the issues that cause threats, both on domestic and international levels.

15.2.2. Qualitative approach

The qualitative approach embraces theoretical frameworks. Usually, this type of measurement applies stage models to permit the categorization of countries. In three to five stages, scholars present state failure as a process. Notable experts, inter alia, are Robert I. Rotberg is the Anglo-American, and Ulrich Schneckener in the German sphere.

The model, having been presented by Ulrich Schneckener (2006) defines three core elements, monopoly of violence, legitimacy, and rule of law. The typology is based on the *security first* logic and thus, shows the relevance of the monopoly of violence in comparison to the other two while at the same time acting as the precondition for a functioning state. His four statehood types are the following: (1) consolidated and consolidating states, (2) weak states, (3) failing, and (4) collapsed/failed states. The first type is directed towards functioning states; all core functions of the state are functioning in the long term. In weak states, the monopoly of force is still intact, but the other two fields have serious deficits. Failing states lack the monopoly of force, but at the same time, the other areas function at least partially. Finally, collapsed or failed states are dominated by parastatal structures characterized by actors, who have the aim to create a certain internal order, but the state is not able to sufficiently serve the three core elements (Rotberg).

Both research methods show several irregularities. While the quantitative approach has a problem during the lack of transparency related to its indicators and their balancing in the evaluation process of states, the qualitative approach shows a diversity of different foci. One of the main discrepancies is the question of whether all the stages have to be taken continuously or if a state can skip one phase. Schneckener urges that his approach should not be interpreted as a stage model as, in his point of view, states do not necessarily undergo every stage. Robert I. Rotberg's model notes an ordinal logic and thus implies that the state failure process is a chronological chain of phases (The Guardian, 2013).

15.3. Theoretical mechanisms for state development

State development through war-making

Charles Tilly (1985) was mentioning that war-making was an indispensable aspect of state development in Europe through the following interdependent functions:

· War-making—rulers eliminate external rivals (requires building military forces and supportive bureaucracies)
· State-making—rulers eliminate internal rivals and establish control over their territories (requires building police forces and bureaucracies)
· Protection—rulers bring about benefit to their clients by eliminating their external rivals and guaranteeing their rights (requires building courts and representative assemblies)
· Extraction—rulers extract more tax from their subjects (requires building tax collection apparatuses and exchequers)

Tilly summarized this linkage in the famous phrase: "War made the state, and the state made war."
Similarly, Herbst (1990) added that a war might be the only opportunity to strengthen an extraction capability since it forced rulers to risk their political lives for extra revenue and forced subjects to consent to pay more tax. It is also significant for country development in that the increased revenue would not return to its original level even after the ending of military operations. Contrary to European states, however, he also underlined out that the majority of the states from the other regions of the world lacked external threats and had not waged interstate wars, implying that these states are unlikely to take the analogical measures in the future (Kutan, 2019).

15.4. "Nation-building" by developed countries

Steward and Knaus (2012) tackled the question "can intervention work?" and pointed out that "we can help nations build themselves" by putting an end to war and providing "well resourced humanitarian interventions." They criticized the overconfidence of policymakers on nation-building by contrasting successful interventions in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1995) and Kosovo (1999) with nonsuccessful attempts to provide state-building in Iraq (2003) and Afghanistan (2001) in which the U.S. and its allies lost thousands of military serviceman over ten years and released more than a trillion dollars without understanding its central objective of nation-building (Jennings, 2007). During the period, when a so-called failed nation-state is crushed by internal violence or disruption and accordingly has no resources to deliver positive political goods to its citizens, developed states feel the responsibility to interfere and support in rebuilding them (Chesterman, 2004). However, intervention is not always shown positively, but because of past intervention by for example the US government, scholars argue that the concept of a failed state is an invented rationale to impose developed states' interests on less powerful states (Pritchett. 2013). Developed countries are easily over-confident as many Anglo-American countries refer to their institutions as the "Global Standard Institutions" which represent the guarantee of a free market, economic growth, law superiority, providing human rights and democracy, and political stability (Jablonski, 2014). The labeling of states for example Central Africa, Mali, Afghanistan, Myanmar, Libya, Iraq, or Sudan, as failed states, gives the Western democratic community the legitimization to impose the western idea of a civilized nation-state. It is generally accepted that nation-building or international reaction to troubled/rogue countries takes place too late or too quickly which is due to inadequate analysis or lack of political will. Still, it is important to highlight that developed nations and their aid structures have had a positive impact on many failed states. Nation-building is context-specific and thus a countries' cultural-political, as well as social environment, needs to be carefully reviewed before intervening as a foreign state (Jablonski, 2014). Government intervention can be both a curse and a blessing within the same period (Jablonski, 2014).

The Western civilization has increasingly become agitated about failed states and considers them as threats to security and stability. The concept of the failed state is thereafter often used to protect policy interventions by the West. Further, as Chesterman and Ignatieff et. Al. argue, regarding the period of international activity by democratic states and international organizations, a key problem is that a crisis tends to be focused on time, while the most essential work of reframing and building up a state and its governmental agencies takes a long period. Accordingly, effective state-building is a slow process and it is disingenuous to suggest otherwise to the domestic public (Dube, 2015).

15.5. Promoting development through foreign aid

Pritchett, Woolcock, and Andrews in 2013 implemented the research related to the systematic failure of the development of failed states. They determined "state administrative capability for implementation" as the basic issue of state development, and found out the mechanism in which failed states stumbled regardless of decades of development practices tried, a huge amount of money spent, and alleged "progress" boasted. These states adopted the following techniques which led to undermining it:

1. *systemic isomorphic mimicry*—disguising the dysfunction of states by simply mimicking the appearance of functional states.
2. *premature load bearing*—limited-capacity states being overloaded with "unrealistic expectations."

Related to the fact that many of these states would likely need several decades and even centuries to reach the socio-economic or political and legal levels of developed countries, they suggested creating "context-specific institutions", promoting "incremental reform process", and setting "realistic expectations" for attaining the goal of substantial development (Van de Walle, 2006).
Foreign aid produces several unintended consequences when used to develop the institutional capacity of the state. Donors will often give the responsibility for aid distribution to recipient authorities since they lack the information or capacity to identify who is in the greatest need and how it can be spent in the best way (Berman, 2013). The downside of this is that it can be captured by local governments and delivered either towards self-enrichment of incumbent elites or to create and carry out clientelist networks to allow them to strengthen position in power, for instance, in African state Kenya, aid allocation is biased towards constituencies with high vote shares for the incumbent, so the geographic distribution of aid changes to their supporters following a change of regime (Binyavanga, 2017). Furthermore, there is a chance, that foreign aid also be diverted to non-state actors, and thus undermine the state's monopoly on violence, such as in Colombia within the 90th of the last century and beginning of the XXI century, where US support to the Colombian military was distributed by the military to paramilitary armed formations, leading to important increases in paramilitary violence in those regions, which were located near military bases (Fearon, 2004). The implication is that foreign aid can undermine the state by both feeding corruptions of incumbent elites, and empowering groups outside of the state.

Moss, Todd, Gunilla Pettersson, and Nicolas Van de Walle (2006) recognized the controversy over the effect of foreign aid that has developed within the many years. They analyzed that although there is a call for an increase in large aid efforts in the African continent by the international society, this will establish what they named an "aid-institutions paradox."(Center For Global Development, 2019). This paradox is formed due to the large cash contributions that Western countries have released to

African states have created institutions that are "less accountable to their citizens and under less pressure to maintain popular legitimacy." (Center for Global Development, 2019) They point out that the gradual decrease of aid may help foster long-lasting institutions. One of the examples of it is the United States' efforts in the Korean peninsula after the Cold War.

Berman, Eli, Felter, Shapiro, and Trolan (2013) also found the analogical case to support the paradox, stating that significant US aid attempts in African agriculture have caused the development of conflict among the local inhabitants. Notably, small investments such for example grants for schools have proven to decrease violence compared to large investments, which create "incentives to capture economic rents through violence."(Migdal, 1988).

Furthermore, Binyavanga Wainaina (2009) likens Western aid to colonization, in which countries believe that a high volume of cash contributions to spur the African economy will lead to political development and less violence. In practice, these cash contributions do not invest in Africa's development from a political social, economic, and cultural point of view (Andrews, 2013).

15.6. Neotrusteeship

James Fearon and David Laitin (2004) offer the idea that the dilemma related to the failed states can be addressed through a system of "no trusteeship," which those scientists compare to "postmodern imperialism."(Stigall, 2016) Fearon and Laitin's approach of neo-trusteeship includes a combination of international and internal organizations which desire to rebuild states. Fearon and Laitin start with the assumption that failed countries comprise a collective action problem. Failed states impose negative externalities on the other part of the international system, like refugees and migrants (including illegal migrants) who are displaced by military operations and other reasons. It would be a net good for the international system in case if states had an activity to develop and rebuild failed states. However, intervention is very costly, and no single nation has a strong enough incentive to work for the resolution of the problem of a failed state. Therefore, international cooperation is necessary to solve this collective action problem.

Fearon and Laitin determine four main problems to achieving collective action to intervene in failed states:

1. Recruitment—getting countries to participate in and pay for interventions
2. Coordination—providing good communication between all of the peacekeeping countries
3. Accountability—ensuring that any peacekeeping countries that commit human rights abuses are held responsible
4. Exit—having some mechanism for the peacekeeping countries to withdraw

The two above-mentioned researchers do propose some solutions to these problems. To solve the recruitment problem, they argue for having a powerful state with security interests in the failed state to take the lead in the peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding operations and serve a point role. Having a single country lead the peacekeeping operation would also assist solve the coordination issues. The empowerment of the structure of a United nation to investigate human rights abuses would solve the accountability question. Finally, forcing the failed state to release funds to peacekeeping activities after a concrete period can reduce the incentives of the peacekeepers to exit. Fearon and Laitin have the position that multilateral interventions which solve the above-mentioned four collective action problems will have more effectiveness at rebuilding failed states through neo-trusteeship (Stigall, 2016).

15.7. Autonomous recovery

Jeremy Weinstein has an alternative point of view related to peacekeeping is necessary to rebuild failed states, arguing that it is in many cases better to permit failed states to recover on their own (Korteweg, 2006). Weinstein fears that international intervention may prevent a state from developing strong internal structures and capabilities. One of Weinstein's key arguments is that war leads to peace. Based on this idea, he underlines that peace agreements imposed by the international society tend to freeze in place power disparities that do not reflect real factors. According to Weinstein, such a situation leaves a country ripe for future war, while if the military operations were permitted to play out for one side to win decisively, the future war would be much less likely. The researcher also claims that war led to the development of stable state entities. Weinstein borrows from Charles Tilly to make this argument, which states that wars require important expansions in-state resources, so the countries that are more stable and capable will gain the victory in wars and survive in the international system through a process analogical to natural selection. Scholar uses evidence from Uganda's successful recovery following a guerilla victory in a civil war, gaining the independence of Eritrea from Ethiopia, and development in Somaliland and Puntland—autonomous districts of Somalia—to support his requirements. Weinstein does mention that lack of external intervention can lead to mass murders and other brutal actions, but he emphasizes that preventing mass killings has to be weighed against the ensuing loss of long-term state capacity (Korteweg, 2006).

15.8. Capability traps of failed states

The capability trap means that states are progressing at a very slow pace in the enlargement of state capability even in the modern world, which is also the core problem of failed states (Moss, Todd, 2006). A significant number of states remain stuck in conditions of low productivity that many call "poverty traps." Social-economic growth is only one aspect of development; another basic dimension of development is the expansion of the administrative resources of the state, the capability of authorities to influence the course of events by implementing policies and programs (James, 2010). Capability traps close the space for novelty, establishing fixed best-practice agendas as the fundament of evaluating failed countries. Local representatives are therefore excluded from the process of building their native states, implicitly undermining the value-creating ideas of local leaders and front-line workers.

Matt, Lant, and Woolcock from the Harvard Kennedy School of Government presented an idea named the "Problem Driven Iterative Adaptation (PDIA)", to escape the capability traps (Bruce Zagaris, 2005). Given that many development initiatives have no success to improve performance because they promote *isomorphic mimicry*, PDIA pays attention to solving locally nominated and prioritized performance problems of failed states. It includes pursuing development interventions that engage broad sets of local representatives to ensure the reforms are politically supportable and can be implemented within the practical activities.

15.9. Promoting good governance and combating further hostilities in failed states

Transnational crime and terrorism

Based on the position of U.S. Department of Justice Trial Attorney Dan E. Stigall, "the international community is confronted with an increasing level of transnational crime in which criminal conduct in one country has an impact in another or even several others. Drug trafficking, human trafficking, computer crimes, terrorism, and a host of other crimes can involve actors operating outside the borders of a country which might have a significant interest in stemming the activity in question and prosecuting the perpetrator" (Howard, 2010).

A research of the Clingendael Center for Strategic Studies (Newman, 2007) discusses the reason, why states that are subject to failure serve as sanctuaries (used to plan, execute, support, and finance activities) for terrorist organizations. When the government has no information about the presence of the organization or if it cannot weaken or remove the organization, the sanctuary is referred to as a "Terrorist Black Hole". However, besides governmental weakness, there needs to be "Terrorist Comparative Advantages" present for a region to be considered as a "Terrorist Black Hole". Based on the research, social confrontation, the legacy from civil conflict, geography, corruption, and policy failure, also some foreign factors have the influence related to governmental weakness. The comparative advantages are religion and ethnicity, the legacy from civil conflict, geography, economic opportunities, economic underdevelopment, and regional stimuli. Only the combinations of the two factors (governmental weakness and Terrorist Comparative Advantages) explain what regions terrorists use as sanctuaries.

A study by James Piazza of the Pennsylvania State University determines evidence that nations affected by state failure experience and produce more terrorist actions (Freedman, 2002). Contemporary transnational crimes "take advantage of globalization, trade liberalization and exploding new technologies to perpetrate diverse crimes and to move money, goods, services, and people instantaneously for purposes of perpetrating violence for political ends" (Abadie, 2005).
Contributing to previous studies on the matter, Tiffiany Howard considers a different dimension of the interaction between state failure and terrorism, bringing us a piece of example evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa. She notes that "citizens of failed states are attracted to political violence because of the deteriorating conditions within these types of states". Concentrating attention on individual citizens' decision-making patterns, it is offered that "individuals living in failed states are attracted to political violence because the system is broken—the state has failed in its duty". This finding is based on empirical evidence using barometer survey data. This kind of individual-level approach, which differs from previous research which has focused on the attractiveness of failed states for terrorists and insurgents (Graff, 2010) finds that "failed states threaten an individual's survival, which ultimately drives them to obtain tangible political and economic resources through other means, which include the use of political violence". This approach has important implications for the international society, such as the fact that "this pattern of deprivation makes individuals in these states more susceptible to the influence of internationally sponsored terrorist groups. As a consequence, failed states are breeding grounds for terrorists, who then export their radical ideologies to other parts of the world to create terrorist threats across the globe" (Globalpolicy.org, 2010).

The connection between state failure (and its characteristics) and terrorism, however, is not unanimously accepted in the scholarly literature. Research by Alberto Abadie, which observes at determinants of terrorism at the state level, offers that the "terrorist risk is not significantly higher for poorer countries, once the effects of other country-specific characteristics such as the level of political freedom are taken into account" (Packer, 2020). As the argument goes, "political freedom is shown to explain terrorism, but it does so in a non-monotonic way: countries in some intermediate range of political freedom are shown to be more prone to terrorism than countries with high levels of political freedom or countries with highly authoritarian regimes" (Packer, 2020). While poverty and limited possibilities of political freedom are not the main characteristics of failed countries, they are in any case significant ones (Brendan, 2020). For this reason, Abadie's work represents a powerful critique of the concept that there is a connection between state failure and terrorism. This link is also questioned by other experts, such as Corinne Graff, who argues that 'there is simply no robust empirical relationship between poverty and terrorist attacks' (Butler, 2020).

Moreover, "problems of weakened states and transnational crime create an unholy confluence that is uniquely challenging. When a criminal operates outside the territory of an offended state, the offending state might ordinarily appeal to the state from which the criminal is operating to take some sort of action, such as to prosecute the offender domestically or extradite the offender so that he or she may face punishment in the offending state. Nonetheless, in situations in which a government is unable (or unwilling) to cooperate in the arrest or prosecution of a criminal, the offending state has few options for recourse" (Howard, 2010).

15.10. Examples of failed states

Important research to the sphere of failed states and their attributes was implemented by J. Goldstone in his paper *Pathways to State Failure*. He characterizes a failed state as one that has lost both its effectiveness and legitimacy. Effectiveness points to the capability to carry out state functions such as creating a security environment or collecting taxes. Legitimacy means the support of a significant part of the population. A country that retains one of these two aspects is not considered as failed; however, it is in great threat of failing soon if no measures are adopted. The scholar determines five possible pathways to state failure:

1. Escalation of communal group (ethnic or religious) conflicts. Examples: Nigeria, Syria, Somalia, Myanmar, Chad, Iraq, Yemen, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Liberia, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Afghanistan, Sudan, South Sudan
2. State predation (corrupt or crony corralling of resources at the expense of other groups). Examples: Ukraine, Nigeria, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Brazil, Philippines, Croatia, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Zimbabwe, South Africa, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Russian Federation
3. Regional or guerrilla rebellion. Examples: Libya, Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Yemen, Congo, Colombia, Vietnam, Nigeria.
4. Democratic collapse (leading to civil war or coup d'état). Examples: Liberia, Madagascar, Nepal, Nigeria.
5. Succession or reform crisis in authoritarian states. Examples: Indonesia under Suharto, Iran under the Shah, the Soviet Union under Gorbachev

Larry Diamond (2006) presents his ideas that weak and failed states pose distinctive problems for the democracy enlargement process. In these countries, the challenge is not only to pressure authoritarian state leaders to surrender power but rather to figure out how to regenerate legitimate power in the first place. There are mostly two distinct types of cases, and each of these three types of cases requires concrete kinds of strategies and tactics for the promotion of good governance:

1. The post-conflict states that are emerging from international or domestic (civil) war. An important part of these countries has been in the African continent - South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Sierra

Leone, Somalia. Some have been in Latin America (Nicaragua, El Salvador, and much of Central America), in Asia (e.g. Cambodia), and in the Middle East (Lebanon, Algeria, and Iraq);

2. Countries that are in the midst of civil war or ongoing violent conflict, where central state authority has largely collapsed, as in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Generally speaking, stability is the most significant prerequisite for democracy promotion, which relies heavily on formal democratic mechanisms, particularly elections to promote the post-conflict rehabilitation process. During the absence of an effective state, there are three scenarios: If on the territory of the state has been a civil war and a rebel force has ultimately triumphed, then the vacuum may be filled by the rebellious armed formations and political movement as it establishes control over the different regions of the country; second, there may be a patchwork of warlords and armies, with either no real central state (as in Somalia) or only a very weak entity. Under this condition, the conflict is not over, but may wax and wane in a decentralized fashion, as in Afghanistan today; the third possibility is that an international actor or coalition of actors steps in to constitute temporary authority politically and militarily. This may be an individual state, a coalition of the states, or an individual country under the thin veneer of a coalition, or the United Nations acting through the formal architecture of a UN post-conflict mission (NPR, 2020).

In 2020, when the coronavirus pandemic was spread, there was much discussion about whether the United States's response to it classified the country as a failed state. In April 2020, George Packer had the position in the The Atlantic that the United States federal government's response to it signified that the US was a "failed state", saying "The United States reacted instead like Pakistan or Belarus – like a country with shoddy infrastructure and a dysfunctional government whose leaders were too corrupt or stupid to head off mass suffering." (Vox, 2020). Two articles having been published in National Review responded critically to the article (Truscott, 2020) and Mr. Packer later argued that when he pointed out the United States was a failed state, he underlined it figuratively and not literally (Dobson, 2020). Two articles in Salon also paid an attention on the fact, that the United States was a failed state (National Review, 2020) as did former British diplomat John Dobson who said that "Whatever the result of the November election, America will remain hopelessly divided and on course to become a failed state." (Mastracchio, 2020) and Rebecca Gordon who wrote that "While this country may not yet be a failed state, it's certainly in a free fall all its own." (Gault, 2020) Those who disputed the notion that the US was a failed state included point of views by Ramesh Ponnuru (Gault, 2020), an article by Karla Mastracchio and Marissa Wyant who concluded that "While the U.S. is facing challenges, it does not come anywhere near the definition of a failed state and that's important." (Grimm, 2016), an article by Matthew Gault in Vice, who said "Indicators are bad, but decline isn't predetermined." (Nay, 2013) and Charles Fiertz, a Programs Manager who implements research related to determine the Failed States Index who mentioned that among the advantages that the U.S. has is that it is a very wealthy nation, which gives it options, even when that wealth is unequally distributed (Charles, 2008).

Key terminologies

Failed State

failed cities

Fragile States Index

Freedom House Index

Human Development Index (HDI)

World Bank Governance Indicators

Foreign Policy

Fund for peace

Conflict Assessment System Tool (CAST)

Foreign Policy Magazine

Social indicators:

Economic indicators:

Political and military indicators:

Global Standard Institutions

Transnational crime and terrorism

UN post-conflict mission

Questions for Consideration

What are the main characters of the failed states?

What are the main methodologies to determine the Fragile States Index?

What are the Social indicators of the failed states?

What are the Economic indicators of the failed states?

What are the Political indicators of the failed states?

What are the Military indicators of the failed states?

Practicum

Please analyze the socio-economic and political situation in one of the states, which is considered a failure according to the Fragile States Index.

Chapter 16. THE GLOBAL CYBER DOMAIN AND NEW CHALLENGES

The rapid growth of dependence on information technology and its increasing development has given rise to a global system of systems. Within the information space, the inter-dependent communication networks, computer systems, and existing databases of the Internet infrastructure allowed for the creation of a new global cyber domain which, along with numerous advantages, has led to new threats.

It is rather difficult to pinpoint the exact date of the invention of the Internet, although the idea of a packet-switched network (a digital inter-network communication method that groups all transmitted data irrespective of content, structure, and type into suitably sized blocks) originated in the early 1960s when the then-United States Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA), later the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), made significant advances in the development of computer networks that could be linked together through what would become the Internet. The demonstration of the implementation of this idea dates to October 29, 1969, when a post-graduate student programmer at UCLA, Charles S. Kline, transmitted the first Internet message, "login" (New York Times, 1999). ARPANET then connected just two computers at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and Stanford University. Today, there are approximately 4,8 billion Internet users (World Internet Usage and Population Statistics, 2020). At the time, it was difficult to imagine that just four decades later, the global packet inter-connection network would become a significant challenge for security. The history of the creation of ARPANET rests on the establishment of the Lincoln Laboratory at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1951 and the conception of the Intergalactic Computer Network introduced by the American computer scientist, Joseph Carl Robnett Licklider. Licklider's "Galactic Network" concept defined a new type of social interaction, achievable via a global computer communication system, in which access to data and information was available to the general public. Even then, his conception represented the notion of today's Internet. The adoption of the term Internet itself dates back to 1974 when the term was first used in Vinton Cerf, Yogen Dalal, and Carl Sunshine's publication (RFC 675), Specification of Internet Transmission Control Program (Ronda, 2004). The names of American computer scientists, Vinton Cerf and Robert Kahn, are associated with the creation of networking Transmission Control Protocol 3 and Internet Protocol (TCP/IP) computer communication protocol suite and the first commercial system for an electronic mail system (Ronda, 2004). It is difficult to compare discoveries and the technological advances made by humans over thousands of years. Nonetheless, it is at least safe to say that none of the technological advances heretofore have made such an impact on humanity so rapidly and on such a large scale as this technological achievement has. Internet technology has greatly influenced the broad masses of the world in several areas. The original purpose of its creation was scientific advancement and research. Therefore, the security of this immense system of systems became a critical challenge only at a later stage. The emergence of a new information space has also somewhat contributed to a unified perception of the world: a space where political boundaries do not exist.

16.1. New Challenges

In 2010, only a few decades after the creation of a new virtual dimension, the authors of the recommendations on the new strategic concept of the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance (NATO) wrote: "The next significant attack on the Alliance may well come down a fiber optic cable." (NATO Strategic Concept, 2010). The new strategic concept for NATO also highlights the following circumstance: "Cyber-attacks are becoming more frequent, more organized and more costly in the damage that they inflict on government administrations, businesses, economies and potentially also transportation and supply networks and other critical infrastructure; they can reach a threshold that threatens national and Euro-Atlantic prosperity, security and stability" (NATO Strategic Concept, 2010). Given the current reality, a question arises: has our technology brought us into a dead-end in terms of security? Today, certain states, and especially developed countries, are faced with new, more difficult threats. Cyberspies, cyber soldiers, cyber terrorists, and groups supporting one force or ideology or another have found their place in the virtual world. Cyber threats endanger not only technologically advanced countries but less developed states as well. Potential target countries take cyber security very seriously. These countries elaborate cyber policy following their cultural, social, economic, geographic, and political circumstances. They seek effective ways, create and amend strategic documents, tactics, and approaches. Cybercrimes against individuals, businesses, and governments are an everyday occurrence. Cyberwarfare already poses a threat with national security analysts looking for more effective, consistent strategies and international agreements aimed at counteracting. Cyber-attacks may be equivalent to special operations and aerial attacks. In contrast with the financial and human resources necessary for the training and equipment of special forces or air forces, hackers, computers, botnets, or the development of other types of cyber and information weapons require much less time and money. This could potentially endanger a country's critical infrastructure, economy, and psychological state of the population. The employment of cyber weapons against opponents is much cheaper than military and political intervention. "You could fund an entire cyberwarfare campaign for the cost of replacing a tank tread, so you would be foolish not to," stated Bill Woodcock, the Founder and Research Director of Packet Clearing House, a non-profit research institute (Bill Woodcock, 2020). With minimum expenses, cyber-criminal groups and countries can destabilize the economy and critical infrastructure of a target country. To this day, experts argue regarding the way cyber-attacks should be defined – as a criminal act or as an act of war. With the existence of the Internet, active individuals equipped with computer skills frequently develop into well-trained "hacktivists," hacker-terrorists, and hacker-warriors. In addition, these individuals are scattered throughout the world. It should also be noted that cyber threats pose a danger not only to open systems but closed systems as well. Closed systems are networks that are not directly connected to the Internet, but are, nonetheless, vulnerable, as illustrated by the examples of Stuxnet and Wikileaks. Stuxnet was a computer worm that destroyed a thousand centrifuges at the Natanz nuclear enrichment lab in Iran. Wikileaks is an organization that placed the United States' national security in grave danger by publishing tens of thousands of highly classified US state documents provided to it by the former US Army Private Bradley Manning. The Internet is not the only way to access computer systems; although it is a broad and open road. The information space has also contributed to the establishment of a rebellious Internet generation. The active employment of this space brought about social mobilization in various countries. As with crime and war, political activism and debates relocated to cyberspace and social media. The latter gave impetus to mass protests in the Arab countries. The active use of cyberspace made public mobilization in Russia on December 10, 2011, when tens of thousands of people protested the results of the parliamentary elections. Interestingly, this sort of activity already has a two-decade history. The first large-scale employment of the Internet in a conflict situation took place during the Chechen wars. The Chechens managed to use cyberspace so effectively that afterward, then-Prime Minister of Russia, Vladimir Putin, stated: "We surrendered this terrain some time ago ... but now we are entering the game again" (The Second Chechen War, 2015). The Chechens managed to communicate successfully with influential Western journalists and supply them with relevant information. They conveyed the information before the Russian propaganda machine disseminated its version. The Chechens became particularly adept at the distribution of images depicting acts of violence committed by the Russian troops. The Russian side publicly denied the existence of these facts. Chechen separatists even managed to raise funds deposited by their supporters in their bank account in California. Subsequently, Internet use became a so-called “rule” in almost all types of conflict. The engagement of non-conventional forces in conflicts drew mixed reactions and reflections worldwide. A new trend of wide Internet use and connectivity has been established although the public has yet to see the maximum potential of cyberspace during conflicts. Internet use during hostilities is a modern method that frequently engages ordinary citizens as well as warriors fully or partially armed with cyber weapons. This development renders three types of effects: first, various groups that do not act on behalf of the state; second, government forces utilizing new strategies for action or forming and employing cyber militant groups; third, the development of a new type of fighter called individual cyber warriors. Some countries are not only tolerant toward cyber-criminal groups but also hire them against target countries. For instance, the Russian Business Network (RBN) is seen as the principal actor in the cyber-attacks carried out against Georgia in 2008. Soon thereafter, Stephen Spoon more of Global Strategic Partners told InternetNews.com that RBN was and perhaps remains a group of cybercriminals that maintains close ties with the Russian government.8 For revisionist countries, such as Russia and China, cyber espionage presents the principal means of obtaining economic, military, and technological advantages over status-quo countries, mainly the United States. Meanwhile, within the country, information control, cyber repression, and undemocratic legislative initiatives serve as substantial leverage for maintaining social and political order. Sub-national groups, such as al-Qaeda and Anonymous, also sometimes act as revisionist forces. Regardless of radical disparities among them, these revisionist states and sub-national groups share one common standpoint – undermining the dominant positions of the United States and its allies. In the modern era, in the international political arena, cyber power will be one of the preconditions defining this dominant role. Cyber technology is seen by Russia and China as a crucial means to achieve revisionist objectives. Al-Qaeda uses this technology for research purposes, information storage, and communication. Anonymous uses cyber-attacks to express contradictory ideological attitudes. Numerous cyber weapons of various types directed against individuals, governments, and organizations are being developed daily. Currently, the international community, or at least a part of it, is seeking effective ways to combat cyber-attacks, to identify the most effective technical, legal and political strategies against this threat, and where to draw the line between crime and war.

Thus, the original purpose of the creation of the Internet did not take into account the development of security measures. The invention of the Internet was motivated by the need to provide a more favorable environment for scientific activity. However, today, the security of computer networks requires constant provision and implementation of new safety measures. The creators of the Internet would have never fathomed that the increasing development of web technology would give rise to such a large-scale system of systems whose security would become such a significant challenge. Within this hard-to-control environment, along with the numerous advantages, new challenges have emerged. People and money have transferred to the cyber world. Accordingly, crime, espionage, terrorism, and war have all found their place in this new area. This vast technology has increased the dependence of governments, businesses, and individuals on the Internet and the computerization of almost everything. The cyber reality has generated new challenges, not only technical but also political and legal. To some extent, all countries are becoming increasingly dependent on the Internet and they benefit from it and may also become victims of its misuse. No country, regardless of its size or resources, will be able to neglect information technology. For instance, in contrast to 2008, Georgia’s dependence on Internet technology has considerably increased, which has enhanced not only the significance of its cyberspace security but also its share and responsibility in terms of ensuring the security of the global cyberspace.

Picture 24. Cyber terrorism as a new type of terrorism

Source: https://blog.ipleaders.in/cyber-terrorism-laws-india/

16.2. Cyber Warfare as a new threat for international security and its place in the modern world politics

Everything that exists has both theoretical and practical directions. Thus, when we talk about cyber terrorism or cyber warfare, first of all, should be explained what event we are dealing with. In this regard, cyber terrorism can be explained as the use of digital attacks by one country to another (spreading of computer viruses or implementation hacker cyber attacks) to damage, liquidate, and destroy computer infrastructure.

There are differing opinions among the experts regarding the term "cyber warfare". Some researchers point out that the term "cyber warfare" is incorrect because till modern times no cyber-attack can be considered as "cyber terrorism" or "cyberwarfare". The second part of the experts believes that this is an appropriate name because a cyber-attack causes physical harm to people and objects in the real world.

Is a cyber-attack considered a terrorist act? It depends on many factors - what the hackers do, how they do it, and what damage they do to the target object. The qualifications of the attacks must be of considerable scale and severity.

Attacks by an individual hacker or group of hackers are not considered cyber terrorism or cyber warfare if the state does not assist or direct the concrete group. Nevertheless, the virtual world is still vaguely represented in the direction of cyber-attacks. Some states support hackers in carrying out malicious actions, this is a dangerous but common trend.

For example, cybercriminals who destroy a bank's computer systems while stealing money are not considered as cyber terrorists or cybercriminals, even if they are from another country, but state-backed hackers do the same thing to destabilize another country's economy and to terrorize the population of the foreign country. This action can be considered as one of the main directions within terrorism - state-sponsored terrorism (UN Resolution 1999).

Together with the state actors, cyber-terrorism activities are involved, non-state actors. For example, there are many types of jihadist networks on the Internet. This directly concerns the selective work to bring up a new generation of jihadists - as cyber terrorists. These are the second and third-generation jihadists that need to work at the "behind of enemy lines".

Today, there are more than 10 thousand websites in cyberspace, which work for spreading the jihadist ideology and the practice of terrorism.

There are three main methods of cyber warfare: sabotage, cyber espionage, or stealing information from computers through viruses and attacking power grids. The third is probably the most alarming, which implies a cyber-attack on critical infrastructure (Lewis University, 2020).

Governments are becoming increasingly aware that modern society is highly dependent on computer systems - from financial services to transportation networks. Therefore, using viruses or other means by hackers, stopping these systems can be just as effective and harmful as a traditional military campaign by using armed forces, weapons, and missiles.

Unlike traditional military attacks and terrorist acts, cyber-attacks can be carried out from any distance. It is also possible that no trace is left and there can be no evidence at all. Governments and intelligence agencies fear that digital attacks against critical infrastructure, banking systems, or power grids will allow cyber-terrorists to evade the adoption of countermeasures from the country's traditional defense structures side. That is why all countries are striving to improve computer system security.

16.2.1. Historical Aspects of Cyber Terrorism Transformation: Spatial Characteristics of Military Conflicts

The development of technology has not changed the priorities of the state defense as much as it did during World War II. The main terrorist strikes are aimed toward energy facilities. Currently, most of the serious cyber-attacks take place on fuel and energy complexes, followed by the financial sector. The digital world has given rise to new types of threats related to international terrorism. As it is known, not all types of cyberattacks can be implemented in cyberspace. Even though that the term cyber terrorism has been significantly introduced in the list of one of the main threats before the international society, it is still difficult to finally qualify cyber terrorism and cyber warfare meanings because most of the facts around the world are based on assumptions. Traces often lead to an aggressive state, but often there is no evidence. There are discussed cyber wars and cyber terrorism or their technical characteristics based on various studies. Experts do analysis - when the cyberwar starts, how it has been transformed, what role it plays in conflict production, and so on. It is an important fact that many states not only carry out cyber espionage activities, intelligence, and investigation but also create their cyber capabilities.

At the end of the 20th century, no one could have imagined that the unreal space would merge with real space. Perhaps no one could have imagined that a dimension would emerge that would be almost impossible to control and it would have no boundaries, that humanity would face a new form of terrorism as an invisible threat. When trying to explain the transformation of cyber terrorism and cyber warfare, it has to be highlight what changes all of this. This is mostly related to the refinement of cyber-attack technologies and the creation of malicious hacking strategies, programs, or viruses. Therefore, we must distinguish the new types of terrorist attacks: there are passive and active cyber-attacks, the passive attack involves traffic analysis and monitoring of vulnerable communications. During an active attack, a hacker attacks protected systems. This is mostly done by viruses.

Here are some of the most common types of cyber-attacks and „malware"- types of malicious code attacks, that hackers - cyber terrorists carry out:

Types of malicious code attacks:

Denial-of-service (DoS) – During this attack, a large amount of unusable traffic is sent and the network goes out of order. Consumption is interrupted when the webserver is full and no longer meets legitimate requirements.

Distributed denial-of-service (DDoS) – During an attack, several hackers or hacked systems make many requests to the webserver and block the service with useless traffic. A coordinated attack can do great damage.

Man-in-the-middle (MitM) - When someone interferes and controls your communication process, you think you are talking to a familiar person, or you have direct access to the server, but this time, all your personal information is seen by a hacker.

Phishing - An attacker creates a clone of a real web page, sends an email to the targeted user with a fake web page link, if the user moves to that link and enters personal data, the hacker will gain access to that data.

War Drive - A method of obtaining access to wireless computer networks, such as a laptop, antennas, and a wireless network adapter that provides unauthorized access.
Password - Obtaining passwords is a common and effective method of attack. This can be done randomly or systematically (DiGiacomo John, 2017).

16.2.3. Malware attack

An unwanted program running on the system without your consent can add and multiply legitimate code. It can also be reproduced in different programs or interpreted on the Internet. Note that all viruses are Malware. However not all Malware is a virus, it can be a program, an application and so on that allows a hacker to gain unauthorized access to personal data (Rapid 7, 2020).

Table 11. Some common types of malicious code attacks:

Ransomware	Encrypts files in the system and makes them temporarily inaccessible, in case of this attack hackers demand ransom in exchange for returning the information.
Logic bombs	It can be part of the software that turns into a malicious program after a certain date.
Trojan horse	Hidden in a useful program. It usually has a damaging function. A hacker can use the virus to intercept and carry out attacks.
Worm	An independent computer program that multiplies itself from one system to another on a network.

Based on research and the presented list, it can be distinguished three categories of the target group of cyber - terrorist acts - these are:

Table 12. Target group of cyber terrorist acts

Targeted attacks on equipment (Kinetic)	Targeted software attacks (hacked)	Targeted attacks on people (espionage)
Denial of Service (DoS), Distributed DoS	Ransomware, Logic Bombs, Trojan, Worm	Phishing, Trojan

As it can be seen, cyber terrorists have many options to try to gain unauthorized access to critical infrastructure and important data. Therefore, the states create legal norms to ensure technological security. Cyberattacks have historically not been as devastating as they are today. There is a lot of statistical data based on facts that confirm those opinions.

The world's leading research and consulting firm Gartner publishes data on cybersecurity expenditures, which are compared and discussed by the 2017-2019 global cybersecurity expenditure segment (Gartner, 2019).

Table 13. Cybersecurity expenditures within 2017-2019

Market Segment	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**
Application Security	2,434	2,742	3,003
Cloud Security	185	304	459
Data Security	2,563	3,063	3,524
Identity Access Management	8,823	9,768	10,578
Infrastructure Protection	12,583	14,106	15,337
Integrated Risk Management	3,949	4,347	4,712
Network Security Equipment	10,911	12,427	13,321
Other Information Security Software	1,832	2,079	2,285
Security Services	52,315	58,920	64,237
Consumer Security Software	5,948	6,395	6,661
Total	**101,544**	**114,152**	**124,116**

Source: Gartner, 2020

In the table it can be seen, that in terms of combating terrorism in the field of cyber security, worldwide, a huge amount of money is spent and increasing every year. For example, expenditures in 2017 were $ 101.544 billion, in 2018 it increased to $ 114.152 billion, and in 2019 it reached $ 124.116 billion (Gartner, 2020).

According to Gartner, in 2022, global cybersecurity spending will reach $ 133.7 billion (Varonis, 2020). While noteworthy is the fact that the damage to the world far exceeds the amount spent on security, a report by Cybersecurity Ventures estimates that by 2021 the damage from cyberterrorism will be $ 6 trillion, up from $ 3 trillion in 2015 (Morgan, 2017).

This in its turn means that the trend of cyber terrorism, cyber warfare, and cyberattacks has recently taken on a larger scale and is undergoing a transformation. Russia has great potential in terms of cyber attacks and numerous suspicions and events confirm this. Russia used cyberweapons against Georgia during the 2008 war, and in 2019 used the same method to launch cyber-attacks on Georgian government websites and television infrastructure. According to foreign media, at the closed session of the UN Security Council in 2020, the United States, Britain, and Estonia assessed this fact as a cyberattack carried out by Russia. The same handwriting was observed during the attack on Ukraine in early 2014 (Georgian Public Broadcast, 2014)

Key terminologies

ARPANET

Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA)

Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA),

Internet

Cyber Security

Cyber Attacks

Strategic Concept of NATO

Cyber-criminal groups

Cyberwarfare

Cyber terrorism

Questions for Consideration

What are the main reasons for the increasing number of internet users in the world?

What are the main purposes of cyber-attacks and who can be the main players (state or non-state actors) during the implementation of such illegal actions?

What is the role of cybersecurity in the Strategic Concept of NATO?

Practicum

Please analyze the new challenges, related to the cybersecurity of the world democratic society

Chapter 17. Role of Hybrid War in World Politics

Nowadays, hybrid war and its role in world politics is a very important and actual issue. In this subchapter, there will be a discussion of what hybrid war means in general, how it was formed and used throughout the time, its effectiveness, hybrid warfare as a new type of global competition, also hybrid war as an old concept, which acquired new techniques during the time.

17.1. Definition of Hybrid War

While talking about the role of hybrid war in world politics, it is significant to understand what hybrid war means in general. Hybrid War is a military strategy that employs political warfare and blends conventional warfare, irregular warfare, and cyber warfare with other influencing methods, such as fake news, violation of the conducting diplomatic methods, and foreign electoral intervention (Deep, 2015). By combining kinetic operations with subversive efforts, the aggressor intends to avoid attribution or retribution. Hybrid warfare can be used to describe the flexible and complex dynamics of the battlespace requiring a highly adaptable and resilient response. There are a variety of terms used to refer to the hybrid war concept: hybrid war, hybrid threats, hybrid influencing or hybrid adversary (as well as non-linear war, non-traditional war, or special war). It should be mentioned that there is no universally accepted definition of hybrid warfare which leads to some debate whether the term is useful at all. Some argue that the term is too abstract and only the latest term to refer to irregular methods to counter a conventionally superior force. The abstractness of the term means that it is often used as a catch-all term for all non-linear threats.

17.2. History

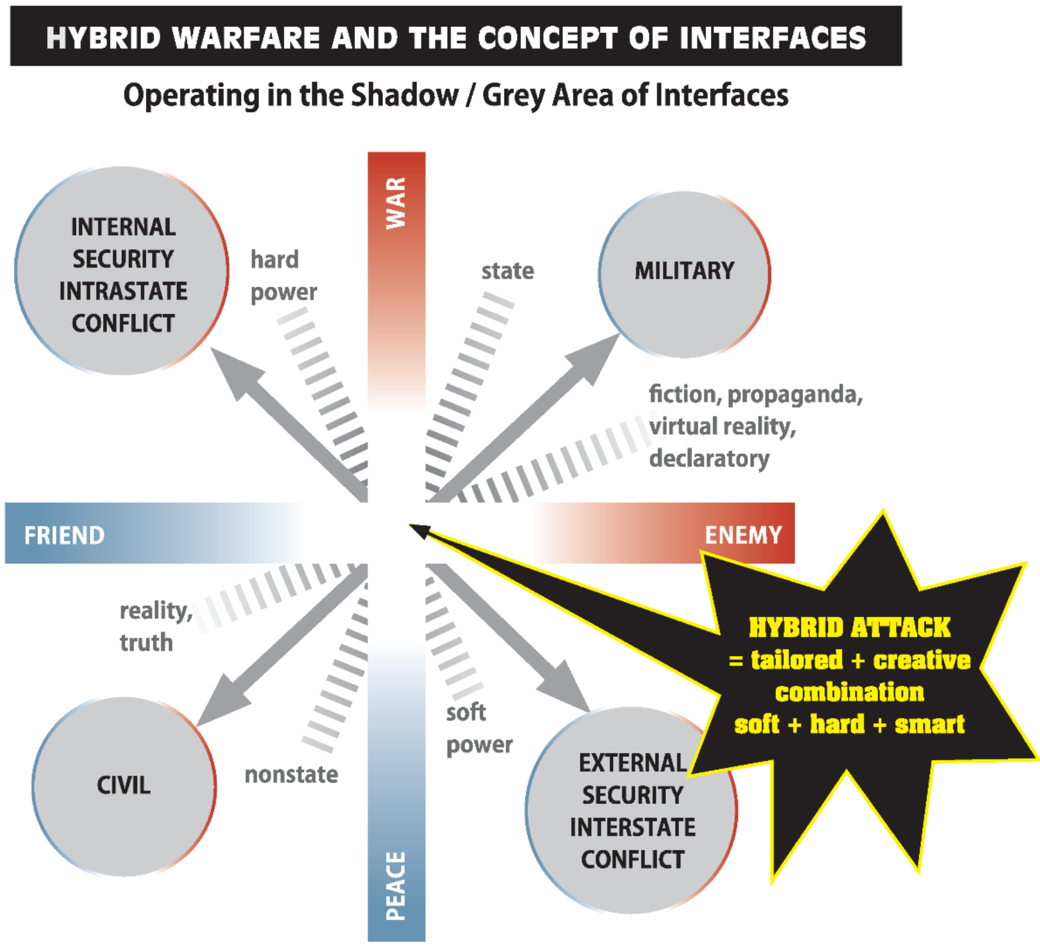
Nowadays, hybrid warfare has its definition, but it is interesting to know the history of the development of hybrid warfare as a military strategy. The combination of conventional and irregular methods is not new and has been used throughout history. Some historians find the origins of the concept in the campaigns waged in ancient Hispania by the Lusitanian leader Viriathus or the renegade general Sertorius against the forces of the Roman Republic in the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C. respectively. Elements of hybrid warfare are also seen in the concept of la petite guerre, a sort of reconnaissance in force practiced by troops with light armaments in European armies during the 17th and 18th centuries. A few examples of this type of combat are found in the American Revolution (a combination of Washington's Continental Army with militia forces) and Napoleonic Wars (British regulars cooperated with Spanish guerrillas). One can also find examples of hybrid warfare in smaller conflicts during the nineteenth century. For instance, between 1837 and 1840 Rafael Carrera, a Conservative peasant rebel leader in Guatemala, waged a successful military campaign against the Liberals and the Federal government of Central America utilizing a strategy that combined classical guerrilla tactics with conventional operations. Carrera's hybrid approach to warfare gave him the edge over his numerically superior and better-armed enemies.

It is worth noting that the end of the Cold War caused the creation of a new kind of system of hybrid war. The end of the Cold War created a unipolar system with a preponderant American military power, and though this has tempered traditional conflicts, regional conflicts and threats that leverage the weaknesses of the conventional military structure are becoming more frequent.

At the same time, the sophistication and lethality of non-state actors increased. These actors are well armed with technologically advanced weapons that are now available at low prices. Similarly, commercial technologies such as cell phones and digital networks are adapted to the battlefield. Another new element is the ability of non-state actors to persist within the modern system.

The Vietnam War saw hybrid warfare tactics on both sides, with the US using the CIA to support civil war parties in Laos and the Cambodian Civil War as well as ethnic groups inside Vietnam for their cause, while the USSR supported the Viet Cong militia (Greg, 2008).

Table 14. Hybrid Warfare and the Concept of Interfaces



Source: https://www.maanpuolustus-lehti.fi/the-hybrid-face-of-warfare-in-the-21st-century/

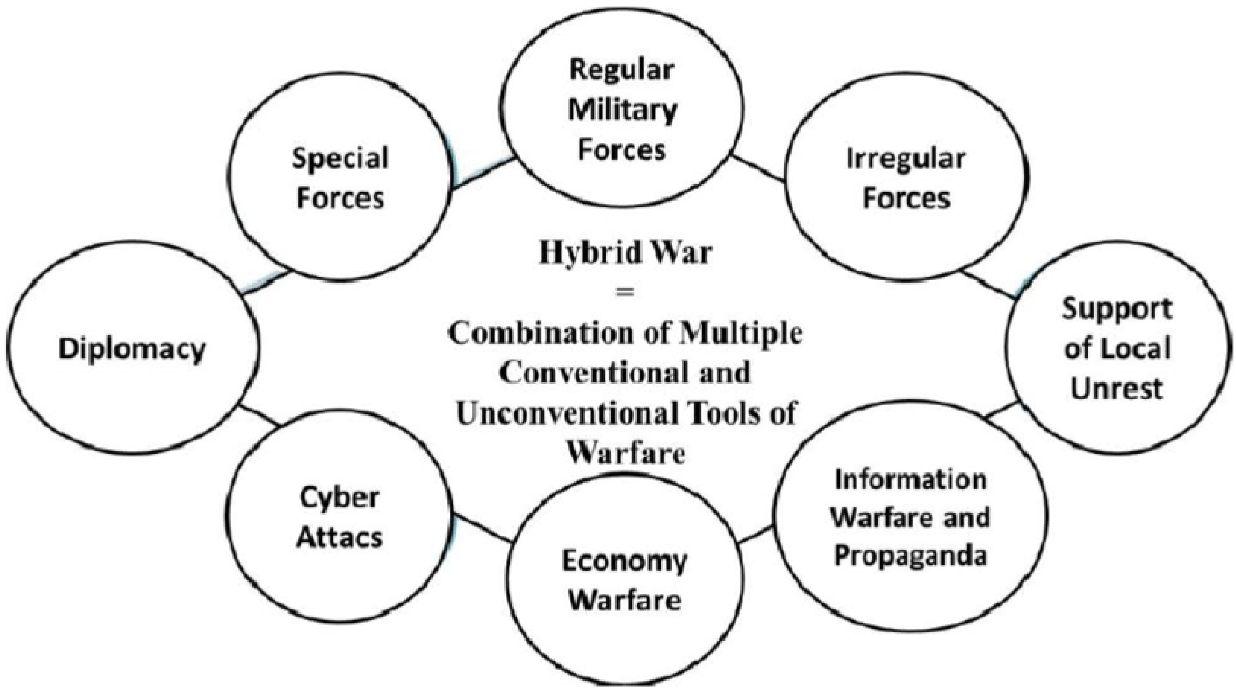
17.3. Effectiveness

Traditional militaries find it hard to respond to hybrid warfare. Collective defense security organizations such as NATO might find it hard to agree on the source of the conflict making the response difficult. To discuss the issue, "What Is Hybrid Warfare?" It should be compared to the notion of hybrid warfare to the Russian concept of "non-linear" warfare. It defines non-linear warfare as the deployment of "conventional and irregular military forces in conjunction with psychological, economic, political, and cyber assaults" (Chitadze, 2020). This approach partially attributes this difficulty to the "rigid" or static military taxonomy used by NATO to define the concept of warfare. Also, to counter a hybrid threat, hard power is often insufficient. Often the conflict evolves under the radar and even a "rapid" response turns out to be too late. Overwhelming force is an insufficient deterrent. Many traditional militaries lack the flexibility to shift tactics, priorities, and objectives constantly.

17.4. Hybrid Warfare – New Face of Global Competition

Hybrid Warfare can be perceived as the new face of global competition. It is alternatively called "grey zone" conflict and is in the news almost daily. Yet the main focus to date of "hybrid warfare" — which uses non-military means to achieve warlike ends — has predominantly been on tactical methods such as cyber-attacks, fake news campaigns, and espionage. But understanding hybrid warfare's strategic context equips political and business leaders better to address it. In simplest terms, hybrid warfare uses capabilities not normally associated with war to coerce or subvert. Such techniques are intended to delay the recognition that an attack is underway, paralyze decision-making through confusion and discourage the victim from responding forcefully due to the absence of "legitimate" military targets. China, Russia (and to lesser degrees Iran and North Korea) is involved in the processes inside of democratic states and hoping to re-make the international political, economic, and trade systems through a coordinated hybrid effort that is taking place largely outside the traditional military or diplomatic spheres.

Table 15. Elements of Hybrid War



Source: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Elements-of-hybrid-war_fig2_311517571

17.5. Hybrid War: Old Concept, New Techniques

Another very important point, which should be discussed is that hybrid war is old as a concept but acquired with new techniques in the modern world. While how state and non-state actors conduct hybrid war today have changed, the fundamental principle of utilizing a combination of conventional and irregular methods to achieve a political objective is consistent with older forms of conflict. This blending has historic examples in the American Revolution with George Washington's Continental Army and robust militia forces; the Napoleonic Wars where British regulars challenged French control of major Spanish cities, while Spanish guerrillas attacked their lines of communication; and the Arab Revolt where the British Army combined conventional operations in Palestine with irregular forces under British operational control. However, despite having its roots in history, modern hybrid war has the potential to transform the strategic calculations of potential belligerents due to the rise of non-state actors, information technology, and the proliferation of advanced weapons systems (Deep, 2015).

The unipolar system that has persisted since the fall of the Soviet Union has given rise to an international system in which unconventional challenges to the idea of traditional state-on-state war are increasingly prevalent. The preponderance of American military power has tempered conflicts in Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, and the South China Sea, but has given rise to a method of war that attempts to leverage the weaknesses of the conventional military structure. Where wars traditionally have regular and irregular components in different areas of operation, modern hybrid war tends to combine these aspects. Modern hybrid war practitioners apply “conventional capabilities, irregular tactics and formations, and terrorist acts including indiscriminate violence, coercion, and criminal activity” simultaneously. Under this model, war takes place in a variety of operating environments, has synchronous effects across multiple battlefields, and is marked by asymmetric tactics and techniques. These tactics are difficult to defeat for militaries that lack the flexibility to shift mindsets constantly, especially since the interconnected nature of modern society is such that hybrid war takes place on three distinct battlefields: the conventional battlefield, the indigenous population of the conflict zone, and the international community.

Major Powers have historically sponsored irregular fighters and non-state actors in the execution of broader military campaigns, and modern examples such as Iranian support to Hezbollah and other Shia militant groups are continuations of these policies. The Israel-Hezbollah War of 2006 showed that although the concept of hybrid war in this fashion is not a novelty, some of the sophistication and lethality of non-state actors, along with their ability to persist within the modern state system, is a new occurrence.

Hybrid organizations such as Hezbollah are well armed and equipped due to the availability of technologically advanced weapon systems at low prices and pre-existing commercial technologies such as cell phones and digital networks. During the Israel-Hezbollah War of 2006, decentralized cells composed of guerrillas and regular troops armed with precision-guided missiles, short and medium-range rockets, armed unmanned aerial vehicles, and advanced improvised explosive devices executed an irregular urban campaign against a conventional Israeli opponent. With Iranian Quds Force operatives as mentors and suppliers of advanced systems, Hezbollah cells downed Israeli helicopters, damaged Merkava IV tanks, communicated with encrypted cell phones, and monitored Israeli troops' movements with night vision and thermal imaging devices. Hezbollah leveraged information technology as fighters immediately uploaded and distributed battlefield pictures and videos in near real-time, dominating the battle of perception throughout the operation. The Israeli military did not lose the war in 2006 on the conventional battlefield, but did little to alter the strategic environment in Southern Lebanon and lost the information campaign as the overwhelming perception within the international community was of Israeli military defeat from Hezbollah.

Apart from the increased effectiveness of non-state actors within hybrid war, the symbiotic relationship between sponsor and client is another variable that differentiates modern hybrid war from traditional forms of conflict. The Syrian Civil War and strengthening of the Islamic State (ISIS) presents a complex strategic challenge for Iran and Hezbollah as modern hybrid war practitioners. Iran cannot afford to lose its link with its non-state proxy in Lebanon as its means to implement the foreign policy goals. At the same time, Hezbollah cannot afford to lose that same link to its principal supporter, otherwise, it forfeits its ability to remain relevant as a pseudo-state in Lebanon. Therefore, while Iran has been supplying advisors, weapons, and equipment to Shia groups in Syria, it also compelled Hezbollah to send 2,000 fighters into the conflict zone as it simultaneously orchestrates a modern hybrid war in Syria.

The Israel-Hezbollah War and the Syrian Civil War also show how modern hybrid war increasingly focuses on non-state entities within the state system. Just as Clausewitz assumed that the belligerents in war are hierarchically organized states, the dominant force within traditional hybrid war examples has been the state.

However, non-state and sub-state actors are the focal points in modern hybrid wars as proxies for state sponsors at certain times, but also executing their independent policies. It was the policy of Hassan Nasrullah, rather than Iran, of kidnapping Israeli troops that led Israel to war with a non-state actor. Furthermore, the spread of ISIS to Iraq was initially a non-state executing a hybrid war against a conventional Iraqi military. However, this has transformed to the state of Iraq executing its version of hybrid war utilizing non-state, sub-state, and international actors to counter ISIS advances (Deep, 2015).

A modern hybrid war that simultaneously combines conventional, irregular, and terrorist components is a complex challenge that requires an adaptable and versatile military to overcome. The United States has increasingly focused on counterinsurgency doctrine in the wake of its wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. However, insurgency alone is not the singular challenge against which the United States must structure its military. Clausewitz stated, “Every age has its kind of war, its limiting conditions, and its peculiar preconceptions.” (Clausewitz, 1989) It is important that the United States, and other global powers, do not focus on insurgency as the war of the post-Cold War era. On the contrary, the commander of a military fighting a hybrid war will need to leverage a wide range of capabilities including conventional high-intensity conflict units, decentralized special operations forces, and sophisticated information operations and technology platforms. The concept of hybrid war is not new, but its means are increasingly sophisticated and deadly and require a response in kind.

17.6. Russian Activities in the 2010s as an example of hybrid war

The Russian government's widely used in conflicts such as in Syria and in Ukraine the private military contractors such as those of the Wagner Group was in 2018 singled out by experts as a key part of Russia's strategy of hybrid warfare to advance her interests while obfuscating her involvement and role.

In respect of Russia, Jānis Bērziņš, director of the Center for Security and Strategic Research, has widely published arguing that using the term Hybrid to characterize the Russian strategy is misleading since the Russian has their definitions and concepts. Accordingly, to him, "the word “hybrid” is catchy since it can represent a mix of anything. However, its basic framework differs from the one developed by the Russians due to the former being a military concept and the result of American military thought. Moreover, the concept of New Generation Warfare includes conventional operations. In other words, Hybrid Warfare might be part of New Generation Warfare but cannot define it. Michael Kofman, a senior research scientist at CNA and a fellow at the Wilson Center's Kennan Institute, noted that the West′s frequent references to hybrid warfare were in effect "an unintelligible Western reaction, after decades of wars of choice against paltry adversaries, to confrontation with another power that is capable across the full spectrum of conflict" (Kofman, 2016).

To conclude, it can be said that Hybrid warfare involves the synchronized use of military and non-military means against specific vulnerabilities to create effects against its opponent. Its instruments can be ratcheted up and down simultaneously, using different tools against different targets, across the whole of society. In this respect, hybrid warfare expands the battlefield. Moreover, it increases the possibility of a hybrid warfare actor inflicting significant damage on its opponent before that opponent can respond to, or possibly even detect, a hybrid warfare attack. This strong and fluid element of ambiguity within hybrid warfare adds a new dimension to how coercion, aggression, conflict, and war are to be understood. In this respect, new geostrategic contexts, new applications of technologies, and new organizational forms suggest the likelihood that this form of warfare will persist and continue to evolve into the future. The Analytical Framework model developed here provides a practical guide for understanding and countering this hybrid warfare threat at the national and multinational levels.

17.7. Fake News and Battling Misinformation in the Modern World as a part of hybrid war

The use of information is regarded as a foundation stone in an era of the information society. The impact of particular information may be crucial for society in a historic perspective, as it also concerns political life, economy, education, and level of democracy. Nowadays it is extremely difficult to reveal truthful and objective news in a huge ocean of facts, opinions, descriptions, calculations, etc. where false information is distributed via technology and people's trust. Hence, the pressing issues of fake news, which a priori possess detrimental components, and their identities are as ever as today. The talks on fake news' importance were exacerbated during the 2016 presidential elections in the US, thus acquiring security and strategic significance for modern states. Nevertheless, humankind managed to conduct methods that facilitate fake news detection processes like "automatic deception detection". Methods, described in this sub-chapter, involve the use of linguistics and information technology aimed to prevent the spread of fake news through systematic scientific mechanisms based on automatic detection of untruthfulness (Tufekci, 2016).

So, this part of the book will be addressed toward the issues relating to the history and essence of such terms as "fake news" as well as "weapons", created to combat this phenomenon. Importantly, it is worth saying that it is necessary to understand what stands behind the title of "fake news". Therefore, the description of the history of emergence, further occurrences throughout the ages, and proper definition of fake news are indispensable while investigating the ontological component of the paper's core matter.

17.7. 1. Historical background

According to several sources, the history of fake news started with the spread of anti-Semitic blood libels in XV century Italy, noting the simultaneous character of the emergence of both news and fake news: "Fake news took off at the same time that news began to circulate widely after Johannes Gutenberg invented the printing press in 1439. "Real" news was hard to verify in that era. There were plenty of news sources—from official publications by political and religious authorities to eyewitness accounts from sailors and merchants—but no concept of journalistic ethics or objectivity. Readers in search of facts had to pay close attention." So, people did not have enough resources and technologies to efficiently distinguish truthful information from lies. Even historical progress, entailing the age of Enlightenment with its inherent rationalism was powerless facing the constant flow of fake news: "For example, in the years preceding the French Revolution, a cascade of pamphlets appeared in Paris exposing for the first time the details of the near-bankrupt government's spectacular budget deficit. Each came from a separate political camp, and each contradicted the other with different numbers, blaming the deficit on different finance ministers" (Soll, 2016). Fortunately, after-war period the American press emphasized the importance of source reputability. However, it was not until the advent of the information society, in which, with the help of the Net, the size of information increased astronomically. Newsfeeds are not required to publish objective verified information, which gives certain people a huge arena for information manipulation in most sophisticated manners, that have not been known before the invention of the Internet.

17.7. 2. Classification

Wardle in 2017 studied the phenomenon of fake news and dissemination mechanisms and eventually elaborated classification of fake news, which shows seven types, each possessing its specific features, different means and objectives: satire or parody ("no intention to cause harm but has potential to fool"), false connection ("when headlines, visuals or captions don't support the content"), misleading content ("misleading use of information to frame an issue or an individual").

False context ("when genuine content is shared with false contextual information") impostor content ("when genuine sources are impersonated" with false, made-up sources), manipulated content ("when genuine information or imagery is manipulated to deceive", as with a "doctored" photo), fabricated content ("new content is 100% false, designed to deceive and do harm")".

17.7.3. Technology

Two variables guarantee an enabling environment for the effective distribution of fake news: technology and trust. Firstly, the Internet and especially social media are regarded as decent channels for false information circulation and distribution (Warwick & Lewis, 2017). Various social network feeds, and wikis are robust tools through which fake news can be spread. For example, Facebook became a huge platform for posting news in lots of countries and a source of receiving them (Kalsnes, 2018). Moreover, Facebook was involved in debatable 2016 presidential elections, entailing accusations against Zuckerberg, who eventually admitted that Facebook has to face bigger responsibilities than a regular tech company: "Facebook works directly with candidates, campaigns, and political parties via our political outreach teams to provide information on potential online risks and ways our users can stay safe on our platform and others. Additionally, our peers are making similar efforts to increase community resources around security" (Weedon, Nuland & Stamos, 2017).

17.7.3. Elements of Trust

Secondly, if people are unable to differentiate between what is verified or false, whether one can trust the news or not, it makes people confused about the state of affairs, particularly during an election when voters need reliable information to make unimportant political decisions. But low trust in information and news media can also make it more likely for people to spread fake news and disinformation. As argued by some researchers, the declining trust in mainstream media could be both a cause and consequence of fake news gaining more traction (Kalsnes, 2018). Besides, social networks lack transparency, which is demonstrated in the creation of special algorithms based on tracking of users' preferences: "Importantly, the provision of information through opaque technologies disrupts the layer of organizational credibility and reputational trust established in the process of professional reporting. This lack of transparency is also problematic in the sense that information literacy, defined as the ability to "recognize when information is needed and have the ability to locate, evaluate, and use [it]" (American Library Association, 2000) is less useful when the mechanisms used to "locate" and "evaluate" the information (e.g., topical search results) are not fully known" (Albright, 2017).

Picture 25. Warning Fake News

Source: https://www.idginsiderpro.com/article/3528792/only-ai-can-us-from-a-world-of-fakes-a-world-ai-is-also-creating.html

17.7.4. Methods for finding fake news: Linguistic approaches

Most liars use their language strategically to avoid being caught. Despite the attempt to control what they are saying, language "leakage" occurs with certain verbal aspects that are hard to monitor such as frequencies and patterns of pronoun, conjunction, and negative emotion word usage. The goal in the linguistic approach is to look for such instances of leakage or, so-called "predictive deception cues" found in the content of a message (Conroy, Rubin & Chen, 2015). Analysis of word use is often not enough in predicting deception. Deeper language structures (syntax) have been analyzed to predict instances of deception. "Deep syntax analysis is implemented through Probability Context-Free Grammars (PCFG). Sentences are transformed to a set of rewrite rules (a parse tree) to describe syntax structure, for example, noun and verb phrases, which are in turn rewritten by their syntactic constituent parts" (Feng, Banerjee & Choi, 2012) Sentiment classification by Pang & Lee (2013) is based on the fundamental presumption that deceivers use unintended emotional contact, judgment, or effective state appraisal (Hancock, Woodworth, & Porter, 2011). Similarly, syntactic patterns can be used by associating learned patterns in argumentation style groups to differentiate feelings from fact-based arguments.

17.7.5. Network approaches

Innovative and varied, using network properties and behavior are the ways to complement content-based approaches that rely on deceptive language and leakage cues to predict deception. As real-time content on current events is increasingly proliferated through micro-blogging applications such as Twitter, deception analysis tools are all the more important (Conroy, Rubin & Chen, 2015). Technology can be used as a systematic mechanism against fake news by at least reducing the capacity of the spread of detrimental information: "In connection with crises or emergencies, such as shootings or riots, we always see a lot of false information on social media. This means there is a lot of noise disturbing those trying to help. Here, the technology can filter rumors and false information, so that organizations better prioritize aid" (Arildsen, 2019). Using information networks can be a major step towards automated methods of computational fact-checking. False "factual statements" can be a form of deception for certain data as they can be collected and tested alongside findable statements about the known world. This approach leverages an existing body of collective human knowledge to assess the truth of new statements. The method depends on querying existing knowledge networks, or publicly available structured data, such as the Google Relation Extraction Corpus (GREC). The principle of trust is central to the verification of identity on social media. The abundance of news through mass media such as micro-blogs in the form of current events encourages ways to determine the difference between false and legitimate content.

17.7.6. FAKE NEWS - Study of content

Centering resonance analysis, a network-based text analysis method, describes the output of broad text sets by defining the most important words in the network that connect other words. Combining opinion and behavior research has shown the argument that emotion-focused comments by singleton users have a significant impact on the online ranking (Wu, Greene, Smyth & Cunningham, 2010) and that this is an example of "shilling" or posting fake reviews to falsely skew a rating.

To sum up, it can be argued that the world society must give timely responses to the problem of fake news since false information can be very dangerous for society and even the state's security. The manipulation of the news can cause serious damage to the resilience of statehood, democracy, and level of education. And modern linguistic and network battling methods, in their turn, are aimed to filter information through detecting potential lies in mass media.

Key Terminologies

Hybrid War

conventional warfare

irregular warfare

cyber-warfare

Hybrid warfare

Wagner Group

Fake News

Misinformation

false connection

misleading content

Linguistic approaches

Network approaches

Questions for Consideration

What are the main characters of hybrid war?

What are the main methods of hybrid war conducting?

What is the role of fake news in the domestic and foreign policy of the state?

Practicum

Please analyze the new threats before the world democratic society related to hybrid war and what can the main methods of preventing those threats

Chapter 18. International Drug Trade

The illegal drug trade represents the global black market consisting of production, transportation, distribution, packaging, and sale of illegal psychoactive substances. The illegal drug trade usually is followed by other types of brutality and criminal activities, particularly: hundreds of drug-related murders, kidnappings, and other violent crimes that take place in the highly volatile U.S-Mexico border where there is a significant drug presence.

The illicit drugs trade is one of the most influential global illegal activities, costing $350 billion. According to UN research, at the end of the first decade of the XXI century, about 200 million people (4.8% of the world's population aged 15-64) used illegal drugs annually with 25 million being classed as problematic users (0.6%) (Kegley, Blanton, 2011).

18.1 Drug Business

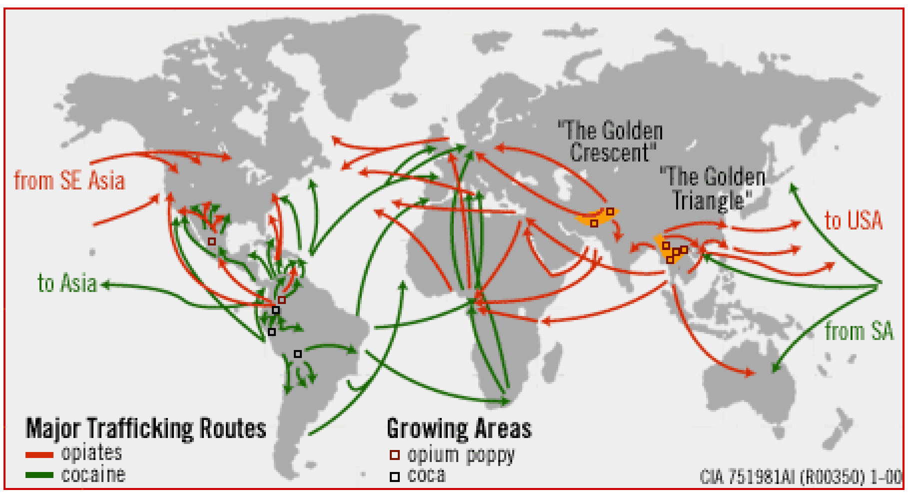
One of the most actual problems of the modern world is the illicit drug trade, which has become ubiquitous, and drug addiction represents a real national tragedy for many countries.

Many specialists consider, that drug addiction is more of a disease than a crime, but it is an illness that causes a high danger to society, especially since a person with drug addiction is able easily become a criminal. Unlike drug use, drug distribution, trafficking is the most serious crime, and the legislature of any state severely punishes the drug trader. In several countries, this crime carries the death penalty. Nevertheless, drug trafficking is one of the most common violations, and the fight against international drug trafficking is a general responsibility of the international community.

There are several major centers of drug production in the world: particularly, the main producers and exporters of heroin are Afghanistan and Pakistan (so-called Golden Crescent) and Burma, Thailand, and Laos (Golden Triangle). Hashish and marijuana are mainly produced in Africa and Mexico, while cocaine is produced in Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia.

The production of drugs and their illegal transportation is under the control of international criminal groups. Some of these organizations are, in reality, a state within a state. Particularly dangerous are the countries that, because of their geographical location, may have the role of transit state in the global illicit drug trade.

Map 14. Major Drug Trafficking Routes



Source: Africa Center for Strategic Studies

18.2. History of legislation against illegal consumption of drugs

The Chinese government issued laws against opium smoking in 1729, 1796, and 1800 (Druglibrary, 2017). The Western countries banned addictive drugs throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Deamuseum, 2011).

In the early 19th century, an illegal drug trade in China was developed. As a result, by 1838 the number of Chinese opium addicts had grown to between four and twelve million (Hanes, 2006). The authority of the country adopted the measures by enforcing a prohibition on the import of opium; this caused the First Opium War (1839-1842) between Great Britain and Qing-dynasty China. The United Kingdom gained the victory and forced China to permit British businessmen to distribute Indian-grown opium. Trading in opium was lucrative and consumption had become common for the Chinese in the 19th century, so British merchants increased trade with the Chinese. The Second Opium War took place in 1856 when the British ally become France. As a result of the two Opium Wars, the British Crown, via the treaties of Nanking (1842), and Tianjin (1858), obligated the Chinese government to pay significant sums of money for opium they had seized and destroyed, which were referred to as "reparations".

In 1868, due to the increased use of opium, the UK prohibited the sale of opium in Britain by adopting the 1868 Pharmacy Act (Berridge, 2013). In the United States, control of opium remained under the control of separate US states, but on the Federal level in 1914 the Harrison Act was introduced after 12 international powers signed the International Opium Convention in 1912.

Picture 26. Mexico arrests 19 Filipino sailors for drug trafficking

Source: https://www.aa.com.tr/en/americas/mexico-arrests-19-filipino-sailors-for-drug-trafficking/1545258

Between 1920 and around 1933 the Eighteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution banned alcohol consumption in the United States. Prohibition proved almost impossible to enforce and increased organized crime, including the modern American Mafia, which identified enormous business opportunities in the manufacturing, smuggling, and sale of illicit liquor (National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement).

The beginning of the 21st century proved the drug use increase in North America and Europe, with a particularly increased demand for marijuana and cocaine (The Economist, 2014). The result of it is the fact, that international organized crime syndicates such as the Sinaloa Cartel and 'Ndrangheta have strengthened cooperation among each other with the purpose to promote trans-Atlantic drug trafficking (Laura Smith, 2014). The consumption of another illicit drug, hashish, has also increased in Europe.

Drug trafficking is widely considered by lawmakers as a serious catastrophe around the planet. Punishments often depend on the kind of drug (and its classification in the state into which it is being trafficked), the quantity trafficked, where the drugs are sold and how they are distributed. In case if the drugs are sold to underage people, then the penalties for trafficking may be harsher than in other cases.

Drug smuggling is strictly punished in many states. Sentencing can include lengthy periods of incarceration, flogging, and even the death penalty (in Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and elsewhere). As one of the examples, in December 2005, Van Tuong Nguyen, a 25-year-old drug smuggler from Australia, was hanged in Singapore after being sentenced to death in March 2004 (BBC News, 2013). In 2010, two people were punished by the death penalty in Malaysia for trafficking 1 kilogram (2.2 lb.) of cannabis into the country (Bernama, 2011). Execution is mostly used as a deterrent, and many have called upon much more effective measures to be taken by authorities of the states to tackle drug trafficking (Los Angeles Times, 2015); for instance, targeting specific criminal organizations that are often also active in the smuggling of other goods (i.e., wildlife) and even people (One Green Planet, 2016). There are also many examples when links between politicians and criminal organizations have been proven to exist (Bill McCollum, 2002).

For the prevention of the illegal trade of drugs on the global level, several international conventions have been adopted. For example, The United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances of 1988 is one of three major drug control treaties which are in force in modern times. It provides additional legal mechanisms for enforcing the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs and the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances. The Convention entered into force on November 11, 1990. As of June 2020, there are 191 Parties to the Convention (United Nations Office on Drug and Crime, 2020). These include 186 out of 193 United Nations member states (not Equatorial Guinea, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Somalia, South Sudan, or Tuvalu) and the Holy See, the European Union, the Cook Islands, Niue, and the State of Palestine.

18.3. Societal effects

The states of drug production and transit are some of the most influenced by the drug trade, though countries receiving illegally imported narcotics are also adversely affected. For instance, Ecuador has absorbed up to 300,000 refugees from Colombia who are escaping from guerrillas, illegal armed formations, and drug lords. While some applied for asylum, others are still illegal immigrants. The drugs that pass from Colombia through Ecuador to other regions of the South American continent create economic and social problems (Helfrich, 2010).

Honduras, through the territory of which an estimated 79% of cocaine passes on its way to the United States, (Radio HRN, 2016) has the highest murder rate in the world (International Business Times, 2016). According to the International Crisis Group, the most criminal regions in Central America and

Caribbean Basin, particularly along with the Guatemala–Honduras border, are highly correlated with an abundance of drug trafficking activity (International Crisis Group, 2014).

18.4. Violent crime

In many countries, the illegal drug trade is thought to be directly connected to violent crimes such as murder. This is especially real in all developing countries, such as Honduras, but is also an issue for many economically developed countries of the world (Whitehousedrugpolicy.gov. 2008). In the late 1990s in the United States, the Federal Bureau of Investigation estimated that 5% of murders had links with drug-related issues (Whitehousedrugpolicy.gov. 2008). In Colombia, drug violence can be caused by factors such as the economy, poor governments, and no authority within law enforcement (Holmes, 2007).

After a crackdown by US and Mexican authorities in the first decade of the 21st century as part of tightened border security in the wake of the September 11 attacks, border violence inside Mexico surged. The Mexican authorities calculated that 90% of the killings are drug-related (Associated Press, 2010).

A report by the UK government's Drug Strategy Unit that was leaked to the press, stated that due to the expensive price of highly addictive drugs heroin and cocaine, drug consumption was responsible for the great majority of violence, among of them 85% of shoplifting, 70–80% of burglaries and 54% of robberies. It concluded that "the cost of crime committed to supporting illegal cocaine and heroin habits amounts to £16 billion a year in the UK" (Transform, 2011).

18.5. Drug trafficking routes

Let`s now consider the main drug trafficking routes according to the different regions of the World.

South America

Venezuela has been a path to the United States and Europe for illegal drugs originating in Colombia, through Central America, Mexico, and Caribbean countries such as Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico.

Based on the United Nations information, there was an increase in cocaine trade via Venezuela since 2002 (El Universal, 2007). In 2005, the government of former President of Venezuela Hugo Chávez severed contacts with the United States Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA), accusing its representatives of spying (Neuman, 2012). Following the departure of the DEA from the country and the activation of DEA's cooperation with Colombia in 2005, Venezuela became more attractive to drug traffickers (Vice News, 2014). Between 2008 and 2012, Venezuela's cocaine seizure ranking among other countries declined, going from being ranked fourth in the world for cocaine seizures in 2008 (United Nations, World Drug Report 2010) to sixth in 2012 (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2012).

On 18 November 2016, there was held so-called Narcosobrinos incident, Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro's two nephews were found guilty of intending to ship narcotics into the

United States so they could "obtain a large amount of cash to help their family stay in power" (Raymond, 2016).

In August 2019, former Dominican players of the MLB, Octavio Dotel and Luis Castillo were suspected of being engaged with a massive drug-trafficking ring, alleged to be run by César Emilio Peralta. Authorities claim that they ran drugs from South America into the United States and Europe (CNN, 2019).

According to research implemented by the Abba Eban Institute as part of an initiative called Janus Initiative, the main routes that Hezbollah uses for smuggling drugs are from Colombia, Venezuela, and Brazil into West Africa and then transportation is provided through northern Africa into Europe. This route gives Hezbollah an opportunity in making a profit in the cocaine smuggling market to leverage it for terrorist policy.

West Africa

Cocaine produced in Colombia and Bolivia increasingly has been shipped via West Africa (especially in Cape Verde, Mali, Benin, Togo, Nigeria, Cameroon, Guinea-Bissau, and Ghana) (Africa Economic Institute, 2013). The money is often laundered in countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, and Senegal.

Based on the research of Africa Economic Institute, the value of illicit drug smuggling in Guinea-Bissau is almost twice the volume of the country's Gross Domestic Product (Africa Economic Institute, 2013). Police structures are often bribed. A police officer's normal monthly wage of $93 is less than 2% of the value of 1 kilogram (2.2 lb) of cocaine (€7000 or $8750). The financial resources can also be laundered using real estate. A house is constructed using illegal funds, and when the apartment or house is sold, legal money is earned (GIABA, 2013). In case if drugs are transported by land, through the Sahara, the drug dealers have been forced to establish contacts with terrorist organizations, such as Al Qaida in Islamic Maghreb (Kijk magazine, 2013).

Eastern and Southern Africa

Heroin is increasingly trafficked from Afghanistan to Europe and America through eastern and southern African countries. This path is known as the “southern route” or “smack track.” Repercussions of this trade include burgeoning heroin use and political corruption among intermediary African countries (The Economist, 2019).

Asia

Narcotics in the Asian continent traditionally traveled the southern routes – the main caravan axes of Southeast Asia and Southern China – and cover the former opium-producing countries of Thailand, Iran, and Pakistan (Chouvy, 2010). Within the 90s of the previous century, particularly after the Cold War ended, borders become more transparent and trading and customs agreements were signed so that the routes expanded to include China, Central Asia, and Russia (Chouvy, 2010). There are, therefore, diversified drug trafficking routes available in the modern period, particularly in the heroin trade and these thrive because of the continuous development of new markets. A large number of drugs are smuggled into Europe from Asia. The main sources of these narcotics are Afghanistan, along with countries that constituted the so-called Golden Crescent. From these producers, drugs are smuggled into the West and Central Asia to their destinations in Europe and the United States (Bowman, 2007). Iran is now the route for smugglers, having been previously a primary trading route, due to its large-scale and costly war against drug trafficking (Chouvy, 2010). The Border Police Chief of Iran declared that his country "is a strong barrier against the trafficking of illegal drugs to the Caucasus, especially the Republic of Azerbaijan." (Young Journalists Club, 2013) The drugs produced by the Golden Triangle of Myanmar, Laos, and Thailand, on the other hand, pass through the southern routes to reach the Australian, U.S., and Asian markets(McPhedran, 2017).

18.6. Profits

It is difficult to exactly calculate the real statistics about profits from the drug trade due to its illicit nature. An online report published by the UK Home Office in 2007 estimated the illicit drug market in the UK at £4–6.6 billion a year (UK Government Web Archive, 2007).

In December 2009 Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime Antonio Maria, Costa claimed illegal drug money saved the banking system from the big problems. He pointed out that he had seen evidence that the proceeds of organized crime were "the only liquid investment capital" available to some banks on the brink of collapse during 2008. He underlined that a majority of the $352 billion (£216bn) of drug profits was absorbed into the economic system as a result:

"In many instances, the money from drugs was the only liquid investment capital. In the second half of 2008, liquidity was the banking system's main problem and hence liquid capital became an important factor...Interbank loans were funded by money that originated from the drugs trade and other illegal activities...there were signs that some banks were rescued that way" (Syal, 2009).

Picture 27. Connecticut man Jonathan Williamson sentenced to prison as part of drug trafficking ring that had ties to Springfield

Source: https://www.masslive.com/news/2011/11/connecticut_man_jonathan_willi.html

Costa declined to states or banks that may have received any drug money, pointing out that would be inappropriate because his office is supposed to address the problem, not apportion blame.

Though street-level drug sales are widely considered as lucrative, the research conducted by Sudhir Venkatesh suggested that many low-level employees receive low wages. In a study scholar made in the 1990s working closely with members of the Black Gangster Disciple Nation in Chicago, he found that one band (essentially a franchise) consisted of a leader (a college graduate named J.T.), three senior officers, and 25 to 75 street level salesmen ('foot soldiers') depending on the season.

Distributing crack cocaine, they received approximately $32,000 per month over six years. This was spent as follows: $5,000 to the board of twenty directors of the Black Gangster Disciple Nation, who oversaw 100 such gangs for approximately $500,000 in monthly income. Another $5,000 monthly was paid for cocaine and $4,000 for other non-wage expenses. J.T. took $8,500 monthly for his salary. The remaining $9,500 monthly went to pay the employees a $7 per hour wage for officers and a $3.30 per hour wage for foot soldiers. Contrary to a popular image of drug sales as a lucrative profession, many of the employees were living with their mothers by necessity. Despite this, the gang had four times as many unpaid members who dreamed of becoming foot soldiers (Los Angeles Times, 2005).

18.7. Free trade link

There are several arguments on whether or not free trade correlates with increased activity in the illicit drug trade. Nowadays, the structure and operation of the illicit drug industry are presented mainly in terms of an international division of labor (Bartilow, 2009). Free trade can open new markets to domestic producers who would otherwise resort to exporting illicit drugs. Furthermore, extensive free trade among countries increases cross-border drug enforcement and coordination between law enforcement agencies in different states (Bartilow, 2009). However, free trade also expands the sheer volume of legal cross-border trade and provides cover for drug smuggling—by providing ample capability to conceal illicit cargo in legal trade. While international free trade continues to enlarge the volume of legal trade, the resource to detect and interdict drug trafficking is severely diminished.

Within the period of the late 1990s, the top ten seaports in the world processed 33.6 million containers (Bartlow). Free trade has promoted the integration of financial markets and has provided drug dealers with more opportunities to launder money and make investments in other activities. This strengthens the drug "business" while weakening the activity of law enforcement to monitor the flow of drug money into the legitimate economy. Cooperation among cartels expands their scope to distant markets and strengthens their abilities to evade detection by local law enforcement. Additionally, criminal organizations work together to coordinate money-laundering activities by having separate organizations handle specific stages of the laundering process. One organization structures the process of how financial transactions will be laundered, while another criminal group provides the "dirty" money to be cleaned. By fostering expansion of trade and global transportation networks, free trade encourages cooperation and the formation of alliances among criminal organizations across different states. For example, the drug trade in Latin America emerged in the early 1930s (Lopez Restrepo, 2003). It saw important growth in the Andean countries, including Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela. The underground market in the early half of the 20th century mainly had ties to Europe. After World War II, the Andean countries managed an expansion of trade, specifically with cocaine (Lopez Restrepo, 2003).

18.8. Trade-in specific drugs

Cannabis

While the recreational use of (and consequently the distribution of) cannabis is prohibited by the legislature in most states throughout the world, recreational distribution is legal in some countries, such as Canada, and medical distribution is allowed in some regions, such as 10 of the 50 US states (although importation and distribution are still federally prohibited) (Marijuana Law and Legal Definition). Beginning in 2014, Uruguay became the first country to legalize the cultivation, sale, and consumption of cannabis for recreational consumption for adult residents (Malena Castaldi, 2013). In 2018, Canada became the second country to legalize the use, sale, and cultivation of cannabis. The first few weeks were met with extremely high demand, most shops being out of stock after operating for only four days.

Cannabis use is tolerated in some places of the world, most notably the Netherlands which has legalized the possession and licensed sale (but not cultivation) of the drug. Many nations have decriminalized the possession of limited amounts of marijuana. Because of the hardy nature of the cannabis plant, marijuana is grown all across the world and is in modern times the world's most popular illegal narcotics with the highest level of availability (global drug survey). Cannabis is grown legally in many states for industrial, non-drug use (known as hemp) as well. Cannabis hemp may also be planted for other non-drug domestic purposes, such as seasoning that occurs in Aceh (nutrition for the world).

The demand for cannabis in the different regions of our planet, coupled with the drug's relative ease of cultivation, makes illicit cannabis transportation one of the basic ways in which organized criminal groups fund many of their activities. In Mexico, for example, the illicit trafficking of cannabis is thought to constitute the majority of many of the cartels' earnings (Campbell, 2012) and the main way in which the cartels release financial resources for many other illegal actions; including the gaining of other illegal drugs for trafficking, and for purchasing weapons that are ultimately used to commit crimes (causing a burgeoning in the homicide rates of many regions of the planet, but particularly Latin America) (Laura Carlsen, 2013).

Some researches show that the increased legalization of cannabis in the United States (beginning in 2012 with Washington Initiative 502 and Colorado Amendment 64) has led Mexican cartels to smuggle less cannabis in exchange for more heroin (The Washington Post).

Heroin

Up until around 2004, the majority of the world's heroin was produced in an area known as the Golden Triangle (McCoy, 2003). However, by 2007, 93% of the opiates on the global market originated in Afghanistan (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2008). This amounted to an export value of about US$64 billion, with a quarter being earned by opium farmers and the rest going to district officials, insurgents, warlords, and drug traffickers (UNODC, 2008). Another significant area where poppy fields are grown for the manufacture of heroin in Mexico.

According to the United States Drug Enforcement Administration, the price of heroin is typically valued 8 to 10 times that of cocaine on American streets, making it a high-profit substance for smugglers and dealers (DEA, 2008). In Europe (except the transit countries Portugal and the Netherlands), for example, a purported gram of street heroin, usually consisting of 700–800 mg of light to a dark brown powder containing 5–10% heroin base, costs €30–70, making the effective value per gram of pure heroin €300–700. Heroin is generally a preferred product for smuggling and distribution—over unrefined opium due to the cost-effectiveness and increased efficacy of heroin.

Picture. 28. How Long Does Heroin Stay in Your System?

Source: https://americanaddictioncenters.org/heroin-treatment/how-long-in-system

Due to the high cost per volume, heroin is easily smuggled. A US quarter-sized (2.5 cm) cylindrical vial can contain hundreds of doses. From the 1930s to the early 1970s, the so-called French Connection supplied the majority of US demand. Allegedly, during the Vietnam War, drug lords such as Ike Atkinson used to smuggle hundreds of kilograms of heroin to the US in coffins of dead American soldiers. From this period, it has become more difficult for narcotics to be imported into the US than it had been in previous decades, but that does not stop the heroin smugglers from obtaining their product across US borders. Purity levels vary greatly by region with Northeastern cities having the purest heroin in the United States. On 17 October 2018 police forces in Italy, particularly in the city of Genoa, discovered 270 kg of heroin hidden in a ship that was transported from the Iranian southern port of Bandar Abbas. The ship had already passed and on its way stopped in two ports, at Hamburg in Germany and Valencia in Spain.

Punishments for smuggling heroin or morphine are often harsh in the majority of the states in the world. Several countries will readily hand down a death sentence (e.g. Singapore) or life in prison for the illegal smuggling of heroin or morphine, which are both internationally recognized as drugs under the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs.

Methamphetamine

Methamphetamine is another popular drug among narcotic dealers. Three common street names are "meth", "crank", and "ice" (Office of the National Drug Control Policy).

According to the Community Epidemiology Work Group, the number of clandestine methamphetamine laboratory incidents reported to the National Clandestine Laboratory Database decreased from 1999 to 2009. Within this period, methamphetamine lab incidents increased in mid-western States (Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and Ohio), and Pennsylvania. In 2004, more lab incidents were reported in Missouri (2,788) and Illinois (1,058) than in California (764). In 2003, methamphetamine lab incidents reached new highs in Georgia (250), Minnesota (309), and Texas (677). There were only seven methamphetamine lab incidents reported in Hawaii in 2004, though nearly 59 percent of substance abuse treatment admissions (excluding alcohol) were for primary methamphetamine abuse during the first six months of 2004. As of 2007, Missouri leads the United States in drug-lab seizures, with 1,268 incidents reported (DEA, 2008). Often canine units are used for detecting rolling meth labs which can be concealed on large vehicles, or transported on something as small as a motorcycle. These labs are more difficult to detect than stationary ones, and can often be obscured among legal cargo in big trucks (CBS News, 2002).

Methamphetamine is sometimes used intravenously, placing users and their partners at risk for transmission of HIV and hepatitis C (NIDA, 2008). "Meth" can also be inhaled, most commonly vaporized on aluminum foil or in a glass pipe. This method is reported to give "an unnatural high" and a "brief intense rush" (Sommerfeld, 2001).

In South Africa, methamphetamine`s name is "tik" or "tik-tik". "Known locally as "tik," the drug was virtually unknown as late as 2003. Now, it is the country's main drug of abuse, even when alcohol is included." (Unodc.org, 2017) Children as young as eight are abusing the substance, smoking it in crude glass vials made from light bulbs. Since methamphetamine is easy to produce, the substance is manufactured locally in staggering quantities.

The government of North Korea operated methamphetamine production facilities. There, the drug is used as medicine because no alternatives are available; it also is smuggled across the Chinese border (Huang, 2012).

The Australian Crime Commission's illicit drug data report for 2011–2012 stated that the average strength of crystal methamphetamine doubled in most Australian jurisdictions within 12 months, and the majority of domestic laboratory closures involved small "addict-based" operations (SCHLIEBS, 2013).

Temazepam

Temazepam, a strong hypnotic benzodiazepine, is illicitly produced in clandestine laboratories (called *jellie labs*) to supply the increasingly high demand for the drug on the global level (*Robertson, 2003*). Many clandestine temazepam labs are located in Eastern Europe. The labs manufacture temazepam by chemically altering diazepam, oxazepam, or lorazepam (EMCDDA, 2006). "Jellie labs" have been identified and shut down in Russia, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Latvia, and Belarus (UNODC, 2006).

Surveys conducted in many states prove that temazepam, MDMA, nimetazepam, and methamphetamine rank among the top illegal drugs most frequently abused (Niaz).

