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**ВЕСТНИК**

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## **GEOPOLITICAL TRANSFORMATION AND NEW TRENDS OF RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE CONDITIONS OF GLOBALIZATION**

**Abstract.** The article analyzes the process of globalization and the role of the Russian Federation in this process. The relevance of considering the current stage of globalization is due to the strengthening of the interconnectedness and interdependence of the world, which requires the improvement of interstate relations and mechanisms of global governance with the primacy of the economic aspect of the development of society in the conditions of the functioning of the global scale of production. The historiography presents the regulation of international relations from the Westphalian system (state-centrist model of the world) to the Vienna Congress and the attempt to create a system of collective security and regulation of international relations: to the League of Nations and the United Nations.

The formation of global governance institutions is shown: the largest international intergovernmental organizations (UN, WTO, IMF, IBRD, G-8, G-20, etc.), the most important function of which is to determine the norms and rules of interstate interaction.

The main idea of the authors of the article is to show the historical conditionality of the transition to a polycentric model of development, as it most fully meets the needs of society on a global scale.

The main purpose of this work was to substantiate and confirm the characteristics of the role of Russia in the international arena at the present stage of development by empirical material obtained during international surveys of experts from sixteen APR countries (VIPs and decision-makers).

Thus, among the current trends in global development, the authors highlight the dilemma globalism - sovereignty and the correlation of globalism - transregionalism, in particular, the concept of the Indian-Pacific region (Indo-Pacific) instead of the Asia-Pacific region, put forward by the United States, Japan, Australia and India and the concept of "One belt is one road", initiated by China.

Another trans-regional structure, such as BRICS, remains largely insufficiently structured, institutionalized and little realized in the specific political and economic activities of the countries that gave the name to this abbreviation.

**Keywords:** globalization, global governance and its mechanisms, APR, Westphalian system, Bretton Woods system, UN (United Nations - UN Headquarters, New York), WTO (World Trade Organization), IMF (International Monetary Fund), IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development - a specialized agency of the United Nations), BRICS (composition: a group of five countries: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), Trans-Pacific Partnership, "One Belt - One Way", Indo-Pacific, Council of Europe, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe – PACE, FIFA, WADA.

**Introduction.** Before talking about the place and significance of our country in the international arena, it is necessary to analyze the mechanisms of global governance and the foreign policy environment in which Russia is developing, to touch upon topical issues of the globalizing world and the challenges that need to be answered.

The relevance of considering the current stage of globalization is primarily due to the strengthening of the interconnectedness and interdependence of the world, which requires the improvement of interstate relations in the political and economic spheres. To maintain the accuracy of the analysis, I would like to

start with a comparative terminological description of the processes of globalization and global governance, made by domestic and foreign scientists and indicate the position of the research authors.

As noted by R. Robertson and H. Hondker, globalization is a process of contraction of the world and intensification of world consciousness as a whole, leading to a specific global interdependence" [17, p.58]. We share the point of view of Yu.V. Zinkina, I.V. Ilyina, A.I.Andreev, I.A.Aleshkovsky, A.V. Korotaev, who focus on the complexity and versatility of globalization and highlight in it, first of all, economic components [8, p.11].

In the interpretation of this concept, Castells M. also, first of all, highlights the economic aspect of globalization: "the emergence and rise of the global economy, within which the main types of economic activities (production, consumption and circulation of goods and services), as well as their components (capital, labor, raw materials, management, information, technology, markets) are organized on a global scale" [9, p.81].

These trends are clearly reflected in the systematic review by al-Rodan N. and Stoudman G., in which out of one hundred and fourteen definitions of globalization, sixty-seven are economic in nature [2].

As Russian experts note, and their conclusions do not contradict the opinion of their foreign colleagues, "global governance" is viewed "as a mechanism for countering global challenges and as a prototype of the future world order" [25, p.110].

However, not all Russian scientists adhere to the term "global governance". The scientific director of the Institute of Latin America of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences Davydov V.M., believes that "... there is a change of paradigms, and the spontaneity of history is only increasing, therefore, the term "global regulation" is preferable - the ability to control global processes, correct their trajectories, using a rigid and soft power, international law and international institutions". Professor V.M. Davydov concludes that "... the previous system of global regulation has exhausted itself, and society is looking for new ways" [6, p.56].

