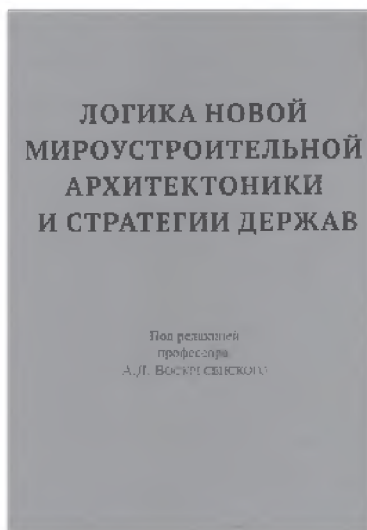


## НА КНИЖНОЙ ПОЛКЕ

**Логика новой мироустроительной архитектуры и стратегии держав / Под ред. А.Д. Воскресенского; Федеральное гос. автономное образовательное учреждение высшего образования «Московский государственный институт международных отношений (университет) Министерства иностранных дел Российской Федерации. М.: Стратегические изыскания, 2021. 576 с. ISBN 978-5-9905967-5-7**

**Logika Novoi Miroustroitel'noi Arkhitektoniki I Strategii Derzhav (The Logic of the New World Architectonics and the Strategies of the Powers). Ed. by Alexei D. Voskressenski. Moscow: Strategicheskiye izyskaniya, 2021. 576 p. ISBN 978-5-9905967-5-7**

Научная монография в форме взаимосвязанных тематически структурированных разделов оригинальных и журнальных вариантов исследовательских текстов ориентирована как на использование нового знания в учебном процессе по направлениям подготовки «Международные отношения» и «Зарубежное регионоведение», так и для активизации научной и экспертной дискуссии по проблематике современных мирополитических трансформаций. В книге анализируются основные глобальные и региональные измерения мироустроительного характера и стратегии держав в ходе трансформации мировой системы. Исследуются пути поиска Китая своего места в мире, внешние и внутренние аспекты подъема Китая, новые паттерны взаимодействия крупных мирополитических игроков в трансформирующейся архитектонике региональных театров мировой политики. Кроме того, предлагаются выводы прогностического характера.



### CONTENTS WITH ABSTRACTS:

#### THE LOGIC OF THE NEW WORLD ARCHITECTONICS: PRAXIS AND THEORY OF RETHINKING MULTIDIMENSIONAL WORLD

The arising logic of the formation of a multilayer polycentric world in the post-pandemic situation is shown in this first conceptual chapter of the book "The Logic of the New World Architectonics and the Strategies of the States". Formation stages in Russia of theoretical knowledge about the formation of the multidimensional, interdependent and polycentric world are analyzed. They include the conceptualization of the multi-factor equilibrium in IR in the Institute of the Far Eastern Studies and later at MGIMO. Attention is paid to the rising importance

of conceptual analyzing of political, economic, and other processes in the Eastern and Non-Western worlds as well as the practice of China's search of its place in this new post-pandemic situation. Benefits of comprehensive World Regional Studies as cross-disciplinary methodology framework of the analysis of processes of the multidimensional and polycentric world and at the same time as a stage of formation of a future theory of the multidimensional and interconnected polycentric world within evolving Global Theory of International Studies are shown.

To help the explanation of the interconnectivity of the multilayer world of global regions the concepts of functionality and transregionalism are developed. Attention is paid to discussions about the place of Asian and African Studies and its transformation into a part of a comprehensive World Regional Studies in the Russian nomenclature of Social Sciences. The main directions of transforming International Relations as an academic discipline and International Studies as a field of research in Russia are shown.

## *THEORETICAL BACKGROUND*

### **TENSIONS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: CONCEPTUAL BASIS FOR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH**

The chapter shows the theoretical interpretation of the concept of “tension” as a necessary prerequisite for its operationalization and transformation into a tool for applied comparative analysis in International Studies. The increase of tensions in different regions and types of government, within and between countries is a reflection of the profound changes that the modern world is undergoing. At the same time, the number of attempts in serious scientific understanding and conceptualization, as well as operationalization and measurement in this field, remains extremely limited. The first part of the chapter presents a brief review of previous studies of the phenomenon of “tension” in the context of world politics and international relations. The second part presents a conceptual analysis of the phenomenon of “tension” as a special dynamic state that is present not only in competition (war) relations, but also in cooperation (peace) relations, and which, therefore, is a more common type of interstate interactions.

### **LEADING TRADITIONAL AND RISING POWERS AS SECURITY PROVIDERS FOR THE MOST FRAGILE STATES**

The chapter explores the resource capabilities and strategies the traditional and rising powers use to bring food, energy, and military-political security to the most fragile states. There is a certain complementarity in the relations between both the mentioned actors in international relations since the negative externalities forming in and around fragile states require resources that could be provided and effectively provided indeed by the most powerful countries. The assumption that the key characteristic of a power (center) is a capability to translate outside military-political security allowed the authors to categorize the USA, EU, and, with certain restrictions, Japan as traditional centers of power; while Russia, China, Brazil, Turkey, and, to a lesser

extent, India and Korea as the rising ones. In terms of quantitative parameters, the United States, the EU, India, and Russia have the resources to ensure food security, while Russia is the only major power that has a net surplus in energy foreign trade. Russia's comprehensive resource capability in the context of “broad” security supports its leadership status in its efforts to stabilize and maintain the world order. Considering the behavioral and not resource aspect, the strategies of global and middle powers in the world's most fragile states, except for the EU and Turkey, correspond to their resource capabilities. Both deliver mineral fuels as well as Turkey supplies crops to fragile countries having overall deficit of such commodities. This may indicate that these centers of power, as well as Russia, implement the “donor” strategies conceptualized in the literature for the rising powers of the modern world order.

