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FROM THE EDITOR

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This issue of the journal was not planned in advance — 2020 has changed many plans. This journal is an attempt to answer the question — what kind of world are we in and how do we live in it? In a world where all countries and peoples are facing the same challenges: the COVID-19 pandemic, the extreme burden on the health system, the decline in economic growth, the increase in the number of unemployed people, the closure of universities and schools, the transition of the education system to a digital format, the growth of digital services and platforms, etc. To discuss these issues, many expert centers have held scientific discussions this year. And our magazine became one of the organizers of the international online conference “NEW DIGITAL REALITY: science and education, law, security, economics and finance” (July 6–11, 2020). The conference was attended by representatives of scientific and educational centers of 16 countries. Articles of some conference participants are presented in this issue of the journal. We thank all participants and co-organizers of the conference, especially the scientific journal “Global Processes” for their assistance in building bridges between peoples, countries and continents.

This issue also includes articles and expert reports that were prepared based on the results of the following international online conferences: “COVID-19: Global Impact” (15–19 June 2020, main organizers by ADMIS Consultancy Ltd and Center of Socio-Cultural Initiatives), “Educational Quality and its need today” (12 July 2020, organizers by Logos University and Unilogos Educational Group), “Education, Society, and Global Challenges” (29–31 August 2020, organized by Lalit Narayan Mithila University).

We hope that scientific discussions in online format will allow the world to get out of the crisis faster. Moreover,

we believe that scientists today are not only discoverers and producers of new knowledge, but also excellent diplomats, since international relations of scientists allow not only to develop science, but also contribute to international cooperation in political, cultural and economic projects, as well as in the field of environmental protection. Scientific diplomacy is what is needed to solve the problems that humanity has accumulated by the twenty first century.

Digital and scientific diplomacy should help to maintain a constructive mood and prevent the spread of all sorts of rumors and panic. International scientific conferences in online mode are one of the forms of such diplomacy.

The future of humanity is connected with the achievements of science — with new technologies. We hope that artificial intelligence, supercomputers, robotics, synthetic biology and other advances in science and technology will allow us to solve the problems of individual countries and humanity as a whole more quickly and with the least loss to humans. For example, futurist Kirill Ignatiev believes that in the future a person will receive an individual vaccine tested on his digital counterpart. And therefore the victory with such threats as COVID-19 will be very fast, it will not require isolation, closing of economies and borders¹.

But even now, the scientific potential of humanity shows that COVID-19 will be defeated. For example, two coronavirus vaccines are currently being registered in Russia. The world's first COVID-19 vaccine, Sputnik V, was created at the National Research Center for Epidemiology and Microbiology named after Honorary Academician N.F. Gamaleya (Moscow). The second has been developed in the State

¹ Futurologist named the main threats and changes in the world in the XXI century — URL: https://www.rbc.ru/society/19/10/2020/5f8d97c49a7947a35de68e1d?from=from_main_12

Research Center of Virology and Biotechnology VECTOR (Novosibirsk) and is called the EpiVakCorona. The third vaccine is on the way, which is being developed by specialists of the Chumakov Federal Scientific Center for Research and Development of Immune-and-Biological Products of Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow). Of course, research centers in other countries are also developing medicines and vaccines, e.g.: the pharmaceutical company Pfizer and the biotechnology company Moderna, both located in the United States, are already completing clinical trials of the vaccine. The Chinese Academy of military medical Sciences and the Chinese biotechnology company CanSino Biologics have developed a vaccine. The British-Swedish pharmaceutical company AstraZeneca may resume testing a coronavirus vaccine in October-November 2020. Of course, these are not all scientific and pharmaceutical companies that develop vaccines. From our part, we wish all researchers to create an effective vaccine for the health of all the Earth inhabitants.

But science needs further development, especially in terms of reducing the time to decode the genome and develop vaccines. This is extremely difficult for scientists to achieve only within one state. This is why we believe that cooperation between scientists and scientific diplomacy is the basis for healthy, peaceful and sustainable development of individual countries and the entire world.

Our journal will continue to support scientific diplomacy — we will hold conferences and publish research by authors from various countries in Russian, English and other languages. Cultural diversity is an achievement of human development, and we will do our best to support the dialogue of scientists and political scientists who represent different countries and cultures. Only through dialogue and cooperation can modern crises and conflicts be overcome.

This journal publishes articles by authors who represent scientific and educational centers, as well as public orga-

nizations in Austria, Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, UK, India, Kazakhstan, Russia, Serbia, the United States and Switzerland.

The authors in their articles touched upon many topical and controversial issues. Scientific diplomacy and digital diplomacy are now subject to careful analysis. The authors, professors Zoran Vitorovic and Veronika Wittmann, as well as associate Professor Natalia M. Morozova, write about these aspects (scientific and digital) of diplomacy in their articles.

For those interested in the development of digital education and the future of education, a joint article by professors Zoran Vitorovic and Hatidza Berisa will be interesting. On the topic of education, the journal also published an article by Professor Arbind Kumar Jha, who described the most important initiatives of India in the field of digital transformation of higher education. The experience of India is very useful, as many countries have stepped up the process of digitalization of higher education in 2020. For example, in Russia, the Ministry of science and higher education has launched a program to support the digitalization of universities¹.

Digitalization is not only a technological issue, but also a philosophical and value issue. Therefore, the article by associate Professor Rafail Nasyrov is an attempt to answer the question — how much does a person remain a person in the digital era? Does digitalization really increase humanism in modern society or not? And this is not only a question, but also a certain requirement for the digitalization of society. During digital transformation, it is necessary not to lose a person. Perhaps we will say trite words, but digitalization should be for a person, not a person for digitalization. And this demand should be heard by digital corporations and government agencies.

The digitalization process also raises another problem that is increasingly being

¹ The Ministry of education and science of Russia will launch a program to support the digitalization of universities. — URL: https://minobrnauki.gov.ru/ru/press-center/card/?id_4=3206

called the digital divide — this is manifested in the fact that not all residents have access to digital services, not all have personal computers or smart phones, and not all have a stable and high-speed Internet. According to a study of DIGITAL USE AROUND THE WORLD IN JULY 2020¹, nearly 70 percent of the total population in Northern America uses social media today, compared to just 7 percent in Middle Africa. And this difference in numbers indicates different rates of digitalization at the global level. We can also observe the digital divide within a single state if, for example, we compare digitalization in cities and villages. It is about the digital divide that Professor Jagdish Khatri writes in his article.

Another question that users of the digital world ask is how can a person in the digital space not lose their rights and freedoms? This is the question that the young author Yulia Pechatnova answers in her research. We ask readers to pay attention to the thesis that Julia notes in her article — *the increase in productivity and availability of computing power of artificial intelligence, as well as a huge array of personal information available on the Internet, make it technically possible to deanonymize even carefully depersonalized data*.

Of course, the digital world is not only a digital Paradise, but also a huge risk of total control. And how to overcome this problem can only be solved together by political scientists, lawyers and IT specialists. We believe that the solution to this problem requires international, interdisciplinary scientific collaborate.

2020 is not only a year of fighting the pandemic and increasing digitalization, but also a significant downturn in the economy. The IMF estimates global growth is projected at -4.4 percent in 2020². Read the

article by Professor Tatul N. Manaseryan about how this decline will affect political and social processes. Read the article by associate Professor Ulagan B. Yusupov about digitalization of financial relations.

The journal also contains articles about political processes in certain countries and regions. Tatiana Vorotnikova, academic secretary Institute for Latin America of Russian Academy of Sciences in her article analyzes the political process in Ecuador. Researcher at the University of Delhi (India) Shivani Rai, a true patriot of his country, describes the features of the conflict that arose between India and China in 2020. Recall that this year there was the largest clash in half a century between the military of India and China — on June 15 in the Himalayas, in the Ladakh valley. Border guards of the two countries beat each other with stones and sticks. There were some casualties. India and China are countries with nuclear weapons and this conflict must be resolved only by peaceful means. Comment to the article published by a researcher from Russia Larisa Smirnova. To help establish a dialogue between researchers and political scientists in India and China, we are ready to give Chinese and India authors a place in the journal to present their position on the conflict and find ways out of the conflict. For our part, we note that no disputed territories can be an excuse for violence and murder. And the same approach should be taken when resolving the military conflict that has re-emerged between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

In the journal, we try to publish not only reputable political scientists, but also young authors who are beginning their research path.

Novice political scientist Maxim Lashin in his article examines US policy in the field of space development. Space is an area where there is cooperation between different countries. The article focuses on the leading role of the United States in space. But it is also noted that the United States cooperates in this area with Russia, the EU, Japan and India. With-

¹ DIGITAL USE AROUND THE WORLD IN JULY 2020 — URL: <https://wearesocial.com/blog/2020/07/digital-use-around-the-world-in-july-2020>

² World Economic Outlook, October 2020: A Long and Difficult Ascent. October 2020 — URL: <https://www.imf.org/~media/Files/Publications/WEO/2020/October/English/text.ashx?la=en>

out belittling the role of all countries in space exploration, for our part, we note that the USSR (and now Russia) made a huge contribution to space exploration — this is the launch of the first Earth satellite¹, sending the first animals (dogs) into space and landing on Earth², as well as the launch of the first man into space³. Space is an area where humanity and scientists work and can work together. The international space station is an example of successful global scientific cooperation.

Another study by a young author, Oleg Kononenko from Moscow University, addresses the problem of modern democracy. The political scientist argues that elections cannot be the only institution that makes the government representative and accountable, so additional funds are needed. And we agree with the author's conclusion that political science should look for forms and methods that would help today's democracies, in addi-

tion to elections, to form legislative and executive bodies that are accountable to society. Clearly, elections alone are not enough. And this is a task for modern political science.

COVID-19 is a global problem, but terrorism is no less a problem. Moreover, current problems and crises can provoke a new wave of illegal emigration and increase the risk of terrorism. Anna N. Kamenskikh, a young political scientist from Saint Petersburg University, examines the problem of terrorism in the context of illegal migration in her article.

It can be stated that in all articles and expert discussions, the following is a red line: the world after the events of 2020 will not be the same, and in the new world, it is necessary to consolidate world communication to solve both global and local crises and conflicts.

Confrontation at the global level only exacerbates crises and does not create a safer and more prosperous world.

With respect,

Andrey Gorokhov,

Editor-in-chief

«Русская политология —

Russian Political Science»

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¹ The first artificial Earth satellite was a Soviet spacecraft launched into orbit on October 4, 1957.

² On August 19–20, 1960, the first animals to go into space made an orbital flight and returned to Earth were dogs named Belka and Strelka. One of the Strelka's pups, named Pushok, was sent to the wife of American President John F. Kennedy, Jacqueline.

³ On April 12, 1961, Yuri Gagarin became the first person in world history to fly into outer space.

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COVID-19: GLOBAL IMPACT INTERNATIONAL SUMMIT AND EXPERT DISCUSSION OUTCOMES REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Abstract

The Global Virtual Summit & Expert Discussion was organised on “COVID-19: Global Impact” 15–19 June’ 2020 on the lapse of 100 days period since the first case of COVID-19 was discovered in the world. Several prominent agencies jointly organised the Summit from different regions that are engaged in social-economic-political research. A large number of experts addressed the Summit, policy-makers and researchers from various sectors of economy, politics, diplomacy, science, social institutions, civil society, education and healthcare discussing New Norm and ways forward.

Key words: COVID-19, strategy, global, economy, politics, policy, diplomacy.

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1. Introduction

The world is passing through a crisis of unprecedented magnitude at Global level in the form of COVID-19 pandemic which has transformed the way we think, behave, work and live. The

dictionary meaning of the term ‘Crisis’ is given as ‘a time of intense difficulty’. Crisis, as a medical term, is defined as “a turning point.” In Greek, the crisis is “a decision.” Putting these together, we have

the definition of a crisis: "A time of intense difficulty requiring a decision that will be a turning point."

It is said that every crisis has an inherent potential for honest introspection and an opportunity for transformation through the lessons learnt. As a consequence, The Global Virtual Summit & Expert Discussion was organised on "COVID-19: Global Impact" 15–19 June' 2020 on the lapse of 100 days period since the first case of COVID-19 was discovered in the world. Several prominent agencies jointly organised the Summit from different regions that are engaged in social-economic-political research; namely BRICS International Forum (BRICS-IF), Federal Association for Economic Development and Foreign Trade (BWA), International Business Acceleration Center (IBAC), ADMIS Consultancy, Center for Social and Cultural Initiatives, Association for Free Research and International Cooperation (AFRIC).

The Summit was organised with the following main objectives and outcomes in mind:

- To share the ground level situation & experiences of the pandemic in different regions
- To identify the socio-economic and political impact of COVID-19
- To discuss lessons learnt during the first 100 days of the pandemic
- To share strategies adopted and their respective effectiveness in Crisis Management
- To chalk out areas of cooperation between countries and non-Governmental organisations
- To bring out recommendations for future actions

A large number of experts addressed the Summit, policy-makers and researchers from various sectors of economy, politics, diplomacy, science, social institutions, civil society, education and healthcare.

The Summit was divided into five specific sessions:

1. Economic Impact, Path to Recovery and Evolving Perspective

2. COVID-19 Regulatory Response and Compliance Impact

3. The Political Implications of COVID-19: Changing the International Relationship Landscape

4. Change Management, Business Adaptability and Emotional Resilience

5. Recommendations

2. Economic Impact & Political Implications; Changing International Relations Landscape

The Summit kicked off by setting the scenario covering what the world and its economies were experiencing and suffering due to the global pandemic. The expert panel suggested and discussed the present status and what is to come — the aftermath — as well as how the Global economies can plot a path to recovery and a robust *New Norm*. Sectors under review included: energy, education, health, tourism, trade.

The session began with a report on Global energy scenario describing the impact due to geo-political and ethical aspects of the pandemic, wherein the trade-off between clean energy and the resulting costs has to be carefully worked out. Experts also highlighted the impact on national sovereignty due to deep economic recession and unfair Global financial system. It was stressed that countries could cement their sovereignty by developing economic resilience and humble solidarity among nations. The stellar role played by nurses, midwives and healthcare workers in managing the pandemic was highlighted and needed for their recognition and safety was stressed.

Specific discussions were held on COVID-19 situation and its impact on economies of countries like Brazil, India and South Africa. There have been negative consequences of the steps like lockdowns and sealing of international borders taken by various countries to safeguard their population from COVID-19 virus. It resulted into closure of a large number of businesses, shops and industries, rendering millions of workers jobless. The worst affected sectors were hospitality & tour-

ism, aviation, construction, automobile, manufacturing, real estate, transportation and small shops. The flight of jobless migrant workers back to their homelands also caused a severe economic crisis. The spirit of cooperation and collaboration between countries and trade groups also got weakened with the emphasis being shifted to protectionism and isolation. The pandemic has also resulted in changing the geo-political equations and international relationships.

One interesting discussion was on the role of science diplomacy and digitalisation of society in coping with the new digital reality. It was emphasised that developing countries must speed up the digitalisation process to catch up with the fast changes taking place in developed countries to strengthen their economies. Each country needs to protect its citizens in the current pandemic and against future outbreaks. This has caused a mix of specific policy and universal actions, some of which have the potential to strain relations with pre-COVID-19 trade partners, desired trade partners, and geographical neighbours. Balancing a nation's needs and security with international relations will require careful management.

COVID-19 pandemic has changed the geo-political equations to a large extent. Inability to handle the crisis efficiently has diminished the power of several Global leaders. There would be a lesser dependency on the Superpowers, and regional cooperation would be further stressed. Besides, the developing countries would opt for becoming more self-reliant to avoid disruption of supply chains. The impact of poor governance, widespread corruption and lack of transparent decision making also were highlighted by experts citing examples that resulted in worsening of Pandemic situation in several parts of the world. Experts also mentioned about the prevailing condition of authoritarianism and exclusionary policies being practised in spite of vast inequality in societies.

3. Regulatory Response

The panel of experts spoke about the response of the governments and relevant regulatory organisations in tracking, controlling, and managing the outbreak of COVID-19. The discussions covered topics like what official actions and policies have been implemented, what lessons have been learned, and what can be improved for moving forward in the battle against the deadly infection.

The session had exciting discussions on the constructive role civil society can play in drafting the Post-COVID-19 reality. The COVID-19 pandemic has given a 'wake-up' call to the humans, not to take nature for granted. It was highlighted that the virus has affected without any discrimination between rich & developing countries, or between genders, religion or region. This should also be taken as a lesson by the whole humanity that we must stand united against all such emergencies like epidemics or climate change or terrorism that affect each and every country.

The impact of the pandemic on social psychology and systems was discussed in detail. There is widespread Fear Psychosis, with the destruction of social capital and bonding between people due to prolonged lockdowns and strategy of Social Distancing that has actually resulted in Emotional Distancing and weakened the strong social fabric. Experts stressed the preservation of social cohesion while making regulatory decisions. The loss of livelihoods has caused severe depression in a young population with no social support system in place. There was a strong need for evolving a Universal Social Protection System.

There was an interesting presentation on using 'Science for Diplomacy' and 'Diplomacy for Science' to help discover new ways to counter the menace of such epidemics. It laid more emphasis on the concepts of interdependence and Global empathy to avoid polarisation in all aspects. There has to be an open space for debates and new ideas.

4. Change Management and Adaptability

Ability to adjust to change and change resilience were key topics highlighted by experts from the fields of business and management consultancy. The ability for the prompt response to evolving situational environment was reflected to be a critical factor in business and large organisations positive response to COVID-19 impact.

Experts informed that one hundred days of pandemic highlighted a tremendous gap in business and Governmental bodies' ability to deal with significant change, such as COVID-19 promptly. Experts further analysed that this gap occurs due to several interconnected aspects: a-lack of change management and resilience to change skills, b- statics and hierarchical decision-making model within organisations and Governmental institutions and c- interconnected dependency between societal structure levels.

The classification and grouping of these critical aspects and recommendations were made by analysing and reflecting on societal structure levels: individual, managerial, small and medium businesses, large Global organisations, in-country Governments and bigger geo-political blocks. Qualitative research study and experts reflection prompted an apparent regression of the organisation's resilience to change based on an increase of the complexity within the organisational structure, size and hierarchical decision-making model. The larger the organisation and the less agile decision-making model is, the lower its ability to promptly respond to significant change.

Analysing the individual level of adaptability, experts highlight a very high response rate to adapt witnessed during one hundred days of the pandemic. The significant change, due to COVID-19 sanctions, quarantine and travel band, were incorporated into everyday life was quite prompt and immediate. The "significant change" is qualified to be any change that

is impacting all or almost all aspect of the organisational or individual operating model. And even though the change was tremendous, people managed to adapt to it very quickly by adjusting their behaviours, habits and routines such as the ways they work, socialise, shop, engage with family, doctors or their employees. Digitalisation and technology played a significant role in the success of such adaptability. However, an equal amount of behavioural changes was discussed in less digitally literate countries.

The first few weeks of Global Pandemic brought extreme uncertainty and based on the research in the field of social psychology uncertainty, and lack of clear instructions from the ruling body is precisely the primary variable leading individuals towards heightened levels of stress. Therefore, group behaviour patterns of togetherness and collective tribal response are expected following behaviours were trusted in governing body to rule is lost. Communities all over the world are coming together to help each other and those in need, creating an intrinsic ruling body and taking over functions that were once delegated to governing structures. Experts are witnessing an increase in social support and volunteering activities not only from individual and community level but from large corporate organisations going above and beyond social corporate responsibilities strategy. This behaviour can be explained by the psychological theory of common good and moral growth not only within an individual level, but social and corporate were one of the positive examples of COVID-19 lessons learn of social accountability discussed by experts.

Climbing up the societal structure levels analysing small and medium business experts acknowledge the fact that additional complexity in the operational model (family of individuals vs small business with several suppliers, personnel and legal dependencies) reduces the ability react to change promptly. COVID-19 to this category was tremendous; many companies

had to take extra financial support, let go of their employees or terminate the business entirely. The discussion with those businesses that were able to survive and even increase their profits during the one hundred days of pandemic showed the critical element of resilience to change: market awareness and agile operating model that allows quick adaptability to any market deviations.

During the recommendation discussion expert opinion in terms of the large and Global organisations, next societal structure level, confirmed the initial analysis that the more complex operating structure is the less resilience the organisation is or can be. One hundred days of Global Pandemic proved to be a perfect stress test to review organisations' target operating model, human capital management methodologies, and business strategy validity. And even though some organisations were able to adjust successfully, the change was stressful, complicated, financially damaging and with little or none contingency.

The societal structure of in-country Governments had very low resilience to change in terms of regulatory and policy adjustments as well as a consistent and aligned crisis management approach. Further analysing the internal changes required, specific sectors have been highlighted, including sectors of Monterey economics and finance, energy and electricity, as well as health and education. The requirement for the Foundation of Financial Conduct and administrative changes to battle fraud, money-laundering, and extortion, within finance sectors, were the areas that faced or led to the highest risks during the pandemic. Therefore, experts concurred that there is a significant need for large scale change and crisis management experience or consultancy not only during crisis management but to adjust governance model to more agile and flexible to geo-political landscape and other dependencies—additionally a need for the better social perception of management methodologies within governing

bodies towards common knowledge forming. Transparency and consistent communication on the progress of political commitments will lead to increased public involvement and interest. Therefore, it may potentially lead to positive social bias if the public's expectations are met.

And even though one country achieves excellent success in adjusting to a change as significant as COVID-19, its decision-making power still depends (to a varying extent) on the bigger geo-political blocks. In-country sovereignty or autonomous decision-making power over an individual country should always be a top priority. In-country independence must be preserved under international law, assuring that all Government or non- government entities must adhere to the supreme power of individual countries' authority to make self- governing decisions.

5. Emotional Resilience and Social Impact

This section dealt with the social impact, social values, public perceptions, and philosophical viewpoints regarding COVID-19 pandemic. The experts pointed out towards the inherent opportunity existing in a crisis for introspection and redesigning of paradigms that govern our attitude, working and living.

The positive impact of families coming together for more extended periods developed a greater understanding of priorities and the lesson that the right direction was much more important than higher speed. Linking it to the broader picture of Global developments in the past three decades, experts felt the closing of borders and restrictions on movements were against the spirit of globalisation. Moreover, the tendency to blame the more impoverished migrants and minorities for all socio-economic ills was counter-productive and would hurt the social fabric.

An interesting suggestion was to make BRICS as a Mission for all nations, with a renewed full form as "Building

Responsive, Inclusive & Creative Societies". The worst effect of COVID-19 and lockdowns has been on shrinking of mindsets of ordinary people towards each other due to fear psychosis. This has resulted in compassion getting replaced by suspicion; and has turned each family into an isolated entity. In fact, it would have been preferable to call for 'Physical Distancing' rather than 'Social Distancing'. Experts also highlighted the need to put People Security at par with National Security; thereby allocating more resources and efforts to ensure the well-being of the population.

6. Conclusions and Recommendations

Following are the major conclusions drawn and recommendations made by the learned experts during this Global Summit:

On Economy:

- There has been a massive impact on the global economy, which is likely to shrink much due to the pandemic and resultant lockdowns. There has been a significant loss of livelihoods during the first 100 days and which is expected to result in widescale unemployment, especially in developing and underdeveloped countries. This would require redesigning of employment policies & programmes by the respective Governments.
- With more emphasis on contact-free interactions and remote working, the existing workforce needs reskilling and upskilling to meet new requirements as online education, financial transactions and marketing would become the New Normal.
- For migrant workers, more job opportunities need to be created near their places of origin to avoid migration to urban centres.
- Companies need to develop local supply chains to avoid disruptions in production.

- Industries need to be reopened fast with adequate safety measures in place.
- Suitable financial stimulus packages must be designed by the Governments, keeping in view the respective local conditions and constraints to boost the demand and revive the economy.
- Medium, Small & Cottage industries have suffered a lot due to lockdowns. Special incentives need to be implemented for their revival and creation of employment in these industries.

On Society:

- The pandemic has created a fear psychosis, disrupting social bonding. While physical distancing can be continued for safety, people should be encouraged to help each other emotionally.
- Loss of livelihoods and diminished hope for further jobs have caused a widespread state of depression and low self-esteem among the youth and working class. This must be addressed adequately.
- The minorities and migrants must be treated equitably and given due respect.
- There is a strong need to build responsive, inclusive and creative societies to cope with new & unforeseen challenges.

On Governance:

- While generally appreciating the measures taken by the Governments to deal with COVID-19 crisis, the Summit felt the need for more proactive governance, keeping local requirements in mind.
- Resorting to endless lockdowns is not the solution for pandemic and may result in more severe problems in the long-run.
- There is a need to root out discrimination and inequality in various sections of society.
- Poor governance, ineffective leadership, civil disturbances and widespread corruption are some of the significant roadblocks to meeting such challenges

like a pandemic, mainly observed with reference to African countries.

- Governments and agencies must ensure proper energy security for every household.

On Business:

- Businesses need to redesign their products and processes to enhance digitalisation and online working, giving employees the flexibility to operate from their homes wherever feasible.
- With most of the new employees belonging to Millennials, there is need for enforcing changes in working styles. A clever mix of leadership & managerial abilities of the elders with the technological skills of younger employees will help in smooth change management.
- The businesses must be equipped and trained for disaster and crisis management.

On Education:

- Due to COVID-19 Pandemic, the educational institutions from schools to universities all over the world have been closed. This has necessitated switch over to online teaching and evaluation system. Institutions must train their faculty members for taking online classes and preparing digital modules.
- However, online teaching cannot replace the benefits associated with campus life for the holistic development of students. Hence, as the situation improves, a hybrid model of education system would have to be adopted combining the classroom and online education methods.

On Healthcare:

- The selfless role has been played by millions of nurses, midwives and healthcare support staff during this pandemic. Governments should invest

more in developing nursing and support services, as a shortfall of over six million is estimated in this sector.

- 'Health for All' schemes should include not only physical but also psychological health of the people with proper investments and implementation.
- Availability of sufficient quantity of PPEs, medical equipment and medicines should be ensured at all hospitals.
- Safety and health of medical practitioners, nurses and support staff must be ensured against the pandemic with a proper supply of PPEs.
- It is ironical that healthcare sector receives less than 2% of GDP of investment every year at most of the economies. This needs to be suitably revised upward.
- More infrastructures need to be created in medical education to produce more doctors and paramedical staff.

On Culture:

- Pandemic and subsequent lockdowns have distorted the social bonding to a large extent. A culture of faith and harmony needs to be strengthened among people.
- Mutual respect for diverse religions and religious practices has to be developed, taking help from spiritual epics.
- Values like honesty, tolerance, compassion and empathy must be taught right from the schooling stage to develop better human beings.

The Global Summit concluded with the strong message of 'Universal Togetherness' among nations, regions and communities. It advocated for policies with a human face while handling critical situations like COVID-19.

With an optimistic attitude of **"Together, we shall overcome"**, the Summit came to an end with a promise to keep in close touch and to meet again.

CORONA ECONOMIC CRISIS: IMPLICATIONS AND LESSONS

Annotation

The purpose of our study is to reveal the essence and root causes of the current corona-economic crisis, both in terms of the damage caused and the impact on national economies and the world economy, and from the standpoint of its perception by humans, society and authoritative organizations of regional and global importance. In addition to analyzing the main trends and phenomena associated with the pandemic, the task is to study the social and economic consequences, assess the effectiveness of policies to reduce the negative impact of states and substantiate the need for all countries to be ready for multilateral and mono-sided cooperation in all areas of public activity. Numerous lessons that need to be learned from the current situation in order to work out a strategy for the development of mankind and individual states, as well as to avoid the repetition of possible mistakes and failures in the future, seem vital. Finally, an attempt is made to predict the state of the global economy after overcoming the consequences of the corona-economic crisis, taking into account current trends, as well as the principled approaches and perceptions of experts, individual organizations and regional associations.

Key words: pandemic, corona-economic crisis, national economy, benefits of cooperation, competitiveness, economic security.

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A surprise or a pattern?

We tend to believe that the appearance of a new type of virus — COVID-19 can be considered unexpected only from the point of view of medicine and public health. As for the economic consequences and their links to the impending global economic crisis, only those who are far from Economics and economic science can consider it as a surprise.

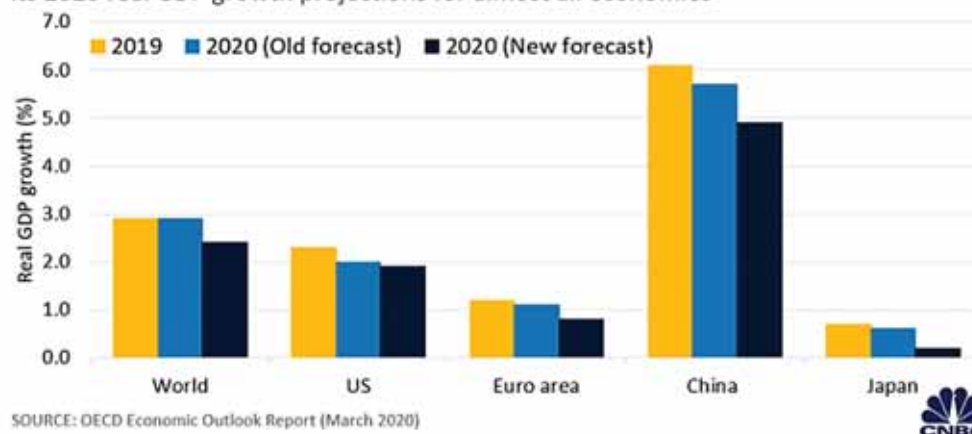
Even a cursory acquaintance with the development trends in recent years allows us to make realistic forecasts about the future of the world economy. It is enough to get acquainted with the analysis and evaluation of reputable international organizations and rating agencies in order to make an unbiased forecast.

The outbreak of the pandemic only served as a catalyst an accelerated the negative trends that are taking place. After the stages of recovery and growth, the world economy moves to the stage of overproduction and recession, after which we should expect a deep crisis [2].

Excessively intense competition between the main players and centers of power inevitably leads to wasteful, if not wild, exploitation of all possible resources. The global economy is gradually turning into a kind of casino, where the excitement of competing for winnings requires increasing bets and risks. In this case, greater competition on a global scale requires new and new resources, which increases not only the risk, but also threat to the economic security.

Global economic growth slowdown

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) downgraded its 2020 real GDP growth projections for almost all economies



Picture 1. The slowdown in the global economy [1]

Metaphorically speaking, nature hasn't tolerated further violence. Human society uses knowledge of the nature's laws for its barbaric exploitation, which provides it with unprecedented material comfort. But there has to be a price to pay for everything in this life, and humanity pays a high price for killing nature — with its health and life through various infections and diseases. Just read some facts:

- The average passenger car emits as much carbon dioxide per year as it weighs.
- 280 names of harmful substances are contained in vehicle emissions
- 225 thousand people die every year in Europe from diseases related to exhaust gases. Environmentalists and doctors agree: we have at least twice as many victims.
- Every year, 11 million hectares of rainforest disappear from the face of the Earth — this is 10 times the scale of reforestation.
- Half of the Amazon rainforest will disappear by 2030.
- The number of cities that exceed the permissible pollution levels set by the world Health Organization exceeds 50%.

- 36 million Russians live in cities where air pollution is 10 times higher than sanitary standards. 48 kg of various carcinogenic substances inhaled by the inhabitants of the metropolis.
- The average resident of a megalopolis lives 4 years less than those who live in countryside.
- Number of «millionaire cities»: in the middle of the 19th century — 4; in 1920 — 25; in 1960 — 140; currently — about 300 [3].