**Research methods, purpose and objectives.** To analyze the eastern direction of Russian foreign policy and the conditions in which it is carried out and to which it must respond promptly, we summarize the results of international research conducted from 2005 to 2019 using sociological methods within the framework of the international project "Dialogue partnership as a factor of stability and integratio". The name of the project is "Bridge between West and East" ISPI FCTAS RAS, which included "pilotage" in 2005 [the descriptive part of the study is presented in the abstract of the article]. International expert surveys from 2005 to 2016, control and express interviews in 2015-2019, as well as content analysis of the media and scientific publications on the development of the Asia-Pacific region. Professor Ruban L.S. She was the author-developer of the methodology, tools and supervised the conduct of expert surveys throughout the period from 2005 to 2019, in which Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Economics Ryazantsev S.V. took an active part as a direct participant and project manager. Also, it should be noted that these studies are original and have no analogues in our country and abroad.

Since these sociological studies were carried out in the mainstream of the study of global processes and international relations, the regional and national characteristics and characteristics of foreign partners were taken into account, their attitude to Russia and its activities was considered. Leading Russian and foreign scientists were invited as experts, and among decision-makers in Russia and abroad: diplomats, military, government officials, business representatives. The polls also included journalists and representatives of non-governmental organizations. For fifteen years we have interviewed experts from sixteen APR countries, such as: Brunei, Vietnam, India, Indonesia, China, Malaysia, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nepal, Republic of Korea, Russia, Singapore, USA, Thailand, Philippines and Japan".

Sociological methods (polls in writing - questionnaires and verbally - interviews) were chosen by the authors because the main purpose of this study was to determine the optimal areas of cooperation between Russia and the countries of the Asia-Pacific solution in these countries.

**Description of the survey methodology and tools:** "Pilotage" in 2005 was carried out on 25 experts, then from 2006 to 2016. 126 experts took part in expert surveys annually. In the polls, 75% of the longitude was used, that is, 75% of the respondents remained the same. Surveys were conducted orally - interviews and in writing - using a questionnaire. The poll was anonymous (the experts indicated only their type of activity), that is, the principle of confidentiality was observed, since the polls were attended by VIPs and high-level decision-makers. If the experts so desired, their names were disclosed and made public when the empirical data based on the survey results were published.

*Questionnaires and questionnaires included 8 thematic blocks of questions:* 1) - according to a comprehensive description of the situation in the APR; 2) - by the characteristics of the security level in the APR countries: risks and threats, the possibility of military or armed conflicts; 3) - about the role of Russia in the APR; 4) - about the importance of the Far East for Russia; 5) - about the positive changes in the APR that have occurred since the end of the 90s. XX century to the beginning of XXI century; 6) - according to the characteristics of the intercountry hierarchy and the leadership of countries in the APR; 7) - about the possibility of concluding an agreement between the Russian Federation and Japan and the regulation of relations between these countries (this block was used from 2005 to 2014); 8) - by choosing the most effective areas of cooperation between Russia and the Asia-Pacific countries, including the choice of optimal routes for the export of Russian energy resources abroad.

All questions were open-ended, which required the use of a laborious process of manual processing of questionnaires and questionnaires, but with a double verification system, it gave a zero level of error.

When conducting express interviews and control interviews in 2008-2009 and 2017-2019 proportional focus groups of experts (USA, RF, PRC) were formed, to which a number of experts from other countries of the Asia-Pacific region were added on a random sample. The experts were interviewed on the territory of their countries, the Russian Federation and a third party (Honolulu, USA, such as, in research centers and universities of this city, the intellectual, military and government elites of all APR countries are trained).

**Globalization and mechanisms of global governance in the assessments of Russian and foreign scientists: theoretical and methodological analysis.** The leadership of the countries was conditioned by the establishment of advanced economic structures, fixed by political and legal mechanisms, that is, the political and institutional change in the world order was determined by the development of the economy. Here is a detailed historiography of this process [4, p.58].

The first bourgeois revolution in 1566-1609 (first stage) and 1641-1648 (second stage), which took place in the Netherlands, and the victory of this country in the war with Spain for independence led to the formation of the Republic of the United Provinces, the active accumulation of initial capital, the rapid development of intermediary trade relations. All this made the Netherlands by the 17th century the most powerful European maritime and commercial power, owning 60% of Europe's merchant fleet.