### **MIDDLE POWERS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTUAL APPROACHES**

Throughout the past decades, international relations studies were mostly dedicated to the analysis of the superpower's and great power's role in the evolving world order. Less powerful states, namely small and middle powers, were widely considered as objects in a relationship that are not able to have an impact on the international political processes. Nevertheless, with the collapse of the bipolar system, new approaches have emerged and were applied to the analysis of the existing balance of power in international relations. One of them is widely known as the concept of middle powers. The conceptual understanding of the middle power's foreign policy behavior has become significantly more complicated in comparison with the bipolar period. On the other hand, there is still no clear definition of the term ‘middle power’. In light of this lack of a clear definition, various authors use different methods to identify middle powers. Researchers usually define middle powers based on such criteria as large population, natural recourses, economic strength, military force, political stability, its formal recognition by other actors in international relations as a significant international actor, and its active involvement in solving regional and international issues. This chapter aims to review the concept of middle powers, its historical perspective, and key theoretical approaches namely positional, behavioral and constructivist. Based on the analysis of these three approaches the chapter argues that a holistic understanding of the middle power concept is possible only based on a comprehensive approach. The chapter also addresses historic periods of concept development and provides a distinction between emerging and traditional middle powers. The concept of

middle powers and its popularity indicates the gradual formation of a new world order where the international momentum is determined not only by great powers but also by not less powerful small and middle powers.

#### **THE LOGIC OF SPATIAL ANALYSIS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND REGIONAL STUDIES**

Contemporary political geography as a constituent part of International Studies uses quantitative research methods for analysis in the area of international relations and world regional studies. First, it is mapping or cartography that denotes an operation that associates different political objects and phenomena to geographical locations. It makes it possible to align or distribute objects relative to one another. The next step is searching for the closest entities to the designated object and analyzing the relevant location patterns. Finally, the overlay of cartographic information, which implies taking different thematic maps of the same area and placing them on top of one another to form a new map, and map scale changes can help to gain new information about spatial distribution patterns. Second is geographical clustering that refers to grouping data items into regions (spatially contiguous clusters) or chorions (space-time clusters), which allows arriving at a conclusion about social structures and political processes. The process involves distinguishing territories based on some feature or condition and its relationship and compatibility with other spatial elements. Third, it is a spatial analysis that defines the search for those location patterns that explain the nature of political objects and processes. The method helps to identify key and secondary features of the space, spatial dependence vectors, and spatial barriers to dependence and draws the hierarchical structure showing the interdependence of elements and levels of spatial organization. Thus, the chapter develops the spatial analyses in International Studies and shows how the spatial analyses can be used in IR and World Regional Studies, showing the practical implications of this in politics.

#### **ON THE OBJECT-SUBJECT FIELD OF REGIONAL STUDIES AND ITS PLACE AMONG OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES**

The chapter considers one of the most urgent problems of Regional Studies – the definition of the object-subject of this field. This chapter discusses the object and subject of research in Regional Studies, the relationship between disciplinary segments in Regional Studies. Interest in this problem is due to the formation of theoretical Regional Studies and Regional Studies proper as a new direction in Social Sciences. The author proposes to consider the

region as a concept that reflects the most important properties of all types of phenomena – regions, territories, countries, associations of countries, and the world as a whole – as geosocial systems. Despite the independence of countries as actors on the global stage, they are all integral parts of the world-system, being closely associated with it, as well as within themselves, by countless transactions that are collectively constituting the essence of the region, which in reality is a territorially determined (sub) system of division of labor. All local subsystems are hierarchically integrated into the world system of which they are genuine parts. The world-system is of a maximum size of the object in Regional Studies, depending on which are subordinated all the problems of Regional Studies, thus making Regional Studies – World Regional Studies.

#### **TRANSREGIONAL AND REGIONAL PROJECTS IN “POST-WESTERN” INTERNATIONAL REALITY**

The chapter focuses on the theoretical and practical explanations of political and economic processes in the “post-Western” international reality. Proceeding from the assumptions of the complex system theory, the authors prove the necessity to use already established analytical approaches in combination with the newly developed ones to be able to understand and forecast the spatial-temporal evolution of the international system as a complex system. International Political Economy and World Regional Studies now investigate the empirical aspects of working out the most competitive and simultaneously most stable socio-political and political-economic model of development. These studies also search for the ways national versions of development can become closer to this model and analyze to what extent regional/national models may differ from it without losing their international competitiveness. Exploring the evolution of the international system and political and economic transformations in the world-leading states the authors conclude that a polycentric world cannot sustain a growing geopolitical confrontation and struggle for the geopolitical influence over the buffer areas though can sustain competition. The polycentric international system requires a consensual elaboration of mutually beneficial regional policies aimed at building transregional links between various regional areas. Reducing the instability in its regional and national segments the international system will move towards its overall greater stability. The authors further support this assumption by analyzing transregional projects in Eurasia and the Asia-Pacific region.