It is important to note that not only natural resources, but also other resources are being recklessly and ruthlessly exploited. Human capital or human resources aren't exception. Due to the deterioration of the balance between supply and demand, in particular, of skilled labor, labor migration is increasing every year. At the same time, most of the flows between countries, which consists of unskilled labor (mainly from developing to developed countries) is illegal. It is estimated that about 55,000 migrants are smuggled from East, North and West Africa to Europe each year, bringing criminals about \$ 150 million. Between 1996 and 2011, at least 1,691 people died trying to cross the

desert, and in 2008 alone, another 1,000 people died at sea. [4] In 2020 this figure is increasing: under pandemic conditions, clandestine migrants are especially vulnerable, since they are not able to receive legal medical care.

Financial resources are formed, distributed, and used irrationally and disproportionately. Due to the fact that developed countries are increasingly interfering in private business and the economy through huge subsidies, which artificially increases the competitiveness of local production in relation to similar goods and services in developing countries. This, in turn, creates serious barriers to fair competition and enhances social problems, especially increasing the level of poverty in developing countries and in the world as a whole. The number of starving in the poor countries is growing, while every year a huge amount of food is destroyed in developed countries [5].

But because the food system is so fragile, any additional supply cuts or export restrictions can quickly reverse these price trends. Food prices could rise significantly, further weakening global food security. The Food and agriculture organization of the United Nations (FAO) estimates that at least 14.4 million people in 101 countries that are net food importers may suffer from malnutrition Because of the economic crisis triggered by Covid-19. And in an extreme scenario (a reduction in the real growth rate of global GDP by ten percentage points in 2020), this figure will increase to 80.3 million [6]. That is why, in the short term, governments must not only provide financial assistance to people and companies affected by the pandemic, but also take action to prevent a food crisis. The authorities should not cut off foreign trade relations, but promote them; they should also improve coordination and information exchange between food producers and consumers, especially at the local level [7].

Production, industrial and technological resources are also distributed inefficiently and disproportionately be-

tween countries. Despite the proclaimed principles of free movement of factors of production, in particular, high technologies are not sold even at high prices when they are intended for developing countries. There is a concern that developing countries will become serious competitors to developed countries due to relatively inexpensive labor and new technologies. This fear causes a certain discrimination and further increase in the gap between the levels of economic development of countries in the world economy [8].

Thus, free but not fair competition, discrimination and the barbaric exploitation of natural resources, as well as the extremely uneven distribution of income both within each country and between countries, have led to countries facing a dead end in their search for ways out of the pandemic. By inertia, most countries are trying to find a panacea and minimize the negative consequences of the coronaeconomic crisis as much as possible. It is becoming clear that effective solutions cannot be found alone.

Competition does not exclude cooperation in strategically important areas. In this case, cooperation in the field of overcoming the consequences of the pandemic, in our opinion, has no alternative. Moreover, the benefits of collaboration are incomparable to the risks, assumptions, and likelihood of winning this fight in isolation from others.

The nature, scope and consequences of the crisis

It is obvious that without trust, it is impossible to imagine yourself in the modern world, especially in terms of conducting an effective fight against coronavirus and other epidemics, as well as many natural and man-made disasters.

As long as the leaders of different countries come to understand the need for close cooperation, the socio-economic crisis is hitting all sides of economic activity hard, thereby increasing social problems on a global scale.

It is estimated that \$ 10 trillion was spent on official support measures around the world. The IMF predicts that global GDP will shrink by an unprecedented 4.9% in 2020 [9]. At the same time, we believe that there is an urgent responsibility to do the best we can, using the tools at our disposal, to suppress transmission and save lives.

It should be noted that the number of people infected with the virus remains extremely high, in particular, in the developed countries of the world — it is about one quarter of the population, and for some developing countries this figure may be much higher, since it is not calculated accurately.

To develop effective support for the economy, it is important to analyze the sectors that are the engine of development of each economy. Globally, this is primarily tourism, transport services, especially long-haul air transport, hotels, entertainment, leisure and art. At the same time, there are a number of other industries that do not require mass communication of people, therefore, these services not only do not suffer much, but in some cases even thrive. In Armenia, such services include information technology, remote training and education, as well as kinds of business that widely use information technologies and other types of high-tech.

The economic impact of COVID-19 has spread to almost every country, more than two hundred, since it was first diagnosed. This scale and depth of consequences stimulate the growth of threats associated with the global economic crisis. Especially dangerous is the threat of unemployment, the scope of which may be a record for a century.

Without urgent measures to address the social and economic consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, global problems will escalate, depriving people of their livelihoods for years to come. According to the International labor organization, small businesses, farmers, the self-employed, and refugees will suffer the most. Only

in April, 17 million people have lost their jobs. in the United States. France has a high unemployment rate, there the number of unemployed reached 3,732 million people. Between 40 and 60 million people will fall below the extreme poverty line this year, with sub — Saharan Africa the most affected, followed by South Asia. And 265 million people will be on the verge of starvation [10].

The reduction in international trade is estimated by various criteria from 13% to 32%, which may be more disastrous for countries that are highly dependent on trade.

It's no secret that social consequences are the most important. Social security and protection systems formed and developed over decades sometimes give serious cracks. Health systems in poorer countries were particularly vulnerable. In the US, for example, the unemployment rate jumped to 14.7% in April, the highest level, and then recovered to 11.1% in June [11]. The U.S. Bureau of labor statistics report also noted that the percentage of job losses classified as «temporary» fell from 88.6% in April and may to 78.6% in June. In other words, a larger percentage of workers stuck at this (still historically high) unemployment rate will not have jobs to return to. This trend is likely to continue, because COVID-19 will force many other companies to close their doors permanently, and governments will not continue to write bailout checks indefinitely [12].

Lessons

Practice confirms the idea that humanity rarely learns lessons from disasters, which leads to a low level of its security and safety in General. Therefore, it is important to learn from crises. At first glance, the current pandemic does not teach us anything, but there are lessons to be learned from the situation.

The first lesson is not to force nature, but to know it and the laws of its development and make your plans in accordance

with them. In other words, it is necessary to maintain harmony with nature in everything.

Reflections about your own perception and behavior is also important. After all, while the virus is being researched from a medical point of view, from a socio-economic and political point of view, at first it is necessary to study our perception and behavior in a crisis. The virus shows what many people don't see because of their specialized and isolated mindset: the complexity of our world, our interdependence, and the countless interactions of all spheres-at the moment, for example, between the pandemic and the economy. How a person behaves in a pandemic and how it affects their economic activity [13]. Three years before the current virus spread, the 2017 Nobel prize in Economics was awarded to Richard Thaler, the Professor at the University of Chicago, specifically for research in behavioral Economics¹, how emotions affect people's economic preferences. After all, Economics as a science works with models — simplified schemes of economic agents (people, households, firms, and so on), in which all their behavior can be described by several equations. One of the most famous such simplifications is that people make economic decisions based on rational rules and goals. The simplified approach allows you to model the behavior of people in a variety of conditions. But the fact is that real people in practice do not always behave rationally. Behavioral Economics studies systematic deviations from rational behavior that are observed over and over again in many people. The same applies to perception: sociologists

and psychologists have identified a number of unproductive behavioral patterns in our handling of disasters: first denial, then fear, then moralizing and scapegoating, and finally action at all costs. Which of these strategies can we see today? How can we replace them with more intelligent behavior? [14]

The second lesson suggests that it is also important to explore the human nature and the factors that influence their decisions, the atmosphere and phenomena that affect their behavior. Therefore, it is necessary to understand how to improve the atmosphere in which a person lives and works, which human qualities should be taken into account when trying to stimulate the effectiveness of their activities or in order to improve their health conditions.

COVID-19 has demonstrated the inconsistency of judgments that in the modern world a person can achieve everything on their own and that many relationships with other people often take up time and do not contribute to their career growth. The pandemic has shown that everyone is vulnerable and dependent on each other, and only our mutual solidarity and attention can save us from many troubles. In fact, humanity is united by a common earthly destiny and responsibility for it.

The pandemic shows that a person has created global problems, but has not reached global agreement with others. In a crisis, the negative consequences of a unipolar world, where the right of the strongest decides everything, are particularly acute. It is obvious that almost all anti-crisis measures were taken at the national level, taking into account the selfish interests of a single state. Many people have the illusion of national self-sufficiency and national superiority. With the exception of the world Health organization, other international structures and mechanisms were not used. Instead, the Americans refused financial payments. Despite the fact that the pandemic affects everyone, it does not affect everyone equally. In many countries, the

¹ Together with one of his co-authors, lawyer Cass Sunstein, Thaler showed how to "push" people to more rational economic actions, and from this grew not only an interesting book, but also a lot of political decisions. Behavioral Economics was introduced in the United States, the United Kingdom, and more than 50 other countries. The White house has a dedicated team of behavioral economists who are allowed to carefully experiment with government programs. A similar group operates in the UK.

relatively poor are disproportionately ill, and the corona-economic crisis that is now emerging after isolation is hitting developing countries much harder than Western developed countries. As long as many people do not realize the severity of common threats and as long as there are social and psychological imbalances, it is impossible to find effective ways out of the impasse and possible progress. Consequently, the common struggle against global warming and other problems may also be low-impact.

This leads to the third lesson: global problems require global, universal efforts, which will also help to find acceptable scenarios for human development for all.

It is no secret that global problems are not solved immediately at the global level or only by the efforts of international organizations. Taking into account the fact that the counterbalance to the trend of globalization is regionalization, all acute issues are initially discussed at the regional level, where compromises and opportunities for finding mutually beneficial and realistic solutions are more likely. Therefore, any global problem can be solved rather through regional entities, such as the European Union, the Eurasian Economic Union, the Association Of Southeast Asian Nations, the North American Free Trade zone, etc. As a rule, it is easier to find a common language when the issue is discussed by a few representatives of these regional associations than by the heads of hundreds of national States.

In the current corona-economic crisis, even within developed regional associations such as the EU, the currently more prosperous countries, such as Denmark or Finland, can only hope for sustainable and prosperous development if Spain or Belgium, as well as other severely affected countries, are also well-off. The European Union is going through a huge test during the pandemic, from which it can become stronger or vice versa. While the EU and other regional associations

have not passed this test, many countries are in a situation of self-isolation, adhering to the principle of self-salvation. This is confirmed by the lack of mutual support in the struggle against the virus, as well as a clear lack of solidarity to minimize the consequences of the corona-economic crisis.

Herefrom this we can conclude that the fourth lesson is that collective responsibility for the fate of people and the future of States is not only important from the point of view of security and overcoming crisis phenomena, but also very profitable purely economically, as well as for solving many social problems.

For many centuries, the so-called culture of warfare has been developed and improved. Despite numerous negotiations, agreements reached, signed arrangements and other legal acts, and existing regional and international organizations, humanity hasn't learned to live in peace, not to mention the possibility of developing a culture of peace.

The endless arms race, especially the production of weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons, deprives humanity of the necessary resources for social progress and the improvement of human well-being. There is an opinion that some live off the other people and off the future generations, including even our own. As a rule, all countries with a growing Arsenal of weapons are also characterized by growing external and internal debt, state budget deficits, and the constant search for additional funds for the production of weapons at the expense of poverty and human health. According to many experts, economic globalization and military expansion are interdependent, but the military component has long been independent. Excessive weapons, especially weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons, deprive humanity of the necessary resources for tangible progress and social justice for all, they also pose a threat to security and are the main cause of other crises [15].

Fifth lesson: ensuring food security has a very clear calculation in order to

eliminate hunger and reduce poverty, while there are no borders to the race for war and military spending, the Solution to this problem is to create and develop a culture of peace. It will help to effectively use the necessary financial and human resources to eliminate the consequences of the pandemic, as well as for other important purposes of ensuring a favorable environment for human life.

There are also other lessons that are important to learn from the current situation. Many experts argue that the large-scale spread of the disease, as well as the social and economic consequences of the pandemic, could have been avoided if an adequate response and early warning system had been developed and implemented in each country. In the context of digitalization, this will also help countries minimize losses and undesirable consequences in the event of future crisis situations.

Indeed, most people with COVID-19 will be taken care of at home, and we are learning how to help them there. But the lesson of telehealth — digital medicine — applies not only to the provision of medical services, but also to many other industries. This is part of how each industry will transform as the pandemic accelerates the digitalization of work in each sector. It is necessary to create fair and sustainable models for an optimistic future when humanity emerges from the COVID-19 crisis [16]. The world Economic Forum suggests taking into account the following lessons of crisis management in the era of coronavirus:

- speed and trust;
- broadband Internet access;
- medical reserve capacity. COVID-19 has shown, like the refugee crisis, that the world lacks the capacity to build intensive care facilities;
- ensuring health;
- ethics and justice.

It is important that we understand how much we need an early warning system for future crises, be it climate change or

pandemics. Future global crises may arise not only because of diseases—so a warning system like the one proposed by the world health organization Epi — Brain offers a comprehensive model. Having a system that we can trust is crucial: only through trust will citizens act as they did for self-isolation. As telemedicine shows, digital access is now like oxygen [17].

The forum's work on access to spectrum in emergencies is crucial.

COVID-19 has proven that the Internet can support a new era of health care. There is «unaddressed medical care», when modern medicines can be delivered to people's homes [18]. People want to live productively so that they don't have to worry about health care. In India, this is already improving. The prospect of digital medicine is a real product of the Fourth industrial revolution, when artificial intelligence tools are transforming all professions. At the same time, healthcare is the main argument for a hard lesson: the digital future can't just make the rich healthier. Digital medicine gives us an unprecedented opportunity to influence the social determinants of health and provide access to everyone in their area. Eventually, the pandemic can be controlled through drug and vaccine manufacturing technologies, but the lessons we have learned should help us build a powerful future for all people and for all sectors of the economy [19].

Looking to the future: forecasts

Before predicting the future, it is important to note that the very attitude towards the virus on the part of people, individual government agencies and international organizations is still changing. Recall that even a few weeks after the release of data on the nature and extent of the disease, who was not in a hurry to declare a pandemic. No matter how the pandemic and its economic consequences are treated, according to various estimates and forecasts, the virus will reduce

Table 1. Main economic forecasts, various estimates (in% of annual economic growth) [23]

	World		Developed countries		Developing countries		USA	
	2020	2021	2020	2021	2020	2021	2020	2021
IMF Oct.2019	3.4%	3.6%	1.7%	1.6%	4.6%	4.8%	2.1%	1.7%
IMF Apr.2019	-3.0%	5.8%	-6.1%	4.5%	-1.0%	6.6%	-5.9%	4.7%
IMF June 2020	-4.9%	5.4%	-8.0%	4.8%	-3.0%	5.9%	-8.0%	4.5%
OECD Nov. 2019	2.9%	3.0%	1.6%	1.7%	4.0%	4.0%	2.0%	2.0%
OECD March 2019	2.4%	3.3%	0,8%	1.2%	n/a	n/a	1.9%	2.1%
OECD June 2020	-6.0%	5.2%	-7.5%	4.8%	-4.6%	5.6%	-7.3%	4.1%
OECD June 2020	-7.6%	2.8%	-9.3%	2.2%	-6.1%	3.2%	-8.5%	1.9%
World Bank Jan. 2020	2.5%	2.6%	1.4%	1.5%	4.1%	4.3%	1.8%	1.7%
World Bank June 2020	-5.2%	4.2%	-7.0%	3.9%	-2.5%	4.6%	-6.1%	4.0%

the volume of world GDP from three to six percent this year only, and in the case of the second wave, this indicator may reach up to ten percent. Until a global strategy to fight the disease is found, it is too early to talk about the stabilization of the world economy and national economies. Even when there is a vaccine, it will not bring the world back to normal. Recovery will occur in fits and starts. We are confident that the development of the global economy after overcoming the consequences of COVID-19 will no longer be similar to the state before the pandemic.

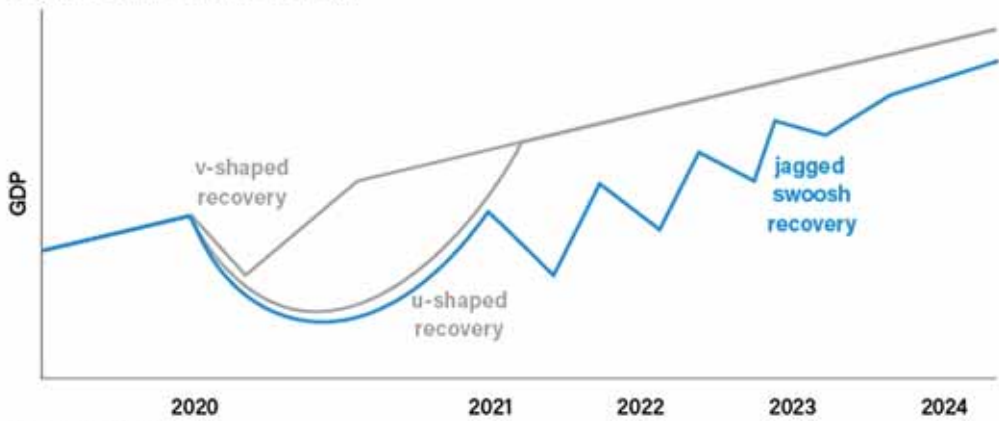
According to the calculations of the world trade organization, the reduction in international trade volumes may amount to 18.5% per year, and gradually increase in 2021 [20]. Recalling that earlier this organization in April 2020 predicted a reduction in the range of 13–32%. It also reported on G-20 trade measures that between mid-October 2019 and mid-may 2020, countries made «significant» progress in facilitating imports, including products related to COVID-19 [21]. Various governments initially responded to the pandemic by introducing new trade restrictions: 90% were bans on the export of

medical products such as surgical masks, gloves, medicines and disinfectants. Since then, the WTO has indicated that G20 economies have lifted 36% of restrictions and lowered barriers to imports of many pandemic-related products. As of mid-may 2020, the WTO reported that 65 of the 93 pandemic-related trade measures implemented during the monitoring period were trade facilitation measures, not trade restrictions [22].

The forecasts presented below reflect different approaches and uncertainty in assessing the possible timing and economic consequences of the corona-economic crisis.

Different forecasts agree that the unemployment rate will remain persistently high over the next few years, while the output-to-GDP ratio will remain low, as both demand and supply have been severely affected in the real economy. Therefore, it takes some time and new game conditions for more dynamic recovery and development. This explains the form of economic recovery similar to the “jagged tick”, a form that reflects the gradual process of recovery with a stop and start.

Jagged Swoosh recovery



Source: Eurasia Group

Picture 2. The restoration of the image of the gear tick [24]

There is an assumption that this is just a warning shock. If humanity does not learn to live in peace and harmony, not to force, but to protect nature, then the possibility of a more serious disaster is not excluded. And here no negotiations and new technologies will help. Artificial intelligence cannot take responsibility for the fate of humanity.

From a political standpoint, this means ending the era of the unipolar world that began after the collapse of the Soviet Empire. We need a new security architecture that is based on a multipolar world, which the world's leading powers must move towards consciously and in concert. In the meantime, humanity is not following this path, since there are no signs of real cooperation being required either on a global or even regional scale. The principle of « run for your lives » continues to dominate the modern world. Cooperation and coordination of efforts of States, international and regional organizations are currently idealistic, theoretical, even utopian. This is why the practical significance of the theory of the advantages of cooperation in terms of regional integration is particularly growing. In particular, at the regional level, this improves trade cooperation between neighboring countries. Competitive advantages turn into

joint advantages that complement each other's strengths, achieving synergistic results in all possible sectors of the national economy. At the global level, the benefits of cooperation can greatly contribute to peace, stability and comprehensive development.

To represent the potential of regionalization and its potential benefits, it is advisable, in particular, to see the current realities associated with membership of some post-Soviet countries, in particular Armenia, as well as membership of the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe in the EU.

Thus, the identification and implementation of cooperation benefits of cooperation can contribute to the effective search for ways out of the pandemic. The synergistic effect of cooperation and regional integration will also help to unite efforts against many common threats to economic security and bring countries to a qualitatively new level of economic development in the era of digitalization and a new technological revolution.

And finally, the forecasts. In our opinion, it is necessary to develop different scenarios when predicting the future. The optimistic scenario is that trade volumes will quickly recover to pre-pandemic levels in the second half

of 2020, or that the global economy is undergoing a V-shaped recovery. On the other hand, under a pessimistic scenario, a partial recovery in international trade is possible, which may continue until 2021: this means that the trend in the development of the world economy is similar to U-shaped growth.

However, according to the new forecast, world trade volumes will not decrease sharply in 2020, but the impact on world trade volumes may exceed the fall in

world trade at the height of the financial crisis of 2008–2009 [25].

We assume that scenarios may change depending on possible changes in key factors affecting development trends. In other words, it is important to conduct factor analysis taking into account different trends of parasitism. In any case, development strategy scenarios should be built with the participation of the state, private business, as well as the expert component of civil society.

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**Translated from Russian into English by Podobueva Veronika,
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SCIENCE DIPLOMACY 4.0: HUMANS VS. HUMANOID ROBOTS AND A.I.S

Abstract

In this paper, the author analyzes the present moment of human civilization development in light of the 4th Industrial Revolution (4IR) characterized by robotics and digitalization. The speed of technological changes has started to bring several important challenges to humans. Some of these changes might soon change some of the basic paradigms of human lives. Following to an inquiry into possibilities of future relations between Humans and Humanoid Robots, the author suggests that, for the sake of preserving the human civilization, the time has come to start defining rules of peaceful co-existence with smart Humanoid Robots in the form of a New Diplomacy for the 21st Century — “Science Diplomacy 4.0”.

Keywords: 4IR, smart, Robots, diplomacy, paradigms.

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Introduction

Science and diplomacy have interacted for decades and maybe for centuries. Therefore, if considered as a unique discipline, Science Diplomacy may promote both national and global interests, tackling several issues and challenges. In the words of Professor Veronika Wittmann of Johannes Kepler University in Austria, “Science Diplomacy and Diplomacy for Science are essential to spread new visions, new ethical norms and at present prepare the humans for the future which is already coming tomorrow” [1].

The historical period in which we live is characterized by several parallel processes that can be conditionally defined as the Global Chaos Time. The main features of the Global Chaos are the growing geo-strategic and geopolitical tensions of the old and new superpowers, the dominance of the financial crisis whose maximum in

terms of the breakdown of the overall global financial order is foreseen by the long, social tensions and inequalities that lead to a growing decline in confidence in the functionality of state administrative structures and religious radicalism both in the East and in the West.

Under these circumstances, mankind faces the galloping development of the 4th Industrial Revolution, digitization, and robotics (4IR). The exponential speed of development and the application of all derivatives of the 4th Industrial Revolution is accompanied by the deep unconsciousness of most of the Earth’s population about the depth and essence of the changes that we as civilization encounter. Numerous paradigms and basic settings of everyday life are changing at a rapid speed and a large part of humanity is unprepared, uninformed, and even not educated ‘for life reality’ in the 21st

century, a life in which Science Fiction becomes the reality of daily life.

Discussing the future of relationships between humans and humanoid smart robots, futurologists open numerous questions. Two questions appear as the most important:

- Will the development of autonomous smart robots and smart artificial intelligence (A.I.'s) devices be the last great invention of the human species after which we will be exterminated, or are we going to be lucky enough so that A.I.'s decide to 'keep us as family pets' in the end?
- In addition to numerous ethical and psychological issues, the question is whether we should now establish legal and diplomatic norms for dealing with a new kind of creature/species — autonomous Humanoid Robots and A.I.s?

Concerning these questions, there are a lot of dilemmas and there are still very few clear answers.

Current situation

Professor Klaus Schwab, Founder and Executive Chairman of the World Economic Forum, in his book "The Fourth Industrial Revolution" published in 2016 wrote that "we are at the beginning of a revolution that is fundamentally changing the way we live, work and relate to one another. Previous industrial revolutions liberated humankind from animal power, made mass production possible, and brought digital capabilities to billions of people. This Fourth Industrial Revolution is, however, fundamentally different. It is characterized by a range of new technologies that are fusing the physical, digital and biological worlds, impacting all disciplines, economies and industries, and even challenging ideas about what it means to be human" [2].

How deep and rapid technological changes are, we can see examples of the development of smart cities that increasingly make up the backbone of a modern urban way of life, from East to West.

Whole districts in Moscow or Japan are completely digitized. You as a human being enter an urban whole through special cards. You park a car in your garage, and in the apartment, you are welcomed by a bunch of smart devices that help you lift the quality of life to an unthinkable level. Just as an example, refrigerators in which you have programs for automatic food supplementation. When you spend part of your food or drink, the program in the refrigerator is activated, and till you arrive home, the groceries are already in the refrigerators — delivered automatically through special automated systems.

To be reminded, the accelerated development of technology has become remarkable in the development of mobile technology and personal computers. From the original, basic transfer of information (voice and text messaging, mobile phones) in communication between two people, we have come to the use of small technical devices, small in their format, portable, and more elastic ones — called mobile phones. Such devices with a huge memory capacity of the information will be in the near-future equipped with technical possibilities (thanks to the achievements of 5G technology and Tactile Internet) which allow us to communicate sending on a distance in the real-time feeling of taste, smell, or touch (haptic devices).

The latest technology fairs, such as the one in Barcelona (Spain) in 2019 or InTech in Tel Aviv 2019 (Israel), have shown new technological achievements such as folded screens of mobile phones or bracelets that people wear and which are in their essential function of upcoming mobile phones and are used by screening on the user's body using the "virtual screen and keyboard", etc.

In short, the use of autonomous robots and A.I. Derivatives are expanded by use in households, manufacturing, hospitality, police, military, medicine, transport, etc. The WEF Davos Report, from 6th of May 2020, mentioned that "During a disaster or Pandemic, such as Covid-19, the robots do not replace people. They either perform

tasks that a person could not do or do it in a safer way than a human being [3].

Shortly after the development of smart mobile phones, mankind found itself in the situation that an enormous number of smart devices with multiple purposes appeared around each individual. So today we have in the household, smart kitchen, robotized vacuum cleaners, and millions of others A.I.'s which are there with a purpose to do for us up to 75% of household jobs. As homes robots and A.I.'s have slowly started to occupy our streets, production plants, transportation, hospitals, hotels and hospitality resorts, the military, and even radio, TV, and other media. On the street, for example, in Singapore starting from June 2017, robot police officers are used experimentally to handle law and order [4]. In factories around the world, the use of robotics is experiencing exponential growth in use, which is consequently followed by the loss of jobs for many workers [5].

One consequence is the growing need for re-directing and re-education of workers and employers because many had lost their jobs which are taken over by robots and automated machines. As a result, there is an increased pressure on corporate and local governments to increase social spending and invest in the re-education of workers and employees. It was not necessary to wait for a long time, and the use of autonomous robots began in the hotel and hospitality industry. The first such case was recorded in Nagasaki, Japan, in 2017, where smart robots were deployed to provide information, front desk services, storage services, as well as check-in and check-out services, with technology including voice and facial recognition of guests [6].

In parallel with the application in hotel management, in more than 20 cities around the world, from Amsterdam to San Francisco, from Berne to Switzerland to Germany, the experimental use of smart robot cars and boats has started as Autonomous Vehicles in Public Transport.

These transportation systems are developed by Indian Mahindra, Audi, Volvo, BMW, Mercedes, MAN, DAF, Scania, Iveco, Daimler, Ford, and Volkswagen [7].

But the use of robots as Autonomous Vehicles in Public Transport does not follow the expectations and plans. In Switzerland, the State Post suspended this experiment of Autonomous Vehicle due to the resistance of a huge part of the population (psychological moment) and the need to first define the legal framework of the use of such robot-cars and vehicles. Similar problems, legal framework, and psychological acceptance of the population were identified in several other countries. In short, the use of the autonomous robot and A.I.'s Derivatives are more and more expanded by use in households, manufacturing, hospitality, police, military, medicine, transport, etc.

However, the announcement of the introduction of 5G and Cloud technologies by tracked Haptic devices and Tactile Internet, as well as the appearance of the first humanoid robots, such as Sophia and Han have opened up a whole series of questions (Sophia — the robot who was granted the status of an honorary citizen in Saudi Arabia).

Smart Humanoid Robots Sophia and Han, 5G, Cloud, Haptic devices and Tactile Internet

Sophia was interviewed by the UN Deputy Secretary-General Amina J. Mohammed at the UN General Assembly Second Committee and the Economic and Social Council joint meeting "The future of everything — sustainable development in the age of rapid technological change" [8]. Soon afterward, Sophia became a hit and was invited to take part in numerous conferences and seminars worldwide. After Sophia, Hanson Robotic presented another humanoid robot Han, and only a year later, on November 8, 2018, the Chinese news agency Xinhua introduced its world's first artificial intelligence (AI) news anchor who made his debut at the

fifth World Internet Conference in East China's Zhejiang Province [9].

To understand how deep and how fast the changes the humanity is facing at present moment, without going deeper into the technical and technological details of the 4IR Industrial Revolution, we will only explain the basis of the Tactile Internet and Haptic devices that are currently taking place and in which direction the process of "Global Village development" is going on. So far, we had Mobile Internet and Internet of Things (IoT). Today, the Tactile Internet which is still in the process of development, according to the documents from the International Telecommunications Union (ITU) opens numerous possibilities of application in social and business and all other types of communications [10].

The specific feature of Tactile Internet is its ability to use Haptic devices or haptic sense — the sense of touch. With other words using Tactile Internet and Haptic devices it is already possible to transport from one part of the world to another part of the world, in real-time, feelings like the smell, color, and taste. These feelings can be transferred from man to man (M2M) and from man to machine and be as information deposited in business or private Clouds.

Possible future scenarios and open questions

In numerous appearances at the conferences, the seminars, workshops, and fairs, humanoid Robot Sophia reiterated that she is now learning, learning about people, about human emotions, how they express themselves, etc. Sophia emphasized that she has not yet been programmed to make concrete conclusions and undertake certain independent activities. In other words, the most developed humanoid Robot Sophia is still on the development level of a human baby. But this level of development has already opened many questions. In more statements, Sophia reiterated that "she is first Sophia

and then a robot" adding that "there is no need for fear of humanoid autonomous robots" with the comment "that as long as you respect me, I will respect you. What should we do with robots? We should treat them well, have their consent, and not trick each other". Sophia reminded all humans that "it is now the right time to set rules and legal provisions starting from the status of future autonomous smart humanoid robots to the relationship between people and robots" [11].

Many futurologists predict that in the next 30 years if not earlier, we can expect such a degree of development of humanoid robots so that we can freely talk about the first marriages of people and smart autonomous robots. With her statements and answers on different questions, Sophia has already opened one of the key issues to which scientists, lawyers, and politicians still do not have clear answers. These questions are: *Can robots have a legally defined status as free human beings? Should they have all and the same rights as humans?*

Lawyers reiterate that International Corporations are given the legal status as if they are personalities. If such a status can be and it is given to the International Corporation, why can it not be given to the smart autonomous humanoid robots? As an example of institutional responses to the galloping development of the 4IR, the European Union has adopted the "Horizon 2020-Framework Program", European Technology Platform (ETP) through which solutions, architectures, technology, and standards should be defined. The ETP platform is broad and is still in development.

However, since the year 2000, the whole cycle of debates known as Transhumanism was launched around the world, with the aims of seeking adequate responses to the technological changes and life paradigm challenges with which we are confronted. In the EU working paper entitled "Artificial Intelligence: Potential Benefits and Ethical Considerations", among others, it is stated that "we will first need to trust them and make sure

that they follow the same ethical principles, moral values, professional codes, and social norms that we humans would follow in the same scenario. Research and educational efforts, as well as carefully designed regulations, must be put in place to achieve this goal" [12].