The bourgeois revolution in Great Britain in 1640-1660 and the active development of this country along the capitalist path contributed to the formation of a new world leader who won a series of Anglo-Dutch wars in the 17th-18th centuries, who proved his dominance at sea, and after the Battle of Waterloo and in international relationship.

After the end of the Thirty Years War in Europe and the signing of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Westphalian system was formed. The principle of national sovereignty was recognized as one of the key ones, the Peace of Westphalia gave rise to a system of political relations, which was named - the state-centrist model of the world. A system of internal and interstate relations began to form [14, p.598].

After the victory over Napoleon I Bonaparte, the coalition of the victorious countries at the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) made a new attempt to create a system for regulating interstate relations, including for the prevention of wars. At this congress, for the first time in international legal practice, the concept of "great power" is introduced to designate countries - political leaders.

In the 19th century, the "British World" or "Pax Britannica" was formed, which included the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland with its many colonies. The pinnacle of the "British World" was the Victorian era. The pound sterling became the basis of the world monetary system, and Britain was the world leader not only in technological development and trade, but also in the export of capital abroad. Pax Britannica existed until the middle of the twentieth century (until 1945), and was replaced by the Pax Americana (World of America).

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries were marked by the struggle between the Entente, which included Great Britain, France, and Russia, and the Triple Alliance, which included Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary. This confrontation led to the First World War, after which the League of Nations was created, that is, mankind again tried to create an international organization to prevent wars and regulate inter-country relations.

The formation of a bipolar system in the world dates back to October 1917, when the world split into two rigidly opposing camps, capitalist and socialist, after the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia. In a period of growing international tension, the USSR joined the League of Nations in 1934 after Japan and Germany left this organization, but was expelled from it in 1939 after the "White Finnish" campaign. By 1946, the League of Nations had ceased to exist. She could not prevent the Second World War, after



the end of which the United Nations Organization was created - an international organization of a global scale, and five countries received the status of "great powers": the USSR, the USA, Great Britain, France and China" [1, p.38].

As noted by Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences N.P. Shmelev, the bipolar system of world governance with the participation of international organizations - the UN, the International Monetary Fund and others as a whole provided the conditions for world equilibrium in the last century, although this equilibrium was often violated. The global economic system has also faltered from time to time. By the end of the 20th century, the bipolar control system was replaced by a unipolar system. And, academician N.P. Shmelev concluded that neither the bipolar nor the unipolar system of global governance could adequately respond to the world challenges of their time. They were replaced by a new system - a multipolar world, multilateral regulation with the preservation of many elements of previous systems, including the UN Security Council, the IMF, and the WTO, etc. [27, p.8-9].

The new stage of globalization is clearly shown in the collective monograph of the IMEMO RAS "Russia in a polycentric world" (2011) - it is "... the strengthening of new leaders of the world economy, the completion of the formation of global markets: resource and commodity, financial, technological and information, the emergence of new risks and threats".

The authors noted that "... at the present stage, the dynamism of the world economy is determined not by the developed, but by the large developing countries: China, India, Brazil. They are mastering new growth trajectories for them based on the globalization of innovation, combining an active policy of attracting foreign investment in their knowledge-intensive industries, first with trade expansion, and then with the implementation of their own innovative high-tech projects. Modernization in countries where most of the world's population lives is fundamentally changing the picture of global development" [19, p.13].

At the moment, according to Russian and foreign experts, a new world order is being formed - Pax Sinika (World of China) with the dominance of a new world leader - the People's Republic of China.

Europe in the twentieth century was characterized by a strong trend towards integration, the apotheosis of which was the formation of the European Union, which included 28 countries. The background to the formation of the European Union is as follows: In 1947, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was concluded, in 1952 - European Coal and Steel Community; and in 1957 the European Economic Community was formed. After the conclusion of the Maastricht agreements in 1992, the European Economic Area was formed, which also includes non-EU members. In 1999, the Eurozone was formed on a non-cash basis, and from January 1, 2002, the first banknotes and coins for cash payments appeared.

In addition, there is the European Free Trade Association, and a number of organizations operate on a global scale, including the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, created in 1944 [3]. Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Trade Organization (WTO), which was formed in 1995 following the results of the so-called. Uruguay Round negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to liberalize regional trade. The WTO is based on the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS). In addition, there is a single economic space, which includes 34 countries.