Cocaine

Cocaine is a highly prominent drug among many drug distributors and producers. The cocaine black market distribution industry is worth more than 85 billion dollars. It has been heavily fought over and massively produced. Around 1.1 million kilograms of cocaine were made in 2009 and there are some opinions that this kind of drug to have been consumed by around 17 million people in different regions of the world. This drug's mass trade is believed to have been possible by notorious drug dealing kingpin Joaquín "El Chapo" Guzmán who ran the Sinaloa Cartel (*Crowley, 2011*).

Cocaine, which is also known as coke, is a strong stimulant very often used as a recreational drug. It is commonly snorted, inhaled as smoke, or dissolved and injected into a vein (Zimmerman, 2003). Mental influences can include an intense feeling of happiness, loss of contact with reality, or agitation. As to the physical symptoms, they may consist of a fast heart rate, sweating, and large pupils. Consuming High doses can cause very high blood pressure or body temperature (Hoffman, 2013). Effects start within seconds to minutes of use and last between five and ninety minutes. Cocaine has a small number of accepted medical uses such as numbing and decreasing bleeding during nasal surgery (Jones, 2016).

Picture 29. Signs of Cocaine Overdose

Source: https://owlsnestrecovery.com/signs-of-cocaine-overdose/

Cocaine is addictive because of the fact, that its effect on the reward pathway in the brain (Pomara, 2012). After a short period of use, there is a high risk that dependence will emerge. Its use also increases the risk of stroke, myocardial infarction, lung problems in those who smoke it, blood infections, and sudden cardiac death. Cocaine, which is on sale in the street is commonly mixed with local anesthetics, cornstarch, quinine, or sugar, which can cause additional toxicity (Goldstein, 2009). Following repeated doses, a person may have decreased ability to feel pleasure and be very physically tired.

Cocaine acts by inhibiting the reuptake of serotonin, norepinephrine, and dopamine. This results in greater concentrations of these three neurotransmitters in the brain. It can easily cross the blood-brain barrier and may lead to the breakdown of the barrier (Sharma, 2009). In 2013, 419 kilograms were produced legally (Narcotic Drugs 2014). It is estimated that the illegal market for cocaine is 100 to US$500 billion each year. With further processing, crack cocaine can be produced from cocaine (D'Errico, 2012).

On the global level, cocaine is the second most frequently used illegal drug, after cannabis. At the beginning of the second decade of the XXI Century, between 14 and 21 million people used the drug annually (Riezzo, 2012). By the use of this narcotic, the leadership position has North America followed by Europe and South America. Between one and three percent of people in the developed world have used cocaine at some point in their life. In 2013, cocaine use directly resulted in 4,300 deaths, up from 2,400 in 1990 (GBD 2013). It is named after the coca plant from which it is isolated. The plant's leaves have been used by the local population of South America since ancient times. Cocaine was first separated from the leaves in 1860 (Serviddio, 2012). Since 1961, the international Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs has required countries to make recreational use of cocaine a crime (DailyMed, 2020).

Key Terminologies

International Drug Trade

Drug Business

History of legislating against illegal consumption of drugs

Societal effects

Violent crime

Drug trafficking routes

Free trade link

Cannabis

Heroin

Methamphetamine

Temazepam

Cocaine

Questions for Consideration

What are the main threats related to drug consumption?

Why are the different criminal groups able to transport drugs in the different regions of the World?

Please collect information about the most influential narcotic cartels in the World.

Practicum

Please analyze what kind of priorities should be determined by the international community for fighting against the illegal circulation of drugs on the global level?

Main social and economic problems

Chapter 19. THE PROBLEM OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS

19.1. Parameters of uneven development in the countries of the South and North

The concepts of "rich north-poor south" are widely used today to refer to the phenomenon, which consists in a significant polarization of the world along with the axis "North-south”. As a result, in the countries located in the northern hemisphere (developed states), the overall socio-economic level of life is significantly higher than in the developing countries in the southern hemisphere. Sometimes, although recently much less frequently, the countries in the “South” are much more often called "countries of the third world". This term was originally disseminated in the framework of neo-Marxism in the years of the Cold War when the world was divided into capitalist, socialist, and “other” countries.

About 20% of the world's population lives in the prosperous countries of the northern hemisphere. According to data provided by the United Nations Development Program for the beginning of the second decade of the XXI Century, they consume about 90% of all goods produced on the Earth. They own approximately 85% of the entire park of cars. They account for almost 60% of the total generated energy. And the incomes of their citizens exceed those who live in developing countries by 60 times or more (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

At the same time, the growth of the population is observed in developing countries (here lives 85% of those who were born in 1960 and later). According to the World Bank, in such regions as Africa and the Middle East, the annual population growth is about 3% (Chitadze, 2017). The high tempo of population growth proposes the solution of such problems, such as education, health, and the creation of new working places. However, instead of economic growth and improvement in the social sphere, there is a decline in these areas.

In developing countries, the number of AIDS patients is increasing: Currently, they account for almost 90% of all HIV-infected people. Concerning the World Bank, such data is often given. In Africa, in the sub-Saharan region, where the situation is most difficult, every 40th adult is HIV-infected. Along with the AIDS epidemic in developing countries, there is a high incidence of hepatitis (2 million deaths annually), tuberculosis (3 million, respectively), malaria (1 million deaths with 300 million diseases annually), and others, including tropical diseases. The Health system in this region is at a lower level in comparison to developed countries. According to the World Health Organization - WHO, 75% of the world's population, living in developing countries, account for 30% of doctors within the first decade of the XXI Century (Lebedeva, 2007). To this, it should be added that the incomes of adults in these countries do not allow them to spend significant sums on medicines and medical care. As a result, even sharp respiratory disease can lead to death.

Lack of drinking water, shelter, food, and other vital funds are also typical for these countries. In some countries, for example in India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Nigeria, Brazil, etc. part of the population, especially in rural areas, not only doesn’t have water pipeline, but also has to daily overcome significant distances for drinking water, and this problem leads to the spread of gastrointestinal diseases that lead among the causes of death (4 million deaths per year), as well as to the deterioration of the sanitary conditions of life in general.

At the beginning of the XXI Century, the World Bank cited figures that about 80% of all incidents in developing countries were related to the quality of consumed water. This results in the death of about 10 million people annually (Lebedeva, 2007).

The spread of diseases is facilitated by the low level of housing conditions. In one room there are large families and housing, for reasons of cost savings, is often built without taking into account seismic conditions, possible actions of monsoons, typhoons, etc. In developing countries, the percentage of homeless people is also significantly higher. The absence of a house is one of the most acute problems of the "global South".

Complicated sanitary and housing conditions are accompanied by a shortage of food supply. The percentage of people living in rural areas of developing countries is much higher than in developed countries. J. Goldstein cites data according to which in the developed countries about 70-80% of the population lives in the urban areas, while in Asia and Africa this indicator is not above 20%. Despite the involvement in the field of agriculture, approximately 800 million people in developing countries are chronically undernourished, as a result, they can't perform even the simplest work. However, among those who rose a little above the extreme poverty line, a large percentage of people don't get enough protein and vitamins. This is due to the need to allocate huge areas of agricultural lands under export crops: tea, coffee, cocoa. Even those cultures, which make good the deficiency of proteins (for example, soybeans) and could be used to fight hunger in their country, are used for export or for feeding the middle class (Goldstein, 2011).

Bad socio-economic conditions in developing countries lead to the fact that the average life expectancy in them is about 60 years (in the poor - 50, and some, due to the development of AIDS epidemic is much lower), while in developed countries length of life is approaching 80 years. At the same time, more than 17% of newborn babies in developing countries do not survive until the age of five (in developed countries, this figure averages just over 1.5%) (Maksakovsky, 2009).

Table 16. Comparison of socio-economic conditions in economically developed and developing countries on the example of Japan and Nigeria for the period of the crossing XX-XXI Centuries

Comparison of the two countries: Developed (Japan) and developing (Nigeria) according to the most important indexes		
Indexes	Japan	Nigeria
Life expectancy	80	53
Infant mortality rate per 1000 newborns	4	80
GDP Per Capita	39640	250
Reproduction of the population within the 90-th of the XX Century	0,2	2,9

Adult Literacy, %	98	57
Number of doctors per 100 thousand people	164	2

Source: Rourke, Boyer, 2000.

The level of education in developed and developing countries is different. If in the "Global North" about 97% of the population are literate, in some regions of the "Global South" literacy may be less than 40%; people basically can't read and can't write the simplest sentences. Instead of school children of these countries are more often sent for earnings. Homelessness and child criminality is growing (Chitadze, 2017).

Low standard of living, education, and health, unemployment is often accompanied by conflicts, instability, and political coups. Especially alarming is the fact that for several indicators the gap between "North" and "South" continues to be increased. J. T. Rourke and M. A. Boyer cite the data according to which in 1990 the annual GDP per capita in the countries of "the Global North" was an average of 19 590 US dollars, and in "Global South" - 840, i.e., the difference in income is 18,750 dollars. At the beginning of the XXI Century, the difference was even greater - $ 24,260 with annual income per capita in developed countries $25 510 and in developing countries 1 250 (Rourke, Boyer, 2009).

The countries with the lowest per capita incomes are of particular concern. These states, according to the classification of the International Monetary Fund, are among the least developed among the developing countries – the least-developed of the less-countries, LLDCs. In those states, the average income per capita is about one dollar per day, and commodity-money relations are replaced by natural exchange, although the standard of living of a small percentage of persons belonging to the political and economic elite of these countries, can be quite high. In the least developed countries, according to various estimates, lives from 1.3 to 2 billion people. There are many such countries in Africa, to the south of the Sahara. There are some of the lowest indicators in per capita income and other socio-economic parameters. Moreover, in some countries in Africa since the late 1980s, there has been a decline of GDP, as well as production (till 80%) with the simultaneous growth of population (Maksakovsky, 2009).

To compare different countries in terms of development level, taking into account much of what has already been mentioned, various indicators have been worked out. One of the most widely used is the *Human Development Index*, which takes into account not only the GDP of the state but also social parameters such as lifespan, educational level, etc. According to an estimate of the United Nations Development Program - UNDP for 2021, the top five leading countries were included Norway, Switzerland, Ireland, Hong Kong, Germany, and last places were taken by African countries - Burundi, South Sudan, Chad, Central African Republic, Niger (HDI, 2021).

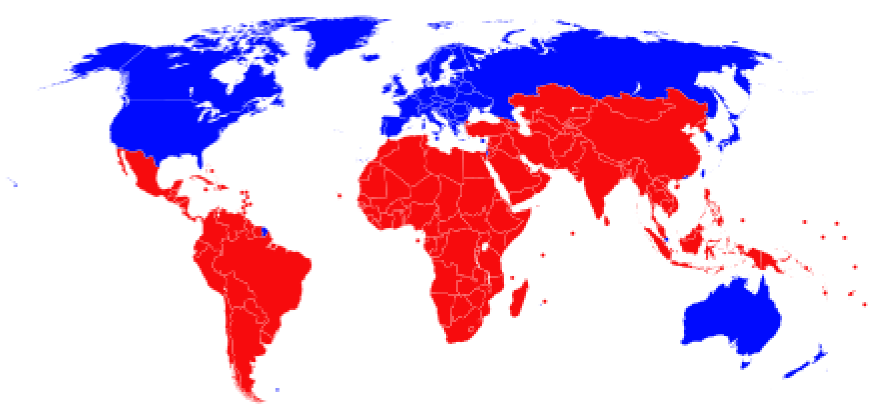
Other indicators are taken into account when assessing the socio-economic development of the countries. Among them is the *Gender Development Index*, GDI, fixing the differences in socio-economic indicators of life between men and women. By this criterion, Canada had again leading positions within the first decade of XXI Century, it was followed by Norway, the United States, Australia, Sweden (in these countries, gender differences were very law), Guinea Bissau, Burundi, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Niger closed the list (Kereselidze, 2011).

Quite sharply there is a question - the indebtedness of the “South” to the “North” countries. It was formed as a result of loans that developing countries received from the West. The situation began to deteriorate dramatically in connection with a jump in oil prices in the 1970s. Many developing countries, which did not extract oil, were forced to import “Black gold” by significantly higher prices, for which the money loans in Western banks were taken. However, among borrowers, there were also such countries that exported energy resources, in particular Mexico. Generally, the debt of developing countries in 1982 was 805 billion American Dollars and by 1996 reached 2 trillion 95 billion USD. In 1982, Mexico announced that it could not liquidate a foreign debt, and asked for help in 4 billion US dollars. Following Mexico for the help appealed to other countries too (Lebedeva, 2007). Within the second decade of the XXI century, the foreign debt of the developing countries prevailed at 5 trillion USD (World Bank, 2020).

The problem was that the growing debt of developing countries began to threaten both the states of the "South" and "North". The first simply could not pay off. As for the "North", the creditors lost huge sums of money. The default of developing countries could have the most direct impact on them. All this led to the need to address the foreign debt of developing countries and the crisis of debt as such. In 1989, the United States, as one of the leading creditors, proposed a plan under which part of the debt of developing countries was forgiven, while another concept was directed to decrease the interest rates; New loans were also guaranteed under the guarantee of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the governments of creditor countries. This somehow has weakened the crisis. However, in general, the problem of foreign debt of developing countries has not yet been resolved.

Map 15. World map showing a traditional definition of the North - South divide.

The north; Blue; High income economies + High Human Development Index states + G7 + Eastern Europe Developed World Developing World



Source: North South divide. svg

Particularly alarming were the financial upheavals of the 1990s, in particular, problems with the Mexican currency in 1994; worsening economic situation in developing countries. They also again started to take significant credits. Complex internal socio-economic situations in developing countries also questioned the ability of their governments to cope with a budget deficit, which is necessary for the payment of a debt. The situation especially deteriorated as a result of the spreading COVID 19 pandemic in 2020. Many developing countries were forced to take new foreign debts for taking preventive measures against this disease.

This is the general picture of differences in the standard of living between developed and developing countries. This social and economic gap has been named the North-South gap. Immediately after the end of the Cold War, there were allegations that in the modern world the confrontation along the line “East-West” was replaced by a confrontation along the axis “North-South “. In Reality, at first sight, there is quite significant polarization of the world by several indicators. However, this gap is not as unambiguous as it may seem.

First of all, the statistics require interpretation. Obviously, in the countries of the "Global South," the standard of living is lower than in the states of the “Global North”. Statistics give an overall picture and individual statistical indicators need to be compared with each other. Thus, per capita income should be compared with prices for basic consumer goods – price index, access to health care, education, etc. For these purposes, the indicator is associated with purchase parity. By this standard, developing countries are not so strikingly different from developed ones, although, of course, they lag behind them, especially if we take into account the quality of the consumed goods.

Secondly, “South” is far from being uniform in terms of socio-economic criteria. Some countries of the "South" managed to overcome the backlog in socio-economic development. First, economic success was achieved by individual States in the Middle East, in particular member countries of OPEC, which is associated with the export of oil. For example, countries such as Kuwait, United Arab Emirates, Qatar, were able to reach the level of life, which by socio-economic indicators is comparable with developed states of the "North". Several other countries in the Middle East Region were included in the group with average development indicators.

Later arose the phenomenon of the so-called newly industrialized/industrializing countries - NICs, to which relates the countries of South-East Asia. Their success in socio-economic life is even more impressive than in the countries of the Middle East. In the 1980s, in a relatively short historical period, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, which gained the name of the so-called "Asian tigers ", managed to become developed industrial countries. Their economic strategy was aimed at developing their industry and attracting investments. As a result, according to the International Monetary Fund, IMF by the beginning of XXI Century, the share of these countries was coming up to 10% of the total trade turnover and 3.4% of production (Chitadze, 2016).

In general, it can be assumed that at the base of the indisputable economic success of several developing countries lies a powerful leap of a limited number of states. Thus, during the past decades, over 4/5 of the GDP growth in the "third world" was provided by 26 countries, where about 28% of the whole population (Chitadze, 2016). The degree of differentiation level of the socio-economic development of the countries of the world "South" today is such, that it can be assumed about the stratification of them into three different groups, the gap between which grows.

Third, there is not only a gap between countries but also within individual countries by different indicators. For example, Kuwait, which in the mid-1990s, was one of the five countries with the highest per capita income, at the same time was also among those countries, where a large percentage of the adult population remained illiterate. A similar pattern is observed in some other countries of the The Middle East, which is engaged in oil exports. And from the other side here are some countries, former Soviet republics, which have a literacy approaching 100% among the adult population, which puts them on a par with the developed countries of the "North" (Chitadze, 2018). At the same time, they have low per capita incomes, which brings them closer to the states of the "South".

The "North" is also heterogeneous. There are some areas and population areas virtually with the same problems as in the "South". Although, of course, the number of such people is much less and the problems themselves usually do not have such acuity. In general, in some African countries the ratio between the income of the poorest and the richest diverges more than 50 times, while in North America and Western Europe, this gap is less than 10. According to the World Bank, at the beginning of the XXI Century, it was the largest between the richest and the poorest categories of the population, in Brazil (Maksakovsky, 2009).

Thus, the modern world is more a kind of "Mosaic" by the level of life and not divided in half the scope. However, the mosaic nature of the world does not, in general, eliminate the problem of uneven social and economic development of the "North" and "South".

19.2. The reasons for the differences between the "Global North" and "Global South" and possible ways to overcome them

How to explain the disproportion of socio-economic development between "Global North" and "Global South"? Many researchers tend to believe that the gap between developed and developing countries is conditioned by both internal factors of development, also by relations between the "South" and "North". In this case, different emphases are made on various factors, respectively, there are stand out different theoretical approaches.

The first approach to the problem of "rich North" - "poor South" comes from the *theory of classical economic development*. The main message in the framework of this approach is supported by the provision that the level of well-being is determined by the availability of efficient production, free entrepreneurship, trade, technological innovation and not by climate and natural resources. This is based on the ideas of the modernization approach that arose shortly after World War II and proceeded from the fact that industrial development began in the "global North." Industrialization first came to Europe, and then to North America. This, on the one hand, has brought improved living conditions, on the other hand, led to the improvements of the armaments, which later were used for the colonial wars.

The theory of classical economic development is based on the fact, that the colonial heritage, of course, has become a kind of a brake on development (but at the same time several authors pay attention to the fact, that colonialism, despite its negative moments, has provided by technical and social innovations countries of the "South"), but the main obstacles in the modern development of the "global South" lie in itself of the countries from this geographic area. A great impact on the formation of this approach was provided by the American economist and political figure W. Rostow. In 1960 he published a book "The Stages of Economic Growth", later, in 1991 the third edition of the book was published. In his research, the author suggested that developing countries would pass the same stages in their development as the developed ones. Even though the "global North" continues to develop, the pace of development of the "global South" would be much higher, which will create the conditions to finally catch up with the countries of the "North". In addition, the "North" itself, according to this theory, will be interested in this development, since it is oriented by its nature on liberal values, the openness of the borders, and the creation of a single economic space (Rostow, 1991).

At the end of the 20th century, the theory of classical economic development experienced its revival and is called *neoclassical*. The incentive to address the ideals of market development has become largely the example of new industrial estates, which were directed at times for a general liberalization of the socio-economic life of society. This phenomenon has led to several studies in which analyzed the relationship between political freedoms and economic development. And anyway, the main problem in neoclassical theory has been attempts to find ways to overcome the significant differences between developed and developing countries.

Supporters of this approach in principle agree that the “North” is responsible for the backwardness of the "global South". Developing countries can’t cope without outside aid with their problems, because, on the one hand, they lack the qualified personnel, due to the low level of education of the population as a whole; on the other hand – they are economically dependent on the former metropolis. According to this approach, the countries of the "South" should be assisted in economic development, as well as for their democratization. Both these spheres in neoclassical theory are closely related.

At the same time, supporters of this approach emphasize that the most important argument in favor of the need to develop relations with the "global South” is not so much the historical responsibility of the "North", but the orientation toward future relationships. Neoclassical theory is inclined to consider them between "North" and "South" as a game with a non-zero-sum when the winners may be both - "North”, and "South". In the other words, interaction can be beneficial for both parties. The advocates of this point of view emphasize the interdependence of the world, the need to integrate its parts into a single world system. To illustrate the liberal approach in the North-South relations J.T. Rourke and M.A. Boyer use the metaphor associated with the death of “Titanic” in 1912. The modern world is so interconnected, that it can either be proportionally developed and achieve a certain general “port of prosperity”, or sink like this ship. In the last case, it is not significant the differences between passengers of expensive cabins and those who bought the cheapest tickets (Rourke, Boyer, 2009).

The greatest discussion of the problem of the socio-economic gap between the "rich North" and "poor South" started perhaps, in the framework of another approach - neo-Marxism. It underlines the structural stratification of the globe on the exploited (“global South”) and the exploiters ("global North"). Hence, one more of its name - *a structural theory* that was quite popular in the 1970s-1980s years.

The stratification of the world is conditioned, according to this approach, by the imperialist policy of the developed countries, which could make it a result of the occupation and exploitation of colonies. Despite gaining independence in the second half of the 20th century, former colonies remained economically dependent from the former metropolitan countries or wider from the "global North". Moreover, this dependence on the "rich" is characteristic even for those countries that were not colonies.

In the economy of the developing countries, this or that branch of the economy prevails. Thus, the economic development of Ethiopia is largely oriented on the supply of coffee, Botswana-diamond mining, Zambia – production of copper, etc. In this economic dependence exists, according to neo-Marxism, not only the gap between the "North" and "South", but also its deepening. Neo-Marxism proceeds from the premise that the "Global North" is not interested in the dynamic development of the "South", because for the economically developed states the former colonies remain as suppliers of raw materials and cheap labor force.

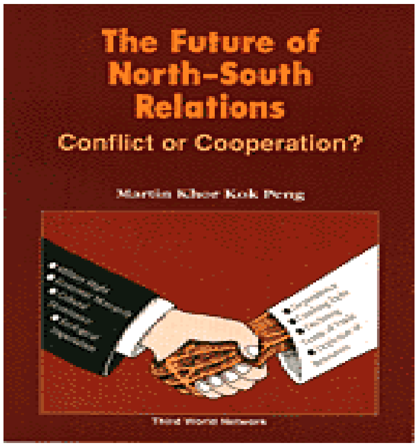
In the framework of the neo-Marxism theory, two areas are distinguished: *the world-system approach* and direction, oriented to the *theory of dependence*. The world is a systemic understanding of the gap between the "North" (the core) and "South" (periphery) proceeds from the fact that the functioning of the economy of the core and periphery are specialized and simultaneously interdependent. In other words, they can't exist without each other. Prolonged historical cycles that consider this direction, provide the countries the opportunity to "move around" within the structure: the core, semi-periphery, and periphery. At the same time, this theory can hardly explain the rapid economic development of the new industrial countries.

The special attention to the gap between the "North" and "South" in the framework of neo-Marxism, pays the dependence theory. It proceeds from the fact that this gap is the key in modern political economy. Representatives of the dependence theory, including A. G. Frank and others, oppose the thesis on the stages of economic development (Frank, 1996), which was pursued in the framework of neoliberalism by William Rostow, according to which each state consistently passes one after another the same stages (Rostow, 1991). Objecting to this, the adherents of the theory of dependence say that for the developing states this is not a stage of development at all, but a result of the hierarchy of the world and the exploitation of the "South" by the "North". They emphasize that modern developed countries have never been in a situation of developing, compelled to catch up with more developed states. Therefore, economic development or backwardness is not "natural", but are caused by unequal relations between the countries of the "global North" and the "global South".

The argument, confirming the inequitable relationship between the "North" and "South", also serves for supporters of this theory *the phenomenon of a two-tiered economy*. The essence of it is that several industries – branches of economy of the developing countries are in the field of the interests of the "North" and turn out to be "tied up" on modern information and communication technologies (computers, telecommunications), while others remain at the "prehistoric" level.

In many respects responsible for the division of the world into the "rich North" and "poor South" representatives of the dependence theory consider Transnational Corporations - TNC. In their opinion, Transnational Corporations are instrumental in modern neo-colonialism. It is also stressed that the introduction of innovation, investment in developing countries - all this contributes to disproportional development of the "South" and in the end - strengthening the gap between "South" and the "North". In these positions, their theoretical orientations are based on many anti-globalization movements.

Picture 30. The future of North-South relations. Conflicts or cooperation?



Source: https://www.twn.my/title/futu-cn.htm

To overcome the differences between the "North" and "South", which, as neo-Marxists emphasize, are unfair, world production and trade must be radically rebuilt.

Finally, the third approach in "North-South" relations is oriented toward *neo-realism*. In the sphere of economic relations, it has received the name of *mercantilism*. This approach is based on the fact that the problem should be solved first of all by the developing countries themselves. Respectively, economically developed countries in their interaction with the countries of the "South" should focus on their interests, but not on patronage.

Supplying the states of the "global South" with food, medicines and other necessities leads to an increased birth rate, but not to the restructuring of the economic system, declare the supporters of neo-realism. This approach practically does not take into account the fact of interdependence in the modern world; therefore, it proceeds from the premise that the problems of developing countries should have less interest by developed countries. Moreover, some authors who are oriented on this approach, believe that the actions of developing countries are aimed at changing the "Rules of the Game" and obtaining their advantages. In general, neo-realism to a lesser extent, compared to the other classical approaches, deals with the problem of socio-economic development between the "North" and "South".

Several authors draw attention to the fact, that if in the period of the “Cold War”, the own development of the "South" countries was restrained by ideological considerations based on which, the main factor was the economic assistance, investment policy, etc. fort eh countries of “South”, then after the end of the “Cold War” this factor ceased to function.

Nevertheless, in the practical aspect, today the problem of development of the "South" is quite difficult. Developing countries use different strategies for overcoming the economic gap. One of them is oriented toward the domestic production of products that were previously imported (import substitution policy). Its meaning is in the development of its industry. This strategy was used by many Latino American countries. However, in its extreme form, it can lead to the fact that the country will be outside of the global economic system and this will only aggravate its economic backwardness. In addition, restrictions on the use of import substitution policies related to the fact that their product is often not high quality, expensive and uncompetitive.

Nationalization is another strategy. Like the already discussed strategy, it has negative moments associated with a possible lowering of economic efficiency. The problem is in the choice of optimal means and methods of development in each specific case.

There are also undertaken collective efforts of the developing countries for overcoming the economic gap. So, in 1973, their leaders at the meeting in Algeria presented the initiative, which was named the New International World Order, NIEO. In 1974, within the General Assembly of the United Nations, it has proposed:

1. To implement reform in the field of international trade, including Improvement and stabilization of the market in the field of raw materials;

2. To reform the financial sector, thereby making it easier to access for developing countries to loans of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and other international financial organizations; to stabilize inflation and exchange rates;

3. to provide foreign assistance to developing countries in the amount of about 0,7% of their GDP; to develop a program of assistance in repaying the debt of developing countries; introduce international control for the activities of TNC, which has particularly negative consequences for developing countries;

4. to assist developing countries in acquiring new technologies and conducting industrialization;

5. to provide the countries of the South with rights and control functions about their resources (UN, 2005).

In the first stage, the reaction of developed countries was negative, but the dialogue of the "South" and "North" took place and continued. Currently, developing countries actively participate in various international organizations, including the UN. Thus, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), which was established as a permanent body of the UN General Assembly in 1964, was focused on solving the economic problems of developing countries. It is a permanent international institute, which organizes meetings once approximately every four years. As of May 2018, 195 states were UNCTAD members (UNCTAD, 2018).

Assistance to developing countries goes also through other international organizations and specialized United Nations agencies, including through World Health Organization (WHO). As a result, if in 1980 only 20% of children were vaccinated against the 6 most prevalent diseases, in 1991 this indicator reached 80%, first of at the expense of developing countries (UN, 2005). As of 2019, the Global vaccine coverage of children with only one-year-old in such diseases as Tuberculosis (BCG), Polio (Pol3), Diphtheria/tetanus/pertussis (DTP3), Measles, first dose (MCV1), Hepatitis B (HepB3) was about 85% (Global vaccine coverage, 2019).

Much attention to the problems of developing countries, especially in the field of education, human development is paid by the Program - United Nations Development Program (UNDP). In general, there are many programs and areas for assistance to developing countries that are being implemented by intergovernmental organizations, individual states, and non-governmental associations. They are very diverse both by region and by focus (for example, aimed at improving health care, education, or categories of the population, etc.).

Finally, it is another approach that is proposed to overcome differences between the "South" and "North". Its essence boils down to the fact that in the era of globalization the confrontation of the “North-South“ will disappear naturally, since the "development centers" will be formed according to different principles, for example, in the form of the creating small entities - located both in the "North" and on the "South", particularly territories-cities, which by communication, information and other "nodes" will link the remaining territories to the global world. This view is supported, in particular, by the Swedish researcher O. E. Andersson, who believes that with the globalization of transport and communication networks "the leading” economy will not be concentrated in the West but will spread all over the globe (Lebedeva, 2007). Such countries and cities as South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia, New Zealand represent the "North" in terms of per capita income, infrastructure, and access to important markets. Concretely in this sense that the "global economy" is formed anywhere in the world.

19.3. The volume of global debt has reached a record high

According to the data of the first quarter of 2017, the volume of global debt reached its historical maximum and amounted to 327% of global GDP.

According to the information of the different International Finance Institutes, the amount of global debt has reached $ 217 trillion, which is by $ 500 billion more than in the previous year.
According to the International Institute of Finance, this volume of global debt and its growth of $500 billion has been caused not only by the state but also by the debts of banks, corporations, and household debt.

The largest increase in debt was also shown by the US and China economies. Debts in both countries rose by $ 2 trillion. In particular, debt in China reached $ 32.7 trillion, while in the US it reached more than $ 63 trillion. It is also noteworthy that the debt of developing countries increased by 3 trillion Dollars and reached 56 trillion USD, which is 218% of their gross domestic product (Radio Liberty, 2017).

As a result of COVID 19, World debt reached a record $281 trillion at the end of 2020 (Bloomberg, 2021).

Key Terminologies

“Poor South” – “Rich North” (“Global South” – “Global North”)

Developed States

Developing States

Human Development Index (HDI)

Gender Development Index (GDI)

A debt of the "South" Countries

New Industrial States

Theory of the Classic Economic Development

Neo-classical Theory of Economic Development

Neo-Marxism

Structural Theory

World-System Approach

Dependence Theory

Neorealism

Mercantilism

New International Economic Order

Global Debt

Questions for Consideration

What is the main essence of the differences in the development between "Global South" and "Global North"?

Which are the main indexes during the process of the comparison of the developed and developing countries?

How is explained the gap problem related to social-economic development by the representatives of the classical and neo-classical theory (how, by the opinion of the representatives of those theoretical orientations, the presented gap can be decreased)?

How can explain the reasons for the non-equal development by the line "North-South" by neo-Marxists?

Which international organizations are involved in the problems of overcoming the differences between developed and developing countries (in which direction their efforts are oriented)?

Practicum

Please observe the dynamics of the development by the several basic social-economic indexes during the last five years, particularly:

· At least developed countries of the "Global South";
· Developed countries;
· New Industrial countries.

Compare the received dynamics of the development of three selective countries.

Chapter 20. Criminal problems. Geography of crime

Among global social problems, criminal problems have become extremely common in recent years. In the era of globalization, the situation has been somehow changed. Together with the domestic criminal problems, most significantly become the problems of international organized crime, which acquired a special severity. The global network of criminal organizations has been formed, thus, the internationalization of criminality took place. This threat turned out to be so serious that the fight against it required a united effort from all over the world.

20.1. General features of crime geography

The types of premeditated crime that fall under the criminal offense can be divided into three main groups: violent crimes, misappropriation of property, and disturbance of public order.

Some types of violent crime (sabotage, terrorism) are more a political problem. Murder, intentional bodily harm, physical assault, rape, kidnapping, rape, etc. are considered pure criminal offenses.

Murder statistics are characterized by a certain regularity. The homicide rate is particularly high in Latin American (especially the Caribbean) countries. In particular, within the beginning of the second decade of the XXI Century, in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Colombia, Venezuela, and Jamaica, there were more than 40 murders per 100 thousand inhabitants per year. South Africa also had a high percentage of homicides (in South Africa, Swaziland and Lesotho this figure exceeds 30). Russia ranked first among the European countries (19.8), while in Georgia this figure was three times lower than in Russia (6.2). Among the developed countries, the highest number of murders occurred in the United States (5,9), which is explained by the liberal legislation related to the purchase of weapons. In most developed European countries, the number of murders was less than one in every 100,000 people. The lowest rates were fixed in Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and the Gulf Arab states (less than 0.5) (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

The most common types of violation of property rights are theft, robbery, car theft, misappropriation of property, and so on. These types of crime are widespread but especially common in the former communist countries, as well as in a significant part of developing countries. Poverty is the main cause of theft, but in some countries, it is also due to historical and cultural factors. Some people did not consider theft to be an incitement, but even a manliness. Changing this mentality was not so easy. In the Soviet Union, the so-called notion of a "thief in law" has even become a role model in society.

Violation of public order is relatively less of a criminal offense and more often involves administrative liability. However, mass unrest and paralysis of normal life have dire consequences and are not uncommon in conditions of unstable political regimes and backward economies. The incidence of public disorder is an indicator of low daily and legal culture. In developing and former Soviet countries, less serious disturbances of public order (e.g. neglect of traffic rules, etc.) are commonplace and the population is less concerned with those factors. But it must be borne in mind that disturbing public order creates more serious criminal offenses and is as serious a problem as violent crime and encroachment on the property.

20.2. Criminality on the example of Slavery and Human Trafficking

Trafficking is one of the most serious international crimes that has become particularly acute in recent years and has become a global problem. Trafficking in human beings is an illegal international trade and can be considered a modern form of slavery. Trafficking is mainly manifested in the deportation of people to other countries, ostensibly with the promise of high-paying jobs and then their brutal exploitation. Victims of trafficking are especially common among young women, who are forced into prostitution instead of the promised jobs and receive almost no pay. The scale of child trafficking has also reached dangerous levels.

According to various data, up to one million people become victims of trafficking every year. The scale of trafficking has increased especially since the collapse of the communist system. In the former communist countries, the economic crisis has left millions unemployed, and the opening of borders has facilitated illegal migration. Favorable conditions have been created for trafficking, which is mainly manifested in the trafficking of women. Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania have emerged as major donors in this area. The recipients are the countries of Western Europe (Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Greece) and the Middle East (Turkey, Israel, Cyprus, the United Arab Emirates).

According to the U.S. Agency for International Development (as of 2011), from 700 000 to 4 million people are bought and sold each year as sex slaves, prostitutes, domestic workers, child laborers, and child soldiers. Human trafficking is the third-largest illicit global business after the trafficking of drugs and the arms trade, which generates between $12 and $17 billion annually (C. Kegley, S. Blanton. 2010-2011).

20.3. Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is the trade of people for forced labor, sexual slavery, or commercial sexual exploitation for the trafficker or others (UNODC, 2011). This may include providing a spouse in the context of forced marriage, or the extraction of organs or tissues (UN, 2009), including for surrogacy and ova removal (Councilforresponsiblegenetics.org. 2004). Human trafficking can be emerged within a state or on the trans-national level. Human trafficking is a crime against the person because of the violation of the victim's rights of movement through coercion and because of their commercial exploitation (Liam, 2016). Main victims of Human trafficking are especially women and children and do not necessarily involve the movement of the person from one region to another (US State Department, 2019).

People smuggling (also is named human smuggling and migrant smuggling) is a related practice that is characterized by the consent of the person being smuggled. Smuggling situations can descend into human trafficking through coercion and exploitation (International Law of Migrant Smuggling, 2014).

Trafficked people are held against their will through acts of coercion and forced to work for or provide services to the trafficker or other individual criminals or criminal groups.

Based on the data of the International Labour Organization (ILO), forced labor alone (one component of human trafficking) generates an estimated $150 billion in profits per annum as of 2014 (International Labour Organization, 2014). In 2012, the ILO investigated that 21 million victims were trapped in modern-day slavery. Among them, 14.2 million (68%) were exploited for labor, 4.5 million (22%) were sexually exploited and 2.2 million (10%) were exploited in state-imposed forced labor (ILO, 2012). The International Labour Organization has presented materials, that child workers, minorities, and irregular migrants are at considerable risk of more extreme forms of violence. Statistics determine, that over half of the world's 215 million young workers were considered to be in hazardous sectors, including forced sex work and forced street begging (ILO, 2017). Ethnic minorities and highly marginalized groups of people are highly estimated to be involved in labor in some of the most exploitative and damaging sectors, such as leather tanning, mining, and stone quarry work (Srivastava).

Picture 31. Sex Trafficking

Source: https://www.forthepeople.com/sex-trafficking-lawyers/

Human trafficking is in third place among the largest crime industry in the world, behind drug dealing and arms trafficking, and is the fastest-growing activity of trans-national criminal organizations (Shelley, 2010).

Human trafficking is condemned as a violation of human rights by several international treaties and international conventions. Furthermore, human trafficking is subject to a directive in the European Union (European parliament, 2015). According to a report by the U.S. State Department, Belarus, Iran, Russia, and Turkmenistan remain among the worst states when it comes to protecting human trafficking and forced labor (Radio Free Europe).

In 2014, the International Labour Organization estimated $150 billion in annual income is generated from forced labor alone (ILO, 2014).

20.4. Definition

Even though human trafficking can be developed at local or domestic levels, it has international implications, as recognized by the United Nations in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (also referred to as the Trafficking Protocol or the Palermo Protocol), an international agreement under the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (CTOC) which entered into force on 25 December 2003. The protocol is one of three which supplement the CTOC ("Convention on Transnational Organized Crime, 2011). The Trafficking Protocol is the first global, legally binding instrument on trafficking in over half a century and the only one with an agreed-upon definition of trafficking in persons. One of its aims is to promote international cooperation in investigating and prosecuting such trafficking. Another is to protect and assist human trafficking victims with full respect for their rights as established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Trafficking Protocol, which had 117 signatories and as of November 2018 173 parties (UNTC, 2020), defines human trafficking as:

(a) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons, using threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal, manipulation or implantation of organs;

(b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation outlined in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means outlined in subparagraph (a) have been used;

(c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of a child for exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means outlined in subparagraph (a) of this article;

(d) "Child" shall mean any person under eighteen years of age (United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime And The Protocols Thereto, 2012).

20.5. Usage of the term

Victims of the trafficking are held against their will through acts of coercion and forced to work for or provide services to the trafficker or others. The working activity or services may include anything from bonded or forced labor to commercial sexual exploitation. The arrangement may be explained as a work contract, but with no or low payment, or under highly exploitative conditions. In some cases, the arrangement is structured as debt bondage, with the victim not being allowed or able to pay off the debt.

Bonded labor, or debt bondage, is perhaps probably the least known kind of labor trafficking in the modern period, and yet is the most widely used way of enslaving people. Victims become "bonded" when their labor, the labor which they hired, and the tangible goods they have bought are demanded as a means of repayment for a loan or service whose terms and conditions have not been determined, or where the value of the victims' services is not applied toward the liquidation of the debt. In general, the value of their work is greater than the original sum of money "borrowed" (National Human Trafficking Resource Center, 2010).

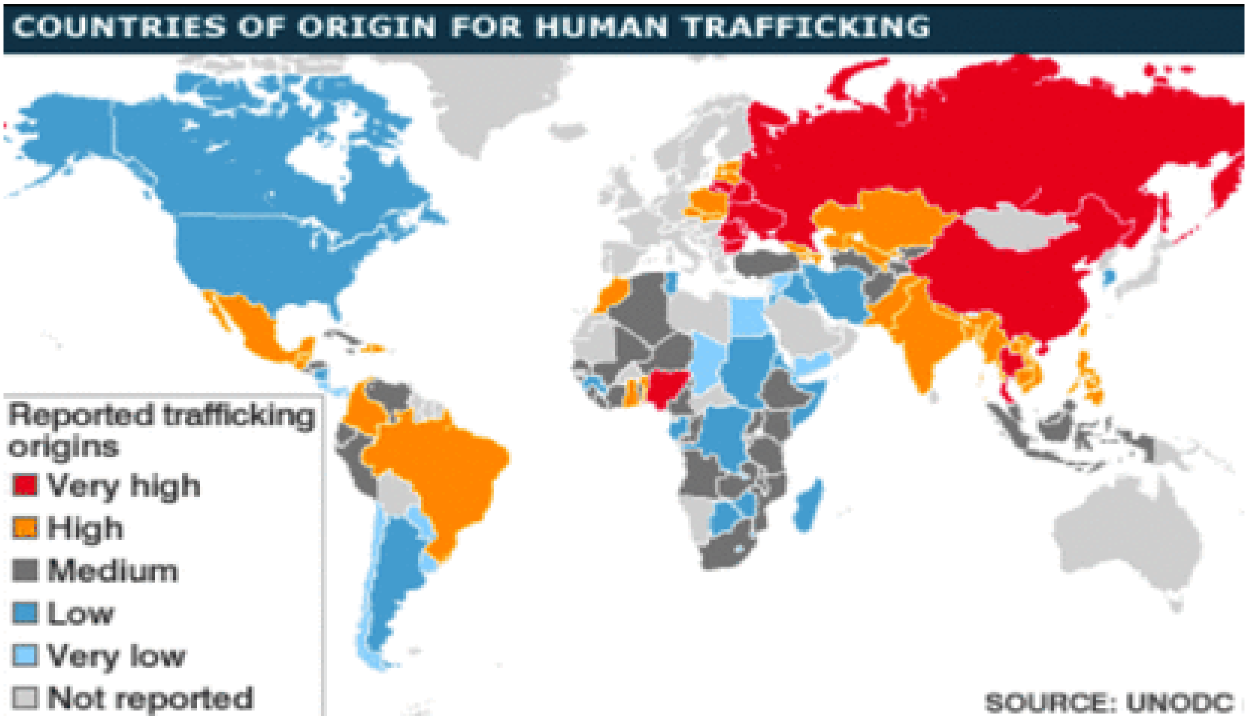
Forced labor is a condition in which people are forced to be involved in working activities against their will under the threat of violence or some other type of punishment; their freedom is restricted and a degree of ownership is exerted. Males and females are at risk of being trafficked for unskilled work, which globally generates US$31 billion according to the information being presented by the International Labour Organization (ILO, 2015). Methods of forced labor may include domestic servitude, agricultural labor, sweatshop factory labor, janitorial, food service, and other service industry labor, and begging (ILO, 2005). Some of the products that can be produced by forced labor are clothing, cocoa, bricks, coffee, cotton, and gold (McCarthy, 2010).

Based on the report of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), which is the single largest global provider of services to victims of trafficking, there are examples of receiving an increasing number of cases in which victims were subjected to forced labor. A 2012 research shows that "…2010 was particularly notable as the first year in which IOM assisted more victims of labor trafficking than those who had been trafficked for purposes of sexual exploitation" (ILO, 2011). The IOMs' main focus is "to provide secure, reliable, flexible and cost-effective services for persons who require international migration assistance. To enhance the humane and orderly management of migration and the effective respect for the human rights of migrations following international law. To offer advice, research, technical cooperation and operational assistance to States, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations and other stakeholders, to build national capacities and facilitate international, regional and bilateral cooperation on migration matters..."(International Organization for Migration, 2014).

Child labor is a form of work that can be hazardous to the physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development of children and can interfere with their education. According to the International Labour Organization, the number of children worldwide involved in child labor has reduced during the beginning of the 21-st century – it has declined by one third, from 246 million in 2000 to 168 million children in 2012 (ILO, 2020). Sub-Saharan Africa is the region with the highest incidence of child labor, while the largest numbers of child workers are found in Asia and the Pacific (ILO, 2020).

20.6. General

Map 16. Countries of Origin for Human Trafficking



Source: https://humantraffickingawarness.weebly.com/global-trafficking.html

The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has further assisted many non-governmental organizations in their fight against human trafficking. The 2006 military confrontation in Lebanon, which saw 300,000 domestic workers from Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, and the Philippines jobless and targets of traffickers, led to an emergency information campaign with NGO Caritas Migrant to raise human-trafficking awareness. Furthermore, an April 2006 report, Trafficking in Persons: Global Patterns, helped to identify 127 countries of origin, 98 transit countries, and 137 destination countries for human trafficking. To date, it is the second most frequently downloaded UNODC report. Continuing into 2007, UNODC promoted initiatives like the Community Vigilance project along the border between India and Nepal, as well as provided subsidies for NGO trafficking prevention campaigns in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia (UNODC, 2012).

UNODC efforts to motivate action launched the Blue Heart Campaign Against Human Trafficking on 6 March 2009 (UNODC, 2009), which Mexico launched its national version of in April 2010 (UNODC, 2012). The campaign motivates people to show solidarity with human trafficking victims by wearing the blue heart, similar to how wearing the red ribbon promotes transnational HIV/AIDS awareness. On 4 November 2010, former U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon launched the United Nations Voluntary Trust Fund for Victims of Trafficking in Persons to provide humanitarian, legal, and financial support to victims of human trafficking to increase the number of those rescued and assisted and broaden the extent of assistance they obtain (UNODC, 2010).

In 2013, the United Nations designated July 30 as the World Day against Trafficking in Persons (UN, 2019).

In January 2019, UNODC published the new edition of the Global Report on Trafficking in Persons (UNODC, 2013). The Global Report on Trafficking in Persons 2018 has revealed that 30 percent of all victims of human trafficking officially detected globally between 2016 and 2018 are children, up 3 percent from the period 2007–2010.

The Global Report defined victims of 137 different nationalities detected in 142 countries between 2012 and 2016, during which period, 500 different flows were identified. About half of all trafficking took place within the same region with 42 percent occurring within national borders. One exception is the Middle East, where most detected victims are with the origin from East and South Asia. Trafficking victims from East Asia have been detected in more than 64 states, making them the most geographically dispersed group around the world. There are sufficient regional differences in the observed forms of exploitation. Countries in the African continent and Asia generally intercept more examples of trafficking for forced labor, while sexual exploitation is somewhat more frequently found in Europe and the Americas. In addition, trafficking for organ removal was detected in 16 countries around the planet. The Report raises concerns about low conviction rates – 16 percent of reporting countries did not record a single conviction for trafficking in persons between 2007 and 2010. As of February 2018, 173 states have ratified the United Nations Trafficking in Persons Protocol, of which UNODC is the guardian (UNTC, 2020). Important progress has been implemented in terms of legislation: as of 2012, 83 percent of countries had a law criminalizing trafficking in persons following the Protocol (UNODC, 2013).

20.7. Current international treaties (general)

1. Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, entered into force in 1957

2. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children

3. Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea, and Air

4. Optional Protocol on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography

5. ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29)

6. ILO Abolition of Forced Labour Convention, 1957 (No. 105)

7. ILO Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138)

8. ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182)

Key Terminologies

Human trafficking

Bonded labor

Forced labor

Child labor

The International Organization for Migration (IOM)

The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

World Day against Trafficking in Persons

Questions for Consideration

What are the main resources and methods to fight against human trafficking on the global level?

What are the main international conventions related to fighting against human trafficking, which was adopted by International Universal Organizations?

What are the main international conventions related to fighting against human trafficking, which was adopted by International Regional Organizations?

Practicum

Please analyze the main reasons of the human trafficking emergence in the different regions of the World

Chapter 21. Gender inequality and its consequences

Within more than three decades, global forums, conferences have highlighted the critical role of women and how it can be a human rights concern. A global consensus emerged about the need to improve the status of women if human rights and development were to progress. These forums, conferences, and other international events are signposts that increasingly depict gender equality and empowerment across political, social, and economic arenas as a fundamental right.

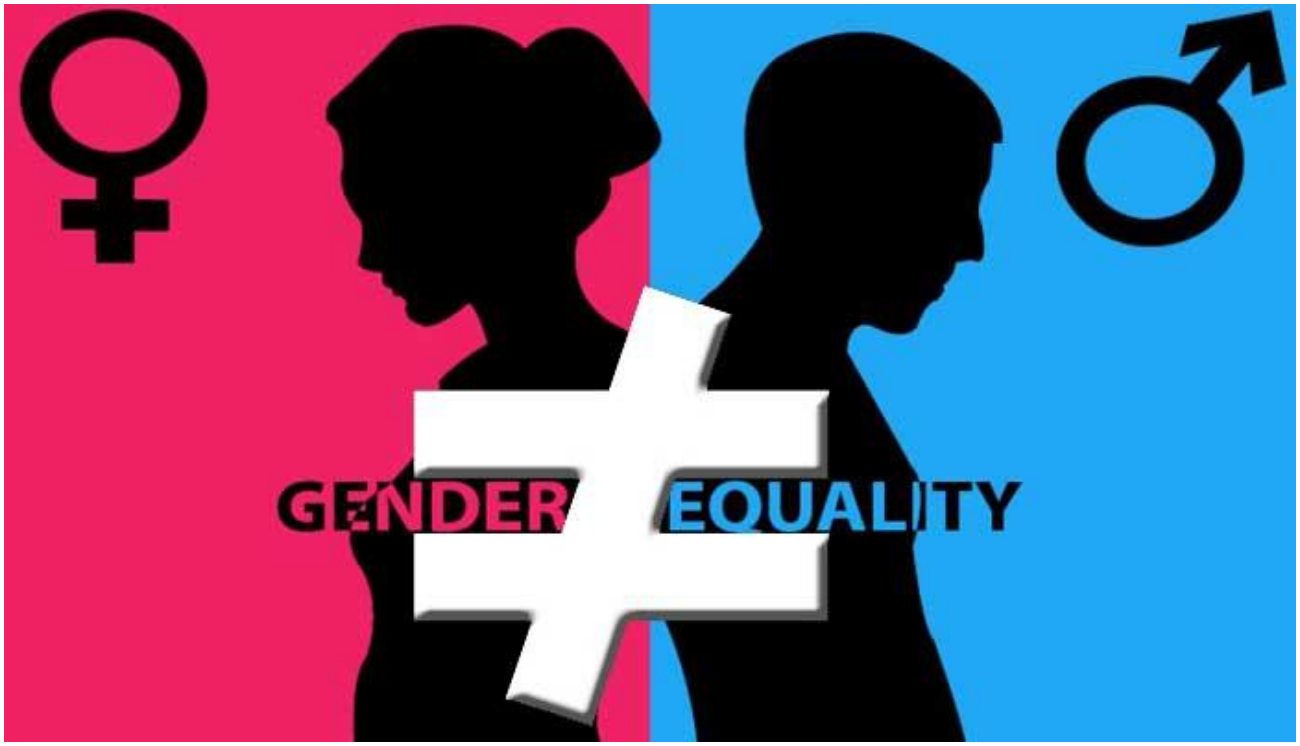
Gender inequality is the approach that men and women are not equal and that gender has its influence on an individual's living experience. These differences emerge from distinctions in biology, psychology, and cultural norms. Several of these types of distinctions are empirically grounded while others appear to be socially constructed. Researches present the different lived experiences of genders across many domains including education, life expectancy, personality, interests, family life, careers, and political affiliations. Gender inequality is experienced differently across different cultures.

21.1.Gender differences in humans

Biology

Natural differences exist between the sexes based on biological and anatomic factors, mostly differing reproductive roles. Biological differences are connected with chromosomes and hormonal differences. Furthermore, there is a natural difference in the relative physical strengths (on average) of the sexes, both in the lower body and more pronouncedly in the upper body, though this does not mean that any concrete man is stronger than any concrete woman (Maughan, 2003). Men, on average, are taller, which shows both advantages and disadvantages (Samaras, 2007). Women, on average, live significantly longer than men (CIA World Factbook, 2011), though it is not finally understandable to what extent the life expectancy is a biological difference. Besides, men have larger lung volumes and more circulating blood cells and clotting factors, while women have more circulating white blood cells and produce antibodies faster. Differences such as these are hypothesized to be an adaptation allowing for sexual specialization (David, 2010).

Picture 32. Gender inequality at home and public



Source: https://blog.ipleaders.in/gender-inequality-at-home-and-public/

Psychology

Prenatal hormone exposure influences the extent one exhibits traditional masculine or feminine behavior (Roberto, 2000). Negligible differences between males and females exist in general intelligence. Men are significantly more inclined to take risks than women. For men is also characterized to be more aggressive than women, a trait influenced by prenatal and possibly current androgen exposure (Carlson, 2013). It has been theorized that these differences combined with physical differences are an adaptation representing the sexual division of labor. According to the second theory, there are proposed sex differences in intergroup aggression represent adaptions in male aggression to allow for territory, resource, and mate acquisition. For females are characterized to be (on average) more empathetic than males, though this does not signify that any given woman is more empathetic than any given man. Men and women have better visuospatial and verbal memory, respectively. These changes are influenced by the male sex hormone testosterone, which increases visuospatial memory in both genders when administered (Celec, 2015).

From childhood males and females are raised in a different ways and are adapted to different environments throughout their lives. In the opinion of society, gender has an important role to play in many major milestones or characteristics in life; Males and females are led on different paths due to the influences of gender role expectations and gender role stereotypes before they can choose their own. The color blue is most commonly associated with boys and they get toys like monster trucks or more sport-related things to play with from the time that they are babies. Girls are more commonly introduced to the color pink, dolls, dresses, and playing house where they are taking care of the dolls as if they were children. The norm of blue is for boys and pink is for girls is cultural and has not always historically been around. These paths set by parents or other adult figures in the child's life set them on certain paths. This leads to a difference in personality, career paths, or relationships. Throughout life, males and females are seen as two very different species who have very different personalities and should stay on separate paths (Brescoll, 2013).

Scholar Janet Hyde determined that despite that much research has traditionally concentrated on the differences between the genders, they are more alike than different, which is a position presented by the gender similarities hypothesis (Hyde, 2005).

21.2 In the workplace - The gender pay gap

Across the board, several sectors of the economy are stratified across the genders. This is the result of a list of factors. These consist of differences in education choices, preferred job and industry, work experience, number of working hours, and breaks in employment (such as for bearing and raising children). Men also typically engaged in higher-paid and higher-risk jobs when compared to women. These factors result in a 60% to 75% difference between men's and women's average aggregate wages or salaries, depending on the source. Various explanations for the remaining 25% to 40% have been suggested, including women's lower willingness and ability to negotiate salary and sexual discrimination (CONSAD Research Corporation, 2013). According to the European Commission, direct discrimination only explains a small part of gender wage differences (European Commission, 2015).

If we consider the example of the United States, in this country the average female's unadjusted annual salary has been cited as 78% of that of the average male (O'Brien, 2015). However, multiple studies from OECD, AAUW, and the US Department of Labor have found that pay rates between males and females varied by 5–6.6% or, females earned 94 cents to every dollar earned by their male counterparts when wages were adjusted to different individual choices made by male and female workers in college major, occupation, working hours, and maternal/parental leave. The remaining 6% of the gap has been speculated to originate from deficiency in salary negotiating skills and sexual discrimination (Jackson, 2012).

Human capital theories refer to the education, knowledge, training, experience, or skill of a person which makes them potentially valuable in the labor market. This has historically been understood as a cause of the gender wage gap but is no longer a predominant cause as women and men in certain occupations tend to have similar education levels or other credentials. Even when such characteristics of jobs and workers are controlled for, the presence of women within a certain occupation leads to lower wages. This earnings discrimination is considered to be a part of pollution theory. This theory offers that jobs that are predominated by women suggest lower wages than do jobs simply because of the presence of women within the occupation. As women enter an occupation, this reduces the amount of prestige associated with the job and men subsequently leave these occupations (Goldin, 2014). The entering of women into specific occupations suggests that less competent workers have begun to be hired or that the occupation is becoming deskilled. Men are reluctant to enter female-dominated occupations because of this and similarly resist the entrance of women into male-dominated occupations.

The differences in income can also be attributed in part to occupational segregation, where groups of people are distributed across occupations according to ascribed characteristics; in this case, gender (Massey, 2015). Occupational gender segregation can be considered to contain two components or dimensions; horizontal segregation and vertical segregation. During the discussion about horizontal segregation, occupational sex segregation occurs as men and women are thought to possess different physical, emotional, and mental capabilities. These differences in capabilities make the genders vary in the types of job places they are suited for. This can be specifically analyzed with the gendered division between manual and non-manual labor. Taking into account vertical segregation, occupational sex segregation occurs as occupations are stratified according to the power, authority, income, and prestige associated with the occupation, and women are excluded from holding such jobs (Preston, 1999).

Since the 1960th, when women entered the workforce in larger numbers, occupations have become segregated based on the amount of femininity or masculinity presupposed to be associated with each occupation. Census data shows that while some occupations have become more gender-integrated (mail carriers, bartenders, bus drivers, and real estate agents), specialties including teachers, nurses, secretaries, and librarians have become female-dominated while such occupations as architects, electrical engineers, and airplane pilots remain predominantly male in composition (Russell Sage Foundation, 2000). According to the census data, women are involved in the service sector jobs at higher rates than men. Women's overrepresentation in service sector jobs, as opposed to jobs that require managerial work acts as a reinforcement of women and men into traditional gender roles that cause gender inequality (Hurst, 2007).

“The gender wage gap is an indicator of women’s earnings compared with men. It is figured by dividing the average annual earnings for women by the average annual earnings for men.” (Higgins et al., 2014) Researchers disagree about how much of the male-female wage gap depends on factors such as experience, education, occupation, and other job-relevant characteristics. Sociologist Douglas Massey found that 41% remains unexplained (Massey, 2007), while CONSAD analysts found that these factors explain between 65.1 and 76.4 percent of the raw wage gap. CONSAD also noted that other factors such as benefits and overtime explain "additional portions of the raw gender wage gap" (CONSAD, 2009).

The glass ceiling effect is also considered a potential contributor to the gender wage gap or income disparity. This effect offers that gender provides important disadvantages towards the top of job hierarchies which become worse as a person's career goes on. The term glass ceiling implies that there are existing invisible or artificial barriers that prevent women from advancing within their jobs or having opportunities for promotions. These barriers exist despite the achievements or qualifications of the women and still exist when other characteristics that are job-relevant such as experience, education, and abilities are controlled for. The inequality effects of the glass ceiling are more prevalent within higher-powered or higher income occupations, with fewer women holding these types of occupations. The glass ceiling effect also indicates the limited chances of women for income raises and promotion or advancement to more prestigious positions or jobs. As women are prevented by these artificial barriers, from either receiving job promotions or income raises the effects of the inequality of the glass ceiling increase throughout a woman's career (Cotter, 2001).

Statistical discrimination is also cited as a cause for income disparities and gendered inequality in the workplace. Statistical discrimination indicates the likelihood of employers denying women access to certain occupational tracks because women are more likely than men to leave their job or the labor force when they become married or pregnant. Women are instead given positions that are dead-end or jobs that have very little mobility (Burstein, 1994).

As an example of such countries from the global south representing the Dominican Republic, female entrepreneurs are statistically more prone to failure in business. In the event of a business failure women often return to their domestic lifestyle despite the absence of income. From the other point of view, men tend to search for other employment as the household is not a priority (Espinal, 2000).

The gender earnings ratio considers that there has been an increase in women's income comparative to men. Men's plateau in earnings began after the 70th of the last century, allowing for the increase in women's wages to close the ratio between incomes. Despite the smaller ratio between men's and women's wages, disparity still exists. Census data shows that women's earnings are 71 percent of men's earnings in 1999 (Cotter, 2007).

The gender wage gap varies in its width among different races. Whites comparatively have the greatest wage gap between the genders. In the case of whites, women earn 78% of the wages that white men do. As to the African Americans, women earn 90% of the wages that African American men do.

There are some exceptions from the rule where women's income prevails the income of the men: Based to a survey on gender pay inequality by the International Trade Union Confederation, female employees in the Persian Gulf state of Bahrain earn by 40 percent more than male workers (Vedior, 2008).

In 2014, according to the report having been presented by the International Labor Organization (ILO), the wage gap between Cambodian women factory workers and other male counterparts was determined. There was a US$25 monthly pay difference conveying that women have much lower power and are being devalued not only at home but also in the workplace (Open Democracy, 2016).

21.3. Professional education and careers

The gender gap also appeared to narrow considerably beginning in the mid-1960s. Where some 5% of first-year students in professional programs were female in 1965, by 1985 this number had jumped to 40% in the framework of such specialties, like law and medicine, and over 30% in dentistry and business school (Goldin, 2001). Before the highly effective birth control pill was available, women planning professional careers, which required a long-term, expensive commitment, had to "pay the penalty of abstinence or cope with considerable uncertainty regarding pregnancy" (Goldin, 2002). This control over their reproductive decisions permitted women to more easily make long-term decisions about their education and professional opportunities. Women are highly underrepresented on boards of directors and in leading positions in the business sector.

Furthermore, with qualified birth control, young men and women had more reason to delay marriage. This signified that the marriage market available to any women who "delay(ed) marriage to pursue a career... would not be as depleted. Thus the Pill could have influenced women's careers, college majors, professional degrees, and the age at marriage" (Goldin, 2006).

Researches related to sexism in science and technology fields have produced conflicting results. Scholars found that science faculty of both sexes rated a male applicant as comparatively more competent and hireable than an identical female applicant. These participants also selected a higher starting salary and suggested more career mentoring to the male applicant (Corinne, 2012). Williams and Ceci, however, based on their research pointed out that science and technology faculty of both sexes "preferred female applicants 2:1 over identically qualified males with matching lifestyles" for tenure-track positions (Williams, 2015). Studies prove that parents are more likely to expect their sons, rather than their daughters, to be involved in science, technology, engineering, or mathematics field – even when their 15-year-old boys and girls perform at the same level in mathematics. There are more men than women trained as dentists, this trend has been changing (Jorge, 2017).

A survey, which was implemented by the U.K. The Office for National Statistics in 2016 showed that in the health sector 56% of roles are held by women, while in teaching it is 68% (Office for National Statistics, 2016). At the same time, equality is less evident in other areas; only 30% of M.P. 's are women and only 32% of finance and investment analysts. In the natural and social sciences 43% of employees are women and in the environmental sector 42% (Walker, 2017).

21.4. Customer preference studies

A 2010 research implemented by David R. Hekman and colleagues found that customers, who viewed videos featuring a black male, a white female, or a white male actor playing the role of an employee helping a customer, were 19 percent more satisfied with the white male employee's performance (Hekman, 2010).

This discrepancy with race can be found as early as 1947 when Kenneth Clark conducted a study in which black children were asked to choose between white and black dolls. White male dolls were the ones children preferred to play with (Dweck, 2009).

21.5. Gender pay differences

Despite the fact, that the disparities between men and women are decreasing in the medical field, (U.S. National Library of Medicine, 2016) gender inequalities still exist as social problems (Oaklander, 2016). In 2008, recently qualified female doctors in New York State had a starting salary of $16,819 less than their male colleagues. A decrease compared to the $3,600 difference of 1999. The pay discrepancy could not be explained by specialty choice, practice setting, work hours, or other characteristics. Nonetheless, some potentially significant factors like family or marital status were not evaluated. A case study carried out on Swedish medical doctors showed that the gender wage gap among physicians was greater in 2007 than in 1975 (Oaklander, 2016).

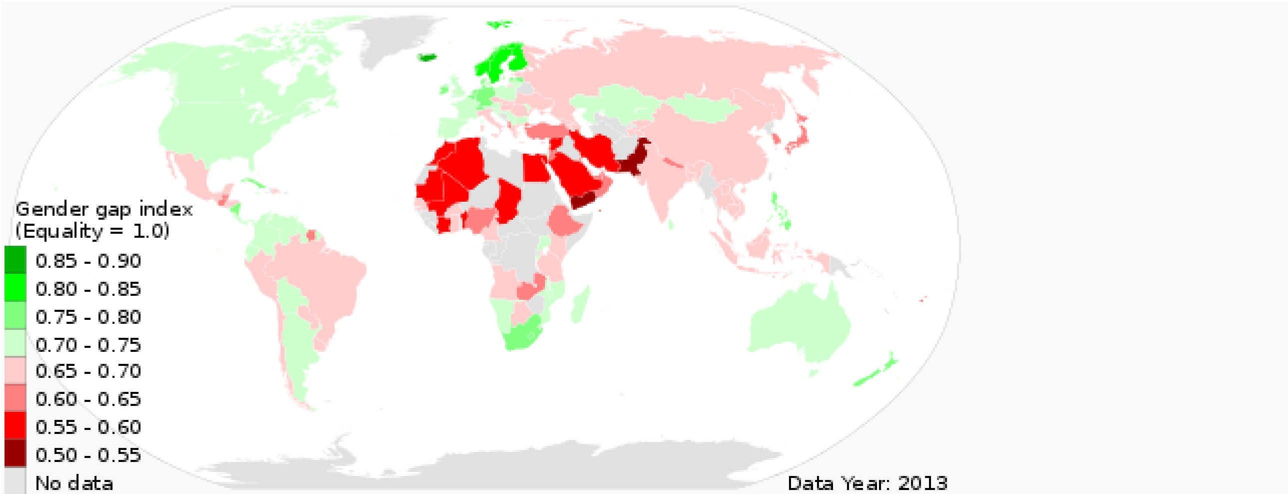
Wage discrimination is shown when an administration of the concrete organization pays different wages to two seemingly similar employees, in many cases based on gender or race. Kampelmann and Rycx (2016) consider two different explanations for the differences observed in wages. They explain that employer tastes and preferences for foreign workers and/or customers can translate into having a lower demand for them as a whole and as a result offering them lower wages, as well as the differences in career dynamics, whereas, if there are large differences between immigrant workers and “native” workers, it could cause to wage discrimination for immigrant workers (Kampelmann, 2016). In the framework of the discrimination of local to foreign workers, there is also discrimination among foreign workers due to gender. Female migrant workers are faced with “triple-discrimination”. This "triple-discrimination" states that women foreign workers are at more risk to be faced with discrimination because they are women, unprotected workers, and migrant workers (Taran, 2009).

21.6. Variations by state or culture

Gender inequality is a result of the persistent discrimination of one group of people based upon gender and it manifests itself differently according to race, nationality, religion, social group, culture, politics, country, and economic situation. It is furthermore reviewed as a causal factor of violent acts against women. While gender discrimination takes place to both men and women in individual situations, discrimination against women is an entrenched, global pandemic. For example, in such African states, as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, rape, and violence against women and girls are used as a tool of war. In Afghanistan, girls have had acid thrown in their faces for attending school, this danger still exists due to the returning Taliban movement to the power in this country since August of 2021. Considerable attention has been given to the issue of gender inequality at the international level by organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the World Bank, particularly in developing countries. The cases and effects of gender inequality vary geographically, as do methods for combating it.

The gender differences also appeared to narrow considerably beginning in the mid-60s of the last century. Where some 5% of first-year students in professional programs were female in 1965, by 1985 this number had jumped to 40% in law and medicine, and over 30% in dentistry and business school (Goldin, 2001). Before the highly effective birth control pill was available, women planning professional careers, which required a long-term, expensive commitment, had to "pay the penalty of abstinence or cope with considerable uncertainty regarding pregnancy"(Goldin, 2002). This control over their reproductive decisions permitted women to more easily make long-term decisions about their education and professional opportunities. Women are highly underrepresented on boards of directors and in senior positions in the private sector.

Map 17. The Global Gender Gap Report 2013



Source: World Economic Forum.

21.7. Female Participation in Politics

Yet there are signs that a transformation is underway, and that an encountering trend of greater female participation in politics is spreading across many countries. "Women are running for public office in growing numbers. They have currently reached an average of 18.4 percent of seats in national assemblies, exceeding 30 percent of representatives in national assemblies in 22 countries. Women are using their votes to strengthen their leverage as members of interest groups, including groups with an interest in gender equality" (UNIFEM 2009).

Furthermore, since 1900 only 15 percent of the world`s countries have had one or more female heads of state, and today women account for only 14,5 percent of ministerial positions. What is also clear is that "robust democracy is exceedingly rare in societies that marginalize women". As former US Secretary of State, Hilary Clinton pronounced, "There cannot be true democracy unless women's voices are heard. There cannot be true democracy unless women are allowed to take responsibility for their own lives" (C. Kegley, S. Blanton. 2010-2011).

Thus, despite the measurable improvement in the daily lot and prospects of millions of women during the past several decades, for example, the adoption of the 1979 convention on the elimination of discrimination against women (Chitadze, 2016) and the 1999 optional protocol to the convention, etc. as measured by the UN`s Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM), Women from the different regions of our planet continue to be disadvantaged relative to men in the different fields. Furthermore, 20 percent of women have suffered child abuse as children (UNHCR 2008); and according to the international labor organization, "between 700 000 and 2 million women and children are trafficked across an international border somewhere in the world every year" (C. Kegley, S. Blanton. 2010-2011).

Key Terminologies

Gender differences in humans

Biology

Psychology

Gender pay gap

Professional education and careers

The Global Gender Gap Report

Female Participation in Politics

Questions for Consideration

Which are the main international conventions related to the Woman Rights Protection?

What are the main reasons for the existence of the gender gap in developed countries?

What are the main reasons for the existence of the gender gap in developing countries?

Practicum

Please observe the dynamics of the development processes for the improvement of women's rights in the world within the different periods of World history.

Chapter 22. Money laundering

Money laundering is the illegal activity of concealing the origins of money gained illegally by passing it through a complex sequence of banking transfers or commercial transactions. The overall scheme of this process returns the "clean" money to the launderer in an obscure and indirect way (Oxford English Dictionary, 2020).

One problem of the criminal process is accounting for the proceeds without raising the suspicion of law enforcement structures. Considerable time and effort may be put into strategies that enable the safe use of those proceeds without raising unwanted suspicion. Fulfillment such strategies are generally named money laundering. After the process, when money has been laundered, it can be used for legitimate purposes.

Money laundering is the conversion or transfer of property; the concealment or disguising of the nature of the proceeds; the acquisition, possession, or use of property, knowing that these are derived from criminal activity; or participating in or assisting the movement of funds to make the proceeds appear legitimate.

Money obtained from concrete criminal actions, such as extortion, insider trading, drug trafficking, and illegal gambling is "dirty" and needs to be "cleaned" to appear to have been derived from legal activities so that banks and other financial organizations will deal with it without suspicion. Money can be laundered in different ways that vary in complexity and sophistication.

Money laundering typically includes three main steps: The first one involves introducing cash into the financial system by some means ("placement"); the second involves carrying out complex financial transactions to camouflage the illegal source of the cash ("layering"); and finally, acquiring wealth generated from the transactions of the illicit funds ("integration"). Some of these stages may be omitted, depending upon the situation. For instance, non-cash proceeds that are already in the financial system would not need to be placed (Reuter, 2004).

According to the United States Treasury Department:

“Money laundering is the process of making illegally-gained proceeds (i.e., "dirty money") appear legal (i.e., "clean"). Typically, it involves three steps: placement, layering, and integration. First, the illegitimate funds are furtively introduced into the legitimate financial system. Then, the money is moved around to create confusion, sometimes by wiring or transferring through numerous accounts. Finally, it is integrated into the financial system through additional transactions until the "dirty money" appears "clean" (United States Department of the Treasury, 2015).

Many jurisdictions have fixed sophisticated financial and other monitoring systems to enable police forces and other law enforcement institutions to detect suspicious transactions or activities, and many have set up international cooperative arrangements to assist each other in these endeavors. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates that the amount of money laundered globally in one year is "2–5% of global GDP, or $800bn – $2tn in current US dollars" (UNODC, 2020).

In several legal and regulatory systems, the term "money laundering" has become conflated with other methods of financial and business crime, and is in some cases used more generally to include misuse of the financial system (involving things such as securities, digital currencies, credit cards, and traditional currency), including terrorism financing and evasion of international sanctions (Lin, 2016). The majority of anti-money laundering laws openly conflate money laundering (which is concerned with the source of funds) with terrorism financing (which is concerned with the destination of funds) when regulating the financial system (Counter-Terrorism Financing Act, 2016).

Picture 33. Rapid change, but the same threat: money laundering is a rapidly evolving challenge

Source: https://www.information-age.com/rapid-change-same-threat-money-laundering-rapidly-evolving-challenge-123458401/

Some states render obfuscation of finance sources as constituting money laundering, whether intentional or by merely using financial systems or services that do not identify or track sources or destinations. Other countries determine money laundering in such a way as to include money from activity that would have been a crime in that country, even if the activity was legal where the conduct occurred (GTDT, 2017).

22.1. History of the legislature in the field of combating Money Laundering

Legislature in the field of combating money laundering was created to use against organized crime during the period of Prohibition in the United States during the 1930s. Organized crime received a major boost from Prohibition and a large source of new funds that were obtained from illegal sales of alcohol. The successful prosecution of the leader of one of the most influential organized crime groups Al Capone on tax evasion brought in a new emphasis by the state and law enforcement structures to track and confiscate money, but existing laws against tax evasion could not be used once gangsters started paying their taxes.

In the 80s of the last century, the war on drugs led governments again to turn to money-laundering rules in an attempt to track and seize the proceeds of drug crimes to catch the organizers and individuals running drug empires. It also had the benefit, from a law enforcement point of view, of turning rules of evidence "upside-down". Law enforcers normally have to prove an individual is guilty of seizing their property, but with money laundering laws money can be confiscated and it is up to the individual to prove that the source of funds is legitimate to get the money back. This simplifies the task for law enforcement institutions and provides for much lower burdens of proof. At the same time, this process has been abused by some law enforcement agencies to take and keep financial resources without strong evidence of related criminal activity, to be used to supplement their budgets.

The September 11 attacks in 2001, which caused the adoption of the Patriot Act in the U.S. and similar legislation by the different countries, led to a new emphasis on money laundering laws to combat terrorism financing (Morris-Cotterill, 2016). The Group of Seven (G7) nations used the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering to put pressure on governments around the world to increase surveillance and monitoring of financial transactions and share this information between countries. Starting in 2002, governments around the world adopted the amendments in money laundering laws and surveillance and monitoring systems of financial transactions. Anti-money laundering regulations have become a much larger burden for financial institutions and enforcement has stepped up significantly. During 2011–2015 several major banks faced ever-increasing fines for breaches of money laundering regulations. This included HSBC, which was fined $1.9 billion in December 2012 (BBC News, 2020), and BNP Paribas, which was fined $8.9 billion in July 2014 by the U.S. government (The New York Times, 2016). Many states introduced or strengthened border controls on the amount of cash that can be carried and introduced central transaction reporting systems where all financial institutions have to report all financial transactions electronically. For example, in 2006, Australia set up the AUSTRAC system and required the reporting of all financial transactions (AUSTRAC, 2016).

22.2. List of Methods in the field of money laundering

Money laundering can take several forms and methods, although most methodology can be categorized into one of a few types. These include "bank methods, smurfing (also known as structuring), currency exchanges, and double-invoicing" (Lawrence, 2005).

1. Structuring: Often known as smurfing, is a method of placement whereby cash is broken into smaller deposits of money, used to defeat suspicion of money laundering and to avoid anti-money laundering reporting requirements. A sub-component of this is to use smaller amounts of cash to purchase bearer instruments, such as money orders, and then ultimately deposit those, again in small amounts (National Drug Intelligence Center, 2011).

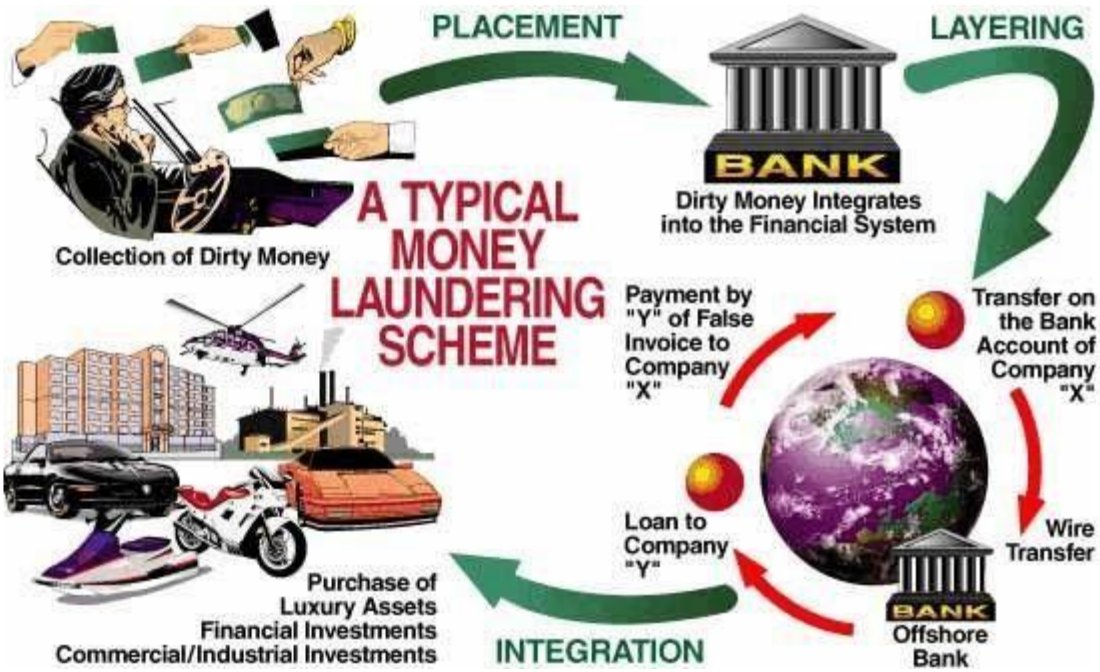
2. Bulk cash smuggling: This involves physically smuggling cash to another jurisdiction and depositing it in a financial institution, such as an offshore bank, that offers greater bank secrecy or less rigorous money laundering enforcement (National Money Laundering Threat Assessment, 2005).

3. Cash-intensive businesses: In this method, a business typically expects to receive a large proportion of its revenue as cash uses its accounts to deposit criminally derived cash. Such enterprises often operate openly and in doing so generate cash revenue from incidental legitimate business in addition to the illicit cash. In such cases, the business will usually claim all cash received as legitimate earnings. Service businesses are best suited to this method, as such enterprises have little or no variable costs and/or a large ratio between revenue and variable costs, which makes it difficult to detect discrepancies between revenues and costs. Examples are parking structures, strip clubs, tanning salons, car washes, arcades, bars, restaurants, and casinos.

4. Trade-based laundering: This method is one of the newest and most complex forms of money laundering (Naheem, 2015). This involves under- or over-valuing invoices to disguise the movement of money (Baker, 2005). For example, the art market has been accused of being an ideal vehicle for money laundering due to several unique aspects of art such as the subjective value of artworks as well

as the secrecy of auction houses about the identity of the buyer and seller (The New York Times, 2015).

Picture 34. What is Money Laundering and how is it done?



Source: https://www.jagranjosh.com/general-knowledge/meaning-of-money-laundering-1549620151-1

1. Shell companies and trusts: Trusts and shell companies disguise the true owners of money. Trusts and corporate vehicles, depending on the jurisdiction, need not disclose their true owner. Sometimes referred to by the slang term rathole, though that term usually refers to a person acting as the fictitious owner rather than the business entity (Financial Action Task Force, 2011).

2. Round-tripping: Here, money is deposited in a controlled foreign corporation offshore, preferably in a tax haven where minimal records are kept, and then shipped back as a foreign direct investment, exempt from taxation. A variant on this is to transfer money to a law firm or similar organization as funds on account of fees, then to cancel the retainer and, when the money is remitted, represent the sums received from the lawyers as a legacy under a will or proceeds of litigation (Private Eye, 2018).

3. Bank capture: In this case, money launderers or criminals buy a controlling interest in a bank, preferably in a jurisdiction with weak money laundering controls, and then move money through the bank without scrutiny.

4. Casinos: In this method, an individual walks into a casino and buys chips with illicit cash. The individual will then play for a relatively short time. When the person cashes in the chips, they will expect to take payment in a check, or at least get a receipt so they can claim the proceeds as gambling winnings (National Money Laundering Threat Assessment, 2005).

5. Other gambling: Money is spent on gambling, preferably on high odds games. One way to minimize risk with this method is to bet on every possible outcome of some event that has many possible outcomes, so no outcome(s) have short odds, and the bettor will lose only the vigorish and will have one or more winning bets that can be shown as the source of money. The losing bets will remain hidden.

6. Black salaries: A company may have unregistered employees without written contracts and pay them cash salaries. Dirty money might be used to pay them (Ontario Construction Secretariat, 2016).

7. Tax amnesties: For example, those that legalize unreported assets and cash in tax havens (Tax amnesties turn HMRC into 'biggest money-laundering operation in history, 2013).

8. Transaction Laundering: When a merchant unknowingly processes illicit credit card transactions for another business. It is a growing problem and recognized as distinct from traditional money laundering in using the payments ecosystem to hide that the transaction even occurred (e.g. the use of fake front websites). Also known as "undisclosed aggregation" or "factoring" (G2 Web Services, 2019).

22.3. Digital electronic money

From the theoretical point of view, electronic money should provide as easy a method of transferring value without revealing identity as untracked banknotes, especially wire transfers involving anonymity-protecting numbered bank accounts. But from the practical position, however, the record-keeping capabilities of Internet service providers and other network resource maintainers tend to frustrate that intention. While some cryptocurrencies under recent development have aimed to provide for more possibilities of transaction anonymity for various reasons, the degree to which they succeed—and, in consequence, the degree to which they offer benefits for money laundering efforts—is controversial. Solutions such as ZCash and Monero are examples of cryptocurrencies that provide unlinkable anonymity via proofs and/or obfuscation of information (ring signatures). Such currencies could find use in online illicit services.

In 2013, Jean-Loup Richet, a research fellow at ESSEC ISIS, surveyed new techniques that cybercriminals were using in a report written for the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. A common approach was to use a digital currency exchanger service that converted dollars into a digital currency called Liberty Reserve and could be sent and received anonymously. The receiver could convert the Liberty Reserve currency back into cash for a small fee. In May 2013, the US authorities shut down Liberty Reserve charging its founder and various others with money laundering (Zetter, 2013).

Another increasingly common method of laundering money is to use online gaming. As a result of the growing number of online games, for example, such as Second Life and World of Warcraft, it has existed a possibility to convert money into virtual goods, services, or virtual cash that can later be converted back into money (Solon, 2010).

For avoiding the usage of decentralized digital money such as Bitcoin for the profit of crime and corruption, Australia has a plan to strengthen the nation's anti-money laundering laws. The characteristics of Bitcoin—it is completely deterministic, protocol-based, and cannot be censored make it possible to circumvent national laws using services like Tor to obfuscate transaction origins. Bitcoin relies completely on cryptography, not on a central entity running under a KYC framework. There are several cases in which criminals have cashed out a significant amount of Bitcoin after ransomware attacks, drug dealings, cyber fraud, and gunrunning (Bitcoin used by CRIMINALS to launder illicit funds, 2017).

22.4. Reverse money laundering

Reverse money laundering is a process that disguises a legitimate source of funds that are to be used for illegal purposes (International Federation of Accountants, 2014). It is usually perpetrated with the aim of financing terrorism but can be also used by organized crime groups that have invested in legal businesses and would like to withdraw legitimate funds from official circulation. Unaccounted cash received via disguising financial transactions is not included in official financial reporting and could be used to evade taxes, hand in bribes, and pay "under-the-table" salaries (Zabyelina, 2015). For instance, in an affidavit filed on 24 March 2014 in United States District Court, Northern California, San Francisco Division, FBI special agent Emmanuel V. Pascau alleged that several people associated with the Chee Kung Tong organization, and California State Senator Leland Yee, engaged in reverse money laundering activities.

Picture 35. THE BASICS OF MONEY LAUNDERING CASES

Source: https://www.arabnews.com/news/516051

The problem of such fraudulent encashment practices (*obnalichka* in Russian) has become acute in Russia and other countries in the former post-soviet space. The Eurasian Group on Combating Money Laundering and Financing of Terrorism (EAG) presented a report that the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Turkey, Serbia, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Armenia, and Kazakhstan have encountered a substantial shrinkage of tax base and shifting money supply balance in favor of cash. These processes have complicated planning and management of the economy and contributed to the growth of the shadow economy (17th Plenary Meeting of the Eurasian Group on Combating Money Laundering and Financing of Terrorism, 2012).

22.5. Magnitude

Many controlling and governmental authorities issues estimate each year for the amount of money laundered, either on the global level or within their national economy. In 1996, a spokesperson for the IMF estimated that 2–5% of the worldwide global economy involved laundered money (Camdessus, 2018). The Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF), an intergovernmental structure set up to combat money laundering, stated, "Due to the illegal nature of the transactions, precise statistics are not available and it is therefore impossible to produce a definitive estimate of the amount of money that is globally laundered every year. The FATF, therefore, does not publish any figures in this regard"(Financial Action Task Force, 2018). Academic commentators have likewise been unable to define the volume of money with any degree of assurance. Various evaluates of the scale of global money laundering are sometimes repeated often enough to make some people regard them as factual—but no scholar has overcome the inherent difficulty of measuring an actively concealed practice.

Regardless of the difficulty in measurement, the amount of money laundered every year is in the billions of US dollars and poses an important policy concern for state authorities (Reuter, 2004). As a consequence, governments and international institutions have undertaken efforts to deter, prevent, and apprehend money launderers. Financial structures have likewise undertaken efforts to prevent and detect transactions involving illegal money, both as a result of government requirements and to avoid the reputational risk involved. Issues concerning money laundering have existed as long as there have been large-scale criminal enterprises. Anti-money laundering laws in the modern period have developed along with the modern War on Drugs. In more recent times anti-money laundering legislation is seen as an adjunct to the financial crime of terrorist financing in that both crimes usually involve the transmission of funds through the financial system (although money laundering relates to where the money has come from, and terrorist financing relating to where the money is going to).

Transaction laundering is a massive and growing problem. Finextra estimated that transaction laundering accounted for over $200 billion in the US in 2017 alone, with over $6 billion of these sales involving illicit goods or services, sold by nearly 335,000 unregistered merchants (Finextra Research, 2017).

22.6 Combating with Money Laundering

Anti-money laundering (AML) is a meaning mostly used in the financial and legal industries to review the legal controls that require financial agencies and other regulated structures to prevent, detect, and report money laundering activities. Anti-money laundering guidelines came into prominence on the International level as a result of the creating of the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) and the promulgation of an international framework of anti-money laundering standards (FATF, 2011). These standards began to have more relevance in 2000 and 2001 after FATF began a procedure to openly identify states that were deficient in their anti-money laundering laws and international cooperation, a process colloquially familiar as "name and shame" (NCCT, 2011).

An effective AML program needs a jurisdiction to criminalize money laundering, giving the relevant regulators and law enforcement agencies the powers and tools to investigate; be able to share information with other states as appropriate; and require financial institutions to determine their customers, establish risk-based controls, keep records, and report suspicious activities.

Strict background observations are very important to combat as many money launderers escape by investing through complex ownership and company structures. Financial Institutions, such as Banks can do that but proper surveillance is required but on the government side to reduce this (Business Insider, 2011).

Within recent periods, the rise in anti-money laundering mechanisms has been attributed to the use of big data and artificial intelligence. Traditional anti-money laundering systems are falling behind against evolving threats and new technologies are assisting AML compliance officers to deal with: poor implementation, expanding regulation, administrative complexity, false positives.

22.7. Criminalization

The elements of the crime of money laundering are outlined in the United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. It is defined as knowingly engaging in a financial transaction with the proceeds of a crime for the intention of concealing or disguising the illicit origin of the property from governments.

22.7.1 Role of financial institutions

During the period, when banks are operating in the same country generally have to take into account the same anti-money laundering laws and regulations, financial institutions all structure their anti-money laundering efforts slightly differently. In modern times, the majority of financial institutions globally, and many non-financial institutions, are required to define and report transactions of a suspicious nature to the financial intelligence unit in the respective state. For instance, a bank has to verify a customer's identity and, if necessary, monitor transactions for suspicious activity. This process comes under "know your customer" measures, which signifies knowing the identity of the customer and understanding the types of transactions in which the customer is likely to engage. By having the information on one's customers, financial institutions are able often to identify unusual or suspicious actions, termed anomalies, which may be an indication of money laundering (Roth, 2004).

Bank employees, such as tellers and customer account representatives, are trained in anti-money laundering and are instructed to report activities that they deem suspicious. Furthermore, anti-money laundering software filters customer data, classifies it following the level of suspicion, and inspects it for anomalies. Such anomalies can be considered any unexpected and substantial increase in funds, a large withdrawal, or moving money to a bank secrecy jurisdiction. Smaller financial operations that meet certain criteria can also be flagged as suspicious. For example, structuring may lead to flagged transactions. The software also flags names on government "blacklists" and transactions that involve states hostile to the host nation. Once the software has mined data and flagged suspect transactions, it alerts bank administration, who has to then determine whether to file a report with the state authorities.

22.8. Enforcement costs and associated privacy concerns

The financial services structure has become more vocal about the increasing costs of anti-money laundering regulation and the limited benefits that they claim it brings. One observer wrote that "without facts, anti-money laundering legislation has been driven by rhetoric, driven by ill-guided activism responding to the need to be "seen to be doing something" rather than by an objective understanding of its effects on predicate crime. The social panic approach is justified by the language used—we talk of the battle against terrorism or the war on drugs" (Money Laundering Bulletin, 2008). The Economist magazine has become increasingly vocal in its criticism of such regulation, particularly concerning countering terrorist financing, referring to it as a "costly failure", although it concedes that other efforts (like reducing identity and credit card fraud) may still be effective at combating money laundering (The Economist, 2005).

There is no precise measurement of the costs of regulation balanced against the damages associated with money laundering, and given the evaluation problems involved in assessing such an issue, it is unlikely that the effectiveness of terror finance and money laundering laws could be identified with any degree of accuracy. *The Economist* calculated the annual expenditures of anti-money laundering activities in Europe and North America at US$5 billion in 2003, an increase from US$700 million in 2000 (The Economist, 2004). Government-linked economists have pointed out the sufficient negative results of money laundering on economic development, including undermining domestic capital formation, depressing growth, and diverting capital away from development. Due to the intrinsic uncertainties of the amount of money laundered, changes in the amount of money laundering, and the cost of anti-money laundering systems, it is almost not realistic to discuss which anti-money laundering systems function successfully and which are more or less cost-effective.

Besides economic expenditures to carry out anti-money-laundering laws, improper attention to data protection practices may entail disproportionate costs to individual privacy rights. In June 2011, the data-protection advisory committee of the European Union published a report on data protection issues concerning the prevention of money laundering and terrorist financing, which identified numerous transgressions against the established legal framework on privacy and data protection (European Commission, 2014). The report presented recommendations on how to address money laundering and terrorist financing in ways that safeguard personal privacy rights and data protection laws. In the United States, groups such as the American Civil Liberties Union have expressed concern that money laundering rules require banks to report on their customers, essentially conscripting private businesses "into agents of the surveillance state" (American Civil Liberties Union, 2011).

Many states are obligated by various international instruments and standards, such as the 1988 United Nations Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, the 2000 Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, the 2003 United Nations Convention against Corruption, and the recommendations of the 1989 Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) to enact and enforce money laundering laws to prevent narcotics trafficking, international organized crime, and corruption. One such example represents Mexico, which has faced a significant increase in violent crime, established anti-money laundering controls in 2013 to curb the underlying crime issue (Mallen, 2013).