#### **INTERCONNECTED, POLYPARTICIPANT AND POLYDIMENSIONAL WORLD: APPLIED METHODOLOGY DEVELOPMENT ALGORITHM**

The chapter investigates the problem of researching and conceptual comprehension of the post-

bipolar world. An applied methodology development algorithm is suggested. The first stage is devoted to the isolation of general fundamental provisions of scientific work. Modern philosophy of science analysis let to isolate IR theory and methodology four fundamental pillars. They are simplified classifications rejection, analysis of any state as spatial-temporal formation, development of extrapolation as a mode of forecasting, comparative method qualitative upgrading. The second stage proposes dialog among conceptions and methods of IR discipline. Its results demonstrated that it is necessary to develop a conception free of bipolar world thinking. At the same time, it articulated that the IR discipline is incapable to develop such a conception by itself. So, within the third stage experience of historical discipline development through interdisciplinarity was analyzed. The fourth stage defines the ways of methodological problem-solving be accepted by the IR discipline. The fifth stage means the methodological advantages examination by objectively existing phenomena and processes. The sixth stage is polyparticipant and polydimensional conception development with an indication for further applied methodology development. The seventh stage is related to the further methodology elaboration in provisions of favorable terms.

#### *INFLUENCE OF THE RISE OF CHINA ON GLOBAL ARCHITECTONICS.*

#### **CHINA AND THE REFORM OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM**

The 2008 global financial crisis has become a turning point for the world community to realize the necessity to reform the international economic system and to allow greater participation of leading emerging economies in the global economic governance. Given the huge economic might that China has accumulated and its willingness to assume greater international responsibilities and leadership functions, China can be regarded as one of the countries that play a key role in the processes of reforming the international economic system and global economic governance. Contributing to the improvement of the existing rules, norms, and institutions, Beijing at the same time offer to the world its new, China-centered initiatives, to name a few, the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank and the "Belt and Road" Initiative. This chapter characterizes China's participation in the reforming of the international economic system after the 1997 Asian financial crisis till the present time with the focus on identifying major forms of China's participation, its motivations, and efforts' emphasis. By reviewing initiatives and measures that China offers, backs, and conducts to bring changes into the international economic system and by analyzing Chinese leadership's official rhetoric

and foreign policy activities, the chapter concludes that Beijing has set a course to assume one of the key roles in the global economic governance aimed to create China-dominated system of international rules, norms, and institutions.

#### **ANALYSIS OF DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE CHINESE SOCIETY ON CHINA'S POSITION IN THE WORLD IN THE CONTEXT OF SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS DETERIORATION DURING THE PANDEMIC PERIOD**

During the pandemic, the Sino-US relations have remarkably deteriorated. The institutionalization of such destructive practices as toughening rhetoric in the media and sanctions is becoming obvious. As the model of bilateral relations is now aimed at decoupling both economies from each other the degradation will continue. These trends inevitably affect the mood of Chinese society. The chapter analyzes opinions on foreign policy in Chinese society in the context of Sino-American relations within the pandemic period. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first assess general trends in the US-China relations. The second part traces the current trends in the modern ideological and political atmosphere in Chinese society. The episode with congratulations to the Chinese public from the American administration on the occasion of the 101st anniversary of the famous «May 4, 1919 movement» is analyzed as a case study. The research shows that this event received ambiguous and even opposite assessments: part of the society saw it as an attempt to accuse China of the spread of coronavirus and the imposition of Western values. Another part emphasized M. Pottinger's rather high level of spoken Chinese and noted that the very fact of congratulation can be viewed as a positive moment for bilateral relations. There were also positions combining both approaches. The case under consideration reveals the danger of decoupling initiated by the parties. The tension between the PRC and the United States leads to the fact that the partners are starting to interpret each other's intentions as presumably hostile, even taking into account such a formally favorable occasion as congratulations on a significant historical date. Meanwhile, it seems that the presence of positive interpretations against the background of a general deterioration in bilateral relations also cannot be ignored. Although public opinion cannot be unambiguous and does not always directly influence specific political steps, it is important to take into account the full range of opinions for an objective and comprehensive analysis of Sino-American relations.

#### **CHINESE ECONOMIC SANCTIONS POLICY: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

China is perceived, on the one hand, as a long-term object of sanction pressure, on the other hand, as a



consistent critic of using unilateral sanctions for political purposes. At the same time, China has regularly applied unilateral economic sanctions at least since the 2000-s. As the PRC's economic power grows, the world sees a rising number of Chinese unilateral sanctions, which become increasingly effective. Analyzing China's sanctions policy is complicated, as Beijing's unilateral sanctions mostly lack any official announcement. The tools of sanction pressure concern export control, public authorities' increased activity, sanitary restrictions, canceling previously approved credit lines, etc. China is almost ready to apply sanctions as a response to issues concerning the offense of its military security and infringement of its and territorial integrity, both being identified as core national interests. Yet the number of sanctions applied to ensure a wider range of objectives is increasing. This chapter studies the Chinese approaches to the application of unilateral sanctions that are reflected in available publications of the Chinese scholars and particular examples of PRC's sanctions policy since this chapter is specifically focused on unilateral economic sanctions.