It should be noted that at the moment European integration is experiencing a crisis associated with the uneven economic development of the members of the European Union, which began to be clearly divided into leaders (Germany, France) and outsiders (Greece, with its colossal financial debt, Spain, Italy). The apotheosis was the results of the June 2016 referendum in the United Kingdom, when 51.9% of its citizens voted to leave the European Union, thereby triggering a new integration crisis in the EU.

In 1996, the Russian Federation joined the Council of Europe, and takes part in the work of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (PACE), an advisory body in which parliamentarians from EU member states are represented. Economically, Russia is closely linked with European countries, especially as a supplier of energy resources.

Thus, Germany and Italy are leading importers of Russian natural gas. European countries, for example, the Netherlands and Germany, are traditionally among the main Russian trading partners, although since 2015 they have been ousted by China, which has become Russia's No. 1 trading partner. But the RF receives the largest foreign exchange earnings from its exports to Europe. It is in this area that the interests of the Russian Federation and the United States clash most acutely, which after the successful implementation of the shale revolution took the first place in the world in gas production and got rid of

external hydrocarbon dependence. However, Russia continues to occupy the first place in the world in gas export, which, of course, does not suit the United States.

In March 2014, after the annexation of Crimea to the Russian Federation, the United States adopted a package of sanctions (to which the European Union joined) against Russia and imposed a ban on the export of a number of goods to our country and a suspension of licenses for the export of military and dual-use goods and services. In connection with Western sanctions, 1,300 companies left Russia alone from Germany. According to German experts, the sanctions pose a potential threat to economic growth throughout Europe and bring losses to all countries. According to the Vienna Institute for Economic Research, "in 2014-2016, Germany lost 14 billion euros, Italy 3.7 billion, and Poland 3 billion euros. Russia's losses amounted to 1% of the annual GDP or 100 billion euros" [7, p.63].

The first series of US and EU sanctions against Russia, affecting mainly the banking sector, the activities of a number of state-owned energy companies and individuals, was followed by a new series covering the transport sector, technology and trade restrictions and tougher sanctions on banking. Thus, asserting its dominance, the United States took the path of unfair competition. They seek to oust Russia from interaction with the European Union (a striking example is the long-term collisions around the Nord Stream 2). This is what economic sanctions against Russia serve. To eliminate its successful natural gas export competitor, the United States is demanding that the European Union stop imports of Russian natural gas.

According to experts, the United States is trying to discredit our country. This is due to attempts to present Russia as an unscrupulous and unreliable economic partner, targeted work with foreign investors, a corruption scandal in FIFA and an anti-doping scandal in WADA.

**Russia through the eyes of foreign experts.** In the context of the crisis in relations between the Russian Federation and the countries of the European Union and the United States, an intensification of the implementation of Russia's eastern foreign policy and foreign economic strategy has begun, thereby due to the APR. So, in our opinion, the APR is the most rapidly developing and densely populated region of the modern world, which occupies a special place in the system of international relations due to the scale, influence, and rates of economic and technological development [21, p.149].

In the monograph "Prospects for energy cooperation between Russia and the APR (in expert assessments)" (2010), data for five years of surveys from 2005 to 2010 were introduced into scientific circulation, then in the monograph "Russia - APR: horizons of energy cooperation" (2013) - data for 2012, in the book "Socio-political communities of the planet and leadership in the modern world (energy aspect) (2014) - up to 2014 with a comparison of the opinions of not only Russian, but also European, Asian and American experts.

The monograph "Comprehensive characteristics of the situation in the APR" (based on the results of international expert surveys in 2005-2014) (2016) - presents the results of our research in 2016 and in the final monograph "APR through the eyes of experts (international expertise 2005-2019)" (2019), summed up the results of international expert surveys over fifteen years in sixteen countries of the Asia-Pacific region.

Turning to the analysis of the situation in the APR and the place of Russia in this region, it should be noted that the following organizations are actively working here: The Association of Southeast Asian Nations - ASEAN (the most active and effective, according to experts, organization in the Asia-Pacific region), ASEAN + 3, ASEAN + 6, the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC) and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), which along with ASEAN, according to experts, are among the top three organizations in the region, the East Asian Union (EAS), Asia Pacific Security Forum (ARF), Pacific Islands Federation, South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Organization of Islamic Conference. The Russian Federation is a member of the SCO and actively cooperates with APEC and ASEAN, taking part in the forums of these organizations.