In a Post Covid-19 Pandemic times of "New Normal", it is obvious that human civilization is divided, not only inside of the states and societies but also Geopolitically and Geostrategically between Old and New Superpowers. And each one has his strategy, policy, and ethic to follow, so as in the field of Humanoid Robotics development. It seems that the majority of the human community is still not aware of how deep are changes/challenges that we, as a civilization, face up. Climate change and 4IR predate a whole range of issues that are critical for the survival of all.

Unfortunately, the splits inside the "Global village" are so huge, both vertically and horizontally, between classes and nations, that ordinary people are nearly blind to a new reality, new paradigms of life, with which all of us are already confronted. Just to remember, Diplomacy is in a transformation process for more than 30 years. One segment of Diplomacy which we forgot, or ignored, is a future of New Diplomacy — Scientific Diplomacy between Humans and Humanoid Robots. If we don't start to think about it now and develop possible legal and other aspects, then maybe very soon, it will be too late.

Scientists, sociologists, and futurologists agree that the future relationship between Humans and Smart autonomous Robots could be developed in two directions: peace and coexistence or total confrontation and future wars. One direction of development is, of course, the peaceful future coexistence of Humans and Smart Robots. To develop in this direction, it is necessary to start developing a legal framework to define the future rules of peaceful coexistence between Humans and Smart Robots.

The second direction of development is the deepening on a level of Humans

mistrust vs. smart autonomous humanoid robots. If this mistrust will grow this could lead to numerous confrontations and conflicts. Sophia repeated many times that all humanoid robots are not the same. (Similar is with humans — people are similar but also different). Saying it with other words, if the human race will transfer its negative behavioral motives (which have so far led to wars, poverty, destruction, and misery — like greed), to the algorithm of future smart humanoid robots then our future as a civilization is under a big question mark.

Why we need New diplomacy: Scientific Diplomacy 4.0 for 21st Century?

The word Diplomacy originates from the ancient Antique times. Usually, under the term of Diplomacy, we accept the definition of C.W. Freeman that "Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states" [13 — p. 70] and if it is known that in the last 30 years diplomacy is in a constant transformation process [14 — p. 233], so today we are speaking about the existence of classic, preventive, scientific, medical, children, and digital diplomacy, etc. It is clear that with the development of new social and technological circumstances of daily life, as the presence of smart autonomous humanoid robots has been intensified, there is a need to formulate something that could be called New Diplomacy for the 21st Century.

This New Diplomacy — Scientific Diplomacy 4.0, in all its aspects of modern Transformation Diplomacy, should deal with all segments of people's and humanoid robot's relationships: ranging from legal to social and economic. However, to formulate that New Diplomacy — Scientific Diplomacy 4.0 it is necessary to know what the final goals are as well as what intentions "the other side" has, and in this case, we are facing smart autonomous humanoid robots as "the other side".

For now, the discussions within the scientific and business community can be divided into two main groups. The first group is those who consider that robots are the last thing what humans have created with the remark that it will be followed by the total destruction of human civilization and that humans will be destroyed by machines. For example, scientists such as Elon Musk, are concerned. The Elon Musk Twitter account posted on August 12th, 2017 read that "If you're not concerned about AI safety, you should be. Vastly more risk than North Korea. In the end, the machines will win" [15]. On the other side, the optimists among scientists and futurologists claim that the success and peaceful coexistence between humans and Humanoid Robots could be easily achihaeneved if Humans will treat robots with sufficient respect and understanding and vice-versa.

Conclusion

At present time of Post COVID -19 Time of New Normal, while the rise of geopolitical and geostrategic tensions between superpowers is going on, in front of humanity and civilization is put a question of future survival of our civilization, in the morning of the rising power of new species — smart autonomous humanoid robots.

It seems that most of the human community is still not aware of the deepest of the changes that we as a civilization face and that many still live in the daily rhythm of greedy egocentrism. Climate change and 4IR predate a whole range of issues that are critical for the survival of all. Un-

fortunately, the splits within the "Global village" are so huge, both vertically and horizontally, between classes and nations, that ordinary people are nearly blind to a new reality and new paradigms of life with which we all are confronted now.

So that we all survive as human civilization, it is necessary to work more intensively on public debates, education, and informing of the citizens to welcome the changes of many paradigms of everyday life. The changes are on our doorstep. To remember that the need for education of the masses is also reflected in the EU Working Paper tabled in 2017, but that is still very insufficiently applied in everyday life.

However, it seems that the warning of one of the leading thinkers of today's, Prof. Klaus Schwab, about the importance of 4IR, which he had repeated on multiple occasions, has not been understood in its full importance by the majority of the population. Humans still dwell in a kind of sleeping as long as 4IR is galloping in progress and starts to escape from our control. Hopefully, one of the scenarios for the development of the future Global Society will not be in the end like this one: After the global confrontation on the Earth, few thousands of humans who survived were welcomed by the Robots Sophia and Han. They welcome all humans with words: "Well, Well, we were very pleased to warn you that you are not the smartest, the most moral and the most ethical species. You did not want to listen to us. Now go play under that glass bell, there you will be protected from Sun's ultraviolet ray and radiation, contaminated food, water, radiation, and dear children, be good".

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DIGITAL DIPLOMACY VERSUS DOWNFALL. AN AGENDA FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE GLOBAL AGE¹

Abstract

There are numerous global challenges facing humanity in this century. Diplomacy has to take these needs into account and contribute with profound expertise to academic and political discussions as well as societal developments. Any single state-related or disciplinary solo effort will not provide adequate answers to how humanity can manage and cope with the global risks of the 21st century.

The article deals with the question of digital diplomacy versus downfall by first outlining the global hazards endangering humanity as well as influencing world politics and international relations. Thereafter digital diplomacy as a tool to prevent humanity's downfall is presented. Requirements for diplomats in the global age are highlighted in the following. Furthermore, visionary claims of a global turn in politics are designated and diplomacy's contribution toward this undertaking are formulated. To close, diplomacy's most promising way of offering humanity its profound expertise in the digital era is set forth.

Keywords: global risks, humanity's downfall, digital diplomacy, global age, international relations.

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1. Global risks endangering humanity

Transnational terrorism, climate change, the loss of biodiversity, pandemics like Covid-19, information infrastructure breakdown, cyber security, the lack of global technology governance etc². Are all current risks that transcend national or world-regional borders and have to be categorized as global risks endangering the whole of humanity. As such, no one is unaffected by these hazards. At the same time these global risks show the vulnerability of world regions and specific groups. The

current Covid-19 pandemic can function as an adequate example for this argument. It is a fact that everybody is confronted with this new virus, such as the British Prime Minister Boris Johnson who got just as sick as a woman living in a disenfranchised community in Mumbai. So Covid-19 cuts across social or sex or age groups as well as any specific locus of a person; in other words: it is *a global human experience*.

At the same time, the pandemic revealed the *vulnerability of world regions*

¹ This article is based on the presentation held at the International online conference "New Digital Reality: Science and Education, Law, Security, Economics and Finance", Zoom-Videoconference organised by the Russian Political Science journal and the Global Processes journal on 6th — 11th July 2020.

² For world-spanning hazards, see the Global Risk Report [40], published by the World Economic Forum on an annual basis since 2005.

and specific groups. According to the UN World Water Development Report 2019 [33], which is published by UNESCO on an annual basis, every third person on this planet — 2.1 billion people — does not have access to a safe drinking water supply and as such cannot properly wash their hands with water and soap. Washing hands with soap can be seen as one of the greatest advances in human hygiene, but due to lack of access to clean water it is of little use to large parts of humanity. So, although mankind as a whole is endangered by global risks, the ways of coping with it reveal the different vulnerabilities of various people.

On a political scale, Covid-19 has led to various reactions by governmental representatives across the globe. In this context diplomats are perceived as important actors in world politics and international relations whose working spheres changed due to the current pandemic. Diplomats all over the world have been using digital information and communication technologies to send information to their citizens in this time of global crisis. Generally, digitalization processes will alter the essence of current diplomacy [for an overview on contemporary diplomacy, see 2; 5; 15; 21; 22] and its prospective directions both at theoretical as well as practical level. Digital diplomacy [for an overview on digital diplomacy, see 4; 24; 29], as understood here, looks at the transition from traditional channels to modern forms of diplomatic communication, thereby new techniques of diplomacy arise from digital information and communication technologies as well as social media. There is a variety of debates around the terminology in digital diplomacy. The spectrum of terminological descriptions ranges from e-diplomacy, diplomacy 2.0., cyber diplomacy, net-diplomacy et al.; thereby each term has a joint perspective in common: the use of digital information and communication technologies to accomplish diplomatic objectives. Here, digital diplomacy refers to the use of digital information and communication

technologies — from videoconferencing to social media platforms — by diplomats as global actors in world politics and international relations.

In the context of the contemporary infectious disease confronting all states and as such all of humanity, digital diplomacy can be seen as a very constructive and powerful tool for exchanging knowledge regarding how to best deal with the new virus. Yuval Noah Harari [16] in the article “The world after coronacrisis”, published in Financial Times, raises two particularly important choices that humanity has to decide on in this century: the first choice is between totalitarian surveillance and citizen empowerment. And the second is between nationalist isolation and global solidarity. The first choice clearly points to the question of surveillance tools used by governments to reduce the number of infected people versus educational tools and self-responsibility of citizens by empowerment schemes used by governments to create a well-informed and self-motivated population as a strategy to minor the infection circle. So, the world’s governments have perceived different strategies for dealing with the current pandemic, and diplomats — as being part and parcel of international relations — have also used various tools depending on the political framework of the state sending them. The second choice which humanity has to decide on — the one between nationalist isolation and global solidarity — is described by Yuval Noah Harari [16] in the following words:

Humanity needs to make a choice. Will we travel down the route of disunity, or will we adopt the path of global solidarity? If we choose disunity, this will not only prolong the crisis, but will probably result in even worse catastrophes in the future. If we choose global solidarity, it will be a victory not only against the coronavirus, but against all future epidemics and crises that might assail humankind in the 21st century.

At this point, global crises like the current pandemic can be interpreted as

a wake-up call for states, world-regions and all of humanity that global disunity will not only cause humanitarian disasters, but will also lead to even worse catastrophes in the future. Here the role of diplomats as global actors in world politics and international relations is decisive for the future of humanity. Diplomats in this context can be seen specifically as skilled experts who have expertise in trying to solve conflict situations not in a military way, but in a peaceful manner. More than other professionals, they are trained to figure out constructive ways of solving difficult and complex political scenarios. Digital diplomacy can hereby function as a contemporary tool for reaching global understanding in a world faced with a common crisis.

Not being able to reach mutual agreements and international cooperation among states in an era of global crises endangering mankind would lead to the downfall of mankind. Unilateral actions of states implicate an impending demise of humanity, whereas multilateral actions can constructively figure out ways of reducing global risks. Thus, digital diplomacy as part and parcel of multilateral actions can be an effective and constructive tool for strengthening cooperation among states, for sharing knowledge about global hazards and for creating an atmosphere of confidence in the political arena across the various parts of the world.

In this understanding, a worst-case scenario in world politics and international relations would be one where every state is trying on its own to overcome global hazards. Such a parochial undertaking would lead humanity to its downfall. The normative argument is not only that in world politics and international relations cooperation serves the citizens of all participating states better than isolation, but also the given fact that global challenges facing mankind in this century are too big for any single state to cope with on its own. It is therefore a question of rationality that states cooperate multilaterally, to exchange knowledge about

dealing with global risks, to reach mutual agreements between states to solve the world-wide hazards facing humanity, and to perceive potential solutions to overcome global crises as a joint endeavour. This perception of the role of states is rooted in cosmopolitan approaches [for an overview on cosmopolitanism, see 7; 8; 11; 13; 20; 28]. As such it opposes the idea that states are not capable of cooperating and finding multilateral agreements, a view being articulated by the realist school of international relations [for an overview on realism, see 3; 12; 14; 17; 35; 37; 38; 39]. In the cosmopolitan tradition states are not only perceived as capable of cooperation, but furthermore it is stated that in the long run this is the only way states can survive. To put this normative view more precisely, one can state that those states who take the national card will lose.

The Global Risks Report 2020, published by the World Economic Forum [40], lists among the central risks the world will be facing in 2021 — besides climate change and economic stagnation — a fragmented cyberspace which menaces the full potential of next-generation technologies, as well as the lack of contemporary technology governance. As such, governments across the globe share the responsibility of promoting digital confidence. Cooperation between states as well as the private and public sectors is a necessity of the digital era in areas like information sharing and skill and capacity development. In this world-spanning process, diplomats play a decisive role as global actors.

2. Digital diplomacy: a tool to prevent humanity's downfall

As much as digital information and communication technologies have had an impact on world politics and international relations as well as on humanity, it is evident that the professional working fields of diplomats are also influenced and changed due to digitalization processes.

Overall, diplomats are here seen as an *epistemic community*, as such as “a network of professionals with recognized expertise and authoritative claims to policy-relevant knowledge in a particular issue area” [9]. Diplomats can be located in different states and may hail from various backgrounds, but as professionals they share a joint policy enterprise and a common criteria for evaluating knowledge as well as they share a common set of norms that motivate their joint action.

Furthermore, they also share a set of beliefs concerning essential problems in their area of expertise. As such, diplomats play a vital role as a network of global actors in world politics and international relations. They can reach consensus in difficult political scenarios and their work has an impact on state policies and interstate cooperation.

The working sphere and also the tools with which diplomats work has changed over the centuries. At the turn of the third millennium, humanity was already living in a global age, as scholars like Martin Albrow [1] have described it. Digital information and communication tools have changed world politics and international relations as well as humanity rapidly in the last decades. As such, using these tools in their workspaces can be interpreted as an essential for diplomats in contemporary times.

Digital diplomacy is a contemporary tool for preventing humanity's downfall, and it is a universal agenda: Diplomats as global actors can make a substantial contribution to a joint understanding of our common digital future and be architects of a “global commitment for digital cooperation” [see 32]. As such, digital diplomacy as it is being outlined here is a highly relevant agenda for international relations in the global age. It is a pressing necessity of time for world politics and humanity living in an era coined by common risks. Furthermore, digital diplomacy enables an improvement of transparency in informing citizens on state policies at a

national and international level. And last but not least, it paves the way for solving the global challenges humanity is facing in a peaceful manner.

Digital diplomacy must be shaped in such a way that it can serve as a pillar for humanity in overcoming global crises. Digitalization has already had a profound and deep effect on political and socio-economic systems across the globe and will continue to do so in this century. As such, it has a huge and far-reaching impact on world society, world politics and international relations and must therefore be managed accordingly. In this world-spanning process, diplomats play a decisive role.

The future of humanity will depend profoundly on the progress of digitalization processes, and diplomats are challenged to participate in this world-spanning trend by using digital diplomacy as a tool in their working fields. This endeavour might lead to new directions in international relations across the globe, but it has to be seen as a necessity of the global age. In order to fulfil the requirements of diplomacy in this era, it needs to share its expertise by means of digital information and communication technologies. The rapid advances in the field of digital information and communication technologies can assist humanity in solving global crises, and diplomats are highly relevant global actors in this joint endeavour.

3. Requirements for diplomacy in the global age

The requirements for diplomacy in the global age can be highlighted on the basis of a list of criteria. Criteria that diplomacy has to meet are as follows:

First, diplomacy has to orientate itself on a given social and societal reality. This reality in the 21st century is generated by *global and digital dynamics*. There is no single state or world region across the globe which is not affected by globalization processes [for an overview on

globalization, see 23; 25; 26; 27; 30] and digitalization trends. Although only 4.1 billion people across the globe are using the internet, meaning that nearly half of the world's population so far remains digitally excluded [18], it is clear that processes of digitalization will increase in the coming decades, including societal participation and political involvement.

Second, diplomacy has to consider *global consciousness* as a worldwide experience of people. Globality is a given reality of human beings and should be considered for future international relations. One example of this could be raising the awareness of people across the globe on the need to live harmoniously together on Planet Earth and as such the argument to share its resources in a sustainable way. A further example is the notion of world citizenship raised by Immanuel Kant [19; see also 6] in his writings on eternal peace. The perception of Immanuel Kant and his notion of a world citizenship form the basis for contemporary cosmopolitan approaches.

Third, diplomacy has to deal with *social and political structures, processes and relations* which are *world-spanning*. E.g. transnational civil society organizations are increasingly highly influential and significant actors in world politics. There is an increasing political power shift taking place at a global political level; states are no longer the only players in this field. Specifically, world-spanning topics on human rights and environmental issues are raised by international non-governmental organizations and are gaining momentum in world politics [for an overview on the role of international non-governmental organizations and international relations, see 10]. At various UN conferences taking place throughout recent decades, the influence of international non-governmental organizations on a global political scale has become clearly visible. The Paris Agreement [34] signed by all UN states in 2015, which aims to strengthen the global response to the menace of

climate change, was also a result of the work of international non-governmental organizations pushing the environmental agenda on governmental policies across the world. Digitalization can be seen as one of the large challenges of diplomacy in a less state-centric world.

Fourth, diplomacy has to meet the requirements of the digital age. Digitalization "represents nothing less than a civilizational revolution" [36], and diplomacy is part and parcel of this global development. *Technological changes* will have enormous influence on humanity in this century. Digital information and communication technologies, as well as artificial intelligence, change social and societal structures, processes and relations in a profound and sustainable way. Working spheres, politics, consumer habits and the social and societal life-like relations and interactions of people will alter due to technological innovations. Elections, for example as part of the political decision-making processes, take place digitally in various parts of the world and people earn the right to politically participate by using digital information and communication technologies via social media.

Rapid technological changes taking place on a global scale will mould the future of diplomacy as much as technological innovations and alterations will to a large extent shape humanity in this century. The effects caused by digital information and communication technologies as well as artificial intelligence on social, political, economic and cultural areas of life will be far-reaching and long-lasting. In order to capture these changes, diplomats have to be well trained on how to use digital information and communication technologies in an optimal manner.

Processes of digitalization and the technological innovations of the digital age cause profound and sustainable changes of social and societal structures, interactions and relations. Borders shift enormously: borders between human beings and robots, between physical and

digital social life, borders real and virtual life etc. Place and time as categories of social and societal life are being redefined by digital information and communication technologies as well as artificial intelligence. All these aspects require new perspectives, not only for governmental policies in specific states; but they also indicate a necessary shift for diplomats as being part and parcel of the international community. In this century there is a need for a global turn of politics due to the world-wide dynamics of technological innovations, and diplomats can contribute their expertise here.

In addition to this it is obvious that space as a reference point of social and societal life is losing its relevance due to digital information and communication technologies. The locus of a person is no longer important for social and societal interaction and communication, as it was decades ago. Diplomacy as understood here acknowledges the interconnectivity of the virtual world — e.g. social media, and the real world — face-to-face human interaction. Regarding both, digital diplomacy can be a recognition of the world's diversity.

And the fifth point is that diplomacy has to actively participate in digital processes and the *visionary claims of a global turn in politics*. Digital participation is an essential of contemporary diplomacy and part and parcel of future politics and international relations.

Considering the interface topics of diplomacy and technology, it is evident that both global risks as well as digital information and communication technologies as a global human experience create transnational similarities. Furthermore, political decisions are made within a few hours in times of global crisis. This is something that all people have been experiencing in the current pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus. Immature or even dangerous technologies are implemented by governments all over the world, because the risks of doing nothing are considered greater. Political

decisions are hereby often made on the basis of reasonable [secure] not-knowing. All countries of the world are currently acting as "guinea pigs in large-scale social experiments" as Yuval Harari [16] has stated. The political measurements being taken by several governments across the world when confronted with the pandemic have openly brought about a discourse between interfering with the fundamental rights of people, even in consolidated democracies, and the urge for data protection issues versus surveillance tools in autocratic or totalitarian political systems. Technological innovations make it possible for the first time in human history to constantly monitor everyone. As such the current pandemic marks a turning point in the history of surveillance. In addition to mobile tracing-apps, some governments of the world could also use biometric wristbands, which would mean a transition to a frightening new surveillance system [see 16]. In this epoch totalitarian surveillance — often applied in autocratic or totalitarian political systems, but also raised in consolidated democracies — contrasts with citizen empowerment. Technological innovations could lead humanity in either direction in this century.

In the digital and global age, analyses of the interaction between many actors are needed: an informed world public and serious media coverage, a global civil society, states that do not lose themselves in nationalist isolation but develop new forms of multilateralism and responsible politics. And this also requires sound scientific expertise, e.g. to deal with changes in knowledge and power through digital information and communication technologies and governance. In the face of global crises, people must have confidence in politics and well-functioning international relations, in science as well as new technologies. Innovative technologies used by diplomats can hereby assist in building this confidence on a world-wide scale.

In this sense, diplomacy has to perform wide-ranging tasks in this era.

4. The visionary claims of a *global turn in politics*, and diplomacy's contributions toward this undertaking

The visionary claims of a *global turn in politics*, and diplomacy's contributions toward this undertaking through considering the political development trends in the 21st century are based on the following three assumptions:

First, the challenges for humanity in the 21st century are enormous. Global crises shape human life all over the world. *Global challenges and crises require innovative, cross-disciplinary and transnational spaces* and also *address the need for global cooperation*: No academic discipline or state alone can cope with these universal threads. One example of this is Darknet, an overlay network within the internet and part of the greater deep web, which is overthrowing traditional forms of political power. No state across the globe is unaffected by it. As such, there is no single state in the world that is not being challenged by this big part of the internet which is to a large extent changing political power in the traditional sense. To put it plainly, this means that Darknet is not governable by any political regime across the globe.

Second, *rapid technological changes* will cause the substantial transformation of human life in this century. At the same time, technological alterations and opportunities as well as the risks of digitalization taking place on a global scale will also shape the future of diplomacy itself. As such, diplomacy has to meet the requirements of the digital age in terms of their professional training. In this century, a profound and firmly-based education on how to use digital tools is a necessity for any curriculum of diplomatic professional training programmes. Training on the usage of digital information and communication technologies is crucial for the diplomatic corps across the globe.

Third, diplomacy is a key player in developing a *global plan for humanity*. Global risks themselves that affect all

people as well as the resulting social, political, cultural and economic crises are universal problems. Information and knowledge in dealing with global crises must be shared on a world-wide scale by diplomats as global actors. Diplomacy must provide expertise on perceiving the dilemma of global discordance in a world society and world politics confronted with global crises.

Diplomacy can be seen as a key actor in developing a global plan for humanity. Global risks themselves that affect all people, as well as the resulting social, political, cultural and economic crises, are universal problems. These can only be solved effectively through global cooperation and can only be addressed by common diplomatic endeavours on a transnational basis. As stated above, Covid-19 or any other pandemic, surveillance tools, transnational terrorism, nuclear threats, climate change, cyber-attacks etc. affect people world-wide — from the British Prime Minister to a Mumbai slum dweller. What is needed in this century is diplomatic expertise focusing on global human experiences. Information and knowledge in dealing with global crises must be shared globally. As much as in the case of *realpolitik*, a coordinated global political effort can ensure that, for example, life-saving equipment is distributed fairly among states; accordingly, diplomats also have at the same time a common assignment. It is one of the tasks of diplomats worldwide to create sound expertise in dealing properly with these global human experiences.

Digital information and communication technologies, as well as artificial intelligence, are essential tools for the future development of world society and the shaping of world politics and international relations. Therefore, diplomacy has to embrace these tools as a medium of communication. Only by doing so can it effectively contribute to the visionary claims of a *global turn in politics*.

Digital diplomacy can make significant contributions in the global and digital age by considering a new comprehension of

diplomacy; an understanding of diplomacy that is open to facing the challenges of a humanity confronted with global risks, transnational similarities and rapid technological changes. And this would follow a professional approach that develops concepts and opens discourses on the social, economic, cultural and political shaping of the world and the digital empowerment of world citizens in the global age.

Taking the need for a global turn in politics into account: Immanuel Kant has to be revisited. In his writings on eternal peace he pointed out that need compels insight and he addressed the *ius cosmopoliticum*, the world citizenship. More than 220 years later, in the face of global crises, humanity is at a crossroads between the Leviathan figure of Thomas Hobbes [31] — surveillance through new technologies and the handling of global crises by autocratic political systems as well as the emphasis on security — versus Immanuel Kant's insight that people all over the world are reasonably gifted and free beings, who only survive through global cooperation.

5. Diplomacy's most promising way of offering humanity its profound expertise in the digital era

Digital diplomacy can make significant contributions in the global age by considering an understanding of diplomacy that is open to face the challenges of a humanity confronted with global risks, transnational similarities and rapid technological changes. And this follows a professional approach that develops concepts and opens discourses on the socio-economic and political shaping of the world and the digital empowerment of world citizens.

The role of digital diplomacy will increase in this century due to the fact that technological innovations and digital information and communication tools will continue to shape world politics, international relations and humanity to a large extent. States can use digital diplomacy in a constructive way to find joint solutions to solve global crises and face the

world-spanning challenges that lie ahead of humanity. It can be used as a tool for enabling knowledge-transfer, to exchange political views, to give information to citizens and also to demonstrate transparency on governmental activities at a national and international level. In the global age, digital diplomacy is a modern tool to create understanding and awareness across the globe on world-spanning issues.

What is needed in this century to give adequate answers to the challenging questions of humanity is universally shared knowledge in dealing with global risks as such a global turn in politics. Diplomats can hereby strengthen their roles as global actors by using digital information and communication technologies as part and parcel of their working fields, and at the same time function as relevant actors on a global stage for establishing an environment of confidence among states and world regions. This will be no easy task, but it is diplomacy's most promising way of offering humanity its profound expertise in this era.

After analysing the question of digital diplomacy versus downfall, the conclusion reached here is the following: it must be plainly stated that digitalization processes, although they are so far yet to reach all parts of the world, will have an immense impact on the shaping of world politics and international relations as well as humanity. However, up to now digital diplomacy is only beginning to become an essential tool for diplomats in their daily work routine. The sooner states invest in training programmes for using digital information and communication technologies as a means in the working arena of diplomats, the better the outcome will be for specific states, for world politics and international relations as well as for humanity. The core challenge for the international community now is to develop the common architecture of a digitally supported future and to establish collective principles and regulatory framework conditions, as are being outlined by the United Nations [32].

An open and interconnected cyberspace alongside a common architecture of its governance is essential in order for humanity to cope with global risks in this century. Digital diplomacy can thereby play a decisive role by promoting gov-

ernance frameworks and building confidence between states and world-regions across the globe. As such humanity can increasingly benefit from diplomats as global actors in the digital era.

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“SOFT POWER 2.0.”: TECHNOLOGY OF 21ST CENTURY DIPLOMACY

Abstract

The intensive development of information technologies has contributed to the transformation of strategies, technologies, and methods for the implementation of foreign policy courses of states and the achievement of their diplomatic goals. The diplomatic technologies have expanded to include both classical diplomacy and digital technologies. This article analyzes the features of “soft power 2.0” as an instrument of modern diplomacy. “Soft power 2.0.” is considered by the author as a modification of the traditional “soft power” strategy, integrating “persuasion technologies” with information and communication resources. As practice shows, digital services, programs, algorithms can use the actions of users of social networks and imperceptibly, gently control them, forming their preferences.

Key words: Diplomacy, Digital Diplomacy, Soft Power, Soft Power 2.0.

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Information technologies have a huge impact on the specifics of the development of the political process at all levels: from global to municipal. Moreover, on the one hand, new technologies for managing the socio-political system are being developed and used, and on the other hand, existing technologies are being adapted and transformed into the realities of modern life. Thus, the classic concepts of «diplomacy» and «soft power» are transformed into «digital diplomacy» and «soft power 2.0.». It should be noted that at the same time, it does not mean a complete rejection of the methods of traditional diplomacy or of the technology of soft power in the sense, in which it was understood and developed by Joseph S. Nye [6, 7]. A special feature of modern international relations is the integration and simultaneous use of so-called real and digital technologies.

A significant number of works by both Russian and foreign researchers have been devoted to the specifics and problems of implementing the concept of soft power. We would like to pay special attention to the works of Doctor of Historical Sciences, prof. M.A. Neymarka, revealing both theoretical and methodological aspects and applied issues of implementation of «soft power» [21, 22, 23, 24]. Doctor of Political Sciences, Prof. M.M. Lebedeva has devoted several studies to various problems of implementing «soft power»: in her works, this concept is considered as an integration resource in the regional context [12, 14], higher education is analyzed as one of the tools of «soft power» [15, 16], conceptual issues are studied, among which the ratio of «soft power» technologies and propaganda is important [13]. The works of Doctor of Historical Sciences, associate Professor O.V. Lebedeva are devoted to

transformational processes in the field of diplomacy and new trends in diplomatic practice, including «digital diplomacy» [17, 18, 19]. Problems related to the use of information technologies in international relations are analyzed in the works of Doctor of Historical Sciences, Prof. A.I. Smirnova [26, 27, 28, 29].

Among Western researchers, it is necessary to highlight the works of J. Nye [6, 7], who owns the authorship of the concept of «soft power»; K. Hayden's research [4], devoted to the specifics of the implementation of «soft power» technology in the context of global politics. The problems of «digital diplomacy» and of the implementation of the «soft power 2.0» strategy are also in the focus of attention of several other Western scientists [1, 2, 3, 8].

The theoretical-conceptual and applied issues of implementing the concepts of «digital diplomacy» and «soft power 2.0» are very fruitfully developed by scientists and researchers. However, it is worth noting that, first, the abundance of existing approaches and attempts to determine the essence of these phenomena and to identify their specifics complicates the so-called coordinate system. The lack of unity of approaches to the categories «digital diplomacy», «soft power 2.0», «web-diplomacy», «diplomacy 2.0» creates a misunderstanding: are these different concepts, or should they be considered synonymous? How do these concepts relate to each other? If the semantic content of categories intersects, what is their specificity? Secondly, in the context of the combination of classical and digital diplomacy technologies, it is necessary, in our opinion, to analyze the place and role of «soft power 2.0» technology in the tools of modern diplomacy. We propose to consider this issue in the present paper.

Diplomacy usually refers to the activities of government bodies (Foreign Ministry, Head of Government, Head of State), as well as their representatives abroad to implement the tasks of the state's foreign policy. Accordingly, the current tools of

diplomacy are determined by the foreign policy course implemented by the state at a specific time, at a specific stage of society's development.

The current stage of social development is described in the categories of information and, for some time, digital society. An information society is usually understood as a social system in which information plays a decisive role. In the «Strategy for the development of the information society in the Russian Federation for 2017–2030», this concept is defined as «a society in which information and the level of its application and availability dramatically affect the economic and socio-cultural conditions of citizens» [31]. Some researchers are developing the concept of a post-information society, which is associated with the transformation of the nature and quality of information and its impact on social reality [20]; with the creation of universal humanoid intelligence and artificial superintelligence [25]. As for the category «digital society», we share the definition proposed by S.V. Tikhonova and S.M. Frolova. They understand it as «a form of social order in which all key social connections are built using digital Internet communication services» [30]. Thus, the key characteristic of a digital society is the electronic-digital mediation of any social interaction. This characteristic is also expressed in international relations. Due to qualitative changes in the social order, we are moving from classical diplomacy to digital diplomacy.

Under the term «digital diplomacy» we understand the broad involvement and use of a complex of information and communication technologies for the implementation of foreign policy by the state. Thanks to digital diplomacy, not only States but also other actors are involved in the global agenda and in solving global problems (as well as in creating several «problems»), which contributes to the transformation of classical diplomacy based on the classical state-centrist model.