#### **IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRC: PARALLELS WITH LATE SOCIALISM IN THE USSR**

Most sinologists assume that ideology is a set of values and ideas which reflect reality in a more or less precise way. While studying the ideology of the PRC they focus on the literal sense of ideological narratives. Some scholars take another approach and study practical implications of ideological utterances, rather than their literal meaning. This is the approach adopted in this chapter. The author draws basic assumptions from Alexey Yurchak's work on late socialism in the USSR and then proceeds to find parallels between Soviet and Chinese ideologies. He discovers that some aspects of "performative shift" can be found in the PRC. Like in the late Soviet Union, in China it is more important to reproduce the proper form of ideological language, rather than its literal meaning. In this respect Hu Jintao era (2002-2012) is remarkable. In this period language of the official discourse became ossified. At the same time, Hu Jintao's era is marked with a certain degree of ideological pluralism. Chinese intellectuals were relatively free in interpreting official narratives and in bringing new ideas into the ideological discourse. Xi Jinping's era is characterized by a reversed process. Party language has become more vivid, and the Chinese leader has started to give comments on the literal meaning of various ideological conceptions. Meanwhile, there are fewer opportunities for free interpretation of the official discourse. The authors conclude that today Chinese socialism is going through the process of re-ideologization, unlike the Soviet system which underwent de-ideologization before its eventual collapse.

#### **GLOBAL PLAYERS: NEW PATTERNS OF INTERACTION IN TRANSFORMING REGIONAL THEATRES**

*US, EU, CHINA AND RUSSIA*

#### **"NEW TRIANGLE" IN RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA, RUSSIA, AND THE USA**

The emergence of a "new triangle" in relations of China, Russia, and the United States has become an objective reality. By its nature, structure, content, functionality, and influence, the current triangle differs from the "great triangle" of the PRC-USA-USSR that existed in the past. In the relations of the three countries, there are no definite rules of change, at the present stage, their prospects are open. In the Sino-Russian-American "new triangle" there are many changes that can be divided into background changes and immediate changes that affect the structure of relationships. Changes in the "triangle" are not mechanical, isolated from the outside world and unilinear, they are determined by the interaction of many factors. Theoretically, in the "triangle" of China, Russia, and the United States there are many possible models, the choice of which is not exclusively subjective and depends largely on the overall situation and real needs. Creating a union is instrumental and theoretically, there is no need to eliminate it from the set of diplomatic tools. Within the "triangle", the Sino-Russian partnership without an alliance represents the best model, the conclusion of an alliance can only be a forced choice. The conclusion of the Sino-Russian alliance would imply a perception of the United States as an open enemy, and although the alliance can weaken the threat, designating a great power as an enemy will in itself create tremendous strategic pressure. A great strategic success for China would be to prevent the appearance of the enemy and especially not to allow the partner to turn into an enemy. Equally important is maintaining good ties with the other two powers at an even higher level of diplomacy. Although the likelihood of a Chinese-Russian military-political alliance is very low, the continued deterioration of Chinese-American and Russian-American relations could push China and Russia to create some kind of Asian bloc. China rejects the mentality of the Cold War and the "zero-sum game," but it can rationally, effectively, and constructively use the structure of the Chinese-Russian-American triangle.

#### **TRANSREGIONALISM IN US FOREIGN POLICY: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TPP AND TTIP GEOPOLITICS**

The decision of US President Donald Trump to withdraw from the Trans-Pacific Partnership and

the sluggish negotiations on Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership has fueled the debate on the future trajectories of American foreign policy in its two traditionally strategic geographic avenues – the Asia Pacific and North Atlantic. The chapter analyzes the geo-political and geo-economic interests, which were pursued by the Obama administration, underlie TPP and TTIP initiatives, and suggests the outcomes of President Trump's decision as well as the possible alternatives. Given the strategic US interests, its global positioning, and the current trends of world politics, Donald Trump's policy can be regarded as a reconsideration of the above-mentioned projects based on bilateral negotiations and a widening network of bilateral economic and trade agreements, rather than the policy of isolationism. In other words, it might be a policy of returning to a hub-and-spoke system of trade zones developed in the second half of the XX century. However, still emerging and competing transregional projects reduce the effectiveness of bilateralism for the domestic development of states involved and reduce the international influence of outsiders, and that can jeopardize the US leadership.

#### **FACTOR OF EDUCATION IN SOFT POWER OF THE UNITED STATES, CHINA, AND THE EU: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

“Soft power” has been an integral part of the foreign policy arsenal of many states in recent decades. Including various tools, “soft power” as one of the most effective tools used to achieve the goals, includes education. In a multipolar world, all major states, as well as their associations, seek to use education as a means of influence and influence on their counterparts. The chapter considers and analyzes the mechanisms in the implementation of the policy of «soft power» through education, using as examples the USA, China, and the European Union. As the analysis carried out in the chapter showed, both the US, China, and the EU are actively using education to achieve their foreign policy goals. At the same time, their educational policy directed from outside has significant differences. As a result, we can talk about three different models of using education as a tool of «soft power». Each of them has its distinctive features associated primarily with the specific mechanisms of use of education, as well as the content of the educational policy and its meaning and ideological content. Nevertheless, despite the serious differences, we can confidently say that all three of the subjects of international relations considered in the chapter use education very successfully, often achieving a positive effect for themselves in the regions of their national interests.