In the course of our surveys, experts in the form of ranking determined the leading countries and the positive changes that took place in the APR. Experts pointed out, "as the main positive, that the strategic balance of forces in Northeast Asia and the APR has changed compared to the period of tough confrontation between the United States and the USSR. The most important triangle in the region used to be the USA - the PRC - the USSR, now it is: the USA - the RF - the PRC, and Russia is now playing the role that the PRC played in the previous period. According to experts, China has become a leader in the Asia-Pacific region since 2006, and the Russian Federation has moved from hostile relations with it to a strategic partnership" and supported the Chinese initiative to develop the "One Belt - One Road" project [22, p.15, 32].

However, close cooperation with China is fraught with certain risks for Russia. Experts emphasize that by tying itself with giant pipelines (ESPO - oil and Power of Siberia - gas) to China, the Russian Federation becomes dependent on the development of the economy of importer No. 1, which toughly and pragmatically defends its interests. This was the case in the electric power industry, when the Russian Federation built and launched a power line from the Amurskaya substation to the border with China, then the PRC reduced the payment for electricity by 50%. A similar situation occurred after the launch of a branch from ESPO to Daqing. Currently, due to the coronavirus epidemic, Russian exports to China have decreased by 7% (oil exports decreased by 36%, and oil products - by 20%). In all these cases, we incur significant losses, since we failed to “hedge” risks, experts emphasize.

Despite the growing activity of Russia in the Far East and in the APR, most experts note that the position of the Russian Federation in the intercountry hierarchy of the region has decreased from the fourth place, which it occupied from 2005 to 2014, to the fourth or fifth - in 2015-2016 and up to the fifth - in 2017-2019.

During the entire survey period (2005-2019), most experts emphasized that “... Russia has lost in the region the positions that the USSR held (36% - 2005 and 70% - 2016-2019); determined her place as a balancer between China and the United States (38% - 2005 and 5% - 2016); and yet, Russia was considered a “great power” or a country playing a small role in the APR by 1%, respectively” [1, p.34].

Experts point out that there are three "great powers" in the APR: the United States, China and Russia. However, their positions in the region are not comparable. The United States has tremendous influence in the Asia-Pacific region; many countries in the region regard them as an “umbrella of security” as opposed to China. The attitude towards China is ambivalent: on the one hand, it is making investments, on the other, it is huge, and small countries are afraid of its economic expansion and military might. The interaction of the Asia-Pacific countries with Russia is not great. Apart from China, none of the NEA and Southeast Asian countries is included in the top ten Russian trading partners. And although there is a small amount of hydrocarbon exports from Russia to Southeast Asia, these countries have their own sufficient oil and gas resources.

Of course, experts say, the plus is that Russia does not cause, fear associated with a possible military threat, the huge internal market of the Russian Federation is attractive for the APR countries. Throughout the entire survey period, Chinese experts speak of close and fruitful cooperation with Russia. They point out that this is mutually beneficial cooperation, and insist that in NEA the energy partnership of the Russian Federation should be, first of all, with China, differentiating it in the following directions: the supply of oil, gas and electrical equipment is a won position of Russia, and micro-energy and the commercialization of innovations and technology is the won position of the PRC.

Since our study was not abstract, but specific, based on the answers of the interviewed experts, the authors made appropriate recommendations about the need to “improve the image” of the Russian Federation in the international arena, expand the knowledge of the APR states about our country so that its actions are understandable and the Russian energy policy was not perceived as a tough energy expansion, forcing them to take certain actions under the pressure of the “energy switch”. Russia's foreign policy should be pragmatic, aimed at pursuing its own interests, using its advantages, such as Russian mineral and energy resources, economic potential and a huge market, which are a positive factor for the development of the region” [1, p.36]. These recommendations, together with empirical data, were promptly transmitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Energy of Russia, the Ministry of Economic Development, the Ministry of Industry and Trade and the Administration of the President of the Russian Federation.