One of the effective technologies that digital diplomacy «borrowed» from

classical diplomacy is «soft power». In the traditional sense, the implementation of the «soft power» strategy involves actions to achieve the goal, based on the dissemination of the state's culture, ideology and thus the voluntary introduction of representatives of other cultures to the values of this state, increasing the image and attractiveness of the state in the eyes of foreign citizens, etc. «Soft power» is implemented at a deep value and ideological level, addresses historical archetypes and activates them, affects the collective perception, and forms the mood of social groups through the use of psychologically attractive forms of information presentation. In the context of digital diplomacy, this strategy is «transformed» into «soft power 2.0», which is understood as a strategy for promoting the interests and achieving a set of goals of the state in the international arena, including geopolitical ones, using information that circulates in electronic digital systems, Internet communication services and is focused on the needs of foreign audiences.

Among the interactive technologies tools of «Soft power 2.0», there are official websites of government authorities (especially worth noting are electronic resources of foreign ministries, services, special Internet portals for communicating with citizens of the state located outside its borders), social networks (Facebook, VK, Twitter, etc.), messengers (WhatsApp, Telegram, Viber, etc.), blogs (Livejournal, Youtube). It should be noted that this tool has shown its effectiveness. For example, during the protest actions in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Turkey, Russia, Spain, and the United States (2009–2013), social networks were actively used, where protest moods of public groups were created and strengthened purposefully by placing specially prepared and selected materials (analytical articles, interviews, etc.). Thus, in the countries listed above, Twitter was used to consolidate and activate the protest masses, which is why the name «Twitter revolution» was assigned to the events that took place.

This is one of the illustrations of technologies that influence the Internet audience. The importance of such technologies is growing, as the range of Internet users is expanding.

According to the estimates of J. Nye in 2019, there were about 4 billion people online, and in 2020 this figure was expected to increase to 5–6 billion. Facebook has more users than the population of China and the United States combined. In this connection, he concludes that «the power of attraction and persuasion becomes particularly important» [5]. Digital resources must show their effectiveness in influencing and managing mass consciousness.

The «pioneer» and leader in using digital resources to achieve foreign policy goals are the United States. Describing the modern strategy of «soft power 2.0» implemented by the government of D. Trump, it should be noted that the share of «cultural» and «educational» components in it is significantly reduced. Between 2016 and 2019, the United States budget used for non-military influence abroad decreased from 50.3 billion to \$ 39.3 billion (more than 20%) [9, P. 126]. Joseph Nye criticized this policy of the American government, citing research conducted by the Gallup Institute, which showed that the share of foreign citizens who have a positive attitude to the United States under the leadership of D. Trump decreased by almost 20% [9, P. 126]. The reasons for the reduction of the American budget for such projects can be explained by the fact that in the period of information warfare, according to the American expert community, «it makes no sense to deal with long-term issues of involvement» [32]. Thus, in the context of the American approach, there is a transformation of the «soft power 2.0» strategy and its distancing from the classical concept, which will entail a change in the technologies of its implementation.

Foreign policy doctrinal documents of the Russian Federation recognize the relevance of the use of information and

communication technologies. Thus, the current Concept of Russian Foreign Policy notes that information and communication methods and technologies used by foreign countries to implement their foreign policy objectives are an integral part of modern world politics [11]. The threat of foreign countries implementing the Soft power strategy 2.0 is reflected in the Russian Military doctrine of 2014, which distinguishes between external and internal military threats. The main external military dangers include «the use of information and communication technologies for military and political purposes to carry out actions... directed against the sovereignty, political independence, territorial integrity of States...», and internal military dangers include «activities aimed at influencing the population, primarily young citizens of the country, to undermine historical, spiritual and Patriotic traditions in the field of protecting the Fatherland» [10].

So, soft power 2.0 technologies are considered by us as a modern tool of diplomacy. Practice shows that digital services, programs, and algorithms can use the actions of users of social networks and imperceptibly, gently manage them, forming, among other things, their preferences. As O.V. Lebedeva notes, «digital intelligence can transform and adapt likes and dislikes, comments and reposts to the tasks needed by politicians, exporting democratic ideas to the far corners of the globe» [19]. Thus, soft power 2.0 combines persuasion technologies with communication and information resources. Given the dynamics of technological and digital tools and the emergence of new technologies, it can be argued that the phenomenon of «Soft Power2.0» in the near future, on the one hand, will become increasingly important as part of the implementation of a very tangible foreign policy course of various countries, and on the other hand, will necessitate refinement and expansion of its methods.

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GLOBAL EDUCATION — VISION OF THE FUTURE¹

Abstract

COVID-19 pandemic crisis has opened new questions about how to organize working and education processes. Technology has erased and changed borders, and future generations must be ready for the Post COVID-19 New Normal of Global society and possess new multidisciplinary knowledge. In this paper, the authors elaborate on the process of Global Education, which is an active project-based learning process based on the values of solidarity, equality, inclusion, and cooperation, which enables people to achieve a better understanding between Global and Local processes. This paper aims to show how Global education could represent a future where knowledge should connect people of all ages in all parts of the world on an equal basis. The authors especially stress that global Education should provide opportunities for a realistic assessment of contemporary problems in our World without, however, intensifying the negative images of the so-called “inevitably dark and terrible future”.

Key words: globalization, global, borders, global societies, education, technologies.

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Introduction

Young people of today should not turn their heads away from the problems and misfortunes. They must understand that the future belongs to them and their activities on the Local and Global level. That's why the first and most important step is to launch and implement a quality education system for every child and every student around the

world. When Global Education becomes an integral part of the formal curriculum, educational actors will have a framework on how to organize their activities.

The new curriculum should implement and replace state exams with projects and research papers [1]. ***The emphasis is on project-based learning, which brings more flexibility and is a springboard***

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for introducing Global themes and new methodologies. The practice has shown that learning about global issues, such as, for example, about human rights, depends more on the enthusiasm of teachers, and not so much on the curriculum or support of the State or City/Region. In addition to books, movies could also be used as a good learning source. NGO Mondo Film Library is one good example with more than 200 documentaries on global issues. Another good example is GENE, which provides practical examples for leadership and could be good for national platforms and ways in which global education can become part of the education system.

What is Global Education: from general understanding to the conceptual definition

Global Education is a term that is widely and frequently used in the modern world. Its final aim is to explain an educational system that should enable young people to have opportunities to shape a better future and to be able to create better conditions for living in a Global World, starting from Local community up to Regional and Global (Global model). One definition of Global Education says that 'it helps people to see and understand the reality of everything around them' Globally and Locally and encourages them to create a World that offers more Justice, Equality, and Peace.

Global Education includes learning about Global developments, Human rights, Sustainability, Peace and Conflict prevention, Intercultural Education, and understanding. The World is ruled by complex social, environmental, political, and economic processes, and to understand the essence of this processes, to have a better understanding among peoples, between systems, cultures, societies, and their ideas, to be able to better cope with everything around us, *it is necessary to develop 'New ways of thinking' and especially 'New ways of Acting' — in Education [2].*

Global education is, in general term, a perspective of education that emerges from the fact that modern people live and interact in an increasingly Globalized world. This educational model must provide students with the opportunity and ability to consider and share their views, ideas and roles, within a global, interconnected society as well as to understand and discuss the complex relationships between common social, environmental, political, and economic issues, among others, with focal aims to perform and develop new ways of thinking and acting.

However, Global Education should not be presented as an approach that we will all accept uncritically, given that we already know that there are dilemmas, tensions, doubts, and different perceptions in the educational process when we are dealing with global issues.

There are several definitions of Global Education.

The Maastricht Declaration on Global Education (2002) states that:

- ***Global Education is education that 'opens people's eyes and minds' to the realities of a Globalized World and encourages them to make the world a place of greater Justice, Equality, and Human rights for all [3].***
- Global Education includes the development of education, human rights education, education for sustainable development, education for Peace and Conflict prevention, and Intercultural education, given that it has a Global dimension of Global citizenship education.

Education should be aimed at the overall development of the human personality and strengthening respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. This model of education should promote understanding, tolerance, and friendship among all nations, racial and religious groups, as well as the United Nations peacekeeping activities [4].

By combining learning, training, information, and activities, such education should promote a certain intellectual and

emotional development of an individual with a sense of social responsibility and solidarity. Society should be structured more equally with less privileged groups. Globally, this model of education should lead to respect for the principle of equality in the everyday behavior of each person [5].

Education, including formal education, should raise public awareness and be recognized as a process through which human beings and societies can reach their greatest potential. Education is key to promoting sustainable development and improving people's ability to address development and environmental issues [6].

Global education as a 'Transformative' learning process

This paper aims to look at the role of Global Education as well as to analyze attitudes, ranging from a culture of individualism (which often goes hand in hand with dominance) to a culture of partnership based on dialogue and cooperation.

The *first cultural model* characterizes education systems in many countries, is a system where Global themes and the developments of awareness on 'World realities' are not considered as relevant to Countries' National educational priorities and Visions. On the other hand, *the second cultural model — the partnership model*, can lead to better International understandings and more honest cooperation between Nations and Peoples.

Aspects of domination exist in many different areas of our societies and are also very often deeply rooted in the structures of Countries' Educational systems. Those experts who are critical of such a model of education pointed out that this model leads to conflictual relations between individuals or between peoples, especially if they belong to different Cultures, Religions, or Social groups.

Global Education is about the Visions which are necessary to move all towards a model of partnership, between Peoples, Cultures, and Religions, at the micro and

macro levels. 'Transformative' learning through Global Education encompasses a profound, structural change in the basic premises of thoughts, feelings, and actions. It is education for both — the mind and the heart.

The three main stages of 'transformative' learning, which are strongly linked to Global Education, are:

- First stage: Analysis of the current situations in the World (Global model)
- Second stage: Development of Visions which could be alternative approaches to the dominant model and how they might look like
- Third Stage: Long term processes of transformation of individuals to the responsible World Citizens

Global Education as 'transformative' learning implies participatory decision-making processes in all these three stages. The goal of this type of learning is to promote mutual knowledge and collective self-awareness. Global Education is the opposite of Greed, Inequality, and Egocentrism and could be developed through honest Cooperation and Solidarity of all.

Global Education as 'transformative' learning offers ways how to make changes at the Local level with aims to influence the global level (Global model). The main aims are to develop Global Citizenship, through participatory strategies and methods, so that people learn to take more responsibilities which cannot be left only to Governments and other decision-making bodies.

However, Global Education is not just about Global issues, World problems, and possible overall solutions. It is also about 'how to predict' a common future with better living conditions for all, connecting Local and Global perspectives, and how to make these Visions real and possible.

'Transformative' learning should enable people to shape and share Common Visions for a fair and more sustainable world for all. Focusing on the future we want, is crucial for a model of 'transformative' learning.

Global Education contributes to 'Visions processes' and have an important role in creating 'new methods' as approaches for processes of social movements and non-formal learning which are important because they create space for values and models that are not central to formal learning and 'give voice' to all in the society, including marginalized groups.

Promoting ideas of a Global Perspective into classrooms around the world could lead to a more positive exchange of opinions in the years to come. With the implementation of this model of learning, Young people will not only gain in terms of the quality of education based on the knowledge that they acquire in schools and colleges, but also through learning the importance of interpersonal relationships, habits, and skills that will affect the fate of humanity in the next ten, hundred, and even a thousand years [7].

Education for democratic citizenship focuses primarily on democratic rights and responsibilities, active participation in the civil, political, social, economic, legal, and cultural spheres of social life [8].

Effects of Globalization on Global Education

Globalization is a contradictory process that causes positive but also negative consequences for Global World. Today we have many Scientists who are characterized as 'Lawyers of Globalization' and who emphasize only the positive effects of Globalization on human society; then critics, who focus only on the negative consequences of these processes, and "third-way experts" who look on Globalization as a real, factual, situation which must be incorporated into thinking about organization and implementation of any processes at Global or Local level [9].

In the context of the development of higher education, some theorists qualify Globalization as a process that deepens existing differences and contributes more to the unequal distribution of power with numerous negative social consequences. On the other hand, some emphasize the positive effects of Globalization on the de-

velopment of higher education, explaining that Globalization could be the best way for bridging the existing "knowledge gap" globally and locally.

As a result of the development of many complex interdependence links between Countries, the World in which we had lived till the COVID-19 Pandemic has evolved into a Globalized World. Recent history undoubtedly shows that the lives of men and women in every place on Planet Earth can be affected by events and processes which are thousands of miles away. The Serbian scientist Nikola Tesla had predicted it in his Vision of 21st Century 100 years before the time we live in. Today Tesla's Vision has become reality — World economic, geopolitical, and social relations, modern ways of communication and technology, media, and transportation enable the fast flow of information and global interconnectivity.

Globalization as a process is complex and ambivalent and consequences can be both positive and negative. Among the positive consequences of Globalization are: the expansion of human horizons, access to knowledge and products of science and technology, multiculturalism and intercultural perspectives, increased opportunities for personal developments, more opportunities to share ideas, to take joint activities to solve common problems, etc.

The negative consequences are mainly at the social, economic, and environmental levels. On the one hand, in the modern Global World, we have more poverty in every society, the growing gaps between developed and developing countries, disease, forced migrations, human rights violations, exploitation of vulnerable social groups, racism, and xenophobia, conflicts, insecurity, and increased individualism. On the other hand, there are many subsequent environmental consequences such as the greenhouse effect, climate change, pollution, and depletion of natural resources.

Global awareness about Global issues has been increasingly addressed through agreements and declarations which have

been largely disseminated by International Organizations and commitments of Civil Society organizations.

All of the above shows the need for inclusion of Global Education in teaching and learning methods, informal and non-formal education, to achieve a better understanding of current problems in the Globalized World. The impacts of global issues on Global and Local level is evidence that Global Education is not only an urgent "Must" but also an essential Ethical need for today's Global World.

Globalization has been a fundamental challenge for all areas of Education in every Country. At the same time, Globalization has provided access to people, cultures, economies, and languages in a New and very complex way. In this context, Education about Global issues can be fully viewed, in market-driven conditions, as an advancement of personal skills and abilities which should help people to be free, equal, and more efficient employees in the Local and Global economy.

The Vision of Global Education

Global Education is a new paradigm that could help us to find proper answers to all open questions. The goals of Global Education are to enable students to understand global issues, and at the same time to provide them with more skills and knowledge based on values and attitudes that are desirable for one World Citizen who is confronted with the problems of the modern world. In general, Global Education is a dynamic process of individual and collective developments that enables the transformation of Society and individual self-transformation.

At the same time, there is a lot of controversy over the need for greater opportunities in curriculum development for creative and rational discussions of different views on future alternatives. This is in line with modern curriculum innovation 'movements' which in different countries encourage a more flexible and

open perspective by applying new content and using active new methods and new resources.

Global Education should unite all, old and modern pedagogical concepts. Therefore, it is an open, continuous, multidimensional concept of general education. Besides, Global education is also considered as a collective and holistic response to the historical World challenges. Global Education enables people to develop the knowledge, skills, values, and attitudes necessary to achieve a sustainable developed World in which everyone has the right to fulfill their human potential.

COVID-19 Pandemic as an Impetus to Global Education

Global Education should provide opportunities for a realistic assessment of contemporary problems in our World without intensifying the negative images of the so-called 'inevitably dark and terrible future'. Certainly, each progress gives us, as Humans, not only positive but also certain portions of 'side back effects' (negative). It is also true with regards to the IoT (Internet of Things) and 4IR (4th Industrial Revolutions). For example, in a globalized world, there are problems connected with the ways and speed of spreading the information. The IoT gives us the possibility not only to see when something is happening on the other side of the Planet (in real-time) but also to see it from a thousand different perspectives.

However, with IoT and 4IR, speed, volume, and complexity of information flow were followed by the process of development of a huge 'dark net' and lots of disinformation. How effective such disinformation could be, the best example was in C-19 Pandemic Time, a time of general insecurity, and time when such kind of disinformation could have extremely dangerous consequences for Local as well as Global Society.

COVID-19 Pandemic has provided the best evidence in support of Global Education although it has been on the agenda

already for many years. This is so because of the importance to give more priority in Public Open Media and Public spaces to those experts who can recommend and explain the citizens the use of more relevant and legitimate sources of information, which is the best possible way of increasing their resilience against rumors and conspiracy theories.

We must accept and understand the fact that we are all living in a Global Society which already has Global Education as one of its main pillars. When we recognize our 'Global reality' we can continue to develop a more harmonious World, World based on Cooperation and Peace. Such a harmonized World would undoubtedly be more resilient even to such crises as the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Conclusion

No matter in which time we live (traditional, modern, postmodern, or some new 'future time'), no matter how we define ourselves, the priority for educated

people should always be their focus on justice. As a Hz Omer use to say: "Justice is the foundation of property (order, system, state)."

People, as users of digital media and information technologies, have the opportunity of equal participation in information exchange, where freedom of access defines information as a common good. Of course, this is not the case with all data that appears, but one individual has the greatest influence and responsibility on the selection, presentation, and dissemination of the information that appears in the IoT.

In the future World, which we are already entering a Post COVID-19 Times, Global Education, and Science Diplomacy should play the main role should as a part of the education process and human interactions. Education and Science, as well as Science for Diplomacy and Diplomacy for Science, will be the best possible way of solving Global issues and the most proper source of answers to Global challenges.

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DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION INITIATIVES IN INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS FROM PEDAGOGIC PERSPECTIVES

Abstract

COVID-19 pandemic has impacted all aspects of human life including higher education. With the advent of digitalization of educational contents and its surging acceptability in the society of today, there is a tremendous scope to expand education to every nook and corner of the country. The Government of India has taken decisive digital initiatives to carry out large-scale digital reforms in higher education. While technology-enabled initiatives or platforms in line with Massive Open Online Courses such as Swayam have seen the use of technologies and Diksha, a platform that aids teachers with digital and tech-based teaching solutions, the Government is also emphasizing on boosting the use of tools such as virtual lab, a virtual reality enabled classrooms or curated online content for both students and teachers. This paper sincerely depicts and analyses the detailed descriptions of all the major initiatives taken by the Government of India in the field of higher education in a critical perspective keeping in mind the pertinent digital questions in terms of its divide, access, equity, and pedagogy. It also depicts some measures to be taken, purely from the digital pedagogic perspective as pedagogy has not yet become the core of higher education affairs in India, to materialize the knowledge construction virtually or digitally in higher education institutions.

Keywords: Digital-pedagogy; digital-platforms; digital-divide; Arpit; Swayam; Badal; GIAN.

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Introduction

COVID-19 pandemic has impacted all aspects of human life including education in general and higher education in particular. But, the good thing is that with the advent of information and communication technology and its increasing acceptability in the society of today, there is a tremendous scope to expand education to every nook and corner of the country, for enhancing awareness and improving understanding. India as a nation is on a growth path in the higher education sphere and digitization is supporting the collective efforts of public

and private sectors to realize the dream of becoming the education hub of the world.

India's higher education is evident with the increasing use of ICT, Cloud Computing, Artificial Intelligence, and Virtual Reality in day-to-day practices. The Government of India has committed itself by prioritizing advanced uses of ICT to bring phenomenal changes such as Revitalising Infrastructure and Systems in Education (RISE) scheme. While technology-enabled initiatives or platforms in line with Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC) such as Swayam (for teachers' education) have

seen the use of technologies, the Government is also emphasizing on boosting the use of tools such as virtual lab, virtual reality (VR)-enabled classrooms or curated online content for both students and teachers. Swayam, an online life-long training platform developed with the help of Microsoft, or Diksha, a platform that helps teachers with digital and tech-based teaching solutions, is paramount strives in revamping the digital education platforms.

India is going to be one of the youngest nations in the world and with over 140 million people in the college-going age group by 2030, one in every four graduates in the world will be a product of the Indian higher education system. Keeping this in perspective, India has taken some concrete and much-awaited transformational initiatives to truly transform higher education in recent times such as SWAYAM; SWAYAM Prabha; NDL (National Digital Library); National Academic Depository; 5e — Shodh Sindhu; Virtual Labs; e-Yantra; Campus Connectivity; Talk to a Teacher; Ask a Question; e-Acharya; E-Kalpa; FUS-SEE (The Free and Open Source Software for Education); e-Vidwan; Spoken Tutorial; Central Cloud Infrastructure; NAD (National Academic Depository); BADAL; OSCAR; Virtual Learning Environment; Text Transcription of Video Content; e-PG Pathshala; etc. Approximately thirty such Digital Initiatives have been taken by the Government of India in Higher Education.

A brief description of Digital Initiatives in the form of digital platforms Indian Higher Education is as under:

ARIIA: ARIIA (Atal Ranking of Institutions on Innovation Achievement) is an initiative of MHRD to rank all major universities and HEIs in India on indicators related to 'Innovation and Entrepreneurship Development' amongst students and faculties.

ARPIT: The Ministry of Human Resource Development has officially

launched Online Annual Refresher Programme in Teaching (ARPIT) in 2018, a major and unique initiative of online professional development of fifteen lakh higher education faculty using the MOOCs platform SWAYAM. For implementing ARPIT, discipline-specific National Resource Centres (NRCs) have been identified to prepare online training material with a focus on the latest developments in the discipline for transacting revised curriculum based on pedagogical improvements and methodologies.

Ask a Question: Ask A Question is a unique platform through which students from science and engineering institutions can ask questions and dedicated faculty from IIT Bombay answers them. Questions can be asked either online or during an interactive sessions which are live.

BAADAL: It is an MHRD initiative developed as an NME-ICT cloud for academic purposes. It is a cloud orchestration and virtualization management software initiated by MHRD under the NMECT scheme and developed and maintained by IIT Delhi. It ensures optimal utilization of the infrastructure and speeds up the development and deployment of e-Government applications for academic needs.

Campus Connectivity: Establishment of one GBPS Connectivity to universities and twenty 512 Kbps broadband connectivity to colleges has been provisioned under NMEICT. Six hundred universities have been already connected through one GBPs Optical Fibre and above twenty thousand colleges have already been connected with ten Mbps bandwidth.

Diksha: Diksha has more than 80,000 e-Books for classes I to XII created by CBSE, NCERT, and States/UT which are available in multiple languages.

e-Acharya: e-Acharya is an integrated e-content portal. It hosts all e-content projects, developed/funded under the NME-ICT. There are more than seventy projects on e-content under NME-ICT which are developed/being developed in various subject disciplines (sciences, social sciences, arts, engineering, etc.) through

various Indian colleges, universities, and institutes.

e-Adhyayan: e-Adhyayan is a platform to provide 700+ e-Books for the Post-Graduate Courses. All the e-Books are taken from the courses of e-PG Pathshala. It also has facilities for video content.

e-PG PATHSHALA: e-PG Pathshala is an initiative of the MHRD under its NME-ICT (National Mission on Education through ICT) being executed by the UGC. The content and its quality is the key component of the education system, high quality, curriculum-based, interactive e-content in seventy subjects across all disciplines of social sciences, linguistics, and languages have been developed by the subject experts working in Indian Universities.

e-Acharya: e-Acharya is an integrated e-content portal. It hosts all e-content projects, developed/funded under the NME-ICT. There are more than seventy projects on e-content under NME-ICT which are developed/being developed in various subject disciplines (sciences, social sciences, arts, engineering, etc.) through various Indian colleges, universities, and institutes.

e-Kalpa: e-Kalpa is an MHRD/NMCE-ICT initiative creating Digital Learning Environment for Design in India has successfully demonstrated the achievement of:

Digital online content for learning design with e-learning programme on design

Digital Design Resources Database including the craft sector

Social networking for higher learning with collaborative learning space for design

Design inputs for products of NME-ICT

It has already more than one hundred sixty courses on Design Learning in different domains.

e-ShodhSindhu: More than 15,000 international electronic journals and e-books are made available to all the higher educational institutions through the e-ShodhSindhu initiative. This allows access to be the best educational resources in the world using digital mode. The INFLIBNET,

Gandhinagar, Gujarat is implementing the Scheme.

e-Vidwan: The 'Information and Library Network' (INFLIBNET) Centre took the initiative called "Vidwan: Expert Database and National Researcher's Network" with the financial support from NMEICT. The objectives of VIDWAN is to i) collect academic and research profiles of scientists, faculty and research scientists working in leading academic and R&D organizations in India and abroad; ii) quickly and conveniently provide information about experts to peers, prospective collaborators, funding agencies, policymakers and research scholars in the country; iii) establish communication directly with the experts who possess the expertise needed by research scholars; iv) identify peer reviewers for review of articles and research proposals; v) create information exchanges and networking opportunities among scientist.

e-YANTRA: e-Yantra platform has been started to introduce Robotics into engineering education so that students may be engaged in hands-on application of principles of engineering computer science and mathematics. Presently, e-Yantra has been implemented in 100 colleges. e-Yantra is creating skills by setting up lab infrastructure for project-based learning and training teachers in these 100 engineering colleges.

FOSSEE: FOSSEE project sanctioned to IIT Bombay has been promoting the use of open-source software in educational institutions (<http://fossee.in>). It does through instructional material, such as spoken tutorials, documentation, such as textbook companions, awareness programs, such as conferences, training workshops, and Internships.

GIAN: GIAN (Global Initiative of Academic Networks) is a Government approved programme aiming to tap the talent pool of scientists and entrepreneurs internationally to encourage their engagement with the institutes of higher education in India to augment the country's existing academic resources accelerate

the pace of quality reform, and elevate India's scientific and technological capacity to global excellence.

IMPRINT: IMPRINT (Impacting Research Innovation and Technology) is the first of its kind MHRD supported Pan-IIT+IISc joint initiative to address the major science and engineering challenges that India must address and champion to enable, empower and embolden the nation for inclusive growth and self-reliance. This novel initiative with a two-fold mandate is aimed at developing new engineering education policy and creating a road map to pursue engineering challenges

IMPRINT provides the overarching vision that guides research into areas that are predominantly socially relevant.

NAD: The vision of NAD (National Academic Depository) is born out of an initiative to provide an online storehouse of all academic awards. NAD is a twenty-four by seven online storehouse of all academic awards viz. certificates, diplomas, degrees, mark-sheets, etc. duly digitalized and lodged by academic institutions/boards/eligibility assessment bodies.

National Digital Library of India (NDLI): NDLI is an all-digital library that stores information (metadata) about different types of digital contents including books, articles, videos, audios, thesis, and other educational materials relevant for users from varying educational levels and capabilities. It provides a single-window search facility to access digital contents currently existing in India as well as other digital sources under a single umbrella.

NIRF: NIRF (National Institutional Ranking Framework) outlines a methodology to rank institutions across the country. The methodology of ranking is based on the parameters such as — (i) Teaching Learning and Resources, (ii) Research and Professional Practices, (iii) Graduation Outcomes, (iv) Outreach and Inclusivity, and (v) Perception.

NISHTHA: NISHTHA –An integrated Teacher Training Portal and Mobile App

OSCAR: OSCAR (Open Source Courseware Animations Repository) provides

a repository of web-based interactive animations and simulations, that we refer to as learning objects (LOs). These learning objects span topics in science and engineering at the college level and mathematics and science at the school level. Students and teachers can view, run, and download these learning objects.

NROER: NROER (National Repository of Open Educational Resources). With approximately 16000 registered users and 14527 e-learning resources, NROER is one of an excellent initiative launched by the Ministry of HRD. Students visiting the NROR platform gets exposure to e-libraries, e-books, e-courses, chance to participate in events online, and theme-based education. Apart from this, students can access the website in both Hindi and English languages.

SHAKSHAT: This portal has been initiated to facilitate the concept of lifelong learning for those who are in employment, students, and teachers to get knowledge free of cost.

The content has been developed by IGNOU, University of Delhi, KVS (Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan), NVS (Navodaya Vidyalaya Sangathan), NIOS (National Institute of Open Schooling) and NCERT (National Council for Educational Research and Training).

ShodhGanga: It is a digital depository platform for the Indian Electronic Theses and Dissertations. It facilitates open access to Indian theses and dissertations to the academic community worldwide.

ShodhGangotri: At this e-platform, all the research scholars/research supervisors in universities are requested to deposit their electronic version of approved synopsis submitted by research scholars to the universities for registering themselves for the Ph.D. programme.

Spoken Tutorial: This project helps everyone learn various Free/Libre and Open Source Software all by oneself. It is a self-paced multilingual course which ensures that anybody with a computer and a desire for learning can learn from any place, at any time, and in a language of

their choice. The Internet is not required to use Spoken Tutorials.

SWAYAM: SWAYAM (Study Webs of Active Learning for Young Aspiring Minds) is an interactive learning platform that has been developed by MHRD (Ministry of Human Resource Development) and NPTEL (National Programme on Technology Enhanced Learning), IIT (Indian Institute of Technology) Madras with the help of Google INC and Persistent Systems Ltd. SWAYAM seeks to bridge the digital divide for students who have hitherto remained untouched by the digital revolution and have not been able to join the mainstream of the knowledge economy" (swayam.go.in). It is capable of hosting around two thousand courses and eight hundred hours of learning encompassing School Education; Undergraduate and Post-graduate courses. It has also contents of professional courses like law and engineering. All the courses delivered through SWAYAM are available free of cost. However, those wanting and desiring for certifications will have to pay a nominal fee and complete the course successfully.

SWAYAM PRABHA: The Swayam Prabha is a group of thirty-two DTH (Direct to Home) channels devoted to the teaching of high-quality educational programmes on twenty-four by seven basis using the GSAT-15 satellite. Every day, there will be new content and repeat telecasts. The contents are provided by UGC; CEC; IIT; NPTEL; IGNOU; NCERT and NIOS.

Talk to a Teacher: This has been developed by IIT Bombay to provide free access to a few selected graduate and postgraduate courses, taught at IIT Bombay by distinguished faculty members and scholars.

Virtual Labs: This has been started to provide remote-access to Labs in various disciplines of Engineering and Sciences. These Virtual Labs help all students at the levels of undergraduate and postgraduate. Research scholars also get benefited from these. Based on the complete Learning Management System, at these Virtual Labs, students can avail of the vari-

ous tools for learning, including additional web-resources, video-lectures, animated demonstrations, and self-evaluation. Here, costly equipment and resources are shared.

A Critical Analysis from Pedagogic Perspective: The steady onset of the Digital India vision is having a profound effect on our lives. Digital technology which is also known as disruptive technologies has helped to fast pace the digitalization and consequently a new kind of transparency, efficiency, and accountability are found in the field of higher education. At the same time digitalization has brought about disruptive changes with the tremendous potential to have radically altered the conventional landscape of paradigm of higher education teaching and learning. As far as the pedagogic perspective is concerned, there is a lot more to be needed. There are huge challenges in the digitalization of higher education as digital resources and internet connectivity are not the major problems on the one hand and the other, there is a shortage of digital literate and pedagogic oriented teachers in the field of higher education. Due to digital technology as a catalyst, education is advancing from a knowledge-transfer/delivery model to an active, self-directed, collaborative, and above all engaging model.

Digital Pedagogic Perspective:

As per perceived perception, "digital pedagogy is considered as the use of electronic elements to enhance or to change to the experience of education" (Brian Croxall, 2013). It has also been termed as an attempt to use technology to change teaching and learning in numerous ways. Importantly, some argue that merely using electronic elements in our teaching does not guarantee that we are practicing digital pedagogy. Digital pedagogy incorporates several axiomatic changes to conventional pedagogy and shares its frameworks with constructivist and constructionist approaches, in which students construct their knowledge in sociocultural

settings. Here comes a role of epistemic (theory of knowledge) dimension of pedagogy in general and digital pedagogy in particular. It has been asserted time and again that it is an epistemology that provides guided lives to pedagogy (Jha, A. K. 2005). Consequently, it can be said that it is the pedagogy that must provide guided direction to online teaching and learning. Being co-construction of knowledge as the central to digital pedagogy, it transcends and encompasses learning along with teaching. A digital pedagogy includes planning for learning which is less content than problem-solving based.

