



**РУССКАЯ  
ПОЛИТОЛОГИЯ**  
RUSSIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE

4(21), 2021



ISSN 2541-965X

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## RUSSIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE — 2021 — № 4 (21)

### MODERN STUDIES OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS FROM DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD»

From the editor	2
<b>SECTION I. HISTORICAL TRUTH</b>	
Gorokhov A., Viktorovich Z., Makoeva D.	The origins of science diplomacy: International Association of Academies, Pugwash and Dartmouth Conferences 4
Gorokhov A., Vasilev K.	Agreements on non-expansion of NATO to the East are confirmed by archival sources 26
<b>SECTION II. RUSSIAN POLITICAL SCIENCE — A SPACE FOR DIALOGUE</b>	
	Interview with political analysts from India and Pakistan about the Afghanistan situation 44
<b>SECTION III. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THE BALKANS</b>	
Proroković D.	Strategic instability in Balkans as a consequence of US foreign policy 51
<b>SECTION IV. SOCIO-POLITICAL PROCESSES IN THE USA</b>	
Kuznick P.	The dismal state of America's political parties and America's democracy 59
Abdullaev M.	Review of the book Jane I. Smith <i>Islam in America</i> 64
<b>SECTION V. MIGRATION PROCESSES IN AFRICA</b>	
Andrianantenaina Hasinavalona P.	Migration management In Africa: international and regional approaches 70
Wangraua Sadia Rita S.	African female migration in 2010 to 2021 75
<b>SECTION VI. DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES</b>	
Gouveia L.B.	ICT and the classroom: from the transmission to sharing and from performance to interaction 81
<b>INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS</b> 86	
<b>CLEARANCE ARTICLES</b> 86	
<b>EDITORIAL COUNCIL</b> 88	
<b>EDITORIAL BOARD</b> 90	
<b>EDITORIAL OFFICE</b> 92	

## FROM THE EDITOR

We present the next English-language issue of the journal ***Russian Political Science***. This journal includes articles by political scientists, researchers from various countries and continents: Russia, Serbia, Swiss, India, Pakistan, the USA, Burkina Faso, the Republic of Madagascar and Portugal.

The first section of the journal includes articles that analyze events from the past, knowledge of which helps to understand the causes of modern geopolitical processes and concepts.

At the moment, when researching and forming the concept of science diplomacy, it does not seem to us that due attention is paid to the history of the origin and development of science diplomacy. One of the versions held by the authors of the article "***The origins of science diplomacy: International Association of Academies, Pugwash and Dartmouth Conferences***" is that science diplomacy can trace its history back to 1899, when the **International Association of Academies (IAA)** was established. The article publishes archival materials about the activities of the IAA, about the IAA Congress in St. Petersburg (1913, Russia). In the course of the study, the authors used sources in Russian, English, French and German. The authors of the article cite the memories of Russian scientists V.I. Vernadsky and A.S. Famintsyn, French mathematician G. Darboux, as well as American astronomer D.E. Hale about the IAA. The article contains photocopies of a number of archival documents, as well as translations of such documents from Russian, German and French into English. The article also discusses such systematic forums of the XX century as the Pugwash and Dartmouth Conferences.

The following article, which is also based on historical facts and archival materials, is devoted to the issue of agreements on non-expansion of NATO to the East, which were given to Soviet and

Russian leaders in the early 90s of the XX century. The article provides documented evidence from the archives of Russia and the United States that during the discussion of the unification of Germany in 1990, the Soviet leadership repeatedly received assurances that the NATO military-political bloc would not expand eastward to the borders of the USSR, and these assurances were also voiced in 1991 to representatives of the Russian leadership. The article is accompanied by excerpts from archival documents that record the promises of leaders and high-ranking representatives of Western countries not to expand NATO to the East, but to build a common, joint with the USSR/Russia's security architecture in Europe.

In our journal we continue to implement the project "***Russian Political Science — a Space for Dialogue***". Within the framework of this project an interview has been published in this issue, in which the founder and president of the ALFAAZ Society for Education and Culture in Mumbai (India), researcher at the Center for Central Eurasian Studies at the University of Mumbai, Dr. Shoaib Khan and Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai, Senior Researcher for South and Central Asia at the Strategic Vision Institute (Analytical Center in Islamabad, Pakistan).

This issue also includes articles that reveal many socio-political processes in the Balkans, the United States and the African continent.

A very detailed analysis of the situation in the Balkans is presented in the article "***Strategic Instability in Balkans as a Consequence of US Foreign Policy***" by the head of the Center for Eurasian Studies Dusan Prorokovich.

The journal presents a study by an American scientist, professor of history at the American University Peter Kuznik on the topic "***The Dismal State of American's Political Parties and American's Democ-***



**racy**” — the author presents an alternative view of the future of the American party system through the prism of its historical development. A young political scientist, PhD of Philological Sciences, Murad Abdullayev published a **review of the book Jane I. Smith “Islam In America”**.

Articles on migration processes in Africa have been published: **“Migration Management in Africa: International and Regional Approaches”** and **“African female migration in 2010 to 2021”**. The research was written by two young political scientists from the Peoples’ Friendship University of Russia, who represent Burkina Faso and the Republic of Madagascar.

It is necessary to separately note the publication **“ICT and the classroom: from the transmission to sharing and from performance to interaction”** from Professor Luis Borges Gouveia, representing the

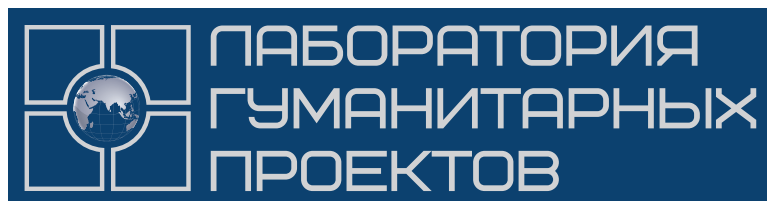
University Fernando Pessoa (Porto, Portugal). The article analyzes the prospects and problems of using digital technologies in the learning process.

We express our gratitude to the authors for their intellectual work and wish them further fruitful work. We invite political scientists from different countries to publish their articles in our journal **Russian Political Science**.

Based on the principles of science, we consider it necessary to admit and recognize different points of view, methods and approaches in research. We are convinced that the cooperation of political scientists from different countries and continents contributes to the formation of a more predictable world, develops science diplomacy and international dialogue on topical scientific issues and problems.

Sincerely, Editor-in-Chief,  
PhD,  
*Andrei Gorokhov*

The journal is published with the support  
of the ANO **Laboratory of Humanitarian Projects**





## ORIGINS OF SCIENTIFIC DIPLOMACY: INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF ACADEMIES, PUGWASH AND DARTMOUTH CONFERENCES

---

### Abstract

The article analyzes the origins of scientific diplomacy. The authors believe that it dates back to 1899, when the International Association of Academies (IAA) was created. The authors also refute the thesis that the IAA did not operate in 1913. To confirm their conclusions, the authors publish archival materials about the activities of the IAA in 1913, about its Congress in St. Petersburg (Russia), about the work of the American astronomer D.E. Hale (which contradicts the opinion of the authors of some publications about the non-participation of the American Academy in the activities of the IAA). The authors of the article cite the memoirs of Russian scientists V.I. Vernadsky and A.S. Famintsyn, as well as the French mathematician G. Darboux considering the IAA, who took an active part in the work of this organization. At the same time, the authors managed to identify the names of some scientists from Germany, Austria, Great Britain, France, the USA and Russia, who were involved in the creation and activities of the IAA. The article also considers such systematic forums of the 20th century as the Pugwash and Dartmouth conferences. It were the activities of the considered international scientific organizations and conferences that formed the initial forms of scientific diplomacy, the development of which in the 21st century can contribute to the resolution of both scientific and political contradictions. The authors point, the issue calls for further research to publish archival and other materials on the activities of the IAA, the Pugwash and Dartmouth conferences, for the development of the modern theory of science diplomacy and the formation of the science diplomacy history.

**Key words:** science diplomacy, International Association of Academies, Pugwash Conferences, Dartmouth Conferences.

---

### Authors

#### Gorokhov Andrei

editor-in-chief of the scientific journal Russian Political Science, PhD in Political Sciences (Russia)



#### Vitorovich Zoran

editor-in-chief of the scientific journal Global Processes, PhD (Switzerland)



#### Eleeva (Makoeva) Dzerassa

lecturer at the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia (Russia)



**I**t would seem a simple question — from what year can we talk about scientific diplomacy? Yes, “scientific diplomacy” is a modern concept, but, in our opinion, the practice of scientific diplomacy begins with the institutionalization of systemic interaction between scientific organizations at the international level. This level of relationship between scientific organizations dates back to the establishment in 1899 of the International Association of Academies (IAA). We will write about the establishment of this organization further, as well as publish several documents translated from French (since this was the language of communication of the IAA) into English, related to the activities of the Association.

By publishing historical documents, we want to refute several inaccurate statements that take place in scientific articles and on electronic resources. Of the erroneous theses, we identified the following statements: 1) the activities of the IAA ended in 1912; 2) The United States did not take part in the establishment and activities of the IAA. In fact, in 1913 in St. Petersburg (at that time the capital of Russia) the fifth Congress of the organization was held, and US representatives actively participated in the work of the IAA, which is confirmed by archival documents of the American astronomer George Ellery Hale (1868–1938), one of the founders of the California Institute of Technology, a foreign corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, as well as documents from the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire.

### **Foundation of the IAA: initiators, main participants**

At present, there are very few articles and books in the scientific literature that would describe and study the process of creation and activities of the IAA. As a result, different sources and different countries write different data on the

creation of this organization. Let’s give some examples.

The website of the Union of the German Academies of Sciences and Humanities (German: Union der deutschen Akademien der Wissenschaften) states that “at the initiative of the Cartel<sup>1</sup>, under the leadership of the Prussian Academy, the “International Association of Academies” was created in 1899. The IAA lasted until the outbreak of the First World War and was never officially disbanded. It brought together four German academies in Berlin, Göttingen, Leipzig and Munich, the Vienna Academy and 19 other academies, mostly from Europe. These 24 academies successfully worked in the 31st scientific section in two directions: natural sciences and humanities” [18].

At the same time, the Russian scientist Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky (1863–1945), who took an active part in the IAA, informs the organization was created due to the initiative of the Royal Society of London. In his article, Vernadsky wrote: “The International Association of Academies <...> was formed in 1899 due to the initiative of the Royal Society of London. The Royal Society of London (one of the oldest and most influential academies), recently celebrating its 250th anniversary, raised the issue of organizing an International Association of Academies in 1898. A similar opinion can be found in the British Medical Journal: «The final steps for the foundation of an International Association of Academies were taken at a meeting held at Wiesbaden on October 1th... on the proposal of the Royal Society of London it was determined that the first

---

<sup>1</sup> «Cartel» — “Association of scientific corporations”, founded in Leipzig in 1893 with the aim of implementing joint research projects. Initially, the Cartel included the academies in Göttingen, Leipzig and Munich, as well as the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna. Although the Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin participated in the preparation of this association, it did not join it until 1906. (link: Seit mehr als 125 Jahren arbeiten die Wissenschaftsakademien bereits zusammen. — URL: <https://www.akademienunion.de/akademienunion/au/kleine-geschichte-der-akademienunion>).

general meeting should be held in Paris in 1900» [12. — P. 1212].

Given the various information about the initiators of the creation of the IAA, we considered it necessary to refer directly to the memories of those who took part in the creation of the IAA — scientists of the late 19th — early 20th centuries. And we found such scientists, as well as some of their publications, which reveal the history of the formation and development of the IAA.

Based on the sources of the archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences [5], we can name a number of scientists who were involved in the creation and development of the IAA, for example, Andrei Sergeevich Famintsyn<sup>1</sup> (1835–1918) and Karl Genrikhovich Zaleman<sup>2</sup> (1849–1916), members of the IAA bureau from Russia. The St. Petersburg Bureau of the IAA included Oscar Andreevich Backlund<sup>3</sup> (1846–1916),

Boris Borisovich Golitsyn<sup>4</sup> (1862–1916), K.G. Zaleman, Alexander Sergeevich Lappo-Danilevsky<sup>5</sup> (1863–1919), Pyotr Vasilyevich Nikitin<sup>6</sup> (1849–1916).

Also, going by the archive documents, French mathematician, member of the Paris Academy of Sciences Jean Gaston Darboux (1842–1917), French mathematician, philosopher and linguist Louis Couturat (1868–1914) and English physiologist Michael Foster (1836–1907) were active within IAA.

Of course, these are just a few of the hundreds of scientists from around the world who were involved in the creation and development of the IAA.

As for memoirs, at the moment we have found several sources that date back to the first years of the 20th century. The memoirs of the Russian biologist A.S. Famintsyn [9; 10]. Mathematician Gaston Darboux [17] wrote a review article in French about the creation of the IAA; an article by the Russian scientist V.I. Vernadsky [2] and archival documents of the American astronomer George Ellery Hale [11]. Memoirs of A.S. Famintsyna, G. Darboux, D.E. Hale were not republished nor translated into different languages either in the 20th or at the beginning of the 21st century, which certainly led to an

<sup>1</sup> Andrei Sergeevich Famintsyn is one of the outstanding biologists of Russia, the founder of Russian plant physiology, the founder of the Institute of Plant Physiology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the organizer of the first university department of plant physiology and the author of the first domestic textbook on this subject, ordinary professor at St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (see: Кузнецов В.В., Дмитриев Г.А. Неоправданно забытое имя. К 175-летию со Дня рождения Академика А.С. Фаминцына // Вестник Российской академии наук. — Т. 80. — № 8. — 2010. — С. 726–733 [Kuznetsov V.V., Dmitriev G.A. Unjustifiably forgotten name. On the 175th anniversary of the birth of Academician A.S. Famintsyn // Bulletin of the Russian Academy of Sciences. — Т. 80. — No. 8. — 2010. — Pp. 726–733]).

<sup>2</sup> Karl Genrikhovich Zaleman — Iranian philologist from Russia, full member of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, director of the Asian Museum of the Academy of Sciences (1890–1916). Under K.G. Zaleman Museum has become the world's largest repository of monuments of the written culture of the peoples of the East. His main scientific works are devoted to Iranian philology, the Ossetian language, the languages of the Pamirs.

<sup>3</sup> Oskar Andreevich Backlund — Russian and Swedish astronomer, full member of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, director of the Nikolaev Main Astronomical Observatory in Pulkovo (1895–1916). Under Backlund, the southern branches of the Pulkovo Observatory were created: in Odessa (1898), Simeiz and Nikolaev (1908–1912).

<sup>4</sup> Boris Borisovich Golitsyn — Russian physicist and geophysicist, one of the founders of seismology, academician of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1908).

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Sergeevich Lappo-Danilevsky — historian, one of the founders of the methodology of historical science in Russia, full member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, was the first chairman of the Russian Sociological Society named after M.M. Kovalevsky, the initiator of the creation of the Institute of Social Sciences in Petrograd (1918), led a seminar on the diplomacy of private acts, the founder of a new direction in Russian diplomacy. Created a scientific school in the field of source studies. From 1917 he was the chairman of the Union of Russian Archival Workers, he was a supporter of a large-scale reform of the archival business.

<sup>6</sup> Petr Vasilievich Nikitin — philologist, archaeologist, researcher of ancient Greek and Byzantine literature, rector of the Imperial St. Petersburg University (1890–1897), academician, vice president of the Academy of Sciences (1900–1916).



information gap about the creation and activities of the IAA. It is extremely necessary to return sources about the activities of the IAA to scientific circulation, as the modern concept of scientific diplomacy cannot be formulated and theoretically substantiated without taking into account the historical experience of the creation and endeavor of the IAA. It is hard to overestimate the importance of the IAA, since it is the first scientific organization that has embodied scientific diplomacy into real practice.

We believe that all of the above sources should be republished. In this article, we will quote several fragments from the memoirs of scientists, as well as publish some archival documents. In the future, beyond the scope of this article, we will try to publish a number of texts and documents on the activities of the IAA, this will be our small contribution to the development of scientific diplomacy, which has a centuries-old history, and this historical experience should be known to modern researchers and practitioners of scientific diplomacy.

### **From the memoirs of A.S. Famintsyn**

As for the initiators of the creation of the IAA, A.S. Famintsyn writes quite clearly — these are, «besides the academies (Berlin, Vienna and Munich), three learned societies: the Royal Society of Sciences in Göttingen, the Royal Society of Sciences in Leipzig and the Royal Society of London» [9. — p. 158]. The first proposal of the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences to take part in the creation of the IAA was received in 1898 by the President of the Royal Society of London, the creator of surgical antiseptics, Sir Joseph Lister (1827–1912), and in 1899 by the indispensable secretary of the Berlin Academy of Sciences Hermann Diels (1848–1922) notified the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences that «in accordance with the decision of the Congress of the German Academies in

Munich and in agreement with the Royal Society in London, he invites, on behalf of the Berlin Academy, the Imperial Academy of Sciences to take part in the conference scheduled in Wiesbaden for October 9 and 10 (new style) and with the aim of founding the International Association of Academies» [9. — p. 159].

As for the purpose of the organization of the IAA, according to A.S. Famintsyn, is as follows: «to promote by all means the implementation of scientific enterprises, beyond the strength of not only one person, but also a separate nation. Therefore, the Association considers its main task to be the implementation of the widest possible and easy communication, both between individual scientists and scientific societies of all countries of the globe, with the aim of working together according to a strictly thought-out and developed plan in advance» [9. — p. 168]. In our opinion, such a goal and task of the IAA completely coincide with the modern goal of science diplomacy, which once again confirms the value of the experience of the creation and activities of the IAA for modern theorists and practitioners of science diplomacy.

It should be noted that the assessment of the IAA by A.S. Famintsyn coincided with the assessments of his other contemporaries, for example, a few days after the meeting of representatives of the Academies in Wiesbaden, a short article about the IAA was published in the journal *Nature*, predicting good prospects for such an international scientific organization: «Association of Academies will be a more flexible instrument for good than are international organizations appointed for specific purposes, and composed either of persons named by the Governments of the countries represented... the associated Academies to discuss questions connected with any branch of science which might in their opinion call for international cooperation, and if they decided that such action was desirable, to take steps to call the attention of the scientific world or of

the various Governments to the necessity for united action... It is obvious that an Institution founded on these lines may become of the very first importance, and may play the part of an international parliament of science» [14].

### Gaston Darboux on IAA

G. Darboux in his article described the process of creating the IAA, and noted the ideological inspirer of the IAA establishment, namely the German philosopher and scientist Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who once expressed the idea of “creating an association of the leading academies of the whole world” [17. — P. 196]. And this idea was picked up at the end of the 19th century, according to G. Darboux, by the German historian Theodor Mommsen (1817–1903), the Austrian geologist Eduard Suess (1831–1914) and Hermann Diels mentioned above.

This version is generally confirmed by a modern researcher, a representative of the German Historical Institute in London, Peter Alter. At the same time, P. Alter in his article “The Royal Society and the International Association of Academies 1897–1919”<sup>1</sup> refers to the memoirs of the English physicist Arthur Schuster (1851–1934), who claims that the mathematician Felix Klein (1849–1925) in 1897 was the first to express the idea of creating an association between scientific academies around the world. However, as the IAA idea creator, A. Schuster, as well as G. Diels, refers to the German historian T. Mommsen, who then became a Nobel Prize winner in literature in 1902. Researchers from the Austrian Academy of Sciences Johannes Mattes and Doris Corradini write about T. Mommsen’s contribution to the promotion of the idea of creating the IAA<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See: Alter P. The Royal Society and the International Association of Academies 1897–1919 // Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Mar., 1980), pp. 241–264.

<sup>2</sup> See: Corradini D.A., Mattes J. Die Akademie und die Internationalisierung der wissenschaftlichen Zusammenarbeit. Kartell

Austrian researchers also note the role of the Austrian geologist E. Suess in the IAA creation.

In the work of Y. Matthes and D. Corradini there is a photo published from the IAA conference, which took place in Wiesbaden. We are posting this photo as there are scientists in it, largely due to whom the IAA was created.

As for the creation of the IAA, G. Darboux writes that «in 1898, several scientists from different countries expressed the opinion in private conversations that circumstances had become favorable for a return to the plan of founding the International Association of Academies» [17. — P. 197]. And in 1898, the issue of the IAA was included on the agenda of the “Cartel” (“Association of Scientific Corporations”) in Göttingen, which was attended by German anatomist Heinrich Wilhelm Waldeyer<sup>3</sup> (1836–1921) from the Berlin Academy; from the Royal Society, Sir Michael Foster<sup>4</sup> and the physicist Arthur William Rucker<sup>5</sup> (1848–1915), and Messrs. Armstrong and Schuster<sup>6</sup>. As a result of this meeting, the Academies, which are part of the Cartel, approved the creation of the International Association of Academies, and representatives of the Royal Society promised to support such an undertaking. On October 9–10, 1899, at the IAA conference in Wiesbaden, which was held with the active participation of one of the secretaries of the Berlin Academy, astronomer Arthur von Auwers (1838–1915), the IAA charter was developed, which G. Darboux publishes in his article in full [17. — P. 203–206].

und Internationale Assoziation der Akademien (1892–1914). — URL: <https://www.austriaca.at/0xc1aa5576%200x003d684e.pdf>.

<sup>3</sup> G.V. Waldeyer is also known for the fact that in 1891 he proposed the term “neuron”, considered in the aggregate of the body with processes. And in 1883 he introduced the term “chromosome”.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Foster was one of the secretaries of the Royal Society from 1881 to 1903.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur William Rucker served as Secretary of the Royal Society from 1896 to 1901.

<sup>6</sup> Probably, G. Darboux calls the British physicist of German origin Arthur Schuster (1851–1934).



**Conference of the International Association of Academies in Wiesbaden,  
October 9–10, 1899**

*The photo shows:*

*Top row (left to right):* Austrian chemist Adolf Lieben (1836–1914), English physicist Arthur Schuster (1851–1934), German mathematician Walter Dyck (1856–1934), Russian Iranian philologist Karl Zaleman (1849–1916), British chemist Henry E. Armstrong (1848–1937), German philologist Friedrich Leo (1851–1914).

*Middle row (left to right):* German jurist and legal historian Hermann von Sicher (1839–1901), German philologist Ernst Windisch (1844–1918), British physicist Arthur Ruecker (1848–1915), American physician and physiologist Henry P. Bowditch (1840–1911), German chemist Johannes Wislicenus (1835–1902), German philologist Hermann Alexander Diels (1848–1922), Russian botanist Andrey Famintsyn (1835–1918), French chemist Henri Moissan (1852–1907), Austrian chemist and physicist Victor von Lang (1838–1921), American chemist Ira Remsen (1846–1927), German zoologist Ernst Ehlers (1835–1925).

*Bottom row (from left to right):* French mathematician Gaston Darboux (1842–1917), German astronomer Arthur Overs (1838–1915), American astronomer Simon Newcomb (1835–1909), German geologist Karl von Zittel (1839–1904), German pathologist Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), Austrian philosopher Theodor Gompertz (1832–1912), Austrian philologist Adolf Mussafia (1835–1905).

Based on the memoirs of the direct participants to the creation of the IAA, A.S. Famintsyn and G. Darboux, it can be stated that the process of creating the IAA does not contradict the information published in the monograph of the St. Petersburg branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, namely: general interest. The Association took under its patronage a number of major scientific projects in the field of natural sciences and the humanities: seismological observations were developed, the 30th meridian arc was measured, a magnetic survey was made; editions of the works of Euler and Leibniz were being prepared. From humanitarian enterprises, the prepa-

ration of the Encyclopedia of Islam, the first volume of which was published in 1927, the publication of the Mahabharata and the collection of ancient Greek and Latin medical texts (*Corpus medicorum antiquorum*), etc., was carried out. The Association's bodies were the General Assembly and the Council. The general meeting met every three years and consisted of two sections, physical and mathematical and historical and philological. The first General Assembly was held in Paris in 1901, the second — in 1904 in London, the third congress was held in 1907 in Vienna, the fourth — in 1910 in Rome and, finally, the fifth — in 1913 in St. Petersburg.



The main initiators of the creation of the International Association of Academies were in 1898 the Royal Society of London and the Assembly of German Academies, which entered into negotiations with the most important scientific communities in Europe and America, including the Imperial Academy of Sciences. The founding conference was held in Wiesbaden on October 9–10, 1899. Ten academies were the founders of the Association: the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin, the Royal Society of Sciences in Göttingen, the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences in Leipzig, the Royal Society in London, the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences in Munich, Academy of Sciences in Paris, Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, National Academy dei Lincei in Rome, National Academy of Sciences in Washington, Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna. The creation of the International Association of Academies was evidence of a kind of scientific work “globalization”, expressed in the unification of efforts not only of individual scientists, but also of entire scientific institutions from different countries. In these international organizations, each academy represented the science of its country» [1. — P. 937–938].

### **IAA and the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences**

The result of the conference on October 9–10, 1899, in Wiesbaden, was the decision to invite nine more Academies to the IAA — from Amsterdam, Brussels, Budapest, Christiania, Copenhagen, Madrid, Stockholm, as well as the Academy of Inscriptions and Fine Literature (Paris) and the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences (Paris) [9 — p. 160]. Throughout the existence of the IAA, the composition of the participants was replenished, in subsequent years it also included: the British Academy, the Imperial Academy of Japan, the Swiss Society of Naturalists, the

Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Finnish Academy of Sciences in Helsingfors.

It should be noted that in 1901 in Paris, at a meeting of the General Assembly of the IAA, only one topic was proposed, which was proposed by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences — the complete edition of the works of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. The French philosopher Victor Brochard (1848–1907) voiced the proposal to the Assembly. Here are a few words from his speech: “Leibniz’s scientific activity is so extensive that it interests more or less scientists from all over the world, regardless of the subject of research, and, without exaggeration, we can say that Leibniz, as it were, embodies the idea that we are trying to implement now. He is the world himself. From the age of 22, he dreamed of organizing a Bibliographic Review, an inventory of all human knowledge, an encyclopedia that combines all sciences in a deductive form. All his life he was preoccupied with the idea of creating a universal language or script. Finally, as President Darboux aptly pointed out in his speech, he was the first to have the idea of organizing a federation of academia. He was the forerunner of our Association and justice requires that our first work be dedicated to him” [9. — P. 164].

As a result, it was decided to present a plan for the publication of Leibniz’s works by the next General Meeting of the IAA and instruct the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences and the Academy of Sciences in Berlin to elect one delegate-directors to run this enterprise with the following instructions: 1) address all libraries and public book depositories with a request to indicate all articles useful for this publication; 2) compile a descriptive or systematic catalog of these articles; 3) to prepare a detailed draft of the publication [9 — p. 165].

### **Some erroneous data about IAA**

The paucity of research currently on the activities of the IAA leads to errors.