22.9. Global organizations

In 1989 G7 countries founded the institution - the Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF) as an intergovernmental structure whose aim is to develop and promote an international response to combat money laundering. The FATF Secretariat is located at the headquarters of the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris. In October 2001, FATF took additional responsibility by including to its tasks combating the financing of terrorism. FATF is a policy-making structure that unites together legal, financial, and law enforcement specialists to achieve national legislation and regulatory AML and CFT reforms. As of 2014 members of this organization were 36 countries and territories and two regional organizations. FATF has its activity in cooperation with several international institutions and organizations (GAFI, 2017). These units have observer status with FATF, which does not entitle them to vote but allows them full participation in plenary sessions and working groups.

FATF has worked out 40 recommendations on money laundering and 9 special recommendations regarding terrorist financing. FATF assesses each member state against these recommendations in published reports. States that are seen as not being sufficiently compliant with such recommendations are subject to financial sanctions (Mission, 2014).

FATF's three primary functions in connection with money laundering are:

1. Monitoring members’ progress in fulfillment anti-money laundering measures,

2. Reviewing and reporting on laundering trends, techniques, and countermeasures, and

3. Promoting the adoption and implementation of FATF anti-money laundering standards on a global level.

The FATF in modern times comprises 34 member jurisdictions and 2 regional organizations, representing the most major financial centers in all parts of our planet.

Picture 36. Global AML Regulations

Source: https://complyadvantage.com/knowledgebase/aml-regulations/

To comply with FATF regulations, participant countries and their financial institutions should implement Know Your Customer (KYC) ID verification measures, perform FATF recommended due diligence measures, maintain suitable records of high-risk clients, regularly observe accounts for suspicious financial activity, and report that activity to the appropriate national authority, enforce effective sanctions against legal persons and obliged entities that fail to comply with FATF regulations.

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime maintains the *International Money Laundering Information Network*, a website that provides information and software for anti-money laundering data collection and analysis (International Money Laundering Information Network, 2011).

The World Bank has a website that provides policy advice and best experiences to the public and the private sector on anti-money laundering issues. The Basel AML Index is an independent annual 0ranking that evaluates the risk of money laundering and terrorist financing in the different regions of the world (Basel AML Index, 2018).

Key Terminologies

Money laundering

Law enforcement agencies

Extortion

Insider trading

Drug trafficking

illegal gambling

Dirty money

United States Department of the Treasury

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

Anti-money laundering laws

Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering

Structuring

Bulk cash smuggling

Cash-intensive businesses

Trade-based laundering

Shell companies and trusts

Round-tripping

Bank capture

Casinos

Black salaries

Tax amnesties

Transaction Laundering

Digital electronic money

Combating with Money Laundering

Criminalization

Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering (FATF)

Questions for Consideration

What are the main global problems, which are connected with money laundering?

What are the main methods, which are used by the different criminal groups in the field of money laundering?

What are the main methods in the field of combating money laundering?

Which are the main international institutions which are involved in combating money laundering policy?

Practicum

Please analyze the main reasons, which create an appropriate condition for the enlargement of money laundering activities on the global level.

Chapter 23. Corruption

Corruption is a form of dishonesty or criminal offense undertaken by a person or concrete organization (first of all governmental agency) entrusted with a position of authority, to acquire illicit benefit or abuse power for one's private gain. Corruption may include many illegal activities including bribery and embezzlement, though it may also involve practices that are legal in many countries (World Bank, 2015). Political corruption emerges when an office-holder or other governmental employee acts in an official capacity for personal gain. Corruption is most commonplace in kleptocracies, oligarchies, narco-states, and mafia states, and general, in those states, where democratic institutions are very weak, and accordingly, the problem of transparency is existed (Longdom, 2020).

Corruption can occur on different scales, corruption ranges from small favors between a small number of people (petty corruption) (Elliott, 2020), to corruption that affects the government on a large scale (grand corruption), and corruption that is so prevalent that it is part of the daily structure of society, including corruption as one of the symptoms of organized crime. Corruption and crime are endemic sociological occurrences that appear with regular frequency in virtually all countries on a global scale in varying degrees and proportions. Individual states each allocate domestic resources for the establishment control and regulate the corruption and crime. Strategies and tactics to counter corruption are often summarized under the general term anti-corruption. Furthermore, global initiatives like the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal also have a target to substantially reduce corruption of all forms (Doss, 2020).

23.1. Definition and scales

Stephen D. Morris, a professor of politics, pointed out that political corruption is the illegitimate use of public power to benefit a private interest (Morris, 1991). Economist Ian Senior defined corruption as an action to (a) secretly provide (b) a good or service to a third party (c) so that he or she can influence certain actions which (d) benefit the corrupt, a third party, or both (e) in which the corrupt agent has authority (Senior, 2006). World Bank economist Daniel Kaufmann, extended the concept to include "legal corruption" in which power is abused within the confines of the law—as those with power often can make laws for their protection. The effect of corruption in infrastructure is to increase expenditures and construction period, lower the quality and decrease the benefit (Locatelli, 2017).

Several indicators and tools have been developed which can measure different forms of corruption with increasing accuracy (Hamilton, 2017).

23.2. Petty corruption

Petty corruption occurs at a smaller scale and takes place at the implementation end of public services when public officials meet the public. For instance, in many small places such as registration offices, police stations, state licensing boards, and many other private and government sectors (Mishler, 2020).

Picture 37. Corruption may include many activities including bribery and embezzlement

Source: https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/corruption?phrase=corruption&sort=mostpopular

23.3. Grand corruption

Grand corruption is defined as corruption occurring at the highest levels of government in a way that requires significant subversion of the political, legal, and economic systems. Such corruption is commonly found in states with authoritarian governments but also those without adequate policing of corruption (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2020).

The government system in many countries is divided into the legislative, executive, and judicial branches in an attempt to provide independent services that are less subject to grand corruption due to their independence from one another (James, 2015).

23.4. Systemic corruption

Systemic corruption (or endemic corruption) is corruption that is primarily because of the weaknesses of an organization or process. It can be contrasted with individual officials or agents who act corruptly within the system (U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 2011).

Factors that encourage systemic corruption include conflicting incentives, discretionary powers; monopolistic powers; lack of transparency; low pay; and a culture of impunity (Andrade, 2001). Specific acts of corruption include "bribery, extortion, and embezzlement" in a system where "corruption becomes the rule rather than the exception" (Znoj, 2009). Scholars distinguish between centralized and decentralized systemic corruption, depending on which level of state or government corruption takes place; in countries such as the post-Soviet states, both types occur (Legvord, 2009). Some scholars argue that there is a negative duty of western governments to protect against systematic corruption of underdeveloped governments (Merle, 2013).

Corruption has been a major issue in China, where society depends heavily on personal relationships. By the late 20th century that combined with the new lust for wealth, produced escalating corruption. Historian Keith Schoppa says that bribery was only one of the tools of Chinese corruption, which also included, "embezzlement, nepotism, smuggling, extortion, cronyism, kickbacks, deception, fraud, squandering public monies, illegal business transactions, stock manipulation, and real estate fraud." Given the repeated anti-corruption campaigns it was a prudent precaution to move as much of the fraudulent money as possible overseas (Schoppa, 2020).

23.5. Causes

According to R. Klitgaard point of view, corruption will occur if the corrupt gain is greater than the penalty multiplied by the likelihood of being caught and prosecuted (Klitgaard, 1989):
Corrupt gain > Penalty × Likelihood of being caught and prosecuted

Klitgaard has also coined a metaphorical formula to illustrate how the amount of corruption depends on three variables: monopoly (M) on the supply of a good or service, the discretion (D) enjoyed by suppliers, and the supplier's accountability and transparency (A) to others. The amount of corruption (C) could be expressed as (Klitgaard, 2000)

$$C = M + D - A.$$

Since a high degree of monopoly and discretion accompanied by a low degree of transparency does not automatically lead to corruption, a fourth variable of "morality" or "integrity" has been introduced by others. The moral dimension has an intrinsic component and refers to a "mental problem", and an extrinsic component refers to circumstances like poverty, inadequate remuneration, inappropriate work conditions, and inoperable or overcomplicated procedures which demoralize people and let them search for "alternative" solutions (Stephan, 2012). Hence the amended Klitgaard equation is

Degree of corruption = Monopoly + Discretion – Transparency – Morality

According to a 2017 survey study, the following factors have been attributed as causes of corruption:(Dimant, 2017)

Picture 38. Different types of corruption

Source: https://www.corruptionwatch.org.za/can-put-end-corruption/

The greed of money, desires.

· Higher levels of market and political monopolization
· Low levels of democracy, weak civil participation, and low political transparency
· Higher levels of bureaucracy and inefficient administrative structures
· Low press freedom
· Low economic freedom
· Large ethnic divisions and high levels of in-group favoritism
· Gender inequality
· Poverty
· Political instability
· Weak property rights
· Contagion from corrupt neighboring countries
· Low levels of education
· Lack of commitment to society
· Extravagant family?

It has been underlined that in a comparison of the most corrupt with the least corrupt states, the former group contains nations with huge socio-economic inequalities, and the latter contains nations with a high degree of social and economic justice.

23.5.1. In different sectors

Corruption can be emerged in many sectors, whether they be public or private industry or even Non - Governmental organizations (especially in the public sector). At the same time, only under the conditions of functioning strong democratic institutions is there an interest of the public (owner) to provide internal mechanisms to fight active or passive corruption, whereas in the private sector as well as in NGOs public control is absent. Therefore, the owners' investors' or sponsors' profits are largely decisive.

23.5.2 Government/public sector

Public corruption takes into account corruption of the political process and of government structures such as the police as well as corruption in processes of allocating public funds for contracts, grants, and hiring. The research, which has been implemented by World Bank offers that who makes policy decisions (elected officials or bureaucrats) can be critical in defining the level of corruption because of the incentives different policy-makers face (Hamilton, 2013).

23.5.3. Within the political system

Political corruption means the abuse of public power, office, or resources by elected or appointed government officials for personal gain, by extortion, soliciting, or offering bribes. It can also take the form of office holders maintaining themselves in office by purchasing votes by enacting laws that use taxpayers' money (SOS, 2013). Evidence suggests that corruption can have political consequences- with citizens being asked for bribes becoming less likely to identify with their country or region (Hamilton, 2014).

The political act of **graft** (American English), is a well-known and now global form of political corruption, being the unscrupulous and illegal use of a politician's authority for personal interest when funds that have to be transferred for public projects are intentionally misdirected to maximize the benefits to illegally private interests of the corrupted individual(s) and their cronies. There are several examples when government institutions are "repurposed" or shifted away from their official mandate to serve other, often corrupt purposes (Chipkin, 2018).

23.5.4. Within the police

Corruption within Police forces is a specific form of police misconduct designed to gain financial benefits, personal benefits, career advancement for a police officer or officers in exchange for not pursuing or selectively pursuing an investigation or arrest or aspects of the "thin blue line" itself where force members collude in lies to protect other members from accountability. One common method of police corruption is soliciting or accepting bribes in exchange for not reporting about any illegal criminal activities and violation of the law.

Another example is police employees flouting the police code of conduct in order to secure convictions of suspects—for example, through the use of surveillance abuse, forced confessions, and/or falsified evidence. More seldom, officers of the internal affairs agencies may deliberately and systematically take part in organized crime themselves. In most major cities, there are special institutions within the ministries of internal affairs and other appropriate security services structures to detect and investigate suspected police corruption or misconduct. Similar units include the British Independent Police Complaints Commission.

23.5.5. In the judicial system

Judicial corruption refers to corruption-related misconduct of judges, through receiving or giving bribes, improper sentencing of convicted criminals, bias in the hearing and judgment of arguments, and other such misconduct. Judicial corruption can also be carried out by prosecutors and defense attorneys. The case of prosecutorial misconduct would be a political activist, businessman, or a crime boss bribing a prosecutor to open investigations and file charges against an opposing politician or a rival businessman or crime boss, with the purpose to hurt the competition (Drugwarfacts, 2020). An example of attorney misconduct would be a defense attorney refusing to represent a client for political or professional motives.

Corruption within the judiciary agencies is broadly known in many transitional and developing states, and many reasons are the fact, that the financial sources are almost completely controlled by the executive. The latter undermines the separation of powers, as it establishes a critical financial dependence on the judiciary. The proper national wealth distribution including the government expenditures on the judiciary is subject to constitutional economics.

It is worth distinguishing between the two methods of corruption of the judiciary: the government (through budget planning and various privileges), and the private (Barenboim, 2009). Judicial corruption can be difficult to completely eradicate, even in developed countries (Pahis, 2009). Corruption in the judiciary also involves the government in power using the judicial arm of government to oppress the opposition parties (and in some cases civil society organizations) to the detriments of the state.

23.5. 6. Within the military

Military corruption refers to the abuse of power by representatives of the military and armed forces, for career promotion or personal benefit by a soldier or soldiers. One form of military corruption in the Armed Forces of the different states is a military serviceman being promoted in rank or position or being given better treatment than their colleagues by their officers, due to their race, sexual orientation, ethnicity, gender, religious beliefs, social class or personal relationships with higher-ranking officers despite their merit. Furthermore, the military of the concrete country has also had many instances of officers sexually assaulting fellow officers and in many examples, there were allegations that many of the attacks were covered up and victims were coerced to remain silent by officers of the same rank or of higher rank. In addition, an example of military corruption is a military officer or officers using the power of their positions to be involved in illegal activities, such as skimming logistical supplies such as food, medicine, fuel, body armor, or weapons to sell on the local black market. There have also been instances of military officials, providing equipment and combat support to criminal syndicates, private military companies, and terrorist groups, without approval from their superiors. As a result, many states have a military police unit to ensure that the military officers follow the laws and rules and conduct of their respective countries but sometimes the military police have different types of corruption themselves (UNODC, 2020).

23.5.7. In healthcare

Corruption, the abuse of entrusted power for private benefits, as defined by Transparency International is systemic in the health sector (Transparency International, 2019). The characteristics of health sectors with their concentrated supply of a service, high discretionary power of its members controlling the supply, and low accountability to others are the exact constellation of the variables described by Klitgaard, on which corruption depends (Klitgaard, 2000).

Corruption in health services is more problematic than in any other sector. The main reason for it is the fact, that it affects health outcomes and is deadly. It is widespread and yet, little has been published in medical journals about this topic and as of 2019, there is no evidence on what might reduce corruption in the health sector (Garsia, 2019). Corruption is existed within the private and public health sectors and may be represented as theft, embezzlement, nepotism, bribery up till extortion, or as an undue influence (Transparency International Health Initiative, 2019) and occurs in many fields within the sector, be it in service provision, purchasing, construction, and hiring. In 2019, Transparency International has published a report, where there were analyzed the 6 most common methods of service corruption as follows: absenteeism, informal payments from patients, embezzlement, inflating services and the costs of services, favoritism, and manipulation of data (billing for goods and services that were never sent or done) (Transparency International Health Initiative, 2019).

23.5.8. In the education system

Corruption in the education sector is a worldwide phenomenon. Corruption in admissions to educational institutions is traditionally described as one of the most corrupt areas of the education sector (Osipian, 2013). Attempts in some states during the second decade of the XXI century, for example in Russia and Ukraine, to defeat corruption in admissions through the abolition of university entrance examinations and introduction of standardized computer-graded tests have largely failed (Osipian, 2015). Vouchers for university entrants have never materialized. The cost of corruption is that it impedes sustainable social-economic development.

Endemic corruption in Institutions and universities institutions leads to the establishment of sustainable corrupt hierarchies (Osipian, 2015). While higher education in Russia is distinct with widespread bribery, corruption in the US and the UK features a significant amount of fraud. The US is distinct with grey areas and institutional corruption in the higher education sector. Authoritarian regimes, including the countries in the post-soviet space, encourage educational corruption and control universities, especially during the election campaigns. Among the other states, this is typical for Russia and former Soviet republics from Central Asia. Society is well aware of the high level of corruption in colleges and universities and in this case mass-media means play an important role.

Doctoral education is no exception, with Ph.D. dissertations and doctoral degrees available for sale, including for political activists, businessmen, etc. The Russian State Duma (legislative body) is notorious for "highly educated" MPs. High levels of corruption are a result of universities not being able to break away from their Soviet past, over bureaucratization, and a clear lack of university self-governance. Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are employed to implement research in the field of education corruption, but the topic remains largely unattended by scholars. In many societies and international organizations, education corruption remains taboo. In some states, such as certain eastern and central European countries, some countries from the Balkan peninsula, and certain Asian countries, corruption occurs frequently in educational institutions. This can be reflected in bribes to bypass bureaucratic procedures and bribing faculty and department for a grade. The intention to be involved in corruption such as receiving bribe money in exchange for passing exams decreases if persons perceive such behavior as very objectionable, i.e., a violation of social norms and if they fear sanctions regarding the severity and probability of punishment mechanisms (Osipian, 2015).

23.5.8. In religion

The history of religion includes many cases of religious leaders calling attention to corruption in the religious practices and institutions of a concrete period of world history. Jewish prophets Isaiah and Amos berate the rabbinical establishment of Ancient Judea for failing to live up to the ideals of the Torah. In the New Testament, Jesus accuses the rabbinical establishment of his time of hypocritically following only the ceremonial parts of the Torah and neglecting the more important elements of justice, mercy, and faithfulness. Corruption was one of the significant aspects of the Investiture Controversy. In 1517, German theologist Martin Luther accused the Catholic Church of widespread corruption, first of all, selling indulgences.

In 2015, Princeton University professor Kevin M. Kruse advances the thesis that business managers in the 1930s and 1940s cooperated with clergymen, including James W. Fifield Jr., to develop and promote a new hermeneutical approach to Scripture that would de-emphasize the social Gospel and emphasize themes, such as individual salvation, more congenial to free enterprise (Kevin, 2015).
Representatives of the business elite, of course, had long been working to "merchandise" themselves through the appropriation of religion. In organizations such as Spiritual Mobilization, the prayer breakfast groups, and the Freedoms Foundation, they had linked capitalism and Christianity and, within the same period, likened the welfare state to godless paganism (Kevin, 2015).

23. 5. 9. In philosophy

German philosopher of the 19th century Arthur Schopenhauer acknowledged that scientists, including philosophers, are subject to the same sources of corruption as the society they inhabit. Philosopher distinguished the corrupt philosophers of educational institutions, whose "the real concern is to earn with credit an honest livelihood for themselves and ... to enjoy a certain prestige in the eyes of the public" from the genuine philosopher, whose sole motive is to discover and bear witness to the truth (Schopenhauer, 1974).

To be a philosopher, that is to say, a lover of wisdom (for wisdom is nothing but the truth), it is not enough for a man to love truth, in so far as it is compatible with his interest, with the will of his superiors, with the dogmas of the church, or with the prejudices and tastes of his contemporaries; so long as he rests content with this position, he is only a φίλαυτος (lover of self-), not a φιλόσοφος (lover of wisdom). For this title of honor is well and wisely conceived precisely by its stating that one should love the truth earnestly and with one’s whole heart, and thus unconditionally and unreservedly, above all else, and, if need be, in defiance of all else. Now the reason for this is the one previously stated that the intellect has become free, and in this state, it does not even know or understand any other interest than that of truth (Schopenhauer, 1974).

23.5.10. Arms for cash

"Arms for cash" can be implemented by either a state-sanctioned arms dealer, company, or state itself to another party it just regards as only a good business partner and not political kindred or allies, thus making them no better than regular gun runners. Arms smugglers, who are already into arms trafficking may work for them on the ground or with the shipment. The money is often laundered and records are often destroyed. It often breaks UN, national or international law (Lin, 2016). Payment can also be in strange or indirect ways like arms paid for in post-war oil contracts, post-war hotel ownership, conflict diamonds, corporate shares, or the long-term post-war promises of superius future contracts between the parties involved in it, etc...

Angolagate as an example of illegal arms trade (Mitterrand–Pasqua affair) - The **Mitterrand–Pasqua affair**, also known informally as **Angolagate**, was an international political scandal connected with the secret and illegal sale and shipment of arms from the countries of Eastern and Central Europe to the authorities of the African state Angola by the Government of France in the 1990s. The results were the arrests and judiciary actions in the 2000s, involved an illegal arms sale despite a resolution of the UN Security Council related to the adoption of the embargo on arms trade with Angola. The above-mentioned illegal activity had connections with business interests in France and elsewhere improperly obtaining a share of Angolan oil revenues. The scandal has subsequently been tied to several prominent figures in French politics (Transparency International, 2021).

42 individuals, including Jean-Christophe Mitterrand, Jacques Attali, Charles Pasqua, and Jean-Charles Marchiani, Pierre Falcone, Arcadi Gaydamak, Paul-Loup Sulitzer, Union for a Popular Movement deputy Georges Fenech, Philippe Courroye, the son of François Mitterrand (former President of France) and a former French Minister of the Interior, were charged, accused, indicted or convicted with illegal arms trading, tax fraud, embezzlement, money laundering and other crimes (Reuters, 2009).

23.6. Methods

In the framework of systemic corruption and grand corruption, various methods of corruption are used concurrently with similar purposes.

23.6.1. Bribery

Bribery includes the improper use of gifts and favors in exchange for personal interest. This is also known as kickbacks or, in the Middle East, as baksheesh. It represents a common form of corruption. The types of favors given are diverse and may include money, gifts, promotions, sexual favors, company shares, entertainment, employment, and political benefits. The personal gain that is given can be anything from actively giving preferential treatment to having an indiscretion or crime overlooked (Wang, 2013). Bribery can in some cases form a part of the systemic use of corruption for other ends, for instance, to perpetrate further corruption. Bribery can make officials more susceptible to blackmail or extortion.

23.6.2. Embezzlement, theft, and fraud

Embezzlement and theft involve concrete people with access to funds or assets illegally taking control of them. Fraud takes into consideration using deception to convince the owner of funds or assets to give them up to an unauthorized party.

Examples include the misdirection of company funds into "shadow companies" (and then into the pockets of corrupt employees), the skimming of foreign aid money, scams, electoral fraud, and other corrupt activity.

23.6.3. Graft

The political act of **graft** is in the case when funds intended for public projects are deliberately misdirected to increase the benefits to the private interests of the corrupt persons.

23.6.4. Extortion and blackmail

While bribery is the use of positive inducements for corrupt aims, extortion and blackmail center around the use of threats. This can be the danger of physical violence or false imprisonment as well as exposure of an individual's secrets or prior crimes.

This takes into account such behavior as an influential person threatening to apply to the media if they do not receive speedy medical treatment (at the expense of other patients), threatening a public official with exposure of their secrets if they do not vote in a particular manner, or requesting finance resources in exchange for continued secrecy. Other cases can be a police officer being threatened to be dismissed from his/her position by their superiors if they continued with investigating a high-ranking official.

23.6.5. Influence peddling

Influence peddling is the illegal practice of using one's influence in the public sector or having contacts with persons in authority to obtain privileges or preferential treatment, usually in return for payment.

23.6.6. Networking

Networking (both Business and Personal) can be an effective method for job-seekers to receive a competitive edge over other people in the job market. The approach is to cultivate personal relationships with prospective employers, selection panelists, and others, in the hope that these personal affections will influence future hiring decisions. This type of networking has been reviewed as an intention to corrupt formal hiring processes, where all applicants are given an equal chance to demonstrate their merits to selectors. The networker is accused of seeking a non-meritocratic advantage over other candidates; an advantage that is based on personal fondness rather than on any objective appraisal of which applicant is most qualified for the concrete job place (Dobos, 2015).

23.6.7. Abuse of discretion

Abuse of discretion refers to the misuse of one's powers and decision-making facilities. Examples include a judge improperly dismissing a criminal case or a customs official using their discretion to permit a prohibited substance through a port.

23.6.8. Favoritism, nepotism, and clientelism

Favoritism, nepotism, and clientelism involve the favoring of not the perpetrator of corruption but someone related to them, such as a friend, family member, relatives, or member of an association. Cases would include hiring or promoting relatives, friends, or staff members to a position they are not qualified for, who belongs to the same political party, political movement as you, regardless of professionalism (Santa Clara, 2017).
Some countries do not forbid these forms of corruption.

23.7. Relationship to Economic Growth

Corruption is strongly negatively associated with the share of private investment and, hence, lowers the rate of economic growth.

Corruption decreases the returns of productive activities. If the production returns fall faster than the returns to corruption and rent-seeking activities, resources will flow from productive activities to corruption activities over time. This will result in a lower stock of producible inputs like human capital in corrupt states.

Corruption creates the opportunity for increased inequality, reduces the return of productive activities, and, hence, makes rent-seeking and corruption activities more attractive. This opportunity for increased inequality not only generates psychological frustration to the underprivileged but also reduces productivity growth, investment, and job opportunities (Journal of Comparative Economics, 2001).

23.8. Prevention

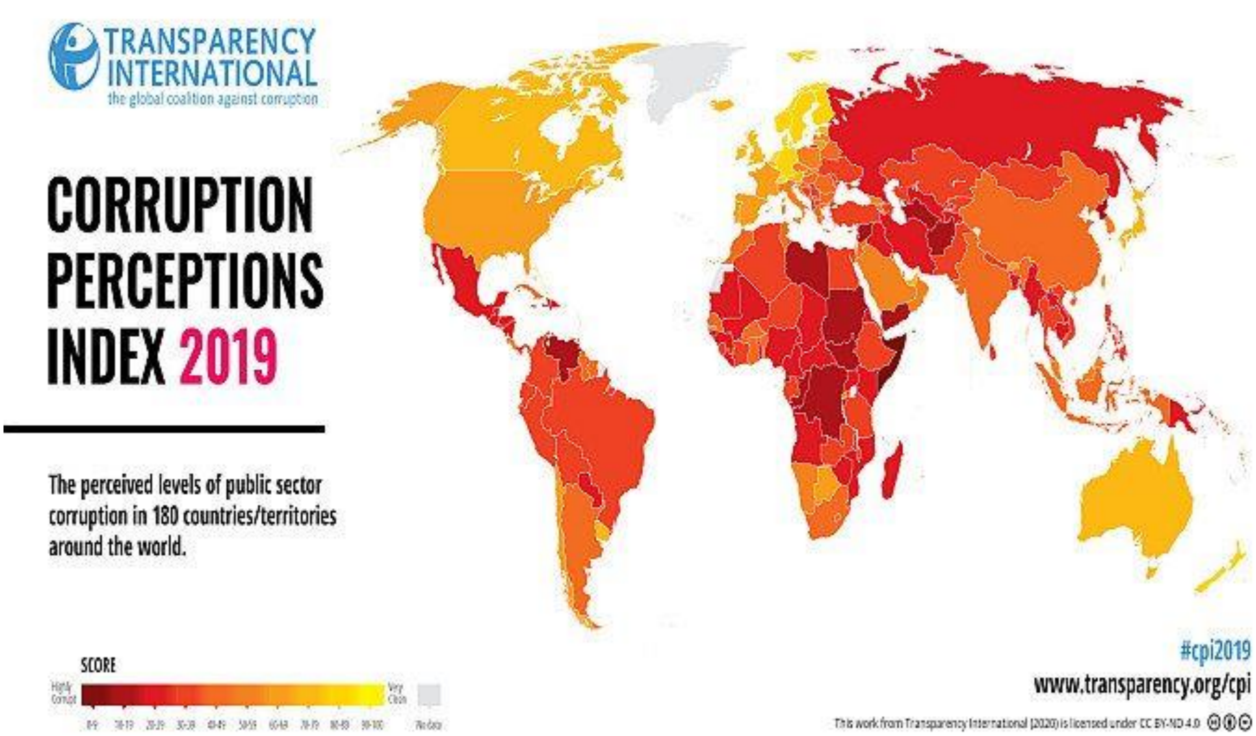
According to the amended Klitgaard equation (Stephan, 2012), limitation of monopoly and regulator discretion of individuals and a high degree of transparency by the agency of independent oversight by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the mass-media plus public access to reliable information could reduce the consequences of corruption. Djankov and other scholars have independently addressed the role information plays in combating corruption with evidence from both economically developing and developed states (Rohini, 2012). Disclosing financial information of government officials to the public is associated with improving institutional accountability and eliminating misbehavior such as vote-buying. The result is specifically remarkable when the disclosures are connected to politicians' income sources, liabilities, and asset levels instead of just income levels. Any extrinsic aspects that might reduce morality should be eliminated. Furthermore, a state is obliged to establish a culture of ethical behavior in society with the authority setting a good example with the purpose to enhance intrinsic morality.

In 1969, Christian anarchist Dorothy Day presented her approach that God will resolve economic violations on the example of corruption. She pointed out the following: “Fortunately, the Papal States were wrested from the Church in the last century, but there is still the problem of investment of papal funds. It is always a cheering thought to me that if we have goodwill and are still unable to find remedies for the economic abuses of our time, in our family, our parish, and the mighty church as a whole, God will take matters in hand and do the job for us" (Catholic Worker, 1969).

23.8.1. Enhancing civil society participation

Establishment bottom-up mechanisms, allowing citizens for taking part, and encouraging the values of integrity, accountability, and transparency are decisive components of fighting corruption. As of 2012, the implementation of the "Advocacy and Legal Advice Centres (ALACs)" in Europe had led to a significant increase in the number of people complaints against acts of corruption received and documented and also to the development of strategies for good management by involving citizens willing to fight against different types and methods of corruption (SIOR, 2012).

Map 18. Corruption Perception Index 2019



Source: https://www.caribbeannewsglobal.com/us-hits-new-low-in-global-corruption-index/

23.9. Anti-corruption programs

The Foreign Corrupt Practices Act (FCPA, USA 1977) was an early paradigmatic law for many western countries i.e. industrial countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. There, for the first time, the old principal-agent approach was moved back where mainly the victim (a society, private or public) and a passive corrupt member (an individual) were considered, whereas the active corrupt part was not in the focus of legal prosecution. Unprecedented, the legislature of an industrial state directly condemned active corruption, particularly in the field of international business transactions, which was within this period in contradiction to the anti-bribery policy of the World Bank Group and its spin-off organization Transparency International.

As early as 1989 the OECD had established an ad hoc Working Group to explore "...the concepts fundamental to the offense of corruption, and the exercise of national jurisdiction over offenses committed wholly or partially abroad" (IMF, 2020). Based on the FCPA concept, the Working Group presented in 1994 the then "OECD Anti-Bribery Recommendation" as a precursor for the OECD Convention on Combating Bribery of Foreign Public Officials in International Business Transactions (OECD, 2020) which was signed in 1997 by all members countries and entered finally into force in 1999. However, due to the ongoing concealed corruption in international transactions, several instruments of Country Monitoring (OECD, 2020) have been developed since then by the OECD with the purpose to foster and evaluate related national activities in combating foreign corrupt practices. One survey presents the information that after the implementation of the heightened review of multinational companies under the convention in 2010 business entities from countries that had signed the convention were less likely to use bribery (Jensen, 2017).

In 2013, a document produced by the economic and private sector professional evidence and applied knowledge services help-desk reviews some of the existing experiences on anti-corruption. They found (Forgues-Puccio, 2013):

· The theories in the framework of the fight against corruption are moving from a Principal agent approach to a collective action problem. Principal-agent theories seem not to be suitable to target systemic corruption.

· The contribution of multilateral structures has been crucial in the fight against corruption. UNCAC provides a general guideline for states around the planet. Both Transparency International and the World Bank assist national authorities in terms of the diagnostic and design of anti-corruption policies.

· The use of anti-corruption institutions has proliferated in recent years after the signing of The ***United***

Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC). They found no convincing evidence on the extent of their contribution, or the best way to structure them.

· Usually anti-corruption strategies have been based on successful experiences and common sense. In modern times there has been an attempt to provide a more systematic analysis of the effectiveness of anti-corruption policies. They found that this literature is still in its infancy.

· Anti-corruption policies that may be in general recommended to developing countries may not be acceptable for post-conflict states. Anti-corruption policies in fragile countries have to be carefully tailored.

· Anti-corruption programs can improve the business environment. There is evidence that lower corruption may facilitate doing business and improve companies' productivity. For example, the

African state Rwanda during recent years has made tremendous progress in improving governance and the business environment providing a model to follow for post-conflict countries (Forgues-Puccio, 2013).

23.10. Corruption in Popular Culture

23.10.1. Legal corruption

Though corruption is often viewed as illegal, a concept of legal corruption has been analyzed by Daniel Kaufmann and Pedro Vicente (Kaufmann, 2011). It might be termed as processes that are corrupt but are protected by a legal (that is, specifically allowed, or at least not proscribed by law) framework (Kaufmann, 2011).

In this regard, let`s consider several examples, particularly: In 1994, the Financial Commission of German Parliament in Bonn presented a comparative study on "legal corruption" in high developed OECD countries. According to this approach, in most industrial states foreign corruption was legal, and that their foreign corrupt practices ranged from simple, through governmental subsidization (tax deduction), up to extreme cases as in Germany, where foreign corruption was fostered, whereas domestic was legally prosecuted. The German Parliamentary Financial Commission rejected a Parliamentary Proposal by the opposition, which had been aiming to limit German foreign corruption based on the US *Foreign Corrupt Practices Act* (FCPA from 1977), thus fostering national export corporations. In 1997 a corresponding OECD Anti-Bribery Convention was signed by its members (OECD, 2020). It took until 1999, after the OECD Anti-Bribery Convention came into force, that Germany withdrew the legalization of foreign corruption (Income Tax Act, 1999).

23.10.2. Foreign corrupt practices of industrialized OECD countries 1994 study

The Foreign corrupt practices of industrialized OECD countries 1994 (Parliamentary Financial Commission study, Bonn, 1994).

Belgium: bribe payments are generally tax-deductible as business expenses if the name and address of the beneficiary are disclosed. Under the following conditions kickbacks in connection with exports abroad are permitted for deduction even without proof of the receiver:

· Payments must be necessary to be able to survive against foreign competition

· They must be common in the industry

· A corresponding application must be made to the Treasury each year

· Payments must be appropriate

· The payer has to pay a lump sum to the tax office to be fixed by the Finance Minister (at least 20% of the amount paid).

In the absence of the required conditions, for corporate taxable companies paying bribes without proof of the receiver, a special tax of 200% is charged. This special tax may, however, be abated along with the bribe amount as an operating expense.

Denmark: bribe payments are deductible when a clear operational context exists and its adequacy is maintained.

France: all operating expenses can be deducted. However, staff costs must correspond to actual work done and must not be excessive compared to the operational significance. This also applies to payments to foreign parties. Here, the receiver shall specify the name and address, unless the total amount in payments per beneficiary does not exceed 500 FF. If the receiver is not disclosed the payments are considered "rémunérations occult" and are associated with the following disadvantages:

· The business expense deduction (of the bribe money) is eliminated.

· For corporations and other legal entities, a tax penalty of 100% of the "rémunérations occult" and 75% for voluntary post declaration is to be paid.

· There may be a general fine of up to 200 FF fixed per case.

Japan: in Japan, bribes are deductible as business expenses that are justified by the operation (of the company) if the name and address of the recipient are specified. This also applies to payments to foreigners. If the indication of the name is refused, the expenses claimed are not recognized as operating expenses.

Canada: there is no general rule on the deductibility or non-deductibility of kickbacks and bribes. Hence the rule is that necessary expenses for obtaining the income (contract) are deductible. Payments to members of the public service and domestic administration of justice, to officers and employees and those charged with the collection of fees, entrance fees, etc. for the purpose to entice the recipient to the violation of his official duties, can not be abated as business expenses as well as illegal payments according to the Criminal Code.

Luxembourg: bribes, justified by the operation (of a company) are deductible as business expenses. However, the tax authorities may require that the payer is to designate the receiver by name. If not, the expenses are not recognized as operating expenses.

Netherlands: all expenses that are directly or closely related to the business are deductible. This also applies to expenditure outside the actual business operations if they are considered beneficial as to the operation for good reasons by the management. What counts is the good merchant custom. Neither the law nor the administration is authorized to determine which expenses are not operationally justified and therefore not deductible. For the business expense deduction, it is not a requirement that the recipient is specified. It is sufficient to elucidate to the satisfaction of the tax authorities that the payments are in the interest of the operation.

Austria: bribes justified by the operation (of a company) are deductible as business expenses. However, the tax authority may require that the payer names the recipient of the deducted payments exactly. If the indication of the name is denied e.g. because of business comity, the expenses claimed are not recognized as operating expenses. This principle also applies to payments to foreigners.

Switzerland: bribe payments are tax-deductible if it is an operation initiated and the consignee is indicated.

US: (rough résumé: "generally operational expenses are deductible if they are not illegal according to the FCPA")

UK: kickbacks and bribes are deductible if they have been paid for operating purposes. The tax authority may request the name and address of the recipient."

23.10.3. "Specific" legal corruption: exclusively against foreign countries

Referring to the recommendation of the above-mentioned Parliamentary Financial Commission's study, the then Kohl administration (1991–1994) decided to implement the legality of corruption against officials exclusively in foreign transactions and confirmed the full deductibility of bribe money, co-financing thus a specific nationalistic corruption practice (§4 Abs. 5 Nr. 10 EStG, valid until 19 March 1999) in contradiction to the 1994 OECD recommendation (OECD, 2020). The respective law was not changed before the OECD Convention also in Germany came into force (1999) (OECD, 2020). Based on the Parliamentary Financial Commission's investigation, however, in 1994 most states corruption practices were not nationalistic and much more limited by the respective laws compared to Germany (Parliamentary Financial Commission's study, 1994).

Particularly, the non-disclosure of the bribe money recipients' names in tax declarations had been a powerful instrument for Legal Corruption during the 1990s for German corporations, enabling them to block foreign legal jurisdictions which intended to fight corruption in their countries. Hence, they uncontrolled established a strong network of clientelism around Europe (e.g. SIEMENS)(HRRS, 2008) along with the formation of the European Single Market in the upcoming European Union and the Eurozone. Moreover, to further strengthen active corruption the prosecution of tax evasion during that decade had been severely limited. German tax authorities were instructed to refuse any disclosure of bribe recipients' names from tax declarations to the German criminal prosecution (Transparency International, 2020). As a result, German corporations have been systematically increasing their informal economy from 1980 until today up to 350 bn € per annum, thus continuously feeding their black money reserves (Statista, 2015).

Key Terminologies

Corruption

United Nations Sustainable Development Goal

Petty corruption

Grand corruption

Systemic corruption

Bribery

Extortion

Embezzlement

Corruption within Government/public sector

Corruption within the political system

Corruption within the police

Corruption in the judicial system

Corruption within the military

Corruption in healthcare

Corruption in the education system

Arms for cash

Theft

fraud

Graft

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Questions for Consideration

What are the main types of corruption?

What are the main characteristics of corruption in developed and developing countries?

What are the main methods in the field of combating corruption?

What are the main social, economic, and political consequences of corruption?

Practicum

Please analyze the main reasons, which create an appropriate condition for the enlargement of corruption activities on the global level.

Chapter 24. Health Protection Problems

The health problem is one of the oldest and global social problems. Low level of medical development, poor sanitary conditions, economic and socio-cultural backwardness were the reasons that determined the high mortality rate and the prevalence of diseases. In recent decades, the socio-economic situation and sanitary-hygienic conditions in the world as a whole have significantly improved, and great progress has been made in the development of medicine. Consequently, some successes will undoubtedly be observed. The mortality rate has decreased, the average life expectancy has increased, and the incidence of the number of diseases has been reduced to a minimum. Nevertheless, in many regions of the world, some significant progress in this direction has not yet been observed, while in other regions, where there has been apparent progress and many diseases have been virtually eliminated, there has been a growing trend towards other diseases. Thus, the health problem remains an extremely serious, global problem.

24.1. Average mortality and life expectancy

The overall mortality rate (the number of deaths per 1000 inhabitants per year) is primarily a demographic indicator and gives us little idea of the overall state of health care. In developing countries, due to the high birth rate, the share of young age groups is usually very large, and therefore the overall mortality rate is relatively low. In developed countries, however, due to the excess of elderly people in the population, the mortality rate has increased significantly. Thus, the relatively high overall mortality rate in the developed world and the low rate in several developing countries are due to the age structure of the population and not to the health care situation. The picture will change significantly if we calculate the mortality rate, not for the whole population, but individual age groups. (The so-called standardized mortality rate), it turns out that the mortality rate in developing countries (especially in the so-called poorer countries) is several times higher than the similar rate in developed countries.

The standardized mortality rate is directly related to the level of social, economic, cultural development, health status and does not depend on the age structure of the population. In this sense, a completely regular general picture is drawn. Mortality rates are very high in most of tropical Africa, as well as in the developing countries of Asia and Latin America. The rest of the world is characterized by an average mortality rate, while in developed countries the standardized mortality rate is very low. The overall picture of health status is well illustrated by infant mortality rates. This is the number of stillbirths per 1,000 live births. Obviously, the higher this rate, the lower the level of health care and unsatisfactory medical care and sanitary-hygienic conditions. The situation is particularly dire in Angola, where 184 out of every 1000 infants do not reach one year of age, as well as in Sierra Leone (158), Afghanistan (157), Liberia (150), and Niger (126). While in Japan, Singapore, Hong Kong, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden the figure is less than 3 (Chitadze, 2017).

The average life expectancy is also clear in some countries. It varies greatly by region and country. The average life expectancy in the world as a whole is 65.8 years. Men - 63.7 years, women - 67.8). In Japan, the figure is more than 82 years (men - 83.7 years, women - 85.5), while in Andorra, San Marino, Singapore, Hong Kong, Sweden, Switzerland, Australia, France, Iceland, and Canada, it is more than 80 years, then When in Swaziland it is 32.2 years (men - 31.8, women - 32.6). The average life expectancy is less than 40 years in Angola, Lesotho, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. The average life expectancy in Georgia is 76.3 years (men - 73.0, women - 80.1). And with this figure, it is ranked 65th among 221 countries in the world (Interpressnews, 2021).

In the picture of the average life expectancy in the modern world, we can have some idea of the differences that can exist between economically developed and developing countries in the field of health care. Let's look more specifically at the picture in healthcare. In particular, in determining the level of health of the population in this or that country, one of the main parameters can be considered the issue of access to health care for the population. Typically, in economically developed countries, health care accounts for more than 5% of the country's GDP, and in some countries, this figure exceeds 10%, while in the US it exceeds 14%. In developing countries this figure is less than 5%, in many extremely backward countries, it is less than 1% (United Nations Development Program. 2013).

As for the definition of health care expenditures per capita, worldwide, this figure is $ 630. Among the regions, North America spends $ 4,700 per capita, Europe - $ 1,500, South America - $ 550, Asia - $ 250, and Africa, for example, in the case of sub-Saharan Africa, it is released no more than 100 Dollars. According to individual countries, about $ 5,000 per capita on health care is spent in the United States and $ 3,500 in Switzerland. As for the "global South" countries, for example in the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Sierra Leone, health care costs are about $ 15 per capita (World Health Organization. Countries. 2014).

The level of medical care in the country is also determined by the number of doctors and hospital beds per 100,000 people. The comparison of these figures further reveals a huge gap between economically developed and developing countries. For example, the number of doctors per 100,000 inhabitants worldwide is estimated at an average of 150 doctors, in North America their number exceeds 500, and in Europe exceeds 350. At the same time, the number of physicians in South America is estimated by 200, in Asia by 70, and in sub-Saharan Africa up to 15 medical staff (Health Statistics. 2014).

Judging by individual countries, Italy leads by the number of doctors per 100 thousand population - 600 doctors, USA - 550, Russia - 480. At the same time, in sub-Saharan African countries, the number of doctors varies from 2 to 10 people. It turns out that in developed countries one doctor for consultations applies from 200 to 350 patients, this is when one doctor serves every 50 thousand people in the case of Chad, Eritrea, Malawi!

In addition, according to the number of hospital beds per 100 thousand inhabitants, Japan is in the first place - 1500, followed by Russia and Belarus - 1100, while in Ethiopia, for example, the number of beds is only 25 (World Health Organization. Countries. 2014).

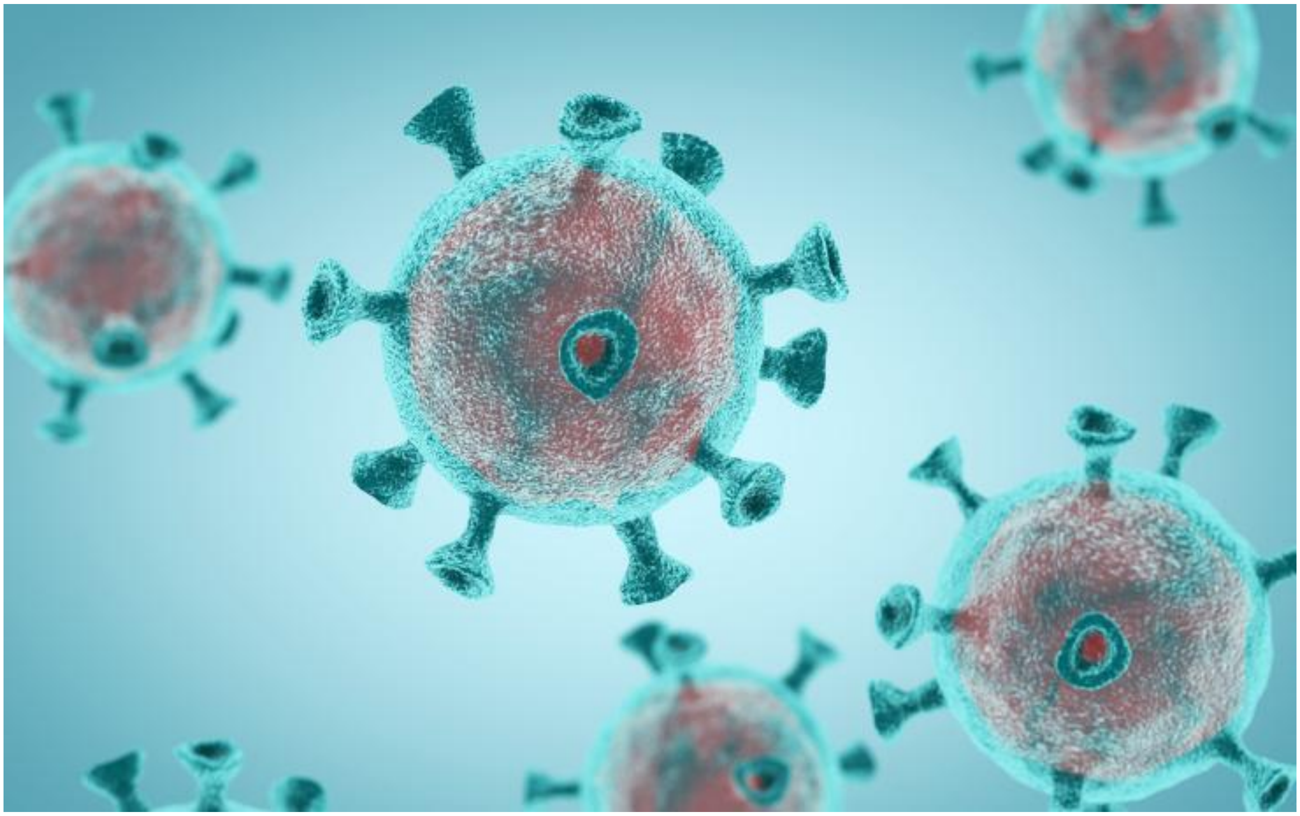
24.2. Several opinions about the main reasons for the COVID 19 emergence. Myths and Reality

As it is known, during the last period, there has been constant speculation about the source of coronavirus origin. Different countries blame each other for the virus spreading. In addition, there is a scandalous version that the virus was artificially created in the form of biological weapons in the laboratory of Wuhan in China.

It is important to note that the Wuhan Institute of Virology opened in 2015 (Cyranoski, 2017). The laboratory has been assigned the highest level of security or the fourth level. In this regard, it is important to point out that the fourth level of laboratories in the world is represented by a very small number. According to various theories, experiments in this laboratory were carried out with the most dangerous microorganisms that could cause deadly diseases (Ebola and others).

According to media reports from several countries, during the conducting research at the Wuhan Institute in 2018, the heads of this institute proudly claimed that they have investigated the immune mechanism of bats. Bats could have been carriers of the virus for a long time, and at that time they were not infected with the virus. Thus, the Wuhan Institute hoped that the virus-carrying bats would allow people to learn how to fight against viruses (Lolashvili, 2020).
It should be pointed out that the French virologist Luke Montagne, who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 2008 for his discovery of HIV, said that the new type of coronavirus did not have the natural origin of COVID-19 and has been created in a laboratory with added HIV particles.

Picture 39. COVID-19 has severely impacted people and business all over the world



Source: https://www.iru.org/covid19

The professor does not share the view that the virus emerged as a result of pollution in the Wuhan market. According to him, Wuhan's laboratory has been specializing in coronaviruses since 2000 and he has extensive experience in this field. In addition, the Nobel laureate said that he had analyzed the issue with his math colleague, Jean-Claude Perez.

"We have concluded that this virus has been manipulated. This is the work of molecular biologists," Montagne said in an interview with CNEws (Xinhuanet, 2020).

The Nobel Laureate says COVID-19 added HIV particles. "For what purpose? It's vague. My job is to present the facts and I don't blame anyone. I don't know who did it and why. Maybe they wanted to create a vaccine against AIDS," Montagne said.

Luke Montagne is a French virologist, a knight of the Legion of Honor, and a Nobel laureate. He received an award in medicine and physiology in 2008 and was awarded Harald Zur Hausen and Francoise Barre-Sinus. Together with Barre-Sinus, Montana discovered the human immunodeficiency virus in 1983 (Xinhuanet, 2020).

Earlier, Fox News reported that, according to Chinese authorities, the first patient who was diagnosed with a new type of coronavirus was not a market worker, but he worked in a laboratory at the Wuhan Institute of Virology.

24.2.1. Coronavirus and information war between the states

The debate about the possible artificial creation of coronaviruses is still ongoing. Several opinions were presented in March this year. In particular, a former senior Israeli military intelligence analyst, Dan Shohanma, in an interview with The Washington Times, said there was an attempt to produce biological weapons in a Wuhan laboratory, which in turn represents one of the leading research institutes. in the world (Washington Times, 2020).

Also noteworthy is the fact that back in 2019, the US State Department expressed doubts about the ongoing secret programs and experiments in this country related to the creation of biological weapons. China denies the allegations in an official statement that said: "Similar, unfounded allegations of China’s foreign intelligence service have been made several times." At the same time, several experts concluded that the leak of the new virus from the Wuhan laboratory occurred during the corresponding experiments in this scientific center.

While China denied possessing any aggressive biological weapons, the U.S. Department of State report for 2019 was mentioned Washington's suspicions that China was conducting a hidden biological war (US State Department Report, 2020).

In response, China leaked through the Internet information that the virus is part of a US conspiracy to use biological weapons against China.

While the countries were involved in recriminations of each other, in early March of this year, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs accused the U.S. Army of the spreading of the epidemic on the territory of China. In particular, Zhao Lijian, Deputy Director-general of the Information Department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, wrote on his Twitter that the United States should present concrete explanations and transfer its data to be more transparent.

"When did the infection begin in the United States?" How many people are infected? What are the names of hospitals? The US Army may have introduced an epidemic in Wuhan. Be transparent, make your data publicly available, ”wrote Zhao Lizziani (QUARTZ, 2020).

For other media outlets, such as Political Trends, China seeks to relieve itself of responsibility for the pandemic.

Another source of information, more precisely misinformation has been spread by the Russian media, according to which the Coronavirus is a special weapon created by the United States to destroy China and Russia.

Picture 40. Some states not sharing all COVID – 19 Details

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k2V7AAjL6L4

Military expert Igor Nikulin calls the spread of the virus sabotage and develops several versions: Americans are trying to destroy the Chinese from within; Coronavirus may be artificially created; The proliferation of coronavirus is in the interest of American pharmaceutical companies; The spread of coronavirus is in America's interest, as American laboratories operate not only around Russia but also in Asian countries (For. Ge, 2020).

Interestingly, at the end of April, Russia, through the puppet regime in the Tskhinvali region (formerly the South Ossetian Autonomous Region), issued another disinformation regarding the US laboratory in Georgia.

In particular, the so-called South Ossetian Security Service Application calls that "the residents of the Republic of South Ossetia should not take into attention the Georgian side`s suggestions to participate in any type of medical research." The main reason is the "area of Lugar Laboratory biological activity, which creates the preconditions for the deliberate infection of the residents of South Ossetia by Coronavirus.

It further underscores the fact that, according to the State Security Service, American and Georgian specialists are working to create and modify the spread of dangerous diseases, including those for military purposes" (Sputnik, 2020).

Later, the Chinese media, in particular the Chinese Global Times, blamed Russia for the spread of COVID-2019on the territory of China. In particular, the Chinese edition noted that Russia became the main source of COVID-2019 entry into China when 309 Chinese citizens were diagnosed with the disease as soon as they returned from Russia.

Later, however, the media reported that Russia and China were working together to condemn "dangerous" American laboratories which are operating in the former Soviet republics.

China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs organized a regular press briefing, where a spokesman of the ministry said that Beijing is concerned with the functioning of the territories of the former Soviet republics American research laboratories and supports the allegations of the Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman, Maria Zakharova (TASS, 2020).

It is possible to assume that the statements made by Russia and China are related to the statements of US President Donald Trump and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo that it is necessary to study the activities of the Wuhan Institute of Virology, which may have been one of the sources of coronavirus (Chitadze, 2020).

24.2.2. How credible is a conspiracy theory about COVID 19 taking into consideration the foreign policy and foreign economic priorities of the leading countries of the World?

Against the backdrop of accusations leveled against each other by the world's leading states about Coronavirus, it is possible to analyze how much it is possible for this or another country in the world, including leading geopolitical players, to be interested in spreading the virus.

The epidemic spread would not have been of interest to China, from where the virus has been widespread, taking into consideration that within the last years the rapid development of China's economy was provided. Its GDP is 14 trillion USD and China is coming to the world stage by strengthening its geopolitical position first of all by taking the appropriate economic measures. For example, this country is the first exporter in the world and in 2019 China exported to the international market the products for $ 2 trillion 494 million (12% of world exports), which is about 1.5 times higher than the export potential of its main competitor in the world economy - the United States of America. However, due to Koronavirus - in the first quarter of 2020, the volume of the Chinese main economic lever - export, has decreased by 13.3% (Trading Economics, 2020). It will lead to economic stagnation in this country (as well as around the world). Therefore, it is impossible not to consider that Beijing would not take into account the consequences of the spread of the virus from this country to different regions of the world.

In addition, the spread of coronavirus has significantly shaken the international reputation of China as a country - that spreads coronavirus. It is known that several states are also demanding the imposition of economic sanctions against China. It is also important to note that many transnational companies are already trying to withdraw their capital from China, which will significantly reduce the volume of investment in the Chinese economy (previously annually about $ 40 billion were invested in the different sectors of the Chinese economy). All the above will lead to economic stagnation in this country (as well as around the world). Naturally, therefore, it is impossible not to consider that official Beijing could not predict the consequences of the spread of the virus from this country to different regions of the world.

As for the possible spread of Coronavirus by the United States and, first of all, its import into China, this position also excludes the real picture. In particular, despite the geopolitical and ideological rivalry and the problems in the trade-economic relations between the United States and China within the last two years, new agreements were signed in October-December 2019, according to which important steps were taken to remove the trade barriers. Trade turnover between the US and China in 2018 was estimated at $ 737 billion, while the volume of US direct investment in the Chinese economy ranged to about $100 billion (Office of the United States Trade Representative, 2019).

Of course, the relevant US state agencies would also be able to calculate the consequences of COVID 19 spreading taking into consideration the volume of the trade between the United States and China. Therefore, the US was aware of the fact that due to the spread of the virus in China, it would primarily affect the US, whereas of April 27, 2020, 987, 322 thousand people were infected with coronavirus and the total number of deaths was 55, 415 thousand people. As for jobs, the number of unemployed in the United States has risen by about 300,000 as a result of the virus (Wordometers, 2020). In addition, experts estimate that by 2020, the U.S. economy will shrink by about 3%. In addition, COVID 19 negatively reflected on the income of US Companies. For example, only in March 2020, Dow Jones Index fell by about 26% (Chitadze, 2020).

Justice requires that Russia also would not be interested in the spread of coronavirus. Of course, this country can be blamed on many issues, including how Russia occupied the territories of the neighboring countries, spreading various types of disinformation around the world, including the possibility of artificially spreading the Coronavirus by the west, about which has already been mentioned before.

But concerning the artificially spreading of COVID 19 by Russia, there is a low probability that the Kremlin was interested in the Coronaviruses pandemic, first of all, because of the fact, that the Russian political elite understood, that new pandemic could cause the new World Economic crisis, which from its turn could decrease the demand on the energy products, first of all, oil and gas. As it is known, Russia represents one of the main oil producers and exporters in the World. For example, about 35% of the income part of the Russian budget is dependent on the profit from the oil export.

In this regard, it is important to note that as a result of the coronavirus, oil prices per barrel within the first quarter of 2020 reduced by more than 60%, from $ 65 per barrel in 2019 to $ 20 in April 2020 (Marketwatch.2020). As to another lever of the Russian economy and political pressure - natural gas, it should be mentioned that as a result of COVID 19 spreading, the Russian energy giant Gazprom announced about to decrease the demand for natural gas and a sharp reduction in gas exports. The company estimates that the decline within 2020 will be about 16.4%. Alexander Ivannikov, director of Gazprom's finance and economic department, said.

He said natural gas prices from Russia to foreign consumers would be further reduced, from $ 210.6 per 1,000 cubic meters to $ 133, or by 37 percent (Lenta. Ru. 2020).

Furthermore, Russia has overtaken China in terms of the number of illnesses. In particular, as of May 4, the number of people infected with the virus in Russia was 145,268 (82880 in China), and the death number was 1,356 people (Wordometers, 2020).

At the same time, no other country can be interested in the spread of coronavirus and the global economic crisis, given the fact that according to the World Bank estimates, the world economy within 2020 will be reduced by about 3%, which will create a problem for each country in our planet (Chitadze, 2020).

24.2.3. Coronavirus and existing biological laboratories in the world

Many analysts rule out any rumor about the artificial emergence of COVID 19, saying that various laboratories for biological or medical purposes operate in different parts of the world, and if we develop a conspiracy theory, then we can bring the example of Lugar's laboratory in Georgia. This case is given because, within the propaganda policy of Russia, the official Kremlin has often accused the United States, that after the opening of Lugar Laboratory in Georgia, with the support of the US government - different types of experiments on humans have been implemented.

The lab was named in honor of American Senator Richard Lugar. After the Kremlin's propaganda, it turned out that Lugar's laboratory was indispensable in conducting various scientific research. Even at this stage, Lugar's laboratory turned out to be the only surviving facility that promptly allowed Georgian doctors to prevent Coronavirus from developing an epidemiological psychosis. As a result, Lugar's lab is a real tool that has, to some extent, localized the pandemic virus.

In addition, many experts believe that it is the Wuhan laboratory mentioned above that has played an important role in stopping the virus in China and in general has prevented more serious negative consequences. At present, the problem of coronavirus in the Wuhan province has been localized. The scale of the virus spreading is declining, thus, talking about biological theories is not true. This is a classic information propaganda war waged primarily by the official Kremlin, claiming that the virus, and various diseases, are biological weapons of Washington.

24.3. World-renowned pandemics - Black Death, plague, Swine Flu, AIDS, etc.

The natural and not artificial origin of Coronavirus can be confirmed by the fact that at different times in world history, the origin and spread of various epidemics or pandemics in different regions of the planet have occurred many times. However, among the diseases listed below, none of the artificial origins of those viruses have been confirmed.

Perhaps the most horrific epidemics in history, or rather pandemics that have caused great harm to the world's population, have been linked with the plague. Several pandemics of this terrible disease are known to us.

Noteworthy is the fact that information about various diseases can be found in ancient Egyptian manuscripts.

However, the first pandemic in which relatively more specific clues have been found is known as the "Athens plague." According to various ancient Greek sources, the plague spread on the modern territory of Ethiopia and via Northern Africa, particularly Egypt reaching Greece. As a result, in 430, the plague killed about 25-30% of the Athenian population during the period when this city-state was involved in the Peloponnesian Wars (Histoire Géo, 2020).

In 165 CE, on the territory of the Roman empire the new pandemic, with the name "Antonius' Illness" emerged. According to various reports, the virus entered the Apennine Peninsula from Mesopotamia. The pandemic claimed the lives of about 5 million people, in a situation when the world's population at that time was just over 200 million (Histoire Géo, 2020).

Later, a new, so-called "plague of Justinian" appeared, which within the 40th of the VI century began to spread in the different regions of the world from Central Asia (by other sources from Egypt) and in 541 reached the Byzantine capital of Constantinople. The plague was most likely spread from rats and micro-fleas. It has claimed the lives of about 30 million to 100 million people over two centuries. In other words, the cause of the epidemic was the plague, which later became known as the "Black Death" pandemic (Histoire Géo, 2020).

The second pandemic caused the deaths of millions of people in Europe during the 14th century. The disease spread from Asia and spread from rodents in all European port cities. In addition to the European Continent, the plague has inflicted huge losses to China, with up to 90 percent of its population lost in some provinces. Several factors contributed to the emergence and spread of the plague: the wars that engulfed Europe (the movement of large armies), the rapid development of trade, the general situation in sanitation, and the climatic factor. The problems with Global glaciation weakened the immunity of the population, especially in Europe.

Outbreaks appear to be exacerbated in Europe by the outbreak of chickenpox and pelagic fever. The place of origin of the "black death" was the Gobi Desert - animals (mostly rodents) that lived in this area, found to be closer to humans who were fleeing from hunger and drought. Traders who followed the Silk Road were transporting various goods to the Asian cities, which later led to the deaths of millions of people. There was no cure for the plague then. Infection with "black death" meant that a person would die in a few days. The symptoms were several: in the case of the bubonic plague, the disease-causing human body was exposed to a flea bite. Those fleas were located on the body of the rats.

As a result, If about 80 million people were living in Europe in the early fourteenth century, by 1360 there were about 50,000,000 left. Outbreaks appear to be exacerbated in Europe by 200-300 years after the outbreak of the epidemic.

Picture 41. Plague is an infectious disease caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*. Symptoms include fever, weakness and headache

Source: https://news.stanford.edu/2020/05/12/combating-black-plague-just-much-politics-science/

The third plague began in China in the mid-nineteenth century. It has once again spread around the world by merchant ships, especially in port cities and coastal areas. It was at the end of the 19th century that scientists discovered the cause of the plague. More than 10,000,000 people only in Asia have died since the last pandemic.

Another disease that has caused the panic of all of humanity is known as the chickenpox pandemic. Infectious disease has killed tens of thousands of people in a year and a half. Only in 1980, the World Health Organization declared that the disease could be eradicated worldwide with the help of vaccination. The average mortality rate was 40%. The chickenpox epidemic was registered in China in the 4th century, and a little later in the 7th century in India, Korea, and Japan. In the latter case, it destroyed a third of the country's population (Khutsishvili, 2020).

In the modern era, it is difficult to find a European, especially in large cities, who was not killed by chickenpox. In the 18th century, 1.5 million people died every year in Europe from this disease. Chickenpox is transmitted by airborne droplets. Cases of skin transmission have also been reported. The first symptoms are fever, muscle and limb pain, vomiting, headache, dizziness.

Cholera - Acute intestinal infection has long been spread in Asia, Africa, and South America, and it reached Europe in the 19th century. By the beginning of the last century, seven cholera pandemics had been recorded, most recently in 1961-1975. Cholera was mainly transmitted by water, and the water was contaminated with the feces of the infected people. Unsanitary conditions were a major cause of cholera. Rapid dehydration often led to death. Cholera has claimed the lives of tens of millions of people since the 1800s.

Typhoid became a real disaster during World War I in Europe. There were several types of this disease: skin, abdominal, and reversible. It raged in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Known since the time of Hippocrates, this disease appeared mainly during the wars. Infections that transmit the disease can easily spread to the fighters. Typhoid killed 2 million people during the Civil War in Russia (Intermedia, 2020). The disease begins with itching, fever, backache, and headache. Slowly pink spots appear on the abdomen. People start dreaming, losing the sense of time and space. Half of the patients with typhoid died. There is currently an antidote to typhoid fever, so the probability of death is significantly lower, even in severe cases.

Malaria is another disease that has killed millions of people over the centuries. About 2-3 million people die from malaria each year. This disease, which is characteristic of tropical and subtropical regions, has historically been known in Europe. In the Roman Empire, it was called "Roman fever". The disease is transmitted by mosquitoes, but it is also possible to transmit by blood from person to person.

Influenza - The emergence of many mutations in this disease has sowed panic in recent decades. The reason for this panic exists. The Spanish flu ("Ispanka") struck millions of people between 1918 and 1919, infecting 550 million people and killing more than 25 million. The Spanish flu pandemic has been recorded as one of the greatest tragedies in human history. This time too, the war became the main cause of the spread of the disease, particularly the First World War and the series of military conflicts that followed. The name of the disease is related to the place from which the terrible disease began to spread around the world. According to the second version, Spain was not the place where this virus was born, although it was the country that first experienced this catastrophe (Intermedia, 2020).

In the first six months, Ispanka has killed more than 10 million people worldwide. The technological development of vehicles has allowed the virus to reach all the settlements around the planet. The main symptoms of the disease are pneumonia, bloody cough, as well as the characteristic blue tint of the skin, cyanosis - an excessive accumulation of carbon dioxide, which in turn causes hypoxemia - lack of oxygen in the blood.

In the early 1980s, the world faced a new global problem. In 1981, a strange disease appeared, which caused a complete loss of immunity, and thus, any illness could become fatal for a sick person. The disease became known as AIDS (Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome). According to one version, monkeys - inhabited in tropical Africa were the main source of virus infection. Consequently, AIDS has spread as a result of the bites of monkeys, particularly chimpanzees. This hypothesis is supported by American researcher B. Corbett.

In 2006, the total number of AIDS deaths was 2.9 million, and by January 2007, the total number of AIDS carriers in the world was 39.6 million people (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

The Influenza H1N1, which killed a million people in the first quarter of the 20th century, revived in a new form in 2009 and became known as the "swine flu." It was a subtype of the Spanish flu, and the source was an infected pig. This illness is characterized by the symptoms of the common flu - cough, fever, vomiting, diarrhea. Approximately 250,000 cases of the infection have been reported in 140 countries, killing up to 3,000 people. The mass media in the past, as well as today, began to escalate the situation, predicting what the second Spanish flu ("Ispanka") would emerge. Nevertheless, the standards of medicine and health are more or less different from those of the previous century, and the absence of global military conflicts has reduced the risks of high lethality and the spread of the disease to a minimum. It was later revealed that the governments of various states had squandered huge sums of money on the purchase of medicines and vaccines that had never been used for their intended purpose (Intermedia, 2020).

The same story was repeated in 2013, in the case of the H7N9 flu virus, better known as the “bird flu”. The first case of human infection was reported in China. The main symptom, again and again, was pneumonia. 450 cases were registered, 175 of them lethal. Fortunately, the pandemic did not occur.
The last viral challenge of the century was the Ebola fever. It was first observed in South Sudan in 1976 but became widely known in 2014 when an epidemic crossed the boundaries of West Africa and invaded the United States and Europe. The virus is transmitted through the body fluids of an infected person or animal, such as blood (Chitadze, 2020).

The disease is characterized by a feeling of weakness, severe pain in the head and muscles, and diarrhea. Later symptoms include coughing, nausea, and dehydration. Some patients develop a hemorrhagic rash. If treatment is not started in time, internal and external bleeding begins. Within the second week of illness, the patient dies. In 2015, Ebola-infected 30,000 people, nearly half of whom died. In this case, too, the media predicted the inevitability of the apocalypse of mankind, and again, their prophecy did not come true. Of course, the modern media industry makes money in similar panic news or stories. People are attracted to the excitement, and journalists very often love exaggeration.
Humanity is constantly threatened by many viral diseases, but some media means are not bothered by this. Maintaining a healthy lifestyle and taking sanitary measures is enough to protect yourself from the types of flu that spread to the Far East or the South. Otherwise, it seems, humanity will not get sick until some journalists or so-called experts find out about new flu mutations and start sowing panic, which, in itself, serves in no way to eliminate the causes of the problem.

24.4. The World Health Organization has named the probable source of COVID 19

The official statement made by the World Health Organization (WHO) confirms the evidence of the natural origin of coronavirus. In particular, the official representative (spokesman) of the World

Health Organization, Fadella Chaib, said at the briefing that the source of COVID-19 is still unknown, but it has likely been transmitted by the mediation of the bats.

"All available evidence suggests the virus has an animal origin and is not manipulated or constructed in a lab or somewhere else" mentioned WHO spokeswoman (Reuters, 2020).

Later she added: "most likely is that its ecological reservoir is bats. However, it is necessary to determine how the virus moved from bats to humans. It is obvious that there is a mediator that transmitted the disease to humans."

"At this moment we know nothing about the origin of the virus. We need to focus on facts and not on theories. The World Health Organization is a scientific organization and we suggest that the virus is of animal origin," said a World Health Organization`s spokesman.
Chaib noted that 70% of new viruses, including Ebola, plague, and coronavirus, are of animal origin (Reuters, 2020).

The statement was made in response to an earlier statement by French virologist Luke Montagne, a Nobel Prize-winning. His position has already been mentioned at the beginning of the article.
In an interview with the website of the California Institute of Technology, another Nobel laureate, David Baltimore, shared his opinion. The professor believes that biologically HIV and SARS-CoV-2 are completely different from each other and belong to different families of viruses.

The opinion of the World Health Organization is shared by Australian experts, who believe that the new type of coronavirus could not be created artificially.

"At the moment we know nothing about the origin of the virus. We need to focus on facts, not theories. The World Health Organization is a scientific organization and we suggest that the virus is of animal origin," said a World Health Organization spokesman.

Chaib noted that 70% of new viruses, including Ebola, plague, and coronavirus, are of animal origin. The statement was made in response to an earlier statement that "there has been a backlash from French virologist Luke Montagne, a Nobel Prize-winning French virologist, about the fact that COVID-19 was created in the laboratory and added to it."

In an interview with the website of the California Institute of Technology, another Nobel laureate, David Baltimore, shared his opinion. The professor believes that biologically HIV and SARS-CoV-2 are completely different from each other and belong to different families of viruses (Interpressnews, 2020).

The opinion of the World Health Organization is shared by Australian experts, who believe that the new type of coronavirus could not be created artificially.

At the same time, scientists have discovered the first significant mutation in coronavirus.

Anthony Fauch, head of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases in the United States, later said the best evidence was that the coronavirus had not been created in a Chinese laboratory.

"If we look at the evolution of the virus in bats, the scientific evidence is very, very strong that it could not be artificially created or deliberately manipulated. If we observe the evolution of the virus within the concrete period, we will find a strong determinant that the virus has emerged naturally and then moved to other species, "Fauch said in a statement (Interpressnews, 2020).

Based on the above, based on the majority of specialists, the most solid theory at this stage is the fact that coronavirus is a virus transmitted from bats because as a result of deciphering the genetic sequence, this virus is closest to the virus found in bats, where the similarity is up to 99%. The coronavirus circulates us, meaning it is not a virus that is completely new.

In addition to that, it is very interesting to note the fact that there are certain old traditions in China, according to which a strange habit is spread among the poor population of China in the form of a kind of folk medicine. When a person is ill, has the flu, or has another illness, he or she is often offered to eat the meat of the snake. Most likely, it was this tradition and the consumption of bats that most probably led to the spread of the virus. That is, it can be said that a biological mutation has taken place. One of the sick people ate bat meat. It is quite real that the virus mutated in one human body and spread to other humans.

It is important to note that the international community is very often under the influence of some scientists or experts, and also information propaganda of several states, especially the countries with authoritarian regimes. The main purpose of some specialists is - to make some scandal statements and in this way to attract the attention of the population of one concrete country or the whole international community. The purpose of some states is to conduct the information policy with the purpose of discretization the international authority of its geopolitical or ideological rival etc.
Thus, it can be assumed, that the rumors about artificial spreading the COVID 19 represent the part of propaganda.

Key Terminologies

Health Protection Problems

Average mortality

Life expectancy

Medical care

Sanitary-hygienic conditions

World Health Organization

COVID 19

HIV

AIDS

Biological laboratories

World-renowned pandemics

Black Death

Plague

Swine Flu

AIDS

Questions for Consideration

What are the main priorities of the policy of the World Health Organization?

In your point of view, what are the main reasons for the COVID 19 emergence?

In your point of view, what are the main reasons for AIDS emergence worldwide?

In your point of view, what are the main reasons for the emergence of the Black Death emergence worldwide?

Practicum

Please analyze the main reasons related to the spreading of rumors about the artificial emergence of COVID 19.

Please analyze the main aspects, which proves the non-artificial emergence of COVID 19

Chapter 25. Raw material problems on the global level

25.1. General signs of raw material problems

One of the serious problems of modernity is the maximum provision of humanity with raw materials. This problem has always existed, but it has acquired global significance in recent decades when unprecedented population growth and increasing production capacity have raised the raw material problem with all its severity.

Global raw material problems are associated with very rapid, often spontaneous growth in demand for raw materials (both energy and metallic and non-metallic minerals). Suffice it to say that in the last half-century the world has extracted and used more raw materials than in the entire history of mankind.

At the same time, this process is irreversible, and the supply of raw materials is steadily declining, which will pose an unresolved dilemma in the future.

The raw material crisis in recent decades has shown everyone that it is impossible to continue the growth of raw material consumption at such a pace and it is necessary to find a solution.

The raw material crisis is exacerbated by the fact that along with the reduction of raw material stocks, the mining-geological conditions of the deposits are deteriorating and, consequently, extraction is becoming more expensive.

In addition, the mining industry is associated with a whole range of environmental problems. Open-source mining reduces the cost but leads to land degradation and disruption. Pollution of the atmosphere, water, and soil is also an important problem. In recent years, the use of high-sulfur oil and coal has been increasingly avoided, and some countries (where the so-called acid rain is being actively fought) have banned the consumption of such raw materials altogether. All this creates new difficulties in providing raw materials.

25.1. 1. Raw material problem: a future perspective

Given current consumption trends, which mean stabilizing or reducing demand for raw materials in developed countries and significant growth in the developing world, it is likely that the existing stock of some mineral wealth will already be depleted shortly. In particular, the depleted reserves of tin ore will be available to mankind only until 2002, by 2030 will run out of stocks of tungsten, silver, lead, and sure, by 2040 - cobalt, molybdenum, copper, nickel, by 2060 - aluminum (bauxite), 20 and iron - Manganese stock. Reusable metal materials (scrap recycling) can indeed be used repeatedly, which significantly increases the service life of metal raw materials, but the final introduction of other, containing materials is inevitable.

The situation is relatively better in terms of the supply of chemical and other non-metallic minerals. The threat of depletion of stocks of phosphorites, apatites, potassium salts, sulfur, and building materials does not threaten us in the 21st century, but unlike metal, most of these raw materials are impossible to use. Thus, it is impossible to consume those materials eternally, accordingly, sooner or later this problem will arise.

The situation is especially difficult in terms of fuel and energy raw materials (oil, natural gas, coal). The rate of their consumption is rapidly increasing, and stocks, despite the discovery of new deposits, are depleted and can disappear within 60-80 years (except for coal, the extraction of which will be possible for more than two centuries). That is why the provision of fuel and energy resources is the main problem of mankind related to raw materials. Due to their special severity and importance, energy problems are often singled out and attributed to several major global problems (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

25.1.2. Fuel-energy problems

Despite the rapid growth of energy consumption in the past, no serious problems were encountered until the 1970s. The increase in energy production was provided by the growth of cheap oil and natural gas, also with the extraction and development of new fields. Those products were quite cheap and easy for transportation as well. Because of all those factors, oil and gas have become the main source of energy. Their share in the world energy balance in the 70s of XX Century exceeded 70%, while in the 50s of the last century it was less than 40%. Accordingly, in the second half of the XX century, the role of other energy sources has consequently diminished and the economies of most states have become entirely dependent on oil and gas imports (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

The unprecedented growth of demand for energy resources and the enormous scale of their use has made it clear that humanity is facing serious problems. It has become clear to everyone that the supply of energy resources can not continue eternally and a lot of effort is needed to avoid the current situation.

The above does not mean that the situation is catastrophic. Mankind is not facing an energy famine yet, but the fact that the era of cheap energy sources (oil and natural gas) is finally over, is beyond doubt.

Fundamental changes in the world energy balance are inevitable within the next 60-80 years. Today, humanity has entered into the so-called "transitional" period, which means the gradual movement from the consumption of energy resources to the consumption of alternative sources (solar, wind, tidal, geothermal, water) of energy. This is a very difficult and expensive task. There are incredible difficulties in replacing petroleum products with other energy sources in several industries (for example transport), that new energy sources should have the same power and effect as, for example, petrol or aviation kerosene. But sooner or later this must happen because, in addition to the limited supply of organic fuel resources, the widespread use of this raw material has already brought severe environmental consequences.

25.1.3. The problem of renewable energy resources

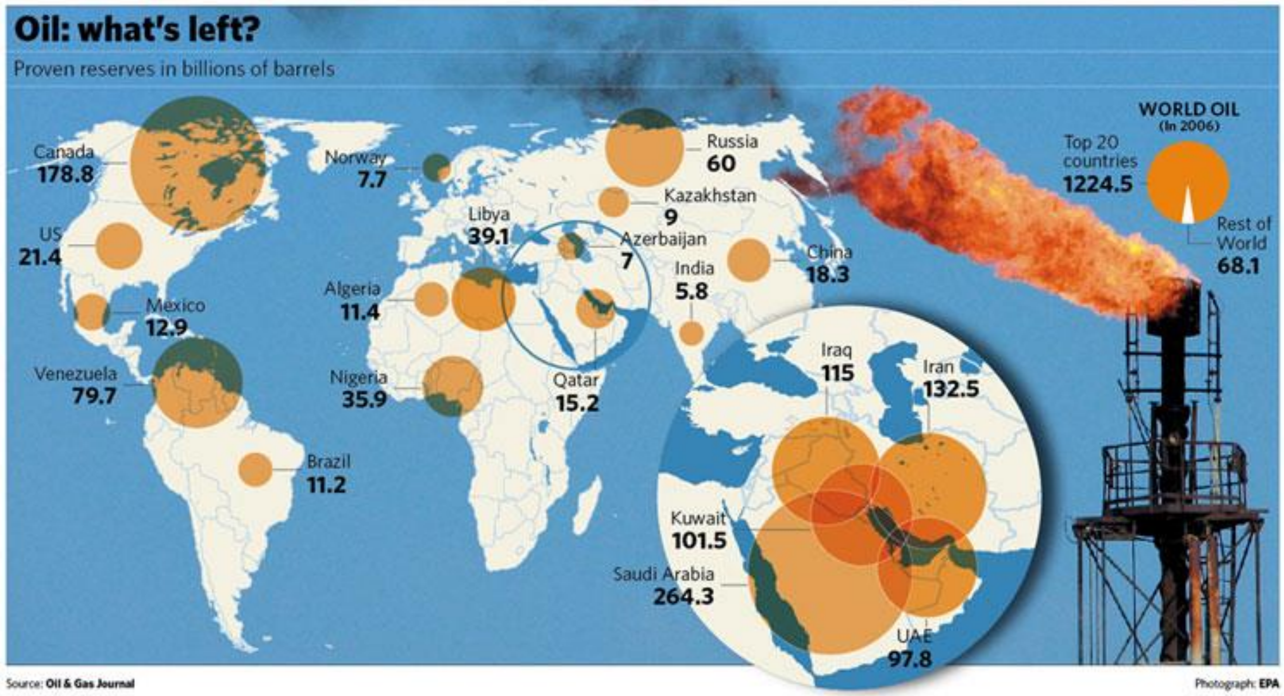
Coal. The share of proven coal reserves in the entire geological reserves is quite small (about 7%, or 700 billion tons), but given the current level of consumption and future trends, these reserves alone will be available for mankind for more than 200 years.

The sharp rise in oil and gas prices in recent years has significantly increased the role and importance of coal. The volume of coal stockpiles has also increased. All this indicates that the share of coal in organic fuels and energy resources will increase significantly.

Oil. According to modern estimations, there are 1.65 trillion barrels of proven oil reserves in the world as of 2016 (About 170 billion tons) (Wordometers, 2016). About 40% of this amount belongs to the traditional oil category. Annual world oil production exceeds 35 billion Barrels (More than 5 billion tonnes) (Wordometers, 2016). Almost 2/3 of the stock comes to the Middle East region. The main consumers are the European states, North America and Japan, although the share of China, India and Southeast Asia is also rapidly growing.

It is expected that the rather high volume of oil production will be maintained until the 2040s. Then, a decrease in values is expected, on the one hand, due to the depletion of stocks and, consequently, a sharp rise in prices, and on the other hand, due to the development and introduction of alternative energy sources.

Map 19. World Oil Reserves by Countries



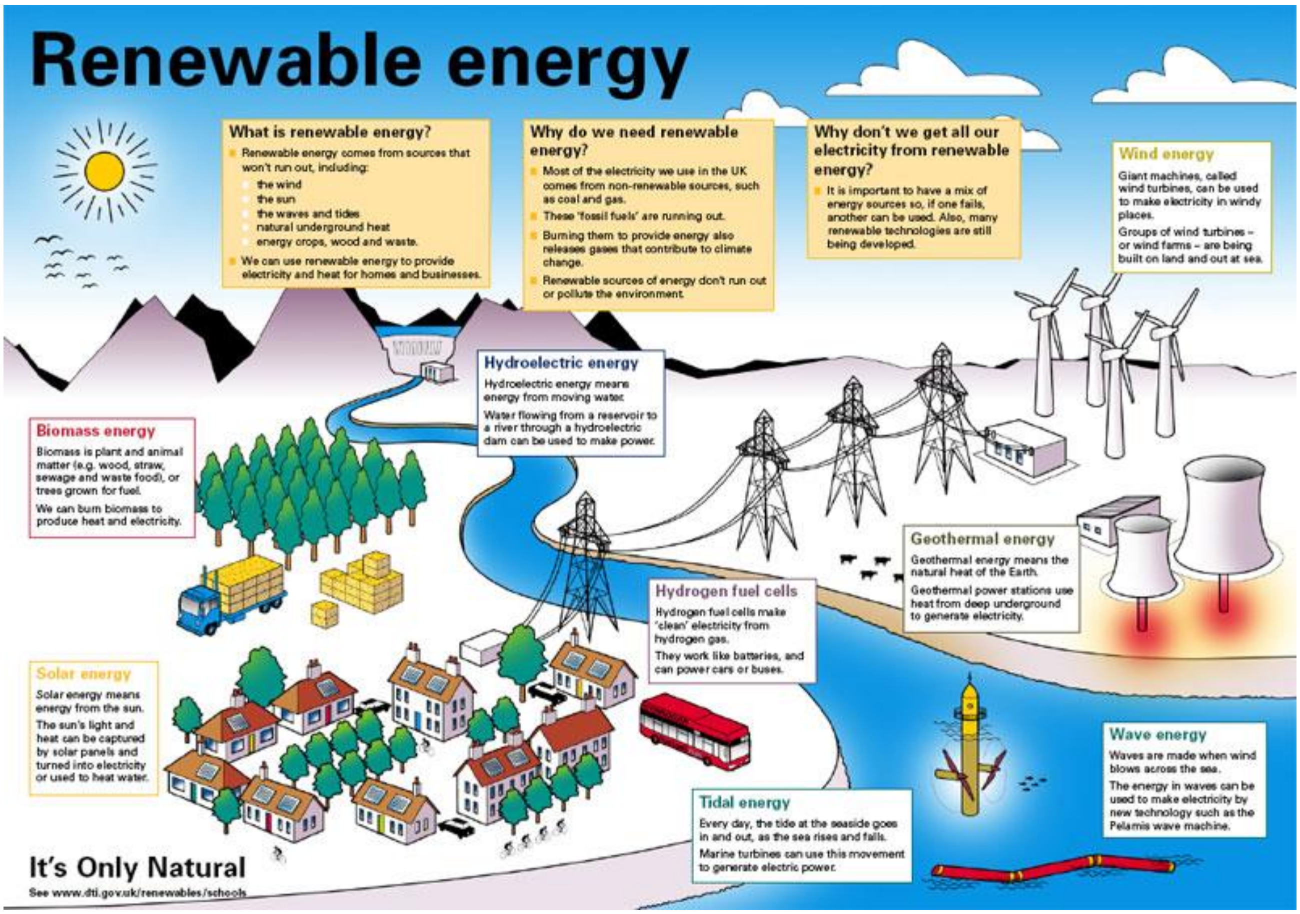
Source: http://www.endofcrudeoil.com/2011/04/world-oil-reserves.html

Natural gas. Natural gas is one of the most convenient and high-calorie fuel-energy resources. Its special popularity and growing role are due to its high thermal capacity, as well as the relative easiness of extraction and transportation, as well as ecological cleanliness. It is therefore not surprising that the imbalance between liquid and gaseous fuels shifts in favor of the latter, especially when the world supply of natural gas to mankind will last for a longer time than oil supply. However, the share of oil is expected to increase again shortly, as the supply of oil that is technically feasible (but not yet in operation today) is significantly higher than the total supply of natural gas. In addition, transporting gas across the ocean (i.e. liquefying gas and converting it to a gaseous state on the ground) increases the cost several times and is highly unprofitable. As of January 1, 2020, there were an estimated 7,257 trillion cubic feet Tcf (more than 150 trillion Cubic meters) of total world-proved reserves of natural gas (US Energy Information Administration, 2021).

Nuclear fuel. The main source of nuclear energy is natural uranium ore. However, it is important to consider the costs associated with its extraction and processing, as uranium mining is unprofitable due to the high cost. Many experts thought that nuclear power was the energy of the future and that its share would grow steadily, but this position has been changed after the 1986 Chernobyl disaster and the 2011 Fukushima earthquake in Japan, when many countries are intending to close the existed atomic power stations and accordingly are refusing the construction of new nuclear power stations. According to current trends, the share of nuclear energy will decrease in the future and the importance of non-traditional, renewable energy sources will increase at its expense. As of 2017, identified uranium reserves recoverable at US$130/kg were 6.14 million tons (compared to 5.72 million tons in 2015). At the rate of consumption in 2017, these reserves are sufficient for slightly over 130 years of supply (OECD, 2018).

Renewable energy resources - The high capital capacity is a limiting factor for the consumption of hydropower resources. Only very expensive large hydropower plants, with their large volume of dams (which in turn cause flooding of huge areas and serious environmental problems), can produce the same amount of electricity as large thermal or nuclear power plants. The construction of small capacity hydropower plants is less profitable. It should also be noted that most of such hydropower plants depend on the regime of the rivers and may stop altogether during low levels of water.

Picture 42. Different types of Renewable Energy



Source: https://ohs9sciencestelr.weebly.com/renewable-energy-sources.html

Some countries use geothermal resources as their energy source. In countries such as Iceland and New Zealand, where there is a high volume of geysers and groundwater, geothermal power plants may be able to satisfy the entire electricity demand. This direction is promising in several other regions, but overall, worldwide, geothermal resources are unlikely to play an important role in solving energy problems.

Some researchers were optimistic about the inexhaustible sources of energy (solar, wind, tidal energy) and considered them to be the future of world energy and the solution to energy problems. Clearly, with technical progress and scientific advances, the role of non-traditional energy sources will increase significantly and to some extent replace even traditional fuel and energy resources, but their consideration as a solution for mankind's energy problems is exaggerated and far from reality.

Another possible resource for solving energy problems is considered biomass, having been obtained from the recycling of agricultural, industrial, and household organic waste, from which energy can be received in the form of biogas. However, this resource also only can be considered as an additional source. As for growing different crops as an energy source (e.g., extracting alcohol from sugar cane and using it as fuel), this is probably a less promising way, due to its yield and high cost.

All this shows that renewable and inexhaustible sources of energy can only play a supporting role in solving energy problems. So far they can not compete (except for hydro, and in some regions geothermal resources) with non-renewable fuel and energy resources. The latter will likely remain a major resource in the first half of the 21st century.

Key Terminologies

Raw material

land degradation

disruption

mineral wealth

Oil

Natural Gas

Coal

Renewable energy resources

Questions for Consideration

What advantage does hydro energy have and what is its negative side?

What are the problems associated with the use of natural resources for energy purposes?

Practicum

Establish your vision of renewable and inexhaustible energy resources

Chapter 26. The problem of water consumption in the Contemporary World Politics

At the end of XX and the beginning of the XXI century more and more attention is paid to the global problems of water resources. This global problem is interrelated with the other global issues – political, ecological, and demographic. From one side, pollution of the environment causes the fact that the sources of the drinking water are becoming useless for consumption. On the other hand, population growth in our planet is the reason for the emergence and strengthening of its deficit.

The whole stock of the water of our planet is about 1,4 Billion km^3 (Chitadze, 2017). But the biggest part is salt. Particularly, water occupies 70% of the surface of our planet, but almost the entire part is coming to the saltwater - 97.5%. In this case, the share of freshwater among the all-available water resources is 2,5 % (Chitadze, 2017). It is concentrated mainly in the glaciers and therefore, it is predominantly inaccessible. Thus, only 1% of the available water resources of the planet are accessible for direct use by mankind (Chitadze, 2017).

At the same time, specialists consider the consumption not only fresh but even salted marine water. And they solve this problem by transferring the marine water to freshwater, however, it is rather expensive and accessible only for the economically developed states.

In this case, for centuries, the volume of accessible (available) water resources in the world, practically has not been changed toward their increasing.