**Discussion. The mobility and variability of the world order.** So, the modern world order includes the presence of global governance institutions - the largest international intergovernmental organizations (UN, WTO, IMF, IBRD, G-8, G-20 and others), the most important functions of which are to determine the norms and rules of interstate interaction, joint leadership of collective efforts in solving global problems [8, p.18-19].

There has been an evolution from the Westphalian system, based on the principle of national sovereignty and based on the state-centrist model of the world, to a polycentric model, in which some states voluntarily agree to limit their sovereignty.

However, a number of researchers point out that “it cannot be unequivocally asserted that the nation-state is leaving the international arena and its erosion occurs, since for states - new centers of power - the special role of the central government is one of the prerequisites for their advancement to the forefront. In their case, as noted by Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences VM Davydov, on the

contrary, there is a strengthening of the functions of the state, its consolidation (in China, India, Brazil). The new structuring of the world gives rise to new management mechanisms" [17, p.56].

The evolution of the positions and statuses of the largest countries of our time has always been in the center of attention of Russian and foreign researchers, who discussed in different periods about the bipolarity, multi-or unipolarity of the modern world.

For example, R. Cohen admitted that "the United States as the hegemon of the modern world could contribute to the development of international cooperation" [10]. And also, a number of well-known world scientists, namely: Weiss L., Kar E. G., Krugman P., Thomson J., Hirst P., and others "pointed to the degradation of the system of management of international relations, and, conversely, to inadequacy of the actions of the United States as a subject of global power with a claim to the leadership of world affairs" [16].

It should be noted that there is no longer the former unanimity between the United States and the EU countries. The American "unipolar" vision of the world is less and less consistent with the changing configuration of world forces, although a number of Russian scientists insist on the unipolarity of the modern world order.

Thus, the authors of the report "Russian-Chinese Dialogue 2016" pointed out that the United States is still the only superpower [20, p.6], also professor of Moscow State University V.B. Kuvaldin claims that to this day, we live in a unipolar global world: the leading role is played by one country - the United States [12, p.64-65].

As we noted in our previously published monograph "Asia-Pacific through the Eyes of Experts" (international expertise 2005-2019), estimates of Russia's leadership in the Asia-Pacific region also decreased among Russian experts from 50% in 2007 to 9-8% in 2013-2019 biennium and for the Chinese: from 96% in 2007 and up to 35% in 2017-2019. American experts excluding 2007, 2009 and 2010 they did not at all assess the Russian Federation as a leader in the APR [1, p.41].

Thus, a number of domestic and foreign researchers (for example, Lebedeva, Kuznetsov 2019, Voskresensky, Koldunova, Kireeva 2017, Aggarwal 2004 and others), consider the phenomenon of transregionalism as the next stage of globalization, manifested in the creation of a number of projects, in particular, the Transatlantic trade and investment partnership (TTIP), the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), launched in 2009 as a multilateral free trade and investment area, with the declared participation of the USA, Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Canada, Chile, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, Vietnam and Thailand.

However, in 2017, the United States withdrew from this project as not in line with the interests of the United States. The administration of the President of the United States - Donald Trump has taken the path of sovereignty quite firmly, which is confirmed not only by the statements of the President of the United States to revise the North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), but also by the construction of a wall between Mexico and the United States to prevent illegal migration. As we can see, in this case, when faced with the dilemma of globalism-sovereignty, sovereignty in the actions of the country - the global leader (USA) outweighed.

The implementation of another project "One Belt - One Road", actively promoted by China in the EAEU space with access to partnership with the European Union, has successfully started and immediately began to give a high economic effect. But it was dramatically slowed down by the 2019-nCoV (NCP) / COVID-19 / coronavirus epidemic, which began in October 2019, which spread to China and a number of European and Asian countries, and then Russia.

In our opinion, it is not yet necessary to talk about the universality and global nature of these projects, since the road to the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) was closed for China, and the US participation in the Belt and Road project was not a priori and is not expected. In the concept of the Indian-Pacific region, instead of the Asia-Pacific region proposed by the United States, Japan, Australia and India, there was no place for two Pacific powers on a global scale: China and Russia (as "non-democratic states"), and the ASEAN countries invited to it are unlikely whether, instead of the more familiar free conditions of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, we are ready to move to tougher military-political obligations of the Indo-Pacific.