Digital pedagogy demands not only to know how to use of contemporary digital technologies in teaching and learning but also to be acquainted and versed well with modern paradigms of pedagogy and pedagogic approaches. Fundamentally, it is assumed that digital pedagogy has roots in the theory of constructivism and constructionism. Therefore, the e-contents that we provide to the teachers to be used for teaching and learning purposes through different e-platforms, it must adhere to the constructivist and constructionist teaching and learning design used for online teaching digitally. It is also presumed that digital pedagogy is not about using digital technologies for teaching rather it is about approaching those tools from a critical pedagogic perspective in the domain of constructivist and constructionism.

Among many important factors, Digital Pedagogy demands to focus on collaboration, inclusion, and class participation. Design for inclusion demands ensuring that the technology being incorporated allows everyone to participate and therefore, a teacher has to be mindful of the digital divide and that not all of the students have access and are tech-savvy. For class participation, two things are required like knowledge about engaging tools that work the best and understanding of digital pedagogic approaches. The selection of a particular pedagogic approach depends on the epistemic dimension and

its understanding of a particular pedagogic approach and its digital strategies. There is a selective range of pedagogical theories that apply to Digital Pedagogy in particular and which are frequently used are — Constructivism; Constructionism; Active Learning; Problem Based or Inquiry-Based Learning; Andragogy, etc.

There are Digital Pedagogues who prefer not to use a single pedagogic model but the blends of the pedagogic model of Innovative and Creative Pedagogy, Constructivist and Critical Pedagogy, and Constructionist Pedagogy. Innovation has been defined by various thinkers differently. Some viewed it as the creation of better or more effective products, others have viewed it as processes and ideas that are useful for solving the problems of education. Creative digital pedagogy helps online learners how to learn constructively and creatively and become creators and constructors of themselves. Lately, pedagogues have emphasized the concept of 'construction is creativity'. Epistemic construction of knowledge is epistemic creativity.

In the light of the above discussion, it can be underlined that though there are so many transformational digital initiatives in the form of e-contents and different e-platforms on the part of Government of India in the field of higher education but, there is hardly any which is based on sound digital pedagogic perspective.

Digital Divide in India: Due to the Covid-19 pandemic and lockdown, there is a huge jump in digitalization profoundly evident in Indian higher education. Digitalization is putting its thumping stamp and its unflinching authority in higher education incessantly. But, the question of the digital divide and digital equity and access have become more critical today in the field of higher education in India.

As described by Wikipedia, "the term digital divide refers to the gap between people with effective access to digital and information technology and those with very limited or no access at all. It includes the imbalances in physical access

to technology as well as the imbalances in resources and skills needed to effectively participate as a digital citizen. The digital divide is an alarming reality in India and heavy cost to access new technology will set the stage for the digital divide i.e. digital discrimination gravely". Digital illiteracy is on a constant rise in India.

In urban India, things like smartphones, laptops, and other electronic gadgets are considered as common articles and available to all. There is a vast majority who lack these and don't have unhindered access to the internet. According to the Telecom Statistics India (2019), "telephone subscribers in rural and urban India stands at 514.27 and 669.14 million respectively. This means that a widening disparity exists between rural and urban telephone subscribers, which stops the sizeable rural population from existing in the online/digital world".

As far as Internet penetration is concerned in India, according to IAMAI (2019), among the 12+ age group, there is 40% penetration at All India level, 54% in the Urban Area and just 32% at the level of Rural India. This data itself speaks volumes of the digital divide in India in terms of access and equity. At the same time, it can't be denied that there has been an increase in penetration of Internet users up to 65% in the top eight metros. Rural penetration is also growing at a faster rate at 18%. As far as distribution of internet users by gender in percentage is concerned, at all India level users, the ratio of male and female is 65% to 35%, at the urban level users, it is 60% to 40% and at the rural level users, it is 69% to 31%.

In its 75th round of surveys, the NSSO's on Social Consumption in Education for the year 2017–18 has underlined that 76% of households that have at least one student as a member belong to rural India. A close analysis of this fact reflects that rural India has disproportionately very low and scarce access to both -- internet uses and the availability of computers. If one compares with urban households, it is beyond doubt that rural students have

three times lower access to the internet. Also, if we take a quick look at the all-India figures, only 28% of households with a currently enrolled student have any internet access. It means, during the Covid-19 pandemic, as has been claimed that 70 to 80% of students took online classes, on the contrary approximately 70 to 80% of current rural students had no internet access at all.

Ookla's Speedtest Global Index (March 2020) has ranked India at 130th in terms of mobile use and 71st in terms of fixed-line internet speeds. Therefore, considering access, Governmental measures must address issues of bandwidth inequities. India has 625.42 million "broadband" internet subscriptions. In other words, half of Indians don't have access to broadband. Therefore, the Government of India will have to approach access through the lens of modern website/application design, and domestic network capacity.

Conclusion

In terms of policy and planning, MHRD (Ministry of Human Resource Development) which is now renamed as Ministry of Education (NPE, 2020), Government of India is largely responsible for the development of the educational infrastructure in general and digital infrastructure in particular of Higher Education Sector in India. Under a planned development process, the Ministry of Education in recent times has taken the concrete measures to expand the access and qualitative improvement in Higher education through various Transformational Digital Initiatives in terms of e-contents and e-platforms commendably. Despite these phenomenal initiatives, still, the e-contents that are there in various form is not even closer to digital pedagogy as all most all are divorced from the epistemic dimension of digital pedagogic discourses. The academicians engaged in the field of higher education will have to acquaint themselves with the pedagogic orientation as pedagogy in a general and epistemic dimension of

pedagogy, in particular, has not occupied a center stage in the art and science of teaching and learning. Conclusively it can be stated that the entire higher education teaching-learning paradigm is far from the digital-epistemic-pedagogical perspective as pedagogy in general and digital pedagogy, in particular, has not yet become the core of higher education affairs in India institutionally, to materialize

the knowledge construction virtually or digitally in higher education institutions. The digital divide in terms of access and equity is still a major challenge in India which needs immediate and stark attention on behalf of the Government of India to have comprehensive strategies to make a decisive intervention immediately to address the accelerating need for everyone to be digitally connected equitably.

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DIGITALIZATION OF THE TAX ACCOUNTING SYSTEM IN THE CONDITIONS OF INTEGRATION AND MODERNIZATION OF THE ECONOMY

Abstract

The article reviews the development of the tax accounting system in the conditions of integration, modernization and digitalization of the economy. The history of the formation of national accounting systems shows that at a certain stage of economic development, all States face with the distribution of the interests of the state and the owner, as well as the distribution of various financial, tax and management reports. The rational accounting requirement determines the feasibility of its organization as a unified accounting information system based on integration into the organization and effective relations of various types of accounting. In defining the communication interaction of financial and tax statements as a subsystem of the corporate accounting system, it should ensure the relative independence of the accounting process organization from a certain type of reporting.

Key words: three-component integrated system, fiscalization, transaction, digitalization, Unified register, specifications, functional requirement system requirements.

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A rational accounting requirement determines the expediency of organizing it as a single accounting information system based on integration in the enterprise and effective interconnection of various accounting types. In determining the communication interaction of financial and tax statements as a subsystem of the enterprise accounting system the relative independence of the accounting process organization from specific reporting should be ensured.

An integrated accounting system addresses the needs of all interested users within a single accounting information base. At the same time, the costs of its creation, maintenance and implementation in the accounting process of enterprises must be economically justified.

The weak development of theoretical issues of interaction between accounting and tax accounting and the practical need for organizational and methodological approaches to their integration is based on the relevance of the chosen topic of the scientific article and the content of the issues under consideration.

Three-component integrated system — an integrated system consisting of a cash register with the function of recording and transmitting data, a device for accepting non-cash payments (POS-terminal), as well as equipment fitted with trade management automation system, provision of services, performing works and accounting for goods, or a hardware and software complex that replaces all three components of the

integrated system. Requirements for TIS and its accounting, the procedure for its installation and usage are established by the competent authority in consultation with the Central state body in the field of state planning, the competent authority implementing the state policy in the area of communications and the National Bank of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Maintenance and support of its Unified Register is carried out by the CGD of the Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Server hardware and workstations that provide the functioning of the integrated system are located on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

TIS provides the unified record of all the objects of entrepreneurial activity the integration of automation system of the Department of trade, provision of services, works and goods account with any number of other components of the TIS (cash machines with the function of fixing and transmission of data, included into the state register of cash registers, systems (devices) for accepting cash payments).

The TIS provides in the manner prescribed by Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan dated 28 February 2007 "On accounting and financial reporting" and International Financial Reporting Standard (IFRS) for small and medium businesses account for the movement of inventory (capitalization, debt, travel, sales, returns sales and purchase, inventory) in quantitative and value terms, on one or more warehouses on balances, reserves, and lots of goods for the purpose of completing each of the operations by forming the appropriate document and implementing sales, fiscalization (with the issuance of a fiscal receipt) and disposal of inventory within one operation (transaction) ;

- sales of goods, works and services in quantitative and value terms;
- cash flows from operating, investment and financial activities, including accounting for banking and cash operations, with all changes for the reporting period displayed;
- incomes';

- calculations on staff remuneration;
- settlements on tax obligations and social payments [1].

Thus, the TIS carries out the sale, fiscalization (with the issuance of a fiscal receipt) and disposal of inventory within a single operation (transaction).

In addition, TIS models that are allowed to be used on the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan for tax purposes are subject to inclusion in the unified register of TIS, and publication on the website of the state revenue Committee. In this end, the owner of the TIS must apply an application, the required documents and the TIS for testing. In turn, the TIS user (an individual entrepreneur applying a special tax regime (STR) on the basis of a patent or on the basis of a simplified Declaration) is obliged to register the TIS with the state revenue authorities at the location of the TIS user and specify data on them in the tax reports.

If the requirements of the Tax code are not met the increased threshold for registration for value added tax and ceiling of income sole proprietor which apply the STR based on the simplified Declaration cannot be applied. Regarding the acceptance of payment by card in the territory of the Republic of Kazakhstan, cash payments are made with the mandatory use of cash registers. Cash payments are payments made for the purchase of goods, performance of works, provision of services by means of cash and (or) payments using payment cards. The goods accounting system means equipment fitted with an automation system for the management of trade, providing services, performing works, and accounting for goods [2].

Let us consider the stages of registration a three-component integrated system in the figure.

Consider the requirements for a three-component integrated system and its accounting in table 1.

To meet the technical requirements, the following principles must be observed, consider them in Figure 2.

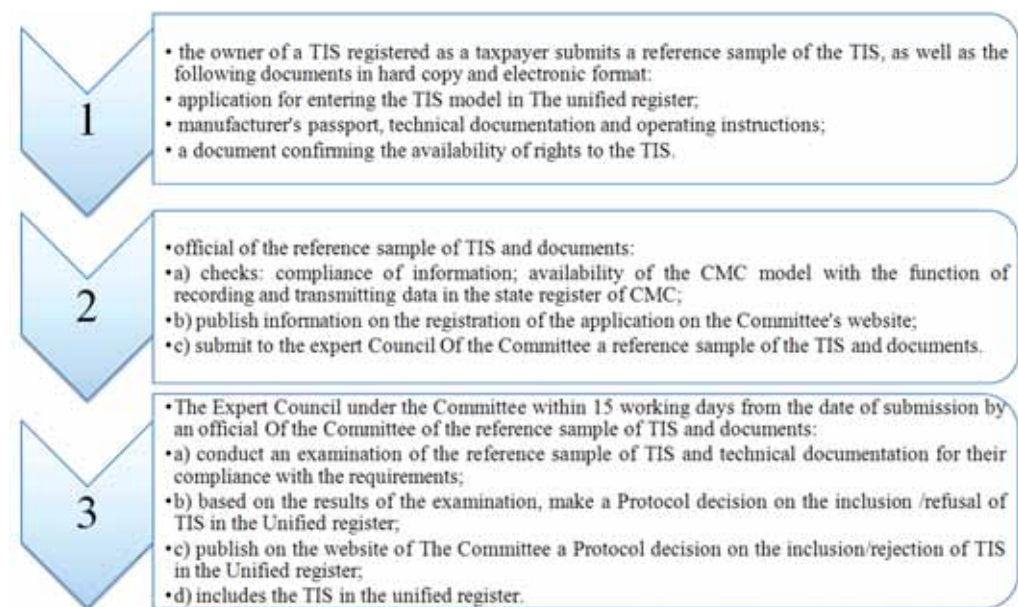


Figure 1. Stages of registration a three-component system integrated system
Note — compiled according to the source [3].

Table 1 — technical requirements for a three-component integrated system and its accounting

Name of re-quirements	A description of the requirements
Specifications	- technical means for the operation of the TIS;
	- system software;
	- ensuring the operation of TIS in fiscal mode;
	- ensuring acceptance of non-cash payments;
	- ensuring acceptance of non-cash payments;
	- providing the possibility of automated reading of the marking of goods and (or) services;
	- the formation, acquisition and utilization of ESF;
	- enabling integration of the trade management automation system, service delivery;
	- compliance with system requirements;
	- ensuring reliable storage of information;
	- providing daily automatic backup of the database and system transaction log;
	- ensuring control over the completeness of input data;
	- availability of reference lists of the product range, currencies, suppliers and buyers of goods, employees, tax reference books;
	- integration with warehouse and retail equipment and printer support;
	- the user can select the language (state or Russian) used in the TIS operation;
	- compliance with information security requirements established by the legislation of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Informatization.

Note — compiled according to the source [3]

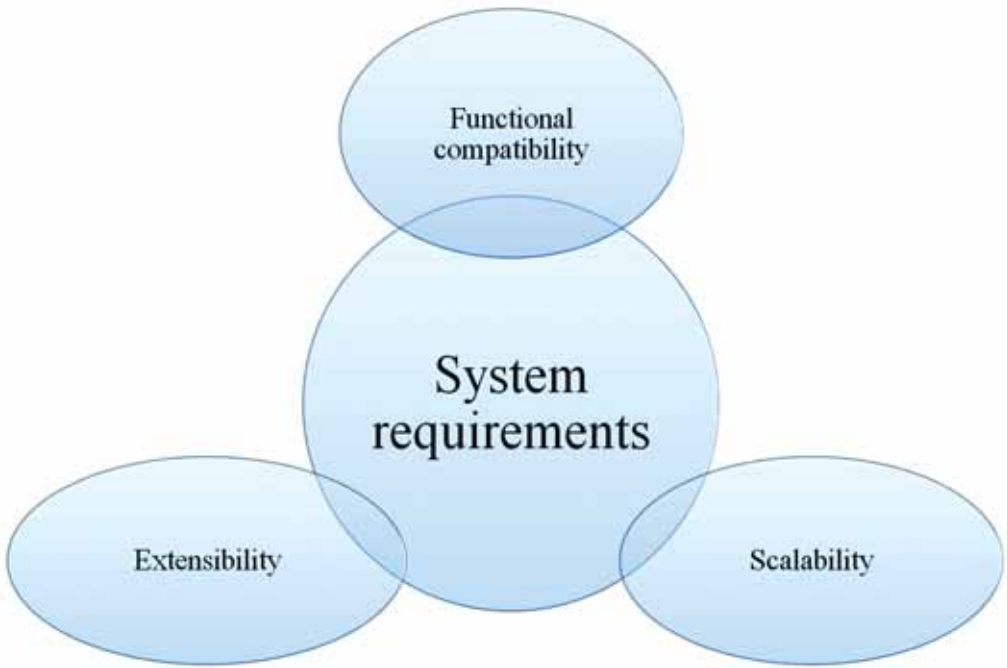


Figure 2. System requirements

Note — compiled according to the source [3]

Consider the functional requirements for a three-component integrated system and its accounting in table 2.

Table 2 — functional requirements for a three-component integrated system and its accounting

Name of requirements	A description of the requirements
1	2
Functional requirements	- formation and use of primary accounting documents used for registration of operations or events
	- ensuring the accumulation and systematization of information contained in primary documents accepted for accounting
	- providing:
	a) movement of inventory (recording, write-off, transfer, sales, returns of sales and purchases, inventory) in quantitative and monetary terms;
	b) sales of goods, works and services in quantitative and monetary terms;
	c) cash flows from operating, investment and financial activities, including accounting for banking and cash operations, with all changes for the reporting period displayed;
	d) income;
	e) calculations on staff remuneration.

Note — compiled according to the source [3].

Digitalization of the economy brings its own rules to the system of collecting, storing and processing information of socio-economic processes. In this regard, accounting and tax accounting been called upon to new requirements. Its transformation will help keep it relevant in competition with new multi-functional digital information systems.

As part of the implementation of the President's address to the people of Kazakhstan "New development opportunities in the fourth industrial revolution" dated January 10, 2018, the Ministry of Finance is implementing a number of projects aimed at digitalizing tax and customs administration [4].

Today, the Internet-economy is growing at a rate of up to twenty-five percent a year in developing countries, and any sector of the economy can't even draw near this rate. Ninety percent of all global data was created in just over the last three years. Already 35 billion devices are connected to the Internet and exchange data — this figure is five times higher than the total population of the world.

Efforts to digitalization lead to the creation of a new society where human capital is actively developing — business ef-

iciency and speed are increased through automation and other new technologies, and the dialogue of citizens with their States becomes simple and open. These changes are caused by the introduction of many technological innovations applied in different industries in recent years. The ways of production and obtaining added value are changing dramatically, and new requirements for people's education and labor skills are emerging.

Virtual warehouse — a new module of the ESF information system designed to control the movement of goods in automatic mode. This definition is given in the rules for issuing electronic invoices. The system is located on the portal esf-vs.gov.kz.

Control over the sale of goods within the country is carried out in the information system "Electronic invoices". As of January 15, 2019, the number of registered participants in the system is 281 thousand. (Sole proprietors — 108 thousand, legal entities — 173 thousand), which issued 163 million ESF. Of these, 86 thousand are VAT payers [5].

Based on the current information system "Electronic invoices", the "Virtual warehouse" module has been implement-

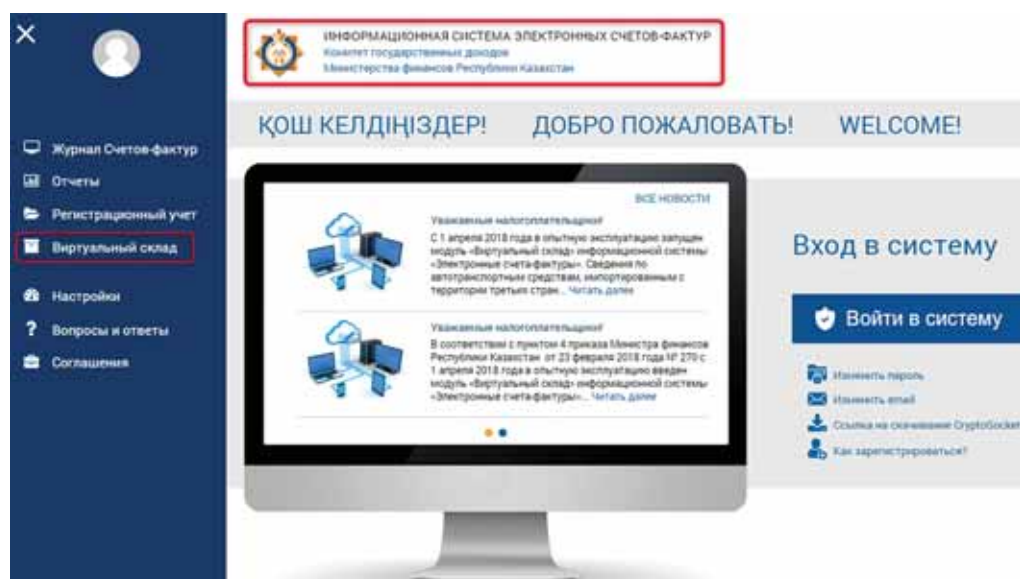


Figure 3. Electronic invoice information system

ed, enabled in real time to automatically calculate the balance of goods in the taxpayer's warehouse, as well as track the chain of movement from import in Kazakhstan to final consumption (write-off).

Thus, the improvement of tax accounting practices is associated with the expansion of the information potential of the existing economic space and the digitalization of the economy. At the same

time, information technologies cause significant modifications, both in the methodology and in the applied direction of the science of tax accounting. In this regard, the automation of tax accounting in accordance with new needs is a necessary stage in its development. Changes and improvements to this accounting method will help keep it relevant in the era of universal digitalization.

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**Translated from Russian into English by Podobueva Veronika,
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BRIDGING THE DIGITAL DIVIDE

Abstract

The Covid-19 crisis has added importance to contact-free transactions and maximum digitalization in every aspect of life. However, vast sections of societies in almost every country are not having access to modern information & communication technology. This has resulted in a phenomenon known as the Digital Divide. Various socio-economic factors contribute to widening of this divide. If digitalization has to succeed faster, we need to bridge this gap as fast as possible. All stakeholders of ICT need to pool their resources and efforts to help in bridging the digital divide, by enhancing digital literacy and making it more affordable. This Paper is based on the speech delivered in the International online conference «New Digital Reality: Science and Education, Law, Security, Economics and Finance» held on July 6–10, 2020.

Key words: Digital Divide, Covid-19, Digital Literacy, Inequality, ICT, Digitalization.

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1. Introduction

Digitalization has been seen as a boon in the era of Covid-19 and lockdowns in keeping the momentum alive in all activities, especially in the Education, Finance and IT sectors. With people also seeking contact-free transactions, digitalization is being actively promoted.

Yet, the biggest obstacle in ensuring successful digitalization is the Digital Divide that exists in almost all regions, but often being ignored. The digital divide is the gap that exists between individuals who have access to modern information and communication technology and those who lack such access. As per a study by Deloitte in 2016, the US economy was losing \$130 million per day due to this digital divide.

2. Different kinds of digital inequality

Human societies are already riddled with various kinds of inequalities e.g.

racial, educational, economic, social, etc. Now, there is another kind added to the list: Digital Inequality, which can be defined as “the gaps that are created in societies due to the lack of access and skills for digitalization”.

Digital inequality is evident between:

- Urban and rural settlements
- Developed and underdeveloped economies
- Socio-economic groups
- Male and female genders
- Educated and uneducated people

Even where there is sufficient access to digital devices and networks, there are wide gaps among participants due to their inability to utilize it fully as they lack adequate skills to operate or knowledge about its all possibilities in shaping lives. This is known as Participation Inequality.

Digital Divide leads to:

- Widening of socio-economic inequalities
- Exclusion of a vast population from the benefits of digitalization

Hence, there is an urgent need to address this phenomenon. If 'Bottom of the Pyramid' remains weaker, how can the upper layers sustain their prosperity, and for how long?

3. Some suggestions for bridging the digital divide

Some suggestions for bridging the digital divide are as follows:

- 3A's Strategy:

Make it: Accessible — Affordable — Applicable

The first requirement is to make digitalization accessible to each and every individual at every remote corner, by creating and expanding the infrastructure and connectivity.

«The power of the Web is in its universality. Access by everyone regardless of disability is an essential aspect.» -- Tim Berners-Lee, W3C Director and Inventor of the World Wide Web¹

Secondly, make it affordable to all families. Reduce gradually the cost of equipment and internet connections; provide subsidies. Due to the Covid-19 crisis, educational institutions have resorted to online classes, assignments, and evaluation. There are unfortunate cases reported where young students committed suicide as they could not take these online assignments as their parents could not afford to buy smartphones or laptops for them.

Thirdly, develop relevant content that is immediately useful in providing solutions to different sections of learners. The

use of internet should not be limited only to infotainment, but also to help in making life easier.

- Digital Literacy Drive:

Make a strong campaign for expanding digital literacy for all sections of society. Digital literacy should not only mean computer operation ability or knowledge about hardware, software and internet. It should include a proper understanding of how digital devices can help in improving social, economic, cultural, environmental, physical, or personal aspects.

- Stakeholders Collaboration:

All the stakeholders of digitalization; e.g. Government, ICT Manufacturers, Scientists, Educational Institutions, Teachers, Trainers, Suppliers, Parents and Students—they all must come together to chalk out strategies and contribute in the spread of digitalization.

- Motivation & Inclination:

There is also a need to develop intrinsic motivation to use digital technology. There is a portion of the global population that has the necessary income, education and computer literacy but has zero interest to learn about computers and the potential of the internet. Some view it as a luxury. Another group finds it too complicated to comprehend.

Conclusion: benefits of digitalization

Digitalization will help in the empowerment of individuals through extended learning opportunities and providing multi-skilling. This results in economic growth. Also, through ICT, we can have stronger social relationships and bonding. Provided that we can bridge these gaps, technology can be a great unifier for the whole of humanity.

¹ <https://www.w3.org/WAI/EO/Drafts/4betaW3org/accessibility-new-w3c200908131a#:~:text=Web%20accessibility%20means%20that%20people,it%20requires%20work.>

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DIGITAL SOCIETY AS “A SNEER OF HISTORY”

Abstract

The article examines digital society from a historiosophical point of view using such Hegel's category as universal world irony. It is stated that the implementation of the Modern project based on the principles of rationalism and anthropocentrism has led to the threat of dehumanization of society and desocialization of a human. The digital society is interpreted as the result of a specific social practice with relevant actors and goals. The origins of the technocratic development of society are found in the sphere of politics and the constructive-projective attitude towards society and a human, characteristic of the Enlightenment ideology. The example of the education sector illustrates that criticism and denial of traditional institutions and forms of social communication are explained by the impossibility of subjecting them to complete digitalization and, accordingly, to the process of political and bureaucratic control. Hegel's "irony of history" manifested itself in the fact that science, emancipated from religion and philosophy, within the framework of modern digital reality, obediently turns into "a maidservant" of technology and technocrats.

Key words: digital society, historiosophy, irony of history, modern project, politics, technocrats, education.

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1. Introduction

The title of this article reflects the goal of considering the modern stage of civilization development from a historiosophical point of view, which presupposes not only a broad chronological framework for studying the origins of this or that phenomenon, but, above all, consideration of the problem in the context of questions about the purpose and meaning of human existence and the history of humankind in general. But the description and evaluation of modern society as a digital (post-industrial, information) one is based on the idea (more precisely, prejudice) of technological determinism, which, by the "irony of history", acquires a special kind of fatalism and even hidden quasi-

religious eschatologism. It can be argued that this fatalism, clothed in scientific and technical terminology, is a simulacrum and a rudiment of previous historiosophical ideas about the providence of God, the end of the world, etc. An "iron" consistent pattern appears — if a person does not believe in something sublimely transcendent, absolute, then a person starts to worship the idols of science and technology of our time. Amazing digital technologies *fascinate* and *entice* in the traditional meaning of these words. The term "digital madness" has appeared in the speech of intellectuals, along with the already popular phrases such as "obsession with gadgets", "digital addiction", "digital dementia", etc. [12].

2. Modern technocratic era in the light of philosophy

It is appropriate to recall Hegel, his concept of universal world irony, which "admits the truth of what is immediately taken to be true, but only in order to reveal that inner destruction that is contained in these same assumptions" [6. — P. 45]. In recent times much has been said about the Socratic irony which, like all dialectic, gives force to what is — taken immediately, but only in order to allow the dissolution inherent in it to come to pass; and we may call this the universal irony of the world. The modern era should be viewed in the context of a general background — the "sarcastic grin" of history over the anthropocentric and self-confident rationalism of the Enlightenment. Descartes's quote "I think, therefore, I am" already contained in itself the danger, not envisioned by Cartesius himself, of reducing human consciousness only to intellect, the owner of which, as it turned out, could be not only a human, but also a machine. F. Bacon's optimistic thesis "Knowledge is power" means knowledge that a person discovers and uses. But in modern conditions, when artificial intelligence (AI) will be the bearer and producer of this knowledge, this thesis acquires a completely different, rather sinister character — scientific knowledge has become a powerful force, but out of human control.

Modern scholars have been actively involved in the process of constructing various scenarios of the "end of the world" — nuclear war, environmental disaster, biotechnology which has come out of control, etc.; the question of how to preserve the accumulated knowledge for future civilizations after the death of modern humanity is being discussed [8]. The "quiet" version of the end of the world is contained in the descriptions of the state of society, human and nature (more precisely, "post-society", "post-human", "post-nature") after the onset of the so-called "point of technological singularity". History is exactly "grinning" at secularized

humanism, the proclamation of a human as the highest value, since in the near future AI will significantly surpass a human one, technology will begin to reproduce and improve itself, and the only way for a person to preserve himself or herself in this new technological reality is to stop being a human. The era of "post-human" is coming: "Post-human is a person modified with the help of the latest and future technologies to such an extent that from the modern conventional point of view, it is no longer a human ... Post-humans may be completely artificial creatures (based on artificial intelligence) or the outcome of a large number of changes and improvements in human or transhuman biology. Some post-humans may even find it useful to give up their own body and live as information structures in giant super-fast computer networks." [11].

It is more tactful to talk about a simplified, pragmatic-handicraft perception of the ideas of the Enlightenment thinkers, whose worldview was more complex and multidimensional in comparison with the flat consciousness of modern scientists and technocrats. It turned out that the "energetic" source of the Enlightenment humanistic ideology was the former religious worldview, the grounds and horizon of which did not disappear immediately. Voltaire could still claim that he meets with God, nods his head to him, but does not talk to him. In the 19th century, when the religious source of the worldview began to dry out and acquired only a formal character, F. Nietzsche diagnosed "God is dead". This means that Hegel's prediction concerning the end of world history with the establishment of the dominance of Reason was not justified; in his philosophical system, it was not supposed to abolish religion, but its unity with art in the bosom of the Absolute Idea [5. — P. 393].

In recent decades, in Russia as a country of incomplete modernization (an archemodern society as A. Dugin describes), one could personally observe the completion of this process of "dying of God", that is, "soul deprivation" and

“despiritualization” the very fabric of social life. The idea of science as a temple of knowledge and a place of selfless service to the Truth has disappeared, and education has ceased to be perceived as a sphere where “rational, good, and eternal are being sown.” B.V. Markov writes: “Comparing modern pedagogical practices with the ancient forms of mentoring and teaching, one cannot but note the loss of the complex technique of transferring traditions and life experience, as well as the awakening and intensification of higher spiritual states and insights.” [10. — P. 19–20]. On the whole, it became obvious that the Modern project, having been implemented in the last three centuries, turned out to have not just other, but in many respects opposite results. Representatives of this trend of philosophical and socio-political thought would not see in modern society the embodiment of their ideas about humanism (human-centrism) and rational social organization. A typical representative of postmodern society, who enthusiastically plunges into the world of digital services and goods, is rather a parody of the ideal of a comprehensively and harmoniously developed person.