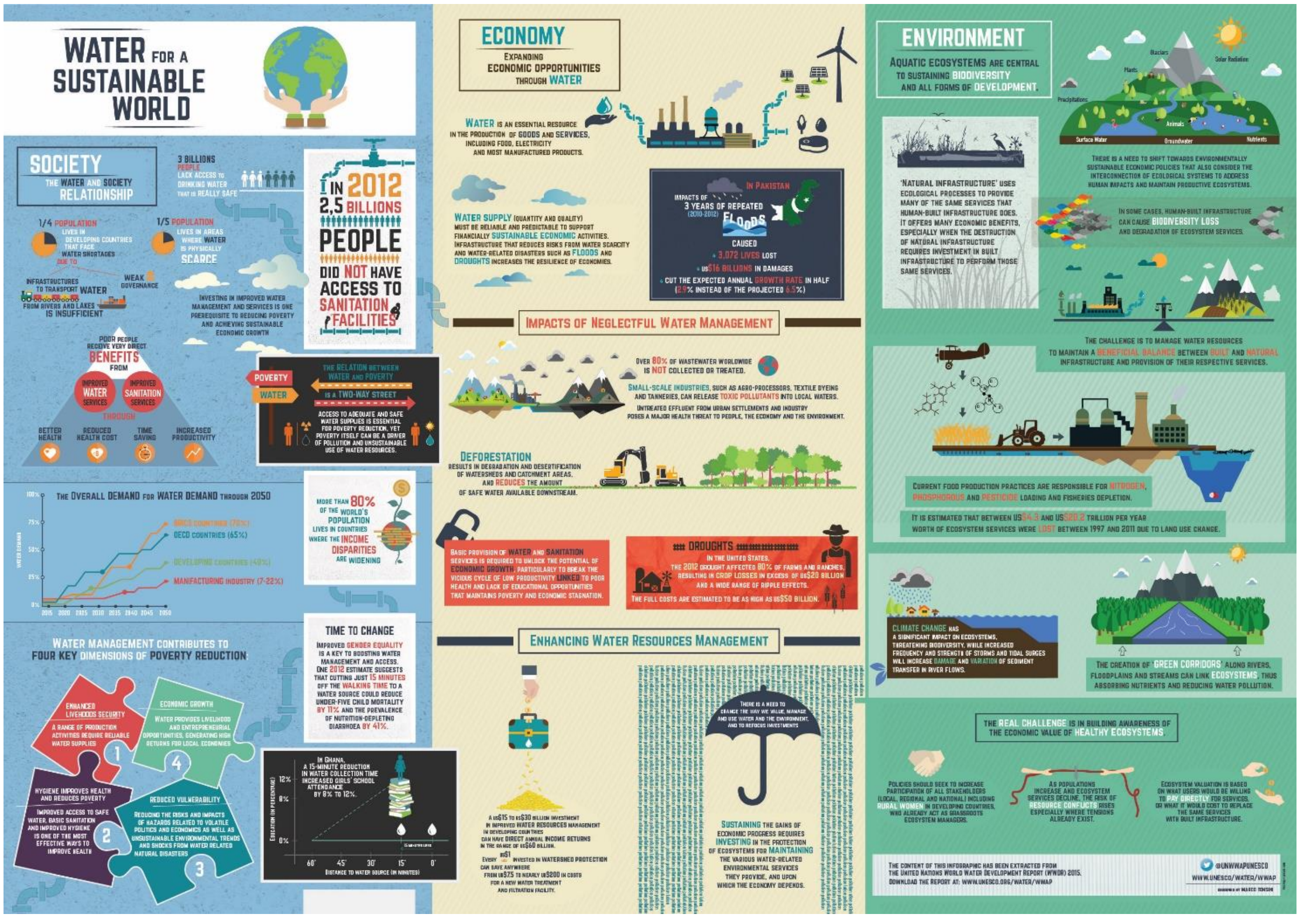
26.1 Main reasons of causing the deficit of the water resources

The basic reasons for strengthening the global scarcity of water are briefly examined below.

Population Growth. The yearly growth of the World population is 80 million people, which creates an additional demand for drinking water in the size of 64 billion m3 per year. Taking into account the fact that 90% of the expected increase of the population by 2050 relates to the regions, which already have problems with freshwater, the situation can seriously be aggravated (Chitadze, 2017).

In the 20th Century, the population of the World was tripled from 1.6 to 6 billion people, in 2011, the number of the World population prevailed 7 billion people (Chitadze, 2017) and the area of watered agriculture increased from 50 to 267 million hectares, and the consumption of water within the XX century increased for the six times – annually from 500 to 3 500 km3 (Gleick, 2000). The real shortage of water provokes the increased demand, connected, according to the estimations of experts and international organizations, with the demographic boom, by a change in the food ratio by the large groups of the population, by the development of industry and power engineering, by urbanization, by the popularization of the biofuel. The factors, which reduce the volume of accessible water resources, include ineffective/rapacious water consumption, pollution of water, and climate changes.

Picture 43. Water for a sustainable development



Source: https://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/water_and_sustainable_development.shtml

Economic growth - According to the World Bank prognosis, the global economy will grow by about 4% in 2021 and most probably within the third decade of the XXI century, though this growth will be different in different countries (World Bank, 2021).

Thus, together with the economic growth, it is increasing the consumption of water. For example, if within the ancient and middle centuries periods, during the 24 hours, one person consumed 12-18 liters, in XIX Century – 40-60 liters, in the economically developed countries daily consumption per person at the beginning of XXI Century was 300 liters, in the big cities 500 liters and more (Neidze, 2004).

Non-equal distribution of water by the regions of the World – Freshwater resources are distributed unequally between different regions and countries of the modern world. Moreover, where water sources are abundant - in Canada, the countries of northern Europe, Siberia, Alaska, most of South America - water demand is less than in regions where it is not enough, for example in North Africa, the Middle East, Central, and South Asia. By the beginning of the XXI century, 70% of the world's population lived in the countries, where the population experienced very severe water stress, i.e., an acute deficit of water resources. After a quarter-century, the proportion of people living in such conditions will amount to 80% (Maksakovsky, 2009).

Climate change. Among all processes, which influence the availability of freshwater, this process is exogenous and for humanity has not remained a different way, except adaptation. Climate change aggravates the situation both in the traditionally arid regions and in the developing countries of Asia. One of the reliable manifestations of a global climate change scientists call a change in the water cycle (United Nations Water Development Report, 2009). In the regions with the arid climate the amount of precipitation will be reduced and in the areas with the moist climate will be increased. The decrease of the area of glaciers, moreover, directly affects the volume of accessible water resources.

But the most visual influence of climate change on the water cycle occurs through a radical increase in the number of natural disasters. Natural disasters have a direct and destructive effect on the situation with the water supply, they require additional investments into the steadier infrastructure. The creation of the special dams for the restraining of floods and construction of reservoirs for the economy of water in the arid years became a vital need for the majority of the countries. From 1980 to 2004, a third of all-natural calamities were coming to floods (29%) and droughts (5%) (UNICEF, 2020).

26.2. Water as a reason for potential conflicts

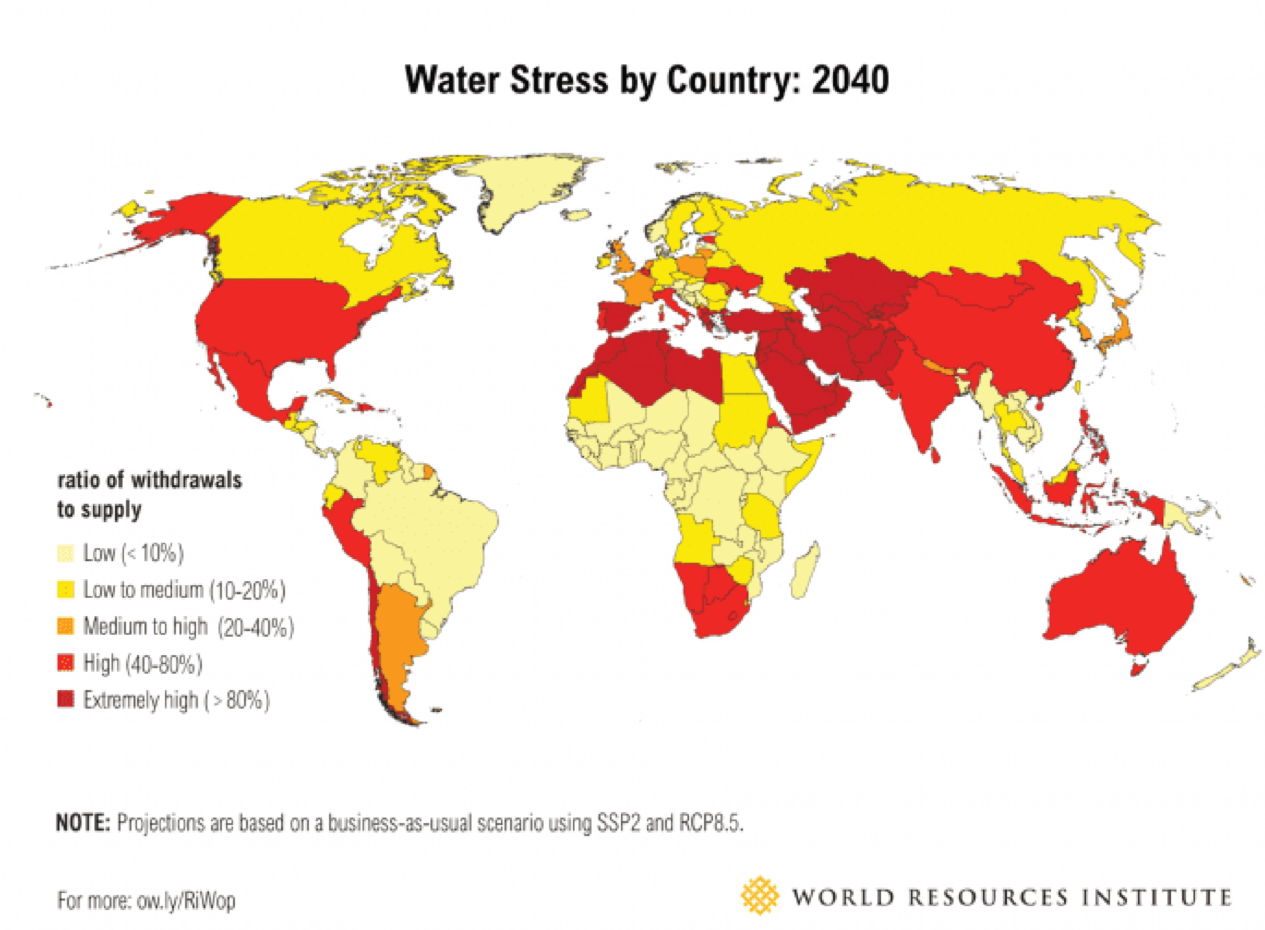
Water scarcity negatively affects the quality of life of ordinary people, interferes with the tasks of socio-economic development of many of the world's poorest countries. As practice shows, the not-abundance of freshwater can cause both internal, and international conflicts. For example, the disputes about using the water resources of the Jordan River, are an additional factor that complicates the procedure for resolving the Middle East conflict.

Both Israel and neighboring Arab countries together with Palestine seek to secure a priority in using scarce or in the Middle East water resources. In the countries of this region, as well as in many Asian and African states, internal contradictions about the use of water resources often lead to fierce conflicts among interest groups, to the confrontation between population and official authorities.

Internationalization of previously purely inland river basins may become a prerequisite for the emergence of new conflict zones in world politics.

Trans-border regulation. The Source of the problems of trans-border regulation is, in the essence, the imposition of the political map of the World on the map of the water basins. On the Earth are located 263 international basins (such basins include those, on whose territory are located two or more countries). In those basins is concentrated about 60% of the fresh water and by the territory, they occupy half of the earth's surface. International basins partially seize the territory of 145 countries and the territory of 21 states completely enters into the international ponds (Giordano, 2003).

Map 20. Predictable water Stress by country in 2040



Source: https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2019/10/water-inequality-developing-world-usa-west/

In general, to solve the problems of water scarcity, international cooperation on the global level is required. Since March 22, 1992, it is celebrated as the World Day of water resources. In 1996, the World Water Council was established, headquartered in Marseille (France).

Once within three years, the World Water Forum, which is the next step in organizing cooperation on water issues is held. The goals of the Forum are not only in conducting discussions and developing provisions for solving water problems but also in creating political obligations and mechanisms for international cooperation. However, here, just as in solving other global problems, there is a contradiction between universal interests and the economic and political priorities of individual states.

Key Terminologies

Saltwater

Freshwater

Deficit of the water resources

Water Consumption

Water pollution

Floods

World Water Forum

Transborder Regulation

International basins

Questions for Consideration

What can be the result of human activities in the formation of water balance and what indicates such processes?

What are the main reasons for the increasing water consumption on the global level?

Practicum

Establish your vision about different possibilities to resolve the problems related to the water deficit on the global level.

Chapter 27. Food Problems: The Geography of Hunger

27.1 Hunger and malnutrition

The food problem is probably the oldest global problem. Hunger, as a rule, manifests itself in two main forms: the first is chronic hunger, or malnutrition when the body cannot get enough nutrients and becomes weak and easily falls victim to various diseases. This form is sometimes called semi-starvation and is a constant companion of a significant portion of the population in developing countries. The second form is complete starvation, which is associated with extreme events (infertility, drought, floods, war, etc.) and causes mass starvation of the population.

When it is mentioned about complete nutrition, it means the medical norms of nutrition that are necessary for a person. According to the World Health Organization, the average daily norm of human nutrition should be at least 2400-2500 kcal (kilocalories). If the daily norm is less than 1800 calories, it is already an indicator of malnutrition or semi-starvation and 1000 kcal is a critical limit and indicates complete starvation. In addition to the number of calories, a normal condition of complete nutrition includes special products. In particular, a person should get at least 100 grams of protein (primarily of animal origin), as well as a certain amount of fats, carbohydrates, and vitamins. If the number of any of them is less than the norm, the meal is considered incomplete (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

Picture 44. A third of Haitians (the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere) do not receive the daily calories needed.

Source: https://en.public-welfare.com/3906676-ways-to-solve-the-food-problem-the-geography-of-hunger-un-food-program

According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, by the beginning of the 21st century, the daily norm for 30% of the world's population was less than 1,800 kcal. Another 20% were getting enough calories but were experiencing a protein deficiency. Thus, half of the world's population is malnourished, and their number, who are starving or on the verge of starvation, is estimated at 500-550 million people (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

27.2 Food problem and developing countries

The fact is that the food problem is mainly related to developing countries. At the same time, it should be noted the certain successes that the Third World states have achieved in the development of agriculture and food supply. As a result of the so-called "Green Revolution", many developing countries were able to fully or almost completely meet their own food needs, while the rate of annual growth of basic agricultural products was 4.5%. Accordingly, the daily rate of consumed calories has increased and on average, for the developing world, it amounted to 2500 kcal (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012). However, it should be noted that these calories have a very small share of animal products, while plant foods are dominated by one or two products (for example, in South Asia, rice accounts for 70-80% of the food ration).

Despite some success, food security for the population remains one of the most acute global problems in developing countries (and the world as a whole).

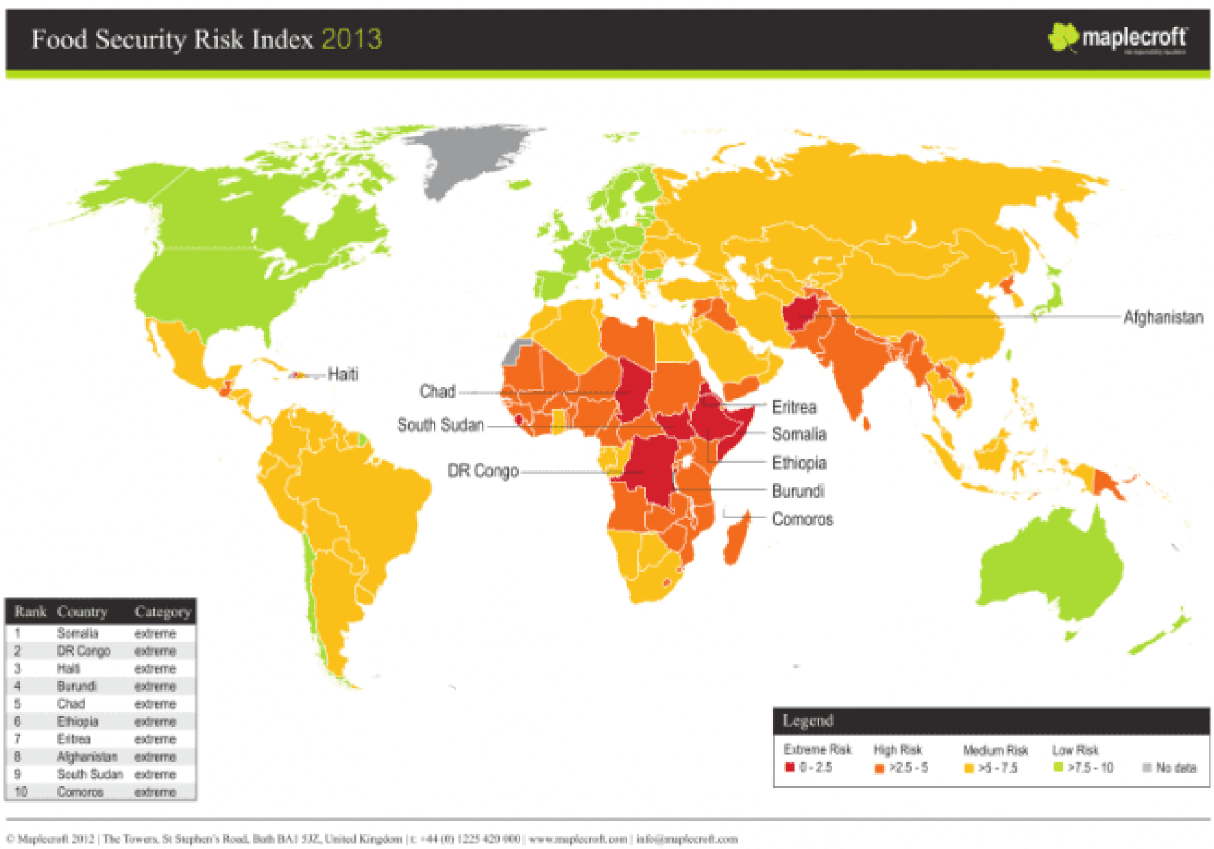
The geography of hunger is generally presented as a fairly regular picture. The malnutrition "belt" covers a fairly wide range of developing countries, with two poles: tropical Africa and South Asia. In absolute numbers, South Asia, with an estimated 300 million malnourished people (more than 20%

of the region's population). The share of the hungry is highest in tropical Africa, where it exceeds one-third of the total population. It is 14 percent in Latin America, 11 percent in the Middle East, and 10 percent in Southeast Asia (Chitadze, 2017).

Under such conditions, developing countries are forced to increase food imports. If by the end of the 50s of the 20th Century, grain imports to developing countries did not exceed 12 million tons, by 2010 it had reached almost 150 million.

The great importance is the food aid, which is provided to developing countries by developed countries. 40% of food products imported to African countries are selfless aid. The main donors are the US (60% of all aid), Canada, Australia, and Western European countries (Chitadze, 2017).

Map 21. Food Security Risk Index S



Source: https://reliefweb.int/map/world/world-food-security-risk-index-2013

27.3. Ways to solve global food problems

The food problem is a complex, global problem. Its complete solution requires fundamental socio-economic, political, and cultural-psychological transformations and is a rather distant prospect. However, of course, there is one necessary condition for solving the problem - to ensure constant growth of food production. There are two main ways to increase food production: extensive and intensive.

The extensive direction involves the development of new agricultural lands, an increase in the number of cattle, and the expansion of the farming area. Today, agricultural land occupies only one-third of the land resources.

According to various calculations, it is theoretically possible to additionally cultivate more than ten percent of the land. But the reserves of land, which can be developed at a low cost, are practically exhausted. Bringing food products in extreme conditions is associated with huge costs and due to the current scientific and technical capabilities, it is still premature.

As for the geographical distribution of lands - promising for development, Latin America and Africa stand out in this respect. In Latin America, these are mostly lands in the humid tropics and subtropics. Most of them are located in Brazil, and according to Brazilian scientists, after the full development of these lands and some reclamation, Brazil will be able to feed on 900 million to 1 billion people (Chitadze, 2017). In Africa, the main reserves come to the savannah zone, where two-grain crops per year can be obtained. However, the risk of soil degradation is very high.

The intensive path involves the growth of agricultural production without increasing the area of cultivated hills or the number of cattle. In agriculture, it means getting more crops from the same area of land, which is achieved at the expense of mechanization, irrigation, and the introduction of high-yielding species. Inbreeding is related to breeding improvement.

Intense growth is mainly characteristic for the developed countries, but recently it has become a major means of food production growth in several developing countries as well. This is primarily due to the increase in the area of irrigated lands, which has allowed several countries to significantly increase yields. No less a contribution to the growth of food production in developing countries is the mechanization of agriculture, although the latter does not have a positive impact on the ecological quality of the product.

Taking all resources into account, if all the theoretically possible land were to be developed and the level of intensification maximized, the Earth would be able to feed some 33 billion people. However, according to researchers, the real number is much smaller and probably does not exceed 12-15 billion (Chitadze, 2017).

Key Terminologies

Food problem

Kilocalories

World Food program

Food and Agricultural organization of the United Nations

Geography of Hunger

Food ration

Extensive way of Agricultural Development

Intensive way of agricultural development

Questions for Consideration

What can be the main ways of human activities to feed the maximal number of people in the world?

What are the main differences between extensive and intensive ways of agricultural production?

Practicum

Establish your vision about different possibilities to resolve the problems related to the food deficit on the global level.

Chapter 28. The problem of poverty and unemployment

The modern world is characterized by sharp inequalities in terms of material wealth and prosperity. Although in recent decades the material conditions of the population as a whole have been improved almost everywhere and the average per capita income is rising, poverty remains one of the most acute global problems. According to some scientists, the situation, on the contrary, has even worsened in some regions of the world.

Poverty is not only determined by the amount of financial income. It consists of many different parameters. Poverty is also determined by factors such as unemployment, housing conditions, the composition of the consumer basket, etc. It also should be remembered that poverty is a relative concept and that the same income and living conditions, if they indicate obvious poverty in one country, may in another country be considered quite sufficient for a normal life.

Picture 45. 10% of the world's population lives on less than $1.90 a day

Source: https://www.dosomething.org/us/facts/11-facts-about-global-poverty

In total, according to the UN, at the beginning of the 21-st century, the average daily income of about 1.5 billion people in the world did not exceed $ 1, and for 2.5 billion people $ 2. That is, in total, the daily income of about 4 billion people did not exceed $ 2 (UN, 2005).

28.1. Subsistence and consumer basket

One of the indicators of poverty is the share of the population whose income is less than the subsistence level. The subsistence minimum is the minimal amount necessary for a person to exist, that is, not to starve and satisfy the essential needs of life. The subsistence level varies from country to country. If in North America and Western Europe this figure is quite high, in most developing countries, on the contrary, it is so small that living with this amount is completely unimaginable for a resident of the developed world. Although the subsistence level in Asia, Africa, and Latin America is much lower than in Europe and North America, the proportion of the population living below the subsistence level is much higher in the developing world than in the developed world.

Sometimes the share of the population whose average income does not exceed one dollar per day is used to determine the level of poverty. Such incomes are an indicator of extreme poverty and are particularly high in the tropical regions of Africa and South Asia.

Another indicator of living standard is the structure of the consumer basket, i.e., how a person distributes the received income. In developing countries, a large part of the population's income is spent on food: the lower the income, the higher is the food expenditure in the consumer basket, and the lower-income Funds are spent on meals. In contrast, food expenditures in developed countries at the beginning of the second decade of the XXI century was on average, less than 20% of the consumer basket (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

28.2. Before the COVID 19 Spreading, the number of populations, who lived in extreme poverty has been reduced to the historical minimum

Together with the discussion about the problems related to poverty, it is necessary to point out, that in 2018, the percentage of the population, who lived in poverty has reached the historic minimum, and unfortunately there was no appropriate reaction of the onternational community on this issue.

During the last 30 years, the number of people who lived in poverty decreased by 1 billion. However, in the contemporary period, more than 750 million people spent less than $1,90 daily, but their number in 1990 was reaching 1/3 of the world`s population (In both cases, income was calculated by PPP method, in constant prices for 2011.) China has made a huge contribution to the formatting of this common picture. The income per person in the whole world (in constant prices for 2010) within 1990-2017 has been increased by 48%, from $7170 to $10 635, in China income growth per capita within the same period reached 1000%, from $730 to $7300. In Comparison with China, comparatively modest, but anyway impressive growth for 300% took place in India, where the average income was increased for 4 times till $2000 (Interpressnews, 2018).

During the discussion of "Global Poverty", the main problematic region remains Africa. Asia is moving toward progress by the rapid steps, the progress is noticeable in Latino America too, but no radical economic growth has been fixed in Africa. From 1990-2015, the number of inhabitants in the African continent, who lived in extreme poverty, increased from 278 to 413 million. But this happened first of all because of population growth and not by the percentage indicator. By 2030, it is expected that from every ten Africans, who will live in extreme poverty, 9 will come on the share of Sub-Saharan Africa (Interpressnews, 2018).

The reduction of Global poverty does not mean that socio-economic conditions of all countries have been improved. Besides the fact that 750 million people remain in poverty, the situation within the last 5-10 years has become extremely worse in such states as Venezuela and Syria. The problems have increased in Egypt and Libya too. At the same time, the similar situation is often deteriorating in separate one state too, when the gap related to the economic income between rich and poor parts of the population in one concrete country is increasing, but, together with the economic growth in a particular state, in the long term perspectives, those people (poor) also have the profit. Two centuries ago, at the beginning of the industrial revolution, in extreme poverty lived about 80% of the world population, many of them were spending their lives under slavery conditions (Chitadze, 2017). In the contemporary period, the situation has radically changed, and even in the rapidly developing country can be found people, whose conditions are bad. But, in the framework of long-term policy, all people can take benefits.

Thus, nowadays, the situation is radically different and even though the near future does not guarantee the full elimination of poverty, it makes possible the further prediction of its reduction.
The majority of economists are agreed, that discussing sentimental statistics, according to which about 26-27 richest people on our planet have more property than more than 3 billion people together - is not significant and even unfair. Together with Bill Gates, who has spent his 30 billion USD for the saving millions of children's lives in Africa, Microsoft, Google, and other different giant companies create an opportunity for the delivering knowledge and establishment of communication, from where many poor people are finding their possibilities and, in many cases, manage to avoid the poverty (Chitadze, 2017). Neither Bill Gates nor Mark Zuckerberg or Elon Musk - none of them accumulated

their property by colonization policy against African, Asian or Latino American people, they have created new wealth, which did not exist before and which has implemented a huge contribution in reducing the level of poverty in the different regions of the world.

A very important role in reducing poverty on the global level is the Sustainable Development Goals, which have been worked out by the leading representatives of the International democratic community. In general, The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), otherwise known as the Global Goals, are a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and ensure that all people enjoy peace and prosperity.

These 17 Goals build on the successes of the Millennium Development Goals while including new areas such as climate change, economic inequality, innovation, sustainable consumption, peace, and justice, among other priorities. The goals are interconnected – often the key to success on one will involve tackling issues more commonly associated with another.
The SDGs came into effect in January 2016, and they will continue to guide UNDP (United Nations Development Program) policy and funding until 2030. As the lead UN development agency, UNDP is uniquely placed to help implement the Goals in some 170 countries and territories (Chitadze, 2019).

28.3. Unemployment

Unemployment is an extremely serious global problem that affects more or less every country. Unemployed is any person who does not have a paid job despite having the desire and ability to work. The category of unemployed is often attributed to the so-called category as semi-unemployed, i. e. the part of the labor force that has no source of income and their employment is temporary, seasonal, or occasional.

The problem of unemployment is acute in both developed and developing countries but manifests itself in different ways. Unemployment in developing countries is caused by common socio-economic and cultural backwardness. Added to this is the very rapid growth of the youth, which is growing the ranks of the unemployed every year. A significant part of the rural population has no land at all. The threat of famine forces them to leave the village and travel to the city, where there are already many unemployed. Due to the lack of professionalism, such a workforce is only involved in so-called "blackwork" (loader, unskilled worker, janitor, cleaner, washer, etc.) and can perform mostly physical operations. More than enough people are employed in these jobs. Part of the unemployed population, deprived of a livelihood, is trying to penetrate developed countries and seek salvation there, which further exacerbates the problem of illegal migration and xenophobia. For the significant part of the unemployed left on the ground, begging or being connected to the criminal world remains the only way to survive.

Picture 46. Types of Unemployment

Source: https://pcsb.instructure.com/courses/5054/assignments/180184

In the developed world, unemployment takes a different form. Finding an unskilled job is much easier here. On the contrary, the demand for such work is high and it becomes necessary to support workers, most of whom are from developing and former socialist countries (including illegal migrants). The local population is more worried about the so-called problem of functional unemployment - when a highly qualified specialist (engineer, doctor, economist, teacher, lawyer) cannot find a job according to his/her profession. In such a case, he/she refuses unskilled and non - prestigious activities and remains unemployed until he/she gets a suitable job. These expectations can last for years.

The unemployment rate is determined by the percentage of unemployed people in the economically active population but it is quite difficult to determine the number of unemployed. In most developed countries it is determined by the number of unemployed registered on the labor exchange, which of course does not match the actual number of unemployed, but neither does it differ much.

The situation is quite different in the developing world and in the post-Soviet republics, where only a small number of unemployed are registered on labor exchanges. This is due to the fact that the population has less hope of being able to find employment through the labor exchange. Some countries' statistics deliberately hide the number of unemployed and publish clearly reduced data.

Because of this, the unemployment rate in the countries of the world is very high and often goes beyond the real picture.

It should also be noted that in the case of unemployment, citizens of developed countries usually receive monetary compensation from the state, which significantly exceeds the subsistence level. Consequently, the problem of unemployment here is not such a painful problem nor does it cause as severe consequences as in the developing world.

In general, as for 2019, according to statistical data from the International Labour Organization, there were about 188 million unemployed people worldwide. In the first quarter of 2020, the International Labour Organization (ILO) predicted that up to 25 million jobs would be lost worldwide as a result of COVID-19 (ILO, 2020).

28.4. Homelessness

Homelessness is a serious social problem. A person who does not have a permanent home is considered homeless. In a broad sense, the homeless can be considered the part of the world's population that lives a nomadic life (about 120 million people, or 2% of the world's population). Refugees and internally displaced persons are often classified in the same category, but more often the homelessness is used in the narrow sense of the word to refer not to the above groups but to those nationals and foreigners (mostly illegal immigrants) who are permanently homeless due to extreme hardship.

Homelessness is not uncommon in rural areas, but it is mainly a problem in big cities. Unemployed and landless peasants are facing the city and further aggravating the already dire situation. This layer of the population takes refuge in the basements of large houses, roofs, so-called huts built in the suburbs, or live directly on the streets. Their main activity is begging.

This form of homelessness has become a serious problem in the developed world as well. Up to 3 million are homeless only in EU countries. In the US their number exceeds 2 million, in Japan exceeds 200 thousand, and even in such high-welfare countries as Canada and Australia, respectively, 150 thousand and 100 thousand people have no homes (Chitadze, 2017). The increase in the number of homeless children is particularly noticeable, which is a cause for concern.

Key Terminologies

Poverty

Unemployment

Subsistence

Consumer basket

Homelessness

Sustainable Development Goals

GDP Per Capita

United Nations Development Program

Questions for Consideration

What can be the main ways of human activities to avoid poverty on the global level?

How can be explained the differences in consumer baskets between developed and developing states?

Practicum

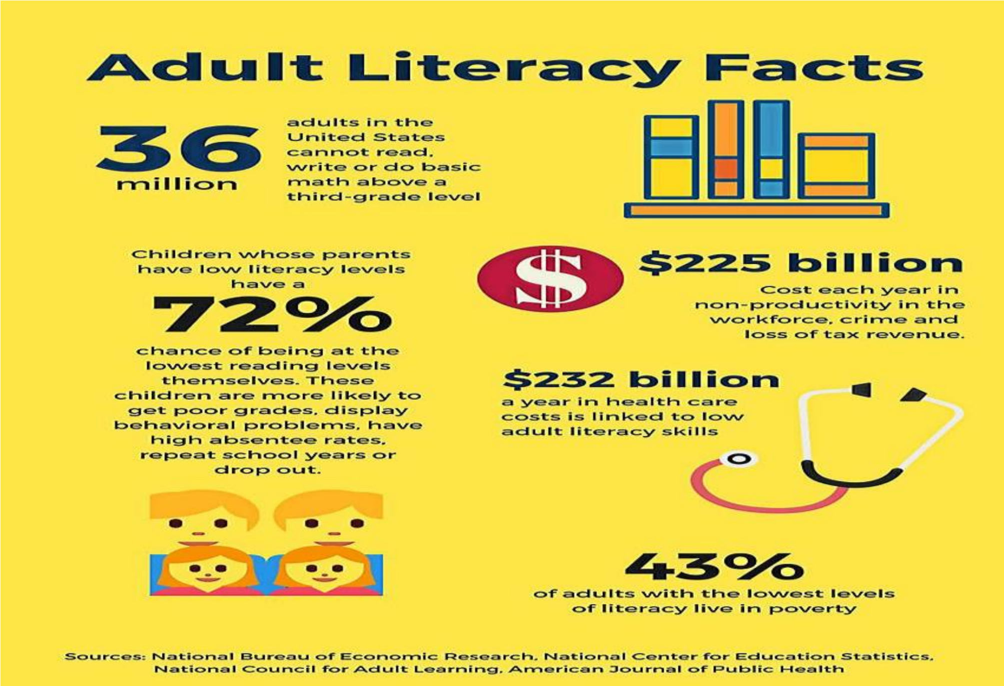
Please identify the poles of wealth and poverty on the world political map and explain the reasons.

Chapter 29. Education problems on the global level

It can be assumed, that one of the reasons for the weakness of democratic institutions and the tendency to violence is the educational factor. Despite advances in education over the past few decades, more than 115 million children at the beginning of the 21st century - almost 56% of whom were girls in the developing countries - had no access to primary education, and many have been forced to drop out of poverty due to family or social pressures (UN, 2005). Despite international efforts to increase literacy, 862 million adults (two-thirds of whom were women) became illiterate at the beginning of the 21st century.

So, it is not accidental that one of the main indicators of the development of this or that country is the level of education of the population, along with such important components of the field as GDP per capita and average life expectancy, etc. Therefore, within the Human Development Index of the state, determining the level of education is one of the most important components.

Picture 47. Adult Literacy Facts



Source: https://www.news-herald.com/news/ohio/illiteracy-often-unseen-very-real-problem-greater-cleveland-groups-say/article_759f3f9e-7109-55b0-a96e-e4f4d772e32d.html

In an era of scientific and technological revolution, when the process of globalization has swept the entire planet and humanity is a participant in the rapid development of information technology, without educated and highly qualified staff it is impossible to discuss any progress in a particular country. Due to this, many countries, especially the highly developed countries, allocate significant funds in the field of education. At the same time, most of the developing countries face other problems in the field of education: in many countries of the "Global South," the main problem is illiteracy and issues related to primary education.

Due to the above, in developed countries, secondary education is usually compulsory. In developing countries, secondary education is not available to a significant portion of the population. Consequently, in many developing countries, the proportion of people with secondary education in relation to the total population is relatively low. It is noteworthy that, at the beginning of the second decade of the XXI Century, in Western Europe, as well as in North America and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which included the former communist camp, 350 to 600 people out of every 1,000 people had secondary education. In developing countries, this figure was 150, while in the least developed countries of Asia and Africa this figure did not exceed 30 people per thousand population (Davitashvili, Z. Elizbarashvili, N. 2014).

As already mentioned, millions of children in developing countries are unable to attend school. Based on this factor, in tropical Africa and South Asia, the proportion of all children who do not even attend primary school varies from one-third to half of the whole amount of children in the concrete state. At the same time, in developed countries, all children receive their education at the first and second stages. Together with this, the problems of primary and secondary education are not limited to this fact (Chitadze, 2017).

The second problem is determining the quality of education, in particular, what is the teaching methodology in this or that educational institution and how useful knowledge is acquired by a particular young person in a complex and competitive environment. This problem is especially acute in the countries of the former communist regime, where a significant part of the population was absolutely unprepared to meet the new reality of the post-Cold War period. Especially in the post-Soviet space, an important part of the population is still unprepared for a market economy and democratic transformations. As a result, it is existed the term - Functional illiteracy, when a person has received some education in school and later even at the institute but is unable to use it in practical life. In this regard, in some countries, the education reform issues have been included in the agenda, which implies maximum integration of the education system of a particular country with the educational standards of the leading Western countries. All those factors do not mean that somebody should deny the national educational programs or weaken attention toward the native language and literature, history, or geography. It is just mentioned about the general principles and standards, with the purpose that gaining education in the native country should satisfy all those requests, which are necessary for the starting study at the universities of Europe and USA.

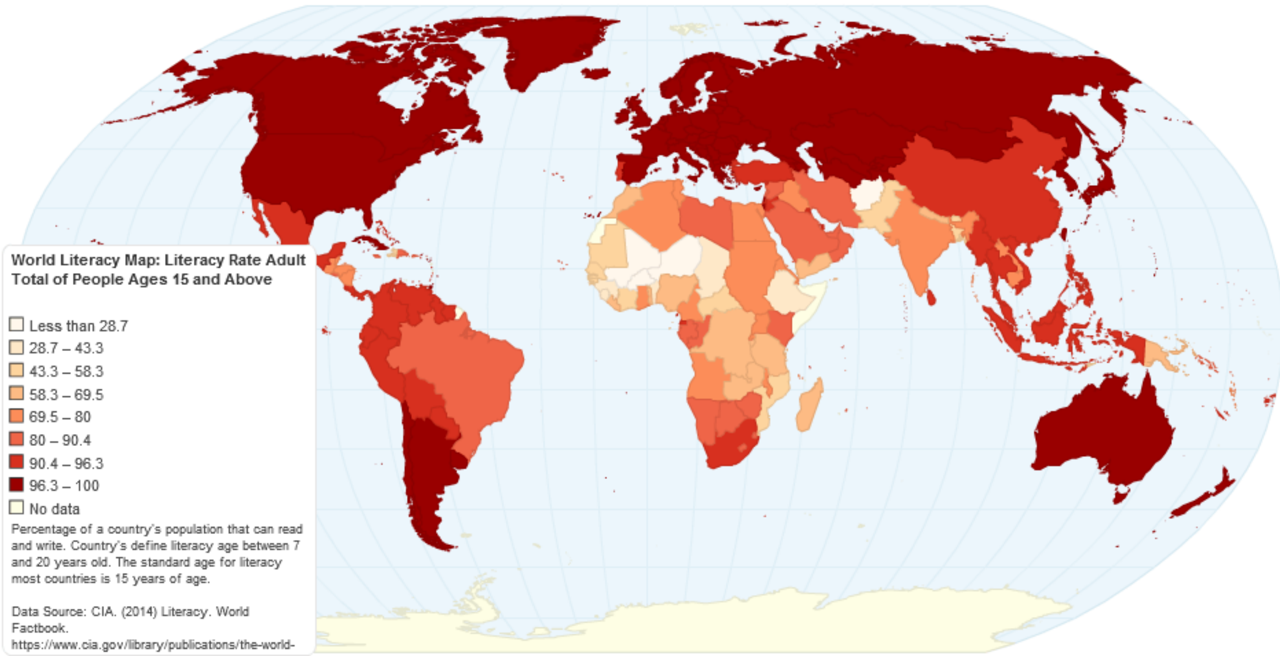
29.1. Geography of illiteracy

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, despite the progress in the field of education in recent years, nevertheless, at the beginning of the XXI Century, more than 115 million children – nearly 56 percent of them girls in developing countries – had no access to primary education, and many who begin to study were forced to leave study process because of poverty, family and social pressures (UN, 2005). Thus, in the developing world, even in the modern period, illiteracy is one of the most serious problems, in some countries it is a real catastrophe. When it is mentioned about the level of illiteracy of the population, it is not meant only the part of the children (under 18 years), who cannot read and write. In this case, also discussion is going on as well as about adults (over 18 years old) who do have not enough education and do not have the opportunity to do it throughout their life.

Despite some progress made in recent decades on the way to overcoming the problems related to education, the issue of illiteracy is still considered a serious problem. According to the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization`s (UNESCO) statistical information for 2019, about 773 million adults in the world were illiterate. Consequently, a very significant part of the world's population is not integrated into real modern life and lives in another - past epoch. It is also important to note the radical territorial disproportion observed in this area. It should be noted that 95,6 % of illiterate people inhabit the developing world (UNESCO, 2019). A particularly large number of illiterates are observed in South Asia and tropical Africa, where more than half of the population is illiterate.

It is very interesting to point out that in 2012, according to official statistics of the US Central Intelligence Agency, there were 4 countries in the world at that time, where 100% of the population was literate. Those countries were Norway, Luxembourg, Finland, and Georgia (Davitashvili, Z. Elizbarashvili, N. 2012).

Map 22. World Literacy Map. 2014



Source: https://speakingbooks.com/impact/

At the beginning of the second decade of the XXI Century, in more than 30 countries, literacy rates ranged from 99% to 100%. In about 85 states, the share of literacy was more than 90%. The lowest literacy rates (less than 20%) were in Bhutan, Afghanistan, Somalia, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, and Niger. India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and China hold the leading positions in the total number of illiterate people. The high number of illiterates in China, which is on the path of economic prosperity, together with other reasons is explained by the complexity of Chinese hieroglyphs (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2012).

Most governments in developing countries are aware of the fact that education is a major driver of further development in the 21st century. Taking into account this factor, the goal of the developing states is to minimize the share of illiterate people in the total population of the country. For this reason, with the assistance of the developed countries and international donor organizations, significant financial resources for increasing literacy and level of education are allocated. However, achieving ultimate success in this area is a difficult task.

At the same time, it should be noted that the illiteracy rate is gradually declining worldwide, which is generally a result of global socio-economic and cultural development. In particular, all over the world, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the share of illiterate people in the elderly population exceeded 90%. A particularly high rate of literacy was observed among women. In the second half of the twentieth century, respectively after the Second World War, the situation was significantly improved, but in the 70s of the last century, 37% of the world's population was still illiterate, including 45% of women and 28% of men worldwide. In 2010, illiteracy rates halved worldwide - to 18% of the entire population of the planet. By the end of the first decade of the 21st century, the literacy rate for women was 23% and for men, it was 14%. Significant progress has been made in overcoming illiteracy since the late 1990s when the proportion of illiterates dropped from 25% to 18% over a period of 10 years (Chitadze, 2017).

As it was pointed out, among the illiterate, 95.6% of people are from the developing world. By region, this level is particularly high in tropical Africa (52.7%) and South Asia (Chitadze, 2017).

Key Terminologies

Education

Literacy

Illiteracy

UN Population Fund

Primary School

Secondary education

US Central Intelligence Agency

Questions for Consideration

How can be explained the decreasing share of illiterate people within the last several decades?

How can be explained the radical disproportion in the illiteracy index between developed and developing countries?

Practicum

Please analyze the main geographic characters of illiteracy on the global level and explain the reasons.

Chapter 30. Global Demographic Problems

International aspects of such problems, as the population growth, it is aging in the economically and industrially developed countries, environmental pollution, are directly connected with the topics of globalization and interdependence of the modern world, and also with the economic activity of humanity, inequality of the distribution and limitation of the natural resources in our planet. From its turn, the topics on population growth and environment are interconnected with each other. Population growth influences the environment, at least by two means: First, increasing the number of inhabitants on our planet causes the consumption of more quantities of products, energy, and other resources. Second, there is an increase in economic activity, which is connected with environmental pollution due to the exhaust of gases, air pollution, water resources, etc.

The growth of the number of people on our planet, ecological problems affect the climate changing environment and influence not only on the separate countries or regions (despite the fact that some of them have the pressure of one or another problem) but on the whole of humanity in general. Due to this fact, they gained the name of global problems. In this regard, it should be underlined, that all of them:

- Have gained the really planetary, universal character and concern the interests of the people from all states;

- Threaten to humanity by the serious regress in the further development of the productive forces, under the conditions of the life itself;

- There are in need of urgent decisions and actions for the overcoming and prevention of the dangerous consequences and threats to the life support and security of the citizens;

- Require the collective efforts and actions from all the states, whole world community."

At the same time, different countries and regions by different levels are under the influence of the global problems and own the various means for their resolution. Here are the different approaches to them.

What are the perspectives of the development of global problems, among them one of the leading places having the problems of demography and ecology? How do they threaten humanity? Will the demographic and ecological problems be the sources for new conflicts? Or, possible or not, that those threats are exaggerated?

30.1. Population of the Planet

About two centuries ago, English researcher Thomas Malthus presented the theory, according to which the number of populations on the planet was growing more rapidly, than the possibilities of their providing food products (Malthus, 1798). In this process, he noticed the serious political consequences and offered to take some measures, for example, the limitation of birthrate, among them one of the main aspects could be the late marriage. Those ideas have caused the discussions, this theory had supporters and opponents, and the theory itself had a significant influence on the development of public opinion.
Then, for some period, Malthus' ideas faded into the background, but in the second half of the XX Century, due to the rapid population growth in the developing countries, it started again the discussion about possible catastrophe related to the overpopulation of the planet. It not only revived the interest in the positions of T. Malthus but introduced the idea for the development of a new direction in science, which gained the name *neo-Malthusianism*.

The topics of population growth have been dedicated to the reports of the Rome Club, which united the different researchers of the world for the resolution of the global problems. However, the worst fear did not come true; scientific-technical innovations give the opportunity, at least at this stage, to resolve this problem by more rational methods. Thus, the introduction of the new scientific developments in agriculture in the second half of the XX century increased the possibilities to sharply increase the grain harvest (production of grain started to outstrip the rate of the population growth) and cope with hunger. In the next period, this gained the name of *the Green Revolution*. More opportunities for the production of food products promise biotechnologies. Indeed, there are some questions, and some concerns related to the fact, how this type of food products are harmless for the health of the people. But today, when about 1 billion people in the world suffer from hunger, the question related to using biotechnologies is resolved mostly in a positive way (UN, 2005).

30.2. Rapid Growth of the world population

Each year, the population of the world is growing by 80-85 million people. The main reason for this is the fact that the birth rate is still high in developing countries. According to demographers, in the case of the continuation of this rate of population growth, in 2200 the number of the world population can reach 20 billion people. It is necessary to point out that, since 1987, for the world population growth of 1 billion people, it is necessary only 12 years. This table is a clear example of this date (Wordometer, 2021).

Table 17. World Population Growth between 1820-2021

Year	Population. Billion People	The time (space) of the increasing the number of populations above billion
1820	1	The whole previous history
1927	2	107
1960	3	33
1974	4	14
1987	5	13
1999	6	12
2011	7	12
2021	7.9	-

Source: https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/#:~:text=7.9%20Billion%20(2021),Nations%20estimates%20elaborated%20by%20Worldometer.

On the other hand, as of 2012, among the 156 million newborn babies, 125 million were born in the developing world. Accordingly, in the age structure of the countries from the global south the young people (Bliadze, M. Chanturia, G. Kereselidze, D. 2012).

In this regard it should be mentioned the following: There are two types of reproduction and age structure of the population. The first type of reproduction and age structure is characteristic the low fertility and relatively low mortality and very high average life expectancy. This type includes regions of Europe, North America, Australia, and Oceania. The most characteristic feature of the first type is lower than the worldwide proportion of young people of school and university ages and a higher proportion of the older people.

On average, people over the age of 60 years in the above–mentioned regions of the world account for 1/5 of the total population, including 3-4% of those over 80 years (Chitadze, 2017).
The second type is characteristic for the age structure of the second type of population reproduction, which is typical for their high fertility and greatly reduced mortality rates and high or very high natural increase. Admittedly, in this case, Africa, Latin America, and Asia are involved. Those regions are characterized by a high proportion of people with school and university ages and a low percentage of older ages. Averages for these three regions are children - 30%, the older people - 8% (CIA World Factbook. 2014).

Tab. 18. Population by age groups in percentage by continents and sub-regions. Data: July, 2013

Continent region	% age 0-14	% age 15-44	% age 45-64	% age 65+	Total
World	26.1 %	46.2 %	19.7 %	7.9 %	100%
Africa	39.8 %	45.2 %	11.4 %	3.6 %	100%
Americas	24.1 %	44.5 %	21.5 %	9.8 %	100%
Asia	25.0 %	47.9 %	20.1 %	7.1 %	100%
Caribbean	25.6 %	45.2 %	20.4 %	8.8 %	100%
Central America	29.6 %	47.4 %	16.7 %	6.3 %	100%
Eastern Africa	42.6 %	44.5 %	9.7 %	3.2 %	100%
Eastern Asia	17.8 %	46.3 %	25.6 %	10.3 %	100%
Eastern Europe	15.3 %	43.1 %	27.5 %	14.1 %	100%
Europe	15.6 %	40.3 %	27.3 %	16.8 %	100%
Middle Africa	44.0 %	43.4 %	9.6 %	2.9 %	100%
Northern Africa	30.9 %	48.2 %	15.8 %	5.1 %	100%
Northern America	19.7 %	39.9 %	26.4 %	14.0 %	100%
Northern Europe	17.3 %	39.5 %	25.8 %	17.4 %	100%
Oceania	23.8 %	43.0 %	21.9 %	11.3 %	100%
South America	25.6 %	47.3 %	19.4 %	7.6 %	100%
South-Central Asia	29.9 %	48.8 %	16.3 %	5.0 %	100%
South-Eastern Asia	26.3 %	48.8 %	19.0 %	5.9 %	100%

Continent region	% age 0-14	% age 15-44	% age 45-64	% age 65+	Total
World	26.1 %	46.2 %	19.7 %	7.9 %	100%
Southern Africa	30.2 %	49.5 %	15.4 %	4.9 %	100%
Southern Europe	15.0 %	39.5 %	26.9 %	18.7 %	100%
Western Africa	42.7 %	43.8 %	10.3 %	3.2 %	100%
Western Asia	30.7 %	48.9 %	15.5 %	4.8 %	100%
Western Europe	15.6 %	36.9 %	28.3 %	19.1 %	100%

Source: UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2013

It is no wonder that such age structure also generates a big problem, but quite different from those in developed countries. First, it is the problem of "demographic burden", i.e., the ratio of young people to the labor force. Second, it is the problem of education, to provide for the younger generation the basic and secondary education under the conditions, when the rapid growth of population in the countries of global south significantly prevails over the increasing the number of the schools, colleges and other types of educational institutions. Thus, it creates a deficit of the schools and teachers (as it was mentioned above, it is the percentage of people with high education in developing countries).

At the same time, despite the opportunities, having been offered by scientific-technical progress, the problem of the population of the planet and using human resources remains one of the most important problems in the development of the world. As of May 2021, the population prevails 7 billion 900 million people, at the same time, if we take into consideration the history of humanity, this reproduction of the population within the different periods of world history was going on irregularly (Worldometers, 2021). The number of populations in 1 billion people was reached in the first quarter of the XIX Century, 2 billion in the middle of the XX c. As it was mentioned above, then, it is noticed the rapid leap since 1987, because from this period the world population has been increasing by 1 billion people every 12 years. By the UN estimations, by 2050, the world population can reach 9 billion 300 million people (Chitadze, 2017).

However, there is another prognosis too, the Australian demographers are more restrained during the estimation related to the population`s growth. According to their estimates, in 2070, it will be about 8,4 Billion, and after that will start to decrease and never will reach the number 9 billion people (Lebedeva, 2007). Other scientists also somehow support this point of view and consider that the number of populations will reach some maximal index, but later the stabilization will start.

It should be mentioned, that during the last years the prognosis related to the population’s growth has become more restrained. Thus, in 1980th UN experts predicted world population growth by 2050 to 10 billion people (Kereselidze, 2012). The reasons for the corrections have become more strict methodological approaches to the estimations and more accurate relations with statistics. To those factors can be added other aspects too. For example, in many countries (first of all in Europe) the birth rate has fallen down and in the developing countries, the demographic growth was not so rapid, as it was expected. As a result of all those tendencies, some panic dispositions, which are connected with the neo-Malthusianism concerns related to the overpopulation of our planet, we're going down, but have not fully disappeared.

Today there is going on discussion on three versions of the basic prognosis about changing the number of populations in the world: rapid, moderate, and negligible growth.

However, it is important not only the absolute index of the population of the planet, but its composition too (ethnic, gender, age groups, etc.), and also distribution of the reproduction and number of populations according to the different regions of the world. Population growth is mostly implemented as a result of the reproduction processes in the Global “South”. Due to it, demographic problems are strongly connected with the relations “North-South”. Thus, Iraq for example has one of the highest rates of reproduction of the population, about 3% per year and India has the leading positions by absolute indexes. By some estimates, by 2050 in this country the population will increase by 600 million people and as a result will surpass the population of China (as it is known as the first country according to the number of population) in the middle of the XXI century (Chitadze, 2019).

In the annual report of the United Nations for 2001 it was pointed out that by 2050, the population of the 48 poorest countries in the world would have increased three times, even though the AIDS epidemic will somehow restrain the population`s growth in Africa. From the UN materials from the previous years, it should be pointed out that if from 1950 to 1955 in the developing countries 79% of the annual growth of population, within the second decade of the XXI century this index has prevailed 90% (Chitadze, 2017). For the prognosis in 2045-2050, the whole growth will come on the share of the countries from the global “South” (UN Population Fund, 2001). This inequality in the increasing number of populations between developing and developed countries has obtained the name of *the demographic divide* between the North and South Hemispheres.

For the developing countries, in several of them, the problem of population growth is especially acute, the high level of birthrate and many children in families represents the main demographic character for those states. But at the same time, in many countries, the mortality rate among children is also high. In the developed states, on the contrary, both indexes, birthrate and children`s mortality are law. On average, if in the developed countries there are 1,6 children per woman, in the developing countries – 3,4 (Davitashvili, 2012). During the last years, by the estimation of the demographic situation, more and more attention is paid to the problem of AIDS and other infectious diseases, which concerned, first of all, all countries of the “global south” and secondly, the young generation.

Picture 48. Is overpopulation a problem?

Source: https://medium.com/swlh/human-overpopulation-isnt-a-problem-sort-of-341c5367bdf5

A high level of the birthrate in developing countries leads humanity to more misery because families need to feed the little children. Many experts consider that poor family is forced to spend much more percent of their budget on nourishment in comparison with those who have higher income. However, as the volume of GDP per capita is increasing, the living standards are improving. As a result, such states pass through so-called *demographic transit*. At the beginning of this process, the rates of birthrate and mortality are close to each other, then, as a result of the improvement of health care, providing the people with food and water, the rapid prevailing of birth rate over the mortality takes place. After the ending of this transit, both curves are becoming closer again, but first of all because of the decreasing birth rate. Countries of Europe and the USA passed from the demographic transit within the period from the second half of XVIII c. till the first third of XX c. Majority of the states in the world are still in the demographic transit stage (Maksakovsky, 2009).
If we take in general the population of our planet, today two of those curves are in a rapprochement stage. This tendency gained the name of *stabilization rate* and is also considered as a base for the recognition of the groundlessness of the pessimistic positions related to the overpopulation of the planet.

During the period of demographic transit, other demographic indexes are also changed. For example, the educational level of the population is improved, the average life expectancy is increased. Characterized by the developing countries, the prevailing position of the young population (where families have many children, but life expectancy is the law) is changed by the "leadership" of the elder age group. According to a UN expert's prognosis, the average age of the world population will be higher, because the average life expectancy will be increased. As a result, people with 60 years old will become more than three times, in comparison with the modern time, and the number of those people, whose age prev 80 years, will be increased for the five times. And this is despite the factor, that every 9 people among 10 will live in developing countries (Lebedeva, 2007). The consequences of this will be various economic problems, which will be connected with the social protection of the people with the pension age. For the resolving of this problem, several versions are being discussed, including increasing the pension age.

During the analysis of the demographic policy in the developing countries, several authors, for example, L. Brown, pay attention to the danger of falling into a “demographic trap”, when the state is oriented on the birth rate growth for the purpose, to gain more labor force and do not pay attention to the high mortality rate and low living standards, which takes the society to the social tensions and conflicts (Brown, 1994).

For the developed states, who passed the demographic transit, in comparison to the developing ones, is characterized by the law of reproduction of the population, or even it is decreasing. Due to it, according to UN prognosis, by 2050 in the developed countries (the USA is an exception) the decreasing population will be fixed (Chitadze, 2017).

Inside of the different states also exists the difference in the rate of reproduction of the population. Usually, it is higher in rural areas than in urban areas. With the social groups with high incomes, as a rule, the number of children in families is lower in comparison with those who have less income.

Differences in the living conditions of the different countries, conflicts, ecologic problems, lack of access to the resources, etc. cause such phenomena, as migration of the population. During the estimation of the migration waves, some difficulties have emerged: it is not always possible to get information about the exact number of populations, because a very important part of migrants crosses the borders illegally, thus, they live in the foreign country illegally. In addition, there is a huge number of refugees, who are forced to leave their native countries because of conflicts. With them and internally displaced persons/peoples – there are special difficulties. The last group is the people, who left the places of the previous residence due to the social, ecologic and political difficulties but who have not at the same time the status of refugee to another state due to the fact, they have moved from one to another region inside of one country.

A significant number of people have left their country, for example in Afghanistan, which is determined by the political situation and instability in the native state, or in Ethiopia – due to the low level of living standards. Based on the indexes of the World Resources Institute, WRI, at the end of the 1990th, outside of their countries lived more than 140 million people (including illegal migrants and refugees) (World Resources Institute, 2001) and in 2017 number of migrants prevailed 255 million people (International Migration Agency, 2018).

Within the 1990th, the main part of emigrants was directed in the USA, Canada, Australia, and countries of the European Union. In Europe, within the 1990th, the biggest part of immigrants was coming on the share of Germany. They were about 7% of the inhabitants of this country. In general, about 5% of immigrants. And in the USA, at the end of 1990th, according to the dates, which presents B. Hughes, several thousand people were admitted to enter this country and about 250 thousand of them were illegal immigrants (Chitadze, 2016).

Usually, immigrants have less income than the basic population. But, at the same time, those people have more salaries in comparison to what they could earn in their native countries. The state's attitude toward immigrants is different. Deficit of the labor force in one or another field of the economy causes their admission to the internal market and offers them new job places. However, the existence of the important number of immigrants often causes social tensions (because they take job places from the local population) and the development of xenophobia (i.e., not tolerance toward the people with the other ethnic and racial groups); increasing the nationalistic dispositions and activation of the nationalistic parties; conflicts on the ethnical and racial base; deterioration the criminal situation in the country. At the same time, immigrants need legal and social protection (providing accommodation, pensions, education of children, health care, etc.), which only expands the circle of problems.

As it was mentioned, the migration of population is going on not only among the countries but inside of them. In the modern world, it is observed the clear tendency of the movement of the rural population to the urban areas, which gained the name of *urbanization*. Till 2030, for example, it is expected to double the number of urban inhabitants in comparison to the beginning of the XXI Century. At the same time, 4 billion people, as is expected, will live in the cities of the economically developing states. It will improve their chances for medical treatment, access to fresh water, and receiving education.

However, at the same time, urbanization leads us to the increasing danger of epidemics (especially in the developing states); the number of terrorist acts, and the growth of technological catastrophes with a significant number of human victims. There are more and more cities with the number of inhabitants, prevailing 10 million people, which also create a list of problems – ecological, municipal management, etc. (Kereselidze, 2012)

The international community has been actively involved in the problems of population growth since the second half of the XX Century. In 1974, the first conference of the United Nations on population was held in Bucharest to fix the phenomena, which is the fact, that the economic development of the states causes the decrease of the birthrate (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020). In connection with it, representatives of the "global south" appealed to the developed countries to implement economic aid for the developing states, which had to bring the improvement of the living standards and as a rule, the decreasing birth rate. However, during the second conference of the United Nations on population, which was held in Mexico in 1984, the issue about the necessity by the developing countries themselves to be attentively involved in the control over the number of populations was discussed (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020).

To conduct the policy in the field of the population is possible by the stimulation of the birthrate, releasing the additional allowances for the children, social protection of the large families with many children, etc. At the same time, to implement countermeasures: to limit the birth rate by economic means of legislative norms. India is one of the first countries, which at the beginning of the 50th adopted the program of family planning (Neidze, 2004). In the second half of the 1990th, this policy was conducted by 100 countries in the world (but not all of them were effective). It should be pointed out that in many developing countries, according to B. Hughes, such types of programs were not sufficiently worked out, or they were absent (Chitadze, 2016).

In 1994, in Kairo, the third conference of the UN was held. This conference had a little bit of another name – the UN Conference on Population and Development (UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020). In the determination of the name itself, new approaches have found their reflection.

The problems of population and development started to be considered in the close ties. It was declared, that for example, the question about stabilizing the speeds of the population`s growth of our planet could be resolved only in the context of the wider complex of the problems of the economic and social development. It was also underlined, that during the control over the number of populations, it is necessary to pay attention not only to the economy but also to humanitarian aspects, which are connected with education, opening the creative potential of the people, which come at the first stage at the beginning of the XXI Century.

Key Terminologies

Demography

Population Growth

Reproduction of the population

Mortality Rate

UN Conference on Population and Development

UN Population Fund

Demographic Transit

Demographic Divide

World Population Prospects

Questions for Consideration

What are the positive and negative consequences of World population growth?

What are the main reasons for the radical differences in population growth in developing and developed countries?

Practicum

Please collect and analyze the materials related to the demographic policy of the different countries (on the example of 4-5 states), which from one side encourages the population growth in the country (for example France) and from the second side limits the population growth (on the example of China).

Chapter 31. Migration – one of the most important global problems

Migration is one of the most important globals, and at the same time, complex problem, because it represents not only demographical but also serious social, economic, and political problems and creates many difficulties in many countries of the world. As it is known, there are two types of migration: Internal and external.

Despite the existence of the significant problems in the case of internal migration, it is anyway the problems of separate countries and their resolution should be regulated by the conducting the concrete policy of the presented state (adoption of the concrete legislation, etc.). Thus, there are much more problems during the external or international (especially illegal) migration, which has already gained global character and the fighting against illegal ones requires international efforts.

In the contemporary period, there are three main centers of the international migrant's concentration: Western Europe, North America, and Arabic states of the Persian Gulf.

31.1. Number of International Migrants globally and according to the countries

Let`s consider the number of migrants according to the separate countries:

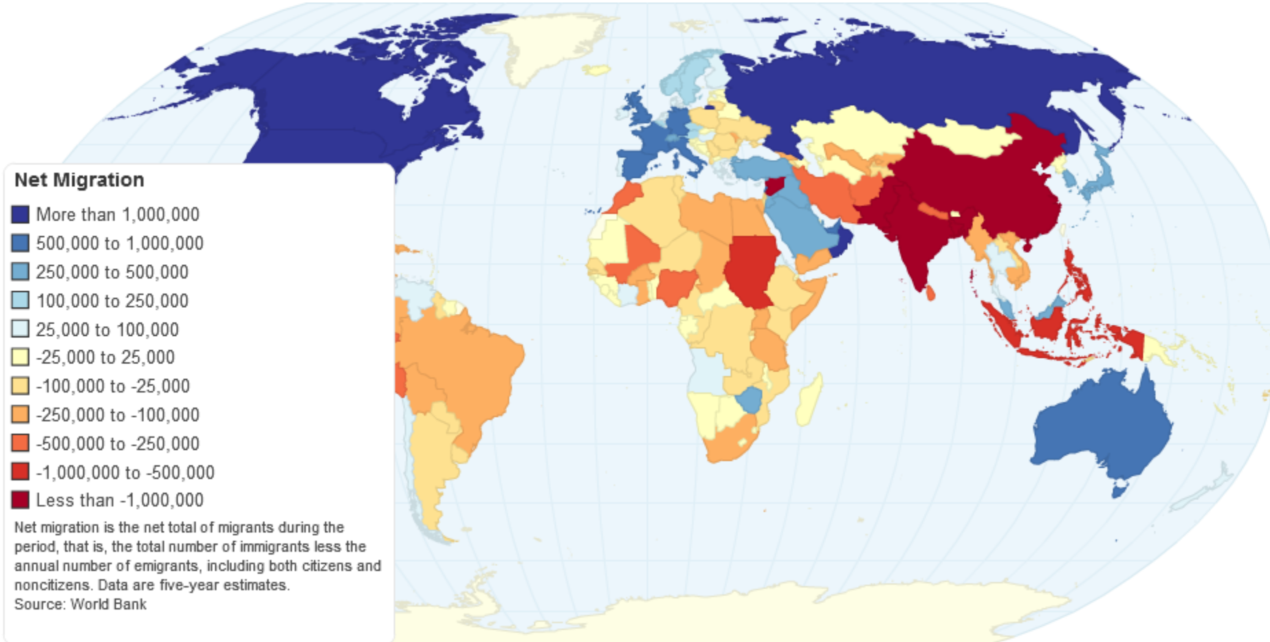
According to the estimates of the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs, in 2017 the world counted 258 million international migrants, which is about 3.4 percent of the global population (United Nations, 2017).

According to the International Migration Report of the United Nation, in 2017 about 50 million migrants lived in the United States of America (International Migration Report, 2017). People are moving from all over the world towards the state between two Oceans, with the purpose that the "American Dream" will come true.

United States leadership in rankings is no surprise to anyone. As a rule, immigrants leave their homeland for economic hardship or for some reason they have been persecuted in their home countries. No one will go from one poor country to another poor country in the search of happiness.

The US is the world's largest economy in the world, GDP of which as to the first quarter of 2019 prevails 21, 06 trillion USD and where **the Real gross domestic product** (GDP) increased at an annual rate of 3.2 percent within the same period – presented in the report of the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (Bureau of Economic Analysis, 2019). Furthermore, if we take into consideration the political factors, the USA is the country, where people are not persecuted because of political views or religious beliefs. It was not a matter of many difficulties to enter into the states illegally until recently, but the initiative of building a wall on the Mexican border and determining the new standards for those people – particularly, more requirement in professionalism for those, who are trying to gain the "Green Card" - might change this condition radically.

Map 23. Net Migration



Source: http://chartsbin.com/view/25090

There is no comprehensive answer to the question of whether migrants are good or bad for the recipient country? On the one hand, migrants are cheap labor, which reduces the cost of production and makes a country much more competitive on the world market. On the other hand, the criminal rate in migrants is significantly higher, and the directly affected portion of residents by the crime is added to the increased costs of police and penitentiary institutions.

Based on the Eurasia net report, about 12 million migrants live in Russia (Eurasianet, 2018). Most probably, this number of migrants might seem unbelievable in the country, which is authoritarian and where the standard of living is lower in comparison with the average income in Europe, but people from post-soviet countries are still intensively traveling to this country. In comparison with English, Russian does not represent a language barrier to the migrants in Russia from the former Soviet republics. While standards of living in Russia are lower than in the USA, Germany, Switzerland, or even in Estonia (as a former soviet republic), it is higher than in for example Uzbekistan, Moldova, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, and Tajikistan. At the same time, in comparison with US and European countries, Russia is not a safe country for migrants, many of them have even become victims of racial attack.

About the same number of migrants (12-12 million) are in Saudi Arabia and Germany, as pointed out in the UN International Migration Report in 2017 (International Migration Report, 2017).

A high number of immigrants in Saudi Arabia is a result of the size of this country and income from the export of oil. Those factors are attracting millions of migrants from other Arab countries.
Regarding Germany, immigrants constitute, this country is fourth in the World and first in Europe by socio-economic development (according to the volume of GDP), Germany is attractive for Turks, Russians and people living in Eastern Europe.

At the same time, the percentage of migrants in each country varies considerably. As it is presented in the material of the International Organization for Migration, which is functioning in Slovakia, the countries with the highest percentage are the United Arab Emirates (88.4%), Kuwait (75.5%), Qatar (65.2%), Liechtenstein (65%), Monaco (54.9%), Bahrain 46%) and Luxembourg (45.3%) (International Organization for Migration, 2019).

Thus, The United Arab Emirates occupies the absolute championship in terms of percentage data. Migrants in this country are mainly from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and the Philippines. Burj Khalifa, Palm Jumeirah, and other architectural marvels are built by migrant workers.

In general, it should be mentioned that there are many serious problems related to immigration practically in all those countries of the world, where the number of immigrants is more or less significant. In western Europe, immigrants are mostly from the Near East and Africa. Racial, cultural, and religious differences complicate their adaptation, and language barrier and in most cases, low level of education and qualification and different style of life emerges the new tensions.

It should be mentioned that the Population in the world is currently (2018-2019) growing at a rate of around 1.07% per year (down from 1.09% in 2018, 1.12% in 2017, and 1.14% in 2016). The current average population increase is estimated at 82 million people per year, reports Wordometer (Wordometer, 2019). Thus, as of January 1, 2019, the population is estimated at 7.67 billion people (Wordometer, 2019). From its turn, based on this statistical data, also on the fact, that the world population growth for 90% is coming on the share of the countries of the global South, it can be predicted, that the number of immigrants from the countries of the global South to the countries of the global North will gradually increase in the short-term and long-term perspectives.

At the same time, it is necessary to point out some positive tendencies of migration for developing countries. Particularly, according to the World Bank Group report for April 8, 2018, officially recorded annual remittance flows to low- and middle-income countries reached $529 billion in 2018, an increase of 9.6 percent over the previous record high of $483 billion in 2017. Global remittances, which include flows to high-income countries, reached $689 billion in 2018, up from $633 billion in 2017 (Interpressnews, 2018).

The basis for such record growth is the increase of the employment rate in the US, as well as the growth of the industry in the Persian Gulf countries and several EU member states. This factor somehow simplifies the economic conditions in the countries from the Global South and decreases such global problems, such as the existence of the North-South gap.

31.2. Modern Internal Migration Problems

Migration is one of the most important globals, and at the same time, complex problems, because it is not only a demographic but also a serious social, economic and political problem and creates many difficulties in many countries around the world.

Migration itself is a normal, common occurrence and has always played a major role throughout human history, in most cases it has contributed to progress and rapprochement of peoples, and in many cases, the states themselves have sought to facilitate and regulate this or that migration process.

Migration has become a problem only when it is not managed and the processes are uncontrolled. This is what they mean when they talk about migration as a global problem.

The main reason for modern migration is socio-economic problems. This applies equally to both internal and external migrations.

The most common type of internal migration is "village-city" migration. In developed countries it has been going on for several centuries and, in practice, has already reached its maximum. In Western European countries, 80-90% of the population lives in cities, while agriculture accounts for only a small part of the rural population, and the majority work in cities (Chitadze, 2017). Here the opposite process has already begun: the migration of the population from the city to the village. Relatively secured strata prefer to avoid city dust and noise and settle in rural nature near the city. Thanks to the best roads and your car, it takes no more than 1-1.5 hours to get to work in the city.

The situation is completely different in the developing world, where migration from rural to urban areas has reached a particularly large scale. The main reasons for this situation are the very high natural increase of the population and the increase of the density of the rural population. Added to this are the land degradation, erosion, desertification, and other natural disasters, due to which the area of arable land per capita is steadily declining, while part of the population remains completely uninhabited. The threat of famine is becoming real and every year tens of millions of people are forced to flee the city and look for work there. This impoverished and unprepared mass fills the ranks of the city's unemployed and criminals and exacerbates the city's problems.

31.3. Modern problems of international migration

Despite their severity, internal migration is a problem for individual states, and it is more or less possible for the state to solve or regulate it by pursuing certain policies. A much bigger problem is external, i.e., international (especially illegal) migration, which has acquired truly global chaos, and the fight against it requires universal effort.

Currently, three main centers for attracting international migrants are identified: Western Europe, North America, and the Arab states of the Persian Gulf.

Immigrants pose a serious problem in virtually every country, where their numbers are more or less significant. Immigrants to Western Europe come mostly from the Middle East and Africa. Racial and cultural-religious differences already complicate adaptation, while the language barrier, low levels of education and qualifications, and different lifestyles exacerbate the situation. As a result, a confrontation arises between immigrants and the local population. Immigrants are sometimes seen as competitors in the labor market, more often than not they fill the ranks of vagrants and criminals. All this revived the almost forgotten ethnic nationalism of Western Europe and reinforced xenophobia.

The problem of immigration to the United States is no less acute, with the vast majority of migrants currently coming from Latin America illegally. Every day, at least 3,000 illegal migrants cross the U.S.-Mexico border, forcing the state to begin building costly barriers along the entire perimeter of the border. Currently, 20-25% of the population in the southern US states are Hispanic, and by the end of the 21st century, according to some estimates, 40-50% of the entire population of the country will be Hispanic. The United States, which painlessly managed to "deport" millions of migrants of different ethnicities to the United States, is now facing a very serious threat, and for the first time in its history, the problem of xenophobia has emerged (Interpressnews, 2018).

Immigration problems turned out to be less acute for the Arab countries of the Persian Gulf. The reason for this is that the vast majority of immigrants are from other Arab countries. Consequently, the problem of cultural adaptation and the language barrier has been removed.

Migration is a serious problem not only for migrant recipients but also for issuing countries. The countries of mass immigration leave the active, able-bodied, and intellectual part of the population, which has a severe impact on the social, economic, and demographic picture of the country.

31.4. Problems of refugees and IDPs

A separate, very acute manifestation of migration problems is the problems of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). A refugee is a person who is forced to leave his / her country and seek refuge in another state due to war, political repression, ethnic, racial, religious persecution, natural disasters, and any other extreme reasons. Persons who have left their homes for the same reasons but have remained in the country are referred to as IDPs.

The UN High Commissioner for refugees presented statistical data on refugees and IDPs. According to those dates, in 1995 there were 27, 4 million people, but in 1999 this number decreased to 21,5 million (Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2001). The biggest part of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) is a result of the existing armed conflicts. So, even before the starting of the antiterrorist operation in Afghanistan by US and British armed forces after the events of September 11, 2001, about 6 million people was forced to leave this country; Conflict in Rwanda in the middle of 1990th caused the fact, that homeless become more than 2 million people (Lebedeva, 2007). Those events represented the real catastrophe. As a result of the conflicts on the territory of former Yugoslavia, from the different republics number of emigrants consisted of more than 3 million people (NATO, 2006). It should be pointed out that Europe has not known such several refugees since the period of World War 2.

The number of refugees and IDPs has grown particularly rapidly at the beginning of the XXI Century, largely due to the "merit" of the conflicts in the former socialist and developing countries. By 2007, there were approximately 12.1 million refugees and 34 million refugees worldwide. This poses a very serious problem both for the countries where their significant concentration is observed and for the world as a whole. As for 2020, Among the forcibly displaced, there are 25.9 million refugees, 41.3 million people displaced in their own country, and 3.5 million asylum-seekers awaiting a determination on refugee status (UNHCR, 2020).

Picture 49. Human migration, the permanent change of residence by an individual or group

Source: https://www.britannica.com/topic/human-migration

Most of the refugees are from countries where civil war and armed conflict have been going on for several years. Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Myanmar, Syria, and Sudan stand out in this respect. The picture is roughly similar in terms of the number of internally displaced persons. The "champions" in this regard are Sudan (more than 5 million refugees), and Iraq (4.2 million people).

As for the countries receiving refugees, the United States (2.6 million refugees), Iran, Pakistan, Germany, France, the Netherlands, and some other European countries stand out with this figure.

The problem of refugees and internally displaced persons is very serious in the post-Soviet states, especially in the South Caucasus. There are more than 100,000 refugees in Armenia, the vast majority of whom are Armenians who previously lived in Azerbaijan and left Azerbaijan during the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Up to 100,000 refugees in Azerbaijan are Azerbaijanis from Armenia, far more refugees from Azerbaijan are in Russia, and almost a million people are internally displaced persons. The number of foreign refugees in Georgia is not large (10 thousand people), but officially 270 thousand IDPs from Abkhazia and Tskhinvali are mentioned. Up to 200,000 more refugees from Georgia's conflict regions are in other countries (Chitadze, 2017). Clearly, this is a serious problem for the country.

31.5. Territorial location of the population and accommodation problems

31.5.1 Population Deployment Factors

Among the global demographic problems, the territorial distribution of the population is the most "geographical". The unequal distribution of the population, its high density in individual countries and regions, and vice versa, extremely sparsely populated or uninhabited large areas in other states is a serious problem with many accompanying complications.

The unequal distribution of the population is caused by many factors, which can be divided into 4 main groups: natural-geographical, historical, socio-economic, and demographic. Their role and significance were various in the different historical epochs and in different regions.

31.5.2. The problem of population density and territorial settlement

Clear evidence of the unequal distribution of population on Earth is provided by several figures: 80% of the Earth's population lives in the Eastern Hemisphere and 20% in the West. 90% of the world's population is concentrated in the Northern Hemisphere and only 10% in the Southern Hemisphere. Almost 60% of the earth's population lives up to 200 meters above sea level, up to 500 meters - 85%, while above 2000 m only 1.5% of the population is concentrated. More than half of the world's population is settled on the coast (no more than 200 kilometers away) and is characterized by a steady growth trend, with more than 7% of the world's land area is concentrating more than 70% of the world's population (Chitadze, 2017).

These data are indicative of the fact that on the world map there are several regions where a large population is observed and, consequently, the population density is very high. Three areas stand out in this respect - Europe (excluding Northern Europe), the US East Coast, East, South, and Southeast Asia. However, the high density of Western Europe and the eastern coast of the United States is due to the high share of the urban population. The rate of urbanization in the US and Europe is 70-90%, in the respective regions of Asia - where lives almost half of the world population lives - high population density is due to the high share of the rural population (50-70%). Consequently, a large part of the Asian population is employed in agriculture. At the same time, the production of agricultural products under extensive agricultural conditions is often unprofitable and often fails to provide food for the population. In addition, as a result of rapid population growth and soil degradation, there is a steady decline in the average number of agricultural lands per capita. In Asia, for example, in 1985 the average area of the agricultural land per capita was 0.22 ha, and in 2005 it was 0.18 ha. Similar data were 0.4 and 0.3 ha for Africa. The situation is especially difficult in South Asia, the Indonesian island of Java, the Nile Delta, etc. (Chitadze, 2017).

The problem of area congestion and the status change is a serious global problem. The Population in overpopulated regions is forced to leave their place of residence and seek fortune in other regions, by this way creating serious problems in their immigration areas. In addition, relocation can pose a problem for food security and hunger. In some countries, there were attempts to carry out planned, organized migration of people from densely populated regions to less populated regions, but the effect was negligible. It seems that the only way to solve this problem is to limit the natural increase of the population and socio-economic progress.

31.6. Rural housing and rural problems

For centuries, the rural settlement has been the main, and in some sense, the only form of territorial settlement of the population. It should be mentioned that by the beginning of the 19th century, 97% of the world's population lived in rural areas. However, in recent centuries the role of cities has been growing rapidly and the city is gradually becoming (it has long been in Europe and North America) the main form of settlement. In the modern period, almost half of the world's population (more than 3,5 billion people) still lives in the countryside (Davitashvili, 2014). The share of the rural population was particularly large in the countries of Africa, East, and Southeast Asia. Rural problems are also fundamentally different in development and in developed countries.

Rural problems in developing countries are mainly manifested in relative displacement, area congestion, and socio-economic backwardness. In most countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, a significant portion of the countryside lacks electricity, gas, radio, television, and telephone connections. In many places, there are no schools, medical centers, or cultural institutions. In addition, in many countries, people are engaged in agricultural activities using outdated technology. As a result, in the developing world, the countryside is “expelling” millions of people each year who seek refuge and employment in the cities. A huge mass of people deprived of education and qualifications fill the ranks of the unemployed and the homeless and mostly fill themselves with begging or criminal activities. This is the biggest problem not only for the developing world, but for the whole of humanity, and it belongs to a number of global problems.

In most of the highly developed countries, the village, as already mentioned, is a conditional concept and is actually a small settlement that does not have the status of a city. Such "villages" are formed mainly within the urban agglomeration and are inhabited by the most affluent strata of the population. This is a category that can have its own villas and live in an isolated doorway hidden in green areas instead of city noise and dust. Clearly, this part of the population, with few exceptions, has no connection with agriculture, they work in cities and daily move from the “green areas” to the cities. In southern Europe and the former communist countries, traditional villages are still preserved, the main problem of the countryside is population migration and demographic aging. The youth, in most of the cases, move to the city and in the village, there remain only elderly people. This leads to a shortage of labor resources. For this reason, seasonal work in rural areas is mainly implemented by foreign immigrants, some of whom are constantly staying and significantly changing the ethnic and religious image of the population. It creates a new base for xenophobia and ethnoreligious controversy.

31.7. Problems of urbanization and cities

Among the global problems, the problems of urbanization are becoming more and more urgent. In its content, this problem is complex and does not fit alone within the framework of demographic problems. It is often connected with social, economic, ethnocultural, and even political problems. At the same time, the problems of urbanization are a global problem and are manifested in practically every country, although it is manifested differently depending on the level of socio-economic and historical-cultural development of a given state.

31.7.1. Types of urbanization and related problems

Among the global problems, the problems of urbanization and cities are becoming more and more urgent. In its content, this problem is complex and does not fit alone within the framework of demographic problems. It is often connected with social, economic, ethnocultural, and even political problems. At the same time, the problems of urbanization and cities are a global problem and occur in virtually every country, although this is manifested differently depending on the level of socio-economic and historical-cultural development of a given state.

Urbanization manifests itself differently in developed and developing countries.

In most countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, both the absolute number and the share of the urban population are growing very fast. In Asia, for example, as of the second decade of the XXI century, the average annual population growth rate was 3.3%, in Africa - 4.9%, and in Latin America - 2.7%. At the same time, in Europe and North America, this index did not exceed 0.7%. In 1975, the urban population of developing countries exceeded that of the number in developed countries. By 2005, the difference was 2.5 times higher (1.0 billion people in developed countries and 2.5 billion in the developing world), but obviously, this does not mean that developing countries are more urbanized than developed ones (Davitashvili, 2014).

The growth of the urban population in the Third World is driven by mass migration from the countryside. Millions of people without livelihoods are forced to flee to the city and seek refuge there, but because of the weak economic potential, developing countries do not allow migrants to be employed and this mass of the people, mostly unemployed, fill the group of beggars and criminals. In addition, it is very difficult or not at all possible for the new arriving population to adapt to the urban environment. On the contrary, migrants bring their way of life, which is typical for the countryside and not suitable for urban conditions. In particular, in a number of cities in developing countries, it is common practice for residents to own cattle and has a small vegetable garden. And as the share of the rural population in the urban population grows steadily, such a lifestyle is becoming more and more prevalent in the urban areas. Thus, the so-called False urbanization emerges, when the share of the urban population in the structure of the total population increases, but it does not spread the urban lifestyle and increases the role of urban functions. On the contrary, there is going on devaluation of urban traditions and the establishment of a rural lifestyle in the cities.

The situation is completely different in most developed countries. The norms of urban life here have a long history and instead of any devaluation, on the contrary, they are becoming more and more widespread among the non-urban population. The growth of the urban population in developed countries is driven by the demand for labor. Thus, the cities gain additional new urban functions. Therefore, the population, who is migrating to the cities (including foreigners) is undergoing a rather severe adaptation and has an urban lifestyle. At the same time, there are some tendencies, according to which the share of the urban population in the number of developed countries does not increase and it even decreases as the affluent layers of the population leave the city and settle outside the urban area. Formally, they are considered rural residents but have nothing in common with agriculture. The village lives within an urban lifestyle and the vast majority of the rural population also works in the city. Thus, a process diametrically different from developing countries and develops - the universal spread of urban life, including among the rural population.

31.7.2. Problems of large cities and urban agglomerations

The vast majority of urban problems come from the big city. It is in the big cities that a large part of the urban population is concentrated, the main industrial enterprises and trade-financial, administrative, or cultural-educational institutions are located. Major areas of environmental pollution are also large cities.

The fact that millions of people live in a few square kilometers and the population density is estimated at tens of thousands per square kilometer is an extremely serious problem and creates many difficulties.

With such a concentration of population, traffic is extremely difficult, air pollution reaches a critical level, serious problems arise in water supply and other utilities, the housing problem is very acute (especially in the suburbs of large cities of the developing countries). Meanwhile, big cities have become centers of the criminal world and criminal problems are extremely troubling the population.
In many countries, the hypertrophic development of one city (usually the capital and main port) has created serious difficulties. From rural and small towns, massive population migration is taking place in the main city, the provinces are "empty" and a large part of the country's economic, labor, or intellectual potential is concentrated in one big city. This has a severe impact on the economic and demographic picture of the country and poses a serious threat to the preservation of the nation's ethnographic and cultural traditions, as, unlike the countryside, a large city is less interested in ethnic features.

31.7. 3. Small town problems

The concept of a small city varies considerably from country to country. If in China and Japan to obtain the status of the city, the number of inhabitants should exceed 30 000 people, 200 inhabitants for the gaining city status in Denmark and Iceland is sufficient (Davitashvili, 2014). But the problems of small towns are not so much related to the population as to its functions. In many cases, the loss or change of function fundamentally changes the development perspective of cities and creates serious problems.

In most developing countries, small towns are actually large villages, where a significant portion of the population is engaged in agriculture. Only some functions (administrative, commercial, etc.) distinguish such cities from villages. The style of urban housing is not felt here, and since the prospects for agricultural development are also limited, the problem of poverty and unemployment is even more acute in such cities than in rural areas. The population is constantly moving. Relatively "experienced" citizens move to big cities, and their place is taken by the population coming from the village. Due to severe economic and socio-cultural conditions, a large number of small towns in developing countries are experiencing a permanent crisis.

In developed countries, as a rule, small towns are considered to be the most prestigious and comfortable housing. Own houses and green backyards are the defining factors of such cities. The relatively clean ecological environment, tranquility, and safe criminal situation further increase the attractiveness of small towns. That is why in developed countries the proportion of people living in small towns is increasing and we are witnessing the birth of many new cities.
A special situation is created in the case of small towns that change their profile or lose their old function. This problem affects cities in both developed and developing countries. For example, a severe crisis was created in cities that were centers of the mining industry, and due to depletion of

mineral resources or reduced demand for them, these functions were lost. The same can be said for the cities that had the function of a transportation center and found themselves in a traffic deadlock due to various circumstances (construction of a new highway, construction of a new port, etc.). The only solution in such a situation is to change the profile of the city and take on new functions, which are associated with high costs and require great efforts of the state.

Key Terminologies

International Migration Report

IDP

Refugee

Urbanization

Agglomeration

The density of the population

Territorial Settlement

The unequal distribution of the population

Questions for Consideration

What are the main problems of the big cities?

What are the main differences of the urban problems in the cities of developed and developing countries?

Practicum

Please present the comparative analysis of the positive and negative aspects of international migration.

Chapter 32. Environmental Problems of the Modern World

Environmental resources such as water and air have always been necessary conditions for human life and human activities. Within the duration of human history, the environment did not represent a problem for mankind and its sustainable development. There were opinions that the environment and the natural resources satisfied the needs of the people, without causing damage to the next generations.

In the second half of the 20th century, the topic of environmental protection has entered the political agenda, including political aspects, because humanity's economic activities have caused environmental pollution to a level that threatens various species and even the ecosystem as a whole. The urgency of the problems, research in the field of ecology, and the popularization of knowledge, as well as the active involvement of international non-governmental organizations and movements in the field of ecology, have resulted in the more widespread consideration of ecological problems.

32.1. Legislation and Programs in the Framework of Environmental Protection

Several technological catastrophes, which attracted the attention of the concerned states and later of the whole world community, have been an additional stimulus for reviewing ecological problems. One of the first countries that took measures to protect the atmosphere was Great Britain, which adopted appropriate legislation in 1956 (Clean Air Act, 1956).

At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1980s, ecological problems were included in the political agenda, mainly due to the fact that the economic damage inflicted on nature raised serious and acute questions about the sustainable development of humanity. In the 1970s, many countries began to create special departments and ministries for environmental protection. While in 1972 only 26 countries had such institutions, ten years later the number rose to 144 countries (Lebedeva, 2007). At the same time, contradictions between appropriate ecological protection on the one hand and economic and financial considerations, on the other hand, emerged in several countries.

In 1972, the first United Nations (UN) Conference on Environmental Problems was held in Stockholm. The conference established the United Nation Environmental Program (UNEP), which has the aim of stimulating international cooperation in this field (Heywood, 2002). In the following years, the conflict between economic and ecological interests intensified. The conflict was illustrated by the example of the third UN conference on Maritime Law (1973-1982), which adopted *the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea* (UNCLOS, 1982).

The conference concluded that it was difficult to reach a consensus among the more than 1000 representatives from 150 countries, which stood at the different levels of economic and technological development and, accordingly, had different abilities to conduct economic activities in the ocean. Despite these challenges, an agreement was reached. The Convention of 1982 created a twelve-mile zone for shipping and a 200-mile zone for economic activities at sea (fishery, extraction of fossil products, etc.) (UNCLOS, 1982).

Overall, the conference established the principle that the ocean represents a common heritage of humanity and recommended keeping a balance between economic activity and considerate consumption of natural resources.

In the 1980s, new topics appeared on the ecological agenda. While earlier the political aspects of ecology had been limited to the discussion of atmospheric and water pollution problems, in the following year's problems such as global warming, ozone depletion, and the preservation of flora and fauna diversity were added to the agenda.

The air pollution is especially suffered by big cities, which is connected first of all with traffic fumes. According to the World Health Organization, more than 3 billion people inhabit highly populated areas, where the quality of the air does not meet the standards (WHO, 2019). If the economically developed states do not adopt appropriate legislation and commit significant resources to the fight against emissions and other forms of air pollution, poorer countries will not be able to do the same. As a result, the situation is often becoming critical. One of the most polluted cities in the world is Mexico City.

Similar problems exist with regard to the pollution of water resources. It is especially difficult to resolve this problem when big cities and industrial enterprises with bad water purification systems are located on the banks of water reservoirs.

The next ecological problem is connected to the reduction of fertile soil, which affects increasing desertification and is significantly reducing forest areas. During many centuries, human civilization has developed as a result of gaining control over new land territories. At the beginning of the 21st century, these possibilities have been practically exhausted. According to expert estimates, in 2025, the annual acreage of arable lands, on average in the whole world, can only be 0,17 hectares (Chitadze, 2017). Under those conditions, agricultural development can be implemented only by the intensification of the farming land. However, due to the excessive use of new arable lands, an active intensification of agricultural production can cause serious ecological problems.

Increasing the area of new arable lands, for example, is implemented by cutting down forests. Furthermore, forests, being a valuable raw material, are also cut down for commercial purposes. As a result, according to the World Resources Institute, at the beginning of the 21st century, the forest area of the world has been reduced to 4 billion hectares, which is approximately half of what it was about eight thousand years ago. Only half a century ago, 12% of our planet was covered by tropical forests. Today, tropical forests remain on 6% of the world’s surface (World Resources Institute, 2020).

Many countries have practically lost their entire forest stocks. For example, only 10% of the territory of Madagascar is covered by forests. The countries of Eastern Africa, Brazil, and China are also in a difficult situation. Tropical forests are cut down intensively in developing countries (14 million hectares annually) because forests represent a significant part of the income of those states. Brazil in particular obtains approximately 6 billion USD as a result of the export of forests and forest materials. The serious consequences of these actions have been observed since the 1950s (Chitadze, 2016).

Oftentimes, restored forest areas are still experiencing negative developments: Usually, only one species of trees is planted, which grow rapidly and are subsequently cut down again. The effects of deforestation contribute to other negative effects, which are caused by human economic activity, like acid rain and the pollution of air and water. The disappearance of forests causes the erosion of soil and the expansion of desert areas. According to information from the United Nations Environmental Program, 35% of the land was under the threat of harmful processes connected to deforestation and the expansion of deserts already in 1984 (UN University, 2018).

The loss of forest areas and the pollution of the environment are the main reasons for the disappearance of several types of animals and plants. According to the estimates of ecologists, a habitat reduction by 1/10 causes the number of species to decrease by almost 50% (Lebedeva, 2007). Besides, losing the opportunity to enjoy the aesthetic beauty of nature, the economic consequences of such losses for different industry branches cannot be overestimated. The pharmaceutical industry, for example, cannot function without natural raw materials.