#### **THE U.S.-CHINA TECHNOLOGY WAR: RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE PRC AND GLOBAL TECH SECTOR**

US-China Technology War in 2019-2020 reached a new level. Washington introduced new measures aimed at preventing Chinese corporations from access to emerging technologies, «smart» capital, and the academic sector. For the PRC and Chinese technology sectors, this process was a severe blow, significantly complicating medium-to-long-term development prospects. In response, PRC intensified import substitution, scientific and technological development – also through international scientific and technical cooperation (ISTC). China still lacks competencies and time to compensate for the U.S. actions, so it concentrates on science and human capital development for future breakthroughs. Significant economic risks envisioned for the PRC including its ability to recreate itself as a new science and technology center, an alternative to the USA. Regional and global implications are not less significant. Unlike other cases of sanctions, the US measures are aimed not only at impairing the economic potential of an opponent nation-state, but also at supporting the dominance of the U.S. entities in some key high-tech processes, conserving their key role in global value chains, markets, and industries. These actions and the PRC's response may lead to reformatting of global S&T processes, including the rise of parallel GVCs, alienation from an «open» logic of high-tech development, and a shift in the focus of ISTC. In the future, this will also have important geopolitical implications, since the new system of GVCs and markets will structure alliances, influence, and strength – especially considering the emphasis on emerging technologies of key importance for the future economy (from 5G to artificial intelligence)

#### **THE CHINESE VECTOR IN THE MODERN FOREIGN POLICY OF RUSSIA: POLITICAL AND LEGAL ASPECT**

The chapter is a study of Russian-Chinese relations at the present stage. The relations under consideration are dynamic, which is expressed in regular contacts at the highest level, cooperation in the international arena, including within the framework of international and regional organizations, trade and economic, humanitarian relations, common projects in the field of military cooperation, etc. In this regard, the study and analysis of external and internal factors that contributed to the emergence, development, cooling, resumption, and, ultimately, the formation of strategic partnership relations are important for the possible consideration of the Russian Federation in building further foreign policy relations with China and preventing previous mistakes. The authors studied

and analyzed the defining directions and features of the Russian-Chinese foreign policy relations, both in the historical context and at the present stage of development. In particular, the main periods in the development of bilateral relations are identified; the factors that influenced the change of foreign policy strategies of the Russian Federation and the people's Republic of China are analyzed; the author reveals the nature of Russian-Chinese cooperation at the present stage, characterizes its role and importance both for regional policy and in the light of ongoing international processes, including in the field of international security; identifies possible risks that may adversely affect the nature of foreign policy cooperation between Russia and China. In conclusion, an attempt was made to formulate a possible forecast for the development of the Russian-Chinese foreign policy relations, taking into account the current geopolitical situation in the world, as well as taking into account factors that can lead to contradictions between the two countries.

#### **RUSSIAN FAR EAST IN CHINESE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE: PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS**

The chapter is devoted to the conjugation and harmonizing of the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative with the Russian-led Eurasian Economic Union focusing on maximal utilizing of the Russian Far Eastern part's capacity for integration purposes. Moscow and Beijing plan obtain new sense and extraordinary importance within President Putin's idea of the 'Greater Eurasian Partnership'. It means that both parties are able and thus striving to reshape the Eurasian geopolitical and geo-economic landscape according to their respective interests and form the so-called Grossraum. Considering this, such an integration process is designed as an alternative to the cooperation mechanisms offered by the Global West. There is a review of the Russian Far East as well as the Chinese North-East's respective capacities for the implementation of the Belt and Road initiative in a given chapter. However, we are to admit that all the efforts made by both Russia and China to develop their respective border territories are still not coordinated enough. Thus, the approach to local authorities and government strategies is strongly recommended to be reviewed to contribute properly to the integration process and achieve synergy effect. Also, one of the tasks of this research is, to sum up, and analyze all the collected experiences of formerly initiated bilateral projects, including negative sides and drawbacks. Besides that, the feasible part of the chapter is devoted to unveiling all the emerged impediments in trade, investment, industrial and other forms of Sino-Russian cooperation. Therefore, the potential of border areas deserves special and thorough attention.

#### *COMPETITION STRATEGIES IN AFRICA*

#### **CHINESE RUSH TO AFRICA: COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, the authors conduct a comparative historical analysis of the stages of Chinese penetration into Africa, the concepts, goals, means, methods, and consequences of this penetration for China itself and individual African countries. The authors conclude that compared to the period of twenty years ago, when China began to show increased interest in Africa, a new situation has now emerged. China has created a binary structure: the Forum of China-Africa cooperation launches a mechanism for selecting countries that are ready to follow the political path of the PRC with the prospect of becoming a country-follower of China, and the "One belt – one road" program de facto "forms membership" in the club of countries-followers of China, fixing these countries in the trail of Chinese influence not only politically, but also economically.