For example, The American Science Review wrote that "Before the war the International Association of Academies, of which the United States was not a member, formed in 1900, met the need for organized cooperation among scholars" [15. — P. 499]. But representatives of the United States participated in the creation of the IAA and in its activities. For example, a letter from the Russian astronomer Oskar Andreevich Backlund (1846–1916) to the National Academy of Sciences in Washington has been preserved on the official letterhead of the IAA. The scientist asks to be informed about the decision of the American Academy to include two new academies from Scotland and Finland into the Association. We publish the text of this letter (translated from French into English) in an appendix to this article (see Appendix No. 1). Therefore — we can say for sure — the American Academy participated in the activities of the IAA.

A telegram from the American astronomer George Ellery Hale to Russian scientists has also been preserved, in which it is reported that the United States entered the First World War and this event should contribute to the further development of cooperation between researchers from the United States and Russia (see Appendix No. 2). In response to a message from George Ellery Hale, a telegram was sent from Petrograd<sup>1</sup> (see Appendix No. 3) signed by Sergei Fedorovich Oldenburg (1863–1934), permanent secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences, stating that the Russian Academy of Sciences had received a telegram from American colleagues and was sending in response, fraternal greetings with firm conviction in the triumph of law [8]. S.F. Oldenburg requires a separate study, as an example of a scientist and diplomat, since he was elected to many foreign scientific academies and scientific centers, was a corresponding member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, the Göttingen Acad-

emy of Sciences, an honorary member of the Royal Asian Society of Great Britain, the Paris Asian Society, an honorary doctor of the Eberdeen University of Glasgow and the Archaeological Institute of India.

Moreover, from the published list of participants in the IAA conference in Wiesbaden in 1899 [See: 17 — P. 202] American scientists represented the National Academy in Washington at the IAA conference: astronomer and mathematician Simon Newcomb<sup>2</sup> (1835–1909), chemist Ira Remsen<sup>3</sup> (1846–1927) and physiologist Henry Pickering Bowditch (1840–1911). Such a list of representatives is also confirmed in the published reports of the National Academy in Washington, and the decision that the Academy accepts membership in the IAA<sup>4</sup>.

### IAA in 1913

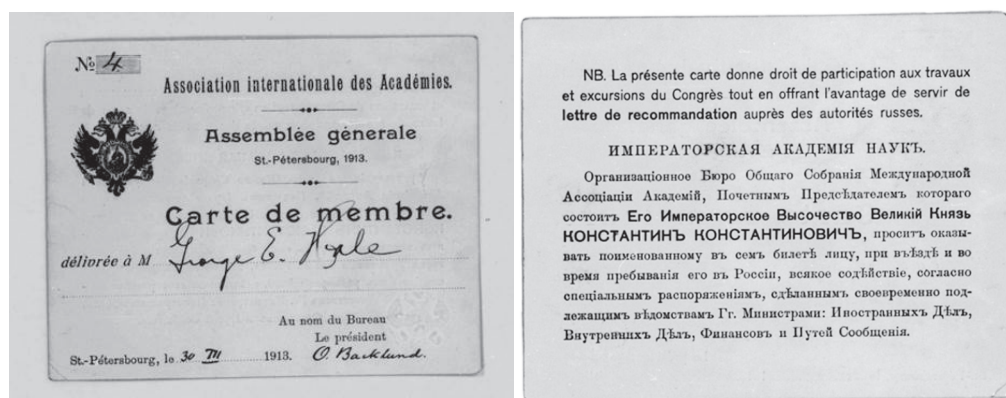
And one more mistake. Two scholarly websites state that the last activity of the IAA was in 1912: on the portal of the Union of International Associations [13] and on the site of the National Library of France project data.bnf.fr. Here is a quote from this resource: «Association créée en 1889 à Wiesbaden, Allemagne; fonctionne jusqu'en 1912 environ» [16] (In English: Association created in 1889 in Wiesbaden, Germany; operates until about 1912). But the documents say opposite. In 1913, the General Assembly (Congress) of the Association was held in St. Petersburg. In confirmation of this event, we are publishing a photocopy of the Card of Assembly Delegate George Ellery Hale, one of the founders of the California Institute of Technology.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Newcomb was a member of the Royal Society of London (1877) of the Paris Academy of Sciences, was a foreign honorary member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1896).

<sup>3</sup> Ira Remsen served as president of the US National Academy of Sciences from 1907 to 1913.

<sup>4</sup> For more details see: Report of the National Academy of Sciences for the year 1899. Washington, 1900 — P. 13–18.

<sup>1</sup> St. Petersburg on August 18, 1914 was renamed Petrograd.



**Figure 1** — Card of the delegate of the IAA Congress in 1913 in St. Petersburg. Source: California Institute of Technology, Part of George Ellery Hale Papers. LOCAL IDENTIFIER: hale: 96212, local: GEH\_2\_49\_2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.31003705>

On the back of the card is written in French: «Note. This card gives the right to participate in the work of the Congress and excursions, as well as the advantage as a letter of recommendation to the Russian authorities».

Also on the card is a text in Russian: «The Imperial Academy of Sciences. Organizational Bureau of the General Meeting of the International Association of Academies, whose Honorary Chairman is His Imperial Highness Grand Duke KONSTANTIN KONSTANTINOVICH<sup>1</sup>, asks that the person named on this ticket be indicated, upon entry and during his stay in Russia, is assisted in any necessary way, in accordance with special orders made in a timely manner to the relevant departments of Messrs. ministers: foreign affairs, internal affairs, finance and communications».

Another document. This is an invitation from the city of St. Petersburg to a delegate to come to a concert in honor of the IAA Congress.

<sup>1</sup> Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich Romanov (1858–1915), great uncle of the last Russian Emperor Nicholas II, headed the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences for over a quarter of a century, from 1889 to 1915. By decree of Emperor Alexander III of May 3, 1889, Konstantin Konstantinovich was appointed the twelfth president of the Academy since its foundation in 1725.

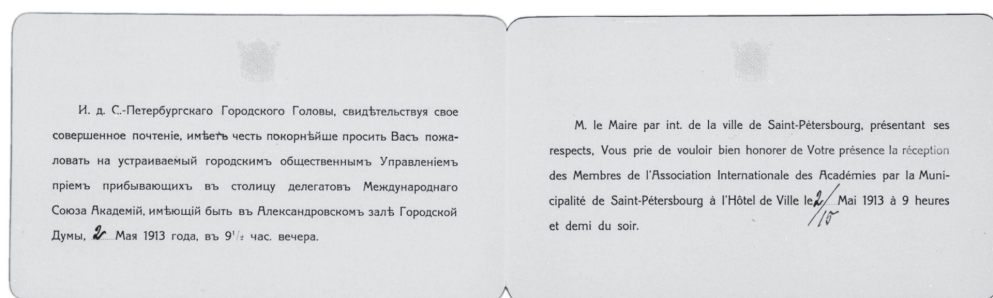
It should also be noted that the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire preserved the report of the Counselor of the Russian Embassy in Great Britain Nikolai Sevastyanovich von Etter<sup>2</sup> (1865–1935) to the Second Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry of March 19 / April 1, in which he informs that the Secretary of the Royal Society R. Harrison applied to the Russian Embassy with a statement that the Congress of the International Association of Academies, which will be held in May 1913 in St. Petersburg, will be sent representatives — members of the Royal Society: one of the Secretaries of the Society, Professor Arthur Schuster<sup>3</sup> (1851–1934); Lieutenant Colonel, Director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Sir David Prain<sup>4</sup> (1857–1944); professor of physiology at Liverpool University Charles

<sup>2</sup> Von Etter Nikolai Sevastyanovich — Russian diplomat, in 1906–1915 he was an adviser to the embassy in London. Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Persian Court (1915–1917). In exile in Finland. He died in 1935 at the Heiko estate near Borgo.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Franz Arthur Friedrich Schuster — English physicist, served as Secretary of the Royal Society and was elected Vice President (1919–20) and Foreign Secretary (1920–24).

<sup>4</sup> Sir David Prain, a botanist, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1905 and also became director of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. He held this post until 1922.





**Figure 2** — An invitation from the city of St. Petersburg to a delegate to come to a concert in honor of the IAA Congress. Source: California Institute of Technology, Part of George Ellery Hale Papers. LOCAL IDENTIFIER: hale: 96212, local: GEH\_2\_49\_2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.31003705>

Scott Sherrington<sup>1</sup> (1857–1952) and professor of astronomy at Oxford University Herbert Hall Turner<sup>2</sup> (1861–1930). At the same time, according to N.S. von-Etter, R. Harrison asked the Russian embassy in London to provide representatives of the Royal Society with travel to Russia «without any difficulties and special formalities» [19].

With the consent of the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Empire, a photocopy of N.S. von-Etter are published in full in this publication.

In 1913, the activities of the Association continued. And this is confirmed by documents. In our subsequent articles, we will publish documents on the activities of the IAA, including the results and results of the congress of the organization in St. Petersburg in 1913.

In the personal archive of V.I. Vernadsky, a list of delegates to this congress

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Scott Sherrington — an outstanding English neurophysiologist, winner of the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1932 (1/2 prize, jointly with Edgar Adrian). Wording of the Nobel Committee: “for their discoveries concerning the functions of neurons” (for their discoveries regarding the functions of neurons).

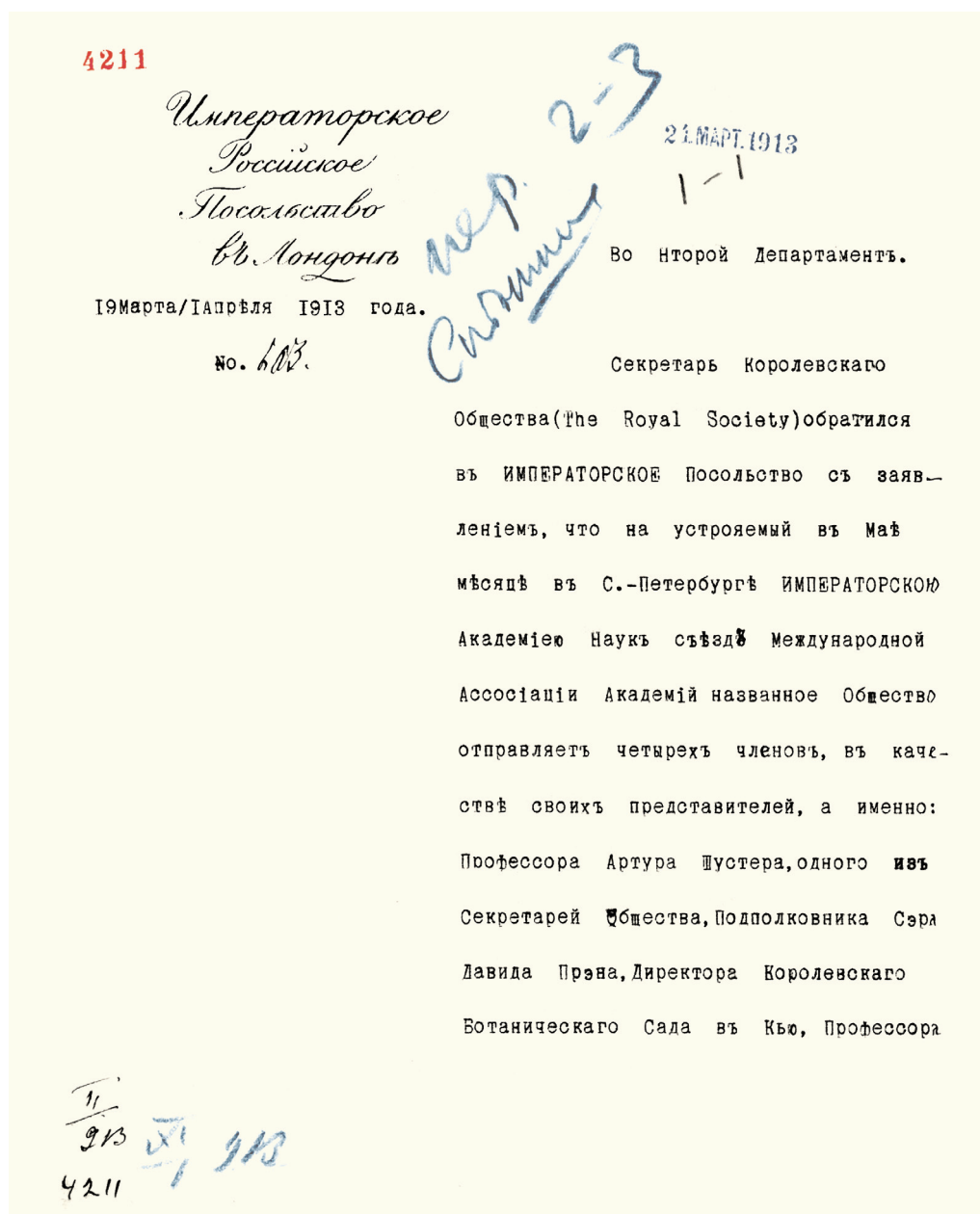
<sup>2</sup> Herbert Hall Turner is a British astronomer and seismologist. Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society. From 1884–1894 he was chief assistant at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. It was he who transmitted to the Lowell Observatory the proposal of an eleven-year-old girl from Oxford, Venetia Burney, to name the ninth planet Pluto.

of the IAA has been preserved [4]. In the same year, a Russian scientist wrote an article about the IAA, which contains important words: “In these world cultural organizations we see the weak sprouts of a great future — a single world organization of all mankind, which our descendants will see. <...> In this personal communication and in the habit created through such congresses to work together to achieve goals that pursue scientific truth, eternal and unchanging, outside the framework of political and national life that separates us, lies the significance of organizations such as the Union of Academies” [2].

At the IAA congress in St. Petersburg not only purely scientific, but also universal issues were discussed — for example, how to move to a single calendar<sup>3</sup>. It was the question of the unification of the calendar that the French Academy of Sciences proposed to include in the discussion and in the final resolution following the results of the Congress (see Appendix No. 4).

Here is a quote from a surviving document: «The complex issues associated with the reform of the calendar will require careful study. Therefore, the [Paris] Acad-

<sup>3</sup> The transition of the countries of the world to the Gregorian calendar was very long. For example, Denmark switched to it in 1700, Great Britain in 1752, Japan in 1873, China in 1911, Turkey in 1925, Bulgaria in 1916, Russia in 1918, Serbia in 1919, Greece in 1924.



**Figure 3** — Report of the Counselor of the Russian Embassy in the UK N.S. von-Etter to the Second Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry dated March 19/April 1, 1913.

emy proposes to the vote of the Association the following draft resolution: «The International Association of Academies decides to establish an International Commission on the Calendar, which is entrusted with studying issues related to the unification and simplification of

calendars and fixing the Easter holiday...» [11]. The full text of the proposal from the French Academy of Sciences can be found in Appendix No. 4 — we have translated this document from French into English.

In 1914, the world plunged into the First World War, and this was the reason

Чарльса Скотта Шеррингтона, Профессора физиологии въ  
Ливерпульскомъ Университетѣ, и Профессора Герберта  
Голля Тернера, Профессора Астрономіи въ Оксфордскомъ  
Университетѣ.

Вмѣстѣ съ означеннымъ заявленіемъ г.Р.  
Харрисонъ обратился въ Посольство съ ходатайствомъ  
объ оказаніи поименованнымъ делегатамъ возможнаго  
содѣйствія, въ видахъ обезпеченія имъ проѣзда въ  
С.-Петербургъ безъ какихъ либо затрудненій и осо-  
бенныхъ формальностей.

Доводя о вышеизложенномъ до свѣдѣнія  
Второго Департамента, ИМПЕРАТОРСКОЕ Посольство будетъ  
имѣть честь ожидать указаній относительно просимыхъ  
льготъ, предполагая, съ своей стороны, ограничить ихъ  
общей рекомендаціею пограничной нашей Таможни.

Совѣтникъ Посольства:

*Source:* AFPRE, f. Second department, op. 691, d. 74, l. 6–6rev [АВПРИ, ф. Второй департамент, оп. 691, д. 74, л. 6–6об.].

why the Association ceased its activities, despite the fact that the Berlin Academy, which was supposed to be in charge of the Association, transferred its powers to the Royal Academy in Antwerp. The academies of the Entente countries did not agree to further cooperation [see: 1. — P. 896].

### **IAA's contribution to the development of science and scientific diplomacy**

In our opinion, the results of the IAA's activities are underestimated by contemporaries. Some researchers, for example



P. Alter<sup>1</sup>, present the results of the IAA activities briefly, moreover, it is claimed that they were insignificant. It seems to us, that such a conclusion calls for preliminary study of the results of the IAA's activities, which currently does not exist.

Although even now we can mention worth contribution of the IAA to the development of human science, its connection with the brain studies.

At the turn of 19 century, the Swiss anatomist and embryologist Wilhelm Gies (1831–1904) paved the way to a brain study project. One institute could not manage to put so ambitious project into practice, so since the 1900s, the scientist has been working on a plan to create a network of research institutes for mapping the brains of animals and humans. The detailed development of the brain research project and its further implementation was handled by the Central Commission for Brain Research<sup>2</sup>, which was established by the IAA on June 5, 1903 in London. Wilhelm Gees was elected the first chairman of this commission, and after his death in 1904, Gees was replaced by the German anatomist Heinrich Wilhelm Waldeyer (1836–1921).

At the same time, the decision to create a commission was made at the first Congress of the IAA in 1901 in Paris. Due to the report on the Congress of A.S. Famintsyn, we can accurately reproduce this decision of the IAA: "... to form a commission under the Association to develop

brain anatomy together and instruct it to develop a plan for the establishment of a system of international institutions, in order to improve research methods, collecting monotonous reception of material that would be available to any scientist for use" [9. — P. 167].

The commission was attended by the main brain researchers of that time, such as the British scientist in the field of physiology and neurobiology Charles S. Sherrington (1857–1952), the Spanish physician and histologist Santiago Ramon y Cajal (1852–1934), the Swiss neurologist of Russian origin Konstantin von Monakov (1853–1930), the Italian scientist Camillo Golgi (1843–1926) Russian neurologist Vladimir Mikhailovich Bekhterev (1857–1927), Russian histologist Alexander Stanislavovich Dogel (1852–1922), Scottish neurologist and psychologist David Ferrier (1843–1928), Russian neurologist Vladimir Mikhailovich Bekhterev (1857–1927), Russian histologist Alexander Stanislavovich Dogel (1852–1922), etc.

In May 1904, the IAA approved a resolution of the Central Commission for Brain Research. According to it, national academies and societies that participated in the IAA should appeal to the governments of their countries "with a request to establish special Institutes for the study of the nervous system, abbreviated as Institutes for the Study of the brain"<sup>3</sup> or to develop existing institutions to achieve this goal. This resolution is a concrete example of the contribution of scientific diplomacy to the development of science, both in general and for individual countries of the world.

Due to the efforts of the Central Commission for Brain Research of the IAA, the V.M. Bekhterev Psychoneurological Institute in St. Petersburg (Russia)<sup>4</sup>, the Karoli

<sup>1</sup> See: Alter P. The Royal Society and the International Association of Academies 1897–1919 // Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Mar., 1980), pp. 241–264.

<sup>2</sup> On the establishment and activities of the commission, see the following publications: Eling P., Hofman M.A. The Central Institute for Brain Research in Amsterdam and its Directors // Journal of the History of the Neurosciences, 23: 109–119, 2014; Jagella S., Koehler P.J. The International Brain Commission (1903–1914): Dutch and Swiss Perspective (Towards Neurosciences Beyond Borders) // Clinical & Translational Neuroscience January-June 2018: 1–10; Richter J. The Brain Commission of the International Association of Academies: The first international society of neurosciences // Brain Research Bulletin, Vol. 52, No. 6, pp. 445–457, 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Cit. by: Richter J. The Brain Commission of the International Association of Academies: The first international society of neurosciences // Brain Research Bulletin, Vol. 52, No. 6. P. 447.

<sup>4</sup> On June 9, 1907, Nicholas II considered the case "On the establishment of a Psychoneurological Institute in St. Petersburg" and approved it with sig-

Shaffer Institute of Brain Histology<sup>1</sup> in Budapest (Hungary), and the Netherlands Central Institute for Brain Research under the leadership of Professor K.U. Ariens Kappers were established<sup>2</sup>.

As a result, the network of “inter-academic brain institutes” included nine research centers in different cities of the world: Madrid (Ramon y Cajal, 1904), Leipzig (Paul Flechsig, 1904), Frankfurt am Main (Ludwig Edinger, 1904), Vienna (Heinrich Obersteiner, 1906), Zurich (Monakov, 1906), Philadelphia (Henry H. Donaldson, 1906), St. Petersburg (Vladimir Bekhterev, 1907–1908), Amsterdam (Cornelius W. Ariens Kappers, 1909) and Budapest (Karoli Shaffer, 1912).

The IAA Brain Commission had no successor since the termination of the IAA’s activities, for almost half a century, until 1961, when the International Organization for Brain Research (IBRO) was established. This fact suggests it is possible to organize integration processes in the field of scientific research, but when relations break off, restoring them is not an easy task, sometimes requiring decades.

At the end the IAA review, it is necessary quote the words about the meaning of scientific diplomacy by Arthur Schuster, which are very relevant for current times: **“I do not wish to exaggerate the civilizing value of scientific investigation, but the great problems of creation link all humanity together, and it may yet come to pass that when diplomacy fails —and it is often comes perilously near failure — it will fall to the men of science and learning to preserve the peace of the world”<sup>3</sup>.**

---

nature in a Special journal of the Council of Ministers. This date became the official date of the Institute’s establishment. The Psychoneurological Institute was created not only as a research institution in distinction from institutes in other countries, but also as a higher educational institution.

<sup>1</sup> Karoly Shaffer (1864–1939) — Hungarian neurologist.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelius Ubbo Ariens Cappers (1877–1946) — Dutch neurologist.

<sup>3</sup> Cit. by: Alter P. The Royal Society and the International Association of Academies 1897–1919 //

### **Conferences that have made a great contribution to the development of scientific diplomacy in the second half of the 20th century**

The following international scientific forums, organizations and initiatives, which originate in the 20th century, also made a huge contribution to the development of scientific diplomacy [see: 6. — P. 40]:

**Pugwash conferences.** The Pugwash Conferences began with the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, which was announced in 1955 in London. The authors of the manifesto suggested holding a meeting of scientists to consider the threats posed to the world by nuclear weapons. The first Pugwash Conference with the participation of scientists from 10 countries took place on July 7–10, 1957 in the town of Pugwash (Pugwash; Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, Canada). The success of the first conference in Pugwash was largely due to the participation of Russian scientists in it — physicist, academician D.V. Skobeltsyn (1892–1990), chemist, academician A.V. Topchiev (1907–1962) and biophysicist and radiobiologist, future corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences A.M. Kuzin (1906–1999).

Academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences and one of the active participants in the Pugwash movement E.M. Primakov (1929–2015) wrote in his memoirs: «The Pugwash movement has become <...> the most important channel of communication between influential representatives of the USSR, the USA, and Western Europe. When there were practically no contacts at the state and government levels, this “vacuum” was filled through the Pugwash and some other channels, through which contacts were made between the two “camps” lining up missiles with nuclear warheads against each other» [quoted from the source: 3].

---

Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London, Vol. 34, No. 2 (Mar., 1980). P. 246.

Such conferences are an example of high-level scientific diplomacy.

The participants of the Pugwash conferences made calculations and proved that in the event of a nuclear war, a «nuclear winter» would come on earth, which would destroy all life on the planet and no one could survive.

**Dartmouth Conferences (or Dartmouth Dialogue).** The first Dartmouth conference took place in October 1960 at Dartmouth College in the United States. One of the founding members of the conference is Norman Cousins (1915–1990), editor of the *Saturday Review*. Since 1971, US support for the conferences has been provided by the Kettering Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Lilly Foundation. On the part of the USSR — the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace, as well as the Institute of the USA and Canada and the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, or IMEMO.

In his memoirs, David Rockefeller, who took an active part in the Dartmouth Dialogue, wrote: «Although the Dartmouth Conferences did not change the course of history, they were a platform where significant issues could be discussed and new ideas could be proposed. Each of us who took part, whether American or Russian, learned something about the attitudes, motivations, and hopes of our partners that made it impossible to think that remained only in the rigid ideological categories of the Cold War. The Dartmouth meetings broke down barriers and made change possible» [8 — p. 236].

Among the participants from the USSR were such scientists as V.M. Chkhikvadze (1912–2006), director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences; M.I. Rubinstein (1894–1969), one

of the leading Soviet economists, member of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences (IMEMO, USSR Academy of Sciences). Also, the future Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, Chairman of the Government of Russia E.M. Primakov, who wrote in his memoirs: «As for the Dartmouth meetings, they were regularly held in order to discuss and bring together the approaches of the two superpowers on the issues of arms reduction, the search for a way out of various international conflicts, and the creation of conditions for economic cooperation» [7. — p. 49].

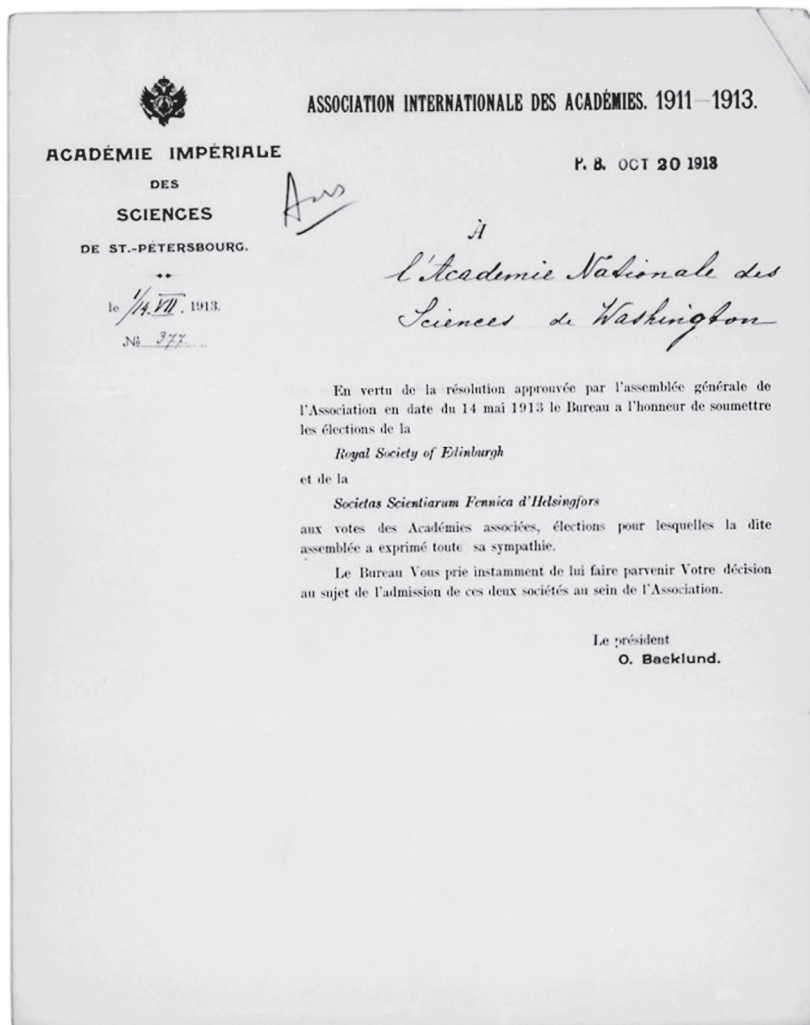
Today, when relations between Russia and the United States are at a very low and dangerous level, the Dartmouth conferences are more relevant than ever. We can welcome the fact that after a 24-year break — in 2014 — the conference resumed its work. On November 4–5, 2014, the 18th Dartmouth Conference took place in Dayton (USA). The honorary co-chairs of the conference were E.M. Primakov, from the USA — Henry Kissinger.