Another transregional structure, such as the BRIC, formed in 2006 at the initiative of Russia and transformed in 2011 into the BRICS, includes Brazil, the Russian Federation, India, China and the Republic of South Africa. Together, these countries have colossal potential: 45% of the population and 30% of the entire territory of the Earth, they account for 21% of world GDP and 20% of international trade, but in general, BRICS remains an insufficiently structured and institutionalized organization, little implemented in specific political and economic activities.

So far, we can talk about making a decision on the use of national currencies in mutual trade transactions and settlements (such agreements were signed by Russia with China and Brazil in 2011), about the organization of important financial institutions: the New Development Bank (NDB) BRICS, an agreement the establishment of which and the Contingent Reserve Arrangement were signed at the 6th annual BRICS summit in Fortaleza in Brazil on July 14-16, 2014 and are intended to stimulate trade and economic cooperation between the BRICS countries. A number of promising projects on rare earth metals and food security have also been launched.

**Conclusion.** So, speaking about the state of global interaction, it should be mentioned that the model that was supposed to regulate relations between countries through the United Nations and economic and financial relations through the IMF, IBRD, WTO, through regional organizations such as the European Union, is failing and is not working properly at the moment.

According to experts, "... the instability of world development processes is increasing, which are aggravated by the financial and economic crises, the policy of the NATO powers aimed at using military force bypassing the UN Security Council" [13, p.20].

Although "... there is no longer unanimity among NATO countries as to whether NATO is a regional organization for collective defense or a global organization for expeditionary operations?" [26, c.64-65] At the same time, experts emphasize that in the modern world "economic, not military potential determines the political status of a state" [18, p.82].

I would like to conclude with an accurate description of the current situation, foresightfully made by Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences A.A. Gromyko, - "In the modern world, international relations are becoming more complicated, they carry not only new opportunities, but also risks - civilizational, social, economic, financial and, what is especially alarming, military, and messianic sentiments and imperial ambitions used by the elites of strong states destroy confidence in future. In a state of high turbulence, the world community runs the risk of being drawn into the abyss of social chaos" [5, p.11-14].

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### **ГЕОСАЯСИ ЖАҒДАЙДЫҢ ӨЗГЕРУІ ЖӘНЕ ЖАҒАНДАНУ ЖАҒДАЙЫНДАҒЫ РЕСЕЙДІҢ СЫРТҚЫ САЯСАТЫНЫҢ ЖАҢА ТЕНДЕНЦИЯЛАРЫ**

**Аннотация.** Мақалада жаһандану процесі және Ресей Федерациясының осы процесітегі рөлі талданады. Жаһанданудың қазіргі кезеңі қарастырудың өзектілігі жаһандық өндіріс ауқымының жұмыс істеуі жағдайында қоғам дамуының экономикалық аспектісімен мемлекетаралық қатынастар мен жаһандық басқару тетіктерін жетілдіруді талап ететін әлемнің өзара байланысы мен өзара тәуелділігінің күшеюіне байланысты. Тарихнамада Вестфалия жүйесінен (әлемнің мемлекеттік-центристік моделі) Вена конгресіне дейінгі халықаралық қатынастардың реттелуі және ұжымдық қауіпсіздік пен халықаралық қатынастарды реттеу жүйесін құруға талпыныс берілген: Ұлттар Лигасы мен Біріккен Ұлттар Ұйымы. Әлемдік басқару институттарының құрылуы көрсетілген: ең ірі халықаралық үкіметаралық ұйымдар (БҰҰ, ДСҰ, ХВҚ, ХҚДБ, G-8, G-20 және т.б.), олардың ең маңызды функциясы мемлекетаралық өзара іс-қимылдың нормалары мен ережелерін анықтау болып табылады. Мақала авторларының негізгі идеясы - дамудың көпорталықты моделіне көшудің тарихи шарттылығын көрсету, өйткені ол қоғамның жаһандық ауқымда қажеттіліктеріне толық сәйкес келеді.

Бұл жұмыстың негізгі мақсаты APR он алты елінің (VIP және шешім қабылдаушылар) сарапшыларының халықаралық сауалнамалары барысында алынған эмпирикалық материалдармен, қазіргі даму кезеңіндегі Ресейдің халықаралық аренадағы рөлінің сипаттамаларын негіздеу және растау болды.