#### **COMPETITION OF EXTERNAL PLAYERS FOR TRANSPORT AND LOGISTICS PROJECTS IN WESTERN AND NORTH AFRICA (THE CASE OF SEAPORTS)**

The chapter examines the role of maritime transport in the economic development of the African continent. It is shown that the modernization of seaports not only attracts potential investors but also opens up new opportunities for African countries. Thanks to the creation of new innovative ports, new jobs are created, training programs appear, and the local population is more actively involved in new technologies. Foreign companies often offer a set of measures to reform the transport and logistics systems of African countries, with the connection of all transport arteries for faster delivery of goods. Many problems hinder the implementation of ambitious logistics projects, but with the joint efforts of foreign representatives and local authorities, it is possible to gradually reform legislation, prepare transport solutions taking into account the specifics of each country, and improve the investment attractiveness of African countries. Projects implemented in North and West Africa reflect different approaches of the world's leading countries to foreign economic strategy. The main competitors in the fight for new projects in Africa are Western countries, on the one hand, and China, on the other. Sea transport is the oldest transport link in Africa, and many ports were built by the efforts of the colonial authorities. Some ports have a narrow commodity specialization, which hinders the development of sea traffic. New innovative ports are needed for successful trade operations in Africa. In some countries, the solution to transport and logistics problems were dictated

by economic and industrial needs. For example, in Morocco, the construction of automobile factories (with the need for subsequent transportation of finished products) has prompted foreign companies to develop a plan for an innovative industrial city with a modern port. In general, in many countries, the process of modernizing transport and logistics systems is still in its infancy, but ports have become the starting point for new investment programs for systemic transformation in Africa.

#### **COMPARISON OF MAJOR EXTERNAL ACTORS' STRATEGIES FOR THE POWER SECTOR DEVELOPMENT IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

To promote industrialization and improve the living standards of the population in the Sub-Saharan countries, large-scale investments in power infrastructure development are required. Two key and two secondary long-term objectives for the energy sector development can be distinguished. The first ones are to enable industrial development and to increase its competitiveness, as well as to promote socio-economic development by ensuring universal access to electricity and uninterrupted supply. The latter two are to increase the financial sustainability of the energy sector and to meet environmental requirements. Due to the lack of financial resources, necessary technologies, and professional staff in the Sub-Saharan countries, external players play a crucial role in the power sector development. These external actors include traditional donors such as the World Bank, the EU, the US, and the African Development Bank, and new players like China. The purpose of this study is to compare the strategies of key external players in the power sector of the Sub-Saharan countries. The analysis of strategies is carried out at the level of the conceptual framework of the foreign policies toward Africa in general and the power sector development strategies in particular, and at the level of their actual implementation by studying the methods used, priority areas, scale, and features of projects. Based on the review, the author provides an assessment of whether the strategies of major external actors for the power sector development serve the vital interests of the Sub-Saharan countries. In conclusion, the author identifies two types of tentative conceptually distinct models, i.e., "equal partnership" and "donor-recipient" strategies.

*GREATER EURASIA AND MIDDLE EAST.*

#### **EAEU: PANDEMIC TAKEAWAYS**

The chapter analyzes the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on the development and implementation of integration processes in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), which performs activities of strategic importance for the foreign policy of Russia.

To figure out more precise predictive appraisals of quality and effectiveness of integration in the Eurasian region, the authors perform research of integration processes based on 3 periods of time: 1. Development of integration processes in the EAEU before the pandemic, 2. Performance and resulting quality thereof during the pandemic, 3. Possible course of events scenario after the pandemic. The authors review the current state of international relations, challenges, and issues that EAEU is facing, prospects for further development, and suggest recommendations on enhancing the organization's activities.

#### **TRANSREGIONALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR WORLD POLITICS AND ECONOMY**

The chapter analyses the possibilities of the evolution of transregional law settings on the development of politics in Greater Eurasia. As the authors explain, contemporary international law was forged over many centuries. It has been perfected, improved, and modernized. In response to the endless string of bloody wars and the desire of some powers to assert their domination over other countries and peoples, international law was constantly replenished with norms, institutions, and mechanisms that put a limit on the self-will of states. As a result, it began to correspond to the highest ideals of humanism, equality, and justice, which found their confirmation in the UN Charter. It has become the highest value of human civilization. Therefore, modern international law must be preserved by all means. It's urgent to prevent its destruction. It's necessary to prevent its substitution by the norm of national law, which is given extraterritorial effect and which is forcibly imposed on all actors, and stop the trend towards the use of sanctions and unilateral measures as the tool of foreign policy and introduction of legal regimes that do not enjoy the support of most states or were established without their consent.

The authors analyze a wide arsenal of means and methods at the disposal of states, to which they could and should have recourse to protect modern international law, the basic principles that underlie it, the role it plays as the base of the modern world order, primarily in Eurasian space. A qualitatively new instrument in this regard can be trans-regional law, which creates a second regulatory circuit in parallel or instead of international law. It retains all the best in international law and offers even more beneficial and promising legal solutions to cooperating states. The authors show on most illustrative examples, why, by what characteristics are inherent in it, the emerging trans-regional law is capable of undertaking such a mission. If this happens, world politics and economy, they believe, will follow a completely different track than they do now.



## COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF RUSSIA'S ALLIANCE-FORMATION STRATEGIES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

Contemporary history of the Middle East has seen at least four periods of active inter-state alliance formation – three of which led by the United States. The return of Russia to the Middle East has helped shape new alliances and coalitions. Unlike the American “philosophy” of alliance formation underpinned by the imperative for a comprehensive politico-military presence as well as prevention of, first, Soviet and then, Iranian regional expansion, the Russian model is oriented toward the players, cooperation with which could solve a current or a potential crisis at a specific period. Coupled with a consistent and pragmatic foreign policy course, it was nontrivial strategies for flexible alliance-formation that enabled Moscow to establish itself as one of the leading players in the turbulent region as well as a responsible global power. At the same time, the comparative analysis of the Russian campaign in Syria and Moscow's relations with key states in the region shows that Russia has been exercising elements of at least three alliance-formation strategies.

### ASIA-PACIFIC

## REGIONAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE PROBLEM OF JUST REGIONAL (AND WORLD) ORDER

The diachronic comparative analysis of the regional orders in Southeast Asia in pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods presented in the chapter allows demonstrating that despite their subordinate position in the international system Southeast Asian states not only managed to adapt themselves to the nation-state concept but also to develop their regional instruments of raising their international profile. Alongside this adaptation, the indigenous (pre-colonial) perceptions of the regional order were becoming less relevant in terms of international relations and became the domain of socio-political and philosophical thought. The chapter argues that the experience of collective action of Southeast Asian states united in ASEAN and the necessity to accommodate a variety of intraregional and wider international limitations resulted in a quite objective and rational view of a desired just regional order. Its core assumptions imply inclusiveness, acceptance of the nation-state-based international system, adherence to the shared norms and principles. They also indicate regional desire to see lower Western interventionism but not the Western decline in the international system. As for China, the Southeast Asian state perceives it as a desirable strong economic, but not political force. ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific reflects this

approach. However, justified it seems, there are still open questions concerning the instruments of its implementation.

## RUSSIAN-CHINESE COOPERATION AND SECURITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

The authors argue that Russian-Chinese rapprochement is a fundamental feature of the current changing system of international relations. The two countries are effectively enabling each other to conduct independent foreign policies often in direct opposition to the West. There is a degree of complementarity between the two sides with Russia having a comparative advantage in the military, intelligence, and diplomatic fields and China being an economic superpower. The region of Central Asia which, as some Western authors have expected, could become the hot point of the Russian-Chinese rivalry. Yet in reality, it became the cradle of the two countries' cooperation which is now affecting a wide range of international issues. Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has emerged as the main platform for Russian-Chinese cooperation in Central Asia. After India and Pakistan joined the SCO in 2017 it is evolving into a mechanism of Russian-Chinese cooperation not only in Central Asia but in the Indo-Pacific as a whole. The Korean peninsula is another important area of coordination between Moscow and Beijing in the Asia-Pacific. Russia and China have also been working on increasing the interoperability of their military forces in the region since the mid-2000s. Technically they have already done a great job of preparing the ground for a military alliance. However, politically they do not appear to be ready for that yet.

## THE CHINA FACTOR IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE INDIAN APPROACH TO THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION

The idea of the Indo-Pacific was created 12 years ago and quickly became the subject of fierce discussions among experts and politicians. Over the years, several Indo-Pacific concepts partially coinciding and contradicting each other have been formed. The chapter is devoted to the description and analysis of the evolution of the Indian concept of the Indo-Pacific. It discusses the main directions of Indian strategic thought on the concept and demonstrates the difference in approaches to the Indo-Pacific within the Indian expert community. There were three views in total: anti-Chinese whose supporters called for a departure from a policy of neutrality and the alliance with the United States, Japan, and Australia; critical whose supporters denied the value of the concept of Indo-Pacific; and practical whose supporters were focused on the development of economic relations within the region

by expanding contacts with ASEAN, advocating the continuation of the policy of «strategic autonomy» and against a sharp change in the foreign policy. The author believes that the address of the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the Shangri-La Dialogue in 2018 was the turning point: the head of the Indian government identified there New Delhi's priorities in the implementation of the Indo-Pacific concept. In conclusion, the author describes the current attitude towards the idea of the Indo-Pacific among Indian experts and points out the consequences of a possible Beijing review of the negative attitude towards it.

#### **ASEAN STATES IN CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY: ON COURSE TO SPLIT OR TO REACH “NEW CONSENSUS”?**

Dynamics of political and trade relations between China, the ASEAN organization, and its members, problems of regional geopolitics concerning the conflict on features and resources of South China Sea are analyzed. Since the second half of the 1990s, China has been consistently establishing relations of “strategic partnership” with individual ASEAN countries. The second decade of the 21st century witnessed a fundamental turnaround: all sides try to fix their economic interests in the region while political tensions increase gradually. Since 2013 following the promotion of the Belt and Road Initiative, a new round of tension began, in other words, intensive attempts to consolidate sovereignty over a resourceful and strategically important territory avoiding at the same time reduction of the volume of regional economic cooperation. In general, despite fluctuations, China remains the main trade and economic partner for most ASEAN countries, therefore their ability to exercise political independence is significantly limited.