Picture 50. Different kind of global environmental problems

Source: https://steemit.com/fundraising/@nabstertsr/environmental-problems

The emission of a large number of gases in the atmosphere causes another phenomenon – *the greenhouse effect*. Even though this phenomenon has been described since the XIX century, the problem started to cause serious concerns only in the 1980s. During the conference in Toronto in 1988, which was dedicated to climate change, the greenhouse effect problem was included in the event's agenda. After considering this topic, several suggestions related to the reduction of gas emissions in the atmosphere were regarded and worked out (University of Toronto, 2013).

In 1989, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted the decision to organize a UN Conference on Environment and Development, which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Approximately during this period, more and more fears were caused by the decrease of the ozone layer of the earth. During the Rio de Janeiro conference, the *Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC)* was adopted. Because the rich and poor countries have different abilities, the conference also adopted the concept of common, but at the same time different responsibilities for the environment. It was mentioned that the countries of the "North", which have a share of about 20% of the world population, produce more than 70% of the emissions that generate the greenhouse effect. Due to this fact, the Conference appealed first to the countries of the North not only to be maximally responsible in their actions but also to assist the countries of the "South" to protect the environment from a technological and economic point of view. Both developed and developing countries supported this position (UNCED, 1992).

The conference furthermore mentioned the important role of society and non-governmental organizations in evaluating the effects of human activity on the environment and its protection. Having been created as a result of the conference, an intergovernmental group was given the responsibility to prepare the conference in Kyoto. Concerning the session of the group, which was held in Berlin in 1995, the American authors A. Lamborn and J. Lepgold stated:

- It was recognized, that the purposes, which were suggested in the framework-convention for the reduction of harmful waste in the atmosphere, would not be achieved by 2000;
- It was pointed out that it was necessary to adopt new legal obligations for environmental protection after 2000 as well;
- It was determined that the developed countries were not able to resolve the problems related to environmental protection by themselves. The "Global South" will increase its emissions and would reach the same number of problems as the "Global North" approximately in 2030;
- It was decided to reformulate the principles regarding the responsibilities of the states (Lamborn, Lepgold, 2002).

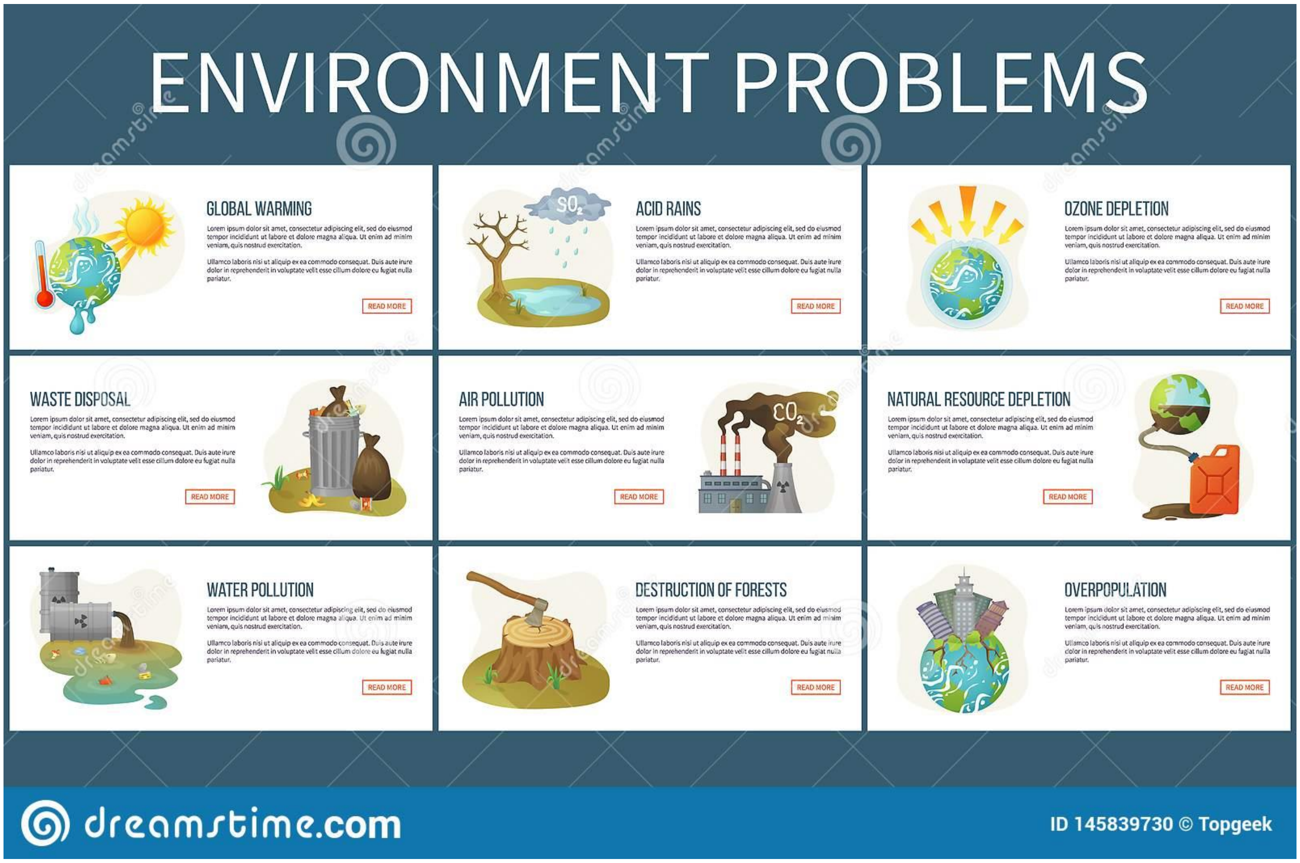
Before the conference in Kyoto, the intergovernmental group met again in Bonn. At this stage, members of the European Union presented suggestions, according to which the developed countries had to take on the responsibility to reduce emissions to stop the greenhouse effect. Different types of radical sanctions and fines were suggested for those, who would not fulfill the obligations. Several states, which were immediately threatened by the greenhouse effect (for example Cyprus, which was concerned about the sharp rise of the ocean level), supported the initiative to move the starting point of the agreement to the year 2005 instead of 2010.

The conference in Kyoto, which was held in 1997, clearly demonstrated the different viewpoints on the ecological problems and potential solutions. The developed countries argued that in the 21st century the countries of the "Global South" would be the main source of emissions, as several of them were undergoing rapid socio-economic development. In contrast, China, India, and other countries joining their initiative insisted that the reduction of emissions should not concern them. They provided several arguments. Firstly, in the contemporary period, the volume of emissions, caused by the developed and developing states, had not been equal. Secondly, developing countries could not afford to reduce emissions. Furthermore, they argued that the biggest share of emissions causing ecological problems was produced by the USA (United Nations Climate Change, 2020).

Despite the disagreements, the Kyoto conference was concluded by the signing of the Kyoto Protocol, which was approved by 159 states. According to this document, the 38 industrially developed states had to reduce the emissions of six types of gases that were causing the greenhouse effect in comparison with the baseline year 1990 in the period from 2008 to 2012 – this included an 8% reduction for EU members, 7% reduction for the USA, and a 6% reduction for Japan (United Nations Climate Change, 2020).

Until the end of the year 2000, 84 countries signed, and 31 countries ratified the Kyoto Protocol. However, most of these countries are small island states, for which the Kyoto Protocol is not a big burden on the one hand, and who are less vulnerable as a result of the greenhouse effect, on the other hand (United Nations Climate Change, 2020).

Picture 51. Environmental problems of Planet - Environmental problems vector, ozone depletion and deforestation, water and air pollution, global warming and waste disposal, acid rains



Source: https://www.dreamstime.com/environmental-problems-planet-webpages-text-vector-ozone-depletion-deforestation-water-air-pollution-global-warming-waste-image145839730

Over the next years, several countries led hard discussions about the possibility and feasibility of fulfilling the Kyoto Protocol. Several developing countries like, for example, Argentina decided to support the Kyoto Protocol's common direction for emission reductions. Many developing countries did however remain outside of the protocol's frame of action, as they were mostly oriented towards the goal of economic development. The attempts to establish a system, which can foster the reduction of harmful emissions independent of countries' economic development, their level of dependence on the greenhouse effect, and their contemporary level of emissions, has not yielded any result.

The problem of protecting the environment is not limited to the above-mentioned aspects. Further concerns are the question of nuclear waste and the possibility of technological catastrophes with global or regional ecological consequences. One of the first of these types of ecological catastrophes took place in the USSR near the city of Chelyabinsk. The next big accident, involving nuclear pollution, happened in Pennsylvania in 1976. Another serious incident was registered at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in 1986 (Kegley, Wittkopf, 2011).

Ecological danger does, however, not only stem from nuclear facilities. Accidents in chemical and other enterprises, especially those, which are located in areas with high population density, can have equally devastating consequences. Other dangers stem from the daily activities of humans. In 1984, for example, a chemical production accident in the Indian city of Bhopal cost the lives of about 1500 people (Varma, 2005).

Another problem in the field of environmental protection is the construction of hydropower stations. On the one hand, hydropower stations offer the possibility to produce clean energy. On the other hand, these projects are interfering with the ecological balance of river basins, flooding large areas, and creating obstacles for fish movement, etc. The economic interests of states and private transnational corporations hereby often conflict with the interests of environmental protection organizations, including ecological movements and also human rights organizations. Conflicts have, for example, erupted about the construction of the hydropower stations on the Danube, the Amazon, and other rivers.

Lastly, armed conflicts and their influence on the environmental situation represent a problem. Even small, local conflicts can create big ecological catastrophes. The war in the Persian Gulf, caused by Iraq's occupation of Kuwait, for example, has demonstrated the danger of arson in oil fields. The efforts of many countries were required to stop those fires and clear the area from oil pollution.

At the same time, the environment itself can become the source of conflict, for example, conflicts over control of freshwater resources or the possibility to eat clean products and breathe fresh air.

Overall, according to Oxford researcher A. Hurrell, within the period from 1970 till the end of 1990, in the discussion of the ecological issues, one could note a transition from discussing issues, which are connected with the "limits of the resources existing on the planet", to topics related to the need to set "limits to the wastes resulting from economic processes" (Hurrell, 2012).

The ecological problems of the modern ages require joint efforts by states, international governmental and non-governmental organizations, think tanks, transnational corporations, and individual experts in the related fields. In this regard, ecological problems require the involvement of different international actors in the process of world politics and highlight their interactions during the resolution of contemporary problems. The example of ecological problems shows the interdisciplinary character of the problems of the modern world, the resolution of which requires expert knowledge from specialists in the fields of international relations, law, economics, biology, chemistry, geography, and others.

Finally, the above-mentioned examples emphasize the blurring of the boundaries between internal and external policies, on the one hand, and between the two scientific disciplines of political sciences and classical international (interstate) relations, on the other hand. As it was noted by E. Harrell during the analysis of the global problems of the environment, applying political theory to separate countries is intellectually not an adequate choice (Hurrell, 2012). Overall, despite the difficulties and contradictions that the modern world is facing during the resolution of ecologic problems, it is important to find methods and capabilities to manage these problems. International regimes in the field of ecology are one of these methods.

32.2. Problems of global warming

Global warming is expected to have far-reaching, long-lasting, and, in many cases, devastating consequences for planet Earth.

Global warming, the gradual heating of Earth's surface, oceans, and atmosphere, is caused by human activity, primarily the burning of fossil fuels that pump carbon dioxide (CO_2), methane, and other greenhouse gases into the atmosphere.

Despite political controversy about climate change, a major report released Sept. 27, 2013, by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) stated that scientists are more certain than ever of the link between human activities and global warming. More than 197 international scientific organizations agree that global warming is real and has been caused by human action (Elizbarashvili, 2014).

32.2.1. Already, global warming is having a measurable effect on the planet

"We can observe this happening in real-time in many places. Ice is melting in both polar ice caps and mountain glaciers. Lakes around the world, including Lake Superior, are warming rapidly — in some cases faster than the surrounding environment. Animals are changing migration patterns and plants are changing the dates of activity," such as trees budding their leaves earlier in the spring and dropping them later in the fall, Josef Werne, a professor of geology and environmental science at the University of Pittsburgh, told Live Science (CENN, 2020).

32.2.2 Increase in average temperatures and temperature extremes

One of the most immediate and obvious effects of global warming is the increase in temperatures around the world. The average global temperature has increased by about 1.4 degrees Fahrenheit (0.8 degrees Celsius) over the past 100 years, according to the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA).

Since record-keeping began in 1895, the hottest year on record worldwide was 2016, according to NOAA and NASA data. That year Earth's surface temperature was 1.78 degrees F (0.99 degrees C) warmer than the average across the entire 20th century. Before 2016, 2015 was the warmest year on record, globally. And before 2015? Yep, 2014. 16 of the 17 warmest years on record have happened since 2001, according to NASA (NASA, 2020).

For the contiguous United States and Alaska, 2016 was the second-warmest year on record and the 20th consecutive year that the annual average surface temperature exceeded the 122-year average since record-keeping began, according to NOAA (NOAA, 2020).

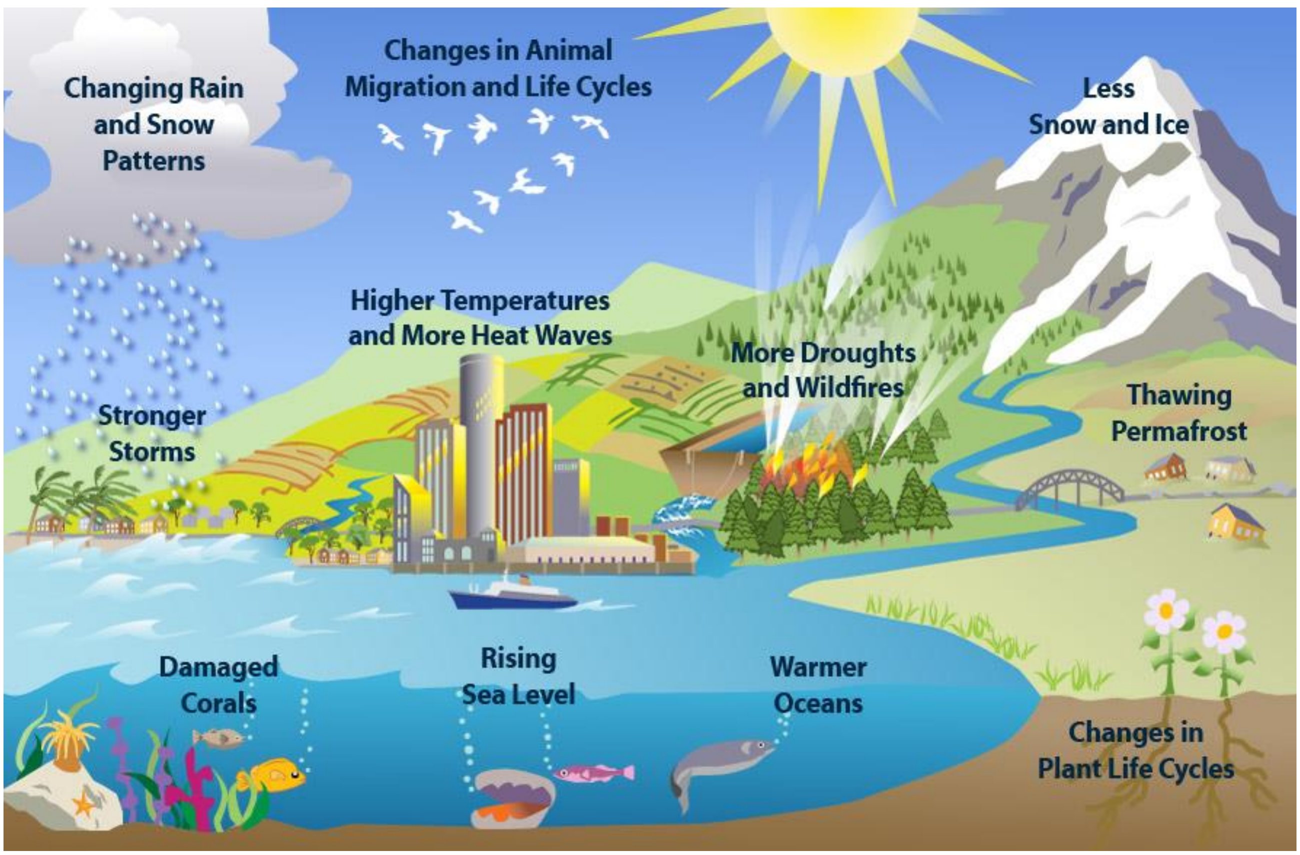
32.2.3. Extreme weather events

Extreme weather is another effect of global warming. While experiencing some of the hottest summers on record, much of the United States has also been experiencing colder-than-normal winters.

Climate changes can cause the polar jet stream — the boundary between the cold North Pole air and the warm equatorial air — to migrate south, bringing with it cold, Arctic air. This is why some states can have a sudden cold snap or colder-than-normal winter, even during the long-term trend of global warming, Werne explained.

"Climate is, by definition, the long-term average of weather, over many years. One cold (or warm) year or season has little to do with the overall climate. It is when those cold (or warm) years become more and more regular that we start to recognize it as a change in climate rather than simply an anomalous year of weather," he said (CENN, 2020).

Picture 52. Main indicators of Global Warming



Source: http://mutame.blogspot.com/2015/12/what-is-global-warming-and-climate.html

Global warming may also lead to extreme weather other than cold or heat extremes. For example, hurricane formations will change. Though this is still a subject of active scientific research, current computer models of the atmosphere indicate that hurricanes are more likely to become less frequent on a global basis, though the hurricanes that do form may be more intense.

"And even if they become less frequent globally, hurricanes could still become more frequent in some particular areas," said atmospheric scientist Adam Sobel, author of "Storm Surge: Hurricane Sandy, Our Changing Climate, and Extreme Weather of the Past and Future" (Harper Wave, 2014). "Additionally, scientists are confident that hurricanes will become more intense due to climate change." This is because hurricanes get their energy from the temperature difference between the warm tropical ocean and the cold upper atmosphere. Global warming increases that temperature difference.

"Since the most damage by far comes from the most intense hurricanes — such as typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines in 2013 — this means that hurricanes could become overall more destructive," said Sobel, a Columbia University professor in the departments of Earth and Environmental Sciences, and Applied Physics and Applied Mathematics. (Hurricanes are called typhoons in the western North Pacific, and they're called cyclones in the South Pacific and Indian oceans.)

Lightening is another weather feature that is being affected by global warming. According to a 2014 study, a 50 percent increase in the number of lightning strikes within the United States is expected by 2100 if global temperatures continue to rise. The researchers of the study found a 12 percent increase in lightning activity for every 1.8-degree F (1 degree C) of warming in the atmosphere.

NOAA established the U.S. Climate Extremes Index (CEI) in 1996 to track extreme weather events. The number of extreme weather events that are among the most unusual in the historical record, according to the CEI, has been rising over the last four decades (NOAA, 2020).

Scientists project that extreme weather events, such as heatwaves, droughts, blizzards, and rainstorms will continue to occur more often and with greater intensity due to global warming, according to Climate Central. Climate models forecast that global warming will cause climate patterns worldwide to experience significant changes. These changes will likely include major shifts in wind patterns, annual precipitation, and seasonal temperatures variations.

In addition, because high levels of greenhouse gases are likely to remain in the atmosphere for many years, these changes are expected to last for several decades or longer, according to the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). In the northeastern United States, for example, climate change is likely to bring increased annual rainfall, while in the Pacific Northwest, summer rainfall is expected to decrease, the EPA said (EPA, 2020).

32.2.4. Ice melt

One of the primary manifestations of climate change so far is melting. North America, Europe, and Asia have all seen a trend toward less snow cover between 1960 and 2015, according to 2016 research published in the journal Current Climate Change Reports. According to the National Snow and Ice Data Center, there is now 10 percent less permafrost, or permanently frozen ground, in the Northern Hemisphere than there was in the early 1900s. The thawing of permafrost can cause landslides and other sudden land collapses. It can also release long-buried microbes, as in a 2016 case when a cache of buried reindeer carcasses thawed and caused an outbreak of anthrax.

One of the most dramatic effects of global warming is the reduction in Arctic Sea ice. Sea ice hit record-low extents in both the fall and winter of 2015 and 2016, meaning that at the time when the ice is supposed to be at its peak, it was lagging. The melt means there is less thick sea ice that persists for multiple years. That means less heat is reflected into the atmosphere by the shiny surface of the ice and more is absorbed by the comparatively darker ocean, creating a feedback loop that causes even more melt, according to NASA's Operation Ice Bridge.

Glacial retreat, too, is an obvious effect of global warming. Only 25 glaciers bigger than 25 acres are now found in Montana's Glacier National Park, where about 150 glaciers were once found, according to the U.S. Geological Survey. A similar trend is seen in glacial areas worldwide. According to a 2016 study in the journal Nature Geoscience, there is a 99 percent likelihood that this rapid retreat is due to human-caused climate change. Some glaciers retreated up to 15 times as much as they would have without global warming, those researchers found (CENN, 2020).

32.2.5. Sea levels and ocean acidification

In general, as the ice melts, sea levels rise. In 2014, the World Meteorological Organization reported that sea-level rise accelerated 0.12 inches (3 millimeters) per year on average worldwide. This is around double the average annual rise of 0.07 in. (1.6 mm) in the 20th century.

Melting polar ice in the Arctic and Antarctic regions, coupled with melting ice sheets and glaciers across Greenland, North America, South America, Europe, and Asia, are expected to raise sea levels significantly. And humans are mostly to blame: In the IPCC report released on Sept. 27, 2013, climate scientists said they are at least 95 percent certain that humans are to blame for warming oceans, rapidly melting ice, and rising sea levels, changes that have been observed since the 1950s.

Global sea levels have risen about 8 inches since 1870, according to the EPA, and the rate of increase is expected to accelerate in the coming years. If current trends continue, many coastal areas, where roughly half of the Earth's human population lives, will be inundated.

Researchers project that by 2100, average sea levels will be 2.3 feet (.7 meters) higher in New York City, 2.9 feet (0.88 m) higher at Hampton Roads, Virginia, and 3.5 feet (1.06 m) higher at Galveston, Texas, the EPA reports. According to an IPCC report, if greenhouse gas emissions remain unchecked, global sea levels could rise by as much as 3 feet (0.9 meters) by 2100. That estimate is an increase from the estimated 0.9 to 2.7 feet (0.3 to 0.8 meters) that was predicted in the 2007 IPCC report for future sea-level rise.

Sea level isn't the only thing changing for the oceans due to global warming. As levels of CO2 increase, the oceans absorb some of that gas, which increases the acidity of seawater. Werner explains it this way: "When you dissolve CO2 in water, you get carbonic acid. This is the same thing that happens in cans of soda. When you pop the top on a can of Dr. Pepper, the pH is 2 — quite acidic."

Since the Industrial Revolution began in the early 1700s, the acidity of the oceans has increased about 25 percent, according to the EPA. "This is a problem in the oceans, in large part, because many marine organisms make shells out of calcium carbonate (think corals, oysters), and their shells dissolve in acid solution," said Werne. "So as we add more and more CO_2 to the ocean, it gets more and more acidic, dissolving more and more shells of sea creatures. This is not good for their health."

If current ocean acidification trends continue, coral reefs are expected to become increasingly rare in areas where they are now common, including most U.S. waters, the EPA reports. In 2016 and 2017, portions of the Great Barrier Reef in Australia were hit with bleaching, a phenomenon in which coral eject their symbiotic algae. Bleaching is a sign of stress from too-warm waters, unbalanced pH, or pollution; coral can recover from bleaching, but back-to-back episodes make recovery less likely (Chitadze, 2017).

32.2.6. Plants and animals

The effects of global warming on the Earth's ecosystems are expected to be profound and widespread. Many species of plants and animals are already moving their range northward or to higher altitudes as a result of warming temperatures, according to a report from the National Academy of Sciences.

"They are not just moving north; they are moving from the equator toward the poles. They are quite simply following the range of comfortable temperatures, which is migrating to the poles as the global average temperature warms," Werne said. Ultimately, he said, this becomes a problem when the rate of climate change velocity (how fast a region changes put into a spatial term) is faster than the rate that many organisms can migrate. Because of this, many animals may not be able to compete in the new climate regime and may go extinct.

Additionally, migratory birds and insects are now arriving in their summer feeding and nesting grounds several days or weeks earlier than they did in the 20th century, according to the EPA.
Warmer temperatures will also expand the range of many disease-causing pathogens that were once confined to tropical and subtropical areas, killing off plant and animal species that formerly were protected from disease.

These and other effects of global warming, if left unchecked, will likely contribute to the disappearance of up to one-half of Earth's plants and one-third of animals from their current range by 2080, according to a 2013 report in the journal Nature Climate Change.

32.2.7. Social effects

As dramatic as the effects of climate change are expected to be on the natural world, the projected changes to human society may be even more devastating.

Agricultural systems will likely be dealt a crippling blow. Though growing seasons in some areas will expand, the combined impacts of drought, severe weather, lack of accumulated snowmelt, greater number and diversity of pests, lower groundwater tables, and a loss of arable land could cause severe crop failures and livestock shortages worldwide.

North Carolina State University also notes that carbon dioxide is affecting plant growth. Though CO_2 can increase the growth of plants, the plants may become less nutritious.

This loss of food security may, in turn, create havoc in international food markets and could spark famines, food riots, political instability, and civil unrest worldwide, according to several analyses from sources as diverse as the U.S Department of Defense, the Center for American Progress and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

In addition to less nutritious food, the effect of global warming on human health is also expected to be serious. The American Medical Association has reported an increase in mosquito-borne diseases like malaria and dengue fever, as well as a rise in cases of chronic conditions like asthma, most likely as a direct result of global warming. The 2016 outbreak of the Zika virus, a mosquito-borne illness, highlighted the dangers of climate change. The disease causes devastating birth defects in fetuses when pregnant women are infected, and climate change could make higher-latitude areas habitable for the mosquitoes that spread the disease, experts said. Longer, hotter summers could also lead to the spread of tick-borne illnesses.

Key Terminologies

Climate Change

Framework Convention on Climate Change

Rio De-Janeiro Conference

Kyoto Protocol

Greenhouse effect

Global warming

Ice melt

Ocean acidification

Environment pollution

Sustainable Development

United Nations Environmental Program

Third Conference on Maritime Law

Atmosphere pollution

Pollution of water resources

UN Convention on Climate Changes

Global Warming

UN Conference on Environment and Development

Technogenic Disasters

Questions for Consideration

Why in the second half of the XX Century the questions related to the population of our planet and ecology have become Global?

What is the essence of ecological problems in the modern world?

How has the agenda on ecological problems changed within history? Please list the most important conferences and decisions, which have been adopted within those events?

What is the main danger of technogenic disasters for the environment?

Practicum

Please describe the basic directions of the activities of NGO-s related to the improvement of environmental conditions in the concrete region and on the global level.

Chapter 33. Global ethnic, racial, and religious problems

Ethnic processes

Ethnic problems have become one of the most serious global problems in the modern world, that is, in a broad sense all the problems that are related to racial, linguistic, ethnocultural, or religious differences. These differences have been a source of controversy for centuries, and history knows the numerous examples of religious wars, racism, ethnic cleansing, and cultural incompatibility. Along with the socio-economic and cultural progress, when people were given wide opportunities to get closer to each other, to get to know each other's culture and to learn many things from each other, it was as if the cause of controversy had disappeared. As a matter, this did not happen and the confrontation has not only weakened but in many cases even aggravated. The complication of ethnic problems is particularly palpable in an era of globalization. This is primarily reflected in the revival of ethnic nationalism and is a reaction to the threat related to the disappearance of ethnic identity due to the spread of cosmopolitan global culture (which as many believe is a modified form of Western culture, namely American culture).

33.1. Types of ethnic processes

Ethnic processes can be found in two main forms: ethnic-evolutionary and Ethnotransformational. Every ethnos is constantly undergoing ethnic-evolutionary changes that spread both synchronously (news spreads within the ethnos over some time) and diatonically (news passed down from generation to generation, giving them a traditionally solid look). Ethno Transformational processes take place much more slowly and over a longer period than ethnic-evolutionary but the final result is much more important because it is about changing ethnic self-consciousness.

Within ethnic processes, two main types can be distinguished: ethnic division and ethnic unification. In the case of the first one - the main types are ethnic separation and ethnic partition, and the second - ethnic consolidation, ethnic assimilation, inter-ethnic integration, and ethnic mixing.

An example of ethnic separation is the formation of the Moldovan ethnos. The annexation of one of the historical districts of Romania by Russia and the different development from the rest of Romania led to the separation of the local population from the Romanian ethnos and its formation as a new ethnos. Some Moldovans believe that Moldova is not a separate ethnos and as part of the Romanian ethnos, it should be part of the Romanian state. This, the majority of Romanians agree with. When the Soviet Union disintegrated and Moldova was declared the an independent republic of Moldova, part of the country's political circles raised the issue of Moldova's unification with Romania. This idea turned out to be enough for a portion of Moldova’s non-Moldovan population (who make up the majority of the population on the left bank of the Dniester River) to express the protest to this process. Thus, this decision was followed by a bloody conflict that has not been resolved yet.

Among the many historical examples of ethnic partition, the disintegration of the Slavs into Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Bulgarian, Serbian, and other ethnic groups is particularly noteworthy. Partition is the main reason for the controversy that has developed in Bosnia. Until the 15th century, the population of Bosnia was linguistically (Serbo-Croatian) and religiously (Orthodox) homogeneous. The ethnoreligious situation changed as a result of the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia and five centuries of domination. Part of the population converted to Islam, while part converted to the Catholic faith. Religious change has also led to a change in ethnic self-awareness. Orthodox Bosnians identified themselves with Serbs, Catholics with Croats, and Muslims formed a new union of Bosniaks (Bosnians). After the break-up of Yugoslavia, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnian Croats supported Bosnian independence. Bosnian Serbs chanted slogans for remaining Bosnia as part of Yugoslavia or annexing Bosnian Serb-populated areas to Serbia. This resistance has led to a brutal bloody conflict that is still unresolved.

33.2. Problems related to ethnic unities

Ethnic consolidation means the convergence and merging of genetically related ethnos (tribes, peoples) into a single ethnos (inter-ethnic consolidation) or the constant convergence of sub-ethnic units or ethnographic groups within an already established ethnos (homogenization). The first is an ethnic transformation process, the second is an ethnic-evolutionary one. Ethnic consolidation is usually painless because a unified ethnic self-consciousness is already established and consolidation becomes optional. For example, no problems arose in the process of consolidating the Provençal, Burgundian, Gascon, or Norman ethnic groups of the more numerous nations into a single French nation. Also, the origin of the united Georgian ethnos is the result of the voluntary consolidation of the Karts, Zanes, and Svans. But if consolidation is forced, then serious problems can arise. In particular, Catalan nationalism emerged as a reaction to the "Spanishization" of Catalans.

Ethnic assimilation is the process by which an ethnos (or part of it) loses its ethnic identity due to some historical, geographical, political, economic, and other factors and completely merges with another, more numerous, with a different language and culture ethnos. In this case, for the assimilated ethnos, this process is ethnically transformational, while for the promoter of assimilation ethnos is only one component of evolution.

A distinction is made between natural or voluntary assimilation and forced assimilation. In the case of natural assimilation, a minority ethnos that lives on the same land for a long time (especially if the latter states), along with other, much more developed and numerous ethnic groups, gradually assimilates the language, culture, and traditions of this ethnos and finally merges with it. As for forcible assimilation, this process is often the result of the official policy of the assimilating state, which is manifested in the persecution of the language, religion, culture of minorities, their forcible replacement, and so on. Attempts at forced assimilation created the problem of the Kurds in Turkey, the problem of the Basques in Spain, etc. The concept of inter-ethnic integration refers to a defined cultural and political unity that is formed in multinational countries and is expressed in an approximation of different ethnic cultures, and it is the reality that ethnic features (primarily ethnic self-consciousness) are preserved, forming a common meta-ethnic unity.

An example of inter-ethnic integration is in Switzerland. Although the country is home to four indigenous ethnic groups, the overall level of Swiss self-awareness is extremely high, which is a clear example of inter-ethnic integration (and therefore the rapprochement of separate ethnic cultures). The same process is seen in such ethnic communities as Indonesians, Filipinos, Indians, Pakistanis, and many other Asian or African countries and peoples. Unlike other ethnic-unification processes, inter-ethnic integration is an ethnic-evolutionary process and not an ethnic transformation.

Ethnic mixing is the process by which a new, different ethnos is formed based on the merging of different unrelated ethnic groups. This distinguishes it from ethnogenetic consolidation (when an ethnos is formed as a result of rapprochement and merging of related ethnic groups, sub-ethnicities, ethnographic groups) and ethnic assimilation (when a new ethnos does not emerge, but one ethnos "absorbs" other small ethnic groups). Examples of ethnic mixing are the American nation, Brazilians, Mexicans, etc. In the more distant past, ethnogenesis mixing (a combination of Celts, Germans, and French) gave rise to the English ethnos. The same can be said about the origins of the French (a mixture of Celts, Romans, Germans), Armenians (Caucasians and Indo-Europeans), Azeris (a combination of Caucasian Albanians and Turkish tribes, and many other ethnic groups).

33.3. Ethnic tensions and Ethnic conflicts

A serious, global problem in the modern world has become the ethnic tensions and ethnic conflicts that have engulfed many countries around the world. Many of them have evolved from internal conflicts to international conflicts and gained a global character.

Since the end of the Cold War when the threat of a world nuclear war has been greatly reduced, internal conflicts have become a major factor of destabilization. Most of these conflicts are presented in the form of ethnic conflicts, although by their content they are usually political conflicts.

33.3.1. Causes of ethnic conflicts

The most common form of ethnic conflict is the confrontation between the ethnic majority and the ethnic minority. In such a case, as a rule, the ethnic minority fights for its rights, while the ethnic majority (and therefore the state) opposes the granting of wide rights to the representatives of ethnic minorities. Demands from ethnic minorities side may be cultural (publishing books and magazines and newspapers in their native language, establishing TV and radio programs, foundation theater, museums, folk ensembles, and attending national schools); Economic (various tax benefits, state support for the development of certain sectors of the economy, development of infrastructure, etc.); Political (demand for territorial-political autonomy, imposition of ethnic quotas in government and parliament, the establishment of national political parties, and sometimes separatist demands). It is a political type of demand that mostly causes great opposition from the majority and becomes the reason for conflict.

Ethnic minorities are divided into two main groups: the descendants of immigrants and the indigenous population. The first refers to ethnic minorities who have a historical homeland (often a state) and have immigrated to a host country (for example, Turks in Germany, or Moroccans, Algerians in France, different nations from India to Great Britain). Such ethnic minorities have cultural needs, mainly aimed at preserving ethnic identity and they are not distinguished by political (especially separatist) demands. The second group of ethnic minorities is autochthonous, indigenous minority peoples who are compactly settled on their territory and have no other homeland (Abkhazians in Georgia, Basques in Spain, Kurds in Turkey, Bretons in France, etc.). The total number of such ethnic minorities exceeds 300 million people, which is almost 5% of the world population (in the special literature they are known as the Fourth World). Most of the demands of this category of minorities are political, which is opposed by the state and often leads to armed conflict.

The main contradiction is the compatibility between the principles of international law: According to the principle of sovereign equality of the peoples and the right to self-determination, all peoples, regardless of their number and economic-cultural status, have the right to determine their destiny and political status. According to the principle of territorial integrity and inviolability of borders, the borders of the state can be changed only by the will of the state and its territorial integrity is inviolable. Therefore, an ethnic minority can't gain independence and create its state without violating the territorial integrity of the state of which this ethnic minority is a part. It is clear, no existing state will agree to cede territory and establish a new state. It is this resistance that leads to armed confrontation and conflict between the state and the ethnic minority living within its borders.

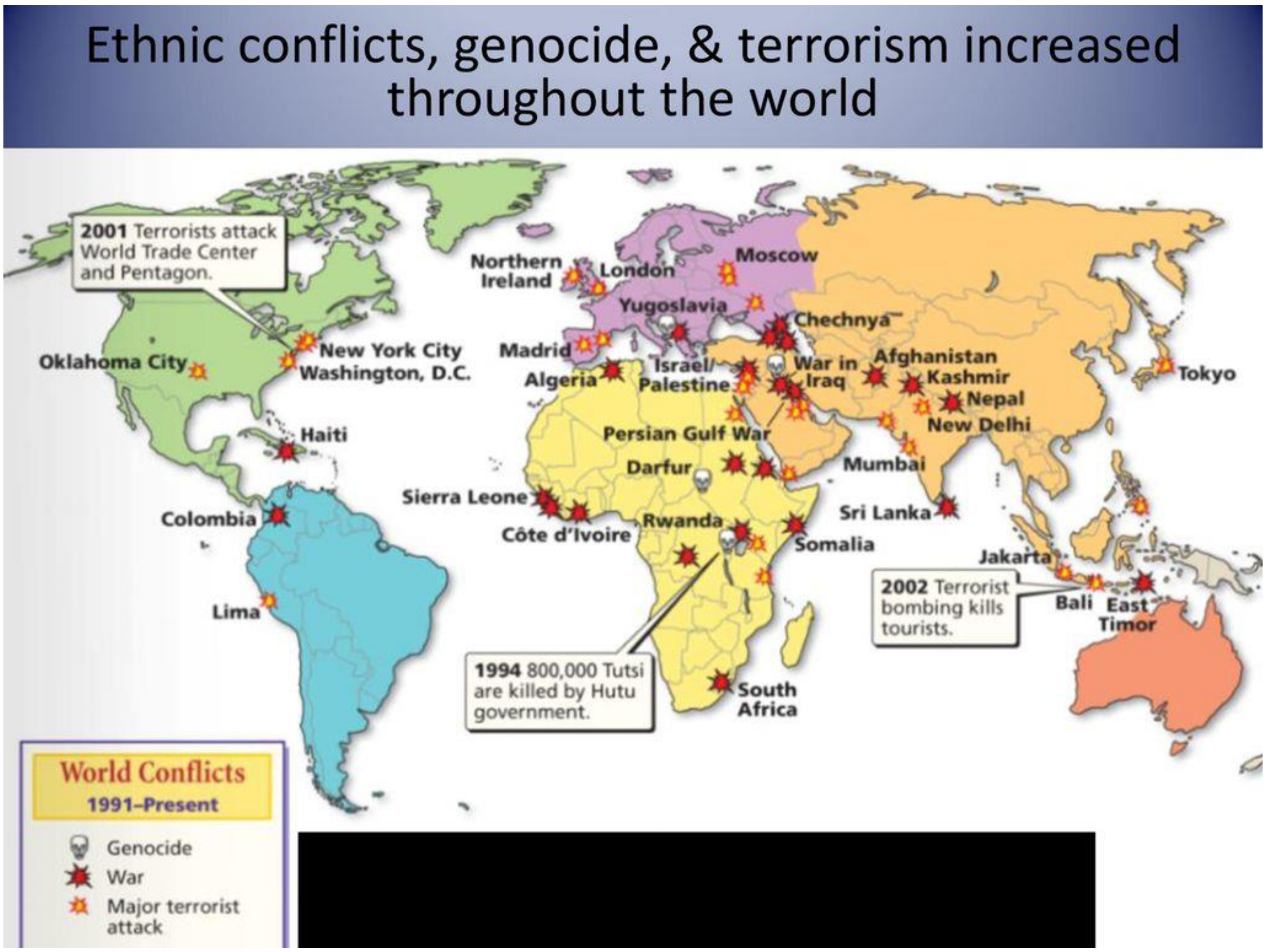
When the right of peoples to self-determination was recognized as a principle of international law, the main focus shifted to colonies and conquered peoples. The liberation of the peoples of Asia and Africa from colonialism and the acquisition of sovereignty by no way violated the territorial integrity and resistance of the metropolises (which were thousands of miles away from their colonies). Currently, sovereignty is claimed by ethnic minorities that are territorially part of another state. In such a case, the probability of conflict increases greatly.

It is also noteworthy that ethnic minorities never consider themselves separatists and consider their actions to be a national-liberation struggle. There is a big difference between separatism and the national liberation movement. The latter refers to the fighting for freedom of the colonized and conquered peoples (who experienced national oppression and endangered their national identity). Separatism, on the other hand, is an act aimed at disrupting the unity that has developed over the centuries and is largely externally inspired. It would be nonsense for every ethnic group in the world to demand their state. In that case, there would have to be more than 5,000 states in the world, leading to complete chaos and anarchy. The only way out is the widespread autonomy of ethnic minorities within the existing states and the maximum protection of their political, economic, social, national, religious, etc. rights.

33.4. Geographical picture of ethnic conflicts

The causes and nature of ethnic conflict vary considerably from region to region. This is explained by the peculiarities of historical development and different socio-economic or cultural-religious factors.

Map 24. World conflicts since 1991-Present



Source: https://slideplayer.com/slide/16168466/

No armed ethnic conflict has been fixed in Western democracies, but several ethnic groups are included in the list of moderate risk. Notable among them are the Basques and Catalans in Spain, the Northern Irish in the UK, the Franco-Canadians (Quebec province) in Canada, the Walloons, and the Flemish in Belgium. In all these cases the demands of cultural and political autonomy are fully satisfied, but the demand of the local nationalists is complete independence, which is naturally completely unacceptable to the state. However, as socio-economic demands improve, radical demands are gaining less and less popular support and are mostly associated with extremist groups (for example, the ETA in the Basque Country).

The former socialist countries of Europe and the post-Soviet space are some of the most difficult regions in terms of ethnic conflicts. The communist regime somehow managed to contain ethnic strife, but after the collapse of the communist system, armed conflict erupted with particular brutality (Nagorno-Karabakh, Abkhazia, Tskhinvali region, Chechnya, Transnistria, Bosnia, and Kosovo) and with many casualties. Eight ethnic groups in the region are at high risk and seven are at medium risk group.

In East and Southeast Asia in the conflict are involved the ethnic minorities of Myanmar (Burma) - Karens, Minas, Shans. At high risk is Ache in Indonesia, Moro in the Philippines, Uighurs and Tibetans in China, and Gaoshans in Taiwan. The situation of another 12 ethnic groups can be assessed as moderate risk levels.

In South Asia 11 ethnic groups are in a war, 6 are at high risk, and 13 are at medium risk. Khazars, Tajiks, and Uzbeks are under a particularly tense situation in Afghanistan; Kashmiri, Naga, Mizo, and Tripuller – India; Tamils in Sri Lanka.

There are 13 ethnic and religious groups in the Middle East and North Africa in war and at high risk, most notably the Kurds in Turkey and Iraq, the Shiites in Iraq and Lebanon, the Palestinians in the Gaza Strip, and others.

Ethnic and tribal conflicts are a common occurrence in tropical Africa. Here 12 ethnic groups are involved in the war, 13 are at high risk and 8 are at medium risk. Hutu - Burundi, Tutsi - Congo, Ogan, and Yoruba - Nigeria, Afars - Ethiopia, etc. are in a difficult situation.
No group is involved in ethnic warfare in Latin America. There are 11 ethnic groups in medium-risk conditions. Notable among them are Miskito in Nicaragua and Maya in Mexico.

33.5. Racism and racial problems

33.5.1. Racism and its forms

The racial diversity of the earth's population creates certain problems and sometimes causes controversy and conflict. The main ideological basis for this controversy is racism. According to racism, the difference between races is manifested not only in outward signs but also in mental and intellectual abilities. Therefore, humanity is divided into high and low races. All achievements and progress in history are the merit of the high race, which is committed to dominating, while the low races should only obey the emerging and high race by involvement in physical labor. In the theory of racism, two main directions are distinguished: biological and psychological.

The biological direction argues that the difference in outward signs between humans determines and distinguishes between mental abilities. In particular, the shape of the skull, brain weight, blood specificity, and other biological and physical parameters (thus making races different from each other) are the natural basis for differences in the intellectual level and abilities of races.

According to the psychological direction, each race has its specific racial spirit, which is formed based on innate racial instincts and which determines the historical destiny of the peoples included in the race. Psycho-racism is a more covert and milder form of racism and has remained the only racist theory because biological racism is supported by few in modern times.

When it is mentioned about racism, people usually mean the so-called "White racism", which preaches the superiority of the white race and which was (and is) the main form of racism in the world. But this does not mean that racism is just a doctrine affirming the superiority of Europeans. The racist doctrine of "Pan-Asianism" was established in East Asia, emphasizing the superiority of the "Yellow race" and played a significant role in the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Southeast Asia against the "white colonizers". In Africa, almost the same role has been played by the “Negro theory”, which preaches the special mission of the “black race” and argues that the future belongs to the black race as the strongest, healthiest, and most progressive force.

Picture 53. Racism is a Pandemic too

Source: https://www.sciencenewsforstudents.org/article/racism-black-teens-action-resilience-social-justice

Racism is considered an international crime and is not officially supported by any state, but individual relapses of racism are manifested almost daily. Racial processes and problems take place in different ways in different countries and depend on how the population expresses its attitude towards inter-racial relations.

33.6. Different forms of racial relations

A racially heterogeneous mixed ethnos is formed if A) members of different races are mixed and are settled in one area; B) the share of mixed marriages among of them is high and over time the number of members of the mixed-race exceeds the racially "pure" groups; C) No racial group is driven by the idea of preserving its own racial "purity" and public opinion considers racial mixing to be completely natural.

All three of these conditions were fully respected in Brazil, resulting in the formation of a racially mixed Brazilian ethnos. Racism is unknown for this country and racial affiliation has been pushed to the background. 3/4 of the population is of mixed race and racial diversity is an essential element of Brazilian ethnic self-awareness.

In the US, unlike Brazil, the sense of racial uniqueness and superiority on the part of whites was very strong and persisted for a long time. Although descendants of blacks imported from Africa were already experiencing complete linguistic and cultural assimilation in the second generation (except for a few minor details), racial segregation did not allow them to fully integrate into the American ethnos and until recently they were considered a separate ethnic-racial group. Under conditions of racism and segregation, Afro-American Americans were consolidated into one ethnic-cultural entity. It took them a long struggle to achieve full equality with white Americans. In addition, it should be noted that, unlike blacks, there was no racial "arrogance" towards Hawaiians. White Americans who immigrated to the Hawaiian Islands intensively formed families with Hawaiians and then with Japanese and Filipinos living there. Currently, the "pure" Hawaiians are almost non-existent and they are completely mixed with the white population.

Racism was carried out in the most severe forms at the state level in South Africa. Until the end of the 19th century, it was not uncommon for whites, mainly Boers, to marry Negroes, Hottentots, and Chinese and Indians who had immigrated from Asia, resulting in mulattoes and so-called mulattoes. As a result, the number of mulattoes and so-called "colors" has increased considerably. From the 1920s onwards, marriage was banned not only between whites and other ethnic groups but also between other races. A brutal racial regime was established in the country, the population was divided into several groups based on race - whites, Asians, mulattoes, "colored", Negroes and Hottentots were given different rights and privileges.

After World War II, a more "sophisticated" form of racism - apartheid - emerged in South Africa. All political power was in the hands of the white population. The rights of Asians and "Colors" remained severely restricted and a large part of the indigenous African population was, in fact, isolated. The so-called Bantustans (eight in all) were declared as separate states by the apartheid regime, which recognized their "independence". By the end of the 80s, under the pressure of world public opinion and the struggle of the African population, the South African government was forced to make concessions. The country underwent democratic reforms which abolished the apartheid regime. The general elections were held and was elected the first black president (Nelson Mandela, a prominent African civil rights activist).

33.7. Racial problems in the era of globalization

The process of globalization has created new problems in racial relations and introduced new forms of racism. The problem of xenophobia is especially important, which is quite painful in several developed countries.

In general, xenophobia refers to a hostile attitude towards any foreigner, migrant, newcomer. This refers not only to racial but also to ethnic, religious, and culturally different people. But because racial differences are the most obvious and striking, xenophobic speeches are mostly made on racial grounds.

Migrations have always played a major role in ethnic-racial processes. But in the past centuries, the main directions of migration were newly discovered territories, where the mixing of different racial and ethnic groups took place. The process of globalization has somehow changed the directions of migration. Now the main part of migrants is moved from the Global South, i.e. from the developing world to the developed countries, i.e. the Global North. Europe, which was the largest center of emigration, has now become a major center of immigration, and as a region of prosperity and wealth, represents the main attractive place for the poor and hungry population of the Global South.

Immigrants find it difficult to adapt to the new situation. In addition to the language barrier, their cultural, religious and worldview differences with the local population are evident here. They find it hard to get a job and they fill the ranks of the unemployed people. In this case, a large proportion of migrants become criminals, which intensifies the negative attitude towards them, and when this category differs racially from the main population, then racial hatred often manifests itself.

The example of the United Kingdom illustrates the importance of the racial factor. The fact that Indian and Pakistani migrants are not assimilated by British society is easily explained by their significant religious and cultural differences from the British population. But the native language of migrants from Jamaica and other Caribbean islands is English, they belonged to the Anglican Church and were taught in schools with the same textbooks, which are used in British schools. Nevertheless, in the UK they encountered quite serious problems in terms of adaptation and also encountered difficulties in living conditions (e.g. finding a job and an apartment). The reason for all this was their racial difference. In contrast, migrants from Central and South-Eastern Europe, who had to master the English language and culture for years, did not face a racial problem.

About the same can be said about France, the Netherlands and some other countries. All this shows that racial problems and racial intolerance remain a serious problem even in highly developed and perfect democracies, and in the context of globalization this problem not only does not slow down but even worsens.

33.8. Religious problems and controversies

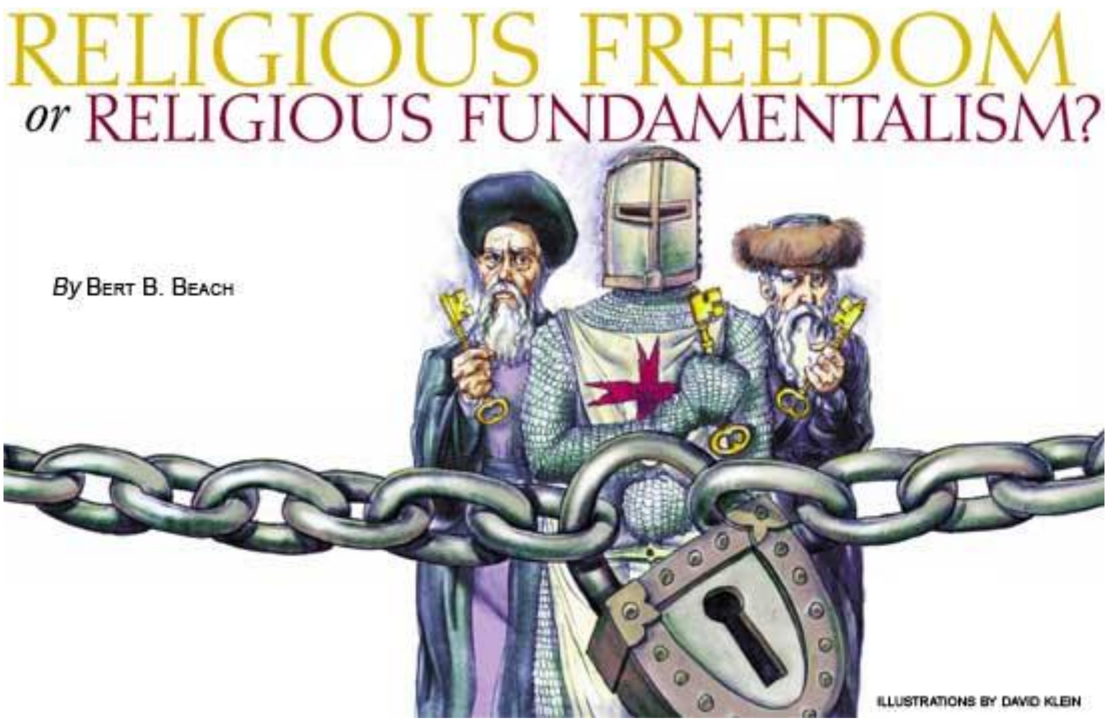
33.8.1. Religious Controversies and Religious Fundamentalism

Along with racial problems, religious problems, namely religious controversies and contradictions, play a very important role in the modern world.

The history of mankind knows many examples of religious wars. This was a common occurrence in medieval Europe (e.g., the Crusades or the Reformation). Many conquest wars were also wrapped in a religious veil. Overtly religious conflicts are rare today, but it is undeniable that controversies of a different political or economic nature sometimes take on an outwardly religious form.

Examples of significant religious confrontations in the second half of the 20th century are the conflict between Hindus and Muslims after India gained independence from Britain and the country was divided into two states on religious grounds. The confrontation between Israel and the Arab world, along with territorial and other aspects, has taken a religious form when Muslim religious leaders declared a holy war against Israel - jihad (Gazavat). Religious resistance was the basis for the Lebanese civil war, which began in the 1970s and has not ended till this day. The Islamic separatists in the southern Philippines are trying to break away from the Christian (Catholic) state with the slogans of Islam. Religious propaganda played a major role in the Chechen conflict and contributed to the spread of Wahhabism in the North Caucasus. Even in Great Britain, the Northern Ireland conflict is based not only on the issue of Ulster's legal status but also on the controversy between Catholics and Protestants.

Picture 54. What is the future of the World - Religious Freedom or Religious Fundamentalism?



Source: https://www.libertymagazine.org/article/religious-freedom-or-religious-fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism has reached particular proportions in the era of globalization. This primarily refers to Islamic fundamentalism (Islamism), which considers as a threat to political, economic, and cultural domination of the West, particularly the United States within the globalization process. According to Islamists, the establishment of an American way of life and value system is fundamentally contradicting Islamic norms and poses a deadly threat to the Islamic world. That is why that against the West and its main pillar - the United States, as the Great Satan, must be declared jihad. Taking into account the scale of Islamic fanaticism and the belief that a Muslim killed in jihad will go straight to paradise, it is easy to understand the global threat posed by Islamic fundamentalism, especially since its course of action is terrorism. It is the terrorist groups of Islamic fundamentalism that pose the main threat. Their name is associated with numerous explosions, murders, hijackings, hostage-taking, and so on. Al-Qaeda, Hezbollah, Hamas, the Taliban, and others have been particularly prominent organizations in this regard.

Of course, fundamentalism and fanaticism are not characterized only for Islam, but, there are found in absolutely all religions. Fundamentalism was for the first time established in the United States as an extremely conservative form of Protestantism that was categorically opposed to the scientific explanation of natural and social phenomena. Christian fundamentalism is still current today. One such Protestant organization, the Army of God, was involved in the Oklahoma City terrorist attack, which killed 167 people (Ledebeva, 2007). Fundamental spirits have some Catholic organizations and orders. Fundamentalists are also found among the Orthodox. The Hasidic sect is characterized by fundamentalist ideas among the Jews, and the Aum-Shinrikyo sect by Shinto members, whose terrorist acts posed a great threat to the people of Japan, especially after spreading the poison gases in the Tokyo subway.

33.8.2. The problem of church and state relations

Religious problems are not limited by fundamentalism and terrorism. Manifestations of religious intolerance and controversy are quite common. In many countries, the principle of freedom of conscience, as one of the main principles of human rights is violated. Many people are deprived of choosing their religion or being without religion. Prolonged atheist propaganda in the former communist countries created some kind of vacuum, which was filled by various foreign religious organizations and sects after the overthrow of communist regimes. They launched an active missionary and propaganda campaign. Part of the population renounced the traditional beliefs and joined new sects. Naturally, this caused great dissatisfaction among the local clergy and the community in general. The situation became significantly tense, which was followed by clashes in some places. Complicating matters is the fact that the establishment of new religious denominations in itself alters traditional values and threatens ethnic identity, which is perceived as very painful. On the other hand, in a democracy, everyone has the right to choose the religion they want to follow. This resistance is not easy to overcome, as human rights and traditional ethnic-religious identities are sometimes in confrontation with each other.

In recent years, another serious problem has emerged. In the post-communist world, there is a clear activation of the Church and its aspiration to subordinate the education system, culture, and, in general, the spiritual life to be under its control. The Church, which for a long time was persecuted by the communist regime and had extremely limited rights, is not only free today, but in many cases claims to play a leading role in almost every sphere of public life. This applies not only to spiritual life but also, not infrequently, to politics and even economics. In this case, an important precondition for a democratic world is violated: the church must be separated from the state and the school from the church.

Granting special privileges from the state to the dominant religion creates certain problems. First, the situation between the religious majority and the minority is tense. Religious minorities demand that their churches have the same rights as the dominant church. The dominant church, on the other hand, is categorically opposed to the idea of equalizing the rights of the traditional church and other religious denominations. In addition, there is a contradiction between the democratic principles and religious requirements of a secular state. The harmonious coexistence of church and state, the sharp separation of their functions, and non-interference in each other's affairs are some of the urgent tasks, the successful solution of which has global importance.

33.9. Problems of Nationalism in the Age of Globalization

33.9.1. The essence, types, and forms of nationalism

Nationalism is a very complex and multifaceted concept because each of the terms related to "nation" can be found with different meanings. In English and French, the term nation has a political connotation and is used interchangeably with the state. The reason for this is that in the case of England and France, first there were the centralized states, the citizens of which united the English and French nations, that is, the state created the nation. Consequently, nationalism is a more political concept and is manifested in the allegiance to the state and its citizens and the struggle for their interests. In such a case, nationalism is a completely positive and justified feeling and ideology.

In German, Russian, and Eastern European languages, the concept of nation has ethnic significance, and more often as an ethnos synonym, it refers to ethnocultural unity. Unlike England, France, the Netherlands, or the United States, in the biggest part of our planet, different ethnocultural units were formed, which realized themselves as nations and then formed their nation-states, that is, nations formed states. Consequently, nationalism here is an ethnic concept and seeks to assert the uniqueness and superiority of its ethnos, which in some cases leads to controversy and may even lead to conflict. Based on the above, two main types of nationalism are distinguished: ethnic and civic nationalism. It is a positive and progressive phenomenon of nationalism if it is the nationalism of an oppressed nation. When a nation loses its state, is conquered and annexed by the other states, its language and culture are threatened and the loss of ethnic identity is real, in this case, it is necessary to unite the nation based on ethnic unity. Ethnic nationalism is a tool that builds a nation's self-awareness and prepares the nation for political independence. At this stage, it is natural and understandable to talk about the national distinction, heroic history, the glory of the past, the possibilities of the future, and so on.

Picture 55. The virus of “crisis nationalism”

Source: https://www.peace-ed-campaign.org/the-virus-of-crisis-nationalism/

But from that day, as soon as a nation achieves political independence and forms its state, ethnic nationalism must stand firmly devoted to state nationalism and not to ethnic nationalism. The main value of civic nationalism is not the nation as ethnic unity, but the nation as the unity of citizens within the state. The ethnic nationalism of the titular nation will inevitably lead to confrontation on the part of ethnic minorities, which could pose a threat to the state.

Both types of nationalism can obtain many forms. From this point of view, Cultural, economic, and political nationalism can be distinguished. Each form of nationalism differs depending on whether it was pre-independence or post-independence periods for the concrete nation.

The forms of nationalism are closely intertwined, but a certain sequence is preserved. In particular, in the pre-independence period, the national struggle begins with cultural demands, then economic elements are added, and political requirements emerge at the last stage.
Nationalism sometimes has differences between ethnic minority nationalism, known as mini-nationalism, and macro-nationalism, or pan-nationalism. The latter refers not to a separate nation, but to the common nationalist ideology of related nations, which is directed towards political unity (Pan-Slavism, Pan-Arabism, Pan-Turkism, etc.).

33.10. Nationalism in the era of globalization

Globalization is by its nature the complete antithesis of nationalism. If for nationalism the nation, the nation-state, the national economy, the national culture and, in general, everything nationally sacred and inviolable, has the highest value, globalization is synonymous with the destruction of national borders, the collapse of the nation-state, the global, transnational economy and universal, national, cosmopolitan culture. The situation is completely different. Nationalism has not only disappeared but has intensified and is becoming more aggressive. There is a new kind of nationalism, the emergence and spread of so-called anti-globalist nationalism, the formation of which is precisely related to the phenomenon of globalization.

Anti-globalist nationalism has manifested itself in various forms in developed, developing, and former socialist countries. In the developed world, anti-globalist nationalism took the form of xenophobia and racial-ethnic hatred. It is known as right-wing radical nationalism. One of the accompanying phenomena of globalization - the weakening of border barriers and the facilitation of migration processes - has been reflected in the rapid growth of the number of migrants (often illegal) from developing countries to Western Europe and North America. This process significantly changed the racial, ethnic, and religious-cultural image of the population. Foreign culture and traditions proved to be unacceptable to the locals. In addition, the vast majority of immigrants belong to the low-income groups, and a large proportion has joined the ranks of the unemployed, the homeless, and criminals.

All this gave birth to a negative attitude towards immigrants, which turned into xenophobia. In the democratic world, it has awakened nationalism that has almost been forgotten, and in some places, it has manifested itself in the form of neo-fascism.

In developing countries, anti-globalist nationalism is presented in the form of radical religious nationalism and is often manifested in the form of religious fundamentalism. In the developing world, globalization is perceived as the full expansion of the West (primarily the US) in the different regions of the world. On the one hand, this is manifested by the growth of its political influence, on the other hand, by the strengthening of economic superiority, and on the third hand (which is perceived as particularly painful), by the increasing influence of American culture and attempts to introduce American way of life around the world. The peoples of developing countries, who belong to completely different civilizations and have a system of values that are very different from the West, see globalization as a deadly threat to their ethnic, religious, and cultural identity. This gives the best reason to consider by religious fundamentalists (primarily Islamists) America and the West in general as the great Satan and to declare a holy war against it.

In the post-communist world, the era of globalization is characterized by the strengthening of radical ethnic nationalism. Researchers explain this phenomenon for several reasons. According to one of them, there has historically been confrontation and resistance between different nations, which has been somehow prevented by the communist regime. With the collapse of the communist system, the accumulated hatred exploded with renewed force, and since a regime was no longer a restraining force, conflicts also became inevitable. The second reason is that after the overthrow of the communist regime, all the people living in the communist world wanted to create their nation-state. Conflict arose between the ethnic majority and the minority, which in some places took the form of a bloody conflict. Some believe that the collapse of Marxism as a state ideology created an ideological vacuum that was replaced by nationalism. At the same time, the exit from the communist, locked-in social system raised a certain fear of losing national identity, which was followed by the emerging ethnic nationalism. It is a fact that radical ethnic nationalism has become one of the global problems of the post-communist system, and some pessimistic authors believe that several regions of this world are doomed to constant ethnic conflicts.

33.11. Ethnocultural identity, Westernization, and the clashes of civilizations

33.11.1. The problem of protecting the ethnic identity

Every person belongs to some ethnic unity. Ethnic identity is defined by the self-consciousness of the individual, which is primarily related to linguistic and cultural identification. A person is to the nationality to which he/she belongs (and not to whom his/her ancestor belonged). As a rule, a person attributes himself to the people, within whose culture he/she grew up and whose language he/she speaks. It can be seen from the above, that a person's ethnicity can then be changed if he or she later is assimilated into another culture and another language becomes his or her mother language. This applies not only to the individual but to the whole ethnos. History knows many examples of people who lost their ancestral language and culture and started to speak another language and when their own culture disappeared and merged with another ethnos.

In an era of globalization, when contacts between cultures have become unusually intense and their merging is not uncommon, many peoples (primarily minority ethnic groups) are in danger of losing their ethnocultural identity. The process of assimilation is accelerating, and this is especially noticeable in states where, along with a single major ethnic group, a small number of ethnic minorities are also inhabited.

Of course, the rapprochement of ethnic groups living in one state and their formation as one nation is an inevitable and progressive process in the way of nation-state formation. A strong state is just a nation-state where every citizen considers himself or herself as a representative of one nation. But there is one multi-ethnic nation where every single nation considers itself as a part of one nation and at the same time, ethnic identity is preserved (e.g., the Bretons, Elsassian, and Gasconians retain their ethnic identity and at the same time, consider themself as a plenipotentiary part of the French nation), and it is quite different when an ethnos completely merges with another nation and ceases its existence. Such an event is not only the greatest catastrophe for this ethnos but also a tragedy for the whole of humanity, because even the disappearance of one language and culture is an irreparable loss for the world community.

Statistics of the ethnic composition of the population confirm that the number of indigenous ethnic minorities in most countries of the world is characterized by a declining trend. The number of representatives of small ethnic groups who can speak their mother language is declining even faster. In Russia, for example, the number of indigenous peoples of the North, Siberia, and the Far East (Ewenks, Khants, Mans, Koryaks, etc.) is steadily declining and these languages are mostly spoken by the elderly part of the population. The process of intensive assimilation is underway. Young people already consider themselves Russians because they only know Russian and grew up within Russian culture.

While the international community strives to maximize the linguistic and cultural diversity of the peoples of the world and several resolutions within this direction have been adopted, the process of ethnocultural assimilation is intensifying, which has become even more palpable in the era of globalization.

33.11. 2. Westernization: Objective regularity or danger?

Ethnic assimilation and change of ethnocultural identity were characteristic for all epochs, and the present time is no exception. But globalization has created a completely different phenomenon known as Westernization. Westernization, or the universal spread of Western (European-American) values, is one of the major hallmarks of modernity. At first glance, there is nothing wrong with that. On the contrary, the West has been associated with development and progress for more than the last five hundred years, and all the major achievements of mankind are related to it. Because of this, the establishment of Western values in other civilizations should be considered as a legitimate process in itself and a necessary condition for progress.

But the expansion of Western culture and the establishment of Western values and lifestyles will inevitably change the traditional values and norms that have been characteristic for the non-Western civilizations for centuries. There is indeed mention of a change in ethnic identity, but even a change in culture and traditions, and norms of behavior is quite painfully perceived by a fairly significant part of the society. Such a situation reinforces anti-Western (primarily anti-American) sentiments, which can take quite radical forms. An example of this is several Muslim countries (Iran, Iraq, Algeria, Egypt, Pakistan), where the process of Westernization had backfired effect and led to the revival of Islamic fundamentalism.

The situation is also complicated by the fact that the West evaluates the events from its position and considers such values as the rule of law, separation of secular and clerical authorities, social pluralism, civil society, individualism, etc. There are universal values and should become the basis of all people's lives. To be fair, it must be said that these values have been repeatedly trampled on in the West itself and taken separately, none of this value is the property of the West alone, but it is their combination that gives the West its uniqueness and sets it apart from other civilizations. Therefore, the main conclusion must be the following: the West is unique and not universal. What is natural and progressive to the West may be seen as unnatural and unacceptable to others. So other civilizations need to take experience from the West, what will be painlessly fit into their culture and mentality, promote progress, and not divide society. Thus, it should promote the process of modernization (which is essential for the progress of all peoples) and not Westernization (which is the property of the Western civilization). The best example of how to carry out modernization without Westernization is modern Japan.

33.12. The problem of the confrontation of civilizations

As it was mentioned earlier, the hypothesis of civilizations has been presented by the American scientist Samuel Huntington and became popular in the 90s. According to this hypothesis, if the main cause of the great wars of the past centuries was a confrontation between empires or ideologies, and there were the "civil wars" of the Western world, the main cause of controversy in the 21st century would be differences between cultures. Huntington singles out eight civilizations (Western, Slavic-Orthodox, Islamic, Hindu, Chinese-Confucian, Japanese, Latin American, and African) and believes that a clash between them is inevitable. Moreover, Western civilization will most likely be opposed by all other civilizations, among which the main role will be played by Islamic and Confucian civilizations. According to this hypothesis, the countries that are on the front line or the border of different civilizations are in special danger. For example, The Caucasus and Wide Black Sea Area have just such a location, and the reasons for the frequent and protracted conflicts in this region (as well as in the Balkans), according to Huntington, are civilizational differences.

Map 25. Samuel Huntington`s Civilizational Divides

Source: https://medium.com/@zebinisoradjabova/opinion-the-clash-of-civilizations-662d921d2b90

In addition to geographical location, the so-called "fractured country" syndrome poses a certain threat. By this term, Huntington refers to the states that belong to one civilization but have a political orientation towards a civilized different world. As a rule, the aspirations of such countries to become politically part of another world are opposed by all means by the great and powerful states of their civilization. This resistance can even lead to serious conflict. Georgia and Ukraine are examples of the divided countries, which according to Huntington are part of the Slavic-Orthodox civilization, but the political goal of those countries is to integrate into Euro-Atlantic structures and the Western world in general. That is why it faces fierce resistance from Russia. However, other orthodox countries - Greece, Romania, and Bulgaria - are already members of NATO and the European Union. At the same time, one of the main reasons for Turkey's non-accession to the EU seems to be its belonging to another civilization.

Huntington's hypothesis had many opponents from the beginning, but after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, it was viewed by many experts again with a new position.

Key Terminologies

Ethnic problems

Race problems

Religious problems

Ethical segregation

Ethnic separation

Ethnic consolidation

Assimilation

Racism

Apartheid

Xenophobia

Religious Fundamentalism

Relations between the state and church

Nationalism

Ethnocultural identity

Westernization

Modernization

Clashes of civilizations

Questions for Consideration

Why does the principle of the rights for self-determination contradict the principle of the territorial integrity of the states?

What is the main connection between racism and xenophobia?

Why is globalization considered globalization as an alternative to nationalism?

How is it determined the ethnic identity of the person and when it can be changed?

What is the difference between modernization and westernization?

Please consider Huntington`s Hypothesis. How is it acceptable for you?

Practicum

Please group of the ethnic conflicts in the different regions of the world according to causing reasons

Please consider the main positive and negative sides of the westernization process

Please consider the possible perspectives for ethnic minorities in the era of globalization

Part 3. New Dimensions of the Contemporary International Relations and World Politics

The division about new dimensions of international relations and world politics requires explanations. Economic factors and factors of education and international law played a huge role during the whole period of the historic development of human society. However, at the end of XX and the beginning of the XXI century, due to the changes, which were considered in the previous chapters of this book, aspects come to the fore and determine the world political development. Due to it, at most of the courses on World Politics and also scientific publications on the problems of economics and law, consideration of those problems become traditional. It cannot be said about education - even though this field is becoming more and more significant.

Chapter 34. The economic component of the world politics

34.1. Important approaches to World Political Economy

Economics and politics have always been closely related. This relationship reflects scientific discipline-*international political economy*, (IPE) which deals with such major areas as international trade and the international financial system. Some authors, in particular J. Goldstein singled out the activities of transnational corporations as a separate field of IPE (Goldstein, 2011).

Picture 56. Global Political Economy in Context of Evolution of Political-Economic Thought

Source: https://researchleap.com/global-political-economy-in-context-of-evolution-of-political-economic-thought/

Special attention to the economic factor in world politics was paid in the second half of the 20th century. One of the incentives here was the energy crisis of the 1970s, after which it was discovered that the so-called high-level policy, which was determined by military might, proved to be largely powerless before the economy, or a low-level policy. Its role was also played by the defeat of the United States in the Vietnam War and the USSR in the Afghan war, which demonstrated that military power is far from always able to solve all problems. But there were also internal factors. In democracies, the dependence between the economic successes of the country and the popularity of the government was increasingly evident. In its turn, the economy became increasingly conditioned by international factors due to the increasing interdependence of the world.

The first works showing the continuity of politics and economy in the new conditions of an interdependent and globalizing world appeared at the very beginning of the 1970-es. Those researches were published by S. Strange, R. Keohane and J. Nye, and several other authors. A significant role in the development of the IPE was played in the books of R. Gilpin, in particular, "The Political Economy of International Relations ", which was published, however, somewhat later, in 1987 and second edition in 2001 (Gilpin, 2001). As a whole, from the 1970s international political economy began its intensive development.

Like any other, there are theoretical schools and approaches in this area. Among the main classical approaches, the two most popular "*mercantilism*" or *state-centered approach* and trade, or economic, liberalism – *commercial/economic liberalism* are usually distinguished: mercantilism, or state-centered approach, and commercial or economic liberalism.

The term "mercantilism" was borrowed by the representatives of the IPE from the economic history and the history of economic thought, where it is often used to designate the doctrine, widespread in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, aimed at subordinating the economic sphere to the political interests of the state. Representatives of the presented direction are based on the fact that the economy should serve politics and strengthen the power of the state. The great geographical discoveries and the subsequent seizure of new territories by European states stimulated its development. The accumulation of wealth in the form of precious metals becomes a symbol of state power. In the XVIII century, the development of mercantilism became reality, which was due to the successes of Great Britain, where this economic theory was specially developed (McCusker, 2001).

Representatives of mercantilism share the views of political realists about the fact that the State must protect its interests, including economics. According to the views of the adherents of this school, economic policy should be guided by the development of the state. Moreover, the state receives income from economic activity, which allows it to spend more financial resources on military needs. Authors adhering to this direction are in favor of state regulation of economic life, including active intervention in market processes.

In modern conditions, ideas of mercantilism obtain the form of *neomercantilism*, where the central role is played by the state in the politico-economic life, but the accumulation of gold reserves is not so significant, as it was earlier, because today the economic and other might of the country is not determined to the golden factors. The term "mercantilism," writes D. Caldwell, owes its origin to two authors, D. Blake and R. Walters (Caldwell, 2012).

By noting the role of the economy as the most powerful factor of state building, supporters of neomercantilism refer to a successful example of the post-war development of Germany and Japan. Both states, as they emphasize, were able to take the leading place in the modern world precisely because of the active role of the state in stimulating economic development.

Neomercantilism emphasizes its attention to the economic differences that exist between the states in the distribution of resources between them and obtained products. At the same time, it is especially emphasized the role of competition. The neo-mercantilists are guided by the development and maintenance of national production, the promotion of national goods to the world market. In connection with it, representatives of the presented school gained the name of economic nationalists. Interestingly, the carriers of the “economic nationalism” ideology are not only economists or political activists, but citizens themselves, who prefer to purchase the goods, which are produced in their native countries. At the same time, during the analysis of such behavior, should also be taken into account the role of advertising companies.

For the development of national production, neo-mercantilists propose to focus on the policy of *trade protectionism*, which provides for the creation of special conditions for one or several national industries and protecting them from the influence of the market element. The reasons why the state uses the policy of trade protectionism are different. This may be the result of lobbying the relevant financial and industrial groups of concrete companies or other branches of the economy, the desire to develop their own new emerging industry, which is not yet competitive in the world market. The policy of protectionism involves the application of various economic methods. They are conditionally divided into two groups - *tariffs*, which are based on the use of the Customs Tariffs and non-tariff methods – nontariff barriers, implying the introduction of quotas, subsidies, etc.

One of the simplest ways to protect the domestic market is the introduction of duties on imported goods. Usually, they are set as a percentage of the value of imported products. As a result, the price of goods in the domestic market is increasing. Customs not only limit imports, but they can also be a noticeable item of the state's income. Customs tariffs of national states usually provide for a complex structure of duties on different categories and types of goods. However, within the second half of the XX century, customs regulations lost their weight as a discriminatory barrier. In general, their size decreased from 45 to 3-4% for 1947-2015 (Chitadze, 2018).

As with other instruments that promote the protection of national markets, *quotas* are used. Import quotas provide for how many types of goods in physical or value terms will be delivered to the country. In its extreme expression, the protection of the national market can be carried out by prohibiting the import of certain goods.

An example of the use of import quotas is the introduction in the US of the quotas on the import of cars from Japan in the 1980s. At that time, their automobile industry, under the influence of imports from that country, was experiencing great difficulties. As was noted by J. Goldstein, the negative point in the given case was that the quotas were limited by the number of imported cars, but not their cost. As a result, Japan quickly reoriented to the supply of expensive cars, which enabled their producers to keep the market in the US in almost full volume (Goldstein, 2011).

The import of products can be regulated by the state through various procedures related to the certification of goods. Especially it refers to food, pharmaceutical, and other industries, from which the health and safety of consumers are dependent.

Another method of protecting the domestic market is subsidizing certain industries, for example, agricultural products.

There are also other methods of protecting the domestic market. In general, protectionism policy has positive and negative consequences for the economy. In particular, it can be analyzed as the argument for supporters and opponents of the policy of trade protection. Its followers mention supporting the domestic producers, which provides jobs in the native branches of the economy, the result of which is providing social stability, and the reduction of imports stimulates the growth of production and employment.

At the same time, the opposite arguments are also presented. For example, the protection of domestic producers is necessary precisely because of the lack of effectiveness of their labor. As a result, trade protectionism leads to a restriction of competition and, correspondingly, to the further inefficiency of domestic production.

The other most common argument of trade protectionism represents the temporary protection of young industries. As they develop, protectionist measures are lifted. And here, there are counterarguments. Firstly, it is rather difficult to determine which sector is perspective from the point of view of forming the new comparative advantages of the country. Secondly, protectionism concerning young branches significantly reduces incentives to increase their efficiency, and due to it, the period of development can last indefinitely. Finally, in the case of young industries, the provision of subsidies or other advantages is more likely to be a more effective means of support than foreign trade protectionism.

As for the revenues having been received by the state, there are also disadvantages, particularly, the income to the budget is dependent on the volume of the import. This argument correlates with another problem – providing economic security. Thus, supporters of protectionism oppose the expansion of imports and, in this connection, against the need to introduce high tariffs, which is explained by the fact that otherwise the economy and the country's defense capacity will be dependent on external factors.

However, under modern conditions the development, which is based solely on one's resources, turns out to be extremely complex and inefficient. Such a policy leads to the creation of *autarky*. In such a way, for example, went Albania. Since the 1960s, it has been oriented politically to China, and then, after breaking off with this country, Albania began to develop exclusively in isolation and the early 1990s proved to be one of the poorest countries in Europe.

During the orientation only on own resources, the costs of manufactured goods are too high. As a result, the country is deprived of *the comparative advantage* which it has when it is included in the world economy. And they are formed because the state can always determine such goods, the production of which will be more profitable than other goods and services, taking into account all costs, including the costs of signing and executing contracts, or so-called *transaction costs*. The Specialization in the production of concrete products and services gives the country the maximum profit within the foreign trade.

The use of non-tariff methods also has its limitations. For example, representatives of the different individual sectors of the national economy may rely on getting subsidies and do not rush with modernization. As a result, these branches of the economy lag behind the world level.

Finally, trade protectionism, as a rule, causes a policy response of other states. They also try to protect their market and apply similar methods toward the countries that limit the import of their goods. This affects industries that are oriented on the export of the state, which is using protectionist methods.

In general, as with any economic policy tool, the effectiveness of protectionist methods depends on how adequately they are used. A policy of protectionism can promote the development of national industries, or, on the contrary, lead to their non-competitiveness and de facto degeneration.

Representatives of mercantilism pay special attention to the *balance of trade*, which refers to the ratio of the value of total exports and imports. In the case when the first prevails over the second, the trade balance will be positive, and vice versa, when the volume of imports prevails over the export, the balance is negative. It somehow can be assumed, that according to the tradition that goes back to the era of mercantilism, the active trade balance is often determined unambiguously as a positive macroeconomic indicator taken by itself, it does not always reflect the state of the economy as a whole.

The trade balance is not the only indicator on which the state of the national economy is dependent. For several years the state without any special negative consequences may have a negative trade balance but maintaining such a position for a long time can be dangerous.

In many ways, the opposite of mercantilism is economic liberalism. Its origins go back to the views of Adam Smith, John Steward Mill, and David Ricardo. It was according to A. Smith, who published his works at the end of the 18th century, presented the idea that the states differ by geographic location, climate conditions, natural resources, and this provides *absolute advantages* (Smith, 1776).

Subsequently, D. Ricardo developed a theory of comparative advantages, according to which, even without absolute advantages, a country can gain a profit in foreign trade, specializing in the export of those goods whose production lags behind other countries the least (Ricardo, 1817).

Modern liberalism regards private sector companies as the main participants in the economic sphere and sees the most effective role of the state so that it does not interfere too much in their economic behavior. Representatives of this approach underline the need to remove economic barriers conditioned by the state's policy, as they discourage free trade.

The supporters of liberalism, in contrast to the followers of mercantilism, emphasize not the competition among the states, but, on the contrary, their common interests, the need for cooperation in the economic sphere, the possibility of obtaining mutual benefits. In other words, liberals see the economic interaction in the world arena as a game with a non-zero-sum. Mutually beneficial interaction is due to the comparative advantages that each country has. Thus, J. Goldstein gives an example of Denmark, which does not have energy and natural resources, with a population of 5 million people, while specializing in the production of butter cubes "Lego" for children. This allows the country to survive and pay enough for the import of necessary goods (Goldstein, 2011). Interestingly, the proponents of economic liberalism explain the same example of the success of Japan and Germany after World War II, interpreted by mercantilist representatives through the prism of successful state policy, by the active involvement of these countries in the world economy and cooperation with other countries. Supporters of the liberal approach proceed also from the fact that it is possible to benefit from the economic cooperation of the state through international institutions and organizations. Because of this, liberalism concentrates on the study of international institutions and regimes that enable states to achieve their goals.

Several authors, considering the international political economy, are singled out as the third school-Marxism, which is based on the primacy of the economy about politics and pays attention, not to the interaction among the states in the politico-economic field, but forms, where the confrontation between rich and poor is going on. This direction develops mainly in the framework of Neo-Marxism deals mainly with the problems of the “North-South” relationship.

Finally, some researchers, in particular W. R. Duncan, B. Jankar-Webster, B. Switsky, pay special attention to such a direction of international political economy as the theory of *public choice*. The essence of the approach is that it proceeds from the neoclassical economic theory of human behavior and emphasizes the role of internal political factors in the economic behavior of states in the world arena (The Institute of Economic Affairs, 2012).

W. R. Duncan, B. Jankar-Webster, B. Switsky present the table of the four comparisons of the listed approaches. (Table. 19).

Table 19. Theoretical Approaches in International Political Economy

Key Points	Classical economic liberalism	Theory of public choice	Mercantilism	Marxism and neo-Marxism

Key Points	The principles of free-market relations should be dominated (differs from political liberalism, which was established based on political idealism)	Separate individuals and the states are rational actors, actions of which are directed on the realization of determined purposes	State use the economy the strengthen their power	Economic factors determine politics and public structure
Most important units of analysis	Separate individuals and companies	Interest groups, individuals (primary), representatives of governmental structures (secondary)	States	Social Classes (Capitalists and Proletariat) or International Capitalist System
Positions about further development of the sphere of international political economy	Harmonization and self-regulation: International economic integration through the formation of the world market	Cooperation or conflict, which is depending on each other's purposes	Characterized for the States rivalry and competition, which is regulated by the agency of balance of power	Existence the conflict, especially the conflict between classes, revolutionary changes till the victory of communism

(Duncan, 2002).

34.2. The main problems of the international political economy at the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century

The economic life of Europe twice in the XX century was shown in a lamentable state after the world wars. And in both cases, the US was clearly in a better position. However, after the First World War Washington generally rejected the idea of helping Europe and interacting with it, then, as noted by Alan C. Lamborn and Joseph Lepgold, with the consent of the Europeans themselves, after the Second World War everything was different (Lamborn, Lepgold, 2005).

By the mid-1940s, it became apparent that the only economic leader in the world was the US. In the first post-war years, they produced more than half of all goods and services of Western countries (Brzezinski, 1997). As the most economically strong state, the US developed and proposed a project to assist the restoration of the economies of Europe and Japan, which was officially named the Marshall Plan. Following it, Western Europe and Japan have allocated about 15 billion dollars (Chitadze, 2007). The meaning of such financial investments was primarily to counter the spread of communism in the world. In the postwar period, the US supported the creation of the European Economic Community, which later became their main economic competitor.

In July 1944, a conference of representatives of 44 states was held in Bretton Woods (USA) to establish new world rules in the field of international trade and the financial system. At that time, when there were only 60 states in the world, such a large number of participants was very representative (Karumidze, 2004). However, it should be taken into account that a large number of the existing countries at that time remained colonies and were not among those who worked out the new rules for the political and economic interaction.

The agreement, which was signed at that conference, became the basis of the so-called *Bretton Woods System, BWS.* Participants of the meeting proceeded from the need:

- To stabilize exchange rates of currencies;
- To intensify the international Trade;
- To assist countries, whose economies to a large degree suffered from the Second World War.

Even though the conference was attended by 44 states, the main agreements were developed by representatives of the United States, as well as in many ways, by the UK. In general, the Western states, namely, they were its main participants, built a new political and economic system of the world, as B. Hughes notes, based on the principles of liberalism. Secondly, the British delegation was headed by John Maynard Keynes - a well-known economist and politician (Beruashvili, Chitadze, 2018). He insisted on the need for the stronger involvement of the states in dealing with international economic problems. As a result, two main international fiancé and economic Institutions, the International Monetary Fund and World Bank for Reconstruction and Development were founded in 1946.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is an organization of 189 countries, working to foster global monetary cooperation, secure financial stability, facilitate international trade, promote high employment and sustainable economic growth, and reduce poverty around the world. Created in 1945, the IMF is governed by and accountable to the 190 countries that make up its near-global membership (IMF, 2021).

The IMF's primary purpose is to ensure the stability of the international monetary system—the system of exchange rates and international payments that enables countries (and their citizens) to transact with each other. The Fund's mandate was updated in 2012 to include all macroeconomic and financial sector issues that bear on global stability (Beruashvili, Chitadze, 2018).

The **World Bank** (French: *Banque mondiale*) is an international financial institution that provides loans and grants to the governments of poorer countries for the purpose of pursuing capital projects. It comprises two institutions: the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), and the International Development Association (IDA). The World Bank is a component of the World Bank Group (Dzneladze, 1997).

The World Bank's most recent stated goal is the reduction of poverty. As of November 2018, the largest recipients of World Bank loans were India ($859 million in 2018) and China ($370 million in 2018), through loans from IBRD (Interpressnews, 2019).

As it was mentioned, The World Bank was created at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference, along with the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The president of the World Bank is, traditionally, an American. The World Bank and the IMF are both based in Washington, D.C., and work closely with each other.

Picture 57. Headquarter of the World Bank in Washington

Source: https://www.aa.com.tr/en/economy/world-bank-lowers-global-economic-growth-prospects/1359125

Although many countries were represented at the Bretton Woods Conference, the United States and the United Kingdom were the most powerful in attendance and dominated the negotiations. The intention behind the founding of the World Bank was to provide temporary loans to low-income countries which were unable to obtain loans commercially. The Bank may also make loans and demand policy reforms from recipients (Dzneladze, 1997).

The World Bank Group consists of five organizations:

· **The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).** It lends to governments of middle-income and creditworthy low-income countries;

· **The International Development Association (IDA).** Which provides interest-free loans – called – credits and grants to governments of the poorest countries;

· **The International Finance Corporation (IFC)** is the largest global development institution focused exclusively on the private sector. We help developing countries achieve sustainable growth by financing investment, mobilizing capital in international financial markets, and providing advisory services to businesses and governments;

· **The Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)** was created in 1988 to promote foreign direct investment into developing countries to support economic growth, reduce poverty and improve people's lives. MIGA fulfills this mandate by offering political risk insurance (guarantees) to investors and lenders.

· **The International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID).** This institution provides international facilities for conciliation and arbitration of investment disputes (UN, 2005).
In general, as noted by J. Goldstein, the IMF and the World Bank - since the moment of their foundation, have solved three groups of Tasks. Initially, they were engaged in stabilizing the financial system and trade in the post-war period in Western Europe and Japan. They successfully coped with this. Then in the 1970s and 1980s, in the focus of their attention were developing countries, and in the 1990s - the states of Eastern Europe and post-soviet space. The solution of the last two tasks turned out to be more problematic (Goldstein, 2011).

In the framework of the Bretton Woods system, an attempt was made to "depoliticize' the economic sphere by the way of creating international institutions- IMF and the World Bank, which are the specialized agencies of the United Nations, but at the same time rather self-sustaining. The idea was to reduce the importance of the political component in economic organizations. However, it remained, more likely, on the level of wishes than reality. The very institutions that have been created have focused mainly on regulating global economic processes. Their main orientation consisted in the search for the solution of technical problems by technical means. So, the IMF was not planned to be a global banking institution designed to accumulate money (which was offered by J. Keynes), but as an international organization, tasks of which included monitoring how and what level the participants respected the rules of the game.

The Bretton Woods system provided for the development of free trade. Initially, hopes were relied on by the International Trade Organization - ITO. But this institution was never created. In this regard, the signing document – General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, GATT by 23 states in Geneva in 1947 had great importance (Beruashvili, Chitadze, 2017). It was aimed at the development of free trade by reducing trade duties and other barriers, as well as the implementation of arbitrage functions in the field of trade. GATT was from an initial, rather, forum for negotiations and coordination of interests, rather than an administrative institution. Interestingly, the idea of the founding of such kind organization was not realized simply. Thus, it was feared that this would entail too much regulation of control in the field of trade.

In 1995, GATT was transformed into the World Trade Organization, WTO, which was the result of the Uruguay Round of the GATT, which lasted from 1986 to 1994 (Karumidze, 2004). The functions of the organization and the scope of activities expanded and as a result, the WTO began to encompass the new spheres – agriculture, service sector, and the objects of intellectual property. All those factors have reflected on the administrative structure, as well as the expansion of the administrative apparatus.

At the same time, the WTO has in many ways become a symbol of the economic globalization of the world, which in its turn has provoked resistance in various parts of the globe and it has been expressed itself in the speeches against this organization. Its activities are viewed by several movements and associations as a threat to national business and social priorities. In particular, environmental movements, for example, accused the WTO that as a result of its activities, national environmental laws are violated in favor of economic benefits and this causes irreparable damage to nature (Kavadze, Katamadze, 2002).

Some consumer unions also acted against the WTO. They were dissatisfied with the fact that with the reduction of trade barriers, there can be located harmful to health products for sale in the markets. For example, in European countries more strictly than in the US, refer to foods having been obtained by genetic engineering. And activity within the framework of the WTO assumes to follow the unified standards, far from always strictly protecting the health of citizens.

Picture 58. Official Flag of the World Trade Organization

Source: http://www.fao.org/economic/est/est-events-new/workshop-agricultural-aspects/en/

At present, the WTO is the leading international organization in the field of trade. At the first stage, more than 130 states have become its members, and the number of WTO members is constantly increasing. An important point was the accession of China in 1999 to the WTO. However, it took 13 years of difficult negotiations. As of 2021, there were 164 member states of WTO (WTO, 2021).

Among the main principles of this organization, firstly, that the reduction of duties and other trade barriers is provided for all members of the organization; secondly, it is done based on reciprocity. And finally, thirdly, that no discrimination is allowed within this structure. The imported goods have the same status as those, having been produced inside the country.

For the period from 1970 to 1998, the world trade indicator was increasing annually by 4.8% (Lebedeva, 2007), and the annual increase of global trade from the beginning of the XXI Century has been significantly accelerated. For example, if in 1960 the whole volume of the international trade was not more than 263 billion US Dollars, in 1995 it reached 5 trillion, within the first decade of the XXI century - 10 trillion USD and in 2019 it prevailed 19 trillion USD (WTO, 2020). Discussing trade, it would be interesting to add about development within the second decade of the XXI century the cryptocurrency market, first of all, bitcoin. As of the first quarter of 2021, the whole volume of the bitcoin market prevailed at 1 trillion USD (Interpressnews, 2021). About the volume of electronic commerce, as of the beginning of 2021, it prevailed at 4,5 trillion USD (Chitadze, 2021).