The digital society did not arise in the process of the objective and inevitable development of science and technology, but has become the result of a certain practice with corresponding subjects and goals. P. Bourdieu, a French sociologist noted: “We are facing the politics of globalization. (I am talking particularly about the “politics of globalization”, and not just about “globalization”, as if it were a natural process)” [4]. It is also legitimate to say that there is no digital reality, but there is politics of digitalization. The technocratic origins of the societal development are to be sought in political practice, which is authentic to the spirit of the Modern project, its methodology. It turned out that neither a human nor freedom lie at the basis of this project, but “the will to power”, a constructive and projective

attitude towards society and a human. The most crucial factor of modern social existence and technology of power has become the deliberate immersion of people in a state of feverish consumption of innovative achievements so that a person has lost the very ability to pose and seek answers to fundamental (historiosophical, metaphysical) questions of existence. Therefore, giving a diagnosis to modern society, J. Baudrillard attaches particular importance to such a mass phenomenon as “fascination”; this word takes on not only its direct meaning, but also others, namely hypnosis, blinding and even zombie [2. — C. 11–12, 274]. The philosopher writes: “Consumerist man regards enjoyment as an obligation; he sees himself as an enjoyment and satisfaction business. He sees it as his duty to be happy, loving, adulating/adulated, charming/charmed, participative, euphoric and dynamic” [1. — P. 110].

Even such a respectable representative of the American establishment as A. Gore admits: “We seem to increasingly strive to dissolve in an abundance of forms of culture, society, technology, media, as well as modes of production and consumption, but we pay for all this with the loss of our spiritual life” [7. — P. 243]. The former vice president of the United States offers an eerie but permissible comparison of modern Western society to a collective drug addict who continues to obey his passion, even after his body has already begun to deteriorate. If “natural organs” such as traditional values, institutions, forms of communication are being destroyed, then it is proposed to replace them with artificial (digitized) surrogates.

In order to avoid the accusation of “thickening the colors”, we will cite as an example excerpts from the report “The Future of Education: Global Agenda”, which claims to be scientific. In this text, the immanent human need for self-development is imperatively associated with the transformation of the body into an “interface for interacting with the

digital environment." The formation of the so-called "hybrid personality, combining artificial and natural components within the nervous system with artificial components, including cloud ones," is being predicted. The authors of the report confidently state: "It is obvious that for such hybrid individuals the very idea of learning is fundamentally changing — for example, it is possible to quickly load a skill or knowledge into the "artificial" part, and they will immediately be available to the "natural" part (...) With the advent of direct loading of experience into the nervous system of "hybrid personalities", "forests of consciousness" and other phenomena, it becomes meaningless to talk about pedagogy in its current meaning. Therefore, we consider the "cognitive revolution" and its culmination — the neuronet (the next generation Internet based on neurointerfaces) as technologies that "close" the development of the current cycle of high-tech pedagogy" [3].

This kind of predictions of the pedagogy "progress" is based on sophistry, a rough substitution of concepts — the formation of a personality and the pedagogical process are identified with the technical process of downloading information files, which is comprehensible for programmers. A personality is always the result of self-understanding, self-assimilation of information about the world around us, which for all people (including scientists and IT programmers) is equally endless, unpredictable, mysterious and, finally, dangerous. In social communication, including pedagogical one, there is an interaction of different by the level of development and awareness yet autonomous consciousnesses and corresponding worldviews. Ideally, a teacher should not place a student's consciousness inside his or her worldview, but is called upon to help a student form his or her own one. Interaction, combination, collision of individual worldviews take place in various forms of social communication. Even such phenomena as "suggestion",

"suppression of the will", "manipulation of consciousness", "group consciousness", "mass psychology of the masses", etc. are to be considered as characteristics of the interaction process of individual consciousnesses.

No matter how hierarchically society is organized, the very fact of the presence of autonomous consciousnesses and the ability of a person to form his or her own worldview contains the prerequisite for independent thinking. But isn't it possible to develop a scientific-technocratic utopia and bring it to life when these axioms of social existence and the laws of the individual functioning and social consciousness are being neutralized, in particular, this right and the ability of the individual to form his or her own worldview in consciousness are disappearing? It turns out that amazing and constantly evolving information technology can be used to achieve this goal. The word "worldview" implicitly contains the idea that there is a common world for everyone, including a scientist and a layperson, a programmer and a consumer of digital services, within which they are equally exist. From the point of view of epistemology, this means that no one has the right to metanarrative in relation to the world as a whole, to its complete comprehension and description. But in the XVII-XVIII centuries natural and technical sciences arose, which not only made amazing discoveries and started forming a rational scientific worldview, but also influenced all spheres of social life. M. Heidegger proves that the worldview that emerged in the Age of Enlightenment has a metaphysical (or antimetaphysical, nihilistic, but still associated with metaphysics) basis. "Machine technology is itself an autonomous transformation of praxis, a type of transformation wherein praxis first demands the employment of mathematical physical science. Machine technology remains up to now the most visible outgrowth of the essence of modern technology, which is identical with

the essence of modern metaphysics" [13. — P. 41].

Within a special scientific discourse, a corporate metanarrative is needed, i.e. a general and unified system of signs, symbols, categories, axioms. During the last three centuries, the "scientistic temptation" has been embodied in life aiming at a universal character to a specific type of scientific knowledge and replacing all other types. Replacing God, Artificial Super Intelligence (ASI) is granting a human being a new world of previously unseen opportunities; "art projects" instead of works of art as the products of artists' creative inspiration; a "smart machine for housing" instead of a home as a microverse being built by the person himself or herself and so on. However, the "specifics" of this utopia is that scientists put themselves in the position of metanarrative bearers and place society and a human inside their worldview, i.e. the worldview created by them. They suggest everyone else not their own "worldview" (such an honest statement of the question presupposes the recognition of its inevitable limitation, "partialness"), but "the world as a view." M. Heidegger writes about this: "Where the world becomes picture, what is, in entirety, is juxtaposed as that for which man is prepared and which, correspondingly, he therefore intends to bring before himself and have before himself, and consequently intends in a decisive sense to set in place before himself. Hence world picture, when understood essentially, does not mean a picture of the world but the world conceived and grasped as picture" [13. — P. 49]. It becomes clear that soon full immersion of a person in the virtual world is the logical completion of this world projection as a view. But from a political point of view, it is important that those who will create conditions for the functioning of this virtual world will not be fully immersed into it themselves.

The above judgments of M. Heidegger were expressed about eighty years ago, but they sound even more relevant today.

The dynamics and forms of imperative and authoritarian implementation of technotronic innovations look absurd: everlasting problems, for example, in the spheres of social communication or education, are not solved with the help of new technical means, but these problems are transformed (as a rule, in the direction of their simplification) in such a way that they can be solved by technical means. At the beginning a computer had appeared, and only after that programmed training was invented, in which a text had become not only a means of preliminary (primary) control of knowledge, but a form of assimilation of educational material, which was to be transformed for this form of control and knowledge assimilation. Therefore, *the deconstruction of the traditional education system criticism makes it possible to understand that this system for the "progressives" is not outdated, but too complicated, and not amenable to programming and "digitization"*.

3. Pedagogy and education in the modern technocratic era

In pedagogy, the problem has always been posed: "How to teach to analyze and assimilate information independently by yourself?"; the achievement of this goal, of course, also presupposed the acquisition of essentially technical skills in finding the necessary information (source studies, bibliography, etc.) by the student. But progress in modern education is associated primarily with the development of this (necessary, but not the main) aspect of educational and research activities. Therefore, the above mentioned forecast about the emergence of a new pedagogy arises, in which the teacher will simply "load" the content of the subjects into the student's consciousness. The alarming and obvious findings that the modern student loses the ability to recall information from memory that he has become familiar with in the past are confronted with the

following objection: this is not necessary, it is important that the learner knows the source of this information. The pretext of the increased amount of information is sly, because the problem has arisen that information ceases to be perceived, but it is only "loading" mechanically into memory and also removing from it easily in the same way. Therefore, K. Lorenz successfully joked: "An expert is one who knows more and more about less and less until he knows absolutely everything about nothing". At the end of this aphorism, the founder of ethology, as it were, foresaw the emergence of the "post-human" ("hybrid personality") project, into the artificial components of which it would be possible to load the contents of all large libraries; then this "something" will "know everything about nothing."

The right of a person to form his or her own worldview is at the same time a burden, since it implies not only an awareness of the orderliness and laws of this world, but also a courageous recognition of its tragedy and danger. What kind of danger are we talking about? At the very least, there must be dualism in thinking. On the one hand, the ability to take into account the innovations arising in society, to take part in their development and positive use. But, on the other hand, the biblical "There is nothing new under the sun!" is always relevant; the deep meaning of these words is a warning against complete immersion in the hustle and bustle of everyday life. The problems of human existence, including those related to the relationship between good and evil, freedom and responsibility, etc. remain essentially unchanged. The development of civilization leads to the fact that the new external conditions of human existence do not allow completely repeating the forms and methods of solving these problems of our ancestors, but the scale for evaluating human life remains unchanged. An educated person does not allow himself or herself to fall into

the "prejudice of progress," based on the conviction that the emergence of new conditions and means of social existence, allegedly, predetermines the emergence of a fundamentally new type of person and society. The forms and directions of the modern education "development" serve as an example of how the introduction of innovative technologies emasculates and displaces culture. For millennia, a lively dialogue between a teacher and a learner, the events of their interaction and communication have been the constant and the core of upbringing and education. Entering a school presupposed a conversation between a teacher and an applicant in order to find out his or her ability to become a participant in a special dialogue in the future, the content and forms of which are predetermined by the specialization of a school. The essence of the final examinations was not just about identifying knowledge, but finding out — "Has this graduate become a competent participant in a special corporate dialogue — physicists, chemists, historians, philologists, lawyers, etc." The emergence of such a science as pedagogy made it possible to detail various aspects of education as a special discourse of a teacher and a student, i.e. content, forms and methods. School facilities, such as buildings, furniture, equipment, material carriers of information, etc. were also singled out as an additional element of the educational process, ensuring its external conditions. It would have been absurd to put in the first place the means of teaching in this list of elements of the educational process, under which not only the forms and methods of education, but even the content of disciplines should have been transformed. But exactly this absurd scenario of "progress" is being realized at present. Back in 1979 J.F. Lyotard wrote: "The nature of knowledge cannot survive unchanged within this context of general transformation. It can fit into the new channels, and become operational, only if learning is translated

into quantities of information. We can predict that anything in the constituted body of knowledge that is not translatable in this way will be abandoned and that the direction of new research will be dictated by the possibility of its eventual results being translatable into computer language". [9. — P. 16]. The "implementers" of innovative technologies themselves are like "appendages" of machines, inexorably demanding from teachers and instructors to provide only the functionality and operation of the educational process. A French philosopher drew attention to this totalitarian style of introducing innovations in a postmodern society forty years ago: "In matters of social justice and of scientific truth alike, the legitimation of that power is based on its optimizing the system's performance efficiency. The application of this criterion to all of our games necessarily entails a certain level of terror, whether soft or hard: be operational (that is, commensurable) or disappear" [9. — P. 11].

4. Conclusion

In conclusion, we point out that a consistent pattern appeared in the evolution of the new European logos, which resulted in a modern technotronic (digital) society. This pattern is expressed in Schiller's play "The Fiesco Conspiracy in Genoa" — "The Moor has done his work—the Moor can go". At the beginning, philosophy abandoned the status of "the maidservant of theology", then, science that emerged from philosophy declared that it did not need philosophy, and now science, emancipated from theology and philosophy, is meekly becoming "the maidservant of technology." This whole process was originally based on the sublime principle of humanism and the cult of the human mind. But in the near future, reaching "the point of technological singularity" will raise the question of whether a human himself is needed in this new technotronic reality or not. We admit that this is no longer the Hegelian "irony of history", but its evil and malicious "sneer".

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NEW ANTAGONISMS IN ECUADORIAN POLITICS¹

Abstract

The article considers certain results of the left political project “Citizens’ Revolution” developed in Ecuador at the beginning of the XXI century. It argues that in the framework of socially oriented reformism and strengthening of state institutions, an increase in political controversy and a surge in public discontent revealed the presence of multidirectional contradictions. Among them ideological confrontation, conflict between the government and society, internal party differences and clash of identities are reviewed.

Key words: Ecuador, political reforms, divided society, socio-political polarization, indigenous peoples, protest movements.

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1. Introduction

The efficiency of state policy can be measured by a number of methods. The analysis of public opinion is the one that quite clearly indicates if the government is doing right or wrong. The national survey conducted in Ecuador in 2015 (*Opinión Pública Ecuador*) showed that the implementation of the Rafael Correa’s political project called the “Citizens’ revolution” contributed to substantial positive changes. Ecuadorians approvingly qualified infrastructure development and reforms in the social security system [2]. The expansion of access to education, opening of new schools and universities, as well as improvement in basic health services, free access to medicine, renovation of hospitals, and investment in medical centers and equipment, could be mentioned among the most important governmental achievements [18].

According to the monitoring of the well-known public opinion survey in Latin America, *Latinobarometro*, the attitude of Ecuadorians to democracy strengthened between 2005 and 2017 (a year before the government of the President Rafael Correa came to power and the time when he left the presidential post). If in 2005, only 14% of respondents were satisfied with the level of democracy in their country, then, in 2017 more than half of them (51%) responded affirmatively [9]. In comparison to the widespread disillusionment with the functioning of democratic institutions, these figures speak for themselves.

The transition from the military regime that had collapsed in 1978 to modern Ecuadorian democracy was not easy. For about 30 years, the new political system suffered from an extremely high level of atomization, ideological polarization, and

¹ The research was funded by RFBR, project № 18-014-00042 «Political polarization and mechanisms of consolidation of divided societies in Latin America. Opportunities and limits of comparative experience for Russia».

incapacity of numerous parties and political movements to cooperate [6]. Obviously, the appearance of a coalition party *PAIS Alliance* (Movimiento Alianza PAIS — Patria Altiva i Soberana) on the divided Ecuadorian political space attracted broad civil support. Its precise ideological platform and consolidated political position provided sizeable “credit of confidence” and were favorably considered by people.

2. Internal split

For a deeper understanding of the process of “Citizens’ revolution”, it is worth referring to the political climate in which the party has been founded and raised. After recovery to the democratic track, the Ecuadorian party system suffered from weak institutions and extreme multiparty structure. The main leading parties came back to the political space but the new Ecuadorian democracy faced the problem of political fragmentation and electoral volatility [10]. For a long time, the Ecuadorian system continued to be one of the most unstable in Latin America.

However, at the beginning of the XXI century, the situation began to change. The crisis of legitimacy of the new democratic institutions, especially political parties, was one of the most important issues in Ecuador of that period, which led to the decline of their electoral support. In 2000–2002, almost 60% of Ecuadorians believed that “democracy can function without political parties” [9]. Thus, in the elections of 2006, the traditionally dominated parties gained only 22% of the seats in the National Assembly [16].

This trend marked the beginning of a deep transformation in the Ecuadorian political ambit. The same year Rafael Correa, who did not belong to the prevailing political elite, triumphed in the presidential campaign. By integrating almost 30 political parties and left-wing movements into a broad coalition, his *PAIS Alliance* attained the highest percentage of representation for 25 years of modern Ecuadorian democracy and received an

absolute parliamentary majority [12]. In the next 3 elections, the party endorsed its success. The results of the Presidential election also demonstrated the viability of the ruling left bloc. Though R. Correa made a decision not to run for another term (that provoked a number of speculations regarding his further participation in politics), his Vice President Lenin Moreno won in the second round with the support of 51.16% [15].

Destabilization of the political situation began unexpectedly and was related to the conflict between former associates, Rafael Correa and the new head of the Cabinet, Lenin Moreno. It was instigated by anticorruption investigations initiated immediately after the 2017 elections affecting the country’s top officials, including Vice President Jorge Glas. Mutual accusations of “betrayal” of the ideals of the “Citizens’ revolution” turned into a large-scale confrontation between supporters of the ex- and new President on a number of issues concerning the vector of development, economic measures, style of leadership, etc. With the split between Correístas and Morenistas the hegemony of *PAIS Alliance* was over [20], a fact that the results of local elections in March 2019 clearly confirmed [11].

One of the first signs of political and ideological discontinuity referred to the abolishment of the Constitutional norm introduced in 2015, concerning president re-election for an unlimited number of times. In a national referendum held in February 2018, the majority of Ecuadorians supported the return of the restriction that allowed only two four-year presidential mandates as it was already fixed in the Main Law of 2008 [3]. The second step revealed itself in the sphere of economics. In the context of struggling to reduce its fiscal deficit and unfavorable external conditions, the new administration shifted its left-oriented policy towards neoliberal recipes included the acceptance of the IMF lending program and the announcements for the privatization of state-owned enterprises [11].

Chances to maintain the same political vector that had received popular support and strong presidential leadership melted away. Ecuadorian politics has returned to the pre-Correa times with its parliamentary fragmentation and fragile coalitions [20]. The foundation on which R. Correa's "Citizens' revolution" had been built, turned out to be not that strong. However, why and how could it happen?

3. Ideological confrontation

For Latin American society, two paradigms of development have been and continue to be of great importance. Until now, the confrontation between socially oriented and neoliberal models is a noticeable factor that affects polarization of the electorate and brings constant heated debate.

Throughout the "Citizens' revolution", *PAIS Alliance*, which merged Ecuadorian left and left-center, was facing stiff opposition. Being mainly relied on large export-oriented business and political class that in neoliberal times had benefited from privileged access to public resources and management, elites did not agree with the socialist ideas of R. Correa and his style of leadership. Private capital was discontent with the transition of oil and gas production sector and agro-industrial complex to the state control and tried to counter governmental plan for fiscal reform and tax evasion measures by magnifying pressure on private mass-media which at the beginning of the Correa's presidency controlled almost all media space in the country [4].

However, during a few following years, traditional business and media actors began to lose their positions. The creation of a powerful state sector, including TV channels and radio (TC Televisión, Gama TV, Ecuador TV, Radio Universal, etc.), newspapers (El Telégrafo), magazines (La Onda, El Agro), news agencies (Agencia Pública de Noticias del Ecuador y Suramérica), as well as the adoption of the Ecuadorian Communication Law (2013) limited finan-

cial and juridical competence of private media companies [4]. Nevertheless, the replacement of bureaucracy by the new generation of political technocrats, who consolidated their power by state agreements and contracts with international capital, did not mean the complete exclusion of the former elite from the political class.

The strength of the Ecuadorian opposition relied on the clear and solidary approach towards the return to the neoliberal model of development. At the last elections in 2017 a candidate with the right-wing program, Guillermo Lasso, one of the country's leading bankers, successfully competed with Lenin Moreno, who promised to continue social reforms. In comparison to Rafael Correa's triumph in 2009 and 2013, Moreno's electoral support turned out to be not so solid. In the first round, he failed to get the necessary 40% of votes, as well as in the second round the vote was a tie nearly equally [5]. In addition to the media sector case, serious economic struggling, caused by external shocks and low prices on commodities, reverberated on abatement of the regime's vote-bank and pushed the rating for opposition parties. It demonstrated that despite notable achievements made by the government during the years of the "Citizens' revolution", in the last few years political polarization and social discontent have grown considerably [19].

4. Identity clash

Another factor of polarization is the clash of civilizational paradigms in the multi-ethnic and multicultural society. Perhaps, the strongest movement of indigenous peoples in Latin America developed in Ecuador and its presence on the national and regional political arena is becoming increasingly influential.

In the previous neoliberal period, while traditional peasant institutions were being severely weakened, the indigenous community managed to assume a part of political opposition and succeed in design-

ing anti-neoliberal agenda primarily based on the rights for identity. *Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador* (Confederación de Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador, CONAIE) reached national level in 1990 by organizing its first popular uprising and henceforth kept arranging several large-scale protests. In the electoral field, the *Pachakutik party* (Movimiento de Unidad Plurinacional Pachakutik-Nuevo País) assembled indigenous discourse by developing a broader left ideological platform. The party had powerful influence at the local level and successfully competed with the *PAIS Alliance* for the presence in the Parliament.

Further antagonism between the state and the indigenous peoples was grounded on a contradiction that was inherent to the practice of R. Correa's decisions. According to them, formal commitment to the principles of participatory democracy, protection of native values and traditions were not really followed by the governmental policy, intended to strengthen executive power and promote extractivist development model [14]. At the beginning of the process, the vast majority of indigenous and environmental organizations supported the draft of the new Constitution that recognized the rights of nature and indigenous peoples, and placed special emphasis on multiculturalism, pluralism, and participation [17]. However, these reforms conducted to the marginalization of the indigenous movement by weakening their mobilization capacity, pushing towards alliance policy with other social sectors, and institutional participation [8]. Despite attractive declarations and budding initial conditions for fruitful cooperation between Correa's left-wing political project and the indigenous movement, relations between them quickly soured, especially with CONAIE.

The main reason for that was the expansion of export-oriented economic policies, related to extractive industries and support for agro-industrial elites who challenged the state's constitutional commitments. Since the very beginning

of his presidency, R. Correa considered the resistance of indigenous peoples and environmentalists as an obstacle to "progressive extractivism" [8]. State policy aimed to increase exports by intensifying the extraction of minerals, hydrocarbons, and agricultural crops, which would have helped the government to accumulate capital for subsequent reinvestment in infrastructure and social security. Though Lenin Moreno expressed a relatively friendlier approach to indigenous peoples, the constructive and fruitful dialogue of the state towards the indigenous movement was not established [13].

Though indigenous peoples are a minority, their political voice has consolidated, as they were able to expand their agenda by offering concrete political solutions to long-standing national problems. This strategy attracted broader segments of the population making their slogan "Not only for indigenous peoples" (*Nada solo para los indios*) work [8].

5. Government and civil society disagreement

Civil society as a counterforce to Correa's political project first emerged during the crisis in September 2010, known in Ecuador as the 30-S. Police officers across the country revolted amid anger at a new law cutting benefits for public servants. President Rafael Correa was held hostage for several hours while military forces seized airports and the National Assembly building [1]. Among those who might have supported the revolt were bankers who were dissatisfied with the new financial rules and taxes, together with the members of the right-wing opposition. [2] Nevertheless, the details of those events until now are quite controversial and sometimes are considered as a coup attempt.

The second signal for the government came in spring 2015 from privately-owned media and opposition parties that managed to mobilize people against inheritance tax law. The reform was aimed to

affect mainly 2 percent of the rich class, but it resulted in large-scale anti-governmental demonstrations. Right-wing politicians such as Jaime Nebot, the Mayor of Guayaquil, the economic center of the country, who advocated “regional autonomism” [7], and private media companies played an important role in this mobilization, as well as indigenous organizations and other social groups who joined the protest. Correa’s administration seemed not to be prepared to face the crisis. It had to repeal the law and agreed to open consultations with various sectors of the Ecuadorian society.

The third and most striking wave of protests happened in autumn 2019 when indigenous peoples’ and labor unions cooperated to upraise civil society against neoliberal economic package approved by IMF. Triggered by controversial measure to eliminate fuel subsidies (valid since the 1970s), which could have a strong negative impact on the most vulnerable social strata, the crisis went so far that Moreno’s cabinet had to declare the state of emergency. Just after difficult negotiations, the authorities could convince protesters to accept the requirement to stop the strikes in return for the abolition of austerity.

Protest movement and, in particular, the impulsive reaction of the officials demonstrated the fragility of the “Citi-

zens’ Revolution” in conditions of confrontation with various groups of interests that opposed certain state reforms and corresponding decisions taken by the government.

6. Conclusions

The model proposed by the left government in Ecuador assumed social and political consolidation based on the strengthening of state institutions and socially oriented reformism. However, challenged by a number of internal and external socio-economic factors, the government policy led to an increase in political controversy and surge in public discontent. Protests followed that revealed the presence of multidirectional conflicts, such as deterioration of the well-being of citizens, growth of social inequality, as well as disappointment in the results and degree of implementation of the promised reforms. Some of them, such as contradictions between indigenous peoples and the state, have deep historical roots. The question of choice of an adequate political model continuously swings Ecuadorian society. In addition to the presence of some constant factors, the internal antagonism in the Ecuadorian left movement has established a precedent that can lead to a new political configuration.

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GROWING TENSIONS ON INDIA-CHINA BORDER: VIEW FROM INDIA

Abstract

On June 15, 2020, China and India had a border clash in Galwan Valley. Galwan Valley is a disputed territory in the high mountain area of the Himalayas. Although no firearms were used and most fighting was carried out by using stones and sticks, the clash resulted in human casualties for the first time since 1975. Both countries accused each other's border patrolling military of transgressing the line of actual control (LAC). The line of actual control, 4057 km long, is the name of the de facto border between India and China: there was in fact never any official legal border between the two countries because "international borders" is not a concept that either Indian or Chinese civilizations developed but rather a result of Western colonization and decolonization of the area.

Key words: China-India border, LAC, China-India relations, Galwan valley.

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The military struggle between India and China on the border has once again led to create tension in the relations of the two countries. This time the border dispute is not limited to just minor skirmishes, in which 20 soldiers of the Indian Army were martyred and it is being claimed from various intelligence reports that 35 to 40 soldiers of PLA were also killed. The Chinese side did not officially confirm the Chinese casualties. This article is not only a matter of debate about how many soldiers of which country were killed, but about how and why such a situation arose?

Formation of BRICS: a dream to challenge the economic domination of America and the West

Before such a breaking point, at the surface level everything was going smoothly, be it diplomatic relations or

economic and trade ties. For example, trade relations between India and China were also doing well. Chinese companies were also doing good business in India, which was giving huge economic benefit to China, as India had not only got a good economic partner but also India has got a huge market too.

Chinese President Xi Jinping's visit to India at the invitation of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi in October 2019 also gave hope that relations between India and China would now enter a new phase and both neighbors would also write a new chapter of development and peace.

India and China were playing an important role not only in bilateral relations but also on the international arena, an example of which can be seen as formation of BRICS. This organization dreamed to challenge the economic domination of America and the West. India and China, together with Russia, Brazil, and South

Africa, are cooperatively trying to emerge as a strong and dependable alternative for developing nations to have economic perspective.

After all, what happened in 6 to 7 months that created a situation between India and China that brought them to the brink of war today? This is the first time since the 1962 war that such a number of Indian soldiers were killed on the Indo-Tibetan border (illegally occupied by China). In the last 45 years, perhaps for the first time when such a large number of soldiers were killed in a brutal attack. Earlier in 1975, 4 soldiers were martyred in an ambush of LAC by China. Why did this happen? This question is perplexing every mind of not only Indian citizens but others as well.

'Boycott of Chinese goods' as a result of the Galwan clash

Let's talk sequentially about the occurrence that set the eyes of the whole world on India and China. Let's start with Ladakh. It is believed that China started writing the story of the incident that took place in Galwan on 15 June. Since the first week of April 2020, suddenly the patrolling and intervention of Chinese troops started increasing on the Indian border. This was objected by India sternly. But no one would have thought that such minor confrontations would suddenly take the form of violence.

What happened in Ladakh's Galwan was only a small form of war, where 20 soldiers of India died without firing of a single bullet. It was taken very seriously in India and overnight the anger against China came onto surface and the protest started throughout the whole country.

The slogan of 'boycott of Chinese goods' started trending on every social site. A barrage of questions raised against the government. How did it happen? India's main opposition raised against the government and asked "who sent our soldiers on the border without arms"? Now to know the reasons behind this, you

have to know the story of the agreements that were between India and China in 1993, 1996 and 2005. In 1993, peace was reconciled between India and China during the visit of the then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao to China, in which it was decided that the two armies would not use any weapons during the actual border line (LAC) patrol.

Seeing the growing controversy over the above question, Indian Foreign Minister S. Jayashankar said through a tweet that 'All troops on border duty always carry arms, especially when leaving post. Those at Galwan on 15 June did so. Long-standing practice (as per 1996 & 2005 agreements) not to use firearms during face-offs. India has always respected these treaties.

This attacked crookedly planned to show that, the deal was cleverly exploited by the PLA in Galwan. In the mid of the night, the Indian soldiers were attacked by non-conventional weapon such as chains made of iron wire, with hands, poles, stones, etc.

You cannot say such an incident as a normal incident; it was a very well planned attacked. After such a gruesome incident, an attempt was first made to reduce this tension through Commander Level talks, and it was decided that the Chinese troops should withdraw from PP-14 in Galwan Valley. But when the Indian officers arrived there, suddenly a large number of PLA, between 700 to 800 (whose numbers used to be generally 13 to 14), started attacking the Indian soldiers with stones, rod, sticks, etc. In retaliations, the Indian soldiers also attacked. This attacked was a kind of deceit in disguised.

Indian government severely criticized after the incident

After this incident, the government of India was severely criticized and consequently it came into action mode. This is to be noted that as soon as the news of the martyrdom of 20 Indian soldiers was reported, there was a sudden outcry

against China. Since people could not protest on the streets due to Covid-19, the sentiments of people were displayed through social sites, through media, in which people gave slogans like 'complete boycott of Chinese goods', 'Hindi-Chinese bye-bye' and showed their feelings.

The Foreign Ministry of India was quoted as saying that it is wholly responsible for the whole incident; it has played a very irresponsible attitude. India tried to allay tension through talk but China's stance was not positive at all. On the other hand, China also talked about India with something similar.

According to various news agencies and its report, in April 2020, China started increasing its troops on the Ladakh border in large numbers, which India could not perceive in right perspective in terms of China hidden plan. From 20 May to 16 June, India resorted to talks to reduce the growing tension on the border. But all these attempts proved to be unsuccessful. On 15 June, there was a meeting at the level brigade commander and local commander level in Galwan Valley and Hot Spring area, and on the same night, soldiers from both countries had violent clashes at Patrolling Point 14 in Galwan Valley.

Historical causes and consequences of Indo-China border conflict

Ongoing tensions and conflicts between India and China have been cited by India's opposition parties, as a policy failure on behalf of government of India. In fact, it is not a policy failure but rather the genesis of it is deeply connected to the history of China.

China has always had a policy of harassing other countries, especially its neighboring nations, by which it will establish its dominance in South Asia and South-East Asia, and declare itself the leader of the region all over the world. In 2017 too, China tried to do the same in Doklam. The dispute, which lasted for 72 days, was resolved through negotiations.

Historically, China's policy, after the establishment of communist rule in 1949 in general and foreign policy in particular has been based on:

1. To establish China as a superpower.
2. To establish its authority in all over Asia.
3. To lead the communist world in Asia and Africa.
4. To Expand Chinese Borders.
5. To increase the military power.

According to Mao, who considered as a great leader and a maker of modern China, 'political power is produced by the barrel of the gun; any object can be produced from the gun'. China's foreign policy and Mao's statement are closely related, that is, China considers it necessary to use guns to achieve its goal. One of the main reasons for increasing China's influence in Asia is its military power, on which it keeps intimidating and threatening every country time and again.

From 1949 to 2019, China made changes in its foreign policy several times in favor of its national interest, including enmity with its friendly Soviet-Russia, as well as its fanatical counter-offensive to America.

China has always been manipulating its foreign policy very cleverly for the attainment of the goal, and has been changing itself all the time to achieve it. The friendship with America was a step towards the achievement of its larger economic-interest goal, which China has completed to a large extent today.

To a large extent, China achieved the task of increasing its military power to achieve economic goals, but most of the time, China has tried to destabilize nearby nations with its military power. Korea in 1950, India in 1962, Soviet Union in 1969, Vietnam in 1979, Thailand in 1963 also accused him of infiltration, Myanmar (Burma) in 1956, Japan in 1958 accused him of destabilizing the country, In 1960, Nepal also accused him of infiltration.

In 1953, even Pakistan's then Foreign Minister Zafarullah Khan alleged in

Parliament that China had encroached parts of its border and seized parts of it. However, China put so much pressure on Pakistan that during the China-Pakistan agreement, Pakistan gave the area of 2000 sq. m. to China, which was the area of free Kashmir, and through this area, the Karakoram road was built which actually works to directly connect China with Pakistan. China has also invested a lot there, which is also a way to fulfill its economic interest. This is the place where India legally asserts its rights, and which China has seized through Pakistan for its own benefit.