#### **REGIONAL FRACTURE LINES AS FACTOR OF INSTITUTIONAL DYNAMICS WITHIN THE ASIA-PACIFIC**

By the second half of 2020, the Asia-Pacific region is witnessing a series of trends in shaping the institutional environment that reflects the attempts by major regional players to dominate the regional development agenda. The political aspects of institution building, primarily aimed at liberalizing regional trade, are translated into the application of cooperation and competition instruments among actors such as the PRC, Japan, the Republic of Korea, the USA, and ASEAN. At the same time, the discourse on regional relations in the Asia-Pacific tends to favor a notion of the US-China trade war as a key narrative structuring the regional issues. The chapter discusses such

trends as the change in Asia-Pacific policy under President Trump's administration, India's new role in regional affairs, the political aspects of the trade dispute between the Republic of Korea and Japan, and competition between China and Japan after the new TPP agreement came into force. The chapter shows that these four trends have an independent significance on the formation of institutional dynamics within the Asia-Pacific and cannot be explained solely by the trade war between China and the USA.

#### *CENTRAL ASIA IN THE FOCUS*

#### **THE PROBLEM OF TERRORISM AND APPROACHES TO AFGHANISTAN IN THE RUSSIA-INDIA-CHINA TRIANGLE**

The chapter deals with the problems of joint actions of Russia, India, and China to mitigate the terrorist threat from Islamist terrorists in the Central part of Eurasia. The author concludes that, from an objective point of view, Russia, India, and China all have completely uniform approaches to terrorism, separatism, and extremism. Moreover, along with the refusal to accept the monopolar structure of the world system, it is the fight against such radicalism that is the main parameter contributing to the real existence of the triangle. However, the concrete actions of the three powers do not indicate any established cooperation. The analysis shows that the main reason is the policy of China, which is extremely wary of India and prefers Russia to stand alone against terrorist activity in the region. Joint public statements remain pure declarations, not supported by real steps. In the fight against Islamist terrorism in the PRC itself, Beijing does not take action to limit external support for Uighur radicals (and doesn't, for example, exert any pressure on Islamabad, dependent on China, to limit the activities of Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence, which has close contacts with the main Islamist organizations of South and South-East Asia, Central Asia, Afghanistan, and China itself), preferring independent actions. Russia has gone to fairly broad cooperation with different countries, as well as with regional and global organizations in the fight against international terrorism. Particular importance is attached to the development of contacts on this issue with key strategic partners (China, India, Kazakhstan) and the work of organizations such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Collective Security Treaty Organization. Anti-terrorist operations are constantly carried out, however, outside the Russian Federation they are carried out only in very rare cases. On the formal side, Russia is taking certain steps to limit the spread of radical Islamic ideas in the region. The counter-terrorism centers and anti-terrorism programs created within the framework of the SCO and the CSTO have been widely advertised. However, there is essentially no practical impact from them, and many

structures simply duplicate each other (including in terms of lack of efficiency). Therefore, it is imperative to establish a significant rapprochement between the three giant nation-states on the issue of countering the terrorist threat, although neither the scope nor the framework of interaction has been clearly defined yet.

#### **REGIONAL ORDER AND TRANSFORMATION OF WATER REGIME IN CONTEMPORARY INNER ASIA**

This chapter is a study of water-sharing disputes in Inner Asia. The focal point is the issue of fresh water-sharing in the conditions of regional post-Soviet political order. The chapter is an attempt to verify a hypothesis: is there a correlation between the hydropower control system and regional political order? The chapter studies the relations between Russia, China, and Mongolia that deal with transboundary rivers which flow into Lake Baikal. This lake is the world's biggest fresh-water lake and is under protection by UNESCO. The chapter is centered around the idea that institutional conditions influence the legitimization of rights on hydro reserves. The research is based on the methods of neo-institutionalism which is used to study the regional political order. The empirical basis of the paper is made up of legal acts on the distribution of transboundary waters, speeches of Russian and Mongolian statesmen, official statistical data, ecological monitoring data, and regional mass-media data. The author's basic conclusion is: the processes undergoing in Inner Asia could lead to a new political order in the foreseeable future. The ideas, values, and infrastructural macro-projects can change both the balance of power in the region and the level of water consumption. The arising ecological problems, therefore, become politicized.

#### **CONCLUSION**

#### **ANALYSIS AND THEORY IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

A new attempt to analyze the situation in the interaction of different countries gives another interpretation of the meaning of the behavior of states. The task is to arrange words containing their meaning and be prepared for situational analyzes. A new problem is the conduct of illusory analyzes and their relationship with the traditional ones, the difference between which lies in the online participation of participants and comparison, with their physical presence at the venue. The problem lies in identifying the difference and analyzing the merits and demerits of both methods. An analysis is a quick, immediate analysis of the situation, theory is a way of reasoning with a stretch in time, ways of checking versions that can be confirmed and become a theory. But it might not be confirmed – in this case, the analysis remains “postponed until new research” by checking a similar situation. A careful selection prepares the analysis to be carried out given the security of states, depending on one scenario or other factors. Winter-spring 2020 witnessed a pandemic in the world, which heightened fears of the policies of the leading powers. This heightened the demand for situational analyzes – virtual and real, raised the question of traditional preferences. This book raises these questions and gives answers to the most acute questions.