In general, today the international trade of one of those areas is regulated by the international regime which determines certain norms, principles, rules of behaviors, and decision-making procedures. They can be explicit and implicit, i.e., they can be fixed in separate documents or represent some kind of implicit type of behavior.

Following the results of the Bretton Woods meeting, decisions were also made on the revival of the *gold standard*. For the first time, the gold standard was introduced by the United Kingdom in 1821, it fixed the attitude of the national currency to gold. Therefore, until 1914, when after the start of the First World War, the gold standard was abolished, the financial system of Europe was quite simple. A Frenchman who arrived in London, or an Englishman traveling in France, could not worry about currency exchange (Beruashvili, Chitadze, 2018). Gold was a certain single yardstick. The French Franc exactly corresponded to the English gold sovereign. In other words, the parity of currencies in gold was fixed. However, despite the simplicity of such a financial system, the potential problem for the free movement was remaining the free movement of gold through the border. Although at that time its movement from one country to another was insignificant. London was a financial center, and the English currency dominated the world.

In the interwar period, the gold standard had quite a complex history. So, in the mid-1920s, Great Britain tried to return to the gold standard, believing that it was a kind of symbol of the Greatness of the British Empire. However, the economic and financial upheavals of 1929-1933 made the system extremely unstable and in 1931, the United Kingdom refused to exchange its currency for gold. As a result, the world was divided into trading zones, where dollar, pound, and franc “dominated”.

And later in Bretton Woods, the gold standard was again restored. But at this time there was a "key currency", which became the US dollar. The cost of one ounce of gold was fixed at $ 35 (Lebedeva, 2007). At the same time, the US government guaranteed the exchange of dollars for gold. As a result (although, of course, not only for this reason), they became the most active participant in the world politico-economic system. In this respect, it was after the Second World War that there was a departure from the dominance of Europe in the politico-economic sphere. The exchange rates of the different countries were fixed in the relations with the dollar. And the IMF task was to coordinate exchange rates.

The economic system, which was created by the results of negotiations in Bretton-Woods, stimulated the economic growth of western European states and Japan during the about twenty years period. The USA also was developing dynamically. In general, the world in the 1950s was experiencing an economic boom. However, all this was before keeping confidence in the American economy.

By 1971, according to official data, the presence of US currency outside the USA prevailed over the American gold reserves by more than 300%. It became clear that the US would not be able to fulfill its obligations related to converting the dollar into gold. At the same time, the United States began to experience a trade deficit, imports dominated over exports. The cost of the war in Vietnam also affected the economic conditions. As a result, in 1971 President Nixon announced the US refusal to maintain the dollar's parity to gold. The USA devalued the dollar by 9% by determining the price of an ounce of gold at $ 38. In December of the same year, an international conference with an attempt to save the system based on the gold standard was held. Nevertheless, in 1973 it collapsed (Dzneladze, 1997). Most of the countries have introduced a floating exchange rate for their currencies.

The US withdrawal from the Bretton Woods system is considered to be the moment of the ending of its existence. This step had a positive impact on the American economy and at the same time negative for the economy of European countries, as well as Japan. All this coincided with the energy crisis of the 1970s and the aggravation of economic problems in several European countries.

In 1969, the IMF decided on the introduction of *Special Drawing Right, SDR*. The innovation gained the name of paper money: Emission of SDR was carried out in 1970-1972 and 1979-1981. And since 1981 it was embodied in the monetary unit, which was formed based on the five leading currencies forming an international reserve asset (US Dollar – 42%, West German Mark – 19%, French Franc, Japanese Yen, and British Pound by 13-13%), which was used as a counting and accounting unit by IMF member countries, and also for settlements with the IMF (Beruashvili, Chitadze, 2018).

In the framework of Special Drawing Right, the purchasing of any goods was not implemented - but exclusively only currencies. Another important point was that the purchase of currencies did not involve the participation of private individuals or corporations. Only state central banks were involved in this process.

In the early 1990s, at the same time together with the discussion of the transformation of GATT into the WTO, significant changes took place within the European Union, wherein in December 1991 the Maastricht Treaty was signed. In 1999, the EU introduced a single European currency - Euro, at the first stage for the non-cash settlements, and since 2002 in cash circulation (EU, 2020). Its introduction was held in European countries with stormy discussions. The UK, for example, decided not to hurry with the transition to a single European currency. Nevertheless, the euro became an important phenomenon in the global financial system.

Shortly after the Maastricht Treaty, the United States, Canada, and Mexico signed an agreement on the creation of the North American Free Trade Area, NAFTA, which provides for the creation of single trading space. In 1994, within NAFTA a gradual abolition of national duties was started, which was calculated for 15 years (NAFTA, 2020).

With the US decision to withdraw from the financial system, which was formed after the Second World War, and the factual disintegration of the Bretton Woods system, a number of the structures generated by its regime continued to exist. First of all, these are the economic institutions created within the system, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. They continue to function and play an important role in the world system, although in completely different political and economic conditions. Secondly, the mechanisms of free trade not only survived but were strengthened in the modern world. The WTO has expanded its scope of activities both in terms of the number of participants and in the range of problems. The IMF turned out to be the leading international institution that solved the problem of the external debt crisis of the 1980s and the international financial crisis of 1997-1998 and 2008-2009. Thus, even though the Bretton Woods system formally ceased to exist, the underlying ideas and several institutions continued the development.

Speaking about the trends of political and economic development, today as the most important two of them can be distinguished:

- Economic integration of developed countries and creation of a truly global market. In this respect, the role of the WTO is becoming especially important:

- The allocation of the three is competing for block-regions within the economically developed countries: the European, the North American, and Asian. The markets of each block are "open" to the members of each block (minimum trade and other barriers) and partly closed to other countries. In other words, the blocks demonstrate a kind of liberalism within themselves and mercantilism outside (Beruashvili, Chitadze, 2018).

Even though both tendencies act simultaneously, thanks to the development of telecommunication and transport services, integration tendency has dominated the position.

In modern times, an important trend is the strengthening of the influence on the world processes of the activities of transnational corporations and directly connected with them the economic globalization of the world. Although the activities of TNCs raise a lot of controversies, on several points the opinions of various researchers and analysts coincide with each other. Among them:

- The number of firms that go beyond national borders is increasing (in fact, any large company today somehow operates outside the national framework;

- The activities of TNCs are becoming increasingly important, their scope is expanding, covering not only the sale of goods but also trade of services;

- The activities of many transnational corporations are associated with new communication or information technologies;

- The activity of most TNCs is geographically concentrated in developed or new industrial countries, and significantly less in the least developed countries;

- If initially the majority of TNCs were based in the US, today, the situation has been changed: as it was noted by K. Brown, a joint-stock of foreign citizens in the United States, more capital, belonging to Americans beyond their borders,

- It is becoming less obvious that transnational corporations are linked to their home countries.

At the same time, some authors believe that TNCs are the conductors of national business outside their own country. Such ideas, reflecting a great extent the ideas of mercantilism, due to globalization, are now less and less relevant to modern reality. TNCs are interested in getting a profit, therefore, in most cases, they primarily come from these considerations, and not from the need to maintain the national power of a nation-state.

These features of TNCs largely determine the current economic situation in the world, and hence its political development. Thus, for example, the United States is not able to control the activities of Transnational Corporations. From the world politics point of view, it is one more example of the fact, that as it was mentioned by S. Strange, the role of the state has been cordially changed (Strange, 1996). All those factors force the states to look for new methods of influence on the global economic processes. Thus, among them, the new approaches within diplomacy are developing, which represent some mixture of the state and business.

34.3. World economic order in the contemporary period

Subsystems of the International Economic order

By the development of the processes, which are going on in the International economic system, during the analysis of the conflicts and cooperation, and during the discussion about main reasons and results, American economist J. E. Spero presented the discussion about three sub-systems (western – inter-depended, North-South and East-West). Those systems are not isolated from each other, but at the same time, the political and economic processes in each system are specific.

Western Subsystem. This subsystem includes the highly developed market economies of North America, Western Europe, and Japan. Those countries are interrelated with each other by many economic, trade, finance, technological, and other unions. The development of strong relations among them has developed thanks to the Bretton – Woods monetary-finance system and signing the document – General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade, according to Spero, those two international regimes were based on the American Dollar and American economic and military hegemony (Spero, 1990).

At the same time, the national economy of one member state of this system is strongly dependent on the economy of the other national economies. The changes in the monetary, trade, and capital investment sphere of one country reflect the same fields of the economy in the other countries. Accordingly, to the scientists, J. Dutheil de la Rochelle, one of the most difficult problems before the national governments are the coincidence of the national and team interests, which would be optional for the separate states, also for the partners (Dutheil de la Rochelle, 1990).

North-South System. In this system is seen the confrontation between developed and developing countries. If in the western subsystem, there are presented the countries with the more or less equal development, it is a huge difference of the economic development between the countries of the global North and Global South, which has the asymmetric character.

The developing countries, due to their unsatisfactory development, have not diversified exports. Due to it, they are dependent on the markets of the countries from the global North. Their export is mostly mineral and agricultural products and raw materials.

The dependence is reflected in the field of capital investments, The biggest part of the capital investments to the economy of the developing countries is coming from the developed countries.

One of the other forms of dependence is financial dependence. Many countries with a weak economy gain aid from the International Monetary Fund, and the last one has the right to present its positions related to granting or not granting the credits (Spero, 1990). At the same time, developing states are taking the credits from the commercial banks of the developed states. As of 2003, the volume of such credits prevailed at 700 billion US Dollars (Rondeli, 2003. P. 138).

East-West Subsystem – This system has been practically disintegrated as a result of the collapse of the communist system. As it is known, during the “cold war” period, the member states in each system were in the opposite to each other political and economic camps, when in one camp the free-market economy and at the second the centrally planned economy was dominating. One of the main features of this system was the fact that socialist countries did not participate in the activities of the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and GATT.

After the disintegration of the communist system, most of the states from Central and Eastern Europe and former Soviet Republics started the development of the market economy. They are becoming the parts of the relations, which today exist between the Global South and Global North. Part of them have already managed to be integrated into the global North (Baltic States, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Hungary, etc.), but part of them during the long period can remain in the “South”. According to R.G. Kayser, the reintegration into the Capitalist economy of the countries from the East represents one of the most important, complex, and dramatic events of our epoch (Kayser, 1990).

34.4. Three models of the International economic system

The international economic system or World Economy, like the international political system, can be considered according to the different models and concepts.

Liberalism – This model is first of all connected with the theories of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. It should be mentioned that classical liberalism, what it is called today as liberalism, is not all the same. The classical one first of all is connected with the researches of Adam Smith, David Ium, J. Bentamm, D. Ricardo, F. Bastia, J.S. Milles point of view. According to classical liberalism, the economy should be dominated by the free market and the government should not interfere with the economic processes. Modern liberals themselves, in certain cases, require more active involvement in the economy. Thus, the classical liberals today are called conservatives.

Taking into consideration that in general, the involvement of the government in the economic processes is weakening the market forces and hampers the rapid economic development. So, the task of the state is to create an appropriate condition for the normal functioning of the market. At the International level, based on the liberal concept, the same processes have to be developed – in international economic relations, free-market relations should be dominated. At the same time, for the regulation of the currency exchange processes, they have to provide appropriate norms and rules (so-called international regimes) and not admit to "abuse" the interests of any other states as a result of the international competition.

As it is known, liberalism is known as a "free trade". At the same time, according to H.G. Johnson, the future problem will be a conflict between the political forces of nationalism and those economic forces, which work over World Integration. Some liberal considers, that during the determined period, despite the strengthening the nationalistic ideas, the forces of economic integration will "prevail" the political forces, and the Global Federal Government will be founded (Johnson, 1970.).

According to liberalism, the national economy is involved in such a "spider`s net", from which it is impossible to be out without damaging the interests of its people. Those ideas are presented by such scientists as R. Vernon, V. Cable, S. Strange (Vernon, 1971).

In this regard, it is also important to point out the role of Transnational Corporations, which are as strong as the national states (in many cases even stronger). Those corporations are always able to export the production outside of the country and in this case, the concrete state can have losses related to employment, income, entrance to the world market, etc. On the other side, developing states, by the "import" of capital, technologies, and management, will be able to promote their development. Thus, liberalism, free trade is the guarantee the economic growth of the whole economic system.

Structuralism and dependency theory. Structuralism is located closer to the Marxism economic point of view. According to structuralism, the liberal free-market economy promotes the keeping of the differences between the developed and developing states and prevents the further development of the developing states. According to the views of the representatives of the Structuralism school, in the XIX Century, free trade was promoting the development of the world economic system, in the modern period, it cannot implement the same function, because of the difficult conditions in the economically backward states from the demographic, social, economic conditions.

In the 60th of the XX Century, it became clear that countries of the global "South" would not be able to overcome the above-mentioned problems, and based on structuralism there were born more radical theories, such as the "dependence" theory. This theory was worked out in Latino America by such radical economists and political scientists, as F.E. Cardozo, E. Faletto, A.G. Frank, J.N. Braghwati, S. Bodenheimer, K.T. Fann, and D.C. Hodges, P. Sargent, T.Smith, D. Seers (Faletto).

The dependence theory was not only an attentive scientific attempt, but it became a powerful ideological weapon for the weak developed states for the fighting for the establishment of a new economic order and gaining some economic and trade benefits.

The authors of the dependence theory and their followers were proving that the gap between "North" and "South" in the framework of the International Economic system was the result of the exploitation by the first and the second.

According to the dependence theory, the backward countries are not able to be developed normally because their possibilities are not given by the character of the International Economic system.

The dependence theory is coming from the point of view, that the structural factors of the history represent the economic processes and during the last centuries the Northern capitalism (in the form of Mercantilism, later – Free trade and international finances, and today – transnational corporations) was the main force of the history.

During the discussion about the dependence theory, western analysts pay attention to the modernization aspect, which represents the systemic transferring process and includes all spheres of society and all aspects of social behavior. According to E. Hermassi, when the changes are started in one field of public activity, they will cause the changes in the other fields too (Hermassi, 1978). According to Samuel Huntington, taking a position in the modern level from the traditional society side means the changing of the traditional values and structures by the modern values and appropriate structures (Huntigton, 1976).

In the dependence theory, special attention is paid to the characteristics of the mechanisms of International Trade, which play a negative role in the attitude toward the developing states. Foreign trade has significant importance for countries with weak economies. About 2/3 of their foreign trade is coming to the economically developed states. For the developing states, the main sources of income represent export (mostly agriculture products and raw materials, foreign aid, commercial debts, and private capital investments. One of the main sources for those states is export, from which comes about 75% of the foreign currency income for the developing states. According to the supporters of the dependence theory, founded after World War 2 international trade (GATT) and monetary-financial (Bretton-Woods) system or regime or order become nonconvenient and not acceptable for the developing states (Valenzuela, 1978).

According to them, this regime promoted the economic development of the developed countries and at the same time, backward states became in the worst conditions. The liberal trade regime, which is GATT, provides the interests of the powerful nations and prevents the development of the poor states. The experts and scientists of the UN economic commission for Latin America, whose leader was Argentinian economist Raul Prebish, have worked out the new ideology based on the new economic order, related to the dependence theory.

Since the 70th, from the representatives of the dependence theory came new initiatives about the foundation such as a new economic order, which would create better conditions for the backward states. The dominated version of the "Free Trade", according to them, supports only economically developed states and does not allow the poor states to improve their economic conditions.
The victory of the Prebish school can be considered the foundation of UNCTAD (United Nations Conference for Trade and Development). It represented the institutionalization of the ideas of Prebish. The scientist himself was the first secretary of this organization. The supporters of GATT and

economic liberalism negatively evaluated this factor, but taking into account the requirements from the developing states, they were forced to retreat.

UNCTAD has implemented several programs, which somehow created better conditions for the developing states, related to the stabilization of export and increasing the incomes from the export. Despite this, the realities of the world economy are the dominance of the developed countries and international economic institutes, which have been founded by them.

The structuralism and dependency theory become the significant economic weapon for the economically backward states. It was effectively used since the 70th and was reflected in the new requirements for the new economic order.

At the same time, the liberal economists and political analysts of the West blamed the developing countries for their backward positions because of the problems that existed inside of those states and not in the structure of the international economic system. Those ideas were developed by economists P.T. Bauer and B.S. Yamey, S.D. Krasner, C.F. Bergsten (Bauer, 1977).

Special interests should be paid to the transnational corporations in economically backward and small states. TNC controls the most important spheres of economy of the host states and for the host state, it is very difficult to control the activity of such a company, which has no “nationality” and does not subordinate to the laws of any state.

It is important to mention, that TNC-s, the number of which prevailed 40 thousand, are concentrated in not all the developing states, but in the small group of the states from the global south. For example, at the end of 80th, in the developing world, about 86% of all invested capital was coming only to the 18 countries (World Investment Report 1995). In the south Caucasus, the TNC-s activities are connected with the production and transportation of the energy reserves of the Caspian Sea region.

The evolution of the relations between TNC-s and host states is presented by Charlie Kennedy, according to him, those relations include three main stages:

1. The dominance of TNC-still 60th of the XX Century;

2. The confrontation between TNC-s and local authorities;

3. Negotiations between host states and TNC-s since the 70th of the XX Century till now (Kennedy, 1972).

Radicalism (Marxism). Together with liberalism, in the economy also appeared Marxism, as a reaction to mercantilism.

As it is known, the Marxists deny the liberalism, free-market economy and call it a capitalist exploitation system, in which developed states take advantage of their economic dominance, and by influencing the developing states, they promote their strengthening in the framework of the existing economic system.

The Marxism ideas were specially developed after World War 2 when many former colonies gained independence and tried to fight with the “neo-imperialist expansion”. The spreading of Marxism economic theories was promoted by the existence of the USSR and the world communist system.

Its radical view based on this theory, related to the economic order was presented by Immanuel Wallerstein. This theory is more radical, in comparison to the dependence theories. He shares the views of such realist scientists, as K. Watz and H. Bull. According to them, the international system is anarchic. Accordingly, by the Wallerstein, no one state can control the economy of the whole World (Wallerstein, 1979).

The dependence and Marxist theories, despite their ideology, have fewer followers in the modern world. It is a fact that those theories cannot explain such important phenomena, as so-called new industrial states (Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Argentina, Brazil, Thailand, Malaysia).

34.5. The perspectives of the development of the International Economic system

During the discussion about further development of the International economic system, specialists mean **liberalism, dependence, and economic nationalism (mercantilism).**

In the liberalism and dependence models, the world economy, the international economic system is considered as one unity, where the functions of the national economy (sovereign state) are decreased. According to mercantilists, the main actors of the world economic development for the future are still independent states. From this point of view, in the future, in the framework of the world economy, the confrontation will be increased. This confrontation will be reflected in the field of capital investments, rivalry for the markets, and sources of raw materials.

By R. Gilpin, in comparison with the mercantilist point of view of the XVIII Century, modern mercantilism (neo mercantilism), should be understood as a priority of the national economic and political purposes (establishment control over the export and import, intention for the gaining the positive trade and payment balance, etc.), in comparison with the global economic progress and prosperity (Gilpin, 1992).

During the discussion about the processes in the international political and economic systems, in general, for the functioning of this system is important to determine the role of hegemony. In the modern period, such hegemony is the USA. According to several experts, it is finishing the period of the hegemony of this gigantic state and it is starting the process of gradually decreasing its role. It was presented by the American historian Paul Kennedy. In his work “The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers”, where he predicted the falling of the US hegemony (Kennedy, 1987).

The other group of experts, on the contrary, deny the possibilities of decreasing the US hegemony. According to American Richard Rozcreans, R. Gilpin, C. Layne, B. Schwartz, etc. even though the USA is in the declining process, but it can keep its hegemonic position (Gilpin, 1987).

According to British economist, S. Strange, the hegemony of the US did not weaken, because it is based on the structural advantage and strength, which means, the USA has the ability, to “build” the international economic relations, institutes, “rules of behavior” and norms (Strange, 1987).

The structural strengths of the USA are coming from the leading position of the state in the structure of international security, the strong position of the Dollar, and the structure of the “producing” of knowledge. Knowledge is the strength and it is proved by the number of educational institutions in the USA as of the beginning of the XXI Century - about 3 thousand high educational institutions and more than 12 million students (Rondeli, 2003).

The existence of the hegemonic order in the international economic system does not mean that the system is not multi-polar and the possible strengthening of the neo-mercantilism tendencies. Because the international political system has become more multi-polar, the supporters of neo-mercantilism consider that political multi - polarize will promote economic nationalism, and neo - mercantilism economic processes will dominate over the integration and interdependence deepening tendencies.

According to neo-mercantilists, the World economy would be divided into regional blocks, because the struggle between the integration and internationalization factors from one side and economic nationalism from the other side can have such a result.

In this case, the integration will be developed in the framework of the separate regions, because the separate states will not be able to be competitive, but, at the same time, they will not deny their principle of sovereignty. The resolving of this problem will be possible by way of regional integration. The different groups of the states will create the various blocks (like the European Union) and in this case, the result will be that international trade, finance relations and investments will have more interregional character. The regionalization of the economic relations is able, to limit somehow the US hegemony in international trade and dominance of the US Transnational Corporations. All those factors can bring us to the International economic conflict (Garten, 1992).

As is mentioned by R. Gilpin, the modern mercantilists can be divided into two camps: be called “positive” and “negative” mercantilists. The representatives of both camps consider that the world economy would be divided into regional blocks. “Negative” mercantilists consider that regionalization will cause international economic conflict (Mandel, 1970). The concentration of each block will be possible around the leading industrial region or state – the USA, Japan, Western Europe, and others. Each block will fight with another for the markets, raw materials, capital investments division. In this case, the World will return to the situation, which was in the 30th of the XX Century (Silk, 1993).

“Positive” mercantilists see in the economic regionalization the stabilization factor of international economic relations (Calleo, 1973).

According to them, regionalization will allow the states, together with the maximum political and economic sovereignty, to take advantage of the global economy and interdependence. By the integration to the regional blocks, independent states will be able to resist those global forces, which threaten their sovereignty. Countries will not be able to do it separately.

There is an opinion that the keeping of order in the international economic system will be possible without hegemony. According to R.O. Keohane, the USA is not able to be the only hegemony, because it has other problems inside the country. Due to this, it will be possible for cooperation within the international economic system among the states without the powerful hegemony (Keohane, 1984).

During the discussion about the actions of the states in the framework of the economic or political order, it is necessary to point out the regime, which is the coordinator of actions. Main characters of the regime and principles and norms. If principles and norms are changing, the regime also is changed. The regime is the social institute, which coordinates the actions of the participants. The international regime from itself unifies the participants of the interesting parts of the international system.

International economic relations are characterized by two different tendencies – integration (interdependence) and neo-mercantilism (economic nationalism). Before was dominated sometimes first, sometimes the second tendency. After World War two, the integration process became more dominant. Nowadays, many experts consider that it has started the process of neo-mercantilism dominating the division of the world into regional economic blocs. On the other side, it is more and more are developed the global integration among the regions, particularly European Union, NAFTA, etc.

34.6. The role of energy security in the international economy and world politics

The energy factor has always played a crucial role in international relations. It is through the energy that small states can in some cases influence the policies of big countries. The clear confirmation of this was the world energy crisis in 1973-1974. The global energy crisis was caused as a result of the policies pursued by the Middle East countries when OPEC member states from this region protested against the US support for Israel in the Yom Kippur War (Pivovarov, 2015). It is also noteworthy that it was the energy that played a crucial role in ending the Cold War, when, as part of effective measures having been taken by the US President Reagan administration, in particular during the negotiations with Saudi Arabia, when as a result of a deal between two countries, Saudi Arabia increased the oil production on its territory, which from its turn promoted the decreasing the international oil prices. As a result, income from oil export of the USSR reduced by about 73 %, which determined the further disintegration of the world communist system and USSR and the ending of the Cold War (Chitadze, 2008).

In today's world, it is a fact that energy plays an important role in protecting the national interests of the big countries and in implementing several strategic goals. For example, it can be taken into account the recent active geopolitical interventions by the Russian Federation and the intensive use of energy diplomacy to satisfy the political ambition of the Kremlin. First of all, it should be mentioned about the recent growth trends of energy interdependence between Russia and the west. It is known that the EU member states consume more than 500 billion M3 of natural gas per year. At the same time, more than 60% of the natural gas export of Russia is carried out on the European market. According to the data of 2018, "Gazprom" has exported 200.8 billion M3 on the European market (Gazprom Export, 2018).

Russia is trying to maximize its energy resources to pursue its geopolitical interests. In 2014, when Russia annexed Crimea, one of the determining factors was the existence of significant shale gas deposits near the Crimean peninsula. In this case, it should be underlined about signed before $10 billion contracts between Ukraine and the British-Dutch company Royal Dutch Shell for the extraction of natural gas on Ukrainian territory (primarily on the Black Sea shelf) (Balmforth, Zhdannikov, 2018).

34.6.1. What is Energy security?

Energy security is a complex concept that refers to several levels:

• political energy security;

• economic energy security;

• technogenic energy security.

"Energy security is about ensuring uninterrupted access to energy resources at an affordable price." The above definitions are one of many definitions of energy security, which is currently becoming one of the most important economic and political problems of the state's domestic and foreign policy. Another example is the definition proposed by experts from the World Energy Council: the ability of local and imported resources to meet the growing demand for energy over a certain period at affordable prices. Each of the definitions of energy security depends on the context in which it is viewed: economic or political. In the modern world, the importance of energy security is determined not only by the reduction of hydrocarbon fuel reserves but also by the attempts of some states, mainly exporters of oil and natural gas, to put pressure on importers of energy resources to achieve political goals.

At the same time, exporters and importers of energy resources understand energy security differently. The supplier is interested in high, and the consumer - in low prices for the product, and both - in the reliability of supply. Energy exporting countries place a major emphasis on maintaining “demand stability,” which ultimately provides the majority of their government revenues. Developing countries are concerned about how changes in energy prices affect their balance of payments.

Political energy security

Energy security is associated with the energy independence of a state, its subject, or region.

Economic energy security

The concept of energy security includes tariffs and reserves of energy resources, which make it possible to solve the assigned tasks. In the minds of ordinary people, energy security appears in the form of a burning light bulb and a warm battery.

Technogenic energy security

It implies "the technogenic nature of the risks to humans, property and the environment associated with the operation of any power plants." "The nature of the danger to humans, property and the environment of power plants, including electrical equipment, thermal and nuclear power plants, both power supply organizations and consumers of electrical and thermal energy." This type of energy security includes a comprehensive assessment of the technogenic hazard of an energy facility: electrical safety and fire safety, electromagnetic and mechanical safety, environmental and industrial safety, explosion safety, radiation, nuclear and chemical safety, etc.

Reducing technogenic hazards is a whole set of measures that must be constantly implemented. “According to experts, more than 70% of man-made disasters and accidents are associated with the human factor. Consequently, professional competence is the main vector of ensuring technogenic energy security ”.

34.6.2. Energy security problem

At present, the competition for energy resources has sharply intensified, forecasts of their imminent depletion have appeared. All this made the problem of energy security the most important, first of all, for countries that depend on oil and gas imports.

Developed countries have few opportunities to ensure energy security. "The energy-saving potential within the framework of basic technologies was mainly realized by the end of the 1980s." The United States, for example, plans to return to old oil fields, as well as start developing new fields.

At present, experts do not know the exact amount of oil reserves. There is especially little data on the Arab countries because for a long time they overestimated the number of resources available to them to increase the production and export quota. "According to some estimates, we can talk about a twofold excess of the available reserves."

According to Oil & Gas Journal’s annual assessment, the world’s proven oil reserves total 1,724.5 billion bbl at yearend 2021, down from 1,727.5 billion bbl a year earlier (Oil and gas Journal, 2021). About the proved natural gas reserves for the end of 2020, there were estimated at 188 Trillion Cubic Meters (BP, 2021).

Analysts cannot accurately predict the peak of world oil production (M. Hubbert peak). For the United States, it was passed back in 1970, after which production fell by almost half. "For the global oil industry, it is predicted either at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century or by the mid-2030s." A more important problem than limited resources is the lack of knowledge of their reserves. Supplier countries try to maintain state control over national resources. But this strategy is often ineffective. However, the attempts of importing countries to solve the energy security problem on their own are also doomed to failure. One of the main features of the problem of global energy security is that unilateral actions of states do not lead to positive results and joint efforts of all parties interested in solving this problem are required.

I. I. Mazur emphasizes the need to develop a new concept of global energy security - "Energy of the Future", within the framework of which the following priority areas are highlighted: energy saving; application of environmentally friendly technologies for the extraction, transportation, and combustion of fuel; the use of renewable energy sources as the basis for human development and the preservation of significant amounts of natural resources for future generations.

34.6.3. The legal aspect of energy security

Energy trade is legally regulated by various international agreements.

Some of the agreements are specially developed to improve energy security. They often aim at separating production activities from transport and distribution activities and aim at the opening and liberalizing the energy market.

The first important document dedicated to energy security was created by producer countries, which, with the help of it, tried to consolidate national sovereignty over natural resources. In the early 1960s, the UN officially recognized state sovereignty and sovereign rights to energy resources. This UN resolution takes into account the issues of energy security to a certain extent, but it favors consumer countries more. In this regard, the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) was created, which tried to return control over energy resources to producing countries. In 1968, an important document was adopted - the Declaration on the Oil Policy of the Organization's member states, which can be considered the beginning of the globalization of energy security.

Another important event was the creation by the member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) of the International Energy Agency (IEA) in 1974. IEA member countries have adopted the International Energy Program (IEP) for overcoming crises. This program is the first treaty dedicated only to energy security. Since then, the MEP has tried to reduce the dependence of the OECD member countries on oil and to stimulate the use of coal as an alternative fuel.

In December 1991, the European Energy Charter was created. It became the starting point for subsequent work and led to the adoption in December 1994 of the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT). The document has been ratified by 30 states, including most of the CIS countries, European countries, Japan, Australia, and Mongolia. Russia, after long negotiations, refused to ratify the Charter. The main emphasis in the ECT was placed on the problem of transporting energy carriers and on protecting the consumer and supplier from the encroachments of a third party. However, its legal possibilities for creating energy security are severely limited. At the same time, this is the only agreement of its kind in the energy sector, which covers the entire chain of production and marketing of energy resources.
There are some contradictions in the agreements in force today. So-called “general” trade agreements sometimes conflict with legal aspects of energy security. Most trade agreements regulate market relations, but they cannot solve the problem of energy security.

“Legal agreements can serve as a tool for pursuing a certain policy in the field of energy security, but they do not define the goals and scope of this policy. A purely legal approach to ensuring energy security is doomed to failure. " A specific energy security policy is required

34.6.4. The technical aspect of energy security

"The most obvious short-term energy security concerns are the sustainability of transportation systems and the security of mining and transport infrastructures." This implies the maintenance of these systems in good condition and their successful operation. Large sums of money are required to maintain transport systems in good condition. It is also necessary to constantly monitor their technical and environmental safety. Such control is required to be carried out both by the state and by independent agencies. It also requires continuous improvement of existing regulations and documents. The main long-term technical problem is the ability of suppliers to create surplus energy. Most of the supplying countries consume little energy and can do this. "However, in producing countries such as Algeria, Indonesia, and Russia, there is inevitably a conflict between domestic consumption and energy exports."

34.6.5. The political aspect of energy security

Sustainable development and stability of producer states in the energy sector are of great importance for ensuring energy security. Such sustainability may be threatened by the need to explore and extract energy resources in increasingly difficult conditions, which is possible only with the use of state-of-the-art technologies, damage to the environment, and also entails transportation difficulties.

Energy security depends on industrial policies in energy-supplying countries. "Today, there is a tension between trade strategies such as promoting free trade, opening and liberalizing energy markets, and energy security strategies." Energy security is, first of all, a political issue.

In the modern world, violations in ensuring energy security, both due to natural causes and due to external, artificial influence, are one of the main reasons for the destabilization of the social and, in the future, the political situation in the country. For example: As was mentioned above, the economy of the USSR was largely dependent on high world oil prices. In the 1980s, the United States artificially, using a certain influence on the oil-producing countries, lowered world oil prices, thereby causing colossal damage to the USSR economy. The fall in world oil prices, and as a result, the collapse of the USSR economy, together with the accumulated internal problems, led to the collapse of the USSR.

In this example, we see that the energy security of the state is one of the most important factors in the security of the state as a whole and its independent existence.

34. 7. CRYPTOCURRENCY - A NEW PHASE OF GLOBAL FINANCE

When talking about cryptocurrency, first of all, it should be noted that everything can be used as money if people agree on it and give the money the appropriate function. Humanity does not yet know how the function of money can be changed in the future. Money must meet several criteria, be a means of payment, a means of accumulating/storing value, a means of accounting, etc. According to many experts, the impact of cryptocurrencies is gradually increasing at this stage. The rubicon is overcome, paper banknotes gradually fade into the past.

As it is known, money as the equivalent of universal exchange has existed for many centuries, the conception of economic relations led to its gradual development. People have agreed since the immemorial time to carry out the process of exchange with each other. It was necessary to come up with such a universal standard for something that could be exchanged for everything. As a result, the idea of a universal equivalent unit was born and developed. This unit was constantly changing at different stages of human development with the changing level of progress of the society. At various times it was wheat, commodities, gold coins, banknotes, and today it is already a cryptocurrency.

34.7.1. Cryptocurrency is the most modern form of technological development of money.

The history of cryptocurrencies dates back to the birth of Bitcoin in 2008. Even before Bitcoin, there were many attempts to create global electronic money, but all efforts were vain. Cryptocurrency has no physicality; it seems to be expressed by a simple combination of numbers. But things are not so simple. In the case of Bitcoin, behind these records is a record book known as a blockchain. A blockchain can be represented as a decentralized database with no single control center, no single computer, where all information is accumulated. In exchange for one center, the information is redistributed to multiple computers called nodes. On these computers, the nodes all have the same copy (in the case of Bitcoin, there are about 110,000 nodes in the world), the nodes function exactly as written in the Bitcoin algorithm. That is, there is only one version of the truth on the web. It is impossible and pointless to try to falsify information here because, despite the chance of theoretically falsifying information on one node, information on other nodes throughout the network is still unchanged. It is about the same as trying to prove that North Korea won the World Cup final, although it makes no sense when the outcome of the final is already known around the world, and the world population has the relevant information. Accordingly, the nodes about the transactions carried out and the changes made in the record book, the computers are constantly broadcasting to each other, are in contact with each other, disseminate information, provide each other with information about changes in the blockchain. This information is constantly synchronized between them. This language of communication is called the "rumors, rumors" protocol, which allows hundreds of thousands of nodes/computers to have constantly updated information about the state of the record book.

Based on the above, it is necessary to explain what a blockchain is. Various transactions in the Bitcoin network are sorted/recorded in blocks. Each new block is added to the previous block through cryptographic functions, which makes it impossible to change the information stored in the previous block. This is how a long chain of bundled blocks is formed, which is why this record book is called a blockchain. Information is recorded or placed in transaction blocks by miners responsible for the system's operation. Miners have the function of validating all transactions carried out in the Bitcoin network. In return for the work done, they are rewarded accordingly in the form of newly printed bitcoins from the system.

The whole Bitcoin architecture is built on a system of motivation to encourage honest behavior on the part of all players and not to treat players/system participants with dishonest behavior, for which they will be punished and held accountable. The Bitcoin system is additionally unique because, for the first time in the history of electronic systems, system security has been taken out and entrusted to the free market. The consensus model that Bitcoin uses is known as Proof of

Work. New, more modern models of consensus (Poof of Stake) have now been developed, which require much less, almost minimal power consumption, and can be just as durable and unbreakable as the so-called bitcoin - PROOF of WORK.

The whole architecture of cryptocurrencies is based on the most difficult cryptography and higher mathematics; game theory is used to create effective models of consensus. In the case of Bitcoin, the system is decentralized, balanced, the rules of the game are clear to everyone and written from the beginning with a protocol, no one trusts anyone, good behavior is encouraged, bad behavior is punished.

According to many economists, Bitcoin is a revolutionary innovation - a technology that fundamentally changes the perception of money. Satoshi Nakamoto is considered to be the creator of Bitcoin. Satoshi introduced a model of decentralized finance and thus laid the foundation for a new wave of decentralization.

It is noteworthy that in early 2021, the price of Bitcoin for the first time exceeded $60,000. The most popular cryptocurrency in the world, the price of which tripled between 2019-2021, has gained the support of leading companies. This became the reason for its record price increase (Chitadze, 2022).

During the same period, the total volume of the Bitcoin market has already exceeded $1 trillion (Chitadze, 2022).

As early as February 2020, Elon Musk announced that electric car maker Tesla had bought $1.5 billion worth of bitcoin. According to him, he will also add Bitcoin to the means of payment. Mastercard plans to make a similar decision (Chitadze, 2022).

The coronavirus pandemic has also had a significant impact on cryptocurrency prices, as much of the world's population has switched to online trading. On the other hand, the growing popularity of cryptocurrencies has a huge impact on the environment, as their production requires large amounts of electricity.

34.8. Global E-commerce in numbers - where more people are buying things online

Thanks to the growth of e-commerce, even with limited capital, in modern times, starting a business is an easy task. Consumers are increasingly trusting online shopping - it is estimated that by 2040, 95% of retail trade will be fully online. E-commerce opens the door to new opportunities for many entrepreneurs.

The potential of e-commerce is growing rapidly. In 2017, e-sales worldwide amounted to $ 2.3 trillion, by 2021 this amount has almost doubled to $ 4.5 trillion. In the US alone, online shopping already accounts for 10% of retail sales and this data is likely to grow even more (Chitadze, 2021).

By 2020, 72% of EU citizens were involved in online trade. 46% of buyers spent between € 100 to € 500 on one-time purchases in the last 3 months of 2020.

According to statistics, men spend 28% more on online shopping than women. It is also interesting to note that comfort has been a priority for online shopping customers when shopping. 43% of online shoppers say they buy in bed, 23% in the office, and 20% while in the bathroom or car. 10% of consumers say that while shopping online they bought expensive items under the influence of alcohol. A study of consumer behavior has shown that most buyers start looking at one particular, desired item, but eventually buy a similar but different good (Chitadze, 2021).

34.8.1 E-commerce market share

The United States is often regarded as the largest market for e-commerce, but this is not true. The country is included in the list of 10 largest e-commerce markets in the world, although the first place is occupied by China with 672 billion dollars. Next places by the countries are estimated by the following volumes of e-trading:

- US: $ 340 billion
- United Kingdom: $ 99 billion
- Japan: $ 79 billion
- Germany: $ 73 billion
- France: $ 43 billion
- South Korea: $ 37 billion
- Canada: $ 30 billion
- Russia: $ 20 billion
- Brazil: $ 19 billion

In 2010-2020, e-commerce increased in all age groups, with the largest increase observed in the 16-24 age group. Eight out of ten Internet users in the Netherlands (91%), Denmark (90%), Germany (87%), Sweden (86%) and Ireland (81%) bought or ordered goods or services online. Less than 50% have bought products and services online in Bulgaria (42%) and Romania (45%). The largest increases in 2015-2020 (by 20 percentage points or more) were recorded in Romania, the Czech Republic, Croatia, Hungary, Slovenia, Lithuania, and Cyprus (Chitadze, 2021).

Nielsen`s Global Union Commerce Report provides data on the most profitable industries by country. In South Korea, most of the money - about 77% is spent on fashion, 66% on household goods, 52% of the population buys non-food items online, 51% the packaged groceries, and 37% the fresh produce. Japan accounts for 79% of online stationery sales.

The most popular products for online shopping in European countries are clothing (including sportswear), shoes, and accessories - 64%. In Europe, the Internet is also used for restaurant delivery, fast food chains and catering services - 29%, furniture, home accessories or horticultural products - 28%, cosmetics, beauty and wellness products - 27%, printed books, magazines, or newspapers are at the same level- 27%, computers, Tablets, on mobile phones or accessories is coming - 26% (2021).

For most buyers, paying by credit card is the most preferred method. Credit card payment system is used in 53% of transactions, followed by digital payment systems - 43% and debit cards - 38%. However, digital payment systems are the most preferred method in China and Western Europe, while the remittance method is preferred in Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East.

As for online shopping in the US, more Americans prefer it to so-called physical shopping. Only in 2020-2021, 80% of the entire American population used online shopping at least once.

During the working out the strategy of electronic commerce, it is very important a decision on the adaptation with mobile devices. According to EMarketer, 59% of e-commerce sales were implemented via mobile (Chitadze, 2021).

Several e-commerce trends have changed in 2019-2020 and this will continue into 2021 as well. The vast majority of consumers used chatbots, voice assistants, relations with social media managers, etc. while shopping online.

34.9 Which are the most expensive and largest employer companies in the world?

2020-2021 was a particularly difficult year for the entire world economy. The full Lockdown, announced in the countries due to the pandemic, has harmed small and medium-sized businesses or entrepreneurs.

However, there have been cases where rapid response and the shift to digital have even made some businesses doubly profitable.

All of this, of course, has had little to do with the world's giant corporations and companies. With billions in profits in the competitive market, there has simply been a redistribution of order among the various giant companies.

By the end of 2021, out of the 10 most expensive companies in the world with a market capitalization of trillions, eight are American, one operating in Saudi Arabia and one in Taiwan.

Here are listed ten leading companies in the world:

- Apple - $ 2.944 trillion market capitalization (US)
- Microsoft - $ 2.571 trillion market capitalization (US)
- Alphabet - $ 1.969 trillion market capitalization (US)
- Saudi Aramco - $ 1.854 trillion market capitalization (Saudi Arabia)
- Amazon - $ 1.746 trillion market capitalization (US)
- Tesla - Market capital of $ 1.021 trillion (US)
- Meta (Facebook) - $ 917.28 billion market capitalization (US)
- NVIDIA - $ 752.53 billion market capitalization (US)

• Berkshire Hathaway - $ 645.37 billion in market capitalization (US)

• TSMC - Market capital of $ 617.81 billion (Taiwan)

As for the question of which is the largest employer in the world top-20 companies, first of all, it should be noted that today the problem of employment in the world, including in Georgia, remains one of the unresolved challenges. This issue became even more acute after the spread of the coronavirus. In the last two years alone, up to a million employees in the U.S. have been laid off. The rate is colossal worldwide.

It is interesting, which countries have been able to more or less stabilize unemployment and which are the companies that have the most employees worldwide?

As it turned out, most people are employed by companies based in the United States, China, and Germany.

This is a list of 20 leading companies in the world based on the number of employees:

1. Walmart, USA. 2,200,000 employees

2. Amazon, USA. 1,271,000 employees

3. Volkswagen, Germany. 662,653 employees.

4. FedEx, USA. 570,000 employees.

5. Deutsche Post, Germany. 565,053 employees.

6. Compass Group, United Kingdom. 548,143 employees.

7. United Parcel Service, USA. 540,000 employees.

8. Accenture, Ireland. 537,000 employees.

9. Kroger, USA. 500,000 employees.

10. Home Depot, USA. 500,000 employees.

11. Tata Consultancy Services, India. 488,649 employees.

12. Gazprom, Russia. 477,600 employees.

13. Agricultural Bank of China. 459,000 employees.

14. China Mobile, China. 454,332 employees.

15. ICBC, China. 439,787 employees.

16. PetroChina, China. 432,003 employees.

17. Ahold Delhaize, The Netherlands. 410,000 employees.

18. Target, USA. 409,000 employees.

19. Jardine Matheson, Hong Kong. 403,000 employees.

20. Yum China, China. 400,000 employees (Chitadze, 2022).

Key terminologies

International Political Economy

International Trade

International Finance System

Transnational Corporations

Mercantilism

Trade, or economic liberalism

Neo Mercantilism

Protectionism

Tariff and non - Tariff Methods of Regulation

Quotas

Subsidies

Autarchy

Trade Balance

Transactional costs

Absolute Advantage

Neo-Marxism

Theory of Public Choice

Marshall Plan

Bretton – Woods System

International Monetary Fund (IMF)

World Bank Group

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)

World Trade organization

Golden Standard

Trade Deficit

Special Drawing Right, SDR

North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA)

Energy Security

Cryptocurrency

Digital business

E-commerce

Biggest Companies

Questions for Consideration

What are the main characters of mercantilism?

What is the essence of Liberalism?

What are the basic positions of the Theory of Public Choice and Neo-Marxism?

What are the main principles of the Bretton - Woods System?

What are the main characters of the Trans National Corporations functioning?

What are the main characters of energy security?

Practicum

In the mass-media means of the different countries, there are heated discussions about World Trade organization functioning. Many experts discuss the positive, or negative role of WTO in the world economy.

Please analyze the weak and strong sides of WHO and its role in promoting International Trade.

Chapter 35. Law and morality in world politics

The anarchic nature of international relations, initially determined by the Westphalia system, is governed by *International Law*. American researcher Richard Falk noted that most of the legal norms that are used in international relations are based on moral principles (Falk, 1968). Thus, the invasion of one state to the territory of another (as, for example, in the case of the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq in the early 1990s, or occupation by Russian territories of Georgia and Ukraine accordingly in 2008 and 2014) is not only perceived as an only contradiction to international law but is also regarded by many states, as well as by other participants in international interaction as immoral. In this regard, it can be presented with the following point of view. Both law and morality are mandatory rules of behavior that receive the form of the legal or moral duty and responsibilities for violating this obligation, reflecting the existing level of development of the international system and human civilization as a whole. And yet they are not identical. It can be pointed out about two differences between the legal and moral norms, particularly:

- Legal norms are fixed in the appropriate documents, and at the same time, there are no written documents in case of moral norms;

- Morality and law are different from each other by forms, meanings, methods of influence, but if the law takes into account the methods of pressure (sanctions, excluding from the membership of the concrete International Organizations, etc.), there are no such types of mechanisms in case of morality.

In addition to these differences, it is necessary to specify one more. Even though the basis of law and morality are the main principles of values, morality is much more closely connected with them and represents a complex, sometimes contradictory creation, where the universal, ideological, religious, and other values are interconnected, which can lead to contradictions.

35.1 The legal component of the world politics

Modern international law was the result of a long historical development. Initially, the issue of the right to conduct the war was the most important in the relations between the countries. This problem has been repeatedly discussed in the works of thinkers of the ancient world. The concept itself of the Right between the nations – in Latin *jus inter gentes* was introduced in the sixteenth century by the Spanish thinker F. de Vitoria, who spoke about Christian responsibility in the relation to any person (F. De. Vitoria, 1991). And the roots of this concept can be found in Roman law, where there was presented the concept "the right of people", in Latin – *jus inter gentium* (Martin, 2006).

Hugo Grotius, a Dutch lawyer, and politician who lived in Europe during the Thirty Years War (1583-1645) were one of the first, who in his famous work "The Rights of War and Peace" paid attention to the need to resolve conflicts not by force, but by legal means (Grotius, 1625). For him, military actions were possible only in case of self-defense or as a response to the damage caused. It was such a war, he believed, that was fair.

And anyway, if we start from the original meaning of the notion of international law as a law in the relations between peoples (*jus inter gentes*), then it can be assumed that the first customary norms were born in the period of the primitive community era, before the formation of the state. In other words, with the formation of the state, it is going on the establishment and development of international law by the modern understanding.

Hugo Grotius is also one of the first authors in the definition of the *sources of international law*. This formed the basis of international law, which exists in modern times and the name of H. Grotius is used as a founder of this discipline (Britannica, 2019).

The question about sources arises from the fact that in comparison with the state, there is no such central authority in international law. At present, according to Article 38 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice, the sources of international law are:

“a. international conventions, whether general or particular, establishing rules expressly recognized by the contesting states;

b. international custom, as evidence of a general practice accepted as law;

c. the general principles of law recognized by civilized nations;

d. subject to the provisions of Article 59, judicial decisions and the teachings of the most highly qualified publicists of the various nations, as subsidiary means for the determination of rules of law” (UN International Court of Justice, 2020).

International law has an important role in the modern world. It helps to reduce the uncertainty in the international environment and stabilize international relations. There is *international public law* and *international private law* (Britannica, 2019). Both of them regulate the legal sphere related to the international sphere. At the same time, international public law, or simply international law is called upon to regulate relations primarily between the states. In the diplomatic dictionary, "it is described as a system of legal principles and norms, governing relations between the states and their mutual rights and obligations" (Aleksidze, 2004). International private law also deals with issues related to the interaction in the international arena of individuals, corporations, non-governmental organizations, and so on (Britannica, 2019). It regulates international trade, the exchange of international information, international tourism, and other similar activities.

Picture 59. What is International Law all about

Source: https://blog.ipleaders.in/subjects-international-law/amp/

In the modern world, according to J. T. Rourke, international law is better regulated in those fields, which belong to the politics of law level. That relates to trade, cooperation in different areas of the economy, technology, information, tourism – the sphere mainly within international private law. The worst is the situation within high-level politics, i.e., in the sphere of international public law. When vital interests are touched upon, states J. T. Rourke, states sometimes violate international norms. However, in spite of this, international law is the most important regulator of international relations in the field of security. On the basis of existing international treaties, new negotiations are underway. International treaties are also one of the most important elements in the formation of international security regimes (Rourke, 2007).

After the signing of the Treaty of Westphalia, in international law the idea of *state sovereignty - national sovereignty* (Wittkopf, Keglew, 2011). This idea is still central to modern times. It means that the state possesses the resources of power over its own territory and is independent in international affairs. According to this, other states or any other actors have no right to interfere in the internal affairs of the state.

Sovereignty is a key concept in international law. Theoretically, it is closely connected with the theory of political realism, based on the ideas about the state-centric model of the world.

The principle of *sovereign equality of states* is the most important *principle of international law* stemming from the idea of sovereignty. It means that the states are legally equal regardless of territory, population, military, economic power, etc. All of them have the same rights (Aleksidze, 2004). This principle is fixed in the UN Charter, which says: “The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members" (UN, 2005). And the declaration of the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation between the states, in accordance with the UN Charter (1970), reveals the content of this provision (UN Declaration, 1970). Sovereignty lies at the basis of other principles of international law, the inviolability of borders, territorial integrity, and non-interference in internal affairs.

In addition to these, those principles have also belonged the principle of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, the principle of non-use of force or the threat of force, the principle of cooperation, etc., All of them are fixed in the UN Charter, in the above-mentioned declaration of the 1970 year and other international documents (UN, 2005). Possible disputes between the states should be resolved through negotiations or legal procedures. According to K. Holsti, from the period 1919 to 1986, 168 attempts were made to resolve disputes between states by peaceful means. Moreover, after the end of the First World War, in 70% of the cases, interstate conflicts and disputes were successfully resolved (Holsti, 2016).

Dispute resolution in the world arena can occur either through negotiations and mediation procedures with or without the participation of a third party or through judicial procedures.

The *International Court of Justice*, ICJ, the same as *the World Court* was established in 1945 as a judicial body of the United Nations to resolve disputes among the states. Its headquarters is located in Hague, Netherlands. It consists of 15 judges who are elected for nine years by the members of the Security Council and the UN General Assembly with an absolute majority of votes. Every three years the composition of the judges is updated on 1/3. The order of election of judges provides continuity. They may be from any country that is a member of the UN, at the same time, all five permanent members of the Security Council are represented by the judges (UN, 2005).

It is important!

In International Law, state sovereignty is determined as "The jurisdiction of the state within its borders and its independence in International affairs. It is the main principle for any state in the world" (Maftei, 2015).

The Security Council and the UN General Assembly can request the conclusions of the International Court of Justice, which proceeds to consider disputed cases only with the consent of the states themselves. For example, in 1992 a territorial dispute was resolved between Salvador and Honduras, whose history goes back to the middle of the nineteenth century. Both countries attempted to resolve this issue, including military methods, before appealing to the International Court of Justice in 1986, which adopted decisions about belonging to approximately 2/3 of the territory to Honduras and 1/3 to Salvador. Territorial waters were divided between these two countries and Nicaragua (UN, 2005).

There are several regional international courts. One of them is the *European Court of Human Rights* at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France (European Court of Human Rights, 2020). It acts based on the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms (European Convention on Human Rights, 1950), which was adopted in 1950 and considers the complaints of the citizens of member states of the Council of Europe in case of violations of their rights.

The International War Tribunal, created after the end of the Second World War, was an international judicial organ to prosecute and punish the main war criminals – who were rulers of fascist Germany (McMorran, 2003). An organizational meeting of this body was held in October 1945. The trial itself took place in Nuremberg (Germany) and received the name *Nuremberg process*. Former leaders of Nazi Germany were main responsible persons of the massive violation of Human rights during the World War 2. Among them, 12 people were sentenced to death and 7 people were imprisoned for a long period (The Library of Congress, 2020).

Picture 60. Headquarter of International Criminal Court

Source: https://www.israelhayom.com/2019/12/27/tiptoeing-around-the-icc/

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East was formed based on negotiations between the allied governments in January 1946. It was held in Tokyo from May 1946 to November 1948 (Tokyo Process). There were 11 states, which participated in this process, including the USA, USSR, USA, Great Britain, France (Center for Research Libraries, 2020).

In 1993, following the UN Security Council Resolution, at the height of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, *the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia* was established in Hague. The Resolution expressed the conviction that with the prosecution of those, who were guilty with the serious violations of human rights in the framework of International Humanitarian Law, will help the end of violence in this territory that threatens peace and international security. In the Hague Tribunal, hearings were held on the case of former President of Yugoslavia S. Milosevic (Global Policy Forum, 2020).

One of the last international judicial bodies is *International Criminal Court*, which was established by the results of the UN conference in Rome in 1998 and in the tasks of which are the genocide and human rights violation – related (International Criminal Court, 2020). In the foundation of this institution, the huge role played by non-governmental organizations.

International law also regulates the sphere, which is connected with diplomatic activity. It defines diplomatic functions - Embassies, Missions, which are represented by the state bodies within the external relations.

According to international norms, the diplomats, being in the host country, use the *Diplomatic Privileges* (with several advantages) and *Immunities* (certain exemptions from the jurisdictions of the country of residence) (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961). This makes it possible to effectively carry out the activities without interference from the state, where they work. Diplomatic immunity means the immunity of the offices, residencies, vehicles and also personal immunity, Diplomats are exempted from paying taxes. They cannot be arrested. In the case of committing a crime, a diplomat is usually sent home or may take the criminal responsibility, but only with the consent of his country. In connection with this, the history with the unsuccessful attempt of the mayor of New York, R. Juliani for bringing to administrative responsibility diplomatic representations, who violated the rules of parking of cars, acquired quite a certain fame. One of the largest violations of diplomatic immunity was the seizure of American diplomats in Tehran by the group of extremists in November 1979 and their detention for more than a year as hostages (Chitadze, 2016).

It is interesting!

Representatives of another state did not always enjoy inviolability. Moreover, if the representative had bad news, he might have been killed

The most important international document, which defines the principles and legal norms regulating diplomatic relations between the countries, is the *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic* Relations, which was adopted in 1961 (Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, 1961). In this convention are fixed the order of the establishment of diplomatic relations, the classes of diplomatic representations, the norms associated with the declaration of a diplomat as a persona non grata. i.e., an acceptable person in the hosting country, etc. The Vienna Convention, there are also presented the list of diplomatic privileges and immunities.

During the twentieth century, the international community paid great attention to the *customs and laws of war,* or just *laws of war,* i.e., norms of international law, which establish the rights and obligations of belligerent states about the beginning of armed actions, the protection of the civil population, prisoners of war, etc. (Roberts, Guelff, 2000) Their meaning is to avoid the most brutal methods of action during armed conflicts and to protect civilians. There are two important groups of questions. The first is connected with the beginning of the war (Lat: *jus bellum*), the second with the very nature of its conduct (Lat: *jus in bello*), including the treatment of the prisoners of war, civil population, etc. (Roberts, Guelff, 2000).

The legal aspects of the outbreak of hostilities and the rules of armed conflicts were discussed in detail in the Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907. There were adopted conventions on the laws and customs of war (Oxford Public International Law, 2019).

After the First World War, the question of the use of the armed forces became especially urgent. Article 16 of the text of the League of Nations is mentioned the following: “Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such a case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which is co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon” (The Covenant of the League of Nations, 1920).

The next important attempt to prevent military action was the conclusion of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Its prehistory is as follows. In the spring of 1927, Minister of Foreign Affairs of France A. Briand addressed his colleague, the US Secretary of State F. Kellogg with a proposal for a bilateral agreement that would ban the war as a means of National Policy. The response was a proposal to conclude a treaty on a multilateral basis. After that, in 1928, the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Canada, Austria, New Zealand, the South African Union, Ireland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Japan signed a Pact in Paris. Later, the USSR joined the pact and before World War II - more than 60 states signed this international document. The pact declared the illegal start of the starting the war, the law of unleashing a war, although it did not automatically mean the sanctions against the aggressor. At the same time, the signatory states had the right to self-defense. The initiators of the pact, A. Briand and F. Kellogg later were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (Yale Law School, 2008).

Unfortunately, all those documents and agreements could not prevent the unleashing of World War II. But upon its completion, the issue of development of the measures, which would prevent aggression, has been again included in the agenda of the international community. This is reflected in Article 2, point 3 of the Charter of the United Nations: “All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.” Later, in point 4 is mentioned, that “All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

At the same time, Article 51 of the UN Charter permits the state for self-defense. Particularly it is mentioned the following: “Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security. Measures taken by Members in the exercise of this right of self-defense shall be immediately reported to the Security Council and shall not in any way affect the authority and responsibility of the Security Council under the present Charter to take at any time such action as it deems necessary in order to maintain or restore international peace and security.” At the same time, article 39 gives the rights to the UN Security Council to determine “the existence of any threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression and shall make recommendations, or decide what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore international peace and security.” However, if the article 41 takes into consideration the measures, which are not connected with the using of the Armed Forces, article 42 gives the Security Council the rights, “consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations (UN, 2005).”

The important meaning for the development of the legal sphere, which was connected with the laws and customs of conducting the war, had The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1977. Those documents were directed on the protection of wounded military servants, prisoners of war, and also civilians during the armed conflicts. Participants in the development and realization of those documents for 2019 become more than 150 states (ICRC, 2020).

The UN Charter and other listed international documents indicate the potential threat to international security from one or a group of states. Today, the problem arises with particular urgency related to the terrorist organizations, that can be located and operate in the territory of an of the states, as well as the right to use force for the fighting against terrorism. Difficulties arise here in connection with the fact that several concepts are difficult to define. First of all, it refers to terrorism. As it was already noted, part of the people characterizes militarized groups of the people as terrorist groups, others as freedom fighters. Therefore, all attempts to finally identify terrorism, including in the framework of legal procedures, were unsuccessful. The uncertainty of the concept also leads to difficulties in developing a legal framework for combating terrorism.

An interesting version of the solution of this problem is offered by the rector of the counter-terrorism center Boaz Ganor, who believes that the normative principle concerning the state of war between two states can be transferred to the conflict between the state and non-state actors. In this case, for the determination the "terrorism", it should be clarified, what type of military forces exactly act on the concrete territory. For example, guerrilla forces conduct defense actions against occupant forces, while the Terrorist groups intentionally fight against the civilian population. In this distinction, according to B. Ganor, the terrorist organization will not be able to prove that it is fighting for gaining freedom (Ganor, 2007).

American researchers B. Russett, F. Starr, and D. Kinsella presented a comparative analysis of the main problems of war and peace, touched upon in the major international documents, which makes it possible to demonstrate clearly which of them were in the center of attention of society at the beginning of the twentieth century and which appeared later In the process of historical development for the promotion the establishment main principles of international law. Nevertheless, one of the most important problems, according to several researchers in the field of military policy, has been the question of the application of legal norms (Russett, Starr, Kinsella, 2009).

Unlike any state in the world arena, within the international community, there is neither central government nor police. For this reason, the International Court of Justice mainly considers cases that are of secondary importance for the world community. The resolution of the territorial disputes between Salvador and Honduras was, rather, an exception.

In international law, there are also no institutions that are engaged in lawmaking. Therefore, some researchers speak about the fact that as a result of the cooperation of the states within the legal aspects, there are fixed norms, which are followed by the states.

And yet the states try to follow international norms, expecting the same actions from others. So during the Second World War, the USSR and Germany possessed, As mentioned, chemical weapons did not nevertheless apply it and acted following the Geneva Protocol of 1925, fearing retaliation by the antagonist And yet the states try to follow international norms, expecting the same actions from others. So, for example during the Second World War, when two totalitarian states USSR and Germany possessed as it was already mentioned the chemical weapons, nevertheless they did not apply it and acted following the Geneva Protocol of 1925, fearing retaliation from the enemy side (Aleksidze, 2004).

An important moment is an international reputation, which directly affects the involvement of states in international cooperation. There is a responsibility enshrined in international treaties. For example, the Charter of the United Nations provides the appropriate actions related to the violation of international peace and security. The Declaration on the principles of international law concerning friendly relations and cooperation between states following the UN Charter draws attention to the fact that each state is obligated to fulfill international obligations in good faith (UN, 1970).

Another problem is the possible contradiction between international law and national legislation. Usually, they proceed from the priority of international law. However, the principle of sovereignty allows the state to neglect it. Especially in the past, when, according to the Westphalia agreements, the divine or sacred right of kings was provided. As a result, citizens were not protected from the possible terror from the side of power structures. But, even today, under dictatorships, citizens may be prosecuted because of their political views.

Since international law does not regulate domestic legislation, to this state may be taken political and economic measures of influence, including the adoption by UN the resolutions for the adoption different sanctions, condemning the political regime that restricts the rights of certain groups (for example, as was in the case with the apartheid regime in South Africa). In this regard, the Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, in a 1999 appeal to the UN General Assembly, called for a revision of the notion of sovereignty, as well as national interests, stating that in the traditional understanding they do not allow avoiding humanitarian catastrophes (UN, 2005).

Human rights, the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations, on the one hand, and the preservation of sovereignty, the principle of non-interference in internal affairs, on the other hand, there are the issues which are most discussed at present that go beyond the legal problems. This was most evident in the conflict in Kosovo. Western countries proceeded from the requirements of respect the human rights and avoiding genocide and therefore the need for humanitarian intervention. In particular, reference was made to Article 55 of the UN Charter, which refers to "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." And also, to article 56, in which it is said that "All Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organization for the achievement of the purposes outlined in Article 55." (UN Charter, 2020). The protection of human rights is offered by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

At the same time, for example, the official position of other states was the need to observe national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. This key international principle is also contained in the UN Charter. This principle in the case of Kosovo was protected first of all by the Russian Federation. But, from the other side, by this position official, Kremlin was encouraging the genocide and mass violations of human rights. Later, during the intervention on the territories of Georgia and Ukraine, accordingly in 2008 and 2014, Russian authorities "forgot" about the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of independent states.

Controversial is the question related to the possible humanitarian influence on the other side. One issue - is helping by medicines, food, etc. during the humanitarian catastrophe, and the other - deployment of the armed forces on the territory of the state without any agreement with this state.

Table 20. Problems of war and peace in the main documents of the XX Century

Problematic	Hague Conventions	Geneva Conventions	Nuremberg Process	UN Charter	General Assembly of the United Nations
Peaceful Resolution of the International Disputes				*	*
Using the Ground Forces	*	*			
Using the Marine Forces	*				
Using the Air Forces	*				

Using the Weapons of Mass Destruction	*	*			*
Protection of the Civil Population	*	*			
Protection of the prisoners of war	*	*			
Judiciary trials of the military criminals		*	*		*
Problems of Neutrality	*				
Topics related to the military occupation	*	*			
Terrorism					*

Source: Rusett, Starr, Kinsella. 2000

All these issues are still unresolved, causing a multitude of discussions among experts of law, international relations, and politicians. And the main thing remains unclear about what to take for a basic point – the state or individual human. When answering this question, it should be taken into account that nowadays most of the norms are oriented toward the state.

Finally, there is one more problem that needs to be known. Beginning with the signing of the Peace of Westphalia, the states were subjects of international law. And this was a good reflection of the realities of that time. But today other actors are increasingly active in the world arena. At that, non-state ones, first of all, Transnational Corporations (TNC), who possess huge financial resources and political influence. In this regard, one point of view is that they must be endowed with international legality. The opposite position is that, for example, if to recognize the subject of international law this entity, which is involved in interstate relations, we should agree that no company possesses qualities inherent to the state, and therefore is unable to participate in any way in such relations. Furthermore, the agreements, which are concluded between the states and private companies are not interstate agreements, but civil deals that are related to the sphere of civil (international private law) law.

The aforementioned, as well as several other problems, by no means, belittle the role of international law in the modern world but merely point to the most complex and controversial issues. International law, like any other sphere, is developing. For example, at the end of the twentieth century, due to the expansion of interaction between states in the field of culture, education, science, the field of humanitarian law has been developed rapidly. European integration led to the formation of European law, in which special attention is paid to the issues of its relations with the national law of the EU member states and with international law.

Question for consideration

What do you think, to which main directions will be developed in international law in the future?

How, in what new areas will international law be developed, and most importantly, how to react to the changes that are going on within the political structure of the world in the modern period? It can be pointed out that if we agree with the presence in the current policy of changes of the qualitative nature, it is logical to assume no fewer radical changes within the rules, which regulate the behavior of participants during the political interaction.

Indeed, in the first half of the XXI century, it became extremely difficult to operate within a rigid framework, including the legal, related to the classical Westphalia model of the world. International law is the most important instrument for the stability of international relations. Therefore, the need to take decisions on a whole range of issues is becoming more and more evident, in order, on the one hand, to preserve everything positive in it, having been worked out over the centuries, and take into account the qualitatively new topics that appeared in the political structure of the world during the last several decades.

35.2. Moral aspects of world politics

Morality in world politics implies the evaluation of certain actions in the world is from the point of view of how good or bad, rightly or wrongly, morally or immorally. The concept “morality” comes from the word *mores,* which means the use of something based on generally accepted common values and traditions (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2016).

Principles of morality have always emerged before politicians. But there were always different answers on this issue. Thus, in “Melos Dialogue” of Thucydides, the Athenians associate morality with strength - the weaker must accept that, which is imposed on him by the side, which has more power. This postulate has been perceived by the realism tradition of international relations (Cambridge, 2020).

The moral problems of politics are faced at every turn till today, starting from the sale of weapons and ending with the organization of aid to the poorest countries. In the latter case, the following question arises: will this aid not be in the hands of the political elite, and the least protected sections of the population will be deprived of such aid?

The problem is encountered in the rhetoric of the politicians and public figures. Often this has a political connotation. For example, the appeal to the moral aspects of politics was constantly traced in the era of the Cold War.

If one of the founding fathers of international law is considered to be Hugo Grotius, the ethical principles of modern world politics were largely laid by I. Kant. The philosopher was based on the fact that the participants of the social interaction (and the states among them) were initially, by their nature, to be oriented toward cooperation for mutual benefits. At the same time, they can cooperate only by respecting each other's interests and intentions. In this case, they do not need to work to create certain power structures, which would force them to work by the rules. These ideas guided the first researchers and practitioners belonging to the school of political idealism. Kant's ideas are based on the idea of creating international organizations. It was assumed that cooperation for the sake of common goals will be consolidated in the future and this behavior will become familiar (Kant, 1795). Are moral norms universal or are they conditioned by cultural peculiarities? There are two approaches to answering this question. The first is based on the inability to formulate moral principles common to all mankind. This approach to morality in world politics is called relativistic. As P. R. Viotti and M. Kauppi write, moral assessments of certain actions, in this case, can be given only in the context of a particular culture (Kauppi, Viotti, 2010).

Representatives of this direction reject the existence of universal human norms and rights. They emphasize that moral principles are largely conditioned by culture and history. For example, widely accepted at present the notion that democracy is good, and discrimination based on race, nationality, gender, and other signs have become bad indeed only in the twentieth century. On their basis, many decisions were made. At the same time, other moral principles have not yet become generally accepted, for example, this is about the destruction of biological species, as discussed in previous chapters. Many see a reduction in the diversity of living species on the Earth as an economic problem (for example, for the pharmaceutical industry), and not its moral aspect.

The opposite position is for those who believe that there are universal human principles. These include, in particular, universal norms. This approach is presented by the Representatives of the liberal school. American researcher M. Amstutz, discussing the universality of moral norms in world politics, emphasizes the fact that the basic positions are unified for all peoples and refers to the categorically imperative of I. Kant: “Act only according to that maxim whereby you can, at the same time, will that it should become a universal law” and “Act to treat people always as ends in themselves, never as mere means” (Kant, 1795).

The Weberian distinction between “ethics of conviction” based on eternal values and “ethics of responsibility” based on the importance of the consequences of political actions is directly related to moral issues in world politics (Weber,2017). If representatives of the first direction believe that the goals and means used in the international arena should be moral, then supporters of the second position emphasize only the need to ensure that the moral criterion is consistent with the final result. For example, J. Nye supports the principle that the foreign policy based on moral principles should take into consideration the goals, means, and results of the steps taken (Nye, 1972).

In the first direction, difficulties arise when the consequences of actions, taken on the world stage with the most benevolent intentions, are immoral. M. Weber himself proposed to admit that not always fair means within the foreign policy can be used (Weber, 2017). But the second approach, which is focused on assessing the final result, is not fully acceptable. The consequences sometimes turn out to be contradictory, so, often the economic benefit of the project (for example, the construction of a hydroelectric power station conflicts with the damage to nature). Finding an answer is not easy to unravel this dilemma. Even when experts agree on the factual side of the issue, they often disagree with the moral assessments of the problem.

Another example of the ambiguity of the final result, which provokes discussions about the moral aspects, can be the use of nuclear weapons with more precise targeting. It would seem that this is more rational since it allows reducing the number of civilian casualties. However, in this case, the cumulative effect (including the environmental consequences, the contamination of the territory with radioactivity, etc.), as well as the fact of the use of nuclear weapons itself, which largely excludes moral responsibility for delivering a retaliatory strike, makes it morally extremely vulnerable.
M. Amstutz identifies three main moral traditions in international relations and world politics:

- Skepticism in the relations with morality;

- Cosmopolitanism;

- Communitarianism.

He believes that in the base of skepticism lies the ethics of responsibility, within cosmopolitanism, the ethic of conviction, communitarianism (Amstutz, 2013).

Skepticism about morality with this, unlike cynicism, does not deny the existence in the world arena of moral principles. Its representatives insist that there are no uniform standards in the world regarding morality. States should be guided by their national interests, while acting on the grounds of pragmatism and prudence and political figures proceed from the principle of rationality, calculating the possible consequences of their steps. This tradition was shared, in particular, by former US Secretary of State D. Acheson, and the famous American diplomat and researcher G. Kennan and others (Chitadze, 2016).

Cosmopolitanism is most closely associated with the Kantian tradition. It is based on the belief in the existence in the world of a single universal morality. And morality in world politics is given an important role. One of the most prominent representatives of the cosmopolitan tradition was US President W. Wilson. The supporter of the same view was also another President of the United States, J. Carter (Chitadze, 2016).

For the representatives of this tradition, the most important moral problem is the man. In the framework of this tradition, it is considered immoral to protect national interests by the violation of human rights. Therefore, there are supported actions, related to humanitarian intervention for the protection of human rights.

Communitarianism, like cosmopolitanism, proceeds from the notions of the existence of such unified moral norms and traditions as equality, economic prosperity, etc. Politicians should be guided by both national interests and moral considerations. Representatives of this tradition emphasize the complexity of any situation in the world. Therefore, it is believed that there is no simple and unambiguous solution.

The problem of morality in world politics is especially acute in the situation of armed conflict. In this case, M. Nicholson gives an example of the so-called paradox. He writes that the killing is practically immoral in any society, considered as one of the gravest crimes, often punishable by death, and killing an adversary during the war as valor. However, not everyone sees in this example a paradox. So, for Quakers (a religiously Christian community), any murder is murder. Because of the moral point of view, it is always worthy of condemnation.

Moral attitudes related to condemning the military actions are called *pacifism* (Latin word), and movements that profess such views as pacifist ones. By its roots, it departs to the period of early Christianity and rejects the use of any violent methods. In addition to Quakers, pacifist views were held by Martin Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi, and several other political and public figures (Merriam Webster, 2020).

From the other side, who consider that any armed action within the interests of the state is permissible, there exist other principles of morality. They proceed from realistic ideas about the role of the state and providing the independence and territorial integrity of their native country. Supporters of this idea consider any war, which is conducted by their states, as patriotic war. From the other side, it is well known the brutal actions of the military forces, for example, the destruction of entire settlements only because there could be armed opponents among the peaceful population.

About a certain "middle" position between these two points of view can be considered the fact, that war can be considered as moral if the state conducts the defensive war to provide the freedom and independence of the native land, or against the dictator`s regime, when there are no alternative ways of the peaceful resolution of the conflict situation inside the country. At the same time, during the discussion about morality, it is necessary to take into consideration how the civilian population during the military actions is protected, attitude toward the prisoners of war, what types of weapons are used during the war, authorization of the military action from such institutions as the Security Council of the United Nations.

Key Terminologies

International law

Sources of International Law

International Public law

International Private Law

State (National) Sovereignty

Principles of International Law

International Court

European Court of Human Rights

International Military Tribunal

Nuremberg Process

International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo Trial)

International Criminal Court for Former Yugoslavia

International Criminal Court

Diplomatic Representations

Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities

Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations

Persona Non-Grata

Laws and Customs of War

Hague peace Convention 1899 and 1907

The Covenant of the League of Nations

Kellogg–Briand Pact

United Nations Charter

Humanitarian Catastrophe

Human Right

Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitarian Influence

Humanitarian law

European Law

The Geneva Conventions of 1949 and their Additional Protocols of 1977

Skepticism in the relations with morality

Cynicism

Cosmopolitanism

Moral Paradox

Pacifism

Questions for Consideration

Where are the coincidences and where are the differences between International Law and Morality?

What is the role and meaning of "sovereignty" in International Law?

What are the main principles of Law and Customs of War (Which important international documents have been adopted in this field)?

How from the legal point of view the activities of diplomatic representations abroad are regulated?

What kind of problems has emerged in International Law (Which are the possible approaches for their regulation)?

Are moral norms Universal or are they determined by cultural-historic characters?

What are the main characters of cosmopolitanism, skepticism in the field of morality?

Which moral approaches exist in the relations of using military actions?

Practicum

1. Please search and select the sites, where the examples of the problems related to human rights protection are presented. Please choose for the analysis of any situation. Make conclusions related to the actions of the different sides. Compare them with those decisions, which have been adopted during their activities.

2. Take from the field of World Politics any example, which causes the discussion in the relations of the fact, how the actions of politicians are justified from a moral point of view

Chapter 36. EDUCATION AS A FACTOR IN THE WORLD POLITICS

The problem of education has not become such a traditional theme during the consideration of the different aspects of World Politics, such as economic and legal aspects. But, at the time, a concrete person with their knowledge and skills is gradually becoming the main active force in world political development, accordingly, in world politics. Like the fact, how since the end of the XX Century economic factors have become more actual than that of military one, today the development of the human potential is taking the leading place, prevailing before the other priorities and it is understandable, human beings make their contribution in the modern production, economy, culture, science. From this factor, how will be his/her educational level, is dependent on the future? In this regard, education is becoming a more and more political factor of the modern world.

36.1. Knowledge as a decisive factor in the world politics

Knowledge has always been the active force for social progress. At the end of XVI and the beginning of the XVII Century, English philosopher Francis Bacon noted that the force is connected with possessing the information (Bacon, 2014). However, with more basis, his words can be discussed in the modern period with just one correction, that the force is not the information itself, but the skill of using and analyzing it.

The post-industrial period – with the new technologies and connected with it the information and communication branches, and also bio-technologies – present the new requirements to the personality. It is not by accident that the educational factors in politics are written by authors, which are oriented on ideas, which are worked out in the framework of postindustrial, or information society. Particularly, D. Bell paid attention to the fact that the forming of the new information society is based on the knowledge of “Intellectual Technologies”. Another author, one of the leading specialists in the field of the World economy of global problems, T.L. Thurow called those new branches the “artificial intellectual branches” (*man-made brainpower industries*) (Thurow, 2000).

Orientation on the “intellectual industry” required changes in the field of education. The sufficient changes in this field were held at the second half of the XX Century, which followed the processes of globalization and connected with the changes, the increased requirements to the human being. The main resource is knowledge, and also skills to use it and create new ones.

Knowledge and skills, in comparison with raw materials, do not represent an exhaustible resource. Their potential, on the contrary, is gradually increasing: new knowledge creates new skills. According to World Bank, in the modern time on the traditional, “physical” capital is coming only 16% of the general volume of the world wealth, 20% - on natural and other 64% consists the human capital, which includes first of all level of qualification, i.e. – also education

The increasing role of intellect and knowledge is especially noticed in the developed states. The differences between the level of education are becoming the main criteria in gaining future incomes. In the USA from 1978 to 1987 average income increased by 17% (for the whole population), for the college graduates, they increased by 48%. At the same time, for the persons without high education the incomes decreased by 4% Thus, human beings, who gained good education, not only obtained high social status but also significantly improved his/her living conditions.

The analogical tendencies were observed and continue to be observed at the other developed and new industrial states. For this reason, education is becoming one of the main life priorities. Thus, at the end of the XX Century, in Japan and South Korea almost all young citizens were attending school, at the same time in Indonesia – 45-50%, in Thailand – less than 40% (Lebedeva, 2007).

In general, for his/her life, the graduate of the University at the end of XX century and beginning of the XXI Century can earn more than 600 thousand dollars, more than citizens from the same generation without the high education. It is first of all determined by the rapid increase in the world's demand for higher education. More graduates of the schools are intending to study at the higher educational institutes. In the developed states, this number is about 50%, at the same time, for example in Malaysia it is less than 15% (Lebedeva, 2007).

On the global level, the number of students in the world at the end of the first decade of the XXI Century was 150 million people. According to the General Director of UNESCO Koïchiro Matsuura, at the same time, it was the regional inequality in the system of education. For example, in the countries of North America, Western and Eastern Europe about 50 percent of the young population was involved in higher education, in the Asia-Pacific Region, less for twice – about 25%, and in Africa south of the Sahara Desert, less than 6% (Pravda, 2009).

Picture 61. The knowledge always was the active force for the social progress

Source: https://wsimag.com/culture/60264-education-in-venezuela-the-americas-and-the-world

With the increasing significance of education, there are increasing expenses on gaining the education. It is more appreciated not only for higher education but possessing the Master`s and Ph.D. degrees, i.e., there are in high demand only those people, who can not only use the already obtained knowledge but who can create novelties within the different disciplines.

According to the position of some experts, for the 20 years (1970-1990), the tuition fee for education at the private US Universities increased by 474%, at the same time, the average consumer price index for this period increased only for 248% (Inozemtsev, 1998).

Because according to the modern conditions, it is necessary to gain the education eternally, it becomes more and more actual the sphere of the services for the offering of education for the elder part of the population. On the market, there are many different programs and special courses in various fields for this category of people. For example, for gaining computer skills, conducting negotiations, the study of foreign languages, personal management, psychology, etc.

The introduction of new technologies is especially significantly changing the face of the modern educational process. The Internet represents the most important source for gaining information by the representatives of the different target groups – students, researchers, scientists, businessmen, etc.
According to statistics, as of March 31, 2017, there are 3,731,973,423 internet users in the World, 49.6 % of the World population. At the same time, it should be pointed out that Internet users' growth within 2000-2017 was about 933,8%.

As of January 2021, there were 4.66 billion active internet users worldwide - 59.5 percent of the global population. Of this total, 92.6 percent (4.32 billion) accessed the internet via mobile devices (Statista, 2021).

Changes for the requirements for education and skills are followed by serious social-economic consequences. F. Fukuyama for example underlines, that in modern times the radical polarization of society is caused by the fact, that there are two main categories of people: who wants to gain education, who has the special knowledge, qualification, and skills, and the rest of the people (Fukuyama). At the same time, to receive education, despite the fact, that it represents the "democratic resource", is not an easy task. Theoretically, education can be gained by everybody. Even more, at the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, at the 26th article is pointed out:

Article 26.

"(1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all based on merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children" (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948).

However, there is the problem of access for gaining education, which is determined by the functioning of the good school, university, possibilities of using the library, internet, etc.

The significant increase in the expenses on education in the modern world signifies that good education is becoming more accessible for the people from the high and middle social classes. Besides, from the childhood period, they are forming the appropriate values for education, and they are dependent on the family and social environment.

To gain a qualified education and also for finding a qualified and high-income job, after the defending diploma to Europe and North America are emigrating young people from central and eastern Europe, post-soviet space, Asia, etc. it is going on the brain drain process. As a result, education is becoming more and more connected with the other problems of global development: migration of the population and polarization by the line “Rich North – Poor South”. The increasing disproportion at the level of education between developed and developing states causes alarm and strengthens the economic and social inequality of the population from the different states. In this regard, it should be mentioned about North-South Gap, particularly, at the end of the first decade of the XXI Century, in the developing world (Global South), lived about 80% of the world population, however, they produced only 40% of the World GDP (Mukhaev, 2009) At the same time, Taking into account, that world population each year is increasing for 80-85 million people, and about 90% of the growth is coming on the countries from the global south, it can be assumed that each year the percentage of the population in the democratic states from global North is gradually decreasing (Population Matters, 2021). This factor can influence increasing possibilities of illegal migration from the global south to the global north, increasing the level of unemployment, etc. Furthermore, in the countries of the global south, where the level of reproduction is high, the age structure prevails among the young population. But, at the same time, the existence of a “young bulge” – a large proportion of young adults in the population – increases the risk of state failure through war because large pools of underemployed youths are easily mobilized into military action instead of their involvement in the education process.

To partly resolve the existing problems, despite the level of incomes, it is implemented an appropriate policy on the national and international levels.

36.2. Tendency and policy in the field of education

The main tendencies of the modern world, of course, also depended on the base of education. First of all, the sphere of education influences globalization, which is shown in different forms.

The transparency of the borders is the result of the fact that in the modern world students try to get a qualified education at the most prestigious Universities, outside of their countries. From their turn, the educational institutions are interested in foreign students being involved in the educational process at those institutes. It permits them to attract additional financial resources, to have the graduates at the different state and non-state structures in the whole world, to promote the educational courses by taking into consideration the specifics of the other cultures, traditions, etc. Besides, the professor`s exchange program expands the professional skills of the teachers, permits them to exchange ideas and experiences. As a result, such universities are becoming more attractive during the admission of new applicants.

Knowledge, information – it is the sphere, which is especially easier to overcome the national borders. Due to it, in the stage of globalization, more and more distribution has the various forms of distance learning, first of all, thanks to the opportunities, which creates the new technologies. The location of the student's location sometimes has not the principal significance for obtaining the knowledge, but at the same time, there is no direct relationship with the teacher. There is a language barrier too – most of the websites, and also educational programs – are English, due to it, they do not speak English, also the absence of having the basic computer skills seriously hampers in gaining the knowledge.

Strongly connected with globalization, the *integration* of the modern world is shown in the educational sphere too, first of all – in the field of higher education. This process means the cooperation of the different states: exchange of students and professors, standardization of the educational programs. Integration of higher education is especially fixed in Europe thanks to the *Bologna Process,* which represents the policy directed for the unification of the European Educational Process.

At the same time, integration processes in the field of education have some barriers. There is a list of the new problems, which are determined by the cultural differences, national traditions, legal acknowledgment of the diplomas, social-psychological adaptation of the foreign students at the other states, etc.

Together with the integration in the field of education, there are going on disintegration tendencies too. Particularly, it is shown in the decentralization of education. As American author M. Carnoy mentions, it means the transition of the many functions of management in education in several states from the national to the local and municipal levels (Carnoy, 2014). From one side, the decisions, which are adopted on the local level, are not always optimal, which affects the quality of education. At the same time, during the decentralization, more attention is paid to the private aspects, orienting the graduates on the applied aspects and paying less attention to the general (fundamental) tendencies of the global development. At the same time, it should be pointed out that local educational structures become more independent.

36.3. The role of the state in the field of education

The state, which is formulating the educational policy, is faced before the necessity of determination, which functions and in which volume to deliver to the local level.

Universities and institutes more and more often are dependent on the requirements from the market. The phenomena of the *commercialization of education* are becoming more characteristic for all levels (school, university), and different types (state, private) of the different countries.

Under the condition of the orientation to the market, one group of the institutions, especially universities, attract the fund's resources by offering educational services, opening new branches at the other cities and countries, admission of foreign students, etc. At the same time, together with education, they conduct consultative and analytical services in the appropriate directions. It provides for them not only additional financial resources but allows the students to have practice at the University. Besides, teachers are directly connected with resolving practical tasks. As a result, consultative and analytical services give the chance for the Universities to gain several fields (for example international relations, law, economics, political science) important political influence. As a result of those processes, the biggest universities are transferred to the “transnational corporations”, by accumulating important material and cultural resources. To keep such status, those Universities are oriented not for the gaining income in the short term perspective, but for the long-term purposes, due to it, they intend to strengthen the educational and scientific base, attract the professors with the high international authority, etc.

Other educational centers go by another way. They try first of all to gain short-term commercial profit. As a result, the quality of education is suffering, first of all, a fundamental one.

In the field of school education, this type of behavior is followed by a mixture of priorities. Instead of the evaluation of the child as a unique person, who possesses the basis of the fundamental knowledge, he/she is more oriented on the applied education, which in the future permits them to find a job within a short period. Decreasing the level of fundamental education is followed by weakening the attention during the process of education to the principles of ethics, morality, social justice, etc. Those values are outside of the focus of professors. Administration of the Universities requires the implementation of such works, which would bring the commercial profit, and not those, which satisfy the social needs. This tendency, according to several experts, is noticed in several universities of Japan, the USA, Great Britain, Germany, and more clearly in Russia and China.

In the framework of the orientation on the applied education, especially wide distribution gained the practice of the foundation of the specialized centers, which are involved in the training of the staff in the concrete field, for example in computer technologies, management, etc. There are many of them, especially in Latin America. Here is going on the process of “connection” the knowledge gained at the high school with production. Classical Universities with fundamental education and a strong teaching base do not have the dominant position in the high education of Latin America. As is mentioned by American authors N. Stromquist and K. Monkman, 85% of the institutes, which are involved in the higher education process, are the units with narrow fields of profiles, which belong to the private companies. In Columbia, Brazil, Chile, Salvador, the Dominican Republic from 50 to 65% of applicants start their higher education at such institutes (Monkman, Stromquist, 2003).

Transnational corporations, which are interested in the training of the staff for their purposes, very often found specialized (technical) and high educational institutions. For example, such institutes have *Motorola, Intel*, and other companies. Future specialists together with knowledge and production skills obtain the feelings of being a team member, i.e., to belong to the concrete company. There are other positive moments. Thus, the costs of the government on education are decreased. Business structures, which are interested in recruiting the staff, put important investments in the development of education. First of all, it is going on in the developed states. According to special information, in 1960 in the USA from the Federal Budget 58% of the expenses were spent on education. At the beginning of the XXI century in this field, the US Central Government was spending less than 30% (Lebedeva, 2007).

At the same time, this factor has its negative tendencies too. Particularly, gaining the education at the technical colleges and not at the Universities, at the first stage of the professional career can have some advantages, because people possess the applied skills. However, in the future, because of the absence of fundamental knowledge, it becomes a barrier for professional development.

Increasing the role of business in the educational process brings the result, according to which the government is less involved and less control of the field of education, which sometimes requires the presenting from the university to the Ministry of Education just study programs.

The supporters of more involvement of the market mechanisms in the system of education often underline the negative role of the state, especially in the developing countries, which has negative effects - increasing the corruption at the Ministries of Education, presence of the non-professional management staff at the Ministries, etc.

At the same time, there is the opposite point of view, according to which, the government is obliged to establish strict control on the sphere of education and not permit the development of the processes, which are connected with the commercialization, privatization, and decentralization of education.

There are two different points of view. In reality, in the field of education and other fields, the issue is not abolishing the role of the state, but changing the role of education. Nowadays, the government has less control over the system of education, but at the same time it worked out additional regulative mechanisms of the system of education, by involving in the consideration and adoption of the different norms and rules of behavior. Regulation itself means, particularly, working out the national and international standards, accreditation of the institutes, certification of the educational programs and materials, etc.

To prevent involvement at the University Education process only representatives from the elite groups, many countries, and also the international community in general, by the financing and other methods, intends to widen the attraction to the Universities of the students from the different social, ethnic and other groups. At the same time, special attention is paid to the category of population, who before had limited access to higher education – women, national and religious minorities, invalids. About the last category, there are principally other possibilities of learning, first of all, to use internet technologies for those people, who have some difficulties for the movement, etc. In general, such policy is directed toward the *democratization* of the sphere of education.

The regulatory function of the state is shown in such issues, which determines the place, role, and other parameters for *private education* in the framework of the whole educational complex. In some states, private schools provide a higher level of education due to the smaller number of pupils at the schools.

Many west European countries do not limit the presence of private schools, but such states as Sweden and Norway, are mostly oriented on state (public) education. In those states, only 1-2% of pupils visit private schools, which at the same time are under strict state control (Lebedeva, 2007). In the USA, in the previous time's children were sent to the nearest schools, but today the choice is dependent on the preference of the parents. Even more, the government of the USA issues special certificates, first of all for those people, who do not have a high income. This practice exists in other countries too.
In the sphere of public policy, there are other important topics, which are connected with working out the directions of the education development i.e., its planning process. One of the serious problems is the fact that under modern conditions, the period of working out national policy in the field of education is decreasing. If before this cycle was measured by 4-5 years, today, according to N. Stromquist and K. Monkman, the programs are founded and “die” within 11-12 months. So, today

before the state is the task – to change the orientation from the “strategic planning” to the “eternal flexible reaction” on the changes, which are going on (Chitadze, 2017).

About the funding, it should be mentioned that economically developed states spend more on the system of education than developing ones. For example, from 1958 - 1972, the expenses on education in the USA in general increased from 11,8% to 14,8% of GDP (Lebedeva, 2007). Within the period 2016-2017, total expenditures for public elementary and secondary schools in the United States amounted to $739 billion (NCES, 2018). However, most of the states could not get the appropriate level of education, which was recommended by the International Commission on Education in XXI C. 6% of GDP (Lebedeva, 2007).

In general, it can be assumed that there are different priorities of the countries in the sphere of education. For example, if in the education of the developed state of elders is directed on the training of those people, who already possess the high level of knowledge and skills, in the developing countries another task exists: to give the basic education for those, who did not get it during childhood. Unfortunately, those countries demonstrate tendencies – according to which, the education of law and social classes of the population is ignored. It is especially characterized for the basic education, and also the education of elders. At the beginning of the XXI Century, about 860 million people were illiterate, over 100 million children had no access to school. Thus, each seventh person on our planet has a problem with gaining basic education (UN, 2005). In other words, the level of knowledge of those people was extremely low, which did not satisfy even minimal requirements. Mostly it’s the population from the “Global South”.

In modern times, states more and more closely cooperate with NGO-s, and also business structures, which are founded and are functioning at the schools, regions, universities on the regional and international level. The main tasks of its cooperation are more involvement of the students in the working activities during the holidays, providing jobs for the graduates, self-governance of the schools, universities, etc. At the same time, very often the state itself is the main coordinator of such activities. It is rapidly increasing the coordinative function of the state in the sphere of international integration of education. One of the clear examples is the Bologna Process for Europe.