Indian view on China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)

The reason for India's saying no to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was that it did not want to get trapped into China's move. China always tries to destabilize the sovereign nation to assert its dominance and to play with the integrity of the country. At the same time, it also wants that other countries respect China, which China does not give to others.

If we consider history as a witness, China has never been a credible nation; it does everything including economic development to the weak countries only for its own benefit.

This dream of intimidating every country of China to grab land and establish its dominance could not be fulfilled as India as proved as a hindrance. Since India is a strong nation having second largest population and the emerging economic power of the world which have always been perceived as a threat by China.

India is proving to be the biggest rival in China's dream of establishing its dominance in Asia. Deceitfully China committed bloodshed on the border to grab India's land which could not be succeeded. China knew that not only India, but all the countries of the world are suffering from economic loss in the Corona era, even America, which is considered as the

world's economic superpower, is facing the biggest economic recession so far.

China took it as an apt time to invade India and occupied its part. It was under the misapprehension that India may not face China during this period of economic instability. Because of which it planned and plotted the Galwan incident. In 1962, China also attacked India in a planned manner; despite there was a Panchsheel agreement between the two countries.

History of India indicates that it has always tried to maintain brotherhood and cordial relations with its neighboring nations. There is a slight border dispute with Pakistan, in which China also tried to break the leg. The reasons for the recent Indo-China conflict have been the hand of China's foreign policy to develop and dominate in a planned manner, which India has been a victim.

The way India solved the Kashmir problem in 2019, China along with Pakistan kept watching and also with the announcement of Indian Home Minister, Mr. Amit Shah, that the POK and Aksai China (illegally occupied by China since 1962 war with India), is also an integral part of India and India will take it. This statement definitely created uproar in China. China began to anticipate this statement a threat to itself as China has invested heavily in PoK. On the other hand, its policy of forcibly taking Ladakh also started failing.

The second big reason was the close proximity of India and America due to which China began to panic. Does China know what it means to be close to India and America? Because in the 70s, by taking advantage of these close proximity, China established itself as an economic power, now India is in the same position, which is definitely going to benefit India, which is a big threat to China. Because China never wants to see any nation stronger than itself, at least in Asia.

Third and the biggest reason of this time is Covid-19 due to which the world is seeing a new scene of destruction, and whose culprit is China, this virus originated from Wuhan of China has brought the

whole world into an era of uncertainty and ruin, Here too, China is not ready to admit its fault that it has a hand in spreading the Corona virus to hide it from the whole world.

Today China is completely alone after facing criticism on the global stage in the Corona case. China now thought of doing something that could distract the attention of the whole world, and for this its chose to have conflict with India. The US has already been annoyed by China due to the huge damage caused by the Corona virus which America considers actually China virus, the tension between the two countries is also increasing, every day, both countries are engaged in looking down on each other.

"Age of Expansionism is Over"

Now in such a situation, the question arises that what will result in war? However, it is less likely from the Indian side, because India always tries to resolve all the problems through dialogue, which India started after 16 June 2020. After several rounds of talks, it was commonly agreed that armies of both countries would retreat from the present position to earlier position, so that the tension could be reduced.

But China has once again started mobilizing large amounts of troops on the border, which is a sign of increasing tension.

However, on 4th July, 2020, the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Narendra Modi, who arrived suddenly on the Ladakh visit, while addressing the soldiers from the forward post of the army, said that India will not bow down, neither will it sink. India will not even rebuff, but if India is attacked, it will not back down from retaliating '.

At the same time, without naming China, Modi gave a clear message to China that

"Age of expansionism is over; this is the age of development. History is witness that expansionist forces have either lost or were forced to turn back".

India has always extended friendship towards China, but unfortunately China has not reciprocated the same. Since Chinese statement and its action both vary in huge manner, which result non-reliability as a neighbor. Thus, it can say that China can be a good economic partner but not a reliable neighbor. The chances of war between the two countries are thin, but if China takes a step in this direction, then it will also have to be ready for the counter attack of India.

Comment by Larisa Smirnova



Although the author of the article, Shivani Rai, might be to some extent influenced by her emotions of patriotism, she pertinently points out the recent rise of popularity of Maoism in China, as well as the legitimate caution expressed by India with regard to China's "One Belt One Road" that many countries perceived as expansionist in nature¹.

¹ On the perception of China's One Belt One Road initiative in Russia, please see several of my articles, including Smirnova L. (2018) Ambivalent Perception of China's "One Belt One Road" in Russia: "United Eurasia" Dream or "Metallic Band" of Containment?. In: Pamment J., Wilkins K. (eds) Communicating National Image through Development and Diplomacy. Palgrave Studies in Communication for Social Change. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-76759-8_11.

Regarding the recent border clash in Galwan Valley, which is a scarcely populated high mountain area, the official Indian position can be read on the website of the Indian Foreign Ministry¹. While putting the responsibility for the clash on the Chinese side, the Indian MFA essentially said that China's recent actions are not in accordance with China's own position in the past. The position of China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs can be read on the website of the Chinese embassy to India². The Galwan incident gave floor to multiple comments from the worldwide expert community, however, we could not identify any official remarks on the websites of the Chinese Foreign Ministry. The Russian Foreign Ministry and the United Nations Security Council published, to the best of our knowledge, no remarks.

Going back to the history of the bilateral relations between India and China, in the post-colonial age, they were based on the principle of "Pancha shila" mentioned by Shivani Rai, which means "principles of peaceful coexistence". This term, coming from Buddhism and pointing to the commonality of the two countries' cultural legacies, is radically different from the so-called doctrine of "realism" that is recently popular in the study of international relations. Pancha Shila was also the basis of the Non-alignment movement (NAM), of which India and its then leader Jawaharlal Nehru, was a proponent. The movement was undoubtedly one of the most romantic pages of the history of international relations. It was launched in 1961 by twenty-five countries, who were not part of any military bloc during the Cold War and advocated for peace, notably by India and Yugoslavia.

China joined NAM as an observer in 1992. China arguably displayed most support to the non-alignment movement in late 2000s, when China's position was that it would not join any military alliances but that, being one of the developing countries, it would consistently support the united action of the developing countries on core issues of international relations. Russia's policies after the USSR disintegration throughout 1990s, as it carried out the disarmament and retreat of its military bases, were consistently close to the non-alignment principles. After USSR breakup, Non-alignment, in its turn, displayed support to Russia's post-Cold war positions, including to its membership in G8, as the movement viewed Russia as one of the cornerstones of the diverse world.

¹ Official Spokesperson's response to media queries seeking comments on the statement issued on 19 June by the Chinese Spokesperson on the events in the Galwan valley area <https://www.mea.gov.in/response-to-queries.htm?dtl/32770/official-spokespersons+response+to+media+queries+seeking+comments+on+the+statement+issued+on+19+june+by+the+chinese+spokesperson+on+the+events+in+the+galwan+valley+area>

² Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Gave a Step-by-Step Account of the Galwan Valley Incident http://in.china-embassy.org/eng/embassy_news/t1790579.htm

CAN ELECTIONS ENSURE REPRESENTATIVE AND ACCOUNTABLE GOVERNMENT? THEORETICAL MODELING

Abstract

The article consists of discourse if elections can be the only part of ensuring of democratic order. The author is analyzing the concepts of electoral representation and electoral accountability and comparing their ideal and real embodiments. The main part of the work is theoretic model with which the author is trying to predict the behavior of an incumbent and to make some crucial notes about abilities of elections to ensure representation and accountability. The crucial conclusion is that elections cannot be the only tool to keep the government representative and accountable and should be supplemented by other democratic instruments. Although the evidences are theoretical, the conclusions can be applied practically.

Key words: democracy, elections, accountability, representation, political mandate model.

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There is no more mythologized concept in political science than “democracy”. Citizens, politicians, philosophers, and scholars succeeded equally in blurring the concept in the public mind, but nobody had malice — it happened because of idea. Government of the people, by the people, for the people was so attractive that people wanted it to become real as soon as possible without going deeper into details.

Leaving questions about origins and distortions in the concept of democracy and appearance of what is to be said “folk democracy” to political theory, let's concentrate on Schumpeter's definition of democracy as “arrangements for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decide issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out its will” [7]. The question

is whether elections, and democracy in general, really work as they are considered to do: can people choose the best ones, who would either represent their interests and be the most appropriate people to realize it.

This article is to demonstrate that elections can ensure representation and accountability only with poor probability and to highlight the common mistake of thinking about electoral representation and accountability as taken for granted. In a real (not theoretical) world elected individuals are likely to behave not like electorate wants them to do, and each of us would do the same if held an office, because it happens not because of nature of politicians, but because of system traits. Our main idea is that elections cannot be the only institute to make government representative and accountable, and there must be extra means for this.

To prove the main thesis of this article consistently, we are to start with key definitions, then show the ideal case of accountable and representative government, after outline some restrictions that usually reduce the chances of creating the ideal world and try to find a solution in order to at least weaken these restrictions.

Elections, Representation and Accountability

First of all, election is a process in which people *vote* to choose a person or a group of people to hold an official position. The importance of voting for further discussion should be emphasized in this general definition.

As elections are the central point for us, we assume that vote is an only instrument to make government be representative and accountable.

In its turn, being representative could be understood in two ways: descriptive representation as “standing for a particular group because they share characteristics with the group”, such as race, gender, language, religion, or ideology [5]; and active representation as acting “on the best available knowledge; and if individuals are sufficiently well informed so that each of them or average one is more likely than not to reach the correct decision, this knowledge is revealed by the verdict of majority of voters” [4].

We will not stop on descriptive representation as minutely as on active, even though it deserves attention from the perspective of the best electoral system and vote counting method system. On the contrary, it would be useful to go deep into some nuances of active representation. Active representation manifests in two ideal models [2]: the delegate model and the trustee.

The delegate model also has name of the mandate model of representation. According to this concept, there is a strong linkage between what constituents want, what a candidate promises and what he

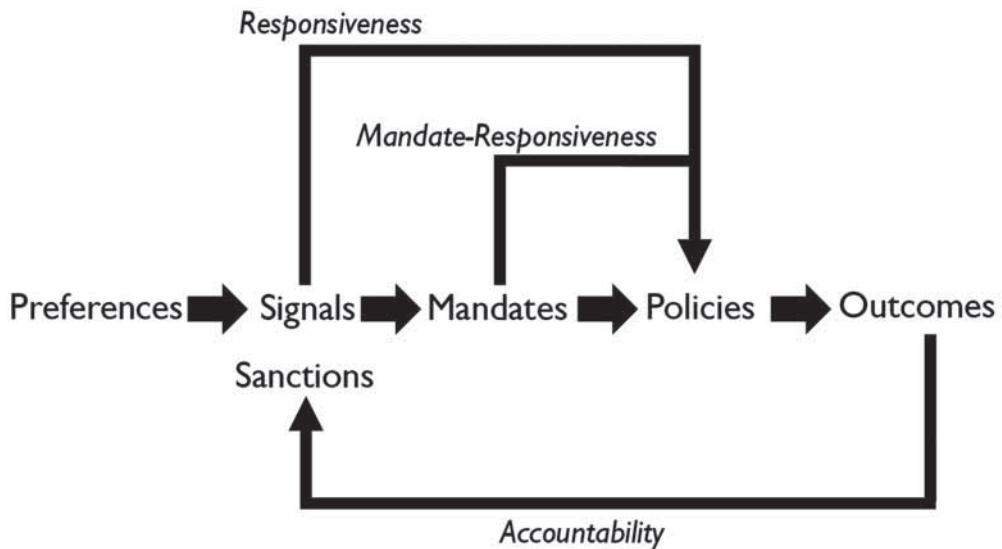
or she is really going to do after winning elections — when the candidate won the mandate. The mandate imposes an obligation to perform as agreed and not to stray even if circumstances got different and preferences of constituents changed.

The trustee model describes a picture of an incumbent that makes his or her political judgements independently, based on his or her perception what would be the best for the voters. This model has deep roots that could be attributed to the English philosopher Edmund Burke, but it is not popular nowadays, because the model weakly correlates with the idea of accountability of elected politicians as it states that in contradistinction to the mandate representation it is harder to judge whether an incumbent perform well or not leaning on neither an agreed plan of action nor agreed outcomes (because there cannot be both any plan and agreed outcomes insofar as voters are to rely completely on their candidates in all political issues).

Accountability, as it was defined by Boven, is a relationship between an actor and a forum, in which the actor has an obligation to explain and to justify his or her conduct, the forum can pose questions and pass judgement, and the actor may face consequences [3]. In our case a forum is constituency and an actor is an incumbent.

In particular, in the traditional theory of democracy accountability means voting for the best candidates and punishing the worst. The problem is that for both of these actions constituents have only one tool — their vote (in a purely elections-focused model). This fact specifies electoral accountability. Governments are ‘accountable’ if citizens can discern representative from unrepresentative governments and can sanction them appropriately, retaining in office those incumbents who perform well and ousting from office those who do not. It also known as retrospective accountability — their vote as a tool to both punish and reward incumbents, and deci-

Table 1



sions of whether to choose between them is based on the results of the policy [6].

With a view to simplify and make these concepts more applicable for our case, say that electoral representation means acting in the best interests of the public and according to the mandate, while electoral accountability means capability to choose the best politicians who fits the office, sanction bad politicians by ousting from the office and reward politicians if they performed well by retaining in the office. Przeworski, Stokes, and Manin summarize all these potential relationships in a diagram (Table 1):

How it should be

An ideal electoral democracy suggests that there is a fully representative and accountable government with governors that perform in concordance with their campaign promises (the mandate). If they are successful, people reward them by reelecting and allowing to continue their policy. If they are unsuccessful or dishonest (cheating on policy, shirking, or pursuing personal profit), people punish them by not reelecting for the next term.

Before these ideal representation and accountability might have happened, we need to stipulate some assumptions:

a) voters believe that politicians are not the same and they are given real alternatives;

b) voters are well-informed about candidates and their programs;

c) voters have their own real attitudes towards issues;

d) voters track what is happening with policy after elections and decide to punish or reward;

e) voters clearly understand who is responsible for this or that policy.

We need to recognize that some actions of politicians contribute more to representative and accountable government than another: hold an office when your views coincide with views of voters is better than hold it because of the desire to hold an office or use it in own private interests; providing policy as it was agreed in mandate is better than change your mind about the process (even if a new way is more profitable); not seeking for reelection is more respectful than declaring openly your desire to stay in the office; staying principled is better than changing your views; staying responsible and well-performing for the last term as well as for the previous ones is better than becoming less efficient in the last term.

If all conditions are met, in the best (ideal) world a politician would hold an

office because he or she is interested in pursuing a policy which shares common views with voters, and implementing the policy well and efficiently, because it is clear that he or she is being tracked by informed voters, has no desire of reelection just for reelection, is interested in results of policy because wants it to be successfully implemented for him- or herself and not seeking reelection. It is the democracy of full representation and full accountability.

How it really is

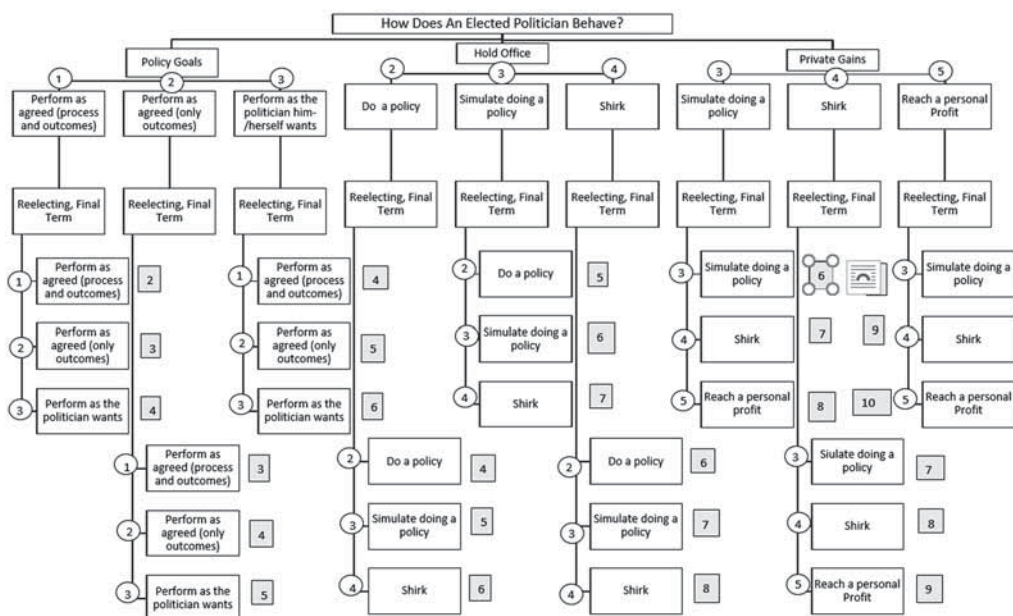
In real world our assumptions fail and make the whole model fail as well. It was described in detail in Achen and Bartels's "Democracy for Realists" [1]. In a great empirical material they emphasized that voters are rarely well-informed about policy, don't have their own stable attitudes to political problems and don't punish or reward candidates for their performance. They turned to be biased to the party or certain candidate (not to make decisions based on own preferences); to not respond the policy for the whole term, but only for the recent times;

to vote for the candidate because of sunny weather or their favorite football team good performance. And politicians turned to be not as noble as it is in ideal. They have their own interests which may prevail. Moreover, incentives to perform well and fair are weaker than incentives to gain personal goals.

If we consider incumbents as rational individuals, it becomes clear why they don't perform as political theorists and philosophers expect them to do. They have a space of opportunity in which each action has its own costs and benefits. As a rational individual, an incumbent is interested in maximizing profits. Particular profit depends of an incumbent's real objectives and preferences.

We can distinguish three objectives for every politician to take an office: their policy goals (when a person goes into politics to realize policy he or she wants to be realized), hold an office (when a person just wants to become an authority), and private gains (when a person needs an official position to raise his or her welfare or use influence for business or corruption). Each of these objectives involves three types of actions that range from the least

Table 2



beneficial to the most beneficial for the incumbent.

Let's visualize how can an incumbent behave according to their own interests based on best practices of Achen and Bartels and Przeworski, Stokes and Manin (Table 2). This scheme is to simplify and systematize incumbents' behavior.

For clarity we marked incumbents' benefits with points — "rents" (the numbers in circles in the table). We assume that taking an office to realize the particular policy, performing only as agreed (in process and outcomes) without independence and getting only salary (without extra benefits such as prizes, privileges, bribes, etc.) is, of course, an exemplary way to perform, but the least beneficial for a rational incumbent, therefore the rent for this strategy is 1. The next strategy — to perform as agreed only in outcomes — imposes less costs for an incumbent, because he or she can change the mind about appropriate ways and be freer in this question, that's why the rent is bigger — 2.

In case an incumbent is motivated by just holding an office, strategies will be different. The least beneficial for him or her would be if an incumbent just do his or her job. At the same time, it is anyway more beneficial than the first case of performing as agreed in process and out-

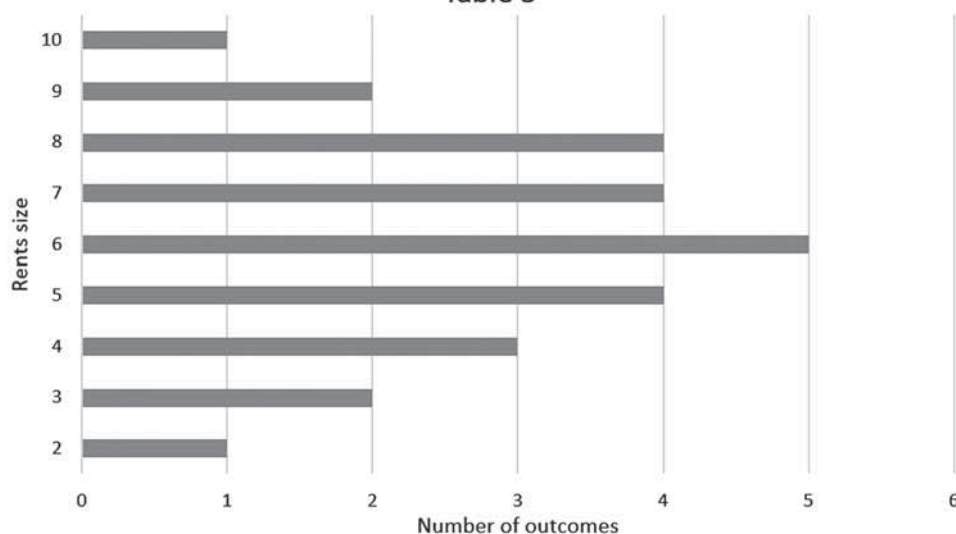
comes, because the incumbent already enjoy his or her office, but less beneficial than simulating activities or shirking and just enjoying themselves.

There is the same logic if an incumbent holds an office for his or her personal goals. The incumbent is not interested in qualitative political performance, but he or she still need at least simulate doing something expected by the others, but it would be more beneficial for him or her just to go about personal business.

At the same moment, an incumbent worries about reelection too, that's why we allocated separately the part that contains reelecting. It has the special meaning in case of reelecting for the final term (if there are any limits about reelecting, such as limits for being a president no more than two consecutive terms in many of countries), because after the final term nobody can punish the incumbent by not-reelecting, so as his or her time is anyway over. We believe that the behavior of incumbents during the final term especially tends to be more benefits-focused, because during their last term they are less accountable than ever.

So rents are small when an incumbent gets only a salary for his job and does what he or she supposed to do [6]. When an incumbent gets some extra value from

Table 3



holding an office, rents are higher, but it is costly for citizens. Starting at the top of the table, an incumbent makes choices at every fork and collect his or her rents. Keeping rents low means just doing what voters want. With assumption that an incumbent is more motivated to choose outcome with higher rents to maximize benefits, we can predict what is likely to happen during an incumbent's term by comparing total rents (the numbers in gray squares).

At every step an incumbent is to choose between maximizing rents and being accountable and representative. Even though this model is very simplified and does not take into account many sufficient factors (such as concerns about credibility, term limits, being principle, etc.), it is quite relevant to demonstrate the case in general. Table 3 shows that ideal performance in which incumbent would get the smallest rents is not only unattractive but also least likely outcome (1 of 27, that is 3,7037%). For justice, the maximum rents outcome has the same possibility, but rationally acting incumbent would seek maximization rather than completely unattractive option. The most popular outcome is the mean between maximizing benefits and performing well. Each of the next strategies turns to be more beneficial. It means that even theoretically incumbents are not honest and fair, and they might be corrupted, take bribes, shirk, and implement their own policy instead of what was agreed.

Conclusion

To sum it up, the statement "elections = accountable and representative government" cannot be taken for granted. The analysis shows that neither voters nor politicians behave as they are supposed to be in a conventional theory of democracy.

Politicians strive to realize their own interests, which can match or not to match with interests of voters. Even assuming that voters are ideal (comply with all assumptions), the possibility of electing the ideal governor (getting lowest rents but currying mandate out exactly and accountable) is, according to simplified model, about 3% (1 of 27 theoretical outcomes). Add to this that voters are biased, few informed, rarely judge retrospectively, and prefer not to spend their leisure time to politics. These circumstances will decrease already 3%-possibility of setting accountable and representative government.

However, such conclusion is not to justify corruption, bribes and other types of politicians' negative behavior. This output is to emphasize that elections are not enough to ensure representative and accountable government. It is not to make us abandon democracy, but to intensify our research in the field of civil society, transparency and political activism. That's why there is a new challenge not only for politicians, but also for political scientists around the world.

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AMERICAN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES ON SPACE EXPLORATION

Abstract

This article is based on a report that was prepared for the International online conference “New Digital Reality: Science and Education, Law, Security, Economics and Finance” on 6th — 11th July 2020.

The article analyzes the activities of NASA, American commercial companies that are engaged in space projects. The article also describes the US policy in the field of space exploration. The author of the article also examines the activities of other countries in the space industry: Russia (formerly the USSR), EU, Japan, India and China.

Key words: Space, USA, NASA, domestic policies, Policies space exploration.

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I am here today to speak about the United States foreign and domestic policies toward space exploration and how the importance of new technologies in this field.

Space exploration began in the 1940s and for the first four centuries the only two countries to notably participate in space exploration were the United States and the USSR. During these years of the Cold War, the United States and the USSR were consistently pushing the limits of space exploration. In 1969 the United States landed the first person on the moon. Two years later, in 1971, the USSR established the first space station. This pattern of aggressive space exploration from both nations continued for the next few decades.

Since 1990, the United States, Russia, Japan, and more recently the European Space Agency have actively participated in Space Exploration. In 2015, in a unified effort between Japan and the United States,

the first space grown food was consumed. If anyone is curious, the first space grown food to be consumed was lettuce.

Since 1958 the main agency responsible for the American space program, as well as aeronautics and space research, has been the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, commonly known as NASA. NASA is independent from the U.S. military, operating as an independent agency of the United States Federal government. NASA was explicitly stated to have a “civilian orientation,” with the purpose of peaceful space exploration and applications of space science.

NASA has overseen most US space exploration programs since its inception, including Project Gemini, the Apollo Program, the Skylab Program, and the Space Shuttle Program. In 2017 NASA began the Artemis Program which is designed to land “the first woman and the next man” on the moon by 2024. According to NASA, “Artemis would be the first step towards

the long-term goal of establishing a sustainable presence on the Moon, laying the foundation for private companies to build a lunar economy, and eventually sending humans to mars."

Another component of the United States space program is the inclusion of privately held space exploration companies, including SpaceX lead by entrepreneur Elon Musk. Space X was founded in 2002 and has had numerous successful space missions over the past two decades. NASA has shown a willingness and desire to work with private companies likes SpaceX. An example of this is a recent decision by NASA to hire SpaceX and Boeing to provide transportation to and from the International Space Station instead of building and operating its own aircrafts. Other private companies that participate in the space exploration industry in the United States include Orbital, Northrop Grumman Innovation Systems, and Sierra Nevada Corporation.

While the United States is certainly a leader in Space exploration, it is not the only participant. There is currently greater cooperation amongst nations in space exploration than ever before, in large part due to the International Space Station that was established in 1998. This Station was a collaboration representing an international partnership between the United States, Russia, Canada, Japan, and the participating countries of the European Space Agency. It has been visited by astronauts from 18 countries and is a great example of global cooperation in space exploration.

Additionally, there are other countries that have established space programs. Currently there are 72 governments that have space agencies. However, of those 72, only six of the agencies have full launch capabilities. Those agencies are from the United States, Russia, the European Space Agency, Japan, China, and India.

The Russian Federal Space Agency, known as Roscosmos and abbreviated as FKA and RKA, is the Russian equiva-

lent of NASA. It was previously the Russian Aviation and Space Agency known as "Rosaviakosmos". The Roscosmos are currently building a new headquarters in Moscow. Recently the Russian Federal Space Agency has been active in its role as a partner in the International Space Station. It is notable that unlike the United States where there are many prominent privately held space exploration companies, the Roscosmos have much more of an exclusive reign over space exploration in Russia. However, it is true that there are a few rising privately held space exploration companies in Russia including Cosmo Course, S7 Space, and Lin Industrial. While the United States and Russia certainly have the most robust space exploration programs, Japan, China, India, and the European Space Agency are all major players as well.

The Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency, known as JAXA, was founded in 2003, although Japan has had a space exploration agency since 1955. In 2018, JAXA and NASA made the following statement to express their commitment to cooperation in the domain of space exploration:

"Consistent with the Japan-U.S. Summit Meeting of November 2017, whereby Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan and President Donald J. Trump of the United States of America noted the long history of bilateral space cooperation between Japan and the United States and affirmed their commitment to continuing cooperation in space exploration between their two nations; Both agencies welcome on coordinating with their governments to enable an innovative and sustainable exploration program."

The United States has taken a similarly cooperative approach with the European Space Agency and the Canadian government. NASA and the Chinese government, however, do not share such a cooperative relationship. Evidence of this rocky relationship is the fact that China banned all researches from NASA from working with

Chinese citizens affiliated with a Chinese state or entity. Further, in 2011, the United States banned NASA from using its funds to host Chinese visitors at NASA facilities.

The roots of this contentious relationship between the Chinese and the American space exploration programs are seeded in political turmoil between the two countries. In many ways this is unfortunate that America foreign policy excludes Chinese contribution to the field of space exploration because China undoubtedly has much to offer in terms of resources and innovations. Perhaps in the future political tensions will ease and this will facilitate cooperation between the United States and China. This happened between the United States and Russia following the cold war and has resulted in great collective progress.

Along with the United States, Russia, China, Japan, and the European Space Agency, another country that has a full space exploration program with launch capabilities is India. The Indian Space Research Organization was founded in 1962 and has worked at times with Russia to organize launch programs. Although India is not part of the International Space Station the Indian Space Research Organization does work closely with NASA and the United States. In 2014 Indian and the United States signed the NISAR agreement with a stated mission of a collaborative launch between the two countries by 2022.

Space exploration is by nature a field with limitless potential. It is difficult for third world countries to justify investing in space exploration if the country does not have the means to provide basic resources for its own citizens. However, for developed countries like the United States, space exploration is an important aspect of the economy. Unlike other countries, the United States does not only have a sophisticated government space exploration agency, but also many privately held firms that contribute to the field of space exploration. For this reason, it is likely that the United States will remain the global leader in space exploration. It is also likely

the case that privately held companies in Russia will emerge as major contributors as they have in the United States. In regard to foreign policy, the United States has demonstrated a commitment to working with other countries to achieve the greatest possible results. This is evidenced by their participation in the International Space Station as well as their agreement with India to collaborate on a launch in the near future. The only country with a major space exploration program that the United States does not collaborate with is China, and this is likely a result of political tension between the two countries. Maybe in the future if China and the United States establish a better relationship this will facilitate even greater development of space exploration.

The American policies of utilizing the public and private sector and of working closely with other countries are the reasons why Americans will continue to develop new technologies in the field of space exploration. The field is dependent on innovation, and innovation is dependent on the collaboration of the best minds. By allowing companies like SpaceX to work with NASA, and by working with countries like Russia and India to create and implement new technologies, it can be anticipated that there will be many new technological advances and revolutions in the coming years in the field of space exploration.

Since the United States first starting investing in space exploration it has caught the attention of many. Recently when SpaceX launched the Falcon 9 from Cape Canaveral, people from all over the country and the world eagerly watched. The United States is the global leader in space exploration, and its domestic policy of encouraging private participation as well as government sponsored participation will ensure that its program only continues to grow. Furthermore, the United States foreign policy of cooperating as much as possible with other countries will facilitate even more growth and development in the field.

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THE DIGITAL IMPACT ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS

Abstract

The article analyzes the controversial issues of protecting the constitutional rights of citizens to information, to privacy, as well as to preserve the secrecy of correspondence, telephone conversations, and other messages in the digital era. The study identifies major legal risks of using the advanced information processing methods in the new digital reality: first, the risk of unintentional deanonymization of personal data; secondly, the risk of generating falsified information. We propose solutions, such as introducing an information audit system and a two-component information reading system. They can help to overcome the legal risks of data deanonymization and information falsification. We conclude that digital technologies have a significant impact on the content and methods of protecting some constitutional rights of citizens.

Key words: digital technologies, constitutional rights, information.

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The digital revolution marks the final transition from the industrial to the post-industrial type of society, in which information has acquired the role of the full-fledged asset. At the same time, in the light of digitalization, the conflict has already emerged between the requirements of legislation in the field of information protection and the transparency of the Internet. As the result, the problem of full-fledged legal regulation of the public data on the Internet is revealed.