Осылайша, жаһандық дамудың қазіргі тенденцияларының арасында авторлар глобализм - егемендік және глобализмнің қосымшасы - трансрегионализм, атап айтқанда, АҚШ, Жапония, Австралия және Үндістан ұсынған Азия-Тынық мұхиты аймағының орнына Үнді-Тынық мұхиты аймағының (Үнді-Тынық мұхиты) тұжырымдамасын және тұжырымдаманы ерекше атап көрсетеді.

БРИКС сияқты басқа бір аймақаралық құрылым, бұл қысқартуды атаған елдердің нақты саяси және экономикалық қызметінде жеткіліксіз құрылымдалған, институционализацияланған және нашар іске асырылған.

**Түйін сөздер:** жаһандану, жаһандық басқару және оның тетіктері, жылдық, Вестфалия жүйесі, Бреттон-Вуд жүйесі, БҰҰ (Біріккен Ұлттар Ұйымы - БҰҰ штаб-пәтері Нью-Йорк), ДСҰ (Дүниежүзілік сауда ұйымы), ХВҚ (Халықаралық валюта қоры), ХҚДБ (Халықаралық қайта құру және даму банкі - БҰҰ-ның мамандандырылған мекемесі), БРИКС (құрамы: бес елдің тобы: Бразилия, Ресей, Индия, Қытай, Оңтүстік Африка), Транс-Тынық мұхиты серіктестігі, «Бір белдеу - бір жол» Үнді-Тынық мұхиты, Еуропа Кеңесі, Еуропа Кеңесінің Парламенттік Ассамблеясы - ЕКПА, FIFA, WADA.

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## ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКОГО ПОЛОЖЕНИЯ И НОВЫЕ ТРЕНДЫ ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ РОССИИ В УСЛОВИЯХ ГЛОБАЛИЗАЦИИ

**Аннотация.** В статье анализируется процесс глобализации и роль Российской Федерации в этом процессе. Актуальность рассмотрения современного этапа глобализации обусловлена усилением взаимосвязанности и взаимозависимости мира, требующим совершенствования межгосударственных отношений и механизмов глобального управления с приматом экономического аспекта развития общества в условиях функционирования глобального масштаба производства. В историографии представлено регулирование международных отношений от Вестфальской системы (государственно-центристская модель мира) к Венскому конгрессу и попытке создания системы коллективной безопасности и регулирования международных отношений: к Лиге Наций и Организации Объединенных Наций. Показывается формирование институтов глобального управления: крупнейших международных межправительственных организаций (ООН, ВТО, МВФ, МБРР, G-8, G-20 и др.), важнейшей функцией которых является определение норм и правил межгосударственного взаимодействия. Главная идея авторов статьи заключается в показе исторической обусловленности перехода к полицентричной модели развития, как наиболее полно отвечающей потребностям общества в глобальном масштабе.

Основной целью данной работы было обоснование и подтверждение эмпирическим материалом, полученным в ходе международных опросов экспертов из шестнадцати стран АТР (VIP-персон и лиц, принимающих решение), характеристики роли России на международной арене на современном этапе развития.

Так, среди современных тенденций глобального развития авторами выделяется дилемма глобализм – суверенизм и соотношение глобализм – трансрегионализм, в частности, концепция Индийско-Тихоокеанского региона (Индо-Пацифика) вместо Азиатско-Тихоокеанского региона, выдвинутая США, Японией, Австралией и Индией и концепция «Один пояс – один путь», инициированная Китаем.

Другая же трансрегиональная структура, такая как БРИКС, пока остается в значительной мере недостаточно структурированной, институционализированной и мало реализованной в конкретной политической и экономической деятельности стран, давших название этой аббревиатуре.

**Ключевые слова:** глобализация, глобальное управление и его механизмы, АТР, Вестфальская система, Бреттон-Вудская система, ООН (Организация объединенных наций - Штаб-квартира ООН г. Нью-Йорк), ВТО (Всемирная торговая организация), МВФ (Международный валютный фонд), МБРР (Международный банк реконструкции и развития — специализированное учреждение ООН), БРИКС (состав: группа из пяти стран: Бразилии, России, Индии, КНР, ЮАР), Транстихоокеанское партнерство, «Один пояс – один путь», Индо-Пацифика, Совет Европы, Парламентская ассамблея Совета Европы – ПАСЕ, FIFA, WADA.

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