In the development and planning of the education are actively involved International Interstate and International non-governmental Organizations. Among them, first of all, should be mentioned the UN and its specialized Agencies, particularly UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), UNICEF (United Nations Children`s Fund), UNDP (United Nations Development Programme), and other interstate organizations, which use different sources of financing. For example, such an international institute as UNESCO is oriented on governmental and non-governmental sources; UNESCO gains funds from the contribution of the member states. About the World Bank, it attracts funds from the agency of the commercial operations.

36.4. Integration of the Educational Space in Europe on the example of Bologna Process

Contemporary education - the fundamental basis of the human`s vital activity, which has appeared as an integral, generalizing value of spiritual culture. Together with the political and legal culture, education forms the aesthetical and moral features of personality in the indissoluble connection with the life of society.

The purpose of the functioning of the social institutions of education in society is to shape the intellectual-moral potential of the nation. The effectiveness of the social institutions of education must be studied from the positions of the complex approach, which assumes taking into consideration the variety of the qualitatively varying subjects of education and system of the interrelationships and management.

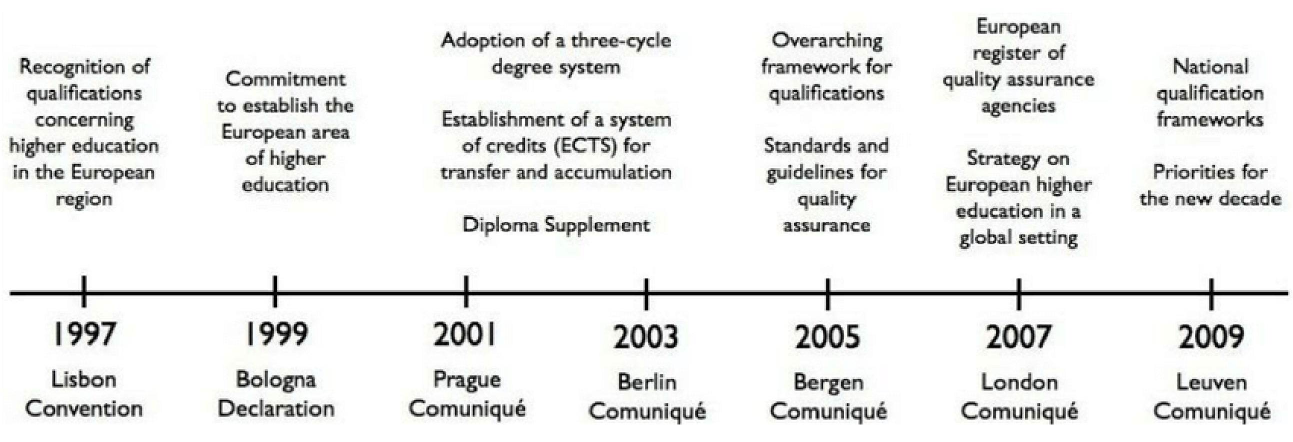
Personality, concerning the state, institutes-is always the object of the action. Within a long time, the state practiced a resource approach to its population, control of the education system was subordinated to the idea of the training of worker professionals with the minimal consideration of individuality. While in the present stage, education acquires the nature of the goal-directed continuous (within the whole life) activity of personality, which is oriented to the user of the educational system, educational environment for the self-perfection purposes, and satisfaction of the individual educational needs. As a result, close ties among the subjects of the educational activities are formed.

The social problem of the modernization of the National Institute of Education is connected with the harmonization of purposes, content, and methods of the educational activity toward the changing public needs and conditions.

36.4.1. Main characters of the Bologna Process

In the second half of the XX Century, Europe was involved at least in two periods, during which it has been faced with the delay from the other regions of the developed world. In 1960-1970th there was some technological delay of the European countries from the USA and Japan. It had its impact in the consequent years. As a result, in Europe later than in the USA the plastic bank cards and connected services have been introduced. Furthermore, it also concerned the development of the cell phone system, internet, and other technologies in Europe.

Table. 21. Time line of the Bologna process and main achievements



Source: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Time-line-of-the-Bologna-process-and-main-achievements_fig1_280758453

It is necessary to notice, that at the beginning of 90th of last century, by the mass consumption of the leading technological innovations, the developed European countries were interior not only to USA and Japan but also to the South African Republic, where within the above-mentioned period, the system of automatic teller machines, payment of the communal services through the computer`s national network system, also development of the cell phone communication has been widely developed.

Some "the second wave" of the problems for the Europeans served the fact that the USA, and also Australia started intensive offering of educational services. This issue becomes an important part of the discussion about the export in the field of education. For example, Since the beginning of the 90th, the number of European students, who studied in the USA, prevailed over the number of American students, who studied in Europe (Lebedeva, 2007).

The fact of the delay of European education had not only economic significance. Europe, with its cultural and historic traditions, undivided part of which was university education, become concretely in this field to be inferior the place for the nouveau riche.

All the above-mentioned factors forced the Europeans, since the end of the 90th, to be seriously involved in the field of higher education. The main initiators were Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and France. In 1998, during the meeting in Sorbonne, Ministers of Education of those states signed the Sorbonne Declaration, which became the foundation document for the integration of the high educational space in Europe. The basic legal agreement represented the *Magna Charta Universitatum*, which was adopted in Bologna in 1988, during the celebration of the 900-year anniversary of the foundation of the oldest European University. The University Charter was underlining the autonomy of the University, its independence from the political and ideological dogmas, the link between research and education, refusal from intolerance, and orientation to the dialogue (The Magna Charta Universitatum, 1988).

The unique formulation of the process of the creation of the unified educational space became the signing of the Bologna declaration in 1999, which gave the name to the process itself. The summary of this declaration is assumed as follows:

- Two levels of high education, when the first level is oriented on the gaining the bachelor degree and second- master degree;

- The credit system, which is represented itself the unified observation of the study process in all states (which courses and how long time are taught for the student);

- Independent control of the quality of education, to the base of which is put not the number of hours, which are spent during the study process, but the level of knowledge and skills;

- Mobility of the students and teachers, which is suggesting, that for the gaining the experience, the teachers can work within the determined period of time and students – to study at the Universities of the various countries of Europe;

- Using the knowledge of the graduates from the European Universities, which means, that disciplines, by which the staff is prepared, will have the demand and prepared specialists will be provided by jobs; The attractiveness of European education (it is planned that innovations will promote the increasing interests by the Europeans, and also citizens of the other regions for the gaining of European education) (European Association of Institutions of Higher Education, 1999).

36.4.2. Qualifications framework within the Bologna Process

The basic framework includes the three cycles of higher-education qualifications. The framework was discussed and finally adopted by the Ministers of Education and Science at their meeting in Bergen in 2005 (Norway), considering the qualifications under conditions of learning outcomes: statements of what type of qualification was gained by the students and what they can do during completing their degrees. In describing the cycles, the framework uses the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS):

· First cycle: typically 180–240 ECTS credits (a minimum of 60 credits per academic year), usually awarding a bachelor's degree. The European Higher Education Area did not introduce the bachelor-with-honors program, which gives an opportunity to graduates to receive a "BA diploma with honors." Degrees (for example, in the UK, Australia, and Canada) (in the UK and Australia) may enable graduates to begin doctoral studies without first obtaining a master's degree.

· Second cycle: typically, 90–120 ECTS credits (a minimum of 60 ECTS per academic year), usually awarding a master's degree (EHEA, 2005).

· Third cycle (doctoral degree): There is no concrete ECTS range since the disciplines vary in length and comprehensiveness.

In most cases, for gaining a bachelor's degree, it is necessary three to four years or one or two years for a master's degree. To obtain Doctoral degrees, it is usually requested for another three to four years of specialization, primarily individual research under a mentor`s supervision. Degree names may be different in the various countries of Europe, one academic year corresponds to 60 ECTS credits, equivalent to 1,500–1,800 hours of study (Qualification Frameworks, 2009).

36.4.3. Problems of transition to the Bologna System

Due to many reasons, the transferring process of higher education in many countries, which are involved in the Bologna process, is not developing by easy way, first of all, because of the necessity of changing the existing traditions, structures, methods of teaching, etc. In all countries, which are involved in the Bologna process, they are conducting discussions on the issues of integration to the common European space. In this regard, there are active supporters and opponents of such type of integration. The main aspect, which is the main reason for those disputes, is the socio-political consequences, which will be caused as a result of the creation of a common European educational space.

Thus, together with the positive moments, the Bologna process can emerge from the list of problems too.

One of the groups of problems is connected with the dividing of the European society, which is characterized for the other regions too. However, in the framework of the intensively conducted educational reform, this type of division can appear in a special form.

The increasing of the level of high education can cause the strengthening of the difference between the educated elite and another part of the population, which, from its turn, will motivate the less qualified and more conservative part of the population to refuse the further development of the European integration and growth of nationalism.

Taking into account that this division has clearly appeared in the contemporary period, the strengthening of those processes can turn out to be very critical. At the same time, it very much depends on the Universities. If some concrete programs will be worked out, in accordance with which, the Universities will become not only the important units of the high education integration but also the parts of the civil society, which means enlightenment, expert and consultative activity, i.e., "transparency" of the universities before the society, in this case, the socio-economic difference can be significantly decreased. Increasing the number of Europeans with diplomas of higher education will cause a new wave of immigrants - the cheap labor force from the Arabic, Asian and African countries. The changing of the ethnic composition of Europe, which will be followed by the distribution of the other cultural norms and values represents the problem (for example in 2005 Europe was faced with the reflection of violence) and requires the working out of appropriate social-economic programs.

36.4.4. Perspectives of the promotion of the Bologna Process

The Bologna process, no dough, will deepen and widen the common European integration. Appropriate basic parameters of technology of high education (level of education, dates, etc.) will give the opportunity, from one side, that the level of the qualification of graduates will become more understandable, and from the other side - in the framework of Europe, by each specialty, the common requirements for the determination the knowledge and skills of the graduates will be formulated, thus, by this way will provide the high mobility of the qualified labor force. Even more, the Bologna process, by offering the establishment of the partnership relations among the European Universities, will permit the preparation of the common European political, economic, technological, scientific, etc. elite. The same process will promote the mobility of the students and teachers, which is also taken into consideration by the Bologna process. As a result, the graduates of the European Universities will enter the professional sphere with many interpersonal contacts, which have been established during the period of study with their course mates from the different states. Involvement in the unified common educational space will permit to resolve, or, at least, simplify the list of the problems, which exist among the states. Furthermore, the Development of integration in the field of education promotes the development of the democratization process. During the previous periods, Universities played an important role in the establishment of democracy in Europe. Today, the University, being in accordance with the Sorbonne Declaration, the basic structural unit of the Bologna process, is potentially able to play again this role in this field. University Community, by its nature, represents the network, and democracy means mostly the networking of the social ties and relationships. The increasing role of education (accordingly Universities) in the social-economic and political life of Europe will cause the further development of the networking ties in the different fields.

The development of the Bologna Process will be followed by the transformation of the University society, in which there are presented, at least, three components: First – the most successful and prestigious Universities (by the separate divisions or as a whole), which are fully included to the Bologna Process, which, taking into account, that educational services are becoming more and more significant factors of income, will formulate some “consortiums”, by trying to monopolize the sphere of education. The second component – Universities, which partly will belong to the “first circle”, but which intend to enter this circle entirely. Finally, the third component – Universities - “outsiders”, which work on the boundary of existence and survival. The boundaries among the components will be flexible, and except for cooperative links and relations, there will be competition among them. Indeed, the competition among the Universities exists in the current period, but under the conditions of the corporate relations, this competition will have more strict character.

The social-economic consequences of the integration of the educational space of Europe can become the reason for the changing role of the regions and cities. From one side, it can be expected the intensive development of the cities, where the biggest University centers of the country are located, from the other – the specialization of those Universities independence from their profile of the city or region, because it gives the several advantages (invitation of the high qualified and high professional specialists to the University, gaining by the students the practice in an appropriate organization, etc.). So, if we take the sphere of International political and economic relations, in this case, the problems of multilateral diplomacy, international organizations, and multilateral negotiations will be profiled for the Universities in Geneva; the topics on European Integration – Universities in Brussels and International Finances – for London. As a result, it can be expected to strengthen the regionalization and transfer some regions to “megalopolises” in the different parts of Europe, which means the significant changing of the socio-economic and political face of this part of the world.

The development of the Bologna process in Europe has stimulated discussions about the unification of the educational spaces in other regions too. It causes from itself the problem of “crossing” of the educational systems of Europe with the educational systems of other countries and regions of the world; systems of the secondary and high education, and also requirements and norms of one or another agreements and treaties (within WTO for example, education is considered as a service).

In general, education is gradually becoming such a field, where the most important socio-economic and political problems of modern society are concentrated, which presents the task for conducting the international negotiations on the multilateral level by the whole complexes of the problems of education.

Among the high education problems, the main issue is its accordance with the quality of education and its accordance with practical requirements. For example, after the collapse of the socialist system, it has been found that higher education, very often (but not always), does not satisfy the western standards, for example, with regard to the Soviet diploma, it was not recognized in the European states. Today, in the framework of the Bologna Process, the cardinal reform of the high education system is going on, which means that within the whole of Europe, the common high education system should be established. The purpose of the reform, that the student of any country, including Georgia, can continue the study process at the University of other states, and a diploma should be valuable in any country of Europe. Shortly speaking, the Bologna Process takes into consideration the provision of a high level of education for the citizens of most of the states of Europe.

36.5. Global Character of Education and its role for the development of International Society

One of the most important and clear reflections of the culture of the population represents its level of education. The rate of education can be measured by the different criteria. One of the most distributed indexes is the determination of the number of literate and illiterate people in the older (more than 15 years old) population.

Besides the knowledge of reading and writing, the level of education is determined by such indexes, as the share of primary and secondary education, number of pupils, who are involved in the first and second stages of the school process, number of students for every 1000 people, etc.

At the same time, according to the opinion of many political scientists and specialists in international relations, the problem of education has not become one of the most pressing themes when considering the national interests of the country and different aspects of cooperation among the states. It should be pointed out that the concrete person with their knowledge and skills is gradually becoming the main active force in the framework of the development of the concrete state and promoting international cooperation. Together with the process of the Industrial, and later technological revolution, also entrance of mankind to the epoch of information, the development of the human potential is taking the leading place, prevailing before the other priorities and it is no doubt, that personality makes its contribution in the modern production, economy, culture, science. From this position, how will his/her educational level be developed, is dependent on the future of the country and the international community? In this regard, education is becoming a more and more leading and decisive factor of the modern world.

36.5.1. Different levels of education and its consequences

Basic and secondary education

Basic education is the first and most early stage. In several countries, basic education belongs to pre-school education (kindergartens). But in kindergartens, as a rule, it is not taught reading and writing. At the same time, for the entrance to the school, it is not obligatory for the child to spend the preschool period in the kindergarten. Due to this, in most of the countries in the world, the first stage of education is considered the basic (elementary) school.

As it is known, at this level of the school, the study period for the school pupils starts from 6-7 years and finishes when they are 10-12 years old (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2014).
Basic education is obligatory and free of charge. Due to it, at this stage, there are fewer differences among the countries related to the study programs, etc.

At the same time, according to the share of pupils and graduates, at the second stage`s schools (secondary education), the gap among the countries is significant.

The secondary school stage lasts for 4-6 years and pupils finish this level when he/she is 15-17 years old (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2014). The second stage can be lifelong. Most educational institutions, it is divided into secondary school and high school. The secondary schools, in general, and especially their high stage, can be represented by gymnasiums, lyceums, colleges, and also professional schools. After gaining secondary education, the young person has the right to continue their study in a high educational institution. Many young people, together with secondary education, obtain some concrete specializations.

In the developed states, as a rule, obtaining secondary education (first stage everywhere and second in the majority of the states) is obligatory. In developing countries, secondary education is not accessible to an important part of the population.

11 countries, with the best school systems in the world

Each year, the World Economic Forum (WEF) publishes its „Global Competitiveness Report “, which reflects the socio-economic development of the states in the different fields.
During the determination of the socio-economic conditions in the different countries of the World, WEF pays special attention to the system of education – first of all concerning the school systems in the various states.

In 2016, WEF presented the schooling data, with the list of 11 countries with the best education systems. Neither the US nor the UK gained the grade in the top 11. The places and scores were divided by the following list:

11. Japan: 5.6

Japan is one of the highest performing states for literacy, science, and math in the group of the most developed states of the world, which are united at the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). Pupils go through six years of elementary school, three years of junior high school, and three years of high school before considering the study process at the university or institute. High school is not mandatory, but involvement is approximately 98%.

10. Barbados: 5.9

The government of this country from the Caribbean basin region has invested heavily in education, resulting in a literacy rate of 98%, one of the leading positions on our planet. Primary runs from 4 to 11, with secondary 11 to 18. The majority of schools at both levels are public and accordingly funded by the Barbados government.

9. New Zealand: 5.6

Primary and secondary education in New Zealand starts from the age 5 to the age 19, with school compulsory between 6 and 16. There are three types of secondary schools in New Zealand: At the state schools’ education is gained by about 85% of pupils, at the state-integrated schools — private schools that have been integrated into the state but based on the charter, possess the significant part of autonomy - educate 12%, and private schools are visited by 3%.

8. Estonia: 5.7

As of 2015, Estonia releases around 4% of its Gross Domestic Product on education. The country's Education Act, which was adopted in 1992, points that the goals of education are "to create favorable conditions for the development of personality, family and the Estonian nation; to promote the development of ethnic minorities, economic, political and cultural life in Estonia and the preservation of nature in the global economic and cultural context; to teach the values of citizenship, and to set up the prerequisites for creating a tradition of lifelong learning nation-wide."

7. Ireland: 5.8

Most of the secondary schools in Ireland belong to the private sector, but they are funded from the state budget. At the same time, there are also functioning state comprehensives and vocational schools. However, a new report includes the information, according to which Ireland's expenditures on education decreased by 15% behind the developed world during the height of the financial crisis, 2008 to 2013. In the contemporary period, it is being considered to improve the level of education in the schools of the country.

6. Qatar: 5.8

According to a BBC report in 2012, rich by oil and natural gas resources Qatar was "becoming one of the most significant players in the field of education innovation, supporting a raft of projects from grassroots basic literacy through to high-end university research." The state puts a significant volume of funds into improving educational standards as part of its Vision 2030 concept, to make the country self-sufficient. Public schools provide free education but only for the local citizens and the majority of foreign citizens tend to register their children to private schools.

5. Netherlands: 5.9

Children from the Netherlands (Holland) were determined to be the happiest in the world. This research was implemented by UN program UNICEF, in 2013 in the framework of the project: “Leading the way globally educational well-being among others”. Schools as a rule don't give much homework before starting a second stage and as a result, pupils are less agitated and are free from pressure and stress. Education institutes are divided between faith schools and "neutral" state schools. At the same time, there is a limited share of private schools.

4. Singapore: 6.1

Singapore's grades are significantly higher in the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) tests, the purpose of which is to measure and make a comparative analysis of the performance of pupils in the various states and regions of the world. At the same time, the school system also has a reputation as being a pressure cooker, putting pupils under a high amount of stress at a young age.

3. Belgium: 6.2

There are 4 different genres of secondary schools, with the name’s general secondary schools, technical secondary schools, vocational secondary education schools, and art secondary education institutions. According to the US Fulbright Commission, which has the main responsibility for the student exchanges with Belgium and Luxembourg, can be assumed following: "Education enjoys high priority and the largest share of the regional government's annual budget in Belgium. Complete systems of public and private schools are available to all children between the ages of 4 and 18, at little or no cost."

2. Switzerland: 6.2

Only a small number of children, particularly 5%, attend private schools in Switzerland. The subjects are taught in 3 official languages of the country, depending on the canton (province) of Switzerland, with German, French, or Italian the most common languages of instruction. From secondary onwards, pupils are separated by ability.

1. Finland: 6.7

Finland routinely has a leading position in the framework of rankings of global education systems and is famous for possessing no banding systems — all students, despite their talent and study potential, gain the education in the same classes. As a consequence of this approach, the gap between the weakest and the strongest pupils is the smallest on the global level. Pupils at the schools of Finland, are given relatively little homework and have only one mandatory test at age 16 (Independent. 2016).

36.6. High Education and Science

Higher education is the last stage of education. The number of high educational institutions and quality, number of students and their level, qualification of professors, teachers, and scientists, and their scientific potential, as a rule, is the index of the cultural and economic development of the state. But there are exceptions: In former communist countries, there are a significant number of high educational institutions and students. However, this index does not coincide with economic reality. About this problem, we will discuss it below.

There are several types of high educational institutions: University, Institute, College, High professional school, etc. In western countries, the university is called such a high institution, where it is possible to gain the universal high education in all fundamental scientific directions (from medicine to legal studies) and to gain the academic degree of all three levels (bachelor, master, doctor). Accordingly, there are three stages of university education: bachelor, master, and Doctoral. The first, pre-diploma, pre-degree level is called – undergraduate, and two other – after gaining diploma or BA degree – graduate and postgraduate level. As a rule, at the institutes and colleges, it is one or two levels of education. This level can be only bachelor, bachelor, and master, or master and doctorate. The high professional institution gives high professional education but does not grant the academic degree.

The high institutions are functioning in most countries of the world. Naturally, they significantly differ from each other by level and prestige. Before World War 2, the advantage of European Universities was clear, but after the war, the leading positions were gained by the US and Japanese Universities. The biggest number of universities is in India (8 thousand). More than 4 thousand Universities are in the USA, more than a thousand in Mexico, Argentina, Japan, China, and France. By the number of people with the number of students and with a high education degree, leading positions per 1000 people are Scandinavian countries, USA, Israel, Japan, Canada, and Great Britain. One of the first places in Georgia too (Davitashvili, Elizbarashvili, 2014).

The high level of high education is connected with the high costs. Due to this, those disciplines of the fundamental sciences, which need the high expensive experiments and a strong material-technical base, are developed in the economically developed states.

In western countries, Universities represent the main scientific centers. More than 2/3 of the fundamental research is coming from Universities. Applied scientific research is mostly implemented in industrial centers. But fundamental and applied research is so strongly connected with each other, that it is very difficult to separate them. The approach of the different fields has determined the foundation of scientific-industrial areas – technoparks. Indeed, those scientific centers are established only in economically developed countries and possess high scientific potential.

36.7. Education Index

Education Index — is the combined index, presented by the United Nations Development Program, which is one of the key components of social development. It is used for the measurement of the Human Development Index in the framework of the special series of reports of UNDP about human development. The index is measured by the success of the state from gaining the level of education of its population by two basic parameters:

Index of the literacy of the elder part of the population;

Index of the whole share of those young people, who receive the basic, secondary and high education.

Two above-mentioned measurements of the level of education are combined to one summarized index, which is standardized in quantitative meanings from 0 (minimal) to 1 (maximal). It is expected to count, that the developed states can possess the minimal index 0,8, but some of them have the index 0,9 and higher. During the determination of the place in the global rate, all countries are ranked on the basis of the rate of the level of education (please see the table below), where the first place coincides with the highest meaning of this index, and last to the lowest (UNDP, 2016).

The dates about the literacy of the population are collected from the official results of the national surveys of population and are compared with those indexes, which are calculated by the Institute of Statistics of UNESCO. For the developed countries, which already do not include in the official questionnaires the question about literacy, the literacy level is determined by 99%. The dates about the number of citizens, which are starting to study at the educational institutions, are aggregated by the Institute of Statistics of UNESCO on the basis of the information, which is presented by the appropriate governmental agencies of the countries from the whole world (UNDP, 2016).

Despite the fact that this index is shown as universal, it possesses a list of limitations. Particularly, it does not reflect the quality of education itself, which in separate cases can be law or significantly limited. Also, it does not show in the full scale the difference (gap) to the accession of education, due to the differences in the age requirements and length of the study process. Those indexes, as the average length of teaching or the expected length of the teaching, would be more representational, however, the appropriate dates are absent in the statistics of the majority of the states. Besides, the index does not take into account the number of students who study abroad, which can have a negative influence on the indexes for several small countries.

The index is renewed once per two-three years, the reports with the information, presented by the UN, as a rule, are published later for about two years, because of the requirements of the international accordance after the publication of dates by the national statistical services.

36.7.1. Results of the research

Here is presented the actual list of the countries and territories of the world with the approved evaluation of the level of education of their population, which is regulated by the scores, based on the index of education. Those indexes are presented by the year 2015 (published in 2016)

TABLE 22. RATE OF THE 10 MOST DEVELOPED AND 10 AT LEAST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES BY THE EDUCATION INDEX

RATE	COUNTRY	INDEX
1	Australia	0.939
2	Denmark	0.923
3	New Zealand	0.917
4	Norway	0.916
5	Germany	0.914
6	Ireland	0.910
7	Iceland	0.906
8	USA	0.900
9	Netherlands	0.897
10	Great Britain	0.896
178	Central African Republic	0.338

179	Guinea	0.330
180	Ethiopia	0.318
181	Sudan	0.318
182	Mali	0.312
183	Djibouti	0.310
184	South Sudan	0.297
185	Chad	0.280
186	Eritrea	0.267
187	Burkina Faso	0.262
188	Niger	0.206

Source: United Nations Development Programme: Education Index 2016.

36.8. Positive aspects related to the improvement of the Education level in the World

Despite the above-mentioned problems, it should be pointed out that, within the XX Century and beginning of the XXI Century, radical changes in favor of education development have been implemented. In this regard it is important to analyze the following aspects:

Increasing the level of literacy: Admittedly, through the efforts of the entire international community, there is a tendency for a constant increase in the absolute and relative indicators of literacy. In 1950, the literacy rate among the adult population of the world equaled 55 %, during 1990-the, in 2005 and 2010 and 2019 it increased to 73%, 77%, 84.1%, and **86.48%** respectively (World Literacy Rate 1976-2021).

Democracy Enlargement. As it was mentioned in the previous chapters of the book, after the ending of the "Cold War" and disintegration of the communist system, the convenient base for the enlargement of democracy and promotion of the peaceful co-existence among the states has been created.

During the discussion about the democratization of the World, it should be pointed out that it is a comparatively new process, which was characterized for the second of the XX and beginning of the XXI Century. For example, if after World War I, democratic regimes were established in almost 30 countries, during the period of World War II only 12 Democratic states remained (Rondeli, 2003). In the 60th, their number was 37, in the mid of 70s. of the twentieth century, to the list of democratic states that belonged less than 1/3 of all countries in the world. After the collapse of the USSR and the failure of the communist ideology, the new wave of democratization started. As a result, at the beginning of the second decade of the XXI Century, the number of Free countries in the World was 90 (Freedom House, 2013).

Thus, this factor promotes the introduction of new liberal-democratic methods in the system of education during the teaching on the different levels – school, college, university, etc. Furthermore, more subjects related to democracy and human rights are taught; School pupils and students have more opportunities to freely express their points of view related to the different subjects during the process of lessons and lectures, accordingly, the rights of school pupils and students are more protected; Furthermore, democracy enlargement established the conditions for the integration among the countries in the field of education. The Bologna process in Europe is a clear example of it.

Development of technologies and number of Internet users. The development of new technologies plays a decisive role in the framework of the modern educational process. The Internet represents the most important source for obtaining information by the representatives of the different target groups – students, researchers, scientists, businessmen, etc., and by the representatives of the different generations.

As it was already mentioned, according to statistics, as of March 31, 2017, there were 3,731,973,423 internet consumers in the World, 49.6 % of the World's population. Furthermore, it is necessary to mention that Internet users' growth during the period 2000-2017 was about 933,8% (Internet World Stats,2017).

Growth of the World Economy. As to the first quarter of 2018, the summary economy by current prices prevailed 77 trillion, and by PPP data 123 trillion USD (Media for Business, 2018).

Thus, there are more opportunities to increase the volume of investments in the field of education.
In general, it can be assumed that there are different priorities of the countries in the sphere of education. For instance, if in the countries, with a high standard of living, the education of elders is directed on the training of those people, who already have an appropriate qualification in the concrete field, the developing countries are faced before the other problem: how to provide the basic education for those people, who had not an opportunity to gain it during the childhood. Unfortunately, in those states, the tendency exists – according to which, the teaching of law social classes of the population is connected with some difficulties. Those obstacles exist at the level of basic education. Thus, within the first decade of the XXI Century, about 860 million people were illiterate, over 100 million children had no access to school. Thus, each seventh person on our planet has a problem with gaining basic

education (UN, 2005). As it was mentioned above, the majority of the world population, who have problems with education are the people from the "Global South".

In the contemporary period, states are gradually developing cooperation with the different structures of the civil society, particularly non - governmental organizations, commercial institutions, etc. which are founded and have their activities on the base of the schools, municipalities, universities on the regional and international level. The basic purposes of its cooperation are more engagement of the students in the working and additional educational activities during the holidays, providing business positions for graduates, providing self-governance of the schools, institutions, universities, etc. In some cases, which depend on the educational policy of the concrete country, the appropriate governance structures are the leading supporters and initiators of such activities.

Furthermore, it is gradually increasing the coordinative function of the state in the field of international integration of education. One of the clear examples is the Bologna Process for Europe.
In the promotion and determination, the educational policy on the global level is actively involved International Interstate and International non-governmental Organizations. Among them, the special place is the United Nations, its programs – for example, UNICEF, UNDP, UN University and its specialized Agencies, particularly UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

Key Terminologies

Globalization in the field of education

Distance Learning

Integration of Education

Bologna Process

Decentralization of Education

Commercialization of Education

Democratization of Education

Private Education

UNESCO

UNICEF

UNDP

Sorbonne Declaration

Magna Charta Universitatum

Education Index

Bologna Declaration

Questions for Consideration

What is the role of education and knowledge in the modern world?

How the expenses on education have been changed at the end of the XX and the beginning of the XXI Centuries?

How are the incomes of those people, who have different levels of education?
What is the influence of the new technologies in the framework of the education process?

How is it presented in the field of Education?

What are the main characters of the Bologna Process?

What does it mean for the decentralization of education?

How are the processes of commercialization and privatization of education?

What is the role of the states in the modern educational processes and main tasks, which are resolved by the state institutions?

Practicum

Please select based on the internet materials, 10 Universities, where the study process in World Politics or International Relations is conducted. Please analyze those educational programs. Where are the coincidences among the programs of the different Universities? What is the specificity of each University? Which concrete program would you prefer and why?

Part 4. Regulation of world political process in modern World

The original "anarchic character" of the interstate relations, as it was set by the Westphalian world (in this case it is possible to share the views of the representatives of the realism school), suggests, that states, being sovereign and independent, form their foreign policy, their goals, and priorities with regard to the outside world, as well as the main lines of activity. It is implemented primarily through diplomacy, which for several centuries has been and continues to be the main instrument for the implementation of foreign policy and the main means of regulating international relations. As the political structure of the world developed, diplomacy has also been modified, new forms and methods of diplomatic work arose. Nevertheless, in recent years, with the emergence of non-state actors and the apparent change in the political structure of the world, it has been said that this is not enough, but one should think about the need for more complex management of the modern political world. These problems will be discussed in two final chapters of the book.

Chapter 37. Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

37.1. Theoretical Aspects of Foreign Policy and *National Security*

National security, seen as one of the dimensions of security, together with the collective, international security, can be provided by state bodies, being a constitutional responsibility, through the organized information collection system.

With regard to definition, there is no single universally accepted definition of "National Security". A typical dictionary definition, in this case from the Macmillan Dictionary, emphasizes the overall security of a nation and nation-states: "The protection of the safety of a country's secrets and its citizens." (Macmillan Dictionary, 2010).

At the same time, National security represents the state of stability in the existence of a nation, of the certainty regarding independence, territorial integrity, and people sovereignty, as a formation for the development of national values and interests in the context of constitutional order in a state governed by the rule of law. The anticipation of some states of risk allows for their control, no matter whether they are rooted outside (military, economic, financial, media, diplomatic, and other types of aggression) or inside, having direct or indirect consequences on citizens' safety.

"National security interests are a key concept of foreign policy" (Rondeli, 2003). In general, national interests imply certain goals, and to achieve them the government should adopt appropriate policies (Wolfe, 1952).

National Security interests include such values and goals that it can agree on the greatest sacrifice to achieve or maintain them. These values and goals usually have a very important place in the country's foreign policy principles and priorities. Therefore, these values and goals are considered sacred. Politicians call such an interest "vital" and the scientists - the basic, core values.

To realize and define national interests along with the country's political elite and economic culture requires sophisticated diplomacy (Rondeli, 2003).

The national interest of big, powerful countries covers every aspect of life and every side of the world. For example, in the XIX century, Great Britain's national interests were meant to keep a balance of power on the continent of Europe, to rule over the World Ocean, between metropolises and colonies, providing trade and unions.

Contrast to big countries, in the national interests of small countries, as a rule, the most important places are having: security issues, struggle for leadership in the region, to enter an "advantageous" coalition, and establishing, strengthening beneficial foreign economic relations.

As for small countries, for their national security, it's very important to enter an appropriate coalition, to find a strong partner country, as well to have stable, favorable economic ties. The issue of maintaining national identity and cultural values are the most “sensitive” components for a small country’s national interests. Determination and realization of small countries' national interests should include the least emotional, populist elements; it requires extremely realistic, sufficiently flexible (at the same time principal) policy formulation and implementation. (Rondeli, 2003).

Concept - "national security" - has a lot of enemies. Their arguments are as follows:
1) It is a powerful concept, but a symbol is too vague;

2) The problem is not national security but international security. A person must live not in a safe country but in a safe world;

3) national security is state security and not humans. Governments often use this content to inhibit opposition and domestic discontent. An individual's personal safety is often limited because the state takes extremely active care of its own safety;

4) This term is often used for a distinct group or for an individual's narrow interests (For example authoritarian leaders, powerful agencies) (Rondeli, 2003).

There is no universal security, as every sovereign state has to take care of its own safety permanently. Because of this, the world gets involved in a "security dilemma". Therefore, every country has to strengthen its military and military-economic opportunity in spite of its will, because the state is not sure that nobody touches it.

Hence, one country's growing military potential makes its opponent or opponents strengthen its military forces. It is clear that even in the most powerful country there is no absolute guarantee and secured safety, because its opponent or opponents, in turn, are trying to improve their positions, so there is no end in this competition. The dilemma is that, in spite of how much you strengthen your safety, it’s not secure (Rondeli, 2003). In general, a sovereign state’s main demand and the task is to ensure its own security.

In a world where the most important political factor is power, a special attitude to security is clear.
Before the First World War, foreign policy was an activity of foreign ministries and ruling communities and it was surrounded by mystery, but the devastating consequences of the war changed this view. Disclosure of the secret part of the Munich Agreement, the Versailles Treaty, and the appearance of the Concert of Europe on international arena reinforced an idea, that foreign policy should be made public and it should not remain the only sphere of diplomacy, all kinds of secret treaties should be prohibited and war should be declared as an unacceptable instrument of foreign policy.

In the manufacture of the foreign policy state uses next methods:

1. Institutionalization of international humanitarian interests.

2. Blackmail (economic, geopolitical)

3. Aggression (military)

4. Twentieth century's firstborn terrorism

5. Diplomacy

Foreign policy is one of the main directions of a country's national security policy, aimed at establishing a favorable international security environment for the concrete state. In order to achieve this goal, one of the most important factors in strengthening the relations with the neighboring countries.

Any foreign policy which is determined by national interests implies nations, states' survival, territorial integrity, political institutions, and preservation of culture. As was already mentioned above, national interests are a key issue of foreign policy.

H. Morgenthau emphasizes that statesmen on an international level think and act in the interest of the state. It was in the past, it is in the present, and it will be so in the future.

According to the UNESCO resolution's classification in 1948, the study of foreign policy is scoped in International Studies research and is separated from the political science's major issues. On the other hand, these studies focus on the international as well as the domestic environment. Deborah Gerner describes that foreign policy is a "strange field" of political science- which deals with both, local and international political fields, while James Rosenau says that foreign policy is a "connecting bridge" of international and domestic issues (Qochoradze, 2008).

37.2. Working out and adopting the foreign policy decisions

The formation of internal politics is a difficult process. Its key element consists in the formulation and adoption of foreign policy decisions, and its character depends on many factors. These are, geographical position of the country, the existence of military and economic power, cultural, historical traditions, this is also a type of the political system, and social structure of the society, individual features of political leaders.

Acceptance of Foreign policy decisions may reflect critically not only on the country where it was accepted but on the fate of humanity as well. It became more evident after the Cuban crisis in 1962 when in Cuba the Soviet strategic missiles were placed and the USA replied by blockading the island. Then decisions whether of the American or Soviet leaders about nuclear attack could lead to an irreparable mistake. After awareness of this process, the acceptance of foreign policy decisions, especially in the situation of conflict and crisis, became one the most important topics of scientific research.

For the present time in science, several directions and schools have been created, which are working on the problems of decision-making and finding the ways for process optimization. These kinds of schools and directions are "crossing," thus it is difficult to classify them one by one. In such a situation, more justified will be the consideration of the directions, which would be more interesting for researchers. An Australian author R. Richardson allocates the five most important directions:

-rational choice;

-psychological;

-institutional;

- interactional;

-systematic.

In the frame of the first, the theory of rational choice - is being studied as a problem of deciding from the point of view of the greatest expediency. This approach implies the presence of a certain sequence in setting tasks. In the most common view, it itself is represented by 1) determination of the essence of the problem; 2) choosing of aims, which should be achieved; 3) identification of possible alternatives; 4) identification of the best alternative. Each step should be described quantitatively and qualitatively. Depending on this, in the theory of rational choice, the two approaches exist: the first is oriented towards formalization and the second one is on the non-formalized methods of analysis and processes. The last one especially underlines the role of the national interests, political purposes during the estimation of the rational choice. Many authors, working within this approach, are oriented on the works of T. Schelling (Schelling, 1961).

Picture 62. Diplomacy & Foreign Policy

Source: https://www.slideshare.net/afurgio/diplomacy-foreign-policy

The second direction - psychological. It has emerged largely as a reaction to excessive rationalism. That's why one of its major postulates is that the decision particularly under the conditions of conflict and crisis, in most cases is far from the rational decisions. It belongs to the politicians who like all people are influenced by stress. The factor of Stress situation is becoming especially significant under the conditions of conflicts and crisis, which is shown by O. Holsti on the example of the First World War (Hudson, 2014).

In the frames of such directions are being studied problems, related to the adequacy of perception. To this issue, R. Jervis has dedicated a work "Perception and Misperception in International Politics", which was published in 1976 (Jervis, 1976). In which is demonstrated, how mistakes of perception and false interpretation of the facts lead to the wrong decisions.

The process of making a foreign policy decision is particularly vulnerable. American researchers U. Ury and R. Smoke, studying his psychological characteristics, identified four factors that influence the decision-making process in these conditions. The first is determined by the high rates of the participants. Unlike ordinary situations in a crisis, you can lose too much or vice versa. The crisis affects the vital, almost basic interests of the parties, which are perceived as such. For example, Ury and Smoke point out that the Berlin crises in 1958 and 1961 were considered by the West not as such, that they could lose half of the city, but primarily as a consequence of the threat to NATO, and in this sense were regarded as affecting life interests of the West (Ury, Smoke, 1985).

The second-factor influencing politicians in decision-making during the crisis - Lack of time. So, it was for example under the Caribbean crisis of 1962, the period of the Middle East crises of 1967, 1973, 1982, and in many other cases. The politicians are forced to respond quickly to the development of the situation. There is almost no time left for its analysis. For example, during the Caribbean crisis, the Americans many times rechecked information about the Soviet rocket’s deployment in Cuba, before reporting about it to the president (Ury, Smoke, 1985).

The next factor Ury and Smoke consider a high degree of uncertainty in the crisis. Its participants sometimes do not have enough accurate information about the real goals and plans of each other. Even more, by planning this or other actions under the crisis, due to the secrecy, the leadership intends to limit the circle of the people, who have the access to the information. In other cases, it may be more than the people who supply information for decision-makers, but receiving such type of information from different sources can have contradictory character.

The last factor affecting politicians during the crisis, according to Ury and Smoke - a limited number of alternatives. The people, who adopt decisions, limit the field for the possible choice. Many versions are practically not being considered. For example, by the end of the first Caribbean crisis, the American administration seriously analyzed the only alternative - to blockade Cuba or military actions. And only after the other version was considered: Is it worth it to get support from the UN and also other countries' sides or it would be possible to resolve the problem without any involvement from the third side? At the same time, the arguments in favor of the military operations were explained by the fact that the struggle against communism means more than only the national interests of the state (Ury, Smoke, 1985).

Foreign policy decisions are often developed and adopted by a limited number of individuals. The group nature of decision-making, especially in times of crisis, emerges from several phenomena that have been identified and described in detail by American researcher I. Janis in the work “Victims of Groupthink” (Janis, 1991). This process gained the name of groupthink. One of the most significant phenomena is the duality in choice, when some members of the group tend to either more or vice versa to less risky decisions compared to the average individual variants in the same group. In other words, the collective decision would be riskier, than if each member of the group would adopt any decision separately and only after the most adoptive version could be considered. According to many researchers, the shift towards a riskier decision is because the responsibility for the risk is psychologically divided with the other members of the group. However, this does not explain why in other cases, although less frequently, the shift occurs in the opposite direction too.

Another phenomenon of group thinking is that the group often seems insensitive to information that does not fit into the framework of the concept being developed. As soon as the group comes to either the conclusion of a relatively analyzed situation or behavior in it, information that contradicts the representations of its participants is ignored. As a result, the group is within its constructions, which can significantly distort reality.

Personal features of politicians, who are involved in the decision-making process, are also in the "focus" of research by those authors, who work within the psychological direction. Thus, scholars R. Hermann and M. Hermann concluded that the decisions of the political activists before World War 1 were significantly determined by their characters (Hermann, 2017).

Among the most important characteristics, perhaps, the important role plays in the system of values and beliefs of the political leader. It is not by chance that the foreign policy course in any given area receives the names of the head of the state, for example, the Carter Doctrine, Nixon doctrine, etc. (Chitadze, 2008).

Within the framework of the institutional direction, there are analyzed the problems related to the organization of the foreign policy decision-making process. Its final version depends on many aspects. In particular, J. Rosenau identified the following traditionally studied groups of indicators: 1) The size of the state (small states, bi powers) size; 2) level of economic development (rich or poor country); 3) Type of political system (democracy or authoritarianism). In recent years, many other factors, such as the degree of development of information technologies are taken into consideration during the foreign policy decision-making process (Rosenau, 1990).

An important factor for understanding how the foreign policy of a particular state will be constructed is the identification of *standard operations procedures, SOP*. This applies first of all to the rules of passing and adopting a foreign policy decision (SOP, 2020).

The researchers, who are engaged in *the comparative foreign policy* of different countries, pay special attention to the problem of decision-making in democratic and authoritarian states. In a democracy, the process of standard operating procedures is more transparent. In authoritarian states, the decision is often dependent on the decision of political leaders and their attitude to the closest circle of the leader. However, democracies have their weaknesses. Thus, the process of decision-making by the protection of all rules and procedures usually takes a long time. At the same time, sometimes they adopted populist decisions (Lantis, Beasley, 2017).

Institutional direction studies state structures that are engaged in the process of developing and adopting foreign policy decisions: the role of the staff (office) of the head of state, parliament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, other foreign departments within the different state institutions. G. Allison in the published book (1977) "Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis", which became a classic study, showed that the adoption of a foreign policy decision by a state machine occurs through the clash and harmonization of the interests of various groups (Allison, 1977). At the same time, some formal and informal groups are created, who “lobby” the passing of “their decisions”, i.e., those, to which those groups have the most important interests.

Information for thought!

The famous American politician and scientist G. Kennan wrote that the democratization of foreign policy decisions leads to the fact that the point of view of professionals is “eroded” by the positions of those people who are not specialists.

The process of making a foreign policy decision is greatly influenced by *interests groups* - social, ethnic, professional, and others. For example, in the early 1990s, the French authorities were forced to consider the position of farmers in the EU-US dispute related to the export of agricultural products (Chitadze, 2011). Interests are often lobbied by one or other groups in state and legislative bodies, which at the same time sometimes engenders corruption.

The military-industrial complex also represents a powerful method to influence foreign policy decisions. It was especially noticeable during the period of the cold war. US President Dwight D. Eisenhower declared in 60th, that the Military-Industrial Complex plays an important role in its country and it could become a threat to democracy.

Based on those factors it can be mentioned that The **military-industrial complex** (**MIC**) is an informal alliance between a nation's military and the defense industry that supplies it, seen together as a vested interest that influences public policy. A driving factor behind this relationship between the government and defense-minded corporations is that both sides benefit—one side from obtaining war weapons, and the other from being paid to supply them.

Finally, one more important instrument for influencing the adoption of a foreign policy decision in the media, which forms a public opinion about certain events. So much role played by the media played a decision by the US authorities to end the war in Vietnam.

In recent years, a major problem is an increase in information noise. In connection with the advent of the Internet, the development of electronic, audiovisual, and print media sometimes turns out to be in excess, but rarely at the same time inaccurate or contradictory. In connection with the increase in information noise, the issue of selecting and analyzing press reports arises. And as a result, the role of analytical units and services engaged in preparing foreign policy decisions has increased.

The fourth, interactive, direction emphasizes the process of interaction between the parties. The focus here is also on questions such as the influence of one participant's decision on the behavior of another. For example, the unfriendly actions of one of the states provoke the analogical behavior of the opposite side. The dependence of each participant on international interaction on its own previous decisions is also examined. As a result of such actions, the parties fall into escalation traps, from which it is difficult to get out.

Finally, the study of the fifth, systematic, direction stresses that decisions that are made by political leaders must be considered in the general context of international relations and world politics. The starting point here is that not only the decision itself but also its place in the wider system of relations of all participants in the world political system should be analyzed.

In the last decade, due to the globalization and interdependence of the world, foreign policy decisions increasingly have to coordinate foreign policy activities. In this regard, there is a tendency to coordinate foreign policy activities. This is done at different levels and through different channels, including within the framework of the “Great Seven”, various international organizations, etc.

37.3. Diplomacy

Problems of international relations, world politics - the best that happens in the international arena, have always been the focus of attention of politicians, journalists, analysts. The questions connected directly with the search for the means that allow approaching the implementation of foreign policy decisions or how it will be done - in other words, the issues of diplomacy were of interest, rather, for a narrower range. The reasons for this attitude towards diplomacy are understandable and are justified on the part. First of all, it is necessary to realize what is happening, to outline the main foreign policy priorities and approaches, and then to seek the means of realization.

There are many definitions of the meaning *diplomacy*. Some are presented, for example, in such well-known books as the “diplomacy” of Mr. Nicholson (Nicholson, 1988), “Handbook on diplomatic practice” by E. Satow (Satow, 2011). The majority consider, first of all, the fact that “diplomacy is an instrument for the implementation of interstate relations”. The indicator in this plan is the chapter of B. White “diplomacy”, which is prepared for the book "Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations", published in 1997, where diplomacy is characterized as one of the forms of government activity (White, 1997).

Secondly, it underlined the direct connection between diplomacy and the process of negotiation. Thus, G. Nicolson, based on the Oxford Dictionary, defines it as "the conduct of international relations by the implementation of negotiations; the method, with the assistance of which these relations are regulated and conducted by Ambassadors and Envoys; work and art of a diplomat (Nicolson, 1988). This interpretation lays based on many works on diplomacy and the theory of negotiations in the modern days. The last example can be considered the chapter "diplomacy bargaining and negotiations" by the Swedish researcher Ch. Johnson from the textbook on international relations, “*Handbook of International Relations*” published in 2001. In this research, diplomacy is examined in detail from the point of view of the negotiating process (Johnson, 2001).

It would be wrong to discuss diplomacy only by the negotiation process. In this case, a significant part of consular work would have been outside of its sphere, as well as, for example as consultations (not presuming the adoption of a joint decision, which is the main part of negotiations) and several other activities. Therefore, broader definitions of diplomacy are being used, where the negotiations are given a key role or, as the American author P.T. Hoffman, writes, they are the main activity of modern diplomacy, although the latter is still not completely identified with them (Hoffman, 2003).

An example of such a broad enough understanding of diplomacy is the definition of the English explorer G.R. Berridge. In his opinion, diplomacy is the conduct of international affairs, rather through negotiation and other peaceful means (gathering information, goodwill, etc.), presuming, directly or indirectly, that the conducting of negotiation and not use of force and propaganda or appeals to the legislature (Berridge, 2015).

Thus, negotiations for several centuries remain the most important instrument of diplomacy. While responding to contemporary realities, they, like diplomacy as a whole, acquire new features.
K. Hamilton and R. Langhorne, speaking about the main characters of modern diplomacy, mention two key points. First of all, its greater compared with the past - openness, under of which is understood, from the one hand, the involvement of representatives of the different social groups of the population at the diplomatic activity, and not only the aristocratic elite, as before, from the other hand - broad information about agreements, having been signed by the states. Secondly, the intensity at the level of international organizations, development of the *multilateral diplomacy* (Hamilton, 2010). The

strengthening of the role of multilateral diplomacy is also noted by many other authors, in particular by P. Sharp (Sharp, 2012).

The openness of diplomacy is observed throughout the whole XX century. It is connected with the development of the democratization of the world. As a result, the negotiations process concluded agreements, and diplomatic activity as a whole is under the close attention of publicity, first of all, thanks to the mass media. One of the first "troublemakers" for "open diplomacy" was the 28th President of the United States W. Wilson. He came up with the idea of democratic diplomacy, to be oriented to disarmament, free trade, liberalism, and its "accessibility" for publicity (the need for registration and ratification of treaties). Ideas of W. Wilson have caused a different response of political and public figures of that time, provoking within the first group the enthusiastic support and skeptical attitude from the other side (Kissinger, 2000). To the latter were belonged, for example, G. Nicholson. He believed that for diplomacy to be effective, it should not be carried out "insight" by everyone. Later these thoughts were concretely formulated by American researchers W. Zartman and M. Berman, noting that if they publicly conduct the negotiation process, then their participants will "draw to the windows," and not to each other (Zartman, Bermanm 1982). In other words, the openness induces the parties more for the public actions, than to the adoption of proper decisions. In this respect, problems arise here, in many respects similar to those that arise with the openness of the process of making foreign policy decisions. So, it is proposed, rather, to require the openness of the final documents, that the discussion and development of the process itself.

And yet in the second half of the XX - at the beginning of the XXI century, diplomacy increasingly falls under the control of publicity. This is due to the capabilities of the mass media, the need to ratify many documents and, finally, because in modern times not only the state structures but various kinds of movements - ethnic, religious, etc., have become the new participants on the international arena, as well as public organizations and academic circles, which were involved within the "traditional diplomatic problems" - seeking consent in conflict situations, providing intermediary services, etc. Those events were known earlier. However, in the second half of the XX century, this activity became more widespread. As a result, in the late 1970s and early 1980s a special sphere of activity was formed, the so-called *second direction of diplomacy – Track two diplomacy* or *unofficial diplomacy*, in contrast to its "first direction" - *official diplomacy*. Representatives of this sphere are mainly researchers, journalists, and retired diplomats (Lebedeva, 2007). This direction was specially developed in the USA, despite the fact, that during the last years, many European countries, particularly Sweden, pay to this factor big attention.

If the previously diplomatic activity was carried out mainly on a bilateral basis, mostly through the exchange of missions, today diplomacy is largely having a multilateral nature and offers the simultaneous participation of more than two parties in discussing and resolving the problems. This is because the globalization of the modern world affects the interests of many participants at once.

In the second half of the twentieth century, not only has the number of multi-party negotiations increased dramatically, but they have become more various forms of multilateral diplomacy. In the past they mainly existed at the negotiation process within the framework of different congresses (Westphalian, 1648, Karlowitz, 1698-1699, Vienna, 1814-1815, Paris, 1856, etc.) (Karumidze, 2004), now multilateral diplomacy is held within the framework of:

• International Universal (UN) and regional organizations (OSCE, AU, etc.);

• Conferences, commissions, and similar events or structures convened or created to solve any problem (for example, the Paris Conference on Vietnam; Joint Commission for regulation the conflict in South-West Africa, etc.);

• Multilateral meetings on the level of summits ("Great Seven", etc.);

Activities of the Embassies by the many-sided directions (for example, former first deputy of the State Secretary St. Talbott notes, that American Embassy for Example in Beijing has focused the important part of its efforts for the findings together with Chinese and Japanese colleagues the resolution of the problem on Korea Peninsula) (Spiegel, 2009).

Multilateral diplomacy and multilateral negotiations emerge several new issues, but at the same time also difficulties in diplomatic practice. Thus, increasing the number of participants during the discussion about the problem leads to the complication of the common structure of interests, creation of coalitions, and appearance of the countries – leaders within the negotiation forums. Besides, a large number of organizational, procedures, and technical problems arise within the multilateral negotiations process: the necessity to adopt the agenda, place of the organization the event, working out and adopting the decisions, chairmanship at the forums; accommodation of the delegations, etc. All those factors from its turn promote the Bureaucratization of the negotiation process.

It should be named the other features of modern diplomacy, due to the current trends of world political development. Globalization and interdependence of the world have led to an increase in the importance of diplomacy, carried out at a high and highest level, as it provides the opportunity to conduct "broad linkages" of different issues. It is necessary to point out the fact that the agreements, which are fixed by the signatures of the High-Rank officials of the states, provide additional guarantees for their implementation. Finally, at such meetings Heads of State have the opportunity to quickly get the necessary information "from the first hand" and exchange their opinions and positions.

At the same time, diplomacy at a higher level also has an opposite side. First of all, the scale of the adopted decisions sharply increases the responsibilities for their fulfillment, and consequently, the price of a possible error. This problem is especially acute in crises. It is also important to take into account, that if the agreements, having been reached on the high level, are considered to be wrong, it will be very difficult to refuse from them, that from the analogical, which have been signed on the lower level because in this case the highest rank officials of the state to be discredited.

Another limiting moment of diplomacy at the higher and highest levels is that it is largely explained by personal sympathies and antipathies, and this influences the adoption of foreign policy decisions. Finally, it is necessary to take into account that diplomacy at a high and highest level can be effective only in the case if it is well prepared. Otherwise, participants of such meetings can be "hostages" of the hopes of publicity, which from its turn will require the fast resolution of the problem, sometimes by taking unjustified steps. It was for this reason that Mr. Nicholson had a quite restrained attitude to the diplomacy of high and highest levels. He believed that there are cases when the Minister of Foreign Affairs or the Head of the Cabinet of Ministers must attend important conferences, but their frequent mutual visits should not be too ruffled (Chitadze, 2016). Such visits, he wrote, arouse hopes, lead to inadequacies and sometimes create confusion.

The growing interdependence of the world is determined by other phenomena in the field of diplomacy. The states are forced to establish a dialogue even under the conditions of unfriendly relations. In this respect, the book of J. Burridge "Talking to the enemy: how States without diplomatic relations communicate", which was published in 1994 (Burridge, 1994) is especially interesting. The researcher considers such forms of interstate interaction during the absence of diplomatic relations, as the creation of a section of interests at the other Embassies (for example, the British interests in Iran was represented by the Swedish Embassy in 1989) (Chitadze, 2016); The appointment of a special envoy (the US Secretary of State, H. Kissinger, specially visited Paris for a meeting with the Vietnamese Ambassador) (Kissinger, 1991); The creation of joint commissions (in particular, the joint commission for the resolution of problems in South-West Africa at the end of 1980s and beginning of 1990s, which included diplomats from Angola, Cuba, USSR, United States of America and South African Republic (UN, 2005). At the last stage, they were joined by representatives of Namibia. During the period of its functioning, diplomatic relations were absent: between South Africa with the USSR, between South Africa and Cuba and Angola; the USA with Cuba and Angola (Chitadze, 2016). On the development of modern diplomacy, its forms and methods have had a significant impact on other features of world development. The erosion of the Westphalian political system, the rapid end of the cold war, and the collapse of the bipolar world - all this forces diplomacy to respond swiftly and adequately to the new processes in the world. The rapidly changing image of international relations presents to diplomacy the demand for activity, initiatives; otherwise, the time that is favorable for influencing the international environment can be lost.

The change in the contemporary appearance of international relations is also due to such a character as multiplicity. If earlier its regulation by diplomatic means was concentrated on foreign policy and trade, then from the second half of the 20th century, the circle of issues widened sharply. Later, within the diplomatic relations have been included and discussed such areas as disarmament, ecology, terrorism, social problems, and many others. As a result, as wrote B. White, the agenda, which in principle can be the subject of diplomatic discussion, becomes extremely difficult, and diplomats themselves have to master previously unfamiliar spheres (Lebedeva, 2007). As a consequence, in the preparation of diplomatic courses, along with traditional courses (country studies, history, law, economics, linguistics, etc.), completely new courses have appeared. St. Talbott, for example, notes that the Foreign Service Institute, which was the leading center for the training of diplomatic personnel in the United States, has introduced courses on drug trafficking, population migration, environmental protection, and the possibility of enlargement of American markets (Spiegel, 2009).

Information for consideration!

The advice that one of the American diplomats received when he came to work at the US State Department was to observe, analyze, report, but most importantly, not to interfere in anything (Olson, 1991).

The interdependence of the dynamism of the modern world has significantly changed the information and communicative function of diplomacy, the essence of which is to inform the opposite side about the official position and obtain from it similar information. Here a huge role is played by new technologies. However, even in the 1950s, G. Nicholson paid attention to the fact that the Minister of Foreign Affairs could be in contact by phone with many ambassadors at once (Nicholson, 1988). The modern English researcher D. Dunn notes that the emergence of such means of technical communication as facsimile, electronic mail, video communication, etc., entailed a significant intensification of interstate dialogue (Dunn, 1996).

The possibility of rapid movement from the different points of our planet also promotes quick information exchange on the interstate level. This is especially important for high-level diplomacy, which sometimes turns into curious situations. Thus, S. Jenkins and A. Sloman present as an example the words of former Assistant to US President (J. Carter) on National Security issues Z. Brzezinski, who recalls that he often witnessed that the US president was talking on the phone with the British Prime Minister and German chancellor (Jenkins, Sloman, 1985). Since such conversations were frequent, Ambassadors were not always informed about such conversations.

But the main issue is not connected with technical innovations but in the essence itself of changing the information and communication function of diplomacy. At the beginning of its formation, it largely preferred cunning, participation in cheating, coups, and deception. To this aspect of diplomatic activity drew its attention an English diplomat of the end of XVI- beginning XVII centuries Henry Wotton, who expressed his opinion in the sense of humor, which later become as aphorisms: "An ambassador is an honest man sent abroad to lie and intrigue for the benefit of his country" (Dictionary of National Biography, 1900).

Later frank fraud, bribery, and other similar means were separated from the diplomatic practice, which according to G. Nicholson meant maturity of diplomacy and radically began to distinguish the classical French school of diplomacy, which began to form in the XVII-XVIII centuries and has spread throughout the world (Nicholson, 1988). Clear examples of diplomatic activities during the middle centuries represented the Italian Embassies of the XV century (Chitadze, 2016). Of course, this or those tricks have not finally disappeared from diplomacy. However, such means of influence represent itself, as it was mentioned by American researcher J. Der Derian as anti–diplomatic steps (Der Derian, 1990).

In modern diplomacy, the emphasis is not simply not on the refusal of frank deception. The fact is that deceit and lies, as R. Axelrod's studies have shown, turn out to be disadvantageous in conditions of interdependence and constant interaction since they immediately trigger a response from the opposite side (Axelrod, 1997). Therefore, at present, the informative and communicative function of diplomacy is primarily aimed at the formation of a dialogue.

Information for consideration!

Due to the development of the means of mass information and communication, they have been emerged some position that the diplomacy as profession is disappearing

Question for consideration

Do you agree with this?

The ideas of the dialogue, relations via dialogue become relevant about diplomacy. The diplomatic dialogue offers the recognition that the other party has its interests and goals. This is not only essential and natural, but also a productive factor in terms of development of the relations. From here, the main communicative-information function is not the directive imposition of one's point of view, but the desire through dialogue to seek understanding of the solution of the problems.

Ideas of the development of interstate dialogue were reflected in the theoretical work on the negotiations. To replace the concept of hard bargaining, when each participant takes care only of his/her interests and submits his position as extremely closed, the concept of a joint analysis with the partner is included in the field of interests.

It is interesting!

Trying to mediate in the conflict between Great Britain and Argentina for Falkland (Malvina) islands, US Secretary of State A. Haig during the five days passed the distance, which is equal to 34 thousand miles (Dunn, 1996).

The orientation toward dialogue in the modern world is conditioned by the need for joint efforts to seek solutions of the emerging problems, related to the environment, the fight against terrorism, the settlement of the conflicts, the development of integration processes, etc. As a result, solving international problems objectively becomes the main function of diplomacy.

This does not mean that diplomacy is deprived of its classical functions and forms of activities related to the provision of national interests, the realization of the foreign policy course, etc. They have been implemented by diplomacy since the formation of national states, but today, as a result of globalization, they do not in fact contradict, but on the contrary, coincide with the need to address the most actual world problems. It is another matter that, in practice, states so far often come from short-term interests with the damage of long-term interests.

37.4. Benefits and Risks of Digital Diplomacy. Does the traditional Form of Diplomacy Become Obsolete?

The frequent use of the internet and social media platforms by state and non-state actors makes the role of traditional diplomacy under question. Technological developments in the field of diplomacy create a new environment, where the increased use of ICT challenges two main pillars of diplomacy _ communication, and information. This part of the book investigates the interconnection between digital and traditional diplomacy and aims to determine whether traditional diplomacy is already obsolete or not. It states that diplomacy is in the process of transition where traditional and digital diplomacy complements rather than compete with each other. Results offer that digital diplomacy doesn’t intend to make traditional one obsolete. Some of the traditional diplomatic features became ineffective and impractical in the modern world and became outmoded by their own, however, some of the advancements have drawbacks as well.

In contemporary international relations, a digital diplomacy is an advanced form of public diplomacy that uses the internet, mainly social media for realization. ICT has challenged two main cornerstones of diplomacy, communication, and information. The rapid development of technologies changed the scopes of diplomatic performances. In contemporary international relations, digital diplomacy became one of the major trends as information is disseminated online and is available for everyone. In the digital era, state and non-state actors use social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram. TikTok etc. to influence over public and shape their mind for a certain policy. Among them, Twitter is the most prominent for diplomatic practices. While social media is pivotal for present diplomacy, still it carries some benefits and risks that determine its effectiveness.

The intense use of social media by state and non-state actors to influence the public, as a new form of communication and amplified information gathering process is a relevant concern to be studied in contemporary international relations and diplomacy. And besides numerous works, done in this field, still little is known of its nature and intentions, if even digital diplomacy intends to obsolete traditional one or not. To comprehend that gap, the paper aims to define dynamics of technological developments in the field of diplomacy, analyze major risks and benefits under it, and comparatively figure out the interconnection between digital and traditional diplomacy, whether traditional diplomacy is already obsoleted by technological developments or not.

With its descriptive, analytical and comparative nature, this sub-chapter aims to answer the following questions:

o What is digital diplomacy?

o What are the major risks and benefits of digital diplomacy?

o What is the interconnection between digital and traditional diplomacy? Does digital diplomacy make traditional one obsolete or not?

Picture 63. Digital Diplomacy

Source: https://www.unitar.org/event/full-catalog/workshop-digital-diplomacy

37.5. Dynamics of Digital Diplomacy: technological developments

Digital diplomacy is a contemporary form of public diplomacy which is a product of technological development in present international relations. Internet advanced two main cornerstones of diplomacy, communication, and information. It made communication and information flow easier and quicker. Now diplomats need seconds to outreach each other than in previous times. The first shifts of diplomacy date back to the invention of the telegram, a special device used to transmit messages from distant along the wire. Subsequently, the environment for diplomatic practices shifted to a technologically advanced space, development of advanced computers, communication satellites, semiconductor chips and other building blocks of a new information infrastructure paved the way for diplomats and international actors to perform themselves digitally and to reach a public audience in a second.

Constructivists emphasize the emergence of contemporary public diplomacy with the development of technologies. In this new political and diplomatic era, they underline human consciousness, ideas, norms, and beliefs as the very insight of international politics. International relations according to them is constructed by social facts, which can exist solely by human agreement (Adler, 1997). Technologies paved the way for a new environment for diplomatic practices, where the human mind and intelligence are pivotal. Now state and non-state actors are involved in it simultaneously. Technologies have expanded and developed the level of communication and negotiation, now diplomacy is conducted through social media directly, with the involvement of government leaders and public audience within. According to Onuf, "the social world is of our making" where the very nature of international relations is shaped by actors: leaders and influential figures (Onuf, 2013). Which is the digital age is represented by social media users and their interaction within.

37.6 Early shifts from traditional diplomacy

The invention of the telegram was new fruit for international actors and diplomats to communicate with the foreign public. That device made communication quicker and frequent than was ever before. Even though many were afraid of it, European powers and not only started to use it in their diplomatic facilities. With the help of telegram several advancements were introduced: the evolvement of global communication networks, rapid and frequent messages, integrated world economy, and telegraphic cables. Cable communication involved countries such as Britain, France, the U.S, Germany. So, the first steps of transmitting diplomatic practices were endorsed and then practiced by the leading powers. Three leaking telegrams marked significant in the early transitional history of digital diplomacy: the 1879 Ems Telegram used by Otto Von Bismarck to trigger the German unification process; the 1896 Kruger Telegram that reshaped German policy in South Africa and introduced Global Anglo-German antagonism and 1917 Zimmerman Telegram which was sent by German foreign minister, Arthur Zimmerman to the German mission in Mexico and intercepted by British. Telegram also impacted the practices and performance of diplomats abroad. Their missions became instantaneous. However, some diplomats were unsatisfied because they lost their independence, i.e. British ambassador to Vienna, Sir Horace Rumbold (1902) noted that there was a telegraphic demoralization of those who formerly acted for themselves and now had to be content at the end of the wire. And because telegram cost much, diplomats were urged to write concisely. One of the first telegrams cost $20.000 which was sent to France from the U.S Department of State.

The great contribution of the telegram is the creation of global governance _ International Telegram Union which later became International Telecommunication Union (ITU), which still operates to relate matters, information, and technology.

Telegram, marked as the first step for digitalizing diplomacy. It made several advancements from which quicker and frequent communication and information exchange is most significant. In the time when those changes happened, the period between Vienna Congress (1815) to First World War (1914) it was vitally significant for diplomatic practices to have fast communication. Also, because of the high cost of the telegram, diplomats were forced to write more concisely than they were doing before. So, taking into the consideration that invention of the telegram was endorsed and practiced by most of the leading power, the countries for which it was affordable, it is apparent that the invention of the telegram was not the end of diplomacy but the new beginning of contemporary practices which was subsequently developed by technological advancements.

37.7. New tools of Diplomacy

In the process of digitalization, diplomacy obtained many technical tools. The use of computers and search engines to find information, use of social media, and other internet services were combined with traditional diplomatic practices. The first massive use of computer technologies in diplomatic practices was held in Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit in 1992, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, where mailing was used to follow and engage the global community. People were receiving e-mails of updates from Rio negotiations. That event shaped the diplomatic monopoly. Compared to the traditional diplomatic facilities, now they had less monopoly over information and it promoted transparent practices of diplomacy. Later, that endorsed technique of mailing during international conferences was used in the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993), the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994) the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995) and the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995).

As exchanged information became more transparent than it was during traditional practices, new tools for digital diplomacy also obtained usage of wireless technology, Wi-Fi during meetings and conferences. Availability of the internet in conferences made international negotiations more open and inclusive. During the WSIS _ World Summit on the International Society (2002) and IGF _ Internet Governance Forum (2005) meetings, the internet was firstly used in conference rooms by participants. And later remote participation in conferences was promoted which included asking questions and contributing to discussions by remote participants. With the help of internet use during conferences, diplomats had a great possibility to have a constant connection with their ministries of foreign affairs and other governmental departments.

A subsequent contribution of digital diplomacy was the emergence of verbatim reporting at IGF meetings. A verbatim recording is a transcription of audio speeches into written format word by word. In the conferences, while delegates are speaking, their speeches have appeared on the screen. For diplomats, this innovation decreased ambiguity and increased the transparency of diplomatic speeches. And those word-by-word transmitted speeches were available to the internet as well. If in previous times diplomacy was held behind the doors, now, the development of informational technologies gave it huge possibilities to perform way faster and on time. Also, technologies influenced the way in which international meetings are conducted.

37.8. Digital environment for Diplomacy

Technological advancements created a new environment for diplomatic practices. Mainly their performance shifted from corridors and behind doors to social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Snapchat, Zoom, etc. And search engines _ Google, Yahoo, Altavista, and Ask.com proceeded information gathering and collecting process. Information is the key source and capacity for diplomats, and now with the help of digital techniques, they have greater access over them than they had before. While in past, scarcity of information and problems to access them created many obstacles.

37.9. Information Sources and Reliability

In digital space, diplomats rely on internet sources and a web-based encyclopedia _ Wikipedia with over 17 million articles that provide up to date information. Wikipedia challenged Denis Diderot's "Encyclopédie" published in 1751 in France. It has expanded human knowledge by its numerous articles on almost all topics such as biographies, scientific topics, current events, etc. This web base encyclopedia is open for everyone to be an editor and it makes obstacles for diplomats because the reliability of information is under question. In this case, diplomats do not have to trust only Wikipedia sources, instead, it should be a groundwork for the investigation and observation of certain issues. Diplomats also should consider the power of Wikipedia in shaping people's minds. Because people actually use it, the information which is presented there forms people's minds on certain issues. Mainly Wikipedia uses English language articles, but there are other languages as well used by countries. And diplomats should consider the danger of information spreading by different countries in a biased and inappropriate manner. I.e. many people used to learn the consequences of the Crimean crisis from Wikipedia but different country's sources. While Chinese Wikipedia states that Crimea was always a territory of Russia, Chinese netizens accept Crimea's annexation by Russia.

Realizing the growing importance of Wikipedia, state officials started to think of its effectiveness. The first step was a webinar on Wikipedia for diplomats held on 21 June 2013, by DiploFoundation and the Italian Diplomatic Institute. In this conference, several issues have been outlined: According to Bence Damokos, from Wikipedia Affiliation Committee Wikipedia is a valuable source for diplomats to gather information; for Marília Maciel, a moderator of debate to fact-check critical information is important to be ensured of its; and for Stefano Baldi, a Director of the Diplomatic Institute of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Jovan Kurbalija a director of DiploFoundation Wikipedia is influential for implementing foreign policy, so, MFAs should improve Wikipedia to make it more reliable and relevant source for information. U.S Department of State established Diplopedia, where articles are contributed and edited by diplomats. And Canadian diplomatic service also has an internal wiki with more than 6 000 articles.

Blogs have also played a pivotal role in contributing information and knowledge in diplomacy since 1990. Compared to Wikipedia articles, blogs are more reliable because most of them have respected and authoritative authors (Kurbalija, 2012). U.S Department of State has the official blog "DipNote", where some blogs are very successful. Because blog-writing requires a lot of time and creativity, some diplomat services hired experienced bloggers to better influence debate on certain topics. I.e. U.S Department of State established the Digital Outreach Team with bloggers who are fluent in Arabic and Farsi to follow important blogs in those languages and to enter into a debate as representations of the U.S State Department.

37.10. Social Media

In contemporary international relations social media hugely shapes digital diplomatic performances. Social media is utilized by diplomats to practice collaboration and conflict resolution between states. Utilizing social media in diplomatic practices reduces edges of bilateral and multilateral talks and discussions to the broad engagement and great transparency. It has revolutionized the interaction among state officials and diplomats as almost everyone uses social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and other applications. Social media platforms are used to shape and build domestic supports for the government's foreign policy as well.

Among all social media platforms, Twitter is mostly used by diplomats and state officials. It is a micro-blogging service with a limiting communication of short messages with no more than 140 characters. It is a medium for information and opinion sharing. MFAs are actively using it to tell the public "What is happening". The majority of MFAs use the English language for realization on Twitter and not only them. Twitter has an advantage for diplomatic interaction when interpersonal communication is not possible. States can engage simultaneously domestic and foreign audiences.

Later, diplomacy, conducted via Twitter coined the name, Twiplomacy. According to the Twiplomacy study of 2020, 189 countries showed official presence on Twitter, including governments and governmental leaders. As for 2020, only four governments do not have Twitter accounts: Laos, North Korea, Turkmenistan, and Sao Tome and Principe. In 2020, from early March, Twitter was used by government officials to spread and announce Corona Virus updates and their digital performances. COVID-19 has clearly shown the entire world that digitalization of diplomatic practices is necessary and beneficial as well. In contemporary international relations, Twitter became the messenger for diplomacy, its logo _ a light bluebird is a demonstration that the messenger is carried in a digital way.
Unlike Twitter, Facebook is used by governments and governmental leaders to share personal information and to interact with the audience. With more than 500 million users, Facebook is successfully used by state officials as well. Some of the diplomatic Facebook accounts are also very successful, i.e. U.S embassy in Jakarta with more than 3000.000 users. According to a Facebook study of 2020, from the outbreak of the Corona Virus, government leaders supported the domestic and public to stay calm and healthy. And expressed their ideas of the importance of Facebook in digital diplomacy. Lithuanian Foreign Ministry publicly announced that "Facebook is number one in our digital diplomatic strategy considering the proximity with our citizens living in Lithuania and abroad. It becomes harder to reach people, even if you have good quality content". Moreover, the South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation emphasized the role of Facebook in its diplomatic activities. According to Facebook is very important because it gives the opportunity to interact with the public and they are able to update followers on time with various forms: texts, videos, photos, infographics, etc. (Facebook, 2020)

Another social media platform used by governments and government leaders is Instagram _ a video and photo-sharing social networking service. In a traditional diplomatic practice, what was hidden behind the doors, is now visible to the public. Mostly Instagram is used to share on-time stories of official meetings, conferences, etc. Compared to Twitter and Facebook it is less likely active social media for diplomatic practices. Instagram promotes visualization of digital diplomacy. There is 83 percent of the 193 UN active member states. (Instagram, 2018). All of the G7 and G20 leaders have personal accounts on Instagram except Russia's president Vladimir Putin and China's President Xi Jinping. The most followed government leader on Instagram is Prime Minister of India _ Narendra Modi with 42.9K followers. According to the 2020's study of Twiplomacy, almost three-quarters of international organizations have an active presence on Instagram where they promote the latest blog posts, share daily Instagram stories, and win the heart and minds of their audience.

The outbreak of the Corona Virus grew the importance of Zoom which is a video communication platform. During the pandemics, it is used to hold bilateral and multilateral conferences and important gatherings. In its official reviews of 2021, Zoom obtained mostly positive five-star evaluation, stating that Zoom is the most comfortable and practical platform for conferences and gatherings and it is time-consuming.

Besides its entertaining nature, TikTok marks as one of the influential social platforms for digital diplomacy practices. With the outbreak of the Corona Virus, international, governmental, and non-governmental organizations, state officials, diplomats, and other governmental actors realized to reach a wider audience in order to spread useful information. WHO _ a World Health Organization was the first which authorize its presence on TikTok. It launched educational content on health, disseminated health-related information, and started communication with a younger audience on risk prevention issues. Subsequently, British Red Cross opened an official account on TikTok, started to spread facts not fear on Corona Virus. Now TikTok is used by organizations such as the UN; UN Refugee Agency; UNICEF; UN Women; WTO; OECD, etc. The first leader, who launched on TikTok was Emmanuel Macron of France, and then subsequently Andrzej Duda _ president of Poland; Nicolas Maduro _ president of Venezuela; Michael Higgins _ president of Ireland had created accounts on Twitter. Moreover, governments of Argentina; Singapore; Somalia; and many other ministries. During COVID-19 pandemics TikTok’s educational content by main organizations contributes a lot in keeping touch with young audiences and raising their awareness.

Constructivism states that “the social world is of our making” (Onuf, 2013). The nature of international relations is shaped by actors who in digital diplomacy is expressed by the interaction of state and public within social media, where human consciousness plays a pivotal role. Generally, the international system, according to constructivists is created by the human mind and intellect and it is the main mechanism of power. In digital diplomacy government leaders’ and diplomats’ performance by their tweets and posts define all of the abovementioned. Those single words have the power to shape and guide the public’s mind.

The path towards technological development in diplomacy is challenging. Diplomacy always meant communication and peaceful negotiation and it still remains traditional qualities. The era from telegram to recent social media performances indicates a combination of traditional and digital diplomacy. On the one hand, there are very insights of it, such as communication, speech, negotiation role of information, etc., and on the other technologies that promote frequency, transparency and literacy. From its historical development, it is apparent that to follow the path of advancements is pivotal in order not to reside at the corner and watch development from there. The outbreak of the Corona Virus increased the importance of informational technologies in our lives as well as for governments. Digitalization of diplomatic practices is a “defining technology” of our times, so diplomats need to be aware of the “new world order”, otherwise they’ll lose their facilities. Knowledge is very important and one who’ll acquire that expertise will be prominent in this era.

37.11. Evaluation of Digital Diplomacy: Benefits and Risks

Digital diplomacy is an advanced form of public diplomacy in the contemporary international relations era. It stands out with great transparency, extended interaction, increased communication, and greater access to information. In its path of development, it has acquired many features that distinguish and combine it with its traditional form of it. Those features contribute to shaping its effectiveness. Generally, diplomacy is a form of communication, the art of negotiation to achieve the desired outcome with a peaceful means. While mainly it is bilateral, it can also be done at a multilateral level, in which international political actors and institutions hold conferences and summits to discuss their interests. And the main objective is to strengthen nation-states, organizations, and institutions and settle disputes without using force. In a digital era, all of this is conducted with the help of the internet, social media, and other digital platforms that enable diplomats to manage their duties in an internet reality.

In a digital era, diplomacy is going through a transition _ it is acquiring new techniques to advance its performance. Knowledge is the main power that cannot be replaced by any technological advancement. Moreover, technology promotes intellectual advantages: diplomats have great access to information and they can communicate faster than ever before. Diplomatic facilities are increased and improved. While drawbacks also surround and create a danger for digital diplomacy to function effectively, still if we classify the benefits and risks of digital diplomacy, benefits will outreach.
In the following two sections, the major benefits and risks that digital diplomacy carries are analyzed with solid examples and argumentation.

37.12. Benefits of Digital Diplomacy

Digital diplomacy intensifies international relations. In a digital environment, the practice of diplomacy not only contains a performance of ambassadors but presidents, prime ministers, lawyers, scientists, economists, aid workers, and ordinary people as well. In the globalized era, their political, economic and social interaction is amplified beyond territorial boundaries. In modern politics, there are a wide variety of international actors such as multinational corporations, intergovernmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, states, ethnic-nationalist factors, transnational movements, and networks.

The leading organizations of the world such as the UN, NATO, OSCE, etc. had launched their websites, so the information which they wrote is accessible for everyone. They've also created their social media accounts, so people interact with them, make judgments and endorsements. According to the Twiplomacy study, 2017 _ 97 percent of 193 UN member states had an official presence on Twitter. Only six countries did not utilize it: Laos, Mauritania, Nicaragua, North Korea, Swaziland, and Turkmenistan. Leaders of G7 also actively used it, except German Chancellor, Angela Merkel. Official accounts of head states counted for 951, while MFAs were 187. Among world leaders, Donald J. Trump had the biggest impact on Twitter, he was the most followed world leader of all. Multi-lateral and international and non-governmental organizations also had a presence on Twitter, totally there were 97 accounts.

Moreover, digital diplomacy promotes proximity with audiences. The long-distance of several MFAs became less significant than was before. Now, most state actors and diplomats are attracted by websites, blogs, and social media as they find it comfortable and quicker. Social media enables diplomats to gather the information they need and identify key influencers. Proximity with audiences enables diplomats to better know people and their needs. In the work of public diplomacy people are very important entities, so digital diplomacy creates an environment in which the public and state are more attached than they were before.

In its practices, digital diplomacy has reduced the state's entire right to the decision-making process. Now people can raise their voice in real-time to shape the policymaking process. And it is done through commenting on social media posts and writing personal and influential blogs.

In the Twiplomacy study of 2016, the Obama White House was indicated as the most popular government account. Following Obama directives, federal agencies shifted their presence on social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter and separately also launched blogs and websites to have better proximity with the audience and information to be disseminated for the public. According to Snead, the Obama administration's vision was intended for the public to be informed and interact online. The Obama White House was also passionate to use social media. It was routinely broadcasting events from the Oval Office on Facebook live while the videos of town hall meetings were uploaded on YouTube simultaneously (Kreisberg, 2019). White House at the time of the Obama administration also launched the "We the People" platform where petitions could be launched and addressed by the administration.

Vladimir Putin also emphasized the power of digital diplomacy and called to use it to outreach the best foreign policy goals. He also encouraged diplomats to use social media to be proximate with audiences. According to his remarks, he regards the digital age as the prominent era for information management and spread and says that whoever controls the information, controls the world. And the Russian Foreign Ministry sees digital diplomacy as a successful tool to reach wide foreign audiences.
Digital diplomacy promotes fast and effective communication. In any kind of urgent situation to have a quick knowledge of ongoing events is advantageous. Digital diplomacy promotes the fast and effective gathering of information. It is extremely useful for diplomats to think about the consequences of events in different parts of the world and how they can affect their country.

In times of crisis, now embassies prefer to create a group in WhatsApp that include ambassador, consular officer, press secretary, staff who collects the information, diplomats from the headquarter and staff answering citizens' questions on the internet. This group functions faster and more effectively. It gathers real-time information, works as a crisis management cell, and makes a decision.
Ilan Manor, Oxford University researcher and digital diplomacy expert emphasized the importance of WhatsApp in conducting multilateral diplomacy in contemporary times. By interviewing three interns of UN Headquarter and one from the UN Agency in Rome he concluded that WhatsApp groups are important in that it helps to socialize with colleagues and keep abreast of developments throughout the organization. (Manor, 2018).

WhatsApp also favors embassies to mobilize Diasporas during the crisis. In 2015, when the Paris terror attack happened, Russian officials used WhatsApp to communicate with Diaspora leaders to host Russian tourists stranded in Paris. Moreover, diplomats could ask Diaspora leaders to share Embassy social media content to get in touch with citizens and be more reachable in need of aid.

Digital diplomacy also favors countries of authoritarian regimes who are eager to communicate internally and internationally. They are enabled to express certain objections more freely. Blogs and

Facebook posts are the best options to express ideas and concerns when a country restricts the right of speech.

Arab countries during the times of Arab Uprising 2011, used blogs to make political processes more transparent. In Arab countries, any kind of media was limited for publication. With the help of the internet, blogging became very popular to express and practice freedom of expression and speech. For 2009, there were almost 35.000 active Arabic language blogs. (Regina Salavona, 2012) Arab youth found their voice on the internet and freed themselves from social constraints. It is noteworthy to mention their contribution to the Arab uprising in 2011. Taking into the consideration fact that different countries across the Arab world performed differently on social media gives different outcomes. Among those where mass mobilization took place few were able to overthrow the authoritarian regime. The information on ongoing processes became more visible and accessible for diplomats and international actors than ever before. With the help of social media, people's awareness of ongoing processes was raised. This example demonstrates that, in today's diplomacy, people play a huge role. Diplomacy is not only leaned on MFAs information, but social media contributes a lot. It gives diplomats visualization, accurate and on-time information.

Moreover, digital diplomacy costs are lower. And this fact is much more attractive for governments, embassies, and MFAs to spread their work digitally. It does not always require financial investment i.e. Twitter posts can be used to investigate and identify troublesome issues and expose those responsible, by pushing the public, media, and political-diplomatic engagement to achieve positive change.

From its very first outbreak of COVID-19 pandemics, government officials used social media platforms to communicate with the public. Despite the high costs of pandemics states were charged with nothing to spread information on time which was vital for all of the world.

In India, for instance, the Ministry of External Affairs preferred to use Twitter to evaluate 18 000 citizens of India from Libya during the civil war of 2011. And Prime Minister _ Narendra Modi directed his ambassadors to "remain ahead of the curve on digital diplomacy" (Lewis, Rodgers, & Woolcock, 2014) and of course, it cost nothing for ministries to deal with an important diplomatic issue through social media.

Digital diplomacy is attracted by small states. Small states often find it difficult to be recognized by others. Generally, digital diplomacy favors all states, but mostly the small states. Small states were always suffering from power deficits, and social media for them is a great tool for realization. (Goetschel, 1998).

A great example is the Republic of Kosovo which embraced digital diplomatic practice to be recognized by other states and the international community. In 2012, it has created the Digital Kosovo platform which was endorsed by Turkey, noted that it was the fourth-best after UK, USA, and Israel.
Sri Lanka also realized the strength of having digital diplomacy. Even though the practice of it is in its infancy, Sri Lanka aims to develop. For now, it is using Twitter as a main social media platform for realization. The main pages which engage in digital diplomacy for Sri Lanka are the Twitter pages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Foreign Relations, Dinesh Gunawardena. Both of these pages tweet images, texts, and notices daily. What Sri Lanka needs to increase the literacy of ICT and its practices.

Digital diplomacy is complemented by intensified international relations where a wide range of international actors contribute with their interaction. It promotes fast and effective communication, which was lacking in traditional diplomacy. Now diplomats can communicate with their MFAs and the public in a second. Authoritative and small states also find their voice and strength within the digital space. They've much greater possibilities to express their concerns and raise their voice for uncertainty and inequality.

37.13. Risks under Digital Diplomacy

Practices of digital diplomacy contain several risks as well. Among them are freedom from the internet and social media. At the expense of globalization of information terrorist groups find their voice within. Internet is a tool to spread terrorism, extremism, and the imposition of foreign ideologies. In drafting international policies, complicating international decision-making, and reducing the country's exclusive control digitally, the internet makes it weaker. A state must take terrorists and other threats into consideration. According to the Twiplomacy study of 2017, between 2010 and 2017, Twitter has blocked about 1.2 million accounts of terrorism apology to prevent the promotion of terrorism. However, social networks _ Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube cannot properly and fully control terrorist propaganda.

According to the study, conducted by Gabriel Weimann, 90% of organized terrorism on the internet takes place on social media. (Weimann, 2014) Terrorist groups use social media _ Twitter, Facebook, YouTube for several purposes: to gather information, to spread their messages, and to recruit members. Terrorist groups utilize the direct message to benefit and spread their notes freely and directly. Among the terrorist groups, Al-Qaeda is one of the active ones on social media. As Al-Qaeda sees its mission to awake the Muslim community by simply creating terror among its foes its leaders communicate regularly via video and audio messages which are posted on its websites and are laid out on the Internet. Taliban, another terrorist group, before suspicion was very active on Twitter since May 2011 with its 7,000 followers. It tweets very frequently under the name @azedaraches. And Al-Shabab, a Somalia-based terror group was using a Twitter account but under a different name _ @HSMPress. Since the creation of an account on December 7, 2011, it has tweeted very frequently and increased its followers by tens of thousands.

The lack of literacy among state actors who engage in social media to conduct diplomacy is another threat under digital diplomacy. The increased use of ICT needs knowledge of how to conduct it in the right way since comments on Facebook, tweets, video, or images can have drastic consequences. It can arise conflicts or even discharge politicians. Foreign ministries need to train their officials to avoid risks. Today, users of digital diplomacy need to practice and train to adopt new techniques as soon as possible to avoid the risk of its nature.

By observation of Trump's performance on Twitter, it is evident that he lacks digital skills. He is the only leader who repeats tweets. 34 tweets were repeated two or three times. (Hughes, Rowe, Batey, & Lee, 2012) And some of the tweets were deleted and tweeted again because of some mistakes. I.e. he deleted a tweet that was directed to the former British Prime Minister Theresa May because he mistakenly tagged another account under the same username.

Anonymity also creates risks for digital diplomacy. In digital space, anyone can pretend to be someone else and it devastates privacy and trustfulness. The culture of anonymity can obstruct leaders to manage ensuring data and information. For instance, the analytical data firm that worked with US President Donald Trump's electoral team and the Brexit winner campaign created a software program entailed with millions of American voters' data to predict and influence the US presidential election of 2016.

Also, Facebook has failed in its privacy practices, Cambridge Analytica had access to the information of 87 million Facebook users without their knowledge.

The most frightening risk under digital diplomacy is hacking. Hacking was born along with the invention of the internet. Diplomatic rivals, states, and non-state actors choose to attack government systems to extract the information they need. In the digital era, the reputation of states and their leaders is damaged when private information became public. Now, cyber security is one of the most important political agendas of the UN, NATO, ITU, OECD, OSCE, Commonwealth, G8, and G20. Cyber security strategies and risk reduction is adopted by many countries already. However, groups concerned to exploit cybernetic vulnerabilities have been expanded by black hat hacking secret hackers in well-organized criminal and terrorist groups, government security services, and defense forces. Cyber security became one of the domains for state diplomacy and matter of security. The U.S published Cyberspace Review, subsequently, U.K released Cyber Security Strategy, and China next year published White Paper on the Internet in China (2010).

Some of the world leader's performance on social media creates risks for digital diplomacy. Their self-centered actions damage the digital environment and makes the role of diplomacy under question. However, most of their actions are exploited and analyzed as the worst performance in diplomatic practices. A great example is Donald J. Trump's presence on Twitter. The most popular world leader on Twitter used social media to destruct diplomacy. Trump's speech on his tweets contradicts the traditional diplomatic communication norms. His name-callings; dramatic comments and threats undermine the essence of diplomacy. I.e. he used to address the leader of North Korea _ Kim Jung Un as a "Little Rocket Man". He used to offend and libel others to make him look competent. (Kristiansen & Kaussler, 2018) His negative tweets towards specific countries, mainly, UK and France show disrespectful use of diplomacy. He tweeted negatively of France on military and trade matters, terrorist attacks, and protests, evaluated the level of France, and stated that the U.S would never become like France. In the case of the U.K, he criticized Brexit; immigration; terrorism, and some of the UK state actors who criticized him back. According to the Twiplomacy study of 2020, his targets always were: Therese May; Kim Darroch, former UK ambassador to the US and Sadi Khan, Mayor of London. Donald Trump tried to extinct the idea of diplomacy, his negative posts were using hate speech, aggression and showed his narcissistic personality by being hypercompetitive. While diplomacy in its essence means the art of negotiation to achieve the desired outcome in peaceful means.

India's Prime minister, Narendra Modi is one of the most followed and active government officials on social media, mainly on Twitter. Mostly, he is using social media to build a personal brand and influence his netizens. Under his leadership, India has transformed into modernity a lot. His growing use of the internet to disseminate information and news daily accelerated interconnection between the public and him. With the internet and data access, Indians started connecting more and more on social media. The growing use of social media and Indian engagement within marked Modi's leadership as an effective and positive leader. His efforts to share all the updates, keep the transparency of his actions, and taking public's opinion into the consideration made him the most loved political leader and influencer for the Indian community.