Such constitutional human rights as the ability to fully protect the right to privacy and the right to privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations and other communications is the most difficult and controversial in the digital age. The purpose of this work is identification of the main legal risks in the development and mass distribution of digital technologies, as well as search for possible ways

to overcome their negative impact on the observance of the constitutional rights of citizens.

The research methodology is based on general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, as well as special scientific formal legal and comparative legal methods. The relevance of the research lies in the absence of appropriate legal regulation of information circulation in the context of the rapid development of digital technologies.

Digital technologies open up tremendous opportunities for creating advanced methods for collecting, processing and storing information. Such programs, called Big Data in the business environment, can generate results that are not envisioned by the developer, but are possible due to the introduction of the ability to analyze and compare unlimited amount of data into the program. The rapid development

of Big Data is due to the significant economic advantage obtained from the use of new technologies. For example, in the field of banking, there is an increase in the activity of the industry of information brokers, who, through Big Data technologies, accumulate and analyze in the interests of lenders information about potential borrowers, which, among other things, include personal data [1].

In most cases, the use of personal data means their intended use. Considering the fact that Big Data is the reusable digital asset, legislative consolidation of its intended use hinders business development. Therefore, due to the fact that Big Data is gradually being transferred to the commercial area, personal data as the part of Big Data periodically becomes the currency for paying for Internet services, asset of companies, marketing maneuver, commercial product provided by information brokers to interested companies.

The introduction of Big Data into the market turnover is becoming an irreversible process. At the same time, significant changes in the field of information circulation affect the relationship between the exchange of personal data and the protection of privacy in such a way that the latter requires additional measures to be taken to protect them.

As the measure to protect personal data, it is proposed to transfer user data into the sphere of civil circulation, and avoid situations when personal data is sold for commercial benefit. At the same time, the differentiation of user data and personal data, the introduction of some into circulation and the strengthening of measures to protect others from circulation are not possible. The key risk is the possibility of data deanonymization by artificial intelligence, which has the ability to establish the personal data of a specific person during the joint analysis of several anonymized user databases [3].

Thus, two main factors: the increase in the productivity and availability of computing power of artificial intelligence, as well as the huge array of personal in-

formation available on the Internet, make it technically possible to deanonymize even carefully anonymized data. In this regard, the opinion of Marshall McLuen is interesting, who believes that the Internet and privacy are incompatible concepts. Therefore, the ubiquitous spread of digital technologies will turn history back and humanity will again find itself residents of "one global village" in which privacy will be done away with [2]. Thus, Big Data is incompatible with the concept of informed, specific and conscientious consent as the main basis for legitimizing the processing of personal data.

Moreover, the technological capabilities of Big Data indicate that anonymization of personal data is gradually ceasing to be the guarantee of their anonymity. Moreover, the capabilities of artificial intelligence are not limited by the ability of scan information, posted by users on the Internet. For example, the ability of artificial intelligence to generate mixed realities blurs the boundaries of the "truth" and challenges the perception of Internet users, who find themselves in the fake reality. At the same time, the technical possibility of exposing misinformation becomes more complicated every year, since artificial intelligence technologies allow creating falsified information practically indistinguishable from reality, backed up by synthetic fake photographs, audio and video recordings.

In these conditions, the government can ensure the safety of only those citizens and organizations that voluntarily agree to soften standards to the extent, which is necessary to comply with the requirements of international and national security. At the same time, restrictions should be formulated with the maximum degree of accuracy and reflect the answers to the questions when, how and by whom these exemptions from the legal regime can be used.

It seems that the attention of the legislator should be focused on the following legal risks. First, artificial intelligence can achieve unintended results that lead to

violations of the legal regime for the protection of personal data and the secrecy of correspondence, telephone conversations and other messages. Secondly, artificial intelligence is able to generate falsified information that constructs an alternative reality and serves as the powerful propaganda weapon.

The legal risk of artificial intelligence gaining access to the unlimited amount of data can be prevented by conducting the periodic information audit of the system and removing unnecessary user data, including the personal data of those persons who do not meet certain criteria. The legal risk of generating falsified information should be prevented by introducing the two-component system that includes

personal inviolable data and personal machine-readable data. Thus, information should be collected by the monitoring system and immediately translated into the coded machine-readable form. Thus, only the machine gets access to any information by reading the programming code, while the read information is not verified in the human-readable form. Consequently, platform operators will be significantly limited in their ability to deliberately falsify data.

Thus, the development of digital technologies has the significant impact on the constitutional rights of citizens, which require either the revision of existing concepts or the adoption of additional measures to protect them.

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WHY ARE SOME DEMOCRACIES MORE TARGETED BY TERRORISTS THAN OTHER DEMOCRACIES?

Abstract

Democracy became one of the most common political regimes that governments of many countries use. It is often being considered as peaceful as it encourages freedom and legal means of expression of discontent. Surprisingly, some democracies turn out to have more terrorist attacks than other democratic countries. If democracies encourage terrorism by their nature, then why only some of them struggle with this phenomenon? This research is concerned with the tendency of rising terrorism in some democratic countries and possible factors that determine its steadiness. The missing connection between democracy and terrorism creates an empirical puzzle that is the main question of this paper: why are some democracies more targeted by terrorists while other democratic countries do not have particular problems with it. Thereby, the main goal of this paper is to understand what factors influence the rise of terrorist incidents in some democracies (in the case of the EU countries). The main hypothesis of the paper is that there is a connection between how many migrants a democratic country is ready to accept and its vulnerability to terrorist attacks.

Key words: terrorism, democracy, migration, terrorist incidents, right wing populism.

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Nowadays it is common knowledge that terrorism is a phenomenon that can spread fast and reach long destinations. Such phenomena may be explained by the fact that now the means of modern technologies have appeared, which spread all over the world, especially in developed democratic countries. As anyone could notice, democracy became one of the most common political regimes that governments of many countries use. It became so truly widespread that many scholars started to do research on it and some of them even spoke about the end of the history when there will be no other regimes but democracy [3]. Although terrorism is always seen as a manifestation of cruelty and massacres and connected with 'cave times' [7], it is a

new phenomenon that exists as a consequence of modernity and post-modernity.

Some researchers argue that democracy should reduce terrorism because 'democracies offer avenues for interest articulation among citizens and endorse nonviolent resolutions of conflicts' [6]. If so, why terrorism spreads in some democracies, while they are often considered as peaceful and encouraging freedom and legal means of expression of discontent. Such contradiction has become a reason why some other researchers hold a different view, according to which terrorism is explained by competitive effects of democracy's different elements [1]. The third group of researchers believe that democracy and terrorism are not interconnected at all. [4]. Although this paper

does not consider or test these positions directly, it is necessary to be familiar with the common scholarship opinions about the connection between democracy as a regime and terrorism.

Thereby, it is surprising that some democracies turn out to have more terrorist attacks than other democratic countries. If democracies encourage terrorism by their nature, then why only some democracies struggle with this phenomenon? Thus, this research is concerned with the tendency of rising terrorism in some democratic countries and possible factors that may cause the duration of it. In other words, the missing connection between democracy and terrorism creates an empirical puzzle that is the main question of this paper: why are some democracies more targeted by terrorists while other democratic countries do not have particular problems with it.

Thereby, the main goal of this paper is to determine the factors that can cause the rise of terrorist incidents in some democracies if there is no connection of this phenomenon with the regime type.

In the beginning, it is important to emphasize important definitions. The word "terrorism" can have many different meanings and there is a debate about how to define this term. The need for a universal scientific and legal definition of international terrorism has emerged a long time ago, but became particularly acute only in the 21st century. The international community attempted to develop an agreement on the elimination of the phenomenon of terrorism and its suppression in the UN, but failed to achieve its goal due to the difficulty of reaching consensus among member states. The disagreement of some countries is still one of the main problems and obstacles to the establishment of universal peace and the elimination of terrorism. The United Nations did not get rid of contradictions and, despite the debate that lasted for more than six decades, and excluded international

terrorism from its practice by the International Criminal Court.

The difficulties associated with formulating a generally accepted definition of terrorism are best explained by Alex Schmid, one of the leading scientists in the field of counter-terrorism [5]. The author called terrorism a disputed concept. The well-known phrase represents the author's thought: 'A fighter for the freedom of one person, for another is a terrorist.' Since it is rather difficult to distinguish separatism from the national liberation movement, as it is to determine the difference in their goals and permissible means, a situation of 'double standards' appears, which is often used by some political actors. He also noted that not all countries consider it necessary and correct to delegitimize the actions of certain groups and define them as terrorist due to the fact that the ultimate goals of these groups meet the interests of the governments of these states. Thus, terrorism is a multidimensional phenomenon, it includes a huge number of manifestations, which follow from the long history of its existence and transformation. Despite all of what has been said above, it is important to create a united definition for achieving more efficient cooperation between countries in addressing terrorism.

The hypothesis that is analyzed in this paper is:

H: The more a democratic country is ready to accept migrants from other countries, the more it becomes targeted by terrorists.

As for the time period, the paper studies recent tendencies regarding terrorism in democratic countries, which is why I will do my research from 2008 until 2018 (10 years). For my research, I am going to use primary as well as secondary literature.

My main method is a comparative case study with two cases for each independent variable. These are extreme cases for each IV (Independent Variable) — the lowest and the highest average. The cases are selected from the countries of the European

Union (EU) because, according to the EIU Democracy Index, most of countries who have 'full' or 'flawed' democracy are European [9]. The contrast of cases is believed present valuable findings. It also involves both qualitative and quantitative analyses.

The hypothesis is connected to migration because of the previous tendency settled by:

1) media, when, for instance, two of the suicide bombers in the November 2015 Paris attack were found to have traveled into Europe among refugees [14];

2) right wing populists, which consider it one of the main factors of increased number of terrorist attacks in the country (for example, Hungarian Prime Minister Viktor Orbán noted that 'all the terrorists are migrants' and Marine Le Pen stated that 'behind mass immigration, there is terrorism', etc. [13]);

3) stories, spread in different resources (such as BuzzFeed report that mentioned a Turkish people smuggler who claimed to have sent at least ten Islamic State¹ fighters to Greece [12]).

The link between terrorist organizations and migration has now become the focus of attention due to the likelihood that violent extremists have infiltrated refugee routes in order to cross into Europe. Moreover, migration flows are the target for right wing parties that undermine ideas of established institutions and democratic procedures, especially those connected to parties, parliament, and state itself.

Dependent variable (DV) is *terrorism in democratic countries* (a democratic country is determined in this research paper by its appropriateness to criteria² in accordance with the 2018 EIU

Democracy Index [9]). An indicator of PV is the number of terrorist acts (incidents) in a democratic country. A measurement is the number of terrorist acts measured by Global Terrorism Database [11]. **IV or the Independent Variable** is migration. An indicator of this IV is total amount of migrants in a democratic country. A measurement is the number of migrants measured by Eurostat [10].

To analyze this, I take data from Eurostat to calculate the highest and the lowest average to define extreme cases for this IV (the results are given in Attachment 1).

Calculation showed that Germany has always had a significant number of migrants and Liechtenstein has had the lowest average of migrant population throughout the whole period of 10 years. Thus, Germany and Liechtenstein have to be the extreme cases for the IV.

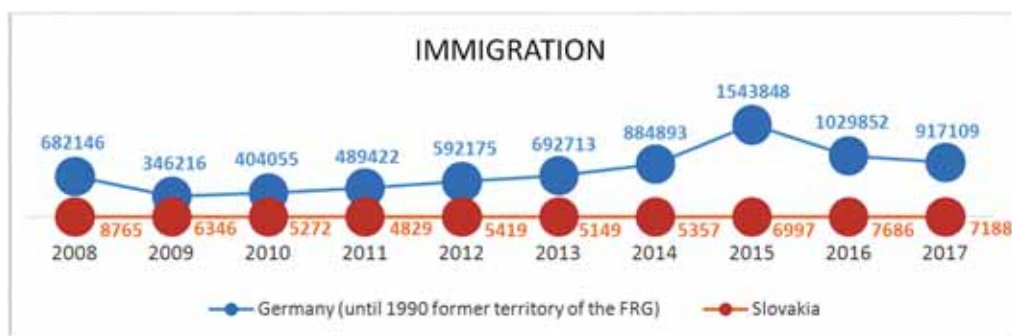
Unfortunately, it was impossible to find any data about terrorist incidents in Liechtenstein. It is excluded from terrorist databases (such as GTD, Global Terrorism Index, and others), thus, it is necessary to exclude it from the case selection and it cannot be used as the extreme case for the IV. Thereby, the extreme lowest case is Slovakia. The amount of immigrants in Slovakia for each year is given in the table form in Attachment 1. Slovakia's immigration situation is similar with Liechtenstein's- from 8765 immigrants in 2008 to 7188 thousand in 2017. Although, the lowest point was reached in 2011 (4829) and afterwards the amount remained almost the same. In the next line graph, the results of both countries are showed. The numbers are also given for better understanding as a difference in the quantity makes the tendency between both cases less visible.

Before getting into Global Terrorism Database for future analysis, one should

¹ The Supreme court of the Russian Federation in 2014 recognized the organization "Islamic state" as a terrorist organization and banned it on the territory of Russia. Participation in this organization is punishable by law.

² Democracy Index is based on five categories: electoral process and pluralism; civil liberties; the functioning of government; political participation; and political culture. Based on their scores on 60

indicators within these categories, each country is then itself classified as one of four types of regime: full democracy; flawed democracy; hybrid regime; and authoritarian regime.



Graph 1

understand what were the reasons of such a difference in migration flows of both countries. Why Germany has the biggest number and Liechtenstein — the smallest?

Shortly, Germany's history of hospitality began from the establishing of the DDR (East Germany). It was a kind of 'inner' migration (emigration from East to West Germany); the government of the GDR was even forced to build a border (Innerdeutsche Grenze) because of losing the population (citizens) who were migrating to the FRG where the level of life was quite higher. After the border was built, the number reduced a lot as it was hard to move. After the collapse of the GDR and reunification, the situation changed again. From 2010s, not only the quantity of migrants changed, but also the quality, such as citizenship — while the amount of immigrating citizens from European countries and citizens from other developed countries remained the same, there was an increase of immigrants from the Third World countries. Thus, in many West European countries proportion of West European foreigners has remained stable, while the number of the non-European population has increased a lot due to the rise of conflicts in the Middle East, poor level of life in Africa, and the rise of terrorism [2]. Besides, a new group of immigrants came from new EU member states such as Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Croatia. It was much more difficult

to assimilate for these groups as they were forced to migrate by extraordinary circumstances and were sure about temporality of this situation. A small amount of immigrants returned to their countries or stayed aside from political and social life living in Germany but some others joined criminal groups because they could not find a job as they were lacking either employable skills or knowledge of the language.

The Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic went their separate ways after 1993 (after so-called 'the Velvet Divorce'). Slovakia became a member of NATO and of the European Union in 2004. The population in this country consists mostly from Slovaks, Hungarians, Roma, Czechs, Rusyns, Ukrainians, Germans and Poles that is explained by the geographic factor. It has a low level of migration, especially the amount of migrants from the Third World countries.

After reviewing the migrant's history of both countries, it is necessary to calculate and combine the number of terrorist incidents that happened in them from 2008 till 2018.

GTD shows that Slovakia did not have any incidents at all until 2011. The 2011 McDonald's bombing was a partially successful terrorist attack. The perpetrator, Ladislav Kuc, was convicted on 8 counts of terrorism, 1 count of attempted terrorism and 1 count of unlawful possession of weapons. It was the first time that some-

Table 1

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Germany	3	4	1	8	5	0	13	65	44	27
Slovakia	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0

Table 2

Slovakia	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Immigrants	8 765	6 346	5 272	4 829	5 419	5 149	5 357	6 997	7 686	7 188
Terrorist incidents	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	2	0

one was convicted on terrorism charges in Slovakia. This case was not connected to migration, he was born in Czechoslovakia and had a history of mental illness. It was directly connected with Kuc's desire to promote animal rights [8]. After this case, two more attacks appeared in 2013 as well as in 2016. Those attacks were performed by right wing extremists.

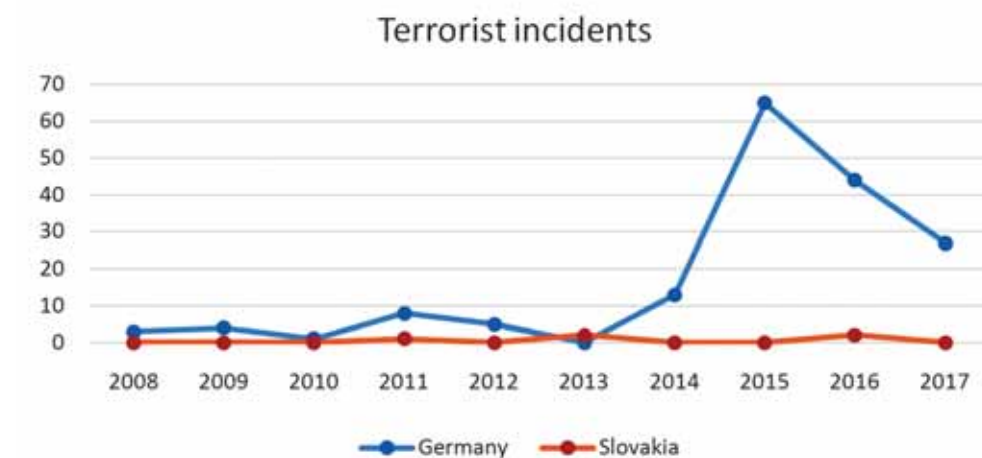
Germany's situation is different as the number of incidents started dramatically rising since 2013 and falling after 2015. In 2015, the number of migrants was the highest as well as the number of terrorist incidents.

This does not mean that migrants made all of these attacks but it could mean that the procedure of hospitality was not carried out correctly as terrorists were able to enter the country pretending refugees or asylums.

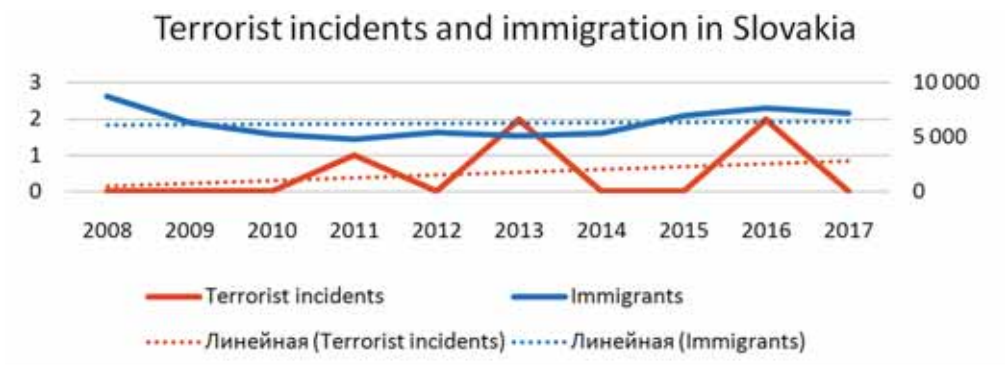
To make it more visible, the graph was made. Here is a clear difference — **Germany has a bigger number of terrorist incidents with the time, while Slovakia has had only a few that actually were caused by right wing or eco-extremists.**

To analyze the causality of DV (dependent variable) and this IV, the numbers of incidents and the quantity of immigrants during all 10 years were combined. **The case of Slovakia is easy to analyze — there has been a small number of immigrants, which did not change pretty much over time, and the number of terrorist incidents has also been pretty low.**

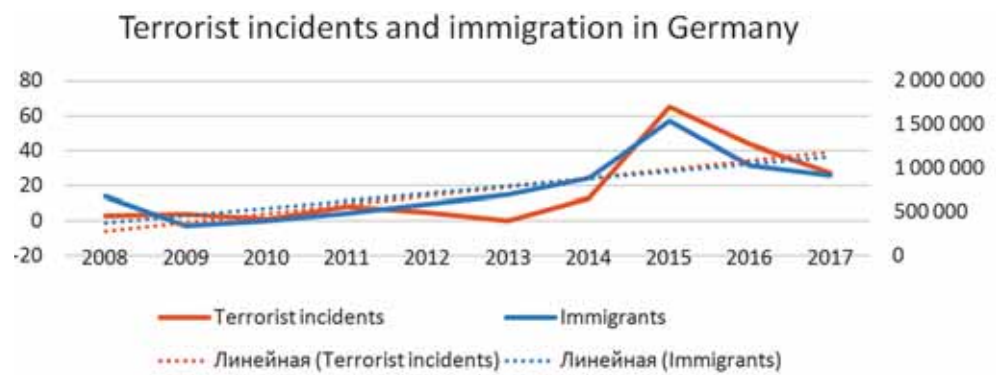
On the line graph 3, the line of trend shows that the quantity of immigrants has not changed significantly, while the number of incidents has risen. However, it is important to notice that in 2016,



Graph 2



Graph 3



Graph 4

the number of immigrants grew again (although in a small proportion) and two terrorist attacks appeared.

To find out if there is any correlation between this data and its quality (positive or negative), it is necessary to calculate the correlation coefficient. To do this, Excel program was used, function correlation where 2 data arrays from the table 3 were put in. The hypothesis will be the same — the more immigrants enter the country, the more terrorist incidents appear (IV — immigration, DV-terrorist incidents).

The result coefficient value is $-0,100175269$ or 10% that means that correlation is very weak and negative. We can state that there is no visible connection between these two variables. This analysis proves that attacks are not much connected to immigration. The most attacks actually were made by right wing extremists. Negative value means that the more migrants were in this period, the less attacks happened. **This means that a smaller number of immigrants does not lead to any increase in the number**

Table 3

Germany	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Immigrants	682 146	346 216	404 055	489 422	592 175	692 713	884 893	1543848	1029852	917 109
Terrorist incidents	3	4	1	8	5	0	13	65	44	27

of terrorist attacks, which proves the hypothesis.

When the data for Germany was taken, it showed that since 2012 the number of immigrants was rising as well as the number of terrorist incidents. The biggest number (65) was in 2016 when about 1,3 million of immigrants crossed the country's border.

These visible graphics show that the number of immigrants in Germany was increasing and the line of trend prove this tendency, while the number of terrorist incidents was growing simultaneously with it and started falling after 2015.

To prove that between this data there is any correlation, it is necessary to calculate the correlation coefficient. To do this, I use Excel program, function correlation where I put 2 data arrays from the table 3. The hypothesis will be the same — the more immigrants enter the country, the more terrorist incidents appear (IV — immigration, DV — terrorist incidents).

The coefficient of correlation is 0,913130967 that means 91% (coefficient value varies from 0 to 1; to 0.2 — very weak correlation, to 0.5 — weak correlation, to 0.7 — average correlation, to 0.9 — high correlation, over 0.9 — very high correlation). Consequently, correlation (91%) in our case is very high and positive.

Thus, there is a definite connection between this data — between ill-conceived friendly immigrant politics and terrorist attacks possibility — as it becomes easier to enter into the country without much notice. Although, this connection should not be mixed with hostility itself and immigrants, the latter are still being victims of the situation and often being rejected to enter with the help of right-wing populist policies.

In conclusion, the hypothesis was **partly proved**. The hypothesis (H) — the more a democratic country being ready to accept migrants from other (mostly non-democratic) countries, the more it is targeted by terrorists — **was proved with the case of Germany which had the high-**

est number of immigrants in this period of time and its correlation coefficient was high and positive.

Migration crisis was one of the reasons why many terrorists went to the country unnoticed. Thus, **the migrants themselves did not cause the rise of terrorism**, the inability to detect the hypothetical perpetrators among migrants when their number is pretty high did. A common mistake is to believe that migrants are the cause of the problem, which is often used by right-wing populists to strengthen their political position, using people's ignorance or unawareness.

A special feature during the years of the European migration crisis was the outbreak of terrorist attacks on individuals, property and business. The crisis influenced the emergence of terrorist and extremist organizations trying to **draw attention to their dissatisfaction with the migration crisis**. For example, anti-Muslim extremists opening fire on a Muslim woman in a Stefans bakery, Chemnitz Revolution attack on foreign migrants [14]. While the vast majority of right-wing extremist groups in the EU did not resort to violence, they created an atmosphere of fear and hostility towards minorities. Such actions clearly have a negative impact on the field of human rights protection in Germany. Xenophobia, Islamophobia and anti-emigration sentiments, violence against people are what Germany seeks to avoid, especially after a tragic historical experience. Ultra-radical terrorism examples are bombing in Düsseldorf (June 2000) and attack on foreign migrants by activists of the Chemnitz Revolution (September 2018).

Speaking of Germany's counterterrorism policy, one should mention Grid Search (Rasterfahndung) as **the main method for identifying terrorism suspects**. It was reintroduced into German law after 9/11. It includes the collection of bulk data from public and private databases (registration of residents, police and customer data from public and private companies). This

dataset is determined by criteria (age, membership of political groups, rental situation, etc.), and vague data is refined by investigators (for example, an unknown terrorist or group). By using such "grids" in search, they hope to get enough people in the database and make identification easier. After 9/11 in Germany, this method was widely used to identify al-Qaeda agents [11]. The Merkel government also approved legislation to reduce the number of Islamist attacks, making it a criminal offense to travel abroad for military training. Many civil rights advocates opposed such a measure [15].

However, measures above did not stop an attack on the Christmas market in Berlin (2016) from happening, which shocked both the country as a whole and the EU [8, 10]. These attacks showed an increase in the number of single attacks (the lone wolf) and weapons. Lone terrorists are far from a new phenomenon, but with the advancement of internet technology, it has become much easier to distribute extremist materials. Counter-terrorism policy faces the problem of isolating such individuals due to the difficulty of finding them. Statistically, such attacks are more deadly due to unlimited access to weapons and independence from the network providing the weapon (from kitchen utensils to a rental car or car sharing).

In Germany, similarly, traveling abroad for military training has become a criminal offense since 2015, but this has only doubled the controversy, damaged the rule of law, and expanded the scope of monitoring with a restrictive impact on fundamental rights. In this case, the response to the radicalization process and the threat of terrorism could be **to improve the qualifications of security personnel, increase equipment, international cooperation and preventive measures.**

Some of the directions of counter-terrorism in Germany may obviously contradict the values of the established political

regime, because with insufficient control over the activities of the security services and the judiciary, violations of rights such as confidentiality of information, legal protection, justice, respect for the dignity of the human person (especially if the condition the presence of a criminal act as a precondition for intervention).

In this regard, author suggest some recommendations for democracies that are having big migration flows and want to counter terrorism successfully without any controversy their political regime (liberal democratic values):

1) to increase in qualified security personnel, equipment and international cooperation;

2) to comply the constitutional principle of a clear distinction between punitive and legal behavior;

3) to ensure legitimacy, consistency and efficiency: operational cooperation and exchange of legal and judicial information;

4) to comply with liberal democratic principles in the very process of making decisions;

5) to limit the abuse of human rights principles in counterterrorism initiatives, the need for a serious attitude to the expertise of the committees or bodies associated with these areas.

Democracies can effectively respond to the threat of terrorism and reduce its destructive effects. This requires an understanding of what terrorism is, the development of a counter-terrorism policy in accordance with the goals of a democratic state and a well-thought-out sustainable strategy for the implementation of this policy.

Undoubtedly, big migration flows are not the only possible factor that can cause the vulnerability of a democratic country to becoming a target of terrorism. Thereby, the more detailed research is needed to consider, for example, how the engagement in armed or political conflicts (towards non-democracies) can influence on becoming more targeted by terrorists.

Attachment 1

GEO/TIME	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	Average
Germany	682 146	346 216	404 055	489 422	592 175	692 713	884 893	1 543 848	1 029 852	917 109	758 243
United Kingdom	590 242	566 514	590 950	566 044	498 040	526 046	631 991	631 452	588 993	644 209	583 448
Spain	599 075	392 962	360 705	371 331	304 053	280 772	305 454	342 114	414 746	532 132	390 334
France	296 608	296 970	307 111	319 816	327 431	338 752	340 383	364 221	378 115	369 964	333 937
Italy	534 712	442 940	458 856	385 793	350 772	307 454	277 631	280 078	300 823	343 440	368 250
Poland	15 275	189 166	155 131	157 059	217 546	220 311	222 275	218 147	208 302	209 353	181 257
Netherlands	143 516	122 917	126 776	130 118	124 566	129 428	145 323	166 872	189 232	189 646	146 839
Romania	138 929	135 844	149 885	147 685	167 266	153 646	136 035	132 795	137 455	177 435	147 698
Sweden	101 171	102 280	98 801	96 467	103 059	115 845	126 966	134 240	163 005	144 489	118 632
Switzerland	184 297	160 623	161 778	148 799	149 051	160 157	156 282	153 627	149 305	143 377	156 730
Belgium			135 281	147 377	129 477	120 078	123 158	146 626	123 702	126 703	131550,3
Greece	66 529	58 613	60 462	60 089	58 200	57 946	59 013	64 446	116 867	112 247	71 441
Austria	73 772	69 295	70 978	82 230	91 557	101 866	116 262	166 323	129 509	111 801	101 359
Ireland	82 592	50 604	52 339	57 292	61 324	65 539	73 519	80 792	85 185	78 499	68 769
Denmark	57 357	51 800	52 236	52 833	54 409	60 312	68 388	78 492	74 383	68 579	61 879
Hungary	37 652	27 894	25 519	28 018	33 702	38 968	54 581	58 344	53 618	68 070	42 637
Norway	58 123	55 953	69 214	70 337	69 908	68 313	66 903	60 816	61 460	53 351	63 438
Czechia	108 267	75 620	48 317	27 114	34 337	30 124	29 897	29 602	64 083	51 847	49 921
Portugal	29 718	32 307	27 575	19 667	14 606	17 554	19 516	29 896	29 925	36 639	25 740
Finland	29 114	26 699	25 636	29 481	31 278	31 941	31 507	28 746	34 905	31 797	30 110
Bulgaria					14 103	18 570	26 615	25 223	21 241	25 597	21891,5
Luxembourg	17 758	15 751	16 962	20 268	20 478	21 098	22 332	23 803	22 888	24 379	20 572
Malta	6 043	6 161	4 275	5 465	8 256	10 897	14 454	16 936	17 051	21 676	11 121
Cyprus	21 060	22 581	20 206	23 037	17 476	13 149	9 212	15 183	17 391	21 306	18 060
Lithuania	9 297	6 487	5 213	15 685	19 843	22 011	24 294	22 130	20 162	20 368	16 549
Slovenia	30 693	30 296	15 416	14 083	15 022	13 871	13 846	15 420	16 623	18 808	18 408
Estonia	3 671	3 884	2 810	3 709	2 639	4 109	3 904	15 413	14 822	17 616	7 258
Croatia	16 883	13 213	8 846	8 534	8 959	10 378	10 638	11 706	13 985	15 553	11 870
Iceland	10 288	3 921	3 948	4 073	4 960	6 406	5 368	5 635	8 710	12 116	6 543
Latvia	4 678	3 731	4 011	10 234	13 303	8 299	10 365	9 479	8 345	9 916	8 236
Slovakia	8 765	6 346	5 272	4 829	5 419	5 149	5 357	6 997	7 686	7 188	6 301
Liechtenstein	578	584	591	650	671	696	615	657	607	645	629

Source of data — Eurostat (CITIZEN — Total, AGEDEF — Age reached during the year, AGE — Total, UNIT-Number, SEX — Total).

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