As for practical activities, in addition to the above conferences and organizations, scientists from different countries carry out a lot of work on an ongoing basis in the field of international communication, thereby helping diplomats to develop cooperation with various countries both in the field of science and education, and in economic and political issues.

Today it is necessary to study the history of science diplomacy, which was formed precisely through such organizations and forums as the IAA, the Pugwash Conferences, the Dartmouth Conferences, etc. We believe that the study of these scientific initiatives of the past will help to more accurately form the modern concept of science diplomacy.

## Appendix No. 1

### SOME ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE ACTIVITIES OF THE IAA



Source: California Institute of Technology, Part of George Ellery Hale Papers. LOCAL IDENTIFIER: hale: 96212, local: GEH\_2\_49\_2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.31003705>

Translation of the letter from French into English:

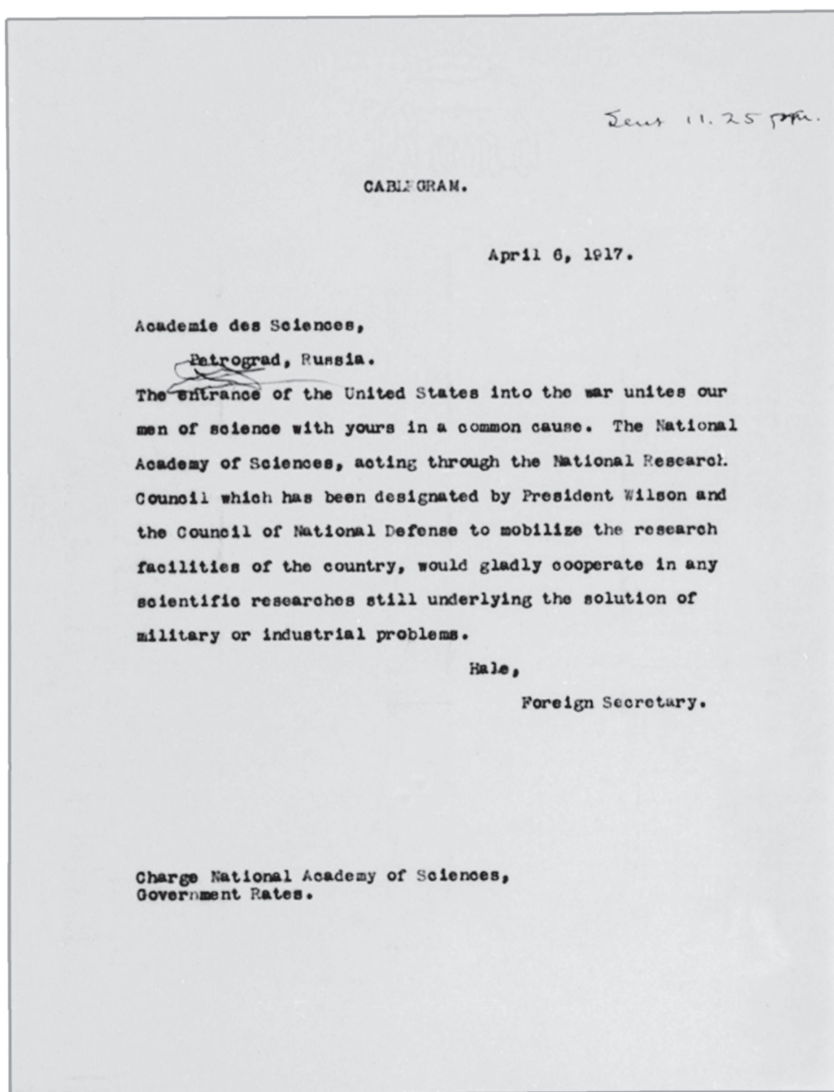
To the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, DC  
In accordance with the resolution approved by the General Assembly of the association on May 14, 1913, the Bureau has the honor to put to the vote  
Edinburgh Royal Society  
and  
Finnish Academy of Sciences in Helsingfors  
for election to the Associated Academies, an election for which the so-called assembly expressed its full sympathy.



The Bureau urges you to send it your decision to admit these two companies to the Association.

President  
O. Backlund.

## Appendix No. 2



Source: California Institute of Technology, Part of George Ellery Hale Papers. LOCAL IDENTIFIER: hale: 96212, local: GEH\_2\_49\_2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.31003705>

### Appendix No. 3

CABLEGRAM.

B3Ny Ki 418am Govt

Petrograd May 27 1917.

NATIONAL ACADEMY SCIENCES

WASHINGTON

ACADEMIE SCIENCES RUSSE VIENT RECEVOIR VOTRE CHALEUREUX  
TELEGRAMME HEUREUX ETRE UNIS AVEC GRANDE REPUBLIQUE  
AMERICAINE DANS CAUSE COMMUNE HUMANITE LIBERTE DES  
PEUPLES ENVOIE SALUTS FRATERNELS AVEC FERME CONVICTION  
TRIOMPHE DU DROIT

OLDENBURG SECRETAIRE PERPETUEL.

Source: California Institute of Technology, Part of George Ellery Hale Papers. LOCAL IDENTIFIER: hale: 96212, local: GEH\_2\_49\_2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.31003705>

Translation of the telegram from French into English:

Petrograd May 27, 1917

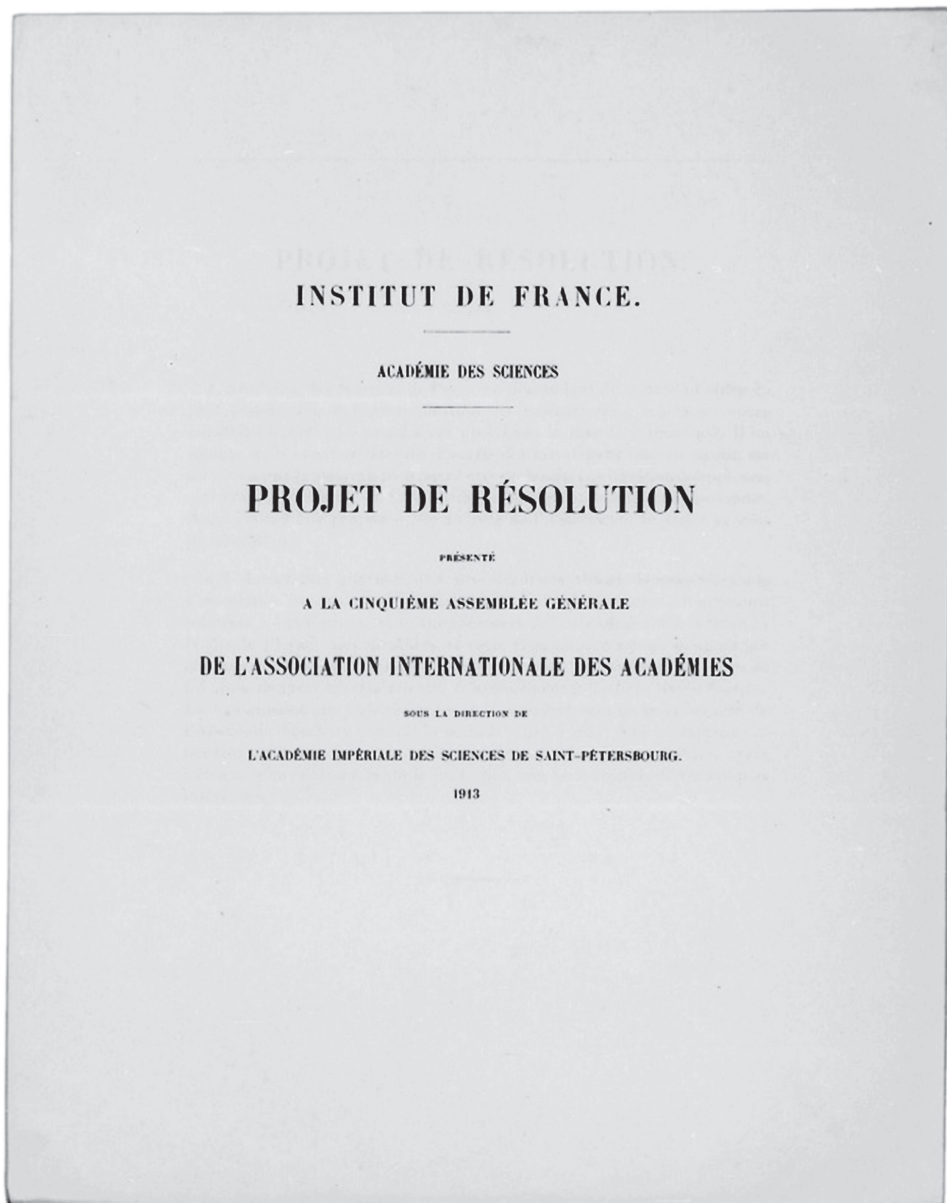
National Academy of Science

Washington

The Russian Academy of Sciences has just received a cordial telegram, rejoicing that we have united with the great republic of America in the community of peoples' humanitarian freedoms, we send fraternal greetings with firm conviction in the triumph of law.

Oldenburg, permanent secretary

**Appendix No. 4**



Translation of the Draft Resolution from French into English:

Institute of France  
Draft Resolution of the Academy of Sciences,  
Submitted to the Fifth General Assembly  
From the International Association of Academies  
at the directorate  
Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg  
1913

---

## PROJET DE RÉSOLUTION.

---

L'Académie des Sciences de Paris, en demandant de mettre à l'ordre du jour l'unification et la simplification des calendriers, a seulement voulu montrer l'intérêt que prend à ces problèmes le monde scientifique. Il lui semble qu'il serait prématuré d'ouvrir dès maintenant une discussion sur les nombreux projets qui pourraient être proposés. Les questions complexes, que soulève la réforme du Calendrier, demanderont une étude approfondie. Aussi l'Académie propose-t-elle au vote de l'Association le projet suivant de résolution :

« L'Association internationale des Académies décide la création d'une Commission internationale du Calendrier, chargée d'étudier les questions relatives à l'unification et la simplification des calendriers et à la fixité de la fête de Pâques. Les membres de cette Commission seront désignés par chacune des Académies associées, à raison de deux par Académie, sans qu'ils lui appartiennent nécessairement, conformément à l'article 10 des Statuts. La Commission du Calendrier, dont le président sera de la nationalité de l'Académie directrice pendant la période (1914-1916), fera un rapport sur ses travaux à la prochaine session de l'Association internationale, après s'être mise en relations, si elle le juge utile, avec les Autorités ecclésiastiques intéressées. »

---

Source: California Institute of Technology, Part of George Ellery Hale Papers. LOCAL IDENTIFIER: hale: 96212, local: GEH\_2\_49\_2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.31003705>

### DRAFT RESOLUTION

The Paris Academy of Sciences, asking to put on the agenda the unification and simplification of the calendar, only wanted to show the interest that the scientific world shows in these problems. It seems that it would be premature now to start discussing the many projects that might be proposed. The complex issues associated with calendar reform will require careful study.

The Academy therefore proposes to the vote of the Association the following draft resolution:



"The International Association of Academies decides to establish an International Calendar Commission, which is entrusted with studying issues related to the unification and simplification of calendars and fixing the Easter holiday. Members of this commission will be appointed by each of the associated academies in the amount of two persons for each academy without mandatory membership in it in accordance with Article 10 of the Charter. The Schedule Commission, chaired by a citizen of the Director's Academy during the period (1914–1916), will present a report on its work at the next session of the International Association after establishing relations, if it deems it appropriate, with the ecclesiastical authorities concerned.

### References

1. Актуальное прошлое: взаимодействие и баланс интересов Академии наук и Российского государства в XVIII — начале XX в. Очерки истории: в 2 кн. / сост. и отв. ред. д.и.н. И.В. Тункина; ФАНО России; СПбФ АРАН. — 2-е изд., испр. — СПб.: Реноме, 2018. — Кн. II. — С. 937–938.  
[Actual past: interaction and balance of interests between the Academy of Sciences and the Russian state in the 18th — early 20th centuries. Essays on history: in 2 books. / comp. and resp. ed. d.h.s. I.V. Tunkina; FASO of Russia; SPbF ARAN. — 2nd ed., corrected. — St. Petersburg: Renome, 2018. — Book. II. — Pp. 937–938].
2. Вернадский В.И. Международная ассоциация академий // В.И. Вернадский. О науке. Т. II. Научная деятельность. Научное образование. — СПб: Изд-во РХГИ, 2002. — С. 17–22.  
[Vernadsky V.I. International Association of Academies // V.I. Vernadsky. About science. T. II. Scientific activity. Scientific education. — St. Petersburg: RKHGI Publishing House, 2002. — Pp. 17–22].
3. Лебедев М. Научный подход к решению глобальных проблем человечества: Пагуошскому движению ученых — 60 лет / М. Лебедев // Блог Российского Пагуошского комитета на сайте РСМД. — URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/blogs/Pugwash/uchyenny-sekretar-rossiyskogo-paguoshskogo-komiteta-pri-prezidiume-ran/>.  
[Lebedev M. A scientific approach to solving global problems of mankind: the Pugwash movement of scientists is 60 years old / M. Lebedev // Blog of the Russian Pugwash Committee on the RIAC website. — URL: <https://russiancouncil.ru/blogs/Pugwash/uchyenny-sekretar-rossiyskogo-paguoshskogo-komiteta-pri-prezidiume-ran/>].
4. Международная ассоциация академий (Association Internationale des Academies). Материалы собрания // Личный архив академика Владимира Ивановича Вернадского (1863–1945 гг.). — URL: <http://www.ras.ru/VArchive/Act.aspx?invid=6&id=3425>.  
[International Association of Academies (Association Internationale des Academies). Collection materials // Personal archive of Academician Vladimir Ivanovich Vernadsky (1863–1945). — URL: <http://www.ras.ru/VArchive/Act.aspx?invid=6&id=3425>].
5. Международная ассоциация академий. Научно-организационные документы МАА. — Ленинград: Ленинградское отделение архива Академии наук СССР, 1980.  
[International Association of Academies. Scientific and organizational documents of the MAА. — Leningrad: Leningrad branch of the archive of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, 1980].
6. Научная дипломатия в Великобритании, России и за их пределами // Вестник Российского фонда фундаментальных исследований. — 2018. — № 1 (97). — С. 40.  
[Scientific diplomacy in Great Britain, Russia and beyond // Bulletin of the Russian Fund for Basic Research. — 2018. — No. 1 (97). — P. 40].
7. Примаков Е.М. Встречи на перекрестках / Е.М. Примаков. — М.: Центрполиграф, 2016. — С. 49.  
[Primakov E.M. Meetings at crossroads / E.M. Primakov. — М.: Tsentrpoligraf, 2016. — P. 49].
8. Рокфеллер Д. Банкир в XX веке. Мемуары / Д. Рокфеллер. — М.: Международные отношения, 2003. — С. 236.  
[Rockefeller D. Banker in the XX century. Memoirs / D. Rockefeller. — М.: International relations, 2003. — P. 236.]

9. Фаминцын А.С. Первый съезд Международной ассоциации академий // Мир Божий. — 1902. — № 1, январь. — С. 158–172.  
[Famintsyn A.S. First Congress of the International Association of Academies // World of God. — 1902. — No. 1, January. — P. 158–172].
10. Фаминцын А.С. Второй съезд Международной ассоциации академий // Мир Божий. — 1904. — № 12. — С. 231–241.  
[Famintsyn A.S. Second Congress of the International Association of Academies // World of God. — 1904. — No. 12. — P. 231–241].
11. California Institute of Technology, Part of George Ellery Hale Papers. LOCAL IDENTIFIER: hale: 96212, local: GEH\_2\_49\_2. Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.31003705>
12. International Association of Academies // The British Medical Journal. — Vol. 2. — No. 2026 (Oct. 28, 1899). — Pp. 1212.
13. International Association of Academies. — URL: <https://uia.org/s/or/en/1100057149>.
14. The International Association of Academies // Nature. — 1899. — Vol. 60. — P. 613. — URL: <https://doi.org/10.1038/060613a0>.
15. The International Union of Academies and the American Council of Learned Societies Devoted to Humanistic Studies // The American Political Science Review. — Vol. 14.—August 1920.— No. 3 — P. 499.
16. Association internationale des academies. — URL: [https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12561647/association\\_internationale\\_des\\_academies/](https://data.bnf.fr/fr/12561647/association_internationale_des_academies/)
17. Darboux G. L'association internationale des Académies // Revue internationale de l'enseignement. — 1901. — T. 41. — P. 193–210.
18. Seit mehr als 125 Jahren arbeiten die Wissenschaftsakademien bereits zusammen. — URL: <https://www.akademienunion.de/akademienunion/au/kleine-geschichte-der-akademienunion>
19. Донесение советника Посольства России в Великобритании Н.С. фон-Эттера во Второй департамент МИД России от 19 марта/1 апреля 1913 г. // АВПРИ, ф. Второй департамент, оп. 691, д. 74, л. 6–6об.  
[Report of the Counselor of the Russian Embassy in Great Britain N.S. von-Etter to the Second Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry dated March 19/April 1, 1913 // AVPRI, f. Second department, op. 691, d. 74, l. 6–6rev].

## AGREEMENTS ON NON-EXPANSION OF NATO TO THE EAST ARE CONFIRMED BY ARCHIVAL SOURCES

---

### Annotation

The article provides documented evidence from the archives of Russia and the United States that during the discussion of the unification of Germany in 1990, the Soviet leadership repeatedly received assurances that the NATO military-political bloc would not expand eastward to the borders of the USSR, and these assurances were also voiced in 1991 to representatives of the Russian leadership. The article is accompanied by excerpts from archival documents that record the promises of leaders and high-ranking representatives of Western countries not to expand NATO to the East, but to build a collective, jointly with the USSR/Russia, security architecture in Europe.

**Keywords:** Warsaw Pact, NATO, USSR, Russia, FRG, GDR, USA, archival documents.

---

### Authors

#### Andrei Gorokhov

editor-in-chief of the journal *Russian Political Science*, PhD  
(Moscow, Russia)



#### Kirill Vasilev

student of Institute of Foreign Languages, MCU  
(Moscow, Russia)



---

Many political scientists, historians in Russia and in foreign countries question whether promises and assurances were given to Soviet and then Russian leaders by the West about not expanding NATO? Such assurances were allegedly made during the discussions of the conditions for the German reunification<sup>1</sup>. And indeed there are such documents that confirm that the Soviet and then the Russian leadership received unambiguous answers that NATO expansion is not

planned and will not be planned either. Such statements were given both behind the scenes (in closed-door talks, in diplomatic correspondence) and publicly — at press conferences. We are providing the examples of such statements in this article. We publish archival documents as the article annex, which record the promises of leaders and high-ranking representatives of Western countries not to expand NATO to the East, but to build a collective, joint with the USSR/Russia, security architecture in Europe.

The question of NATO's expansion to the East is addressed by Russian re-

---

<sup>1</sup> The unification of Germany took place on October 3, 1990 by the incorporation of the GDR into the FRG.

searchers: F.M. Giniyatov<sup>1</sup> [2], O.P. Ivanov<sup>2</sup> [5], A.A. Zavada<sup>3</sup> [4] et al. This topic is also analyzed by American and European historians and political scientists: Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin<sup>4</sup> (Joshua R. Itzkowitz Shiffrin) [19], Norman<sup>5</sup> Markowitz [11], John Feffer<sup>6</sup> [10], Mary Elise Sarotte<sup>7</sup> [16], Stanislaw Belen<sup>8</sup> (Stanisław Bieleń) [1], etc.

For example, the American researcher Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin made a conclusion in his article that “a more complete acquaintance with diplomatic documents shows that the Soviet Union repeatedly received guarantees not to expand NATO into Eastern Europe” [19]. And such statements were made during the talks on the reunification of Germany in 1990. Moreover, Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin published new evidence indicating that the United States used guarantees of non-Expansion of NATO in order to use the weaknesses of the USSR to strengthen the United States in Europe after the end

of the Cold War. What is the reasoning of Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin and what documents does he use as evidence?

**First.** On January 31, 1990, German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher<sup>9</sup> (1927–2016), speaking in Tutzing (West Germany), put forward the condition: “quid pro quo” — there will be no expansion of NATO territory to the East, closer to the borders of the Soviet Union, if the Soviets allow German reunification<sup>10</sup>.

It is necessary to add here the following explanation from Genscher's memoirs: in January 1990 an idea visited him for the first time that “the membership of a united Germany in NATO would give rise to a number of difficult issues,”<sup>11</sup> therefore, on January 31, 1990, speaking at the evangelical Academy in Tutzing, Genscher turned to NATO with a demand to confirm: “whatever happens in the Warsaw Pact countries, there will be no expansion of NATO territory to the east, closer to the borders of the Soviet Union.” Genscher motivated his demand by the fact that changes in Eastern Europe “should not harm Soviet security interests.” Genscher's speech later became known as the “Tutzing Formula”.

**Second.** On February 2, 1990, Genscher made it clear that “NATO will not expand its territorial presence either in the GDR or anywhere else in Eastern Europe.” This statement of Genscher is confirmed by archival documents of the US Department of State [17], which describe a meeting

---

<sup>1</sup> Giniyatov F.M. is Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, Associate Professor of the Department of Political Science of Kazan Federal University.

<sup>2</sup> Ivanov O.P. is Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Vice-Rector for Scientific Work of the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Foreign Ministry.

<sup>3</sup> Zavada A.A. is aspirant of the Department of History of Social Movements and Political Parties of Moscow State University named after M.V. Lomonosov.

<sup>4</sup> Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin is a research fellow in International Security at Dartmouth College and an associate professor at the George W. Bush School of Public Administration and Public Service at the University of Texas.

<sup>5</sup> Norman Markowitz is a lecturer in the History Department at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

<sup>6</sup> John Feffer is the Chief of the Foreign Policy Department of the Institute for Political Studies (Foreign Policy In Focus). He is the author of the book “Aftershock: A Journey into the Broken Dreams of Eastern Europe” (Zed Books), the dystopian novel *Splinterlands* (Dispatch Books).

<sup>7</sup> Mary-Alice Sarotte is a professor of history at the University of Southern California and Harvard University.

<sup>8</sup> Stanislaw Belen is a professor at the Institute of International Relations at the University of Warsaw, a specialist in Russian foreign policy. In 1999–2014, editor-in-chief of the journal *Stosunki Międzynarodowe-International Relations*.

<sup>9</sup> Hans-Dietrich Genscher is Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice-Chancellor of Germany in 1974–1992.

<sup>10</sup> Joshua Itzkowitz Shiffrin refers to this source: Frank Elbe and Richard Kiessler, *A Round Table with Sharp Corners: The Diplomatic Path to German Unity* (Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos, 1996), p. 79.

<sup>11</sup> Here and further, Genscher's memoirs are quoted in the article: Von Marie Katharina Wagner. Das große Rätsel um Genschers angebliches Versprechen — 19.04.2014 — URL: [https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ost-erweiterung-der-nato-was-versprach-genscher-12902411.html?printPaggedArticle=true#pageIndex\\_2](https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ost-erweiterung-der-nato-was-versprach-genscher-12902411.html?printPaggedArticle=true#pageIndex_2)



of Genscher with US Secretary of State James Baker<sup>1</sup>.

**Third.** At the talks in Moscow on February 7–9, 1990, D. Baker has repeatedly linked the reunification of Germany with the commitment not to expand NATO. For example, on February 9, 1990, Baker promised Eduard Amvrosievich Shevardnadze<sup>2</sup> (1928–2014) “explicit guarantees that the jurisdiction of NATO forces would not move to the east” [14].

**Fourth.** Then on February 9, 1990, Baker promised that “there will be no expansion of NATO’s jurisdiction by an inch to the east” [15] at a meeting with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev<sup>3</sup> and E.A. Shevardnadze. D. Baker declared these promises publicly at a press conference, where he stated that the United States proposed “not to allow the expansion of NATO forces to the East in order to alleviate concerns about the security of those who are in the East Germany” [8].

**Fifth.** On February 10, 1990, Genscher said to E.A. Shevardnadze that “NATO will not expand to the East.” Joshua Itskowitz Shiffrinson confirms the words of Genscher in his research referring to this source: Kristina Spohr, “Excluded or Precedent-Setting?: The «NATO Enlargement Question» in the Triangular Bonn-Washington-Moscow Diplomacy of 1990–1991,” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (October, 2012) p. 30.

**Sixth.** On February 13, 1990, the US State Department informed its embassies that “[the Secretary of State] made it clear [...] that we support a united Germany in NATO, and that we are ready to guarantee

that NATO’s military presence will not extend further east” [18].

**Seventh.** On May 31, 1990, George H.W. Bush<sup>4</sup> (1924–2018) declared to Mikhail Gorbachev that there would be no “winners and losers”, and instead the Soviet Union would be “integrated [...] into a new Europe” [12].

We will add three more sources in addition to the archival documents that Joshua Itskowitz Shiffrinson found: this is a transcript of a conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl<sup>5</sup> (1930–2017) one-on-one on February 10, 1990 [6]; a recording of a conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterrand<sup>6</sup> (1916–1996) on May 25, 1990 year [7] and a memorandum to the President of Russia Boris Nikolaevich Yeltsin<sup>7</sup> (1931–2007) from the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of Russia to NATO headquarters dated July 03, 1991 [3].

To the previously noted promises not to expand NATO to the east, we will add:

**Eighth.** February 10, 1990, Kohl unambiguously promised to Mikhail Gorbachev: “We believe that NATO should not expand its area of influence. We need to find a consensus. I recognise the Soviet Union security interests clearly and I understand that you, Mr. General Secretary, and the Soviet leadership will have to explain clearly what is happening to the people of the USSR” [6].

**Ninth.** The France’s attitude was expressed by F. Mitterrand, who also opposed the expansion of NATO. Here are his words, which were expressed on May 25, 1990 to Mikhail Gorbachev: “I put forward the following requirement: in any case, the

<sup>1</sup> James Baker is the US Secretary of State under George H.W. Bush (1988–1992).

<sup>2</sup> E.A. Shevardnadze is Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (1985–1990), Minister of Foreign Relations of the USSR (November — December 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Gorbachev M.S. is General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (1985–1991). Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1988–1989), Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR (1989–1990). The only president of the USSR (1990–1991).

<sup>4</sup> George H.W. Bush is the 41st President of the United States (1989–1993).

<sup>5</sup> Kohl G. is a German politician and statesman. Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU; 1973–1998), German chancellor (1982–1998).

<sup>6</sup> Mitterrand F. is French politician and statesman. First Secretary of the French Socialist Party (1971–1981), President of the French Republic (1981–1995).

<sup>7</sup> Boris Yeltsin is the first President of the Russian Federation (1991–1999).

front lines of NATO — France does not participate in their defence — should not be moved to the eastern part of the future united Germany... The result of German unity cannot be the isolation of the Soviet Union. France will not accept this" [7].

**Tenth.** By 1991 the leadership of NATO represented by Secretary General Manfred Werner<sup>1</sup> (1934–1994) made straightforward statement: "Personally, I and the NATO Council are against the expansion of the alliance. This view is shared by 13 of the 16 NATO members. I will speak against the NATO membership of Poland and Romania to the leaders of these countries, as I have already delivered to the leaders of Hungary and Czechoslovakia. ... The isolation of the USSR from the European community should not be allowed" [3].

The assurances of not expanding NATO to the East convinced the USSR, and then Russia, that the West is not an enemy, but a partner opened to dialogue and consolidated building of a security system in Europe and the Euro-Atlantic. In fact, the assurances about the non-expansion of NATO to the East created conditions for trustworthy relations, which made a united Germany possible.

Since the unification of Germany, the end of the Cold War, there has been a chance to create Europe as a non-aligned and non-militaristic space. But after the collapse of the USSR, the inevitability of a unipolar world led by the United States has been looming. Such a vision leads to a policy that does not strengthen trust and does not increase security.

What happened after the Cold War? In the East, the military-political bloc "Warsaw Pact" ceased to exist, the USSR broke up into independent republics<sup>2</sup>. Russia, as the legal successor of the USSR,

---

<sup>1</sup> Manfred Hermann Werner is Minister of Defense of Germany (1982–1988), Secretary General of NATO (1988–1994).

<sup>2</sup> As a result of the collapse of the USSR, 15 independent states were formed: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Estonia.

switched to a market and democratic path of economic and political development, joined the Council of Europe and the WTO, became a member of the G8 (until 2014) and the G20.

In the West, the NATO military-political bloc has not only preserved its existence, but is actively moving eastward, including new states. The bloc includes: Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic (1999); Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Estonia (2004); Croatia and Albania (2009); Montenegro (2017); North Macedonia (2020).

At the same time, NATO has been actively conducting military operations since the end of the Cold War, decisions on which are made bypassing the UN Security Council. Such operations are one against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1999), Iraq (2003), Syria (since 2014 without the consent of the official Damascus and the UN Security Council resolution). Indeed, such a policy leads the world to a new arms race and new threats.

At the same time, the reached agreements are dismantling, which were concluded earlier between the United States and the USSR aimed to end the Cold War, create strategic stability and a stable system of international security.

In 2001, the United States unilaterally withdrew from the Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missiles and began to build its own global missile defence system. The bases of this system are already operating in Romania and Poland.

In 2019, the United States, blaming Russia, withdrew from the Treaty on the elimination of medium-range and shorter-range missiles. Afterwards the discussion was launched with US allies for the medium-range missiles deployment in the Asia-Pacific region.

In 2020, the United States withdrew from the Open Skies Treaty<sup>3</sup>, again blaming Russia.

---

<sup>3</sup> The idea of an "open sky" was first outlined by US President Dwight Eisenhower at a conference of the heads of the four powers (USSR, USA, Great

The expansion of NATO and the withdrawal of the United States from treaties limiting the arms race are policies aimed at establishing and maintaining a unipolar world by force. Such a policy leads to new conflicts, including armed ones, to militarization and an arms race and, as a result, creates an insecure and unpredictable world.

The refusal of assurances about non-expansion of NATO to the East led to a loss of confidence in the West on the part of Russia. Thus, the West, as it seems in Russian society, has not ceased to consider Russia as an enemy, bringing its military infrastructure closer to Russia's borders through the expansion of NATO, and the actions of the West are assessed as a deception of the Soviet and Russian leadership in order to gain military and political superiority with further unpredictable military actions against Russia.

Not only in Russia, but also in the USA will agree with this conclusion, for example, Norman Markowitz<sup>1</sup> formulated the idea very precisely: The expansion of NATO can be seen not as the beginning of a new era, but as a continuation of the politics and relations of the Cold War.<sup>2</sup> John Feffer draws a similar conclusion<sup>3</sup>

Britain, France) in Geneva on July 21, 1955. It was proposed to exchange military information between the USSR and the USA with its verification by mutual aerial photography of the territories of both countries. On March 24, 1992, in Helsinki, it was signed by representatives of 27 member countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (European states, as well as the USA and Canada). (See: Open Skies Treaty. Dossier // TASS website. — URL: <https://tass.ru/info/8535021>.)

<sup>1</sup> Norman Markowitz is a lecturer in the History Department at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

<sup>2</sup> Norman Markowitz. NATO Expansion in Eastern Europe: For What and For Whom? URL: [https://origins.osu.edu/history-news/nato-expansion-eastern-europe-what-and-whom?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://origins.osu.edu/history-news/nato-expansion-eastern-europe-what-and-whom?language_content_entity=en)

<sup>3</sup> John Feffer is the Chief of the Foreign Policy Department of the Institute for Political Studies (Foreign Policy In Focus). He is the author of the book "Aftershock: A Journey into the Broken Dreams of Eastern Europe" (Zed Books), the dystopian novel Splinterlands (Dispatch Books).

when he writes that NATO expansion has destroyed Europeans' dreams of a demilitarized Europe: NATO expansion represents a step backwards for Eastern and Central Europe. Following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the expansion of NATO reverses the trend towards militarization in the region.<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, the condition on which the Cold War ended, namely the assurance that there would be no expansion of NATO to the East, was disavowed by the West itself, which definitely creates extreme tension on the European continent. And this is what needs to be taken into account to analyze the entire security situation that has developed in Europe by the end of 2021. And without such an analysis, it is impossible to understand the logic of the Russian leadership, which in December 2021 sent draft documents to the United States and NATO<sup>5</sup>, the signing of which is essentially to confirm the conditions for the end of the cold war. Russia retains all the conditions, the West is not regarded as an enemy, Russia does not deploy troops on the border with the United States and does not expand its military infrastructure either in Europe or in Asia. Unlike the actions of the West.

In the appendix to this article, we publish excerpts from archival documents that confirm the statements of representatives of the West not to expand NATO to the East:

- **Document No. 1:** Confidential telegram to the US Secretary of State from the US Embassy in Bonn about the speech of German Foreign Minister Dietrich Genscher (February 1, 1990).
- **Document No. 2:** Transcript of a conversation between James Baker

<sup>4</sup> John Feffer The Costs and Dangers of NATO Expansion — URL: [https://ips-dc.org/the\\_costs\\_and\\_dangers\\_of\\_nato\\_expansion/](https://ips-dc.org/the_costs_and_dangers_of_nato_expansion/)

<sup>5</sup> In December 2021, Russia handed over to the United States the draft security guarantees treaty and the agreement on security measures for Russia and NATO countries. The documents were handed over on December 15 to US Deputy Secretary of State Karen Donfried.

- and Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow (February 9, 1990).
- **Document No. 3:** Transcript of a conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow (February 9, 1990).
  - **Document No. 4:** Transcript of Mikhail Gorbachev's one-on-one conversation with Helmut Kohl (February 10, 1990).
  - **Document No. 5:** Transcript of Mikhail Gorbachev's conversation with Francois Mitterrand (May 25, 1990).
  - **Document No. 6:** Memo to Boris Yeltsin from the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of Russia to NATO headquarters (July 3, 1991).
- Also in the appendix to the article, we publish in full the draft treaty between Russia and the United States on security guarantees and the agreement on security measures for Russia and the member states of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), which were prepared by Russia in December 2021.

## APPENDIX TO THE ARTICLE

### Document No. 1

#### U.S. Embassy Bonn Confidential Cable to Secretary of State on the speech of the German Foreign Minister: Genscher Outlines His Vision of a New European Architecture

Date: Feb 1, 1990.

Source: U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2015-10829. Doc No. C06264304

URL: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16112-document-01-u-s-embassy-bonn-confidential-cable>

SUBJECT: GENSCHER OUTLINES HIS VISION OF A NEW EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE  
<...>

7. (U) MOVING TO THE NEXT QUESTION OF MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC AND NATO AFTER GERMAN REUNIFICATION, GENSCHER EXPLAINS: "OUR MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC IN THE CASE OF (GERMAN) UNITY IS IRREVOCABLE AND AS IS OUR WILL TO CONTINUE THE INTEGRATION PROCESS IN THE DIRECTION OF A POLITICAL UNION. THE SAME APPLIES TO THE MEMBERSHIP (OF A UNITED GERMANY) IN THE WESTERN ALLIANCE. WE DO NOT WANT A NEUTRAL REUNITED GERMANY." TERRITORY OF TODAY'S GDR NOT TO BE INCLUDED IN THE MILITARY STRUCTURE OF NATO

8. (U) ON THE OTHER HAND, GENSCHER MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE GERMAN UNIFICATION PROCESS MUST NOT LEAD TO AN "IMPAIRMENT OF SOVIET SECURITY INTERESTS." **THEREFORE, NATO SHOULD RULE OUT AN "EXPANSION OF ITS TERRITORY TOWARDS THE EAST, I. E. MOVING IT CLOSER TO THE SOVIET BORDERS,"** GENSCHER ADDS THAT "CONSIDERATION OF INCLUDING THAT PART OF GERMANY WHICH CONSTITUTES TODAY'S GDR IN NATO'S MILITARY STRUCTURES WOULD BLOCK THE GERMAN-GERMAN RAPPROCHEMENT."

<...>



## Document No. 2

### MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN JAMES BAKER AND EDUARD SHEVARDNADZE IN MOSCOW

**Date:** February 9, 1990

**Place:** Obsobuyak Guest House

**Source:** U.S. Department of State, FOIA 199504567 (National Security Archive Flashpoints Collection, Box 38)

**URL:** <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16115-document-04-memorandum-conversation-between>

<...>

**Baker:** Clearly the process has moved faster than anyone has anticipated. The elections have been moved up to March 18. Shortly thereafter, I expect the two Germanies will enter into a treaty of unification that will cover the internal aspects of unification. That means some kind of merger or political apparatus, perhaps designating Berlin as a capital, steps towards economic unification, development of common currency, so in any event we believe that unification is inevitable. And I take it from your Brussels speech and from President Gorbachev's statement last week that you likewise expect that unification is inevitable. It's important, in our view that it proceed in stability and with due regard for the security and concerns of Germany's neighbors. One thing is for sure the US does not seek in any way a unilateral advantage from the situation. What's needed is a process or mechanism that can deal with the external aspects or elements of unification. And that process or mechanism must ensure that unification proceeds in a stable fashion and with due regard of the concerns of others. We think consideration ought to be given to something like the two Germanies plus the four powers -- a two plus four mechanism, if you will. This will only come into play after the two Germanies have gotten together on the internal aspects of unification after the March 18 election.

The use of the four power mechanism alone would be deeply resented by the German people or opposed by them. Indeed it would probably produce a resurgent nationalism in Germany.

The use of the 35 would be too unwieldy. It would be unable to keep up with rapidly changing developments. I could see the use for the 35 as an umbrella organization to ratify the results of unification. I think that would be very appropriate.

On the question of neutrality that was surfaced by Modrow, we think that would be a mistake. I think that if you just look at the history you can see that would be a mistake. A neutral Germany would undoubtedly acquire its own independent nuclear capability. However, a Germany that is firmly anchored in a changed NATO, by that I mean a NATO that is far less of military organization, much more of a political one, would have no need for independent capability. **There would, of course, have to be iron-clad guarantees that NATO's jurisdiction or forces would not move eastward.** And this would have to be done in a manner that would satisfy Germany's neighbors to the east. Two final points. We have been told by East and West Europeans alike, that -- and this is something by the way that Gorbachev has alluded to -- that the continued presence of US forces in Europe is a force for stability. We do not necessarily desire to keep troops in Europe. And it is clear to us that more pressures will build within the United States to bring our troops home unless the Allies continue to want them there. So if there is any indication that the Allies don't want them we will in no way keep our troops there. I've said that we would maintain our presence as long as our Allies desire it. They don't want it, our country is simply not going to be able to sustain

a presence in Europe and we will immediately bring our troops home. The NATO alliance is a mechanism by which we maintain a presence in Germany and elsewhere. In my Berlin speech I made the point that NATO must evolve into much more of a political alliance. These are the principles ideas that I have on unification.

<...>

### Document No. 3

#### MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN MIKHAIL GORBACHEV AND JAMES BAKER IN MOSCOW

Date: Friday February 9 1990, Time 1 00 pm 3 00 pm.

Place: Kremlin

PARTICIPANTS: Secretary Baker, President Gorbachev, Eduard Shevardnadze.

**Source:** U.S. Department of State, FOIA 199504567 (National Security Archive Flashpoints Collection, Box 38)

**URL:** <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16116-document-05-memorandum-conversation-between>

<...>

**Baker:** <...> I have got one or two other points. We don't favorably view a neutral Germany. The FRG says that this is not a satisfactory approach. A neutral Germany in our view is not necessarily going to be a non-militaristic Germany. It could well decide that it needed its own independent nuclear capability as opposed to depending on the deterrent of the United States. All our allies and East Europeans we have spoken to have told us that they want us to maintain a presence in Europe. I am not sure whether you favor that or not. But let me say that if our allies want us to go, we will be gone in a minute. Indeed, if they want us to leave we'll go and I can assure you that the sentiment of the American people is such that they will want us to leave immediately. The mechanism by which we have a US military presence in Europe is NATO. If you abolish NATO, there will be no more US presence.

**We understand the need for assurances to the countries in the East. If we maintain a presence in a Germany that is a part of NATO, there would be no extension of NATO's jurisdiction for forces of NATO one inch to the east.** At the end of the day, if it is acceptable to everyone, we could have discussions in a two plus four context that might achieve this kind of an outcome. Maybe there is a better way to deal with the external consequences of German unification. And if there is I am not aware of it. We don't have German agreement but we have mentioned it to Genscher and he said he wants to think about it. Dumas liked it and now I have mentioned it to you.

**Gorbachev:** Basically, I share the course of your thinking. The process is underway. We have to adjust this process. We have to adjust this new reality and not be passive in ensuring that stability in Europe is not upset. Well for us and for you regardless of the differences there is nothing terrifying in the prospect of a unified Germany. But this is simplistic. First of all, we both are interested in improving European conditions and we can't simply stand by. Now what kind of Germany are we going to face in the future? How can it be included in world structures?

Second, there are different perspectives in London, Paris, Budapest and Warsaw. Yesterday I had a talk with Jaruzelski. He knows that you are here today and Kohl and Genscher will be here tomorrow. Given that, he wants to call and talk. The German question is the key question for him. It is critical to the Poles.

**Baker:** That's right.

<...>

#### Document No. 4

#### FROM THE CONVERSATION OF M.S. GORBACHEV WITH G. KOHL ONE-ON-ONE 10 FEBRUARY 1990

(The conversation took place during the arrival of G. Kohl in Moscow. The meeting was attended by representatives of the German side H. Telchik, of the Soviet — A.S. Chernyaev)

Source: Gorbachev Foundation Archive. Fund No. 1, inventory No. 1. Published:  
<...>

G. Kohl. <...> Another is the issue of NATO and Warsaw Pact. I heard that you had a fruitful conversation with Secretary Baker. Without going into details, I would just like to say that we are in favor of further progress on disarmament issues and are to do everything possible to promote it. We are for progress in Vienna, for the success of the START negotiations, primarily on chemical weapons. Certainly, at the same time, we must not forget the short-range missiles, which you call tactical. We also have to talk about this.

What we don't want is neutrality. That would be historic folly. Such a mistake was already made after 1918. The Germans got a special status at that time. The Rapallo's objective was to get out of this special status. No need to repeat mistakes.

**We believe that NATO should not expand its area of influence.** We need to find a consensus here. I recognise the Soviet Union security interests clearly and I understand that you, mr. General Secretary, and the Soviet leadership will have to explain clearly what is happening to the people of the USSR".

<...>

#### Document No. 5

#### FROM THE CONVERSATION OF M.S. GORBACHEV WITH F. MITTERRAND.

May 25, 1990

(V.V. Zagladin attended the meeting. The conversation began during a working breakfast)

Source: Gorbachev Foundation Archive. Fund No. 1, inventory No. 1. Published:  
<...>

M.S. GORBACHEV. But there are other realities that must not be forgotten... The Soviet Union may feel isolated, and then, for sure, it will look for ways out of it...

F. MITTERRAND. Isolation is more of an East German problem. FRG is a powerful economic power with a population of 62 million, with its own army. What will be the behavior of the 17 million inhabitants of the current GDR? This is, definitely, a very important problem. But it is not central, dominant.

**I put forward the following requirement: in any case, the front lines of NATO — France does not participate in their defense — should not be moved to the eastern part of the future united Germany.**

M.S. GORBACHEV. The membership of the future Germany in NATO may entail serious violations of the entire strategic balance.

There is offer for us to solve the problem without any alternatives.

F. MITTERRAND. But there may be other options — those that we are discussing with you, that you are discussing with Bush, which are discussed at international forums. **The result of German unity cannot be the isolation of the Soviet Union. France will not accept this.**

So in this matter it is necessary to show a little imagination.

M.S. GORBACHEV. You've given me another good argument: we all need to be imaginative. However, the imagination of the partners with whom I have been talking recently is limited to only one option...

F. MITTERRAND. It is also necessary to study the problem of a peace treaty, a peaceful settlement. What price are the Germans willing to pay for the new system? Perhaps nothing.

M.S. GORBACHEV. But all this does not end the rights of our powers that arose as a result of the Second World War. In our case, these rights are based on 27 million dead and 18 million maimed.

<...>

### Document № 6

#### MEMORANDUM TO BORIS YELTSIN FROM RUSSIAN SUPREME SOVIET DELEGATION TO NATO HQS

**Date: 03.07.1991**

**Source:** State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), Fond 10026, Opis 1. Translated by Svetlana Savranskaya.

**Document published in following posting(s):** NATO Expansion: What Gorbachev Heard: <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/document/16144-document-30-memorandum-boris-yeltsin>

President of RSFSR Yeltsin Boris Nikolayevich

#### MEMORANDUM about results of the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR's visit to Belgium on invitation of the NATO Headquarters

In accordance with your decision, from June 29 to July 2, 1991, the parliamentary delegation consisting of members of the Committee on Security visited NATO Headquarters in Brussels.

The purpose of our trip was to familiarize the NATO leadership with the Russian Parliament's position on defense issues, and to study the new tendencies in NATO evolution after the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty [Organization].

During two days, our delegation had numerous meetings with NATO officials at different levels. Our interlocutors exhibited great interest in the transformations and the situation in Russia. Everybody gave a high assessment of the democratic presidential elections in Russia as evidence of the first free declaration of the will of the people. NATO officials with whom we spoke noted justifiably that the results of the elections had clearly confirmed the main trend that is supported by the majority of Russians — the course toward democratic reforms.

The delegation received thorough briefings about NATO activities under current conditions. On our part, we explained to the leadership of the North Atlantic bloc that Russia does not intend to create its own armed forces, but at the same time believes that it is natural that it would have an influence over the construction of the Union armed forces proportionate to its material contribution to their development.

We put forward, as we believe, an important idea, that NATO should make a clearer, more detailed and definitive statement about the need for a gradual decrease in the military efforts of that organization. This could have great significance for the democratic forces in Russia and generally in the Union who are fighting for large cuts



in the defense budget in order to allocate major resources for the implementation of economic reforms. We stated frankly that NATO's political lagging behind the current realities in Europe could be used by the conservative forces in our country to preserve the military-industrial complex of the USSR in its current state and to seriously slow down democratic transformations. Expanding NATO to [include] new members, as we emphasized, would be seen negatively in the USSR and the RSFSR. Our statements were met with understanding by our interlocutors.

On July 1, the delegation had a meeting with M. Woerner — NATO Secretary General. The top NATO official spoke about the need for direct contacts among representatives of the USSR armed forces, Russian parliamentarians, and administrative structures.

In his statement, he responded in a way to our proposals; in particular he said that he had received a written statement from Bush about reductions of American troops in Europe in the near future by 80 thousand men. Woerner stressed that the NATO Council and he are against the expansion of NATO (13 out of 16 NATO members support this point of view). In the near future, at his meeting with L. Walesa and the Romanian leader A. Iliescu, he will oppose Poland and Romania joining NATO, and earlier this was stated to Hungary and Czechoslovakia. We should not allow, stated M. Woerner, the isolation of the USSR from the European community.

During the meeting, the NATO leadership expressed its wish to develop direct contacts with the republic that plays a leading role in formulating the USSR's defense policy, as well as with the new union of sovereign republics. Similar wishes were expressed by representatives of the North Atlantic Assembly — NATO's inter-parliamentary body.

One has to emphasize that democratic changes in Russia, the largest republic of the USSR, have the potential to exert a serious impact on the reformation of NATO, where political cooperation is becoming the main function. In principle, they are ready for active cooperation in this sphere with the USSR and the RSFSR.

Chairman of the Committee on Security  
of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet  
Chairman on the Defense Committee  
of the RSFSR Council of Ministers  
Advisor of Chairman of the RSFSR  
Supreme Soviet on Defense and Security

S. Stepashin

K. Kobets

D. Volkogonov

03.07.1991

### **The Russian Foreign Ministry proposed draft treaties with the United States and an agreement with NATO on security guarantees**

In December 2021, Russia handed over to the United States the draft security guarantees treaty and the agreement on security measures for Russia and NATO countries. The documents were handed over on December 15 to US Deputy Secretary of State Karen Donfried.

Russian President Vladimir Putin announced Russia's desire to receive security guarantees on November 18, 2021 at the board of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia. At the same time, he set the diplomatic department the task of preparing Russian proposals.

The topic of security guarantees was also discussed by Russian President Vladimir Putin during a videoconference with US President Joe Biden on December 7, 2021.

We invite readers of our journal to familiarize themselves with the drafts of international documents that were proposed by the US and NATO by the Russian Foreign Ministry.

Treaty between The United States of America and the Russian Federation on security guarantees

*Unofficial translation*

Draft

The United States of America and the Russian Federation, hereinafter referred to as the "Parties",

guided by the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations, the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the 1975 Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as the provisions of the 1982 Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of Disputes, the 1999 Charter for European Security, and the 1997 Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Russian Federation,

recalling the inadmissibility of the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations both in their mutual and international relations in general, supporting the role of the United Nations Security Council that has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security,

recognizing the need for united efforts to effectively respond to modern security challenges and threats in a globalized and interdependent world,

considering the need for strict compliance with the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs, including refraining from supporting organizations, groups or individuals calling for an unconstitutional change of power, as well as from undertaking any actions aimed at changing the political or social system of one of the Contracting Parties,

bearing in mind the need to create additional effective and quick-to-launch cooperation mechanisms or improve the existing ones to settle emerging issues and disputes through a constructive dialogue on the basis of mutual respect for and recognition of each other's security interests and concerns, as well as to elaborate adequate responses to security challenges and threats,

seeking to avoid any military confrontation and armed conflict between the Parties and realizing that direct military clash between them could result in the use of nuclear weapons that would have far-reaching consequences,

reaffirming that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought, and recognizing the need to make every effort to prevent the risk of outbreak of such war among States that possess nuclear weapons,

reaffirming their commitments under the Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Measures to Reduce the Risk of Outbreak of Nuclear War of 30 September 1971, the Agreement between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Incidents On and Over the High Seas of 25 May 1972, the Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Establishment of Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers of 15 September 1987, as well as the Agreement between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Prevention of Dangerous Military Activities of 12 June 1989,

have agreed as follows:

#### **Article 1**

The Parties shall cooperate on the basis of principles of indivisible, equal and undiminished security and to these ends:

shall not undertake actions nor participate in or support activities that affect the security of the other Party;

shall not implement security measures adopted by each Party individually or in the framework of an international organization, military alliance or coalition that could undermine core security interests of the other Party.

#### **Article 2**

The Parties shall seek to ensure that all international organizations, military alliances and coalitions in which at least one of the Parties is taking part adhere to the principles contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

#### **Article 3**

The Parties shall not use the territories of other States with a view to preparing or carrying out an armed attack against the other Party or other actions affecting core security interests of the other Party.

#### **Article 4**

The United States of America shall undertake to prevent further eastward expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and deny accession to the Alliance to the States of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The United States of America shall not establish military bases in the territory of the States of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics that are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, use their infrastructure for any military activities or develop bilateral military cooperation with them.

#### **Article 5**

The Parties shall refrain from deploying their armed forces and armaments, including in the framework of international organizations, military alliances or coalitions, in the areas where such deployment could be perceived by the other Party as a threat to its national security, with the exception of such deployment within the national territories of the Parties.

The Parties shall refrain from flying heavy bombers equipped for nuclear or non-nuclear armaments or deploying surface warships of any type, including in the framework of international organizations, military alliances or coalitions, in the areas outside national airspace and national territorial waters respectively, from where they can attack targets in the territory of the other Party.

The Parties shall maintain dialogue and cooperate to improve mechanisms to prevent dangerous military activities on and over the high seas, including agreeing on the maximum approach distance between warships and aircraft.

#### **Article 6**

The Parties shall undertake not to deploy ground-launched intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles outside their national territories, as well as in the areas of

their national territories, from which such weapons can attack targets in the national territory of the other Party.

#### **Article 7**

The Parties shall refrain from deploying nuclear weapons outside their national territories and return such weapons already deployed outside their national territories at the time of the entry into force of the Treaty to their national territories. The Parties shall eliminate all existing infrastructure for deployment of nuclear weapons outside their national territories.

The Parties shall not train military and civilian personnel from non-nuclear countries to use nuclear weapons. The Parties shall not conduct exercises or training for general-purpose forces, that include scenarios involving the use of nuclear weapons.

#### **Article 8**

The Treaty shall enter into force from the date of receipt of the last written notification on the completion by the Parties of their domestic procedures necessary for its entry into force.

Done in two originals, each in English and Russian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

For the United States of America For the Russian Federation

Source: [https://mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/rso/nato/1790818/?lang=en](https://mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/rso/nato/1790818/?lang=en)

### **Agreement on measures to ensure the security of The Russian Federation and member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization**

Unofficial translation

Draft

The Russian Federation and the member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), hereinafter referred to as the Parties,

reaffirming their aspiration to improve relations and deepen mutual understanding, acknowledging that an effective response to contemporary challenges and threats to security in our interdependent world requires joint efforts of all the Parties,

determined to prevent dangerous military activity and therefore reduce the possibility of incidents between their armed forces,

noting that the security interests of each Party require better multilateral cooperation, more political and military stability, predictability, and transparency,

reaffirming their commitment to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the 1975 Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the 1997 Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between the Russian Federation and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the 1994 Code of Conduct on Politico-Military Aspects of Security, the 1999 Charter for European Security, and the Rome Declaration "Russia-NATO Relations: a New Quality" signed by the Heads of State and Government of the Russian Federation and NATO member States in 2002,

have agreed as follows:

### **Article 1**

The Parties shall guide in their relations by the principles of cooperation, equal and indivisible security. They shall not strengthen their security individually, within international organizations, military alliances or coalitions at the expense of the security of other Parties.

The Parties shall settle all international disputes in their mutual relations by peaceful means and refrain from the use or threat of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

The Parties shall not create conditions or situations that pose or could be perceived as a threat to the national security of other Parties.

The Parties shall exercise restraint in military planning and conducting exercises to reduce risks of eventual dangerous situations in accordance with their obligations under international law, including those set out in intergovernmental agreements on the prevention of incidents at sea outside territorial waters and in the airspace above, as well as in intergovernmental agreements on the prevention of dangerous military activities.

### **Article 2**

In order to address issues and settle problems, the Parties shall use the mechanisms of urgent bilateral or multilateral consultations, including the NATO-Russia Council.

The Parties shall regularly and voluntarily exchange assessments of contemporary threats and security challenges, inform each other about military exercises and maneuvers, and main provisions of their military doctrines. All existing mechanisms and tools for confidence-building measures shall be used in order to ensure transparency and predictability of military activities.

Telephone hotlines shall be established to maintain emergency contacts between the Parties.

### **Article 3**

The Parties reaffirm that they do not consider each other as adversaries.

The Parties shall maintain dialogue and interaction on improving mechanisms to prevent incidents on and over the high seas (primarily in the Baltics and the Black Sea region).

### **Article 4**

The Russian Federation and all the Parties that were member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as of 27 May 1997, respectively, shall not deploy military forces and weaponry on the territory of any of the other States in Europe in addition to the forces stationed on that territory as of 27 May 1997. With the consent of all the Parties such deployments can take place in exceptional cases to eliminate a threat to security of one or more Parties.

### **Article 5**

The Parties shall not deploy land-based intermediate- and short-range missiles in areas allowing them to reach the territory of the other Parties.

### **Article 6**

All member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization commit themselves to refrain from any further enlargement of NATO, including the accession of Ukraine as well as other States.



### **Article 7**

The Parties that are member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization shall not conduct any military activity on the territory of Ukraine as well as other States in the Eastern Europe, in the South Caucasus and in Central Asia.

In order to exclude incidents the Russian Federation and the Parties that are member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization shall not conduct military exercises or other military activities above the brigade level in a zone of agreed width and configuration on each side of the border line of the Russian Federation and the states in a military alliance with it, as well as Parties that are member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

### **Article 8**

This Agreement shall not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting the primary responsibility of the Security Council of the United Nations for maintaining international peace and security, nor the rights and obligations of the Parties under the Charter of the United Nations.

### **Article 9**

This Agreement shall enter into force from the date of deposit of the instruments of ratification, expressing consent to be bound by it, with the Depositary by more than a half of the signatory States. With respect to a State that deposited its instrument of ratification at a later date, this Agreement shall enter into force from the date of its deposit.

Each Party to this Agreement may withdraw from it by giving appropriate notice to the Depositary. This Agreement shall terminate for such Party [30] days after receipt of such notice by the Depositary.

This Agreement has been drawn up in Russian, English and French, all texts being equally authentic, and shall be deposited in the archive of the Depositary, which is the Government of...

Done in [the city of ...] this [XX] day of [XX] two thousand and [XX].

Source: [https://mid.ru/ru/foreign\\_policy/rso/nato/1790803/?lang=en](https://mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/rso/nato/1790803/?lang=en)

### **References**

1. *Болен С. НАТО в мире переоценки // Россия в глобальной политике.* — 2017. — № 3. [Bolen S. NATO in the world of reassessment // *Russia in Global Politics.* — 2017. — No. 3.]
2. *Гиниятов Ф.М. Расширение НАТО на восток и позиция России // Вестник экономики, права и социологии.* — 2012. — № 1. — С. 176–178. [Giniyatov F.M. The expansion of NATO to the East and the position of Russia // *Bulletin of Economics, Law and Sociology.* — 2012. — No. 1. — pp. 176–178.]
3. Докладная записка Борису Ельцину от делегации Верховного Совета России в штаб-квартиру НАТО // Государственный архив Российской Федерации (ГАРФ), фонд 10026, опись 1. [Memo to Boris Yeltsin from the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of Russia to the NATO headquarters // *State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), fund 10026, inventory 1.*]
3. *Завада А.А. Расширение Североатлантического альянса (НАТО) на Восток и политика Российской Федерации (90-е гг. XX в.) // Общество: политика, экономика, право.* — 2017. — № 9. — URL: [http://dom-hors.ru/rus/files/arhiv\\_zhurnala/pep/2017/9/politics/zavada.pdf](http://dom-hors.ru/rus/files/arhiv_zhurnala/pep/2017/9/politics/zavada.pdf)

- [Zavada A.A. The expansion of the North Atlantic Alliance (NATO) to the East and the policy of the Russian Federation (90s XX century.) // Society: politics, economics, law. — 2017. — No. 9. — URL: [http://dom-hors.ru/rus/files/arhiv\\_zhurnala/pep/2017/9/politics/zavada.pdf](http://dom-hors.ru/rus/files/arhiv_zhurnala/pep/2017/9/politics/zavada.pdf)]
4. Иванов О.П. Американская официальная концепция расширения НАТО на Восток: к истокам вопроса // Современная Европа. — 2017. — № 6. — С. 34–46.  
[Ivanov O.P. The American official concept of NATO expansion to the East: towards the origins of the issue // Modern Europe. — 2017. — No. 6. — pp. 34–46.]
  5. Из беседы М.С. Горбачева с Г. Колем один на один 10 февраля 1990 года // Архив Горбачев-Фонда. Фонд № 1, опись № 1. Опубликовано: Михаил Горбачев и германский вопрос: Сб. документов. 1986–1991. Сост., предисл. и примеч. А.А. Галкина, А.С. Черняева / Горбачев-Фонд. — М.: Весь Мир, 2006. — С. 339–360.  
[From the conversation of M.S. Gorbachev with G. Kohl one-on-one Kol one on one on February 10, 1990 // Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation. Fund No. 1, inventory No. 1. Published by: Mikhail Gorbachev and the German Question. Collection of documents. 1986–1991. Comp., preface and note. A.A. Galkina, A.S. Chernyaeva / Gorbachev Foundation. — M.: Publishing House "The Whole World", 2006. — P. 339–360.]
  6. Из беседы М.С. Горбачева с Ф. Миттераном 25 мая 1990 года // Архив Горбачев-Фонда. Фонд № 1, опись № 1. Опубликовано: Михаил Горбачев и германский вопрос. Сб. документов. 1986–1991. Сост., предисл. и примеч. А.А. Галкина, А.С. Черняева / Горбачев-Фонд. — М.: Весь Мир, 2006. — С. 350–365.  
[From the conversation of M.S. Gorbachev with F. Mitterrand on May 25, 1990 // Archive of the Gorbachev Foundation. Fund No. 1, inventory No. 1. Published by: Mikhail Gorbachev and the German Question. Collection of documents. 1986–1991. Comp., preface and note. A.A. Galkina, A.S. Chernyaeva / Gorbachev Foundation. — M.: The Whole World, 2006. — P. 339–360.]
  7. Department of State, Press Release, «Press Conference of James Baker III Following U.S.-USSR Ministerial Meetings, Moscow, USSR, February 9, 1990», PR No. 14, February 16, 1990, folder 20, box 161, Baker Papers, SMML
  8. Elbe F., Kiessler R. A Round Table with Sharp Corners: The Diplomatic Path to German Unity. Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos, 1996.
  9. Feffer J. The Costs and Dangers of NATO Expansion. — URL: [https://ips-dc.org/the\\_costs\\_and\\_dangers\\_of\\_nato\\_expansion/](https://ips-dc.org/the_costs_and_dangers_of_nato_expansion/)
  10. Markowitz N. NATO Expansion in Eastern Europe: For What and For Whom? URL: [https://origins.osu.edu/history-news/nato-expansion-eastern-europe-what-and-whom?language\\_content\\_entity=en](https://origins.osu.edu/history-news/nato-expansion-eastern-europe-what-and-whom?language_content_entity=en)
  11. Memorandum of Conversation, "Meeting with President Gorbachev", May 31, 1990, folder "Gorbachev (Dobrynin) Sensitive July–December 1990 [1]", box 91128, Scowcroft Files, GBPL; and Rice, "Issues for Camp David," briefing cards.
  12. Memorandum of Conversation between Mikhail Gorbachev and James Baker in Moscow. Friday February 9, 1990 // Source: U.S. Department of State, FOIA 199504567 (National Security Archive Flashpoints Collection, Box 38).
  13. Memorandum of Conversation, «Second One-on-One, the Secretary, Eduard Shevardnadze," February 9, 1990, box 38, Soviet Flashpoints, NSA.
  14. Memorandum of Conversation «Secretary Baker, President Gorbachev, Eduard Shevardnadze», February 9, 1990, box 38, Soviet Flashpoints, NSA.
  15. Sarotte M.E. How to Enlarge NATO: The Debate inside the Clinton Administration, 1993–95 // International Security (2019) 44 (1): 7–41.
  16. Secretary of State to American Embassy Bonn, «Baker/Genscher Meeting February 2», February 3, 1990, folder «Germany — March 1990», box CF00775, Kanter Files, GBPL.
  17. Secretary of State, "Briefing on U.S.-Soviet Ministerial," February 13, 1990, State Department Freedom of Information Act website (hereafter DOS/FOIA).
  18. Shiffrinson, Joshua R. Itzkowitz. Deal or No Deal? The End of the Cold War and the U.S. Offer to Limit NATO Expansion // International Security, vol. 40. no. 4. (Spring 2016): 7–44.
  19. Spohr K. Precluded or Precedent-Setting?: The «NATO Enlargement Question» in the Triangular Bonn-Washington-Moscow Diplomacy of 1990–1991 // Journal of Cold War Studies. Vol. 14, No. 4 (October 2012.).

20. U.S. Embassy Bonn Confidential Cable to Secretary of State on the speech of the German Foreign Minister: Genscher Outlines His Vision of a New European Architecture. Feb 1, 1990 // U.S. Department of State Case No. F-2015-10829. Doc No. C06264304  
Von Marie Katharina Wagner. Das große Rätsel um Genschers angebliches Versprechen — 19.04.2014 — URL: [https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ost-erweiterung-der-nato-was-versprach-genscher-12902411.html?printPagedArticle=true#pageIndex\\_2](https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/ost-erweiterung-der-nato-was-versprach-genscher-12902411.html?printPagedArticle=true#pageIndex_2)

## INTERVIEW WITH POLITICAL ANALYSTS FROM INDIA AND PAKISTAN ABOUT THE AFGHANISTAN SITUATION

The editorial board of the journal “Russian Political Science” publishes within “Russian Political Science — A Space for Dialogue” project another exclusive interview with the founder and president of the Society of Education and Culture ALFAAZ in Mumbai, a researcher at the Center for Central Eurasian Studies of the University of Mumbai, Dr. Shoaib Khan and senior researcher for South and Central Asia at the Strategic Vision Institute (analytical center in Islamabad (Pakistan), author of the book “The Troubled Triangle: US-Pakistan Relations under the Taliban’s<sup>1</sup> Shadow” (Routledge publishing house) Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai (Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai).

The main topic of the interview is the socio-political situation in Afghanistan.

---

### Dr. Shoaib Khan

President and Founder,  
ALFAAZ Education and Cultural Society,  
Mumbai Faculty, Centre for Central Eurasian Studies,  
University of Mumbai  
(India)



### Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai

Senior researcher for South and Central Asia  
at the Strategic Vision Institute  
(Pakistan)



---

**Andrey Gorokhov**, the editor-in-chief of Russian Political Science journal: How do you assess the current situation in Afghanistan? And what prospects do you see for the development of Afghanistan?

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** At present the situation in Afghanistan is grim in its uncertainty and it is too early to say anything. The World has to wait and watch for a period when everything is clear. This time the Taliban has promised to go ahead with some reforms as well as include various factions and militant groups in their Government.

Afghan political unity remains fragile. Most Afghans overwhelmingly want peace, but also want to preserve the cur-

rent constitutional system that includes democracy, personal freedoms, free media and women’s rights. The Taliban have said little to reassure citizens that their views have changed from the extreme restrictions they brutally enforced previously.

**The overwhelming majority  
of Afghans want peace and  
want to safeguard the existing  
constitutional system**

The speed of the Taliban’s territorial gains and collapse of the Afghan government surprised their people, neighbours and the whole world, despite earlier

---

<sup>1</sup> The Taliban is a terrorist organization banned in Russia.

intelligence assessments of the situation on the ground. The American withdrawal has encouraged the Taliban to stake their future on the battlefield, not at the negotiating table. The question now is whether the international force can prevent the Taliban from using violence to monopolize power.

Taliban have operated as an insurgent force, attempting to expel NATO forces from Afghanistan and defeat the democratically elected Afghan government. As Western forces have begun to withdraw from the country in recent years and government authority has weakened, Taliban forces have filled the vacuum.

The future of Afghanistan remains on the behaviour of the Taliban regime. If they behave well in domestic as well as in foreign policy, the international community will surely support them but if they start anything related to harsh radicalism or support to any terrorist groups or faction then the Taliban regime must be ready to face the consequences internationally and from their neighbours and nearby powers.

Besides Pakistan, China and Russia have come forward on terms with the Taliban government. This act of Moscow and Beijing is a positive sign as powers need to get involved with Taliban regime instead of isolating them so that they can contain them from any untoward act.

### **Industrialization would help Afghanistan overcome economic difficulties**

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** The current situation in Afghanistan is quite uncertain. Following the fall of Kabul, there is a number of challenges to the Taliban: economy, legitimacy and recognition by the international community and criticism of human rights. There is one big hope with the Taliban: that is China. China may also extend recognition to the Taliban and it could be followed by Russia, Iran and Pakistan. However, Pakistan will be cautious due to the international community reaction where it is placed on the grey list

of FATF<sup>1</sup>. However, as far as I see Afghanistan's future, it could be stable once the international community cooperate with the Taliban, the U.S. release Afghanistan's assets, and China extend its economic aid to them.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** Can we say that the United States has transferred power in Afghanistan to the Taliban movement (the organization is banned in Russia)? If this is the case, what are the US plans for Afghanistan in the future? And why did the Americans transfer power to the Taliban movement (the organization is banned in Russia)?

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** Absolutely not! The U.S. never wanted the Taliban to come to power in Afghanistan. Even the U.S. for eight years was not ready to talk to the Taliban as a peace process. However, when Obama entered the Oval Office, he assumed there is no other way but to talk to the Taliban.

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** Violence in the country has been high since 2020, after the Taliban signed a deal with the United States, the latest campaign against Afghan cities has been unexpectedly fast. Actually US never transferred power to Taliban directly, they allowed Taliban to gain power. US failed everywhere in their plans, the super power lacks wisdom in their plans. Whether its Vietnam or Iraq except creating mess they have done nothing. Give me one example where the US and their allies helped to install a stable government.

I have another doubt that this may also have been a strategy of US to come back and stay in Afghanistan once the trouble is created. This will give them a reason to come back. Since last 20 years were the Americans on picnic in that country. Taliban existed even during the Karzai Government. As far as I know I heard about Taliban regaining their position since last

---

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: intergovernmental organization "Group for the Development of Financial measures to combat money Laundering", Eng. Financial Action Task Force on Money Laundering — FATF.



eight years. The question is what the Americans were doing and what kind of fight were they involved.

In the past there were talks of Good Taliban and Bad Taliban and also there have attempts to use Taliban as a shield against the newly emerging ISIS<sup>1</sup> in that country. Afghanistan is a landlocked country and its politics is also affected by the influence of neighbouring countries. Americans also did not take into consideration the neighbouring powers. I do not see any American role or Washington's determination in stabilizing a powerful regime in Kabul.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** Why, in your opinion, did the President of Afghanistan Ashraf Ghani leave the country, run away from Afghanistan? And how would the situation have developed in Afghanistan if President Ashraf Ghani had not left the country?

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** First of all I am surprise to see the way the Northern Alliance forces surrendered. Again the question arises that in these 20 years what the US, Western and even Indian armed personell present there fulfill their responsibilities of training the Afghan National Armed forces. Billions of Dollars were spend on these forces and administration and yet the result was nil. They say Pakistan supported the Taliban to come back in that sense Pakistan proved to be a better coach than US, West or India in training the militants. Their students Taliban came to power swiftly suprising the whole world and the US trained government forces ran away from the scene creating chaos in the whole country. Of course if Ashraf Gani had stayed in the country, situation would have been different, but the question is in these 20 years: Gani and his predecessor Hamid Karzai — what type of administration they were involved in that they were unable to concentrate on the armed forces.

Since the time of Karzai news of Taliban regaining foothold in many areas began pouring in. Yet there were no timely action against these forces. Time and again there were attacks on Government forces and the US forces as well. I am surprised to see Ashraf Gani addressing the nation and requesting all the tribes to join hands in stopping Taliban at a time when the Taliban forces were on the outskirts of Kabul. A leader who runs away from the country with all the cash instead of facing and dying for the country, what can one expect from the leader like Ashraf Gani?

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** Of course, Ghani fled the country. What happened to him was his own deeds. If he had taken the intra-Afghan talks serious, the situation in Afghanistan could have been different which would allow him a respectful way but he choose the worst option of humiliation and stuck to rule.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** Can we say that the main beneficiary of the change of power in Afghanistan is Pakistan? And what prospects do you see for cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan?

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** Afghanistan was under occupation of foreign forces and no regional or global powers wanted the US presence in Afghanistan. When the US was about to attack Afghanistan and Bush contacted Russia for support, Moscow of course supported the US but also demanded they will have to leave after operation. A long US presence was not acceptable for Moscow. Similarly, China supported the US but didn't support the US long presence. So was the case of Pakistan and Iran which considered the US presence a threat for their security. As for as Pakistan's cooperation with the Taliban government in Afghanistan is concerned, they could have smooth relations because of one major factor along other: Taliban will not allow the Afghan soil to be used against Pakistan. Islamabad has long accused the post-9/11 Afghan government for harboring India there and allowing India to use the Afghan soil against Pakistan.

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: "Islamic State" (IS, ISIS) is a banned organization in Russia.

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** The first mistake the US and Western powers did was to resist the Soviet forces. Afghanistan was much modern under the communist regime at least this would have saved the country from being radicalized. The US and Western powers not only supported the mujahedeen fighters but also brought in Laden and other groups to join the party. The Saudi money poured in and Wahabism flourished in the sub-continent.

Once the Soviets were out, Americans ignored their incomplete task of installing a stable government and also ignored those forces in Pakistan which helped Taliban to come up. Instead after the fall of Taliban in 2001, they installed Northern Alliance an anti-Pakistan Government in Kabul which pushed Pakistan out of the country and invited India to play a big role which the Pakistanis did not tolerate. Instead the Americans should have installed a neutral government friendly to all the neighbours.

The Afghan government with its anti-Pakistan attitude forgot that their 60% border trade is with Pakistan. There were also news that groups fighting against Pakistan like Tehrike Taliban and the Baluch separatists were allowed to use Afghan soils and even many training camps were active. Pakistan and other neighbouring countries were not invited to invest in that countries. In such a situation what can one expect from Pakistan? If not Taliban they would have helped any other group. Today 90% of Afghanistan is under the control of Taliban and if Taliban are under the control of Pakistan, the benefit from that country will sure to be in favour of Islamabad. There are already reports of increasing border trade between the two at a time when other borders of landlocked Afghanistan is closed.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** There are fears that the Taliban (the organization is banned in Russia) movement may provide support to other terrorist groups. For example, this is what Republican Congressman Michael McCaul says in the United States. How can you comment on these concerns?

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** These Taliban are different from the previous version of 2001. At least from their words if not in action. According to them women will be given equal rights and other progressive works, educational institutions will function as per routine. The world is on the wait and watch position in the near future. Yes, there are fears that other resurgent groups like the TTP, Al Qaeda and of all the most ISIS may regain their foothold in the country. There are also suspicion that the Taliban regime may allow them to flourish if not helping them directly.

Looking at the happenings in recent years the US talking of using the Taliban against ISIS show that there are hopes of Taliban taking action against such groups which they have done in some parts of the country. Now TTP is working against Pakistan with the help of which the Afghan Taliban have regained the power. The Taliban may not allow these groups to work against their ally. Instead the Taliban government may be used by the near neighbours and powers to fight against such forces. Even Taliban know well that they are already isolated by the US and West by supporting such groups they may be isolated even from those powers which are in contact with them.

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** The West do not believe the Taliban to stick to their commitments however, if we see, they have fulfilled their commitments not only regarding the Doha deal<sup>1</sup> but also care about the human rights in Afghanistan. And even provided amnesty to all their opponents and those involved against them for decades. Taliban have been assuring the world they will not allow the Afghan soil to be used against any nation. Hence, there is no chances of using the Afghan soil against Russia. Taliban know they have to rule and for that sustained rule they needed international support. Hence, they

---

<sup>1</sup> Editor's note: The agreement on the restoration of peace in Afghanistan is a peace treaty signed on February 29, 2020 in Doha (Qatar) between the United States and the Afghan Taliban movement.

will try their level best to ensure stability and peace in Afghanistan.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** Afghanistan has huge problems in the humanitarian sphere. The literacy rate in Afghanistan in 2018 was only 43.02%. How will this problem be solved? And will it be solved in the near future?

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** Afghanistan economy is quite weak and has been under wars for the last more than four decades. Hence, education is at its lowest ebb. However, two factors can play a vital role in increasing the literacy rate in Afghanistan: Taliban seriousness to education and the international community support to Afghanistan. However, it will take considerable time.

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** This also depends on the policy of Taliban. If one looks into the humanitarian development history of Afghanistan the predecessors of Taliban and even their predecessors since the reign of Kings, not much has been done in this sphere. Whether it was King Amanullah, King Zahirshah, his successor Dawood and others, this was the time when Afghanistan was considered as a peaceful country. Except some tribal clash here and there the country had enough time to progress or invite investment.

Before the Soviet invasion though Afghans were being educated in neighbouring Pakistan and Iran some wealthy enough even moved to US and Europe. After the Soviet invasion a part of the population was being educated in Soviet Union too. The problem is the same as in the thirds world country. When people they get highly qualified move to more advanced countries for better prospects. This happened with the Afghans too.

The present situation may create more havoc if the clashes escalates in the country. In such a situation the human development index may go from bad to worse. If everything runs smoothly as being promised by the new regime the domestic and international cooperation is always there to lend a helping hand.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has called for the protection of cultural and historical heritage sites located in Afghanistan. Everyone remembers that in 2001, despite the protests of the world community, including Islamic countries, the Bamiyan Buddha statues were destroyed by the Taliban (the organization is banned in Russia). Can there be repeated cases of destruction of the cultural and historical heritage of Afghanistan already in 2021?

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** Remember that the Taliban is a Wahabi, Salafi ideologists. They never tolerate any idols around them even if they are not worshipping it. These ideologists not only show intolerance towards other religions but also towards Muslims of different sects whether it's the Shrine of Sufi Saint or even Shiite groups. Even any heritage though of Muslim past may be in danger because of them.

Time will tell of this new regime again I will say that the words used by this new regime gives some hope for a reformists attitude in control of the country. Yes, if preserved Afghanistan is a land full of history right from the ancient Greco-Bactrian, Gandhara arts to the medieval rulers and travelers who have left their marks in history. The country has also been an important destination for the travelers particularly on the silk route which also passed through the mountains ranges across the length and breadth of these empires.

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** The Taliban of 1990s and today is quite different. We can hope for the preservation of the cultural and historical sites in Afghanistan. If the Taliban make the same mistake, they did in their previous rule, they will surely lose legitimacy and support from the outer world.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** What major economic projects can restore the economy of Afghanistan? What can Russia, China, India and Pakistan offer for the development of the Afghan economy?

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** The Afghan economy as we know faces serious challenges and it can't survive without any foreign aid. Afghanistan needs foreign investments in its natural resources especially lithium which would provide for a major share in its economy along other minerals excavation. Besides, any industrialization would help to overcome its economic challenges. All the regional countries would play their best possible role to stabilize Afghanistan as an unstable Afghanistan is a threat to their own security.

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** The Taliban's rapid advance towards Kabul is causing concern not only about Afghanistan's future but also about the impact on other countries in the region and their economies. Iran and then Iraq lie to the west of Afghanistan. Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan are to the north. But the immediate focus for financial markets and investors is eastern neighbour, Pakistan.

The long-term stability and security of the country and its immediate neighbors ultimately rests on economic renewal. A key element in that economic renewal will entail bringing Afghanistan and its neighboring countries effectively into the global trading system. We must help Afghanistan and its neighbors to rebuild the trade links that historically joined these societies.

Afghanistan and its neighbors share limited domestic markets, distant export markets, depend on a limited number of export commodities, and the lack of an institutional and legal basis for market based economies. Solutions to these problems that contain a regional perspective need to be found and implemented.

A rising tide of regional economic cooperation, it was hoped, would complement international assistance programs in carrying Afghanistan through the post-conflict years. The region contains as many problems as it does solutions. Particularly disconcerting are the indications that several states in Afghanistan's neighborhood are becoming more assertive, possibly reviving older geostrategic aims.

While none of its neighbors and other interested powers have yet pursued a course to destabilize the Afghan state or threaten its recovery, some seem prepared to extend their influence in Kabul through their traditional, divisive Afghan clients. Only with a renewed commitment of the international community to Afghanistan will it be possible to succeed in holding back these potentially disruptive political currents.

In the current situation when a big part of its population is leaving the country in vast numbers which also includes its human potentials this may also prove to be one of the largest brain drains in any country. To carry on business in such a country with chaos in administrative level whether the government or private may be a difficult task for the new regime.

India has already participated in the development works as they were invited by the previous regime, it depends on the new government in the country to what extent they have relations with New Delhi. With Pakistan who has already shared a large part of border trade and also share the ethnic Pushtun population have the potential to increase trade as already Uzbekistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan have entered an agreement on a railway transit route which depends on the new regimes decision and the stability in the country.

China also sees an opportunity in the country and already talks are going on with the Taliban who are also in touch with Russia when Moscow is also pressing hard for a negotiation. China and Pakistan see in terms of Belt and Road initiative in which the central country to be included. The northern neighbours of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan also are keen to invest and increase the present trade if everything goes right. As these northern neighbours also share their ethnic Uzbek and Tajik population in the country.

**Andrey Gorokhov:** And one more question — how can the situation in Afghanistan affect the geopolitical situation in the region, especially the situation and processes in neighboring countries (Ta-

jikistan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Iran, Pakistan, India and China)?

**Dr. Shoaib Khan:** Russia, China, and Iran have much to gain (or lose) from Afghanistan's peace process. In recent years, they have been directly involved in Afghan politics: both formally, through state-to-state diplomatic relationships, and informally, through support to various political factions. Russia and Iran have become more proactive regional players in Afghan affairs since the start of the Afghan peace process in 2018. Additionally, China's partnerships with these countries will further define the Afghanistan that emerges after the US military withdrawal.

Moscow's engagement in the Afghan peace process and its involvement in regional platforms particularly through the Troika-plus grouping of the United States, Russia, China, and Pakistan has more to do with the threats it faces from Afghanistan's insecurity, religious extremism, drug production, and drug trafficking. At this point, the primary concern of Russia and Central Asian countries is their own security; they want to be sure that Afghanistan's post-US withdrawal insurgency or political instability will not cross their borders. Russia will likely find ways to work with the Taliban, which many expect to hold power in the new Afghanistan.

The conference in Tashkent, Uzbekistan was originally supposed to focus on regional connectivity in South and Central Asia. But the Taliban's surge in recent weeks consumed the regional conference and has many in the region wary of what's next. As U.S. and NATO forces draw down their military presence in Afghanistan, the country's northern neighbors have

witnessed Taliban fighters swiftly overrun most of the rural parts of northern Afghanistan, establishing control over nearly all of the 1,500-mile border between Afghanistan and Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. By all indications, Central Asian states are preparing for a new reality in Afghanistan, one where the Taliban control most, if not all, of the country.

The frontline states of Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan all reacted with a demonstrative flexing of military muscle, shoring up border security. The Taliban's relationship with Central Asia, particularly Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, goes back many years. While Uzbekistan has been very active in support of the U.S.-led Afghan peace process, Tajikistan has already accepted Afghan refugees and reportedly set up tent camps for hundreds of fleeing Afghans.

They have also requested support for dealing with refugees from the Russia-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) in anticipation of more refugee flows across their border. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan, on the other hand, have been very cautious in opening up their borders for refugees.

The countries of Central Asia have reason to be concerned about Afghanistan in the wake of the Western withdrawal. Yet it remains unclear how they will mitigate the security risks, and what major power support to do this might look like.

**Zafar Iqbal Yousafzai:** Being neighbors, all these states have stakes in Afghanistan. All try to have a favorable government in Kabul to either serve their interests or at least not become a threat to them.



## STRATEGIC INSTABILITY IN BALKANS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF US FOREIGN POLICY

### Annotation

The US engagement in the Balkans in the early 1990s had its pros. However, the continuation of American engagement after the (short-term) resolution of these crises proved to be catastrophic. The Balkan countries are peripheral in every respect, the depopulation trend is worrying, and the difference in economic indicators in relation to the Western countries is more pronounced than in the 1990s. The perceived instability is of a strategic nature, the level of trust is very low, both among the Balkan states and peoples, and towards the Collective West — because it has been shown that joining supranational structures and sacrificing one's own sovereignty and integrity is not a solution in itself. Therefore, solutions to a number of issues cannot be sought within the existing framework created by the United States.

**Keywords:** The Balkans, USA, NATO, EU, foreign policy, strategic instability.

### Автор

#### Dušan Proroković

PhD in Political Sciences and PhD in Security Studies Head  
of the Center of Eurasian Studies  
Institute on International Politics and Economics Research  
Fellow and Associate Professor  
(Belgrade, Serbia)



#### Introduction: The notion of strategic instability and the goal of research

According to Alexander Panarin, strategic instability arises as a result of the sovereign states and national communities deconstruction, which is the goal of a US-led globalist project with the help of (pro)Western allies. This includes subjugating states and even individuals to the supranational authorities, the global elite, which no one controls. On the one hand, this project serves to master the resources of the planet and on the other hand to broadly promote the value of universal enlightenment. [11] In this paper, the notion of strategic instability is viewed from a broader context. The aim of the research is to prove the thesis that the US foreign policy positioning in the observed spatial framework contributed to strategic instability. The research question is: has the US with its foreign policy caused strategic instability in the regional, Balkan framework?

The spatial research framework covers the territories of sovereign states — Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, Northern Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia (including the territory of Kosovo), Romania and Croatia<sup>1</sup>. The timeframe is limited to the period from 1990 and the beginning of the era of unipolarity that has shaped regional relations in the long run. The research was conducted by relying on realistic theories of international relations using methods of comparison, content analysis and synthesis. For the purposes of the research, contemporary historiographical, political science, security and economic literature

<sup>1</sup> Certainly, there are lively discussions about which countries can be classified as Balkan. It has long been not a question of geography, but of politics. If the traditional opinion on the borders of the Balkan Peninsula is applied (the rivers Kupa, Sava and Danube, and the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, the Aegean Sea, the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic Sea), Turkey and Slovenia can be included in the Balkan countries.

was used as well as primary sources related to state strategies and interstate agreements, as well as statements of officials relevant to the topic of this paper.

### **The Balkans after the Cold War: Go West!**

In order to capture the atmosphere in the societies of the Balkan states at the beginning of the observed period, we can use the verses from the then popular song of the British music group Pet Shop Boys from 1993: „Together — we will fly so high / Together — tell all our friends goodbye / Together — we will start life new / Together — this is what we'll do!" The song carries symbolic title — Go West! The chorus goes: „Life is peaceful there / Go west — in the open air / Go west — where the skies are blue / Go west — this is what we're gonna do." It was enough to get rid of the gloomy communist heritage and head to the West, it's all there — blues sky, open air, peaceful life. In communist Yugoslavia, this trend has been observed since the mid-1980s, in Romania after the overthrow of Ceausescu, and in Bulgaria and Albania following the fall of communist authorities. The pro-Western orientation of societies was followed by political elites. True, this realignment process has taken different paths in different states.

There have also been many wanderings, social upheavals, too much corruption, political protests and armed conflicts. In Romania's Transylvania in the spring of 1990, huge interethnic tensions erupted between Romanians and Hungarians. [9] Mass protests in Bulgaria at the end of 1996 and beginning of 1997, also known as the Bulgarian Winter, led to the resignation of Prime Minister Jean Vasilev Videnov. [7. — P. 435 — 443] In 1997, a short-term civil war broke out in Albania following the collapse of pyramid savings schemes, the blockade of state institutions and the collapse of part of the security apparatus. In clashes that were difficult to end, about 1,600 people were

killed. [1] The conflict began in January and ended in July after operation Alba was carried out — a multinational peacekeeping force led by Italy, which was intended to help the Albanian government restore law and order<sup>1</sup>. [16. — P. 1–2] Destabilization spilled over from Albania to the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija and contribute to the adverse developments in the territory, which is predominantly populated by ethnic Albanians. The most dramatic events happened in Yugoslavia, the transition to a “new era” took place through a bloody civil war, ending with NATO's military aggression against Yugoslavia. Joining the Collective West, expressed through interest in EU and NATO membership, is shaped first through conflict and then through co-operation. In that first decade of post-communist times there were no blues sky, open air, peaceful life. But crises that could not have been resolved without the US or their allies inevitable influenced the public opinion to believe that the road to the West is without the alternative and that joining the Collective West is inevitable.

What has this unalterable journey to the West brought to the Balkan states? The number of papers in scientific journals on benefits is measured in the tens of thousands. A separate “scientific discipline” has almost been established about European integration, based on a concept of liberal internationalism. [4] Undoubtedly, the economic performances of the Balkan states have changed from 1990 to today (see Table No. 1). Looking at data presented by the IMF and US state institutions, nominal GDP increased by 4 times in Albania, by 3.5 times in Romania, by 3.5 times in Greece, and almost twice aggregated for the states of the former Yugoslavia (including Slovenia and the Kosovo entity), while in Bulgaria, GDP per

<sup>1</sup> The United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 1101 to establish the Operation Alba. The eleven nations that participated in this operation were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Italy, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and Turkey.

**Table 1: Economic indicators of the Balkan states (1990–2019 comparison) [5]**

Country	1990 per capita PPP	2019 per capita PPP	1990 GDP	2019 GDP
Albania	2976	14467	3800	15276
Bosnia and Herzegovina		15626		20203
Bulgaria	9922	24331	51200	68563
Croatia		29945		60759
Greece	13425	30914	56300	205349
N. Macedonia		17294		12550
Serbia		19025		51475
Romania	7611	31226	79800	249695
Yugoslavia	5464		129500	

capita towards purchasing power parity is higher by 2.5 times.

At first glance, the conclusion is that the Balkans are now better off living than they were before the 1990s. At the same time, however, the Balkans are an area of intense populist outflow. The population is shrinking at a rapid rate, and the cause is not only a lower number of newborns, but primarily the intensification of migration towards the Western countries.

To some extent, the examples of Bulgaria, Romania and Croatia are absurd. These three states are full members of the EU and NATO, but the population is “fleeing” these countries as well as other neighboring countries. Did they join the EU and NATO to encourage emigration? Why does the population leave if the Balkans are living better today, if economic performance is higher than in previous decades?

**Table 2: Number of inhabitants in the Balkan countries (2001–2021) [3; 8; 14]**

Country	2001	2021	2021/2001
Albania	3.069.225	2.877.797	−191.428
Bosnia and Herzegovina	3.798.953	3.280.819	−518.134
Bulgaria	7.932.984	6.948.445	−984.539
Greece	10.964.020	10.423.054	−540.966
Macedonia	2.022.547 (2002)	1.832.696	−189.851
Romania	21.680.974 (2002)	19.237.691	−2.443.283
Serbia	7.498.001 (2002)	6.908.000	−590.001
Croatia	4.492.049	4.105.267	−386.782
Montenegro	620.145 (2003)	621.718	1.573
Kosovo/UN	1.850.000 (~)	1.350.000 (~)	−500.000
TOTAL	63.928.898	57.585.487	−6.343.411

The answer to these questions cannot be found in absolute indicators on GDP growth, investment and average earnings. The answer to these questions can be given by relative indicators, when we compare the indicators for Balkan states with the examples of other countries. Over the observed period, the UK's nominal GDP grew by about 3.5 times, the US by about 4 times and Austria by about 4.5 times.

On the one hand, Western economies grew faster than Balkan economies, so the difference, either in absolute or in relative terms, became even greater than during the Cold War or bipolar period. On the other hand, new actors (primarily individual Asian countries) surpassed the Balkan states, leaving them not only behind, but also diminishing their importance in the global economy. Balkan societies wanted to become part of the Collective West, political elites sought towards the EU and NATO, but even though these aspirations (in most of the individual cases) were fulfilled, the Balkans became merely the periphery of the Western world. Economically and politically peripheral, and decimated in terms of population, Balkan states are now in a worse position than at the start of the process in 1990s. That is the cause for discontent. And any discontent, sooner or later, becomes the cause of instability. "Open borders" and relatively easy procedures for emigration to rich European countries, represent sort of a "discontent valve". Only a question of how long such an approach can last and what results it will bring in the long term remains open.

### **The USA and The Balkans after the Cold War: Go East!**

Unlike Balkan societies that set out on their way to the West driven by the hazy goal of "blue sky, open air, peaceful life", it seems that the US knew clearly what they wanted when they headed East. In a geopolitical context this kind of approach enabled the establishment of control

over the Balkan part of the Rimland. „The expansion of NATO and, through that, the expansion of American influence certainly had its geostrategic reasons. The Balkan Peninsula represents a contact zone between the Adriatic and the Black Sea waters in a narrower geographical sense (along the west-east axis), i.e., the Central European and Middle Eastern continental area in a broader sense (along the northwest-southeast axis). Domination over the Balkans made sense in the context of limiting the maintenance or a long-term penetration of the Russian influence in the border area (which represents the first step in the process of ensuring its own borders) — at the Caucasus-Black Sea direction (newly created independent states Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Ukraine, as well as USSR allies at the time — Romania and Bulgaria) and for uninterrupted planning of activities in the Middle East" [12. — P. 120] The process of NATO expansion in the Balkans is shown in Table 4 [compiled according to: 13. — P. 557 — 579].

### **American foreign policy in the Balkans and strategic instability: Clintons versus Kissinger**

In the late summer of 1995 when NATO forces bombed Republic of Srpska Army positions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Henry Kissinger declared, "I do not understand what we are trying to do with the bombing". [6] Kissinger prophetically warned Washington of what could happen in the Balkans: "It cannot end even if we win in it. We can't stay there in permanent occupation." [6] An administration led by Clintons didn't care much for these warnings.

Namely, to justify the 1999 proceedings and present it as a humanitarian intervention, the Americans had to lobby for "Kosovo's independence". That's why in 2008 the US allowed Albanians to declare independence with the promise that the Collective West will support it. Kosovo thus remains one of the world's biggest

**Table 4: NATO expansion to the Balkans (1952–2004–2020)**

Country	In NATO since	Geostrategic significance for NATO
Greece	1952	Securing a position in the Eastern Mediterranean; surveillance of communist states in the immediate vicinity (Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania); control of Otranto; harmonization of foreign and security policy with Turkey in order to prevent the outbreak of a large-scale interstate conflict; further securing control of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.
Bulgaria	2004	Access to the Black Sea coast; control of the strategic direction from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; ensuring access to the Middle East; approaching the southwestern border of Russia.
Romania	2004	Access to the Black Sea coast; control of the strategic direction from Central Europe to the Danube Delta; border control to Ukraine; approaching the southwestern border of Russia.
Slovenia	2004	Securing a position in the northern Adriatic; control of the strategic direction along the Sava valley to the confluence with the Danube.
Albania	2009	Securing a position in the southern Adriatic (control of Otranto); control of the strategic direction from the Adriatic to the Black Sea (through the territory of Kosovo and/or North Macedonia to Bulgarian ports).
Croatia	2009	Securing a position in the central part of the Adriatic waters; control of strategic routes from the Pannonia Plain (Hungary) to the Adriatic Sea (most pass through the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina); control of the strategic direction along the Sava valley to the confluence with the Danube.
Montenegro	2017	Establishment of the Adriatic Troika by linking with Albania and Croatia, whereby NATO fully ensures the communication route from the Gulf of Trieste to the Peloponnese; control of the southern branch of the Belgrade — Bar traffic route.
North Macedonia	2020	Completion of control over the southern route of the strategic direction from the Adriatic to the Black Sea; Control of the 'Balkan vertical' — a key regional traffic route (Athens — Thessaloniki — Skopje — Nis — Belgrade — Budapest) that stretches through the Moravian-Vardar valley.

frozen conflicts and a key regional security issue in the Balkans.

To make the position of "disobedient Serbia" even worse, the US invested in breaking up the state union with Montenegro and played a very active role in organizing the 2006 referendum. At the referendum, which was full of irregularities, the "establishing of independence" was voted with a "slight majority" (the qualified majority for the decision was 55%, and for dissolution of the State

Union 55.49% voted). The result is that the Montenegrin society remained permanently polarized. In order to prevent negative effects that could come out from this polarization in the future, after the removal of Milo Djukanović, Montenegro is „drawn into“ the NATO [15. — P. 195–210].

At the same time, in order to strengthen the position of Albanians in the Balkans, Washington is actively lobbying for Albania's accession to NATO. However, this puts in a completely new context the



pronounced separatist aspirations of the Macedonian Albanians. In order to prevent the “Bosnian” or “Kosovo” scenario in Macedonia, American foreign policy starts being oriented towards “drawing” this country into NATO. Thus, NATO becomes the only guarantor of maintaining territorial integrity. However, “drawing into” NATO could not be done easily because Greece was blocking it, demanding that this former Yugoslav republic changes its name. Finally, a solution was found in changing the name of the state into the Republic of Northern Macedonia. But, as in the case of Montenegro, there is no support from citizens for that step. Northern Macedonia is emerging as a solution, due to NATO expansion. Instead of this being the solution, two new problems automatically have arisen. [17. — P. 165 — 186] First, Macedonian society remained polarized, and interethnic tensions between Slavic Macedonians and Albanians became more pronounced (Albanians supported the name change with one hundred percent in the referendum, because that undermines Macedonian identity). Secondly, since this “blackmailing policy” has brought results to Greece in its treatment of (Northern) Macedonia, Bulgaria started applying the same method. Sofia is blocking the continuation of negotiations between Northern Macedonia and the EU until the identity issues are resolved (including the issue of the name of the language, which Sofia claims is only a dialect of Bulgarian). Bulgaria’s aggressive policy towards Northern Macedonia, led by the Defence Minister Krasimir Karakachanov, has provoked reactions from Greece and Serbia, which sees it as a revival of old plans for the country’s “horizontal division” between Sofia and Tirana. In this way Greece is getting involved in this crisis again.

Once more, since there is no solution for Kosovo that Serbia would agree to, during Donald Trump’s presidential term, a new approach was being considered, manifested through the term “delimita-

tion”. No one has explained exactly what that would mean, but it was understood that this would lead to the division of Kosovo into a majority southern Albanian part (about 85% of the territory) and a minority Serbian northern part. Also, in order to prevent an unfavorable outcome in B&H, Western powers organized a new campaign on the necessity of de — daytonization of B&H. It is becoming obvious that if the “delimitation” in Kosovo is legitimized, then the division of B&H must be legitimized also. American policy in B&H is based on the revision of the peace agreement, the abolition of the entities and the creation of a unitary state. Republic of Srpska institutions are reacting sharply, adopting a series of decisions on “defense of competencies”, and leading Serbian politician Milorad Dodik (currently a member of the tripartite Presidency of B&H, former Prime Minister and President of Republic of Srpska) is openly advocating a thesis on status referendum and secession. Thus B&H is entering a new crisis, one which in only two years (2018–2020) became unrelated with Kosovo case, but a case for itself. Understandably, events in B&H provoke reactions in Croatia, which would not support the unitarization of the country, because it would worsen the already bad position of Bosnian Croats, but would rather see the formation of three entities instead of two (Croats would finally get their territorial autonomous unit within B&H).

Also, the situation in Romania is being closely monitored due to another frozen conflict in which Bucharest is very interested — Transnistria. The American desire to see Moldova in NATO thus gained a completely new dimension. Additional cause of complicating relations in the Balkans is the new elements of American foreign policy. Since 2014, there has been word about — Russian malignant influence, and since 2019, Chinfluence has been talked about more and more often! [10. — P. 2–11] Although Chinese investments are well accepted, often they are

the only ones in the Balkan countries, and the energy security of the region directly depends on cooperation with Russia, the USA and the EU are trying to impose a completely different view to the Balkan elites and societies. This is creating the conditions for the outbreak of new crises and new polarizations.

### Conclusion: Causes of strategic instability and their solution

American foreign policy was not guided by Kissinger's visions, but by Clinton's. Unilateral actions, constant imposition of solutions that did not have public support, blackmail and pressure (which has been detected since 2014 through demands to distance the Balkan states from Russia and China) have created a "flammable atmosphere", disrupted interstate and interethnic relations, and contributed to accelerated polarization within all societies. Kissinger's words prove correct: „It cannot end even if we win in it. We cannot stay there in permanent occupation.” The US engagement in the Balkans in the early 1990s had its good sides. However, the continuation of American engagement after the (short-term) resolution of these crises proved to be catastrophic. American foreign policy followed maximalist geopolitical aspirations. The Balkans were supposed to become an "exclusive American zone". Following the US foreign policy became a *conditio sine qua non* for

any politician or political party who wants to legitimize their position and participate in government. Those who refuse this become marginalized. However, it turns out that the job of ensuring regional security is much more complex than expected. Regional relations in the Balkans operate on the principle of joined vessels. Despite NATO enlargement and partial EU enlargement, the benefits are not great. The Balkan countries are peripheral in every respect, the depopulation trend is worrying, and the difference in economic indicators in relation to the Western countries is more pronounced than in the 1990s. The perceived instability is of a strategic nature, the level of trust is very low, both among the Balkan states and peoples, and towards the Collective West — because it has been shown that joining supranational structures and sacrificing one's own sovereignty and integrity is not a solution in itself. Therefore, solutions to a number of issues cannot be sought within the existing framework created by the United States. In order to resolve open issues, it is necessary to seek compromises with respect for the interests of all Balkan factors of regional security, but also with the consent of non-Western external factors of regional security, whose interests in the Balkans are as legitimate as the United States. Otherwise, strategic instability can lead to a very unfavorable outcomes and worse results than we see today.

### References

1. *Abrahams, F.* Modern Albania: From Dictatorship to Democracy in Europe. New York: NYU Press, 2015. — P. 219.
2. CIA World Factbook 1990 // Central Inteligency Agency. URL: <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/about/cover-gallery/1990-cover/> (retrieved: 07.10.2021).
3. Countries in the world by population (2021) // Worldometer — Data based on the latest United Nations Population Division estimates. URL: <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/population-by-country/> (retrieved: 07.10.2021).
4. *Dimitrijević, D., Lađevac I. (eds.).* Proširenje Evropske unije na zapadni Balkan : zbornik radova sa međunarodne konferencije. [EU Enlargement in the Western Balkans: Proceedings of an International Conference] Beograd: Institut za međunarodnu politiku i privredu, 2009. — P. 313.
5. IMF World Economic Outlook Database // Report for Selected Countries and Subjects: October 2021. URL: <https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO/weo-database/2021/October/weo-report?c> (retrieved: 04.10.2021).

6. *Kissinger, H.* Henry Kissinger says that Bosnia never existed as a country and is an artificial creation // You tube. URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KCNxXET2gZs> (retrieved: 29.09.2021).
7. *Kormusheva, K.* Change of Behavior in Transition: The Bulgarian Protests in January 1997 // Polish Sociological Review. — 2003. — No. 144. — P. 435–443.
8. *Kuzmanovski, B.* Severna Makedonija za 19 godina izgubila 190.000 ljudi [Northern Macedonia has lost 190,000 people in 19 years] // Radio Slobodna Evropa, 1.10.2021. — URL: <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/severna-makedonija-popis-stanovni%C5%A1tva/31487780.html> (retrieved: 02.10.2021).
9. *Lipcsey, I., Gherman, S. & Severin, A.* Romania and Transylvania in the 20th Century. Buffalo: Corvinus Pubb., 2006. — P. 193.
10. *Mitić, A.* Belt and Road Strategic Communication Resilience: Lessons from the SERBIA- BRI Frame Analysis // Working paper No. 19 (2017). Budapest: China — CEE Institute, 2017. — P. 1–17.
11. *Панарин, А. С.* Стратегическая нестабильность XXI века. М.: Алгоритм, Эксмо, 2003. — С. 558.
12. *Ponomareva, E., Proroković, D.* NATO vs Russia: Impact on Balkan regional security // Europe in Changes: The old continent at a new crossroads (Zakić, K., Demirtaş, B. — eds.). Belgrade: Institute of International Politics and Economics, Belgrade, 2021. — P. 117–138.
13. *Proroković, D.* Geopolitika Srbije: položaj i perspektive na početku XXI veka. [Geopolitics of Serbia: position and perspectives at the beginning of the 21st century]. Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2018. — P. 1028.
14. *Proroković, D.* Koliko je zaista Albanaca na Kosovu [How many Albanians are there in Kosovo?] // Radio Sputnik, 09.03.2019. URL: <https://rs.sputniknews.com/20190309/albanci-kosovo-1119093800.html> (retrieved: 21.10.2021).
15. *Raković, A.* Otcepljenje Crne Gore (2006): novostečena, a ne obnovljena državnost [The Secession of Montenegro (2006): New Statehood, Not Renewed Statehood] // Srpska politička misao. — 2018. — No. 2. — P. 195–210.
16. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1101. New York: UN, 1997. — P. 1–2.
17. *Velju, L.* The sounds of silence: Democracy and the referendum on (FYRO)/(North) Macedonia // New Perspectives. — 2021. — 29(2). P. 165–186.

## THE DISMAL STATE OF AMERICA'S POLITICAL PARTIES AND AMERICA'S DEMOCRACY

### Abstract

We present the translation of the author's report, which he delivered at the online conference "The future of parties in the political systems of the modern world". The online conference was held on December 15, 2020 at the Faculty of Political Science Moscow State University of M.V. Lomonosov.

**Keywords:** US party system, democracy, parties, Democratic Party, Republican Party.

### Author

#### Peter Kuznick

Professor of History and Director, Nuclear Studies Institute,  
American University  
(Washington, USA)



American politics are currently in shambles. It's a far cry from the days in 1630 when John Winthrop<sup>1</sup> could declare that America shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us.<sup>2</sup> Or 1919, after Versailles, when

Woodrow Wilson<sup>3</sup> could proclaim at last the world knows America as the savior of the world!<sup>4</sup> Or 1999, when Secretary of State Madeline Albright<sup>5</sup> could say, "If we have to use force it is because we are America; we are the indispensable nation." Joe Biden<sup>6</sup>, Anthony Blinken<sup>7</sup>, and Jake Sullivan<sup>8</sup> may still cling to American excep-

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop John (1588–1649) is a congregationalist theologian, religious and political figure. He came from an English family of wealthy landowners. He was educated in Cambridge and practiced law. He acted as a member of parliamentary opposition. Winthrop was a zealous Puritan, who considered it his duty before God to oppose Catholic expansion in North America. He organized a large Protestant resettlement expedition to New England. The Massachusetts Colony was founded here, Winthrop became the governor (see: Winthrop. — URL: [http://summa.rhga.ru/edin/pers/detail.php?rraz=&ELEMENT\\_ID=5356](http://summa.rhga.ru/edin/pers/detail.php?rraz=&ELEMENT_ID=5356)).

<sup>2</sup> Crossing the Atlantic in 1630, Winthrop delivered a sermon "A Model of Christian Charity", which became a kind of program for building a God-chosen society on American soil. The key concept of the sermon is "A City on a Hill" (Is. 2:2–3, Mt. 5:14 — English versions of the Bible use the word translated as "hill", in the Russian Synodal translation — "mountain"). This will be an perfect embodiment of the chosen by the will of God. It will become a stronghold of saving faith, where all the "blessed in spirit" will find refuge (see: Winthrop. — URL: [http://summa.rhga.ru/edin/pers/detail.php?rraz=&ELEMENT\\_ID=5356](http://summa.rhga.ru/edin/pers/detail.php?rraz=&ELEMENT_ID=5356)).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Woodrow Wilson is the 28th President of the United States (1913–1921).

<sup>4</sup> After the Paris Conference, Wilson exclaimed enthusiastically: "At last the world has recognized America as its savior!" When Wilson returned to the United States, opponents of the Treaty of Versailles did not welcome him as a savior: he was fiercely criticized from both the left and the right (see: [1]).

<sup>5</sup> Madeleine Albright was US Secretary of State (1997–2001), US Permanent Representative to the UN (1993–1997).

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Robinette Biden Jr. is the 46th President of the United States since January 20, 2021.

<sup>7</sup> Anthony John Blinken is an American statesman, Deputy Secretary of State of the United States in 2015–2017. During Barack Obama's first presidential term since 2009 to 2013 Blinken was Biden's national security adviser. During the 2020 election campaign, Blinken became Biden's foreign policy adviser and unofficial speaker.

<sup>8</sup> Jacob Jeremiah Sullivan — National Security Adviser to the Vice President of the United States in 2013–2014, National Security Adviser to the President of the United States since 2021.

tionalism—the idea that the United States is god’s gift to humanity—and announce that the U.S. is ready to resume global leadership, but no one takes that seriously given the United States’ absolutely pathetic response to the pandemic, which has only highlighted America’s glaring economic and racial disparities, and the blatant attempt by one of its two major political parties to defy the will of the American people and openly and illegally steal an election.

The two major political parties in the U.S. both trace back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Neither would be recognizable to citizens 80 years ago. Today’s Republican Party, which was once proudly the party of Abraham Lincoln<sup>1</sup>, has been transformed into a fascistic death cult. This began in the 1950s when President Eisenhower<sup>2</sup> oversaw the growth of the military-industrial complex that he later warned about. Under Republican Eisenhower the U.S. went from having a little more than 1,000 nuclear weapons when he entered office to having more than 22,000 when he left office and 30,000 when his budgeting cycle was finished. The process continued under Republican Richard Nixon<sup>3</sup>, who ran on the Southern strategy<sup>4</sup> in 1968, deliberately appealing to white racists in the South who were opposed to civil rights for black Americans, while he bombed Vietnam back into the Stone Age. It gained substantial momentum under Republican Ronald Reagan<sup>5</sup>, who reignited the Cold

War and the arms race, unleashed death squads in Central America, normalized lying for partisan advantage, cut taxes for the rich and social programs for the poor, weakened organized labor, and ushered in a reign of 40 years of neoliberal economic policies based on the belief that government was not the solution to people’s problems; it was the cause of those problems. The decline in real wages that had begun in 1972 accelerated and has never really recovered. Now the richest three Americans have more wealth than the bottom half of the population. The richest 1 percent have more wealth than the bottom 90 percent. Republican George W. Bush<sup>6</sup>, the self-proclaimed compassionate conservative, glorified the warfare/surveillance state and Republican Donald Trump<sup>7</sup> has attempted to drive the final stake into the heart of American democracy.

The great American writer and social critic Gore Vidal<sup>8</sup> was asked by a British interviewer why President Obama<sup>9</sup> responded so feebly when the Republicans launched such vicious attacks against him. Vidal explained, “Obama believes the Republican Party is a political party when in fact it’s a mindset, like Hitler Youth, based on hatred—religious hatred, racial hatred. When you foreigners hear the word conservative you think of kindly old men hunting foxes. They’re not, they’re fascists.” Vidal was sadly right. The final descent into fascism began with the rise of Donald Trump whose campaign was shrouded in a level of mendacity never before witnessed in the U.S. It began with birtherism—his totally false attack on Barack Obama for not having been born in

<sup>1</sup> Abraham Lincoln is the 16th President of the United States (1861–1865) and the first from the Republican Party.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight David Eisenhower is 34th President of the United States (1953–1961).

<sup>3</sup> Richard Milhouse Nixon is 37th President of the United States (1969–1974). He resigned early in 1974, stepping down his powers as a result of the Watergate scandal. This was the first time in the history of the resignation of the President of the United States.

<sup>4</sup> The Southern Strategy is an electoral strategy of the Republican Party aimed at strengthening political support among whites voters in the South of the USA.

<sup>5</sup> Ronald Wilson Reagan is the 40th President of the United States (1981–1989).

<sup>6</sup> George W. Bush was 43rd President of the United States in 2001–2009, Governor of Texas from 1995 to 2000.

<sup>7</sup> Donald John Trump is the 45th President of the United States from 2017 to 2021.

<sup>8</sup> Eugene Luther Gore Vidal is an American writer, essayist, film and theater playwright, a recognized classic of American literature of the second half of the 20 century.

<sup>9</sup> Barack Hussein Obama II was the 44th President of the United States from 2009 to 2017.



the United States. Trump's unabashed and unapologetic lying continued throughout his presidency. According to the Washington Post, he reached the 20,000 lie plateau earlier this year on July 9. He began the day he was elected, lying about his margin of victory (He lost the popular vote by 3 million), his crowd size, the millions of people who supposedly voted illegally, and on and on. He branded news that he didn't like "fake news" and vilified and threatened the mainstream media. Most Republicans, having found the leader they always wanted—the superman they could worship and blindly follow, willingly, even gleefully and shamelessly—jumped on the Trump bandwagon. Trump's press briefings, under Sean Spicer<sup>1</sup>, Sarah Huckabee<sup>2</sup>, and Kayleigh McEnany<sup>3</sup>, would have astonished even Goebbels. Trump dismissed climate change as a "Chinese hoax," repeating Exxon Mobil and Koch Brothers<sup>4</sup> propaganda, and withdrew from the Paris Climate Accords. Like lemmings following one another over the cliff, the entire Republican Party has not only denied the existential threat of human-caused climate change, it has entirely rejected science. Republicans have become a party of flat earthers, who talk about nonsense like "alternate facts," while they fleece the American people with a trillion-dollar tax cut for the obscenely rich. They cut social programs—education, welfare, food stamps, health care—and only expand the military and the police. They extol white supremacy as their base seethes with

anger and resentment toward minority groups and immigrants. Trump has egged on militias and neo-Nazi groups, who he said contain "good people," urging some of the more vicious to "Stand back and stand by" and applauding the behavior of violent marauding street thugs roaming the nation's cities as happened in Germany in the lead-up to Naziism.

But what cements the Republicans as a fascistic death cult is their most recent behavior, beginning with their response to the pandemic. They have done nothing to stop the spread of the deadly virus. First, they denied it. Then they downplayed its seriousness. Then they offered spurious and absurd treatments. They mocked people for wearing masks in public and distancing and failed to distribute necessary preventive equipment or conduct testing and tracing. The resulting 300,000 plus deaths, which some experts say is a fraction of the real number, is more than five times as many Americans as died during the U.S. invasion of Vietnam, more than one hundred times as many as died on 9/11, and almost the exact number who died in combat in WWII. And Trump and the Republicans do nothing to curb or control the pandemic or to relieve the suffering. Trump doesn't even mention it anymore except to take undeserved credit for the vaccine as more than 3,000 Americans die each day. If that is not a death cult, I don't know what is, except perhaps for going along with Trump's abrogation of nuclear treaties, cavalier talk about using nuclear weapons, welcoming a nuclear arms race, and refusing until it was too late to extend the New START Treaty. When the experts at the Bulletin of the Atomic<sup>5</sup> Scientists moved the hands

<sup>1</sup> Sean Michael Spicer was from January 20, 2017 to July 21, 2017, White House Press Secretary in the administration of US President Donald Trump.

<sup>2</sup> Sarah Elizabeth Huckabee Sanders was the White House press Secretary from July 21, 2017 to July 1, 2019.

<sup>3</sup> Kaylee McEnany was the White House press secretary from April 7, 2020 to January 20, 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Charles and David Koch (Charles Koch and David Koch) are co-owners of the world's largest private company Koch Industries. The Koch brothers are among the main donors to the conservative wing of the Republican Party. The Koch brothers' field of activity is oil refining, production and maintenance of equipment for the oil refining industry.

<sup>5</sup> Bulletin of Atomic Scientists is a magazine published in the United States that covers international security issues and threats caused by nuclear weapons and other types of weapons of mass destruction. It has been published since 1945 in Chicago, founded by former participants of the Manhattan Project after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki under the title "Bulletin of Chicago Atomic Scientists".

of the Doomsday Clock<sup>1</sup> to 100 seconds before midnight, the closest it's been since the clock was inaugurated in 1947, they weren't kidding.

As if that wasn't bad enough, the Republican Party's behavior over the past six weeks is something we've never witnessed before in U.S. history. Trump and the Republicans have attempted to stage a coup in order to seize power. They denied the veracity of the presidential elections, repeatedly alleging widespread fraud without presenting one scintilla of credible evidence. After their allegations of voter fraud were rejected in 59 legal suits by almost 90 judges, many of whom were appointed by Trump, they tried to get state electoral officials, legislators, and governors to overturn the election. When that failed, they tried to get the Supreme Court to intervene. This has not just been Trump, Giuliani, the two Trump idiot sons, and other family members; it has been practically the entire Republican Party. Before the Electoral College yesterday made Biden's victory official, only 27 elected Republican legislators were willing to acknowledge that Biden was the president-elect. 126 Republican House members and 17 Republican state attorneys general signed on to a palpably absurd lawsuit to overturn the results and disenfranchise 20 million voters, which the Republican-dominated members of the Supreme Court, including the Trump appointees, summarily dismissed. And Trump voters are as delusional as Trump himself. 77 percent of them still believe there was massive vote fraud and the election was stolen. Half believe the totally insane QAnon allegation that the Democrats are a pedophilic, child-eating, satanic cult. So when I say that the Republican Party, whose members are falling ill with Covid and still refuse to take basic

precautions, is a fascistic death cult that rejects science, replaces truth with lies, cuts social programs, deliberately widens the gap between rich and poor, tries to win elections by suppressing voters and then throwing out votes, worships military symbolism and pageantry, denies science and misleads the public along with its Fox News and talk radio enablers, supports a wide array of repressive measures, openly endorses white supremacy and racism in all its ugly manifestations, embraces America First nationalism and xenophobia, fans hatred toward immigrants, and tries to stage a political coup, I am not being hyperbolic. I mean it quite literally.

The Democrats may not be a bunch of pedophilic Satanists, but they have certainly lost their way. They have been on a downward course ever since the party bosses engineered an intraparty coup in 1944 and replaced the enormously popular Vice President Henry Wallace<sup>2</sup> (who had 65 percent voter support according to Gallup) with Missouri Senator Harry Truman<sup>3</sup> (who had 2 percent). Truman went on to use atomic bombs, which were in no way necessary or justifiable, as attested to by seven of America's eight five-star officers in 1945, and provoked the humanity-threatening Cold War, leading the Democratic Party away from the pro-labor, progressive, redistributionist, and internationally collaborative policies of Franklin Roosevelt<sup>4</sup> down a path of mili-

<sup>2</sup> Henry Egard Wallace was Minister of Agriculture in 1933–1940, Vice President of the United States in the Government of F. Roosevelt in 1941–1945, Minister of Trade in 1945–1946. It is argued that the ideal of H. Wallace was a "convergent community combining the best sides of "American capitalism," "European socialism," and "Russian communism" (*Минасян Г.Е. Левые силы США против «холодной войны» (1945–1948) // Американское общество на пороге XXI века: итоги, проблемы, перспективы: Материалы международной научной конференции. М.: Изд-во МГУ, 1996. — С. 72–75.*)

<sup>3</sup> Harry S. Truman was the 33rd President of the United States in 1945–1953 from the Democratic Party.

<sup>4</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt is the 32nd President of the United States, led the United States during the Great Depression and World War II.

<sup>1</sup> Experts of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists magazine have been conducting the Doomsday Clock project since 1947, allegorically representing the level of nuclear threat in the world. The proximity of the minute hand to midnight reflects the likelihood of a nuclear war.

tarism and interventionism that has barely differentiated it from the Republicans over the course of the past 75 years. With the labor movement that had constituted the party's progressive New Deal base in decline, the Democrats turned increasingly to some of the same corporate and Wall Street-allied interests and defense contractors that also bankrolled the Republicans. They drew the wrong lessons from Reagan's ability to attract former blue-collar Democrats into the Republican fold and, under Bill Clinton<sup>1</sup>, cleaved toward the center, becoming a less reactionary version of the Republicans rather than an avowedly progressive, pro-labor party that had something to offer workers and the middle class. Hopes that Obama would put them back on a more democratic and egalitarian course were quickly dashed as Obama's drone-focused militarism, security and surveillance obsessions, Russophobic inclinations, and spineless centrism made him little more than a kinder and gentler proponent of American empire than his Republican counterparts.

This leaves the future of America's political parties in a pretty bleak position.

<sup>1</sup> William Jefferson (Bill) Clinton is the 42nd President of the United States (1993–2001) from the Democratic Party.

Traditional conservatives who still believe in science and democracy have left the Republican Party in droves. The Democratic establishment does everything it can to marginalize the party's Bernie Sanders<sup>2</sup>, Elizabeth Warren<sup>3</sup>, Alexandria Ocasio Cortez<sup>4</sup> progressive wing. Given a choice between over-climate-change-denying fascistic Republicans, who disdained governing and callously watched hundreds of thousands of Americans needlessly die on the one hand, and visionless centrist Democrats committed to restoring some semblance of competence on the other, the American people wisely chose the latter. But the future for Americans right now at this dismal juncture in American history is no brighter than the future for the other 7.5 billion people on this leaderless, floundering, and increasingly desperate planet.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard (Bernie) Sanders has been a U.S. senator from Vermont since 2007. He defines himself as a democratic socialist (the only one of the US senators) and a representative of the American progressivism of the "New Deal".

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth Ann Warren has been a U.S. senator from Massachusetts since 2013. He is a member of the Democratic Party.

<sup>4</sup> Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez has been a member of the U.S. House of Representatives since 2019. She is a member of the Democratic Party and is a supporter of democratic socialism.

## References

1. Kuznick P., Stone O. *The Untold History of the United States*. — New York: Gallery Books, 2012.
2. Todd E. *After the Empire: The Breakdown of the American Order*. — Columbia University Press, 2003.
3. Corfe R. *The Future of Politics: With the Demise of the Left/right Confrontational System*. — Arena Books, 2010. — P. 169.
4. President Trump has made more than 20,000 false or misleading claims. — URL: <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/13/president-trump-has-made-more-than-20000-false-or-misleading-claims/>.

## REVIEW OF THE BOOK JANE I. SMITH *ISLAM IN AMERICA*<sup>1</sup>

---

### Abstract

This book review research is a richly textured and ethnographically diverse look on the history and specification of Islam in America. It is important to mention that for a variety of reasons, Islam and Muslims in American continents have been in the detailed public spotlight for the last 40 years, and this attention keeps growing. Even though there are more than 30 different books, essays, research and other academic studies focused on Islam, still Smith's "Islam in America" is a timely, valuable survey. It is different and has its own unique approach and "field material" presentation.

The author takes one of the most comprehensive steps into Islamic growth and rise through American history no matter how tough and complicated the conditions and different timeline's features American Muslims had been dealing with.

**Keywords:** Islam, America, book review, Jane I. Smith.

---

### Author

#### Murad Abdullayev

PhD of Philological Sciences, Junior Partner  
Agency for Strategic Communications (Moscow),  
member of the American Association of Political Science  
(Miami, USA / Moscow, Russia)



**T**he main point of what makes this book Smith's *Islam in America* different and even unique is that it is the first research where the author tries to rationally understand and bring up the issue of how different Muslim groups of America (Black Americans, immigrants, newly converted to Islam etc.) developed their religious thoughts, beliefs, practices and institutions.

Smith's book provides three basic tools which help her to resolve numerous modern "Islam in America" topical issues. Methodological tools, previous most well-known studies and empirical content is the most valuable and effective source for the study.

Comparable with most authors which have been focused on studying Islam as an "outsider" for the "new American land", Smith talks about Muslim heritage and its' followers as an American phenomenon, as

something America has had for centuries. At this point Smith's book resembles other research by Kambiz GhaneaBassiri, "*A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order*" (2014). As well as Smith, GhaneaBassiri situates how Islam's evolution occurs by studying Islam using the relevant categories in American society such as race, ethnicity, and religion to frame the discourse of American Muslims.

The content of Smith's eighth-chapter in "*Islam in America*" helps other researchers not only to overlook through Islam' five-century American history but also to understand the point in how that history is actually supposed to be divided and recognized as an important and an integral part of all American history.

The first chapter of the book "*Muslim Faith and Practice*" gives readers a general idea of basic Muslim practices such as the

---

<sup>1</sup> Jane I. Smith. *Islam In America* (Second Edition. Columbia University Press: 2017. 338 p. ISBN: 9780231147101).

testimony concerning the oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad, performance of the ritual prayer, almsgiving, Hajj, fasting during Ramadan, the main Muslim holidays, rituals and individual, specific features of Muslim culture, including the perception of the attitude in Islam to everything that is not Islamic.

At the same time Smith discusses marriage, death rites, and commemorative events. The author also provides the audience with a range of topics for exploration, understanding some important but less known Muslim practices including those which have been the source of disagreement amongst Muslims of different ideological streams. Through these Muslim culture practices, Smith explains some ways early America Muslims defined the confluences of forces that shaped American Islam.

Talking about pilgrimage, Smith brings her readers to some similar studies, for example, Michael Wolfe's book *"The Hadj: An American's Pilgrimage to Mecca"* (2017), who takes an audience through each stage and experience of the pilgrimage. Both, Smith and Wolfe are giving readers the same idea: "It is recommended for those planning on making the pilgrimage themselves, as well as those who as outsiders can never have the experience but can benefit from the candid perspectives of this American Muslim."

In chapter 2 the author examines the *"Contributors to the Development of Islam."* At this chapter Smith briefly overviews previous studies of Islam and Muslim in America. The author still focuses on a couple of main researchers, such as Edward Curtis, Richard Turner, Clyde-Ahmad Winters and others. In particular, Smith summarizes Richard B. Turner's essay which was published among others in *"The Cambridge Companion to American Islam."* In this essay Turner and coauthors provide readers with an overview of the historical trajectory of American Islam.

This theme overlaps with the motives of Edward Curtis' *"The Practice of Islam in America: An Introduction"* (2017). Amongst

other valuable features about this book, it is important to mention that as Smith states Curtis' research "provides to an audience with an array of ethnographic evidence to assist those who don't know well enough Islam in general in gaining a fuller understanding of Islam as a textual, historical and lived tradition."

Smith also focuses here on cultural influence of Muslim heritage on American culture in general. This topic resonates with the main idea of Amir Hussein's *"Muslims and the making of America"* (2016). Hussain chronicles the history of Islam in America to underscore the valuable cultural influence of Muslims on American life and then he concludes that America actually "would not exist as it does today without the essential contributions made by its Muslim citizens". This statement is similar with Smith's idea that "Muslim's huge influence on the American culture's existence the way it is nowadays."

In Chapter 3, the author introduces the approach in the study of Islam's appearance in American continent which is a very arguable discussion in today's American academic field. Smith describes two different ways to understanding and recognizing a timeline of the very first Muslims appearance in America. The first side includes those scientists who looked for the most part from the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century signaling the first real arrival of Muslims in the United States. Second squad of researchers includes those scholars who currently argue that Islam has been known to the Amerindian from nearly two centuries before the time of Christopher.

The last topic correlates the ideas described in the research of well-known scholar Clyde-Ahmad Winters. In two of his main studies, *"Islam in Early North and South America"* (1977) and *"Afro-American Muslims — From Slavery To Freedom"* (1978) Winters argues that "the evidence leading to the presence of Muslims in ancient America comes from a passel of sculptures, oral traditions, eyewitness reports, artifacts, and inscriptions... []."



From evidence available, it seems that the Muslim navigators arrived in the New World from Africa and Spain...before Columbus."

Even though Smith ignores this opinion, she still gives to the audience a number of different authors' look on the American Islam timeline. For example, Smith mentions Allan D. Austin and his *"African Muslims in Antebellum America"* (2012), where the author states that "...while we do not know exactly when and how many African Muslims were enslaved and transported to the New World, there are clues in legal doctrines, slaveholders' documents, and existing cultural and religious traditions. African Muslims were caught in the middle of complicated social and legal attitudes from the very moment they landed on Eastern shores of the modern United States..."

It seems like Smith agrees with Austin's opinion but admits that the controversial issue of the first appearance of Islam in America has the right to the most contradictory positions, since there are currently no primary sources and strong evidence that one or another circle of researchers is right or wrong for objective reasons. In this regard, it is fair to note Smith's extreme adherence to objectivity and transparency of the presented material and attempts to separate her own thoughts from the positions established in academic science. Such scientific tactics help the author obey to the principles of impartiality and openness to discussion.

In the Chapter 4 of *"Islam in the African American Community"* the author points and touches upon an extremely important and interesting topic: the problem of the emergence and spread of Islam among the Black population, which among other things, is the source of the "import" of Islam from the African continent. Smith in this case follows the prevailing academic environment that it is estimated that as many as 30% of the African slaves brought to the U.S. centuries ago, from West and Central African countries were Muslims.

Among the difficulties they faced were also those related to their faith.

According to Smith's positions, we can summarize that she belongs to that group of researchers who believe that the first African Muslim slaves, from where the "Islamic history of America" begins, were transported to the continent from West Africa: Gambia, Mali, Senegal, and the Gulf of Guinea region. These authors also include Sylviane Diouf (2013), Richard B. Turner (1997), Sally Howell, Zain Abdullah (2013) and a few others.

Using slave narratives and other evidence of Islam presence in Black slavery, Smith shows how Black American Muslims who have been under slavery for centuries successfully self-identify themselves as Muslims through a variety of strategies and other faith options. This part of Smith's study looks similar with R. Turner's ideas in *"Islam in the African-American experience"* (1997). Studying how Black Americans were trying to find the faith which would give them the answers to their questions not only illuminates the issue of Blacks inner struggle against dehumanization of trade slavery and pressure from Christianity but also clarifies processes of Islamic signification in more recent history.

Chapter 5 *"Women and the Muslim American Family"* is basically a historical survey of Muslim Women's rights to be represented as a part of American Islam, no matter how strict and tough Muslim rules to woman are in general. Smith claims that "some observers of Islam in the international arena have predicted that issues involving Muslim women's roles and identities will be near the top of the concerns to which contemporary Muslims must pay serious attention in the coming decades." Smith argues that as movements for women's rights and for reform of traditional family laws are taking place all over the United States, America may well prove to be a place both of experimentation and affirmation of many traditional values. The topic of

"Woman in Islam" is very popular and highly noticed in American Islamic Studies and it is important to mention that Smith's book continues this discourse and gives a new look at the issue of women's rights in Islam in the American context. The author takes into account modern socio-political processes and the role of religion in it.

Some of the Smith's statements in this chapter correlates with Shabana Mir's book *"Muslim American Women on Campus"* (2014). In her research Mir illuminates "the processes by which a group of ethnically diverse American women, all identifying as Muslim and all raised in the United States, construct their identities during one of the most formative times in their lives." Smith also claims that the treatment and role of women is one of the most discussed and controversial aspects of Islam, especially in American diversity discussions. This chapter is based on Smith and her previous colleagues from University of Ohio's book *"Muslim Women in America: The Challenge of Islamic Identity Today"* (2013). This book, among other topical issues, helps the audience understand the ways in which American Muslim women have tried to create new paradigms of Islamic womanhood and are reinterpreting the traditions apart from the males who control the mosque institutions.

Chapters 6–7 *"Living a Muslim Life in American After 9/11 Society"* is devoted to the modern images of Islam-American society after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, which undoubtedly caused invaluable damage to Islam and Muslims but not so much to Islam as an ideology that is "weakly compatible" with the democratic values of America, but to Muslims as part of the American community. This community started to see Islam as an ideological platform for extremists and terrorists. As such, Islam (with mass media propagandistic power) has been related with dangerous, aggressive and intolerant religious belief. Another thing

that should be noted is the high level of responsibility and academic accuracy of Smith, as a scientist she keeps herself away from the emotional side of the issue. The author tries critically rethink about public perception of Muslims and the Islamophobic mass media discourse, which began to be perceived as new "normality", that is, a new face of Islam.

The author pays attention to immigration problems, how 9/11 affected those immigrant families who were faced with hate, intolerance, violence, horrific attacks and islamophobia in different social spheres. Smith examines micro-processes in which the community of Muslim immigrants of various origins is involved and how the multiplicity of their identities is manifested in these processes. At the same time, Smith raises an extremely important question of how Muslim identity allows immigrants to become part of the American community, where the values and the concepts often do not match with the ideology and tenets of Islam. In this part, Smith's book carries in tough conclusions that largely coincide with the positions of Yuting Wang stated in her book *"Between Islam and the American Dream: An Immigrant Muslim Community in Post-9/11 America"* (2013).

Y. Wang studies ideological clashes, open conflicts and confrontations within the Muslim community in order to debunk the prevailing myths and objectively look at the US Muslim immigrant's everyday life. It is pleasantly surprising that both, Y. Wang and Smith, are moving away from the practice of studying Muslims as "others" or as "foreign" from American "elements". For example, Y. Wang in her book speaks of the American followers of Islam as versatile individuals whose identity is determined by a number of basic social attributes, including gender, race, social class and religiosity. The scholar makes it clear to readers that Muslim immigrants who have chosen America as their new homeland is the same person with their own individual set of characteristics like

any other everyday American. We must pay tribute to Y. Wang (as Smith in her book does), which not only adheres to academic ethics, but also completely rejects criticism of purely religious issues that are not connected in any way with the modern picture of Islamophobia, or with the problem of assimilation and identification of Muslim immigrants as part of American society, as Americans.

The final chapter focuses on the future of American Islam and includes brief biographical sketches of twelve men and women not detailed in any previous chapters. Those people are Muslims immigrants mostly with African roots. Smith describes twelve Muslims' different lives in modern day America, their habits, families, jobs, achievements, hobbies and religious activities. Smith uses very interesting method describing each of these heroes, Smith is trying to predict the future of Muslims in America. Together with her readers she is trying to reproduce possible scenarios for the spread of Islam in the United States and its place on the religious map of the country.

In this chapter Smith also claims that Islam will continue to grow and gain ideological strength in America, but still at a slower pace than is sometimes predicted. Of course, this growth will be influenced by many factor such as migration, resilience and urban Muslim communities' willingness to maintain ties with their fellow believers. Among other factors are developing chains of Muslim schools (madrasahs) and the building new mosques, which are in fact, the Muslim community's core in each of the American states.

At the same time, Smith rightly adds, the demonization of Islam is likely to continue. This tool of social intimidation will be used by the media and political actors. While the American community is trying to identify itself as polyconfessional, Muslims will still try to become a part of it and at the same time American Muslims will be keep trying not to deviate from the canons of their religion. Overall, it is

important to mention that Smith's book "*Islam In America*" is very well-organized, its structure is historically consistent with the periods over which Islamic thought and culture developed in the modern United States of America.

As pointed out earlier, "*Islam In America*" is a must read for those who are trying to understand Muslim culture, Muslim heritage in modern America, without the political influence or author's personal interest or subjectivity. An addition that Smith shares is her own ideas about American Islam, which are based not only on the author's intuition, but backed up by many years of empirical research and previously published books and articles. It seems that America itself has become a breeding ground for certain kinds of violent expressions of Islam which is a development that should not be ignored. Smith claims that it is not the media and their presentations that she worry about as much as the thoughtless talking and blogging on the part of ill-informed people, as well as the anti-Islamic literature being generated by some members of the Christian right.

Theoretically Smith's research is based on extensive bibliographic sources, including both modern studies of American Islam and papers published 30–40 years ago. There are more than 300 primary and secondary sources mentioned in book's bibliography. Smith's book also includes four pages of a glossary that includes both special academic terminology and basic Islamic concepts and phenomena important for understanding the processes described in this study.

Still there are two omissions that should be mentioned here. While discussing about hate speech against Muslims, media Islamophobia and public "fear" of Islam in general, Smith does not give to her audience enough valid examples. The author avoids such an important element for this kind of critical study as empirically evidence-based. Offering the reader a blitz-interview with 12 Muslim immigrants about their life in America

and difficulties with practicing Islam in American society, Smith in her research for some reason does not provide a platform for the non-Muslims "opinion". She does not try to confirm (or disprove) the prevailing stereotypes about hatred of Muslims by voices who are accused of such Islamophobia. The second omission of the author is the absence in the introduction of a specific purpose, that is, the main aim of such an important study. The author neither indicates ideological or methodological assumptions. Even despite the fact that Smith's book is extremely well-organized and structured in accordance with academic requirements, the author's ignorance of explaining the methodology and basic academic tools of her research

leaves an unpleasant impression on the book's introduction.

This criticism aside, Smith's second edition of "*Islam in America*" is an important contribution to the research on the heritage, culture and life experience of American Muslim communities. Smith does not talk with her audience just about Islam in America in general, but boldly brings up modern day issues and topical American Muslim problems. This book has full potential to become an extremely valuable resource about Islam in the American continent, especially for those who are still at an "undergraduate" level in this field but looking forward to learn, explore and understand the specification of American Islam.

## References

1. Allan D. Austin. *African Muslims in Antebellum America. Transatlantic Stories And Spiritual Struggles*. New York: Routledge, 2011.
2. Curtis, Edward E., ed. *The Practice of Islam in America: An Introduction*. NYU Press, 2017. 256 p.
3. GhaneaBassiri, Kambiz. *A History of Islam in America: From the New World to the New World Order*. Cambridge University Press, 2014. 458 p.
4. Hammer, Juliane, and Omid Safi, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to American Islam*. Cambridge Companions to Religion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. 375 p.
5. Hussein, Amir. *Muslims and the making of America*. Baylor University Press, 2016. 132 p.
6. Mir, Shabana. *Muslim American Women on Campus: Undergraduate Social Life and Identity*. The university of North Carolina Press, 2014. 224 p.
7. Richard B. Turner. *Islam in the African-American experience*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
8. Wang, Yuting. *Between Islam and the American Dream: An Immigrant Muslim Community in Post-9/11 America*. New York: Routledge, 2015. 387 p.
9. Winters, Clyde-Ahmad. "Afro-American Muslims — From Slavery To Freedom." *Islamic Studies* 17, no. 4 (Winter 1978): 187–205.
10. Winters, Clyde-Ahmad. "Islam In Early North and South America." *Al-Ittihad* 14, no.3–4 (1977): 57–67.
11. Wolfe, Michael. *The Hadj: An American's Pilgrimage to Mecca*. Grove Press, 2017. 352 p

## MIGRATION MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA: INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL APPROACHES

---

### Annotation

Due to the global refugee crisis migration from Africa to Europe has recently attracted much attention both of the public and political circles, especially in European ones. The International Organization for Migration always plays a crucial role in managing migration processes despite of whether the focus is on migrants and refugees arriving on European shores or improving border security in African countries. On the other hand, with increasing subregional migration, regional organizations are given great importance. The author analyses the activities of IOM and the main regional organizations in Africa within the research in order to identify the role of IOM and regional associations (ECOWAS and IGAD) in the process of managing migration flows, as well as the main areas of organizations' activity in this area, assuming that it varies depending on the field of migration policy.

**Keywords:** migration, Africa, ECOWAS, IGAD, IOM, migration management, migration policy.

---

### Author

#### Hasinavalona Patricia Andrianantenaina

Graduate student of the Department of Comparative Political Science of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences RUDN University (Moscow, Russia)



---

Recently, trans-Saharan and trans-Mediterranean (unregulated) migration from Africa to Europe has attracted much attention from the public and political circles, especially in Europe, amid the global refugee crisis. The European political discourse was dominated by calls for reducing and curbing the illegal migrants influx and eliminating the root causes of forced migration. However, migration within the African continent is more common than migration from Africa to Europe or other parts of the world. About two thirds of African international migrants live in another African country [1. — pp. 102–118]. Considering it, the African Union has defined norms and strategic guidelines governing migration and forced displacement, and regional organizations such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Horn of Africa and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)

have established migration management structures in the region.

Regional mobility regimes and relevant organizations are increasingly becoming targets of cooperation in Africa by international development organizations as well as recent European agreements related to migration. Moreover, regional migration management has become important as an object of scientific research, especially in studies of international relations and comparative regionalism.

Among other things, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) always plays a crucial role in managing migration processes [2] regardless of whether the focus is on migrants and refugees arriving on European shores, the resettlement of refugees to Canada or improving border security in African countries. The International Organization for Migration considers itself a leader and developer of standards [3], as well as responsible



for managing migration and mobility on a global scale [4]. Thus, the influence of the IOM goes beyond the simple conceptualization of a static interstate system.

In this article, the author analyses the activities of IOM and regional African organizations on international migration management. The author focuses on the migration process in Africa: the article examines the approaches to solving migration issues in the region by the IOM, as well as the role of regional organizations in managing migration in Africa.

### **IOM migration management activities in Africa**

The International Organization for Migration plays an important role in managing global migration, as its mission is to promote the search for practical solutions to international migration problems and provide humanitarian assistance to migrants and refugees in need, as well as internally displaced persons within the borders of one country or region. The organization strives to provide its services and advice to States and migrants themselves. It is worth saying that the IOM has become a prominent player on the world stage and in individual countries. The general trend also lies in the fact that the IOM and other more widely known IO are increasingly in demand not only from states in need of advice and assistance, but also from non-governmental organizations (NGOs), as well as other international organizations, commercial structures and the media. In fact, international organizations have gained great influence in interpreting the events and (perceived) realities of migration [5]: international organizations report live through traditional media, such as television and newspapers, but more often through social networks, and tell the world audience about the tragedies and deaths of migrants and refugees, about the situation of displaced persons in countries reception, etc.

IOM was established in 1951 as the Intergovernmental Committee on European

Migration (ICEM). At that time, it was responsible for many people displaced during World War II. Currently, IOM's activities are divided into three areas. Firstly, these are "operational" services: IOM manages detention centres for migrants in transit or being expelled from the country of arrival. Secondly, the IOM informs (through information campaigns) potential migrant women about the threats associated with international migration, and also carries out activities to "protect" victims in order to counter "human trafficking" or "smuggling" of people. Thirdly, IOM acts as an advisory agency for States on migration policy issues. In this context, the organization offers training in areas such as border surveillance or new technologies for controlling migration flows.

Finally, IOM is an important participant in the discussion and dissemination of knowledge and relevant information about the international migration process. The organization generates and spreads its vision of what migration should be: "managed" movements that are beneficial for everyone, primarily for destination countries, but also for countries of origin, and even for migrants themselves. Nevertheless, the IOM supports the policies of developed countries to a much greater extent at the moment than to protect the right to movement that it provides to citizens of the "global South".

The IOM conducts a wide range of activities on five continents, but the African region is of particular interest for this study. The following is an overview of how IOM approaches migration issues in sub-Saharan Africa [6].

Conflicts in the Central African Republic, Ivory Coast, Mali, and Nigeria have forced thousands of migrants to leave their homes and their countries in West and Central Africa. The IOM also notes that Mali and Nigeria are facing security problems due to widespread groups in the region, such as Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda<sup>1</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Boko Haram and Al-Qaeda are organizations banned in Russia.

IOM helps displaced persons in the region, in particular by providing migrants and refugees with clean water, food and other necessities [7. — pp. 65–68]. For example, in the Central African Republic 687,000 people have been displaced because of the war that began in 2013. A report published on June 29, 2018 declares, the IOM provided 450 sets of pots and dishes, plates, cups and cutlery to households.

In East Africa, IOM, together with the UN and local health ministries in the region, has taken the initiative to provide approximately 48,000 Somalis with the opportunity to use health services [8]. In Burundi, IOM organized training in agriculture and entrepreneurship for internally displaced persons (IDPs). Armed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia and South Sudan, as well as drought and climate change are among the driving forces of migration in the region.

In southern Africa, IOM, among other things, conducts medical research on vulnerable populations in the region. According to the Migration Data Portal, which is managed by the IOM, four million immigrants lived in South Africa in 2017 [9]. The UN DESA reports, the majority of immigrants in South Africa are from the African continent [10].

Thus, the International Organization for Migration pursues a policy aimed at providing support and assistance, carrying out active activities in Africa, first of all, to the most vulnerable category of migrants, including refugees and their families. At the same time, IOM not only provides internally displaced people with basic necessities, but also implements humanitarian programs aimed at educating and informing migrants in the region.

The role of regional organizations in migration management in Africa

Since the peak of the European refugee crisis in the summer of 2015, the issue of managing migration and refugee flows between Africa and Europe has occupied an important place in academic and policy programs and research. The prevailing view is that European aid for the devel-

opment of Africa plays an important role in containing the present and preventing the mass influx of migrants and refugees to Europe in the future. This should happen mainly by reducing the root causes of forced displacement of people and improving migration management [11].

It should be noted that within the framework of the current discussion on migration processes in the African region, two important factors remain without due attention. Firstly, most cross-border refugees and migrants move between neighbouring countries, within (sub)regional spaces. This is often due to the limited availability of resources for migrants, but also to the advantages of migration to closer countries with linguistic and/or cultural similarities, but at the same time a higher level of political or economic stability. West Africa, where more than 80% of international migrants move within the subregion, is paradigmatic in this regard. As for movement outside (sub)regions, many move to other countries of the African continent.

Secondly, not all this migration is a negative phenomenon from the point of view of development, it rather serves the desire of people to improve living conditions for themselves and their families, as well as expand educational and professional opportunities. Although relocation decisions are often made against the background of difficult socio-economic circumstances and the lack of alternatives in the countries of origin, temporary or permanent migration really represents the most important survival strategies for migrants and their dependent family members [11].

How do regional and continental organizations in Africa manage the variability of migration flows in terms of drivers, models and outcomes? Given the predominance of intraregional migration and the often regional nature of the driving forces (such as poverty, drought or conflict), this is an urgent issue. However, there is surprisingly little information in the world community, the media and in the scientific field, and equally little discussion concerning the institutional characteristics, priorities and

provisions of African regional organizations that carry out their activities in the field of migration management.

The research project of the German Development Institute (DIE) on regional and multilevel migration management eliminates this gap [12]. It focuses on two regional organizations in Africa: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the Horn of Africa region. Both organizations represent the main regions of African migrants origin and refugees to Europe, which is why in recent years, ECOWAS and IGAD have significantly expanded their activities in the field of migration policy.

DIE found that the Horn of Africa region and the West African region show noticeable differences in relation to priority migration models and migration management models, depending on the regional and institutional specifics, as well as the directions of migration flows.

The ECOWAS Regional Organization, founded in 1975 after the conclusion of the Lagos Treaty, has a long history of regulating regional labour migration along established corridors crossing national borders, for example, between Burkina Faso and Côte d'Ivoire or Ghana and Nigeria. In 1979, the Protocol on the Free Movement of Citizens was concluded within ECOWAS, which became one of the first stages of the liberalization of mobility even on a global scale. Formulated with a comprehensive intention to promote economic and trade liberalization among its 15 member States<sup>1</sup>, the Protocol enjoys high support from the participating countries. And this is despite the fact that its implementation still faces challenges (partly related to national policy), especially with regard to its more ambitious elements, such as the liberalization of intraregional employment and business creation rights.

---

<sup>1</sup> The ECOWAS member States are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

IGADD, founded in 1986 as an inter-governmental authority on drought and development and renamed IGAD in 1996, was created to address humanitarian crises usually affecting its seven member States<sup>2</sup>. Although the organization became a regional economic community in 1998, it still enjoys the greatest recognition for its involvement in addressing issues of regional peace and security. It is illustrated by the Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF), which is an innovation in the process of global governance and the implementation of refugee norms. This is true, but the degree of implementation of the system by IGAD member countries varies, and the organization's enforcement capabilities are limited.

African regional organizations such as ECOWAS and IGAD play an important role in managing migration in the region. Notably, their activities vary depending on the area of migration policy. For example, the 2012 IGAD Migration Policy Framework addresses a wide range of issues, ranging from more effective border management, prevention of unregulated migration, and ending with facilitating labour migration through free movement. Similar statements can be made regarding the "Common Approach to Migration and Development" of ECOWAS, formulated in 2008, which is the political basis of the organization's strategy.

Summing up, we can say that cooperation in the field of migration in the regional dimension seems relevant and in demand due to the increasing migration flows both in a particular region and around the world, which leads to a relationship of interdependence (and partly common interests) between the States concerned. In this context, the role of the International Organization for Migration is indisputable. It is actively involved in regulating migration in the world as a whole, and in particular in Africa, where the situation of migrants

---

<sup>2</sup> IGAD member States are Djibouti (head office), Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda.

and refugees remains unenviable, and the solution of issues related to migration (both intraregional and interregional) requires the involvement of the entire world community. Speaking about regional migration management institutions, the examples of IGAD and ECOWAS show that regional organizations can often rely on an already established history of cooperation in the migration field. At the same time, the division of labour between continental and regional organizations is an urgent issue, since the African Union (AU) has re-

vised its participation in migration policy, which was manifested in the renewal of the Foundations of Continental Migration Policy, as well as in the agreement on the Protocol of Continental Free Movement. The issue of the most effective support for the advantages of regional migration regimes in Africa, as well as the elimination of gaps in the implementation of migration policy to regulate migration flows will be important additions to the discussions on the further development of the African region.

### References

1. *Dick E.* Regional Cooperation on Migration and Mobility: Insights from two African regions / E. Dick, B. Schraven // In Proceedings of the African Futures Conference. — 2018. — Vol. 2. — No. 1. — P. 102–118.
2. Syrian refugee process in Turkey 'a little bit behind,' Canadian ambassador says // CBC News. — 2015, Dec 8. — URL: <https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/refugee-process-canada-turkey-jordan-lebanon-1.3353042> (retrieved: 01.11.21).
3. IOM Becomes a Related Organization to the UN // IOM. — UN Migration. — 2016, July 25. — URL: <https://www.iom.int/news/iom-becomes-related-organization-un> (дата обращения: 01.11.21).
4. About IOM // IOM. — UN Migration. — URL: <https://www.iom.int/about-iom> (retrieved: 01.11.21).
5. *Pécoud A.* What do we know about the International Organization for Migration? // Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies. — 2018. — Vol. 44. — No. 10. — P. 1621–1638. — DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2017.1354028.
6. What is the International Organization for Migration (IOM)? // INFOMIGRANTS. — 2018, July 5. — URL: <https://www.infomigrants.net/en/post/10325/what-is-the-international-organization-for-migration-iom> (retrieved: 02.11.21).
7. *Efimova Yu.V.* International organizations and their role in ensuring the rights and freedoms of migrants / Yu.V. Efimova, L.A. Larina // International Journal of Constitutional and State Law. — 2020. — No. 3. — pp. 65–68.
8. Bulletin. May 2018 // IOM. — UN Migration. — 2018, May. — URL: <https://www.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbd1486/files/2018-07/IOM%20MAY%20BULLETIN%20%28002%29.pdf> (retrieved: 06.12.21).
9. Migration Data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) // Migration Data Portal. — 2021, Jun 14. — URL: <https://www.migrationdataportal.org/regional-data-overview/southern-africa> (retrieved: 06.12.21).
10. How many immigrants live in South Africa? // Africa is a Country. — URL: <https://africasa-country.com/2018/10/how-many-immigrants-live-in-south-africa> (retrieved: 01.11.21).
11. *Dick E.* The Role of Regional Organizations in Africa in the Governance of Migration // ISPI. — 2019, July 17. — URL: <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/role-regional-organizations-africa-governance-migration-23512> (retrieved: 01.11.21).
12. German Development Institute. — URL: <https://www.die-gdi.de/en/> (retrieved: 17.12.21).

Author of the translation of the article  
from Russian into English:

**Kirill Vasilev**

MCU, Institute of Foreign Languages



## AFRICAN FEMALE MIGRATION IN 2010 TO 2021

### Abstract

The article deals with the issue of female migration, which is topical for the African continent. Africa is one of the leaders in international migration, and a significant percentage in this case are women, both single and married. The analysis of migration indicators of the female population of Africa, both within the country and beyond its borders, was carried out, as well as the main features of the economic situation of the continent, as the reason for the migration of women, were considered. The study contains information about other reasons for the resettlement of women and measures taken by the government of different countries to regulate this process.

**Key words:** migration, Africa, women, economic situation, population.

### Author

#### Wangraua Sadia Rita Sonina

Postgraduate student of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN)  
(Moscow, Russia)



The African region is in the 4th place in terms of international migration in the world. In 2017 about 19 million people migrated within the continent, and 6 million people migrated outside it. Thus, African migration amounted to 25 million people per year, which is explained by internal processes taking place in the region. The synergy of African Governments and international organizations is rapidly developing the processes of regional integration and gaining momentum. In addition, the development of regional migration on the continent is influenced by the development of infrastructure and the Western culture and languages popularization.

The most interesting and relevant works that address the problems of women's migration in Africa are: "Africa in the global migration flow: History and modernity" of the 2020 edition and "Report on Migration in the World 2020" [1] by the International Organization for Migration. Both reports are important in this study, as they contain up-to-date and reliable data on migration issues in Africa and provide relevant statistics.

### The main reasons

The study revealed a large number of problems that contributed to the African female population resettlement to other countries and continents, but also the rate of migration increasing every year. Also, the study showed that the support provided by African governments is insufficient to reduce the level of female migration.

As of 2017 the global volume of international migrants was 258 million people, 38 million of which were Africans (almost 15% of the total). Migration statistics is maintained in 48 African countries in the form of at least one statistical source. However, statistics is not enough to control and deter migration, because migration indicators have been reflected in almost 80% of the total population in the census data of the region since 2000. It should be noted that international migration to African countries is less popular, as international migrants who arrived in Africa accounted for only 2% of the continent's population since 2000 to 2017, statistical studies claim [2].



African countries have the largest migration outflow. The volume of international migrants who left Africa has increased by 68% since the beginning of the XXI century. North America has become the region with the largest migration influx from Africa since the beginning of the XXI century and is characterized by the fastest growing region with attractive conditions for migrants. In addition, migration flows from African regions were aimed to Europe, which offered a much more stable and comfortable life and development prospects. Also, for a small number of migrants from Africa, the destinations of Oceania, Latin America and the Caribbean have become relevant. Africa shows a dynamic increase in the number of migrants, the approximate number tends to a 7 percent from year to year.

The intensification of migration processes in the region is associated with several main factors affecting the social situation in the country. Migration flows consisted mainly of the male population for a long time, however, more and more women migrate in modern Africa, both inside and outside the country. Women have always stayed at home while men moved in search of earnings, now they often leave their homes. Currently, African women feel more independent from men and emigrate independently of their own volition, whereas previously they could only travel with their husband or parents [3].

In most societies in South African countries, social and political structures define and restrict women's opportunities to obtain loans, land plots and rights to produce goods, which causes serious damage to women's self-awareness and female independence. As the Supreme Court of Zimbabwe recently noted sarcastically, women "should not be considered as adult family members, they should be equated with younger male representatives" [4]. This is one of the main reasons for the female population emigration. The desire to gain freedom and independence has led to the fact that the inhabitants of

Africa leave their homeland and move to the countries of Europe, Asia and the USA.

The black population of some European countries is up to 7.5% and about half of them are women. There were about 115 thousand people in Russia in 2020, 1/3 of them — women. The main part of migrants arriving in Russia from Africa are refugees, economic migrants, who came in search of a better life, and registered students studying at universities in the country. A fifth of migrants are illegal residents, but less than 5% of them are women.

The African region is characterized by terrorist groups and military clashes, which also contribute to the migration of the population. One of the largest civil conflicts of our time, the war for independence, unfolded on the territory of Sudan in 2010–2016, ended only in 2020. During the period of military clashes between North Sudan, with predominant Muslim population, and South Sudan, with a widespread Christian religion, about 2 million people were killed and at the time of 2014, about 4 million people changed their place of residence inside Sudan. More than 500 thousand people left the territory of Sudan.

One of the most relevant areas of migration within the continent is Cameroon, where more than 300 thousand migrated Africans live. The population arrived in the country from Nigeria and the Central African Republic.

At the time of 2013, a political crisis was beginning in the CAR, which became an activator for large-scale migration of the population in Cameroon. A big problem is the widespread activity of the terrorist group Boko Haram in Nigeria's territories. The activities of the group forced more than 70 thousand people to leave the country only on the territory of Cameroon, the UN statistics reveal. Cameroon also experienced the consequences of migration, when local residents who settled in the border territories of the country began to move closer to the centre of the state. The lack of territories and

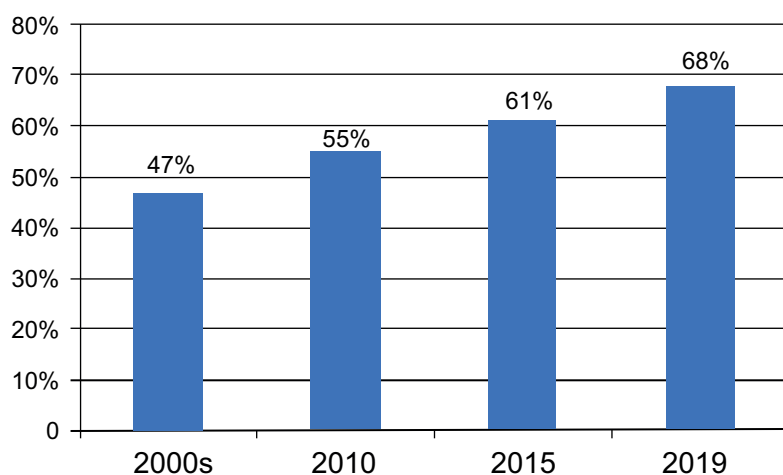
resources due to the arrival of migrants as well as due to fear due to the activities of terrorist groups in the border territories affected. About 124 thousand Cameroonians underwent internal migration due to these reasons in 2016.

South Africa today is a prosperous and stable country of the African continent, so there is a very large volume of migration flows in the country. About 3.15 million people migrated to South Africa from nearby countries, such as Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. It is also worth noting that internal migration is more popular in Africa, because 13.5% out of 32 million migrants moved exclusively within the continent.

The SSA countries have also become host States. About 2.5 million refugees migrated to Nigeria and Ethiopia, as well as to the Congo, where about 1.5 million refugees from African countries, including from South Sudan, arrived. Due to uncontrolled migration flows, host countries face a number of issues, because refugee camps require certain funding and costs that not all States are able to support. This issue can turn into serious problems related to humanitarian, epidemiological and cultural complications. To overcome this issue, international humanitarian support is undoubtedly needed.

If we analyze the age of international female migrants from Africa to European countries, it can be noted that in 2019 most of the girls who left Africa were aged 15–19 years whereas the absolute majority are girls aged 18–19 years. 44% of African women who left their native continent are 35–40 years old and 65+ years old. Generally, these groups of women go to other countries to find a good job that will feed their family, or to find a place for a decent old age. Many African women over the age of 65 work in European countries and receive decent wages that allow them to live better than in their native country.

In addition to political and economic factors, climatic factors also affect the scale of migration. Natural disasters, the destruction of crops by insects and drought, the depletion of land areas and the inability to continue agricultural activities, climate changes affect migration flows and with an increase in the scale and potential of climate threats, the prospective flow of migration from problem regions grows in direct proportion. Forecasts show the average temperature is to increase by more than 3.5% in the Saharan regions, and for the East African region the average temperature increase will be about 2.6%. Besides, climatic cataclysm caused significant precipitation decrease



**Fig. 1** The share of the female population in the migration flow (total international and internal migration) [5].

in the region, which leads to crop failure and an increase in mortality.

Migration, including female one, both within the African continent and abroad can also lead to positive results from an economic point of view, for example, economic indicators from migration due to displacement and optimization of labour resources are steadily growing from year to year. The main income source in this case is the labour migration of the African population, more specifically, money transfers that they make to their homeland from abroad. In 2007, the transferred funds of African migrants (including women) to the countries of Tropical Africa amounted to \$11 billion. The money volume grows every year as well as the number of money transfers and transactions themselves. Unfortunately, from 45% to 70% of all transferred amounts arrive in the country unofficially, for the purpose of tax evasion. This applies primarily to intraregional money transfers. 10 years later, in 2017, the transferred funds volume increased significantly.

The actual statistics reveal, Nigeria and Egypt are the leaders in received transfers from migrant workers with almost equal indicators — 20.8 and 20.4.

In some countries, primarily Muslim, there is a so-called hawala, an unofficial funds transfer through a system of trusted people for a very low payment. A significant share of this money is brought to African countries by female migrant workers.

The data presented above show that the percentage of transactions made by female population to their homeland hovers from 8 to 40% according to an approximate estimate. This depends on many factors, including the percentage of migrant women in a particular State, the wages they receive and the percentage they transfer to their homeland.

### **Negative consequences.**

The female population migration today already represents an independent and conscious decision of African women to

leave their homeland in search of a better quality of life and increased income. At the beginning of the XXI century, the volume of women in the general migration statistics of the African region was 47%, ten years later this figure increased to 55%, and today this figure is already more than 69%. These statistics include movements within the African continent and beyond. Despite the positive developments of recent years, the economic situation is difficult, widespread poverty (up to 40% of the population of Sub-Saharan Africa live on less than \$1 a day), the growth of unemployment and underemployment in the absence of visible prospects for reducing their level, increased material hardships of daily life most affect women and children, the least protected and vulnerable groups of African society [4].

The female labour migration in Africa is closely related to the critical indicators of poverty in many countries, which is a consequence of stable employment deficiency in the region. As a rule, the female population is engaged in agriculture in the regions of residence, so migration gives an opportunity to