While the prime minister champions new technologies there lays dozens of questions: Is he acting appropriately? or How far can his endorsement go? Currently, the COVID-19 pandemic is most severe for India. Dozens of people are infected and died daily and the government has decided on mass cremation. Narendra Modi uses it to spread disinformation and cut out all the sources that harm his "most loved" reputation. The Indian government has urged Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to extract all the posts and tweets that were negatively and critically described pandemic situation. 100 posts have been deleted and those posts were ordered the resignation of Narendra Modi because of his ineffectiveness to deal with the global pandemic.

No technological innovation can replace human nature. One who is hegemonic and ambitious will retain traits everywhere. What Modi's example demonstrates of him is a self-interested leader who only concentrates on his own will. While diplomacy is all about peaceful negotiations and communication. Analyzing Modi's digital performance doesn't show any diplomatic features, but a self-driven action to rise reputation by doing "kind things". Hiding the posts, in order not to damage his popularity and well-being shows his vulnerability. Generally, it is still unclear, whether political leaders use social media to promote diplomacy or their status. In the example of Narendra Modi, it is a tool to influence one's brand image.

Incumbent Prime Minister of Britain _ Boris Johnson is also one of the most popular political leaders on social media. American-born British Journalist, the former second elected Mayor of London, and state foreign secretary under Prime Minister Theresa May made a huge impact on diplomacy through his performance on social media. At some point, he is regarded as a digital competitor of Donald J. Trump as their style of speeches and tweets resembles. During the Brexit campaigns in 2016, he was one of the most vocal backers to exit from the EU. However, he was mocked by many celebrities and social media users on Twitter. Saying that he is acting narcissistically by In Stevens MP, addressing him by "chicken" and "total failure", urging him to leave his ludicrous campaign and let someone else clear up his mess according to Ewan McGregor. Critics over his mayoral term and prime minister candidacy are innumerable on social media. He is portrayed as an 'everyday celebrity politician" which in the era of social media became "normality", "authenticity" and "spontaneity" by Matthew Wood. (Treihaft, 2016)

Social media performance by government leaders is still under question and needs to be analyzed whether it is a new norm in diplomacy or self-interested actions to raise popularity among the public audience. In the example of Donald J. Trump, Narendra Modi, and Boris Johnson, one cannot predict their future strategies. They are all acting independently and unlikely to each other. And whether they bring benefit or risk to digital diplomacy is still vague.

In its path of technological development, diplomacy has acquired many aspects and tools. Digital diplomacy has promoted fast and effective communication, proximity with audiences, and intensified international relations. Small and authoritative states are benefited from technological advancements, as they can express themselves more freely. However, some threats also exist under digital diplomacy which needs consideration from states and improvement. Among them, the most frightening one is cyber risks, which can exact important information and damage a state's authority through hacking on its governmental services. Some of the governmental leaders' social media performances also create perils for the essence of diplomacy. Their self-driven characteristic expressed through their social media accounts makes the role of diplomacy under question. In this regard, state officials need to be trained for better outcomes. States should also consider the growth of terrorist groups and anonymity on social media and implement risk reduction policies towards them.

37.14. Present Diplomacy: Comparative Analysis of Digital and Traditional Diplomacy

In the digital age, technologies are “defining features” of the new era. Digital diplomacy is a contemporary form of public diplomacy that uses the internet and mainly social media for realization. In its path of development, some of the traditional diplomatic features have been obsoleted, while some are being strengthened and became more effective than ever before. However, the idea and nature of diplomacy, in general, has been maintained and practiced in a more advanced way. In this following chapter, digital and traditional diplomacy is being compared to find out interconnection between them, whether digital diplomacy intends to make traditional one obsolete or not. Several aspects of diplomacy are being analyzed and compared in practices of both forms: diplomatic negotiations and meetings, role and access of information and knowledge, hierarchy and secrecy, and public diplomacy.

37.14.1 Negotiation and Meetings

The digital age has changed the way diplomacy is conducted. In its essence, diplomacy tends to be bilateral, however, in the contemporary world, the rise of international organizations, governmental and non-governmental organizations, engagement with the public made diplomacy multilateral as well. The massive use of computers during diplomatic meetings, wireless technology (Wi-Fi), verbatim reporting, and later use of the Zoom platform changed the way of conducting negotiations. It all began in the early 1990s, at Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, where through mailing lists participants communicated with the global community. The use of mailing lists was expanded and experienced broadly at the World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna, 1993), the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994), the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing, 1995), the World Summit for Social Development (Copenhagen, 1995), etc. Compared to traditional diplomatic practices, the use of mailing lists during conferences reduced the monopoly over the information that diplomats usually retained. Digitalization processes promoted an increase of mass literacy about diplomatic activities, which in previous times was less obvious. Formerly, diplomats managed all the information they were gathering and receiving from conferences and meetings and had authority over them. Now, people also have awareness of what is being negotiated.

After the use of mailing lists in conferences, the introduction of wireless technology, Wi-Fi, at conference rooms had a major shift in diplomatic practices. The use of the internet during conferences brings more inclusivity and openness in negotiation processes. It all started at WSIS (from 2002) and IGF (from 2006) meetings and was used by technologically advanced countries. Later, the use of the internet became the primary service during international conferences. Wi-Fi paved the way for remote participation and engagement of those who physically could not attend meetings. Increased participation promoted broader practices for diplomacy with more human interaction. For diplomats, Wi-Fi became a very important tool, as they could contact their MFAs in urgency during negotiation processes. Wi-Fi complimented the way diplomacy is carried out. Constant communication between MFAs and diplomats during conferences is the onset of more effective outcomes and time-consuming work. Whereas, traditionally, diplomatic negotiations were held behind the doors and corridors only between representatives alone with their knowledge, skills, and monopoly. The exchange of received and gathered information between MFAs and diplomats needed time. They had to travel over lands to deliver messenger. In this regard, digitalization advocated intensified attachment between MFAs and diplomats.

Successive to mailing and Wi-Fi was the use of verbatim reporting during IGF meetings. It reduced the ambiguity and vagueness of speeches performed by participants during the meeting. A verbatim recording is a tool by which a special stenographer transcribes all the verbal interactions and it is displayed on the screen at conference rooms, as well as broadcasted on the internet. While all the speeches are transmitted on the screen it reduces the vagueness of any word spelled by participants. While it is apparent on the internet, increases the clearness of words. And diplomats are more attentive in choosing what to say, how to say, and how long to speak. Diplomacy is an art of negotiation and speaking was always predominant. Traditionally, a good diplomat had an ingenious mind, was an effective and tough negotiator, and confident person. Speech, which was always important for all diplomats remained its importance constant. What ICT did is the promotion more effective in conducting speeches during conferences. When a heard word is transmitted by words and is visible to everyone it advances better understanding.

And very recent advancement by ICT is the introduction of the Zoom platform _ a video communication software, in conducting online meetings and negotiations. COVID-19 made the use of technologies in diplomatic activities obvious and imminent. Diplomatic negotiations now are conducted by Zoom and in most cases are broadcast on social media as well.

It is very important that negotiation carried out by diplomats became open and more involving, and at some point, transparent which was lacking in traditional diplomacy. However, sometimes discretion is more useful than openness. Some of the diplomatic deals are required to be done apart from the public etc. for diplomatic negotiations not to turn out show for public audiences.

Digital diplomacy doesn't intend to replace traditional diplomatic practices and make them obsolete. Diplomatic negotiations are obtaining new tools and techniques such as the use of Wi-Fi, verbatim recording, Zoom platform, where speech and communication are as important as ever before. Those skills are still the main qualities of diplomats which they are still utilizing but in a different digital reality. Generally, it is not about diplomacy that has been changed, every insight of it, in this regard, negotiation, communication, and speech act are still prominent, but the environment in which it is practiced.

37.14.2. Information and Knowledge

Access to information and knowledge management were always important for any diplomats around the globe. Introduction to ICT facilitated the process of information gathering and knowledge management. In the practice of contemporary public diplomacy, diplomats have a wide variety of sources to obtain necessary information. With the use of advanced search engines _ Google, Yahoo, etc. diplomats can search for information in a second. They are relying on a web-based encyclopedia _ Wikipedia, with more than 17 million articles. Blogs are also widely used in information gathering processes. Blogs since the 1990s are well-established and recognized communication tools. The digitalization of diplomacy undoubtedly accelerated the information-gathering process. Because blogs mainly have narrative features, it gives diplomats great on-time and reliable information impregnated with human feelings and experiences rather than official documentation is written based on basic facts. Whereas, traditionally, diplomats had problems finding information because of the scarcity of resources and access. They more relied on MFAs. Previously, diplomats were using diplomatic reporting techniques, they were competing with journalists to obtain current news. And of course, it required a lot of time and energy.

Gathered information and knowledge need management. It was necessary for all-time diplomatic practices both traditional and digital. Formerly, in the 1990s, there were numerous databases and document management services to organize knowledge and information. In the contemporary world, there are different online platforms created to preserve diplomatic sources. I.e. "Deskipedia" by the United States which has more than 12.000 articles by numerous diplomats. Internal Wiki by Canada with almost 6000 articles. Those countries also set up online platforms where diplomatic information is preserved i.e. their duties, roles, responsibilities, etc. "Wikipedia" by U.S and "Connections" by Canada. Whilst, traditionally all that information was kept in papers and required time to search and manage. And for the public, it was unavailable to reach. So, the technologies advanced searching and management processes of information and knowledge and raised public awareness in this regard as well.

Despite the advantage of the internet in aiding foster information gathering, diplomats should take into consideration, that the information may not all be true, so it needs double check just in case Information and knowledge are diplomats' of the most important tools. It is right that the internet has changed the way it is obtained and made a threat whether gathered information is accurate or not, but it has not intended to cut those tools out of diplomatic practices. Diplomats still need to obtain necessary information on certain issues and manage their knowledge, what technologies did is the advancement of fastness and effectiveness. In case of a threat, uncertainty and inaccuracy in information can happen at any time, it is not a matter of technologies, diplomats need to be more cautious in the process.

37.14.3. Hierarchy and Secrecy

What has digitalization in diplomacy changed is hierarchy among diplomats and secrecy. Within diplomatic services, hierarchy is core principle. Previously, hierarchy between diplomats was devoted according to their ranks and was expressed by different clothes. Diplomat was going through subsequent hierarchical professional structures. They were very attentively chosen for specific tasks, i.e. who leads delegations, welcomes foreign guests, attends social functions, negotiates etc. Traditional diplomacy was concentrated both on knowledge particular diplomat had and external image they had, according to their hierarchical level. In digital age, that "external image" lost its value. Digital age advanced and embraced knowledge more. Now any diplomats, regardless to their hierarchical status can do any diplomatic activities. I.e. it is possible for junior diplomat to email MFAs directly without bypassing the specific hierarchical structure.

Digital diplomacy also removed aristocracy in diplomatic practices. Formerly, diplomats were the members of aristocratic society and it was obligatory to them to act relevantly. Today, diplomacy is no longer elitist aristocratic profession (Kurbalija, 2012). Introduction of ICT in diplomatic facilities removed those “fashion” characteristics from diplomacy. Technology only promotes those who have knowledge, skills and ability to conduct their job with the combination of technical competences.

Digital technologies also altered previously one of the main aspects of diplomacy, secrecy. ICT oppositely promoted to more openness, transparency and easier access to any kind of information needed. Previously, secrecy was justified. I.e. in Cold War protection of information during U.S and USSR satellites was crucial in order not to leak it to spies. And diplomats also were limited to access information, they only had those which were precisely relevant to their concern. Whereas, during the era of ICT, secrecy concerns can be equalized to cyber security matters. Nowadays, governments work on cyber risks to reduce information leaking and attacks of government services.

Undoubtedly, digital era endorsed knowledge among diplomats, rather than hierarchy and aristocracy. It reduced elitist qualities and promoted more equality among them. And the risks connected to secrecy now are issues under cyber security. Digital diplomacy hasn’t removed any of diplomatic practices completely. Some of its features became impractical and obsoleted in time and they are not as necessary now as they were in previous times, such as hierarchy and aristocracy. Very insights of diplomacy, which in this regard is knowledge, skills and ability to negotiate still remains prominent in digital age.

37.15. Digital Public Diplomacy

During the digital age, public diplomacy has been enlarged. The use of the internet and social media increased the reachability of the public both at home and abroad. The Internet has promoted multidirectional interactive communication among diplomats and public audiences via social media. Today, social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, blogs, etc. enable the public to express their views and contribute to the policy-making process. People grant digital public diplomacy a lot and diplomats should not ignore this contribution. Through YouTube channels and specific blogs, people are potential journalists of the contemporary era. So, they are a new information source for diplomats and in this regard, diplomats should increase interaction with them. Diplomatic activities and general information are more visible and reachable for people. MFAs have created their websites and there are include diplomatic and consular services as well. So, the publics’ literacy in the digital age is increased. Blogs are a very influential tool in digital public diplomacy. They are recognized communication tools by many MFAs such as the US Department of State and FCO, British Foreign Commonwealth Office. And those MFAs are urging diplomats to follow official guidelines in a blog written and use it as one of the communication techniques. Even, some of the diplomatic services hired advanced blog writers to better influence the public.

Twitter plays a pivotal role in influencing and the outreaching public through social media. With its limited communication, of 140 characters only, Twitter is broadly used by diplomats and state officials to engage with and impress the public audience. Single tweets can shape people’s minds on certain issues and assist in policymaking as well.

And Facebook, another social media platform is a champion in public diplomacy which is mostly used to publicize news and information. Lots of MFAs and State Departments are engaged there, interacting with the public and sharing daily and global news.

Generally, the introduction of ICT has championed public diplomacy practices. It became an opener, the public has been engaged more and literacy has been heightened between individuals. Whereas, in traditional public diplomatic practices the only media which was used for people to stay noticed was printed word press and television. Now social media enables more engagement. Formerly, public diplomacy had a monolinguistic character, information was disseminated to the public through newspaper or TV channels, but people had less or no opportunity to respond. In the digital age, diplomacy has obtained dialogic character, where public and state officials are simultaneously engaged in information spread and receive processes. Digitalization promoted increased communication with the public which is pivotal to public diplomacy. Traditionally, communication has gone through many shifts. Firstly, it was based on messengers and merchant caravans among monarchs of different countries. Then it was advanced by Greek city-states by using clay tablets and a cipher system to defend their messages. In the Middle Ages, Papal diplomacy was using parchments for communication, which later was substituted by Guttenberg's print press.

Subsequently, the invention of the telegraph facilitated the communication process. Later, telephones, faxes, and eventually internet was the final destination for now. Diplomacy has always been in the transition of communication processes as it is pivotal. Communication has always been the essence of diplomacy. As Jonson & Hall quotes in his book "Essence of Diplomacy" _ "There has never been a good diplomat who was a bad communicator". In this regard, diplomats should adjust their skills and knowledge in digital space, communicate and engage with the public more and be active online. (Johnsson, Christer, Hall, & Martin, 2005).

Although the internet facilitates digital public diplomacy practices, social media performance sometimes creates obstacles. Diplomats and state actors lack knowledge of how to act in it. For now, there is no protocol of social media performance of state actors, and it makes confusion over them because they act on their own and sometimes arrogantly. In this regard, the training of diplomats is essential to outreach the best results.

In general, the internet has constituted a lot in public diplomatic practices. It has increased engagement, literacy, and reachability. Public diplomacy always meant interaction of public and diplomacy. And in this regard, the digital age hasn't obsoleted its practices, moreover, increased it and diversified.

Digital diplomacy promotes faster communication and information management processes, where state and non-state actors are altogether involved. It has broadened the essence and practice of public diplomacy, which by constructivists, specifically by Bruce Gregory, is defined as following _ "the means, by which state and non-state actors comprehend culture, behavior, attitude, manage and build relationships and influence opinions and actions to promote their interests and values". Moreover, constructivism indicates the role of non-state actors in international relations and regards them as "transitional civil society" who mobilize information and gain leverage too much more strong organizational government.

In the digital age, technologies are "defining features" of the era. Today diplomacy is in the process of transition where digital techniques and traditional features complement each other. Internet advances fast, open, and involving communication among diplomats and the public where people's literacy and engagement is increased. The digital age promoted the importance of ideas, beliefs, and knowledge as a defining force of state rather than material power. Nowadays we see the diplomacy in which single tweets and blogs shape the public's view, where public and government interaction shapes policy, and where transparency of diplomatic activities is the general norm. It has broadened and strengthened the essence of public diplomacy, with greater interaction and reachability of the public. However, some of the diplomatic features: secrecy, aristocracy, hierarchy became obsolete, not because the digital age intended to be, but because they're less important in the technologically developed diplomatic sphere. Diplomacy still maintains its core features which are negotiation, communication, and knowledge, but in different environments.

Key Terminologies

Foreign Policy

Diplomacy

Adoption of Foreign Policy Decisions

Rational Choice Theory

Perception and Misperception in International Politics

Groupthink

People who are involved in decision making Process

Standard Operations Procedures, SOP`s

Comparative Foreign Policy

Essence of Decision

Interest Groups

The Globalization of World Politics

Handbook of International Relations

Negotiation Process

Official Diplomacy

Track Two Diplomacy

Transparency of Diplomacy

Bilateral Negotiations

Multilateral Negotiations

Interest Section

Diplomatic Dialogues

Questions for Consideration

What is External Policy and Diplomacy?

Which approaches related to the analysis of the foreign policy decisions exist?

Why do researchers and politicians pay so much attention to the foreign policy decision process?

What are the main characters of the rational choice theory?

Which psychological factors have influence on the adoption of foreign policy decisions?

What does it mean – interest group?

What is the role of negotiations within diplomatic practice?

What are the main characters of modern diplomacy?

What kind of forms of multilateral diplomacy exist?

What is high-level diplomacy and what is its role in the modern period?

Practicum

By using the rational choice theory, please determine the foreign policy priorities of any selected by you – country. Describe the situation, determine alternatives, choose the most optimal among them. Compare positive and negative sides in case of their realization, and also results, which have been received in the academic groups by the different authors.

Chapter 38. Global Management

38.1 Approaches to the understanding of the global management

The multiplicity of actors in the modern arena and the changing political structure of the world (which was already mentioned in the first part of the book), on the one hand, and the presence of the most complex world problems on the other (about those problems were discussed at the second part of the book), logically lead to the question of how and with or by whom all these problems should be resolved, and also what the new rules of interaction of participants are.

In the 20th century it became evident that the traditional international relations that were formed as a result of the interplay of individual states or their alliances on the world scene require greater orderliness and clear rules of conduct. The impetus for this was the two world wars, crises and conflicts of the end of the last century, the emergence of non-state actors in the world arena. However, the ideas of improving the management of the world, the creation of a single world community, were expressed earlier, including by I. Kant, who wrote that trade cannot coexist with war and sooner or later the spirit of trade will take possession of all people (Kant, 1795).

In the beginning of the 20th century the main hopes were laid on more precise legal regulation of international relations, as well as the creation of intergovernmental organizations. After the Second World War, when the integration processes in Europe began to outline, the question arose about a *global government*, or *world government*, as some kind of unified organ on a world scale that is similar to the organization of statehood.

By the end of the 20th century, a new notion of *global governance* appeared. In wide circulation it has been introduced by W. Brandt and his colleagues from the *UN Commission on Global Governance* (Unterhalter, 1992). The commission was founded to discuss how joint efforts can solve such global problems as ecology, combating poverty, diseases and so on. The end of the Cold War also raised the issue of developing new rules of conduct on the world stage. As a result, the problem of global governance became popular in the 1990s. There were published journals “Global Governance”, “Global Society”. This theme is central and in many other publications.

Currently, several approaches are being devised to understand what global governance is. For example, the German researcher D. Messner points out four main aspects.

The first approach actually repeats what sounded long before the end of the Cold War - the idea of forming a single world government. Its representatives, as before, proceed from the fact that it is created in the image and likeness of the state. Thus, L. Filkenstein writes that the world government should be engaged in the same issues in that the national states are involved. The problem is only to give this structure the appropriate authority. But this point of view currently does not receive any special support from either political or scientific circles. The main objection here is that with such a wide variety of political systems, traditions, levels of economic development etc. it simply looks unrealistic (Messner, 2002).

The essence of the second approach is to reform international organizations, especially the United Nations, which becomes the central link in government, and its institutions begin to fulfill the role of distinct ministries and departments. For example, the Security Council will have the functions of government, the General Assembly - Parliament, and the IMF becomes a central bank, and so on. However, there is also a lot of revival in relation to this project. In particular, the impossibility of too much centralization within the framework of an international organization (Messner, 2002). There are also more opinions that the UN is not a subject to reform: its structure reflects the realities of the past epoch and the presence of for example Russia as a permanent member in the Security Council will negate all efforts to organize democratic governance of the world. In connection with the latter consideration, J. Galtung even suggested conducting global governance without the participation of great powers (Galtung, 1996).

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Picture 64. Global Management Training Vision World Map Concept

Source: https://www.dreamstime.com/stock-photo-global-management-training-vision-world-map-concept-image54337995

Table 23. The redistribution of governing functions from the state to other actors in the 21st century

Level	Private	Public	Third

Supra-National	Transnational Corporations (IBM, British petroleum etc.)	Intergovernmental Universal and Regional Organizations (UN, WTO, EU, African Union, ASEAN etc.)	Nongovernmental Organizations (International Red Cross, WWF)
National	National Corporations (American Airlines etc.)	**The States of the XI Century**	National non-commercial organizations (American Red Cross etc.)
Domestic	Local Business	Local Governments	Local Groups

Source: Nye J. The Paradox of American Power: Why the World`s Only Superpower Can`t Go it Alone. Oxford, 2002. P.46

One of the most developed areas here is the settlement of conflicts. American researcher J. Montville identified three interrelated areas of activity, which engaged in informal diplomacy. The first is aimed at holding seminars between the representatives of the conflicting parties to improve their mutual understanding, the second is to influence public opinion to have a favorable ground for the resolution of conflicts by peaceful means at the level of public consciousness; the third is oriented towards joint economic development. All three areas are a kind of complement to what state structures and intergovernmental organizations are involved in resolving conflicts.

Moreover, as noted by American researchers H. Kelman and S. Cohen, who conducted informal seminars with representatives of the conflicting parties, such meetings and, in general, unofficial diplomacy cannot and should not be regarded as replacing mechanisms of the diplomatic and political negotiations. This is rather a preparation for such a kind of negotiation (Väyrynen, 2018).

Important is one more moment. Different actors not only interact with each other in the background of other changes. At the same time, the management functions are redirected from the state to other participants in international cooperation. This fact is demonstrated quite graphically by J. Nye, using a scheme where all participants are distributed depending on at what level and in which sector-private, public, or third (public organizations) they operate (Nye, 1971).

Interestingly, one of the first who noted that states cannot hold a monopoly on governance in their hands were specialists in the field of international political economy. For example, S. Strange wrote in the early 1990s that all states, regardless of territory, size, power, are weakening in the face of the technological and financial changes that are taking place, as well as the accelerated integration of national economies into single world markets (Strange, 1996). The curiosity of the situation was covered in the fact that, according to J. Ferguson, S. Strange started her research to show the states the essence of the processes that are taking place so that the countries could regulate them (Ferguson, 2005).

Together with the research in the sphere of International Political Economy about redistribution of the management functions also started discussions with the specialists, who were engaged in the study of International Non-governmental Organizations.

Thus, the states, by changing their functions and delivering them partly to the other actors, by this way deliver to them the management too. This, as without pathos, writes German researcher Th. Risse represents the end of the interstate world, which we knew before (Risse, 1999).

How the management function as a final result can be redistributed? The answer to this question factually gives the imagination about the future political structure of the World.

38.2. International organizations and the concept of global management

At the present stage of development of the world, political processes (with the participation of the International financial institutions as one of the key characteristics of the phenomenon) remains globalization, manifested in a substantial increase in the interdependence of countries and closely interwoven processes taking place in different regions of the world. This is evidenced, among other things, by the fact that the local and regional political crises and conflicts are increasingly becoming global importance, as was the case with the events in the Middle East, which began in 2011, or a conflict in Ukraine in 2014.

The international community is faced with several other challenges of global nature, such as global migration, a sharp gap in levels of income between different social groups and between different countries, and the instability of the global imbalance's economy (including a growing number of developing countries lagging from developed), the whole complex of unresolved social (poverty, disease), environmental and other issues. Thus, on the one hand, debate and research in the field of global governance promote awareness of the severity of these problems, the need to resolve them at the global level, as well as the fact that these problems represent a serious challenge to existing institutions (Keohane, 2001). According to T. Sinclair, "globalization has changed the basis for global cooperation, as well as the ability of states to act independently of each other" (Sinclair, 2012). On the other hand, there is now a consensus on the need for global governance and the positive character of Globalization is absent. So, against the activities of international financial institutions, particularly the IMF, in different countries advocate of civil society organizations who believe that the activities of the Fund's destructive impact on the situation in the social sphere and submit policies of developing countries to Western interests (O'Brien R., Goetz A.M., Scholte J.A., Williams M. 2000). Such criticism of the IMF and the World Bank in papers are presented as journalistic nature, such as book J. Perkins' Confessions of an Economic Hit Man "(Perkins, 2005), and more analytical works such as the book by Pete "Unholy Trinity: The IMF, The World Bank, and the WTO, " (Peet R. 2009).

A very large in the modern world, and the scale of the protest activity about the activities of the Bretton Woods institutions. Thus, according to a joint study from Columbia University and Friedrich Ebert Foundation, from the 843 protests carried out in the world, about 20% - in 2006-2013, 168 were directed against the IMF. The report indicates that it is not just about the poorest countries: 25% of protests occur in countries with high incomes. Among the main slogans of the demonstrators - the IMF charged with persecution the interests of multinational corporations and the financial sector (Ortiz I., Burke S.L., Berrada M., Cortes H. World Protests 2006-2013).

38.3. Institutions and actors

Since the theme of global governance is very extensive, we will focus only on those aspects of it, that creates the theoretical basis for the realization of the objectives of this work, and namely on the issue of global governance based on international organizations (institutes), which are the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. In this work, the IMF and the World Bank are considered especially through the prism of the Actor`s approach, i.e., as institutions, self-adapting to the changing realities of world politics and economy, developing new mechanisms of influence on the environment. Actor approach to the analysis of world politics involves the study of the actors (in this case, the international financial institutions), which have the ability "to act and make changes in their activities in the environment" as well as, "despite the often very hard coercion on the part of the system, have within it the fullness of freedom that they use strategically in collaboration with other" (Crozier M., Friedberg E. 1977). Several experts define the term "international actor" as "an active participant (collective or individual) of International relations, which has the ability - thanks to available to it actual and potential resources, and the ability to use them effectively - on their own, according to their understanding of their interests, to make decisions and implement a strategy has a significant and lasting impact on the international system, recognized as such by the other members and they have taken into account when making their own decisions "(Crozier M., Friedberg E. 1977).

Based on the above-mentioned analysis, within the 70 years of its existence, the Bretton Woods institutions gained their functions the main Actor, which is expressed in a certain degree of autonomy from the Member States, a specific paradigm of formulating and solving problems, the special formal and informal decision-making practices and organizational culture. At the same time, the study of these institutions cannot ignore the problem of "principal-agent", as it is a key to understanding the decision-making mechanisms within these organizations. The literature on this subject is very extensive; We should note first of all the works of D. Hawkins (Hawkins, 2006) R. Stone (Stone, 2011), authors of the informal management theory, according to which in any international organization there are mechanisms, both formal and informal governance, ensuring the balance of power of the most powerful of their members and those that have the least impact ("structural power ").

New opportunities arise in the framework of approach for the Actor the study of certain aspects of international activities organizations. So, M. Barnett and M. Finnemore in the works "policy, power and pathology of international organizations" (Barnett, Finnemore. 1999) "Rules for the world" (Barnett M.N., Finnemore. 2004). Barnett M.N., Finnemore M. consider international organizations as institutions, generating a certain degree of autonomy from their founders and creating their regulatory setup, directly affecting their activities. T. Hale and D. Held pointed out that special attention should be given to the institutional design of international organizations, as it was it which, in many cases, has a decisive influence on the outcome of their activities, and that institutional innovation is one of the key mechanisms of the response to the challenges of a changing world (Handbook of Transnational Governance, 2011). Concerning the Bretton Woods institutions, this line of research has generated a lot of interesting works, including such outstanding authors as N. Woods (Woods, 2006) and M. Chwieroth (Chwieroth, 2010).

38.4.The concept of global governance

In the scientific and socio-political discourse, global Management is most often seen as a "global governance process in the absence of a global government "or “Collective efforts to identify, understand and address global problems beyond the individual capabilities of countries " (Rosenau, 1992). By "control" refers primarily to the state; so, L. Finkelstein defines global governance as "an international version of what the government's doing at home."

However, this view seems somewhat limited, as in the modern era of globalization a significant role in global governance played by international institutions cannot be reduced to the sum of their component states, as well as non-governmental organizations.

As the expert on global governance, O. Barabanov mentions, "Global Governance ... rather should be related to the specific nature of cooperative arrangements aimed at solving specific problems. Such an agreement can be formally enshrined in the form of laws or officially recognized institutions that solve common problems with a variety of actors ... But they can also have an informal character (in case of certain existing practices) or duration (in the case of coalition-building)" (Barabanov, 2006). For this work is the quite relevant definition of T. Weiss, who understands global governance as "collective efforts to identify, understand and address global issues that go beyond the capabilities of individual states." In other words, the ability of the international system in the necessary time to provide the necessary administrative action and public goods to maintain global order, stability, and predictability in the absence of a world government, which is based on a set of formal and informal values, rules, regulations, procedures, practices, policies and different organizations (Weiss. 2013). Such administrative actions are necessary, in particular, one of the functions of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Picture 65. The Future of Global Governance in a Changing International Landscape

Source: https://www.ispionline.it/it/eventi/evento/future-global-governance-changing-international-landscape

38.5. Transnationalism

In addition to the institutional approach to the global management, which focuses on the role of the States and international organizations, it should be considered the concept of transnationalism, as in its activity the IMF (and, first of all, the World Bank) enter into an active collaboration with civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations and other "new actors" in the world politics. Transnationalism examines the processes of global governance through the prism of society, including global social organizations and networks.

Social movements, NGOs, which discuss environmental protection, fighting against poverty, and protecting human rights, etc. loudly declared themselves in the late 1960s - early 1970s. Their activity has increased the interests of many political scientists, who try to assess their role and prospects in world politics. This issue was dedicated to the well-known work of Keohane and Nye "Power and interdependence" (Keohane, Nye. 1977). However, at the first time, the role of those organizations in most of the cases was seen as deep peripheral. So, K. Waltz wrote that the "anarchist" state of world politics puts on the first plan the states and international organizations and assigns for the NGO a marginal role (Waltz. 1979). This view has been challenged by the constructivists; eventually, the theme about the role of the "new actors" of world politics has evolved in several research papers, and transnationalism has developed into a major trend in scientific thought. In the works, Rosenau has mentioned that without the NGOs, the states are unable to exercise effective control in this era of globalization, and institutions capable of providing such control even theoretically can replace the countries (Rosenau. 1992).

For this work is significant that there are several levels of analysis in transnationalism concept: the level of the state, then the supranational level (where the interaction between civil society organizations, NGOs, social movements is fixed), and the transnational level, at which a particular regional problem can be debated in the widest range actors (Keck. 1998). Thus transnationalism, according to T. Sinclair, the states still play a key role in world politics together with such international institutions like the IMF and the World Bank (Sinclair, 2012), and expects them to a constructive dialogue with new actors – i. e. we are talking about an optimistic view of their interaction, which is one of the central subjects of study within the framework of transnationalism. So, R. Duval and M. Barnett suggest that the interaction between international institutions and NGOs forms the "productive power" (Barnett, 2005. Pp. 39-75) - that is, such authority, which can produce more public goods and exercise better control - and thus plays a positive role in global governance.

38.6. Problems and Perspectives for Global Governance

The first thing that stands out during analyzing the modern structure of global governance is - its great diversity. In contrast to the Westphalia system, in which the equal legal status of different states is enshrined in international norms, the new system does not imply this. The managerial resource of modern participants of the world political system is extremely diverse. This can be the political voice of the state when making decisions in the UN, the financial opportunities of TNCs, or the trust of public opinion by certain non-governmental organizations. Resources of this kind are difficult to compare, and therefore the consequences of various are difficult to calculate. While states retain their monopoly as subjects of international law.

The second important point is that the global folding links of the world are not hierarchical, as they exist within the state. At the same time, they are no longer anarchic, as is supposed by the classical Westphalia system.

The modern policy is based on the fact that the development of global management links of the world is not hierarchic, because they exist inside the state (but even within the country the strong hierarchic system disappears). At the same time, they already are not anarchic, as it is supposed to be by the classical Westphalian system. About it, write J. Rosenau and d. Messner and many other authors (Rosenau, 2009).

Modern politics is based on working out collective decisions through many different agreements on various levels. To understand the evolving global management system, the heuristic approach may be the analysis of democracy and, by democratic management, the coordination of the interests of different groups through conversations. At the global level, this can be multilateral interstate forms that open possibilities. It can be a series of meetings among the representatives of the states and non-state actors. One of the examples can be considered the conference on sustainable development, which took place in Johannesburg (South Africa) in August 2002, which demonstrated the idea of a partnership between governments, businesses, and NGOs in resolving the global problems (Global Policy Forum, 2002).

It is true that among the serious problems remains not only the search for a solution but also the possibilities for its implementation. In other words, if the coordination of the actions of different actors can somehow be adjusted, then executive functions are still poorly implemented even in cases, then by the ways of joint efforts, the agreements are nevertheless achieved. One and the examples of the complexity associated with the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol.

The third character: Within the global management are already used the different forms and methods, and it seems to be, that this tendency will be strengthened. The states, NGO-s, interstate actors, Trans - National Corporations meet with each other at the joint forums, where they take part (particularly, during the Conference on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg) to discuss the global problems of the world. In the other cases, actors are acting parallelly, considering the common purpose, for example in the field of conflict regulations. In this case, the functions are divided. The states, intergovernmental organizations can deploy the peacekeeping forces to divide the opposing sides, and also establish contacts on the level of political elites of the conflict participants' sides. NGO-s from their turn can at the same time work on the level of population, to try to decrease the negative stereotypes about the opponent, to provide humanitarian aid, etc.

The coordination of actions, in this case, is important. Concretely this issue is often not achieved due to different reasons, including the involvement of too many actors in the process. However, despite all the difficulties, within the current period, the following parameters of global governance are still quite noticed:

· Participation of different actors;

· The absence of hierarchic relations between them;

· Multiplicity of forms and method of interaction;

· Use of negotiations for the agreement’s achievement.

One of the key issues remains the question of further ways of distributing managerial powers among the actors in the complex political structure of the world.

The first way is chaotic, poorly managed, with a different interest of the various states as well as among other participants in international relations, the possible use of force. It consists of the fact that states behave radically and try to limit the functions of non-state actors in the implementation of management functions, forcing them to act under their tight control. In principle, these states possess rather significant political and legal resources, thanks to those they remain the main actors in the world arena. The comparatively worse situation for the states exists in the case of financial and economic resources, and resources, which are determined by the public opinion support.

In the framework of this – badly managed way, when the other version is possible when the states without any serious resistance will deliver the managerial functions to the other actors. In any case, the negative side of choosing the presented way is the fact that the system of global management is constructed without considering any order. In its reflection, this approach can bring to the unexpected and therefore painful disintegration of the state-centric system of the world. It is difficult to predict concretely in which forms this type of disintegration will be implemented. It is only clear, that despite the fact, how will be the long-term consequences of such a radical transition, will emerge important social and psychological changes.

The second way relates to the fact that the states, by using available resources, together with other actors, build a new architecture of the world. This is the path of crisis management and the formation of new structures, the creation of new world order, considering new realities and interests of various participants - states, interstate organizations, non-governmental associations, major financial and business structures, etc.

Information for Consideration

Several Centuries ago, the domestic Arrangement Model of the state and also interrelations among the states, which gained the name of the Westphalian system, was adopted in Europe then has received its distribution in the whole world.

Question for consideration

What do you think, can or not the EU be the prototype of the future political system of the world?

There are many problems this way. First, states themselves should act in a coordinated way, which is not a simple task, if it will be taken into consideration the differences among them. Secondly, it is necessary for the existence of agreements with many players – non-state actors, which radically differ from each other. The complexity and varicosity of their interests decrease the opportunities to achieve such agreements. At the same time, it is important to consider that there were many examples of achieving the agreements based on the coordination of the opposite interests. Thus, such tasks existed before the participants of the negotiations during the signing of the Westphalia Treaty. The agreements are not less complex than the agreements, considering the public opinion, positions of non-governmental organizations, businesses, internal regions, and provinces of the states. This process was going on in the framework of the European Union for several decades. Of course, those agreements were limited only by one of the regions of the world.

Speaking about the connection of the interests of the states with non-state actors, it should be taken into account that the latter often behave quite aggressively and are not necessarily focused on relations for cooperation with state structures. In addition, there is a problem with which concrete non-governmental actors these state structures cooperate. So, recently, analysts have increasingly paid attention to the danger that comes from the possible use of drug trafficking and other types of illegal business of state structures, including diplomatic channels. Finally, the interests of the state about non-state actors are often contradictory. For example, on the one hand, states are interested in large-scale foreign investments, and on the other, are engaged in protectionism about national business.

In this regard it can be posed the question, is it any dangerous that the future global management will turn out to be authoritarian? The base for such a threat exists because some NGO-s and TNC and the states are not constructed on democratic principles. But it should be mentioned that there is less danger in this case. It can be explained by the fact, that the creation of the authoritarian global management would contradict one of the leading tendencies of modern world development – its democratization, which is shown by the gradual increasing the number of democratic states in the world, and in such growing role, which plays non-governmental organizations, public opinion, and main issue – a new type of interrelations, which is formed on the world arena.

In general, adaptation and assimilation of states to changing reality is difficult, while they never choose one path. Usually, acting in different ways, states cooperate with non-governmental actors and at the same time seek to limit the aspirations of non-state actors. Thus, it can be somehow assumed that most likely the redistribution of managerial functions will be held by the methods of trial and error with a high probability of random actions. The question is only whether the leading states will first of all strive to organize this process, constantly directing it to the specific field. By the way, some researchers and politicians, including representatives of the Council for Foreign and Defense Policy of the different states, see “pushing” the world development by the leading countries of the world in the right direction as one of the possible ways of organizing the global governance. In this sense, it follows, however, rather does not speak about global governance, but to point out about global regulation.

38.7. "Good governance" and the problem of the legitimacy of international institutions

The emergence of the concept of "good governance" in the late 1980s - early 1990s was directly related to the structural economic and political reforms conducted in several countries, including with the participation of the Bretton Woods institutions. It is also one of the first concepts, which was formulated by the World Bank in 1981 in the report "Accelerated development in the countries of the south of Sahara." The formation of concepts is associated with the neo-liberal tradition, which was continued in the United Nations Development Programme documents published in 1997, where "good governance" is defined as the achievement of the objectives within the given timeframe, with minimal costs for the resources, the principles of democracy and efficiency. Thus, the role of international organizations in global governance is focused on the production of public goods, the development of the public sector, civil society engagement in the political process, as well as the leveling of the negative effects of the global economy.

The Bretton Woods institutions, in the opinion of one of their most prominent researchers, N. Woods, may (and there are) a global management quality monitoring agency. Thus, both the IMF and the World Bank are ongoing analytical work to assess their programs, national government action in the area of regulation. However, it emphasizes the Woods, to these institutions to ensure the long-term "good governance" requires a broad consensus among all its members on issues of institutional design (the concept occupies a significant place in the works of several authors, including P. Keohane (Keohane, 2001) and setting goals and making decisions. At the same time, more importantly, the organization must have the ability to incorporate in its agenda with new ideas and meet three principles of "good governance" - participative (ensuring the equal participation of all members in decision making and implementation), accountability, justice (transparency of the decision process making and implementation, as well as the correlation of its operations with the external environment) (Woods, 2003). These ideas of Woods can be attributed to various international organizations.

The principles proposed by N. Woods are in connection with another of the most important issues of global governance based on international organizations - a problem of legitimacy. This problem has become updated as the growing influence of international organizations in which their policy was to influence the growing number of people and countries. In this regard, the literature has become two key questions often posed: how to assess the legitimacy of international organizations (compared to the legitimacy of the state) and their accountability to stakeholders, as well as whether it is possible to talk about a democratic deficit problem in the institutions of global governance (Woods, 2001. P.90). It should be noted that although the legitimacy of the international institution formally derives from the fact, that it was created by States to carry out specific tasks, there is a contradiction: most of the founding states prefer not to give up its such status, even if the activities of the Institute of what - That is not satisfied, because it will bring to exit the act will cause the costs and weakening its negotiating position (Reinalda, 2004).

For this work, it is interesting to analyze R. Keohane, who notes that the global political governance institutions, including the IMF and the World Bank, working in the neo-liberal paradigm, are experiencing serious problems with legitimacy. If, according to the concept of "good governance" in the mainstream of liberal democracy activities of these institutions should contribute to strengthening the capacity of individuals to lead an independent life, as much as possible by implementing their capabilities, in practice the result is often (as shown below) is reversed, resulting in a dropping the legitimacy of the IMF and the World bank.

The problem of legitimacy today is very acute for an organization such as the UN, the fate of which will largely depend on solutions to this problem. According to R. Keohane, global institutions should seek to address the problem of legitimacy, ensuring compliance of its activities in the following six criteria (which is a continuation of the basic democratic principles) (Keohane, 2013):

1) the minimum moral acceptability: the institutions do not violate the basic human rights;

2) inclusiveness: if institutions claim the right to set the rules at the global level, they should be open to all nations wishing to participate in the achievement of their objectives;

3) epistemological quality: transparency and institutional integrity (the democratic character of conformity purposes the real practices of the Institute);

4) responsibility and accountability: the existence of democratic standards; the availability of information for decision-makers; the ability of decision-makers to impose restrictions (punishment for failure to fulfill standards);

5) compatible with democratic governance in the country and the ability to consolidate democracy: first, through the promotion of global introduction of certain management practices; Secondly, through the promotion of the protection of the rights of minorities and individuals; third, through the elimination of discussions of various solutions to a new level, to avoid tunnel vision in adopting them; 6) the ability to stand the test of "comparative advantage", i.e., be able to achieve better performance in comparison with those that could reach alternative institutions. At the same time, according to

Keohane, the accountability of global institutions must comply with their character and be "broad" - only under this condition can the efficiency of such institutions (Buchanan A. 2006).

This is one of the key challenges to the legitimacy of the Bretton Woods institutions.

The legitimacy of the international institutions is one of the central issues in the theory of transnationalism. Institutions, according to the supporters of this theory, should act based on consensus with civil society organizations, and their activities are losing legitimacy in the case of the appearance of the protest from such organizations. In this regard, it appears that civil society organizations can develop normative regulations and deliver them to international institutions (Junne, 2001). It should be noted that the World Bank has become the first international economic organization, which entered into active cooperation with civil society organizations to increase its effectiveness. The World Bank holds regular meetings with the representatives of these organizations and journalists, which publishes reports and adopts action plans for the correction of the respective programs. IMF also uses similar mechanisms but to a much lesser extent. Meanwhile, their wider application seems to be an important step towards addressing one of the key problems of the Fund in the formulation of reform programs - insufficient consideration of the specifics of individual countries, their social and cultural features.

It should finally be emphasized that in its activities the IMF and the World Bank are faced with the dilemma of "legitimacy" - "efficiency" (Cottarelli, 2005). Its main components are the following. First, to preserve and increase the legitimacy of international organizations, they were often forced to limit their applicable regulatory instruments, by eliminating the most unpopular measures, such as freezing the salaries of public sector employees, raising the retirement age, etc. Secondly, it could enhance the legitimacy to ensure maximum transparency of the decision-making process, however, because it would mean a significant increase in the burden on the organization of the unit, its effectiveness may also be affected. Third, legitimacy may be increased by more equitable distribution of resources of the organization among the potential contractors, but the efficiency, in this case, maybe reduced due to the violation of prioritization (for example, in the case of manifest the necessity of the provision of larger amounts of assistance to one of the countries with the financial crisis).

There is no single solution to this dilemma it does not exist, but we can affirm with certainty that the IMF and the World Bank can take several steps that will enhance their legitimacy, and do not have a material adverse effect on the efficiency. These steps can be the publication of a greater number of documents on the work of the missions in countries borrowers, materials of the key meetings of the executive bodies, the increasing the latest in the organizational structure, and finally, in the case of the IMF - the implementation of the quota reform, approved back in 2010, and more careful consideration of the specifics of individual countries in the design of reform programs.

In general, we can say that today the IMF and the World Bank are experiencing significant challenges to the legitimacy of the decision that will largely determine the prospects for their activities.

Key terminologies

Global, or World Government

Global management

Unipolar World

Hegemonic Stability Theory

Polycentric World
World Society

Multilateralism

Westphalia System

Track Two Diplomacy

Crisis Management

Management Resource

Global Management

Bipolar System

Questions for Consideration

What are the main approaches for understanding global management?

What are the main differences between “global government” and “global management”?

What are the main characters of “new multilateralism?”

Why does one state, even the most powerful, will not be able to rule the world?

Which main characters of the global management are presented for today?

What kind of difficulties has emerged in connection with global management?

What can be the role of the state within global management?

Which possible ways exist for the division of the management functions among the actors in the framework of the new political structure of the world?

Practicum

Let`s assume, that you have received the offer for the preparation of the international forum for global management (regulation). How can you imagine the organization of such a forum? Who could be a member of the initiative group during the event preparation process? What can be the role of your native country and other states and international actors? Please divide the role and prepare a business game “International Forum for Global Management”.

Conclusion

The events of the last 20-30 years, which were held in the world arena, have forced us to observe with the new approaches on such meanings and political processes, as national interests, conflicts and wars, terrorism, national sovereignty, and foreign policy. In world politics, new spheres of research have appeared, including topics, which relate to the education, development of new technologies.

At the end of the XX and beginning of XXI Centuries, the formation of world politics as a scientific and educational discipline, which is involved in the exploration of the existing and again formulating political system of the world, its structures, institutes, and processes. More clearly have been determined the subjective spheres of other disciplines, including the classical international relations, it is not by accident that the development had the neoclassical, or how it is sometimes called, neo-traditional realism form, which focuses its attention directly on the analysis of interstate relations and foreign policy of the different countries, the problems of disarmament and arms race. Those topics are not excluded from the agenda in the modern period too.

World Politics – discipline, in the field of interest of which are modern political realities and tendencies for the future development of the world. It creates some difficulties for its study. Every day there are new facts about the development of the events in the world, some of them do not coincide with the previous imaginations and motivate us to rethink those or other regularities. Thus, in many relations, the key moments in the development of the world political processes were such events, as the disintegration of the USSR and the ending of the cold war. The serious challenges for international security became the terrorist acts in the USA on September 11 of 2001 and the other states, first several European states (Great Britain, France, Spain). Also, processes, which were held in Afghanistan since 2001, Iraq since 2003, and Syria since 2011, occupation by Russian territories of Georgia in 2008 and Ukraine in 2014, the confrontation between USA and Iran in 2020, etc. It is possible that some events have not (or have not now) such enough influence on the tendencies of world development, but can be important from the factorial point of view. For world politics as a scientific discipline, all those factors mean one: It can never be written finally.

If we are talking about the tendencies of the development of the global processes, in this case now, although somehow carefully (because military-political and economic thematic is dominated), declares about itself “the human factor”. Humans with their problems, possibilities, knowledge, and skills are gradually coming to the front line of the research of world politics.

Writing books is always a difficult task. Do it under the conditions, when the science is young, and when this science is involved in the study the problems of the present and tendencies, which can declare about themselves only in the future, is more complex by the double-time.

First of all, many meanings and approaches, which were worked out in the various countries and which become there as primary (for example, level of analysis, international political economy, theory of hegemonic stability theory, etc.), do not always be the same in the sciences of the other countries. Even in the modern epoch of the rapid development of communicational and information technologies, it is needed time for its introduction with the readers in many different countries.

For a second, the novelty of the research subject causes the introduction of new meanings, but it is clear that to do it should be very careful. It can be considered that one of such categories represents the understanding - *a political system of the world*, which means the approach to politics from the holistic positions, does not divide it into the internal and external ones. The world political system permits analysis of the political institutes and processes of the global level; to show how this level determines the functioning of lower political levels – regional, national and local.

Third, world politics is especially a dynamically developing discipline. It requires attention to the daily facts and events and permanent interest in the news. Due to it, even the most ideal handbook cannot be the only book during the study process. Scientific articles, monographs and news of the information agencies permit permanently to match new events with those interpretations, which existed before. We can only approach to finding the mystery, to do our prognosis on the future and see how they justify themselves. But, political development permanently and by accelerated speed goes forward, presenting before us more and more new scientific and practical questions. Here is the great attractive power of world politics and its study.

Glossary

A

Absolute advantage The liberal economic concept that a state should specialize in the production of goods in which the costs of production are lowest compared with those of other countries.

Absolute gains Conditions in which all participants in exchanges become better off/

Acid rain Precipitation that has been made acidic through contact with sulfur dioxide and nitrogen oxides.

Acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) An often fatal condition that can result from infection with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV).

Actor An individual, group, state, or organization that plays a major role in world politics.

Adjudication A conflict-resolution procedure in which a third party makes a binding decision about a dispute in an institutional tribunal.

Agency The capacity of actors to harness power to achieve objectives.

Agenda setting The thesis that by their ability to identify and publicize issues, the communications media determine the problems that receive attention from governments and international organizations.

Agent-oriented constructivism A variant of constructivism that sees ideas and identities as influenced in part by independent actors.

Alignment: The acceptance by a neutral state threatened by foreign enemies of a special relationship short of formal alliance with a stronger power able to protect it from attack.

Alliances Coalitions that form when two or more states combine their military capabilities and promise to coordinate their policies to increase mutual security.

Anarchy A condition in which the units in the global system are subjected to few if any overarching institutions to regulate their conduct.

Antidumping duties Taxed placed on another exporting state's alleged selling of a product at a price below the cost to produce it.

Antipersonnel landmines (APLs) Weapons buried below the surface of the soil that explode on contact with any person-soldier or citizen-stepping on them.

Appeasement A strategy of making concessions to another state in the hope that, satisfied, it will not make additional claims.

Arbitrage The selling of one currency (or product) and purchase of another to make a profit on changing exchange rates.

Arbitration A conflict-resolution procedure in which a third party makes a binding decision between disputants through a temporary ruling board created for that ruling.

Armed aggression Combat between the military forces of two or more states or groups.

Arms control Multilateral or bilateral agreements to contain arms races by setting limits on the number and types of weapons states are permitted.

Arms race The buildup of weapons and armed forces by two or more states that threaten each other, with the competition driven by the conviction that gaining a lead is necessary for security.

Asian Tigers The four Asian NICs that experienced far greater rates of economic growth during the 1980s than the more advanced industrial societies of the Global North.

Asylum The provision of sanctuary to safeguard refugees escaping from the threat of persecution in the country where they hold citizenship.

Asymmetric warfare Armed conflict between belligerents of vastly unequal military strength, in which the weaker side is often a nonstate actor that relies on unconventional tactics.

Atrocities Brutal and savage acts against targeted citizen groups or prisoners of war, defined as illegal under international law.

Autocratic rule A system of authoritarian or totalitarian government in which unlimited power is concentrated in a single leader.

B

Balance of power - The theory that peace and stability are most likely to be maintained when military power is distributed to prevent a single superpower hegemon or bloc from controlling the world.

Balancer - Under a balance-of-power system, an influential global or regional great power that throws its support in decisive fashion to a defensive coalition.

Bandwagoning - The tendency for weak states to seek alliance with the strongest power, irrespective of that power's ideology or type of government, in order to increase their security.

Bargaining model of war - An interpretation of war's onset as a choice by the initiator to bargain through aggression with an enemy in order to win on an issue or to obtain things of value, such as territory or oil.

Barter - The exchange of one good for another rather than the use of currency to buy and sell items.

Behavioralism - The methodological research movement to incorporate rigorous scientific analysis into the study of world politics so that conclusions about patterns are based on measurement, data, and evidence rather than on speculation and subjective belief.

Bilateral - Interactions between two transnational actors, such as treaties they have accepted to govern their future relationship.

Bilateral agreements - Exchange between two states, such as arms control agreements, negotiated cooperatively to set ceilings on military force levels.

Biodiversity - The variety of plant and animal species living in the Earth's diverse ecosystems.

Bipolarity - A condition in which power is concentrated in two competing centers so that the rest of the states define their allegiances in terms of their relationships with both rival great-power Super states, or "poles".

Blogs - Online diaries, which spread information and ideas worldwide in the manner of journalists.

Blowback - The propensity for actions undertaken for national security to have the unintended consequence of provoking retaliatory attacks by the target when relations later sour.

Bounded rationality - The concept that the decision maker's capacity to choose the best option is often constrained by many human and organizational obstacles.

Boycotts - Concerted efforts, often organized internationally, to prevent transactions such as trade with a targeted country in order to express disapproval or to coerce acceptance of certain conditions.

Brinkmanship - The intentional, reckless taking of huge risks in bargaining with an enemy, such as threatening a nuclear attack, to compel its submission.

Bureaucracies - The agencies and departments that conduct the functions of a central government or of a nonstate transnational actor.

Bureaucratic politics model - A description of decision making that sees foreign policy choices as based on bargaining and compromises among competing government agencies.

Bush Doctrine - The unilateral policies of the George W. Bush administration proclaiming that the United States will make decisions only to meet America's perceived national interests, not to concede to other countries' complaints or to gain their acceptance.

C

Carrying capacity - The maximum number of humans and living species that can be supported by a given territory.

Cartel - A convergence of independent commercial enterprises or political groups that combine for collective action, such as limiting competition, setting prices for their services, or forming a coalition to advance their groups interests.

Caucuses - Informal groups that individuals in governments and other groups join to promote their common interests.

Civil society - A community that embraces shared norms and ethical standards to collectively manage problems without coercion and through peaceful and democratic procedures for decision making aimed at improving human welfare.

Civil wars - Wars between opposing groups within the same country or by rebels against the government.

Clash of civilizations - Political scientist Samuel Huntington's controversial thesis that in the twenty-first century the globe's major civilizations will conflict with one another, leading to anarchy and warfare similar to that resulting from conflicts between states over the past five hundred years.

Classical liberal economic theory - A body of thought based on Adam Smith's ideas about the forces of supply and demand in the marketplace, emphasizing the benefits of minimal government regulation of the economy and trade.

Coercive diplomacy - The use of threats or limited armed force to persuade an adversary to alter its foreign and/or domestic policies.

Coercive power - The use of threats and punishment to force the target to alter its behavior.

Cognitive dissonance - The general psychological tendency to deny discrepancies between one's preexisting beliefs (cognitions) and new information.

Cold War - The 42-year (1949-1991) rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as their competing coalitions, which sought to contain each other's expansion and win worldwide predominance.

Collective action dilemma - Paradox regarding the provision of collective goods in which, though everyone can enjoy the benefits of the good, no one is accountable for praying for the cost.

Collective good - A public good, such as safe drinking water, from which everyone benefits.

Collective security - A security regime agreed to by the great powers that set rules for keeping peace, guided by the principle that an act of aggression by any state will be met by a collective response from the rest.

Colonialism - The rule of a region by an external sovereign power.

Commercial liberalism - An economic theory advocating free markets and the removal of barriers to the flow of trade and capital as a locomotive for prosperity.

Communications technology - The technological means through which information and communications are transferred.

Communism - The radical ideology maintains that if society is organized so that every person produces according to his or her ability and consumes according to his or her needs, a community without class distinctions will emerge, sovereign states will no longer be needed, and imperial wars of colonial conquest will vanish from history.

Communist theory of imperialism - The Marxist-Leninist economic interpretation of imperialist wars of conquest as driven by capitalism's need for foreign markets to generate capital.

Comparative advantage - The concept in liberal economics that a state will benefit if it specializes in the production of those goods which it can produce at a lower opportunity cost.

Compellence - A method of coercive diplomacy usually involving an act of war or threat to force an adversary to make concessions against its will.

Complex interdependence - A model of world politics based on the assumptions that states are not the only important actors, security is not the dominant national goal, and military force is not the only significant instrument of foreign policy. This theory stresses cross-cutting ways in which the growing ties among transnational actors make them vulnerable to each other's actions and sensitive to each other's needs.

Concert - A cooperative agreement in design and plan among great powers to jointly manage the global system.

Conciliation - A conflict-resolution procedure in which a third party assists both parties to a dispute but does not propose a solution.

Conflict - Discord, often arising in international relations over perceived incompatibilities of interest.

Consequentialism - An approach to evaluating moral choices on the basis of the results of the action taken.

Constitutional democracy - Government processes that allow people, through their elected representatives, to exercise power and influence the state's policies.

Constructivism - A paradigm based on the premise that world politics is a function of the ways that states construct and then accept images of reality and later respond to the meanings given to power politics, as consensual definitions change, it is possible for either conflictual or cooperative practices to evolve.

Containment - A strategy to prevent a great power rival from using force to alter the balance of power and increase its sphere of influence.

Cornucopias - Optimists who question limits-to-growth analyses and contend that markets effectively maintain a balance between population, resources, and the environment.

Cosmopolitan - An outlook that values viewing the cosmos or entire world as the best polity or unit for political governance and personal identity, as opposed to other policies such as one's local metropolis or city of residence (e.g., Indianapolis or Minneapolis)

Counterforce targeting strategy - Targeting strategic nuclear weapons on particular military capabilities of an enemy's armed forces and arsenals.

Countervailing duties - Government tariffs to offset suspected subsidies provided by foreign governments to their producers.

Counter value targeting strategy - A bargaining doctrine that declared the intention to use weapons of mass destruction against an enemy's most valued nonmilitary resources, such as the civilians and industries located in its cities.

Coup d'etat - A sudden, forcible takeover of government by a small group within that country, typically carried out by violent or illegal means with the goal of installing their own leadership in power.

Covert operations - Secret activities undertaken by a state outside its borders through clandestine means to achieve specific political or military goals with respect to another state.

Crimes against humanity - A category of activities, made illegal at the Nuremberg war crime trials, condemning states that abuse human rights.

Crisis - A situation in which the threat of escalation to warfare is high and the time available for making decisions and reaching compromised solutions in negotiation is compressed.

Cultural conditioning - The impact of national traditions and societal values on the behavior of states, under the assumption that culture affects national decision making about issues such as the acceptability of aggression.

Cyberspace - A metaphor used to describe the global electronic web of people, ideas, and interactions on the Internet, which is unencumbered by the borders of the geopolitical world.

Cycles - The periodic reemergence of conditions similar to those that existed previously.

D

Decolonization – the achievement of sovereign independence by countries that were once colonies of the great powers.

Deconstructivism - the postmodern theory that the complexity of the world system renders precise description impossible and that the purpose of scholarship is to understand actors' hidden motives by deconstructing their textual statements.

Deforestation - the process of clearing and destroying forests.

Democratic Peace - the theory that although democratic states sometimes wage wars against nondemocratic states, they do not fight one another.

Demography - the study of population changes, their sources, and their impact

Dependency theory - a theory hypothesizing that less developed countries are exploited because global capitalism makes them dependent on the rich countries that create exploitative rules for trade and production.

Dependent development - the industrialization of peripheral areas within the confines of the dominance-dependence relationship between the Global South and the Global North, which enables the poor to become wealthier without ever catching up to the core Global North countries.

Desertification - the creation of deserts due to soil erosion, over farming and deforestation which converts cropland to nonproductive, arid sand.

Détente – in general, a strategy of seeking to relax tensions between adversaries to reduce the possibility of war.

Deterrence - preventive strategies designed to dissuade an adversary from doing what it would otherwise do.

Developed countries - a category used by the World Bank (WDI2009) to identify Global North countries, with a GNI per capita of $11,456 or more annually.

Developing countries - a category used by the World Bank to identify low income Global South countries with a 2009 GNI per capita below $935 and middle income countries with a GNI per capita of more than $935 but less than $11,456.

Development - the processes, economic and political, through which a country develops to increase its capacity to meet its citizen's basic human needs and raise their standard of living.

Devolution - states granting political power to minority ethnic groups and indigenous people in particular national regions under the expectation that greater autonomy will curtail the group's quest for independence as a new state.

Diasporas - the migration of religious or ethnic groups to foreign lands despite their continuation of affiliation with the land and customs of their region,

Digital divide - the division between the internet technology-rich Global North and the Global South in the proportion of internet users and hosts.

Diplomacy - communication and negotiation between global actors that is not dependent upon the use of force and seeks a cooperative solution.

Diplomatic Immunity - the legal doctrine that gives a country` s officials (e.g., diplomats and ambassadors) release from the local legal jurisdiction of the state when they are visiting or stationed abroad to represent their own government.

Disarmament - agreements to reduce or destroy weapons or other means of attack.

Diversionary theory of war - the hypothesis that leaders sometimes initiate conflict abroad as a way of increasing national public attention away from controversial domestic issues and internal problems.

Doctrines - the guidelines that a great power or an alliance embraces as a strategy to specify the conditions under which it will use military power and armed force for political purposes abroad.

Dollar overhang - condition that precipitated the end of the Bretton Woods era, in which total holdings of dollars outside of the U.S central bank exceeded the amount of dollars actually backed by gold.

Domino theory - a metaphor popular during the Cold War that predicted that if one state fell into communism, its neighbors would also fall in a chain reaction, like a row of falling dominoes.

Dualism - the separation of a country into two sectors, the first modern and prosperous centered in major cities and the second at the margin, neglected and poor.

E

Ecological fallacy - the error of assuming that the attributes of an entire population-a culture, a country, or a civilization – are the same attributes and attitudes of each person within it.

Economic sanctions - punitive economic actions, such as the cessation of trade or financial ties, by one global actor against another to retaliate for objectionable behavior.

Eco politics - how political actors influence perceptions of, and policy responses to changing environmental conditions, such as the impact of carbon dioxide emissions on the temperature of the Earth.

Embedded liberalism - dominant economic approach during the Bretton Woods system, which combined open international markets with domestic state intervention to attain such goals as full employment and social welfare.

Enclosure movement - the claiming of common properties by states or private interests.

End of history - Francis Fukuyama`s thesis that the end-point in the ideological debate about the best form of government and economy had been reached, with liberal capitalism and democracy prevailing throughout the world without serious competition from advocates of either communism or autocracy.

Enduring rivalries - prolonged competition fueled by deep-seated mutual hatred that leads opposed actors to feud and fight over a long period of time without resolution of their conflict.

Enduring internal rivalries - protracted violent conflicts between governments and insurgent groups within a state.

Entente - an agreement between states to consult one another and take a common course of action if one is attacked by another state.

Environmental security - a concept recognizing that environmental threats to global life systems are as dangerous as the threats of armed conflicts.

Epistemic communities - scientific experts on a subject of inquiry such as global warming that are organized internationally as NGOs to communicate with one another and use their constructed understanding of knowledge to lobby for global transformations.

Epistemology - the philosophical examination of the ways in which knowledge is acquired and the analytic principles governing the study of phenomena.

Ethics - criteria for evaluating right and wrong behavior and the motives of individuals and the groups.

Ethnic cleansing - the extermination of an ethnic minority group by a state.

Ethnic groups - people whose identity is primarily defined by their sense of sharing a common ancestral nationality, language, cultural heritage, and kinship.

Ethnic nationalism - devotion to a cultural, ethnic or linguistic community.

Ethnicity - perceptions of likeness among members of a particular racial grouping leading them to prejudicially view other nationality groups as outsiders.

Ethnocentrism - a propensity to see one's nationality or state as the center of the world and therefore special, with the result that the values and perspectives of other groups are misunderstood and ridiculed.

European commission - the executive organ administratively responsible for the European Union.

European Union - (EU)-a regional organization created by the merger of the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Atomic Energy Community and the European Economic Community (called the

European Community until 1993) that has since expanded geographically and in its authority.

Exchange rates - the rate at which one state's currency is exchanged for another state's currency in the global marketplace.

Export quotas - barriers to free trade agreed to by two trading states to protect their domestic producers.

Export-led industrialization – a growth strategy that concentrates on developing domestic export industries capable of competing in overseas markets.

Extended deterrence - the protection received by a weak ally when a heavily militarized great power pledges to extend its capabilities to it in a defense treaty.

Externalities - the unintended side effects of choices that reduce the true value of the original decision, such as trade protectionism against imports increasing the costs of goods to consumers and stimulating inflation.

Extraterritoriality - the legal doctrine that allows states to maintain jurisdiction over their embassies in other states.

F

Failed states – countries whose governments have so mismanaged policy that their citizens in rebellion, threaten revolution to divide the country into separate independent states.

Fascism - a far-right ideology that promotes extreme nationalism and the establishment of an authoritarian society built around a single party with dictatorial leadership.

Feminist theory - body of scholarship that emphasizes gender in the study of world politics.

Fertility rate - the average number of children born to a woman (or group of women) during her lifetime.

Firebreak - the psychological barrier between conventional wars and wars fought with nuclear weapons as well as mass destruction.

First World – the relatively wealthy industrialized countries that share a commitment to varying forms of democratic political institutions and developed market economies including the United States, Japan, the European Union, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

Fixed exchange rates - a system in which a government sets the value of its currency at a fixed rate for exchange in relation to another country's currency so that the exchange value is not free to fluctuate in the global money market.

Floating exchange rates - an unmanaged process in which governments neither establish an official rate for their currencies nor to intervene to affect the values of their currencies and instead allow market forces and private investors to influence the relative rate of exchange for currencies between countries.

Foreign aid – economic assistance in the form of loans and grants provided by a donor country to a recipient country for a variety of purposes.

Foreign direct investment (FDI) – a cross border investment through which a person or corporation based in one country purchases or constructs an asset such as a factory or bank in another country so that a long –term relationship and control of an enterprise by nonresidents results.

Foreign policy - the decisions governing authorities make to realize international goals.

Free-riders – those who obtain benefits at others expense without the usual cost effort.

Functionalism - the theory advanced by David Mitrany and others explaining how people can come to value transnational institutions (IGOs integrated or merged states) and the steps to giving those institutions authority to provide the public goods (for example, security) previously, but inadequately, supplied by their own state.

G

Game theory - Mathematical model of strategic interaction where outcomes are determined not only by a single actor`s preferences, but also by the choices of all actors involved.

Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) - the UN Development Programs attempt to measure the extent of gender equality across the globe`s countries, based on estimates of women’s relative economic income, high paying position, and access to professional and parliamentary positions.

Gender inequalities - differences between men and woman in opportunity and reward that are determined by the values that guide states foreign and domestic policies/

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) - an UN affiliated IGO designed to promote international trade and tariff reductions, replaced by the World Trade Organization.

Genetic engineering - research geared to discover seeds for new types of plant in human life for sale and use as substitutes for those produced naturally.

Genocide - the attempt to eliminate in whole or in part, an ethnic, racial religious or national minority group,

Geo-economics - the relationships between geography and the economic conditions in behavior of states that define their levels of production, trade and consumption of goods and services.

Geopolitics - the relationship between geography and politics and their consequences for states national interests and relative power.

Global commons - the physical and organic characteristics and resources of the entire planet**-** the air in the atmosphere in conditions on land and sea- on which is the common heritage of all humanity.

Global East - the rapidly growing economies of East and South Asia that have made those countries competitors with the traditionally dominant countries of the Global North.

Global level of analysis – analysis that emphasizes the impact of worldwide conditions on foreign policy behavior and human welfare.

Global migration crisis - a severe problem stemming from the growing number of people moving from their home country to another country straining the ability of the host countries to absorb the foreign emigrants.

Global North – a term used to refer to the world`s wealthy, industrialized countries located primarily in the Northern hemisphere.

Global South – a term now often used instead of the Third World to designate the less developed countries located primarily in the Southern Hemisphere.

Global structure - the defining characteristics of the global system- such as the distribution of military capabilities- that exist independently of all actors but powerfully shape the actions of every actor.

Global system - the predominant patterns of behaviors and beliefs that prevail internationally to define the major worldwide conditions that heavily influence human and national activities.

Global village - a popular cosmopolitan perspective describing the growth of awareness that all people share a common fate because the world is becoming an integrated and independent whole.

Globalization - the integration of states through increasing contact, communication, and trade as well as increased global awareness of such integration.

Globalization of finance - the increasing trans nationalization of national international markets through the world –wide integration of capital flows.

Globalization of labor - integration of labor markets, predicated by the global nature of production as well as the increased size and mobility of the global labor force.

Globalization of production - trans nationalization of the productive process, in which finished goods rely on inputs from multiple countries outside of their final market.

Globally integrated enterprises - MNCs organized horizontally with management in production located in plants in numerous states for the same products they market.

Good offices - provision by a third party to offer a place for negotiation among disputants but does not serve as a mediator in the actual negotiations.

Great powers - the most powerful countries, military, and economically in the global system.

Greenhouse effect - the phenomenon producing planetary warming when gases released by burning fossil fuels act as a blanket in the atmosphere thereby increasing temperatures.

Gross national product (GNP) - a measure of the production of goods and services within a given time period which is used to delimit the geographic scope of production. GNI measures production by a state's citizens or companies regardless of where the production occurs.

Group of 77 (G-77) - The coalition of Third World countries that sponsored the 1963 Joint Declaration of Developing Countries calling for reform to allow greater equality in North-South trade.

Gunboat diplomacy - a show of military force historically naval force to intimidate an adversary.

H

Hard power - the ability to exercise international influence by means of a country's military capabilities.

Heavily indebted poor countries - (HIPCs) the subset of countries identified by the World Banks Debtor Reporting System whose ratios of debt to gross national product are so substantial they cannot meet their payment obligations without experiencing political instability and economic collapse.

Hegemon - a preponderant state capable of dominating the conduct of international political and economic relations.

Hegemonic stability theory - a body of theory that maintains that the establishment of hegemony for the global dominance by a single great power is a necessary condition for a global order in commercial transactions and international military security.

Hegemony - the ability of one state to lead in world politics by promoting its worldview and ruling over arrangements governing international economics and politics.

High politics - geostrategic issues of national and international security that pertain to matters of war and peace.

History – making individuals model-an interpretation that sees foreign policy decisions that affect the course of history as products of strong-willed leaders acting on their personal convictions.

Horizontal nuclear proliferation - an increase in the number of states that possess nuclear weapons

Human Development Index (HDI) - an index that uses life expectancy literacy, average number of years of schooling and income to assess a country's performance in providing for its people's welfare and security.

Human immunodeficiency virus (HDV) - a virus that can lead to the lethal acquired immune deficiency syndrome *(AIDS)

Human needs - those basic physical, social, and political needs, such as food and freedom that are required for survival and security.

Human rights - the political rights and civil liberties recognized by the international community as inalienable and valid for individuals in all countries by virtue of their humanity.

Human security - a measure popular in liberal theory of the degree to which the welfare of individuals is protected and promoted in contrast to realist theory's emphasis on putting the states interests in military and national security ahead of all other goals.

Humanitarian intervention - the use of peacekeeping troops by foreign states or international organizations to protect endangered people from gross violations of their human rights and from mass murder.

Hypothesis – speculative statements about the probable relationship between independent variables (the presumed causes) and a dependent variable (the effect).

I

Ideology - a set of core philosophical principles that leaders and citizens collectively construct about politics, the interests of political actors and the ways people ought to behave.

Imperial overstretch - the historic tendency for past hegemons to sap their own strength through costly imperial pursuits and military spending that weaken their economies in relation to the economies of their rivals.

Imperialism - the policy of expanding state power through the conquest and or military domination of foreign territory.

Import quotas - numerical limit on the quantity of particular products that can be imported.

Import - substitution industrialization –a strategy for economic development that centers on providing investors at home incentives to produce goods so that previously imported products from abroad will decline.

Indigenous peoples - the native ethnic and cultural inhabitant populations within countries ruled by a government controlled by others.

Individual level of analysis - an analytical approach that emphasizes the psychological and perceptual variables motivating people such as those who make foreign policy decisions on behalf of states and other global actors.

Individual fallacy - the logical error of assuming that an individual leader, who has legal authority to govern, represents the people and opinions of the population governed so that all citizens are necessarily accountable for the vices and virtues (to be given blame or credit) of the leaders authorized to speak for them.

Infant industry - newly established industries (infants) that are not yet strong enough to compete against mature foreign producers in the global marketplace until in time they develop and can then compete.

Information age – the era in which the rapid creation and global transfer of information through mass communication contributes to the globalization of knowledge.

Information technology (IT) - the techniques for storing, retrieving and disseminating through computerization of the internet recorded data and research knowledge.

Information warfare - attacks on an adversary's telecommunications and computer networks to degrade the technological systems vital to its defense and economic well-being.

Info war-tactics - attacks on an adversary's telecommunications and computer networks to penetrate and degrade an enemy whose defense capabilities depend heavily on these technological systems.

Instrumental rationality - a conceptualization of rationality that emphasizes the tendency of decision makers to compare options with those previously considered and then select the one that has the best chance of success.

Intellectual property - inventions created by the use of human intelligence in publications art and design by individuals that are often illegally used for commercial purposes without credits or royalties to their creators in violation of GAT`s agreement,

Interdependence - A situation in which the behavior of international actors greatly affects others with whom they have contact, making all parties mutually sensitive and vulnerable to the others actions.

Intergovernmental organization (IGOs) – institutions created and joined by state governments which give them authority to make collective decisions to manage particular problems on the global agenda.

Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty - the U.S-Russian agreement to eliminate an entire class of nuclear weapons by removing all intermediate and short –range ground –based missiles and launchers with ranges between 300 and 3.500 miles from Europe.

International Court of Justice (ICJ) - the primary court established by the United Nations for resolving legal disputes between states and providing advisory opinions to international agencies and the UN General Assembly.

International Criminal Court (ICC) - a court established by the UN for indicting and administering justice to people committing war crimes.

International criminal tribunals - special tribunals established by the UN prosecute those responsible for war time atrocities and genocide bring justice to victims and deter such crimes.

International liquidity - reserve assets used to settle international accounts.

International Monetary Fund - a financial agency now affiliated with the UN established in 1944 to promote international monetary cooperation, free trade exchange rate stability, and democratic rule by providing financial assistance and loans to countries facing financial crises.

International monetary system - the financial procedures used to calculate the value of currencies and credits when capital is transferred across borders through trade, investment, foreign aid and loans.

International political economy – the study of the intersection of politics and economics that illuminates why changes occur in the distribution of states wealth and power.

International regime - embodies the norms, principles and rules. An institution around which global expectations unite regarding a specific international problem.

International relations – relationships that exist between pairs or among groups of global actors.

International terrorism - the threat or use of violence as a tactic of terrorism against targets in other countries.

International aggression - killing others that are not members of one’s own species.

Intra-firm trade - cross-national trade of intermediate goods and services within the same firm.

Intraspecific aggression - killing members of one`s species.

Irredentism - a movement by an ethnic national group to recover control of lost territory by force so that the new state boundaries will no longer divide the group.

Isolationism - a policy of withdrawing from active participation with other actors in world affairs and instead concentrating state efforts on managing internal affairs.

J

Jus ad bellum - a component of just a war doctrine that establishes criteria under which a just war may be initiated.

Jus in bello – a component of just war doctrine that sets limits on the acceptable use of force.

Just war doctrine – the moral criteria identifying when a war may be undertaken and how it should be fought once it begins.

Just war theory – the theoretical criteria under which it is morally permissible or just for a state to go to war and the methods by which a just war might be fought.

K

Kellogg-Briand Pact - a multilateral treaty negotiated in 1928 that outlawed war as a method for settling interstate conflicts.

L

Laissez – faire economics **-** the philosophical principle of free markets and free trade to give people free choices with little governmental regulation.

Least developed of the less developed countries (LLDCs) - the most impoverished countries in the Global South.

Level of analysis - the different aspects of agents in international affairs that may be stressed in interpreting and explaining global phenomena, expending on whether the analyst chooses to focus on wholes (the complete global system and large collectives) or on parts (individual states or people)

Liberal International Economic Order (LIEO) - the set of regimes created after World War II designed to promote monetary stability and reduce barriers to the free flow of trade and capital.

Liberalism - a paradigm predicated on the hope that the application of reason and universal ethics international relations can lead to a more orderly, just and cooperative world. liberalism assumes that anarchy and war can be policed by institutional reforms that empower international organizations and law/

Linkage strategy - a set of assertions claiming that leaders should take into account another country`s overall behavior when deciding whether to reach agreement on any one specific issue so as to link cooperation to rewards.

Long peace – Long-lasting periods of peace between any of the military strongest great powers.

Long cycle theory - a theory that focuses on the rise and fall of the leading global power as the central political process of the modern world system.

Low politics – the category of global issues related to the economy. Social, demographic, and environmental aspects of relations between governments and people.

M

Macroeconomics - the study of aggregate economic indicators such as GDP, the money supply and the balance of trade that governments monitor to measure changes in national and global economies such as the rates of the economic growth and inflation or the level of unemployment.

Marxist-Leninism - communism theory as derived from the writings of Karl Marx, Vladimer Lenin, and their successors, which criticizes capitalism as a cause of class struggle, the exploitation of workers, colonialism and war.

Massive retaliation – the Eisenhower administration`s policy doctrine for containing Soviet Communism By pledging to respond to any act of aggression with most destructive capabilities available including nuclear weapons.

Match politics - The German realist philosophy in statecraft that sees the expansion of state power and territory by use of armed force as a legitimate goal.

Mediation - a conflict-solution procedure in which a third party proposes a nonbinding solution to the disputants.

Militant religious movements – politically active organizations whose members are fanatically devoted to the global promotion of their religious beliefs.

Military intervention - over or covert use of force by one or more countries in order to affect the target counties government and policies.

Military necessity- the legal principle that violation of the rules of warfare may be excused for defensive purposes during periods of extreme emergency.

Military-industrial complex – a combination of defense establishments, contractors who supply arms for them and government agencies that benefit from high military spending which act as a lobbying coalition to pressure governments to appropriate large expenditures for military preparedness.

Mirror images - the tendency of states people in competitive interaction to perceive each other similarly**-** to see others the same hostile way others see them.

Modernization - a view of development popular in the Global North's liberal democracies that wealth is created through efficient production, free enterprise and free trade and that countries relative wealth depends on technological innovation and education more than on natural endowments such as climate.

Monetary policy - the decisions made by state central banks to change the country's money supply in an effort to manage the national economy and control inflation using fiscal policies such as changing the money supply and interest rate.

Monetary system - the processes for determining the rate at which each state's currency is valued against every other state, so that purchasers and sellers can calculate the costs of financial transactions across borders such as foreign investments, trade, and cross-border travel.

Money supply - the total amount of currency in circulation in a state calculated to include demand deposits such as checking accounts in commercial banks, and time deposits such as savings accounts and bonds in savings banks.

Morality - principles about the norms for behavior that should govern an actor's interactions.

Morals - principles clarifying the difference between good and evil and the situations in which they are opposed.

Most-favored-nation principle (MFN) - the central GATT principle of unconditional nondiscriminatory treatment in trade between contracting parties underscoring the WTOs rule requiring any advantage given by one WTO member to also extend it to all other WTO members.

Multilateral agreements - cooperative compacts among many states to ensure that a concerted policy is implemented toward alleviating a common problem such as levels of future weapons capabilities.

Multilateralism - cooperative approaches to managing shared problems through collective and coordinated actions.

Multinational corporations (MNCs) - business enterprises headquartered in one state that invest and operate extensively in many other states,

Multiple advocacy - the concept that better and more rational choices are made when decisions are reached in a group context, which allows advocates of differing alternatives to be heard so that the feasibility of rival options receives critical evaluation.

Multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles (MIRVs) – a technological innovation permitting many weapons to be delivered from a single missile.

Multipolarity - the distribution of global power into three or more great-power centers, with most other states allied with one of the rivals.

Murky protectionism - nontariff barriers to trade that may be hidden from government policies not directly related to trade such as environmental initiatives and government spending.

Mutual assured destruction (MAD) - a condition of mutual deterrence in which both sides possess the ability to survive a first strike with weapons of mass destruction and launch a devastating retaliatory attack.

N

Nation - a collectively whose people see themselves as members of the same group because they share the same ethnicity, culture or language.

National character - the collective characteristics ascribed to the people within a state.

National interest - the goals that states pursue to maximize what they perceive to be selfishly best for their country.

National security - a country's psychological freedom from fears that the state will be unable to resist threats to its survival and national values emanating from abroad or at home.

Negotiation - diplomatic dialogue and discussion between two or more parties with the goal of resolving through give- and-take bargaining perceived differences of interests and the conflict they cause.

Nationalism - a mindset glorifying a particular state and the nationality group living in it which sees the states interest as a supreme value.

Nature versus nurture - the controversy over whether human behavior is determined more by the biological basis of human nature than it is nurtured by the environmental conditions that humans experience.

Neo –Malthusians - pessimists who warn of the global Eco political dangers of uncontrolled population growth.

Neocolonialism (neo imperialism) – the economic rather than military domination of foreign countries.

Neoliberalism - the new liberal theoretical perspective that accounts for the way international institutions promote global change, cooperation, peace and prosperity through collective programs for reforms.

Neomercantilism - a contemporary version of classical mercantilism that advocates promoting domestic production and a balance of payment surplus by subsidizing exports and using tariffs and nontariff barriers to reduce imports.

Neutrality - the legal doctrine that provides rights for the state to remain nonaligned with adversaries waging war against each other.

New International Economic Order (NIEO) - the 1974 policy resolution in the UN that called for a North – South dialogue to open the way for the less- developed countries of the Global South to participate more fully in the making of international economic policy.

Newly industrialized countries (NICs) - the most prosperous members of the global South which have become more important exporters of manufactured goods as well as important markets for the major industrialized countries that export capital goods.

Non Aligned movement - (NAM) - a group of more than one hundred newly independent mostly less developed states that joined together as a group of neutrals to avoid entanglement with the superpowers competing alliances in the Cold War and to advance the Global South primary interest in economic cooperation and growth.

Non Aligned states - countries that do not form alliances with opposed great-powers and practice neutrality on issues that divide great powers.

Nonalignment - a foreign policy posture that rejects participating in military alliances with the rival blocs for fear that formal alignment will entangle the state in an unnecessary involvement in war.

Noncombatant immunity - the legal principle that military force should not be used against innocent civilians.

Nondiscrimination - GATT principle that goods produced by all member states should receive equal treatment as embodied in the ideas of most-favored nations and national treatment.

Nongovernmental organizations – transnational organizations of private citizens maintaining consultative status with the UN. They include professional associations, foundations, multinational corporations or simply internationally active groups in different states joined together to work toward common interests.

Nonintervention norm - a fundamental international legal principle now being challenged that traditionally has defined interference by one state in the domestic affairs of another as illegal.

Nonlethal weapons - the wide array of soft kill low- intensify method of incapacitating an enemy's people, vehicles, communications system, or entire cities without killing either combatants or non **-** combatants.

Nonproliferation regime - rules to contain arms races so that weapons or technology do not spread to states that do not have them.

Non state nations - national or ethnic groups struggling to obtain power and or statehood.

Non-tariff barriers – measures other than tariffs that discriminate against imports without direct tax levels and are beyond the scope of international regulations.

Norms - Generalized standards of behavior that once accepted shape collective expectations about appropriate conduct.

North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) - An agreement that brings Mexico into the free trade zone linking Canada and the US.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization - a military alliance created in 1949 to deter a Soviet attack on Western Europe that since has expanded and redefined its missions to emphasize not only the maintenance of peace but also the promotion of democracy.

O

Official development assistance – grants or loans to countries from donor countries now usually channeled through such as the World Bank for the primary purpose of promoting economic development and welfare.

Opportunity cost - the sacrifices that sometimes result when the decision to select one option means that the opportunity to realize gains from other options is lost.

Orderly market arrangements - voluntary export restrictions through government-to-government agreements to follow specific trading rules.

Outsourcing - the transfer of jobs by a corporation usually headquartered in a Global North country to a Global South country able to supply trained workers at lower wages.

Ozone layer - the protective layer of the upper atmosphere over the Earth's surface that shilled the planet from the sun's harmful impact on living organisms.

P

Pacifism - the liberal idealist school of ethical thought that recognizes no conditions that justify the taking of another human's life even when authorized by a head of state.

Paradigm - derived from the Greek paradeigma, meaning an example of a model or essential pattern a paradigm structures thought about an area of inquiry.

Peace building - post conflict actions predominantly diplomatic and economic that strengthen and rebuild governmental infrastructure and institutions in order to avoid renewed recourse to armed conflict.

Peace enforcement - the application of military force to warring parties or the threat of it normally pursuant to international authorization to compel compliance with resolutions or with sanctions designed to maintain or restore peace and order.

Peace operations - a general category encompassing both peacekeeping and peace enforcement operations undertaken to establish and maintain peace between disputants.

Peaceful coexistence - Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev`s 1956 doctrine that war between capitalist and communist states is not inevitable and that inter - bloc competition could be peaceful.

Peacemaking – the process of democracy mediation negotiation or other forms of peaceful settlement that arranges an end to a dispute and resolves the issues that led to conflict.

Podcasts - technology that enables individuals to create audio and visual programs and make them available as digital downloads.

Polarity - the degree to which military and economic capabilities are concentrated in the global system that determines the number of centers of power or poles.

Polarization - the formation of competition coalitions or blocs composed of allies that align with one of the major competing poles of centers of power.

Policy agenda - the changing list of problems or issues to which governments pay special attention at any given moment.

Policy networks - leaders and organized interests (such as lobbies) that form temporary alliances to influence a particular foreign policy decision.

Political economy - a field of study that focuses on the intersection of politics and economics in international relations.

Political efficacy - the extent to which policy makers self - confidence instills in them the belief that they can effectively make rational choices.

Political integration - the processes and activities by which the populations of many of all states transfer their loyalties to a merged political and economic unit.

Politics - to Harold Lass well the study of who gets what when and how

Preemptive war - a quick first strike attack that seeks to defeat an adversary before it can organize an initial attack or a retaliatory response.

Preventive diplomacy - diplomatic actions taken in advance of a predictable crisis to prevent or limit violence.

Prisoner Dilemma – from game theory a non- zero-sum situation in which two prisoners have incentives to cooperate and if they do, they will both benefit so that is the rational decision to make however if one defects to maximize personal gain at the expense of the other prisoner, both will suffer**-** a dilemma that raises questions about what is the prudent or rational course of action in circumstances of distrust.

Proliferation - the spread of weapon capabilities from a few to many states in a chain reaction so that an increasing number of states gain the ability to launch an attack on other states with devastating weapons.

Purchasing power party (PPP) - an index that calculates the true rate of exchange among currencies when parity – when what can be purchased is the same –is achieved the index determines what can be thought of with a unit of each currency.

R

Rapprochement - the diplomacy a policy seeking to reestablish normal cordial relations between enemies.

Rational choice - Decision-making procedure guided by careful definition of situations weighing of goals consideration of all alternatives and selection of the options most likely to achieve the highest goals

Realism - a paradigm based on the premise that world politics is essentially and unchangeably a struggle among self-interest states for power and position under anarchy, with each competing state pursuing its own national interest.

Realpolitik - the theoretical outlook prescribing that countries should increase their power and wealth in order to compete with and domestic other countries.

Reciprocity - GATT principle calling for mutual or reciprocal lowering of trade barriers.

Refugees - people who flee for safety to another country because of a well-founded fear of political persecution, environmental degradation, or famine.

Retorsion - retaliatory acts (such as economic sanctions) against a target's behavior that is regarded as objectionable but legal such as trade restrictions to punish the target with the measures that are legal under international law.

S

Sanctions - punitive actions by one global actor against another to retaliate for its previous objectionable behavior.

Sanctuary – a place of refuge and protection

Satisficing - the tendency for decision makers to choose the first satisfactory option rather than searching further for a better alternative

Schematic reasoning – the process of reasoning by which new information is interpreted according to objects to a memory structure, a schema which contains a network of generic scripts, metaphors and simplified characterizations of observed objects and phenomena.

Second –strike capability - a state's capacity to retaliate after absorbing an adversary's first strike attack with weapons of mass destruction.

Security regime - norms and rules for interaction agreed to by a set of states to increase security.

Self-determination - the liberal doctrine that people should be able to determine the government that will rule them.

Self-help - the principle that because in international anarchy all global actors are independent, they must rely on themselves to provide for their security and well-being.

Semi periphery - to world system theorists' countries midway between the rich core or center and the poor periphery in the global hierarchy at which foreign investments are targeted when labor wages and production costs become too high in the prosperous core regions.

Small powers - countries with limited political military economic capabilities and influence.

Smart bombs – precision-guided military technology that enables a bomb to search for its target and detonate at the precise time it can do the most damage.

Social constructivism - a variant of constructivism that emphasizes the role of social discourse in the development of ideas and identities.

T

Tariffs - Tax assessed on goods as they are imported into a country.

Terrorism - premediated violence perpetrated against noncombat targets by subnational or transnational groups or clandestine agents usually intended to influence an audience.

Theocracy - a country whose government is organized around a religious dogma.

Third World - A Cold War term to describe the less-developed countries of Africa, Asia, The Caribbean and Latin America

Trade integration - the difference between gross rates in trade and gross domestic product.

Transgenetic crops - new crops with improved characteristics created artificially through genetic engineering that combine genes from species that would not naturally interbreed.

Transparency - with regard to the GATT the principle that barriers to trade must be visible and thus easy to target.

Transnational religious movement - a set of beliefs practices, and ideas administered politically by religious organizations to promote the worship of their conception of a transcendent deity and its principles for conduct.

U

Unilateralism - an approach that relies on self - help independent strategies in foreign policy.

Uni-multipolar - a global system where there is a single dominant power but the settlement of key international issues always requires action by the dominant power in combination with that of other great powers.

Unipolarity - a condition in which the global system has a single dominant power or hegemon capable of prevailing over all other states.

V

Vertical nuclear proliferation - the expansion of the capabilities of existing nuclear powers to inflict increasing destruction with their nuclear weapons.

Virtual corporations - agreements between otherwise competitive MNCs often temporary to join forces and skills to coproduce and export particular products in the borderless global marketplace.

Virtuality - Imagery created by computer technology of objects and phenomena that produces an imaginary picture of actual things people and experiences.

W

Washington consensus- the view that Global South countries can best achieve sustained economic growth through democratic governance fiscal discipline free markets a reliance on private enterprise, and trade liberalization

World Politics- the study of how global actor`s activities entail the exercise of influence to achieve and defend their goals and ideas and how it affects the world at large.

World-system theory –a body of theory that treats the capitalistic world economy originating in the sixteenth century as an interconnected unit of analysis encompassing the entire globe.

X

Xenophobia-The suspicious dislike disrespect, and disregard for members of a foreign nationality ethnic or linguistic group.

Y

Yalta Conference- the 1945 summit meeting of the Allied victors to resolve postwar territorial issues and to establish voting procedures in the UN to collectively manage world order.

Youth bulge- a burgeoning youth population, thought to make countries more prone to civil conflicts.

Z

Zeitgeist - the spirit of times or the dominant cultural norms assumed to influence the behavior of people living in particular periods.

Zero-sum - an exchange in a purely conflictual relationship in which what is gained by one competitor is lost by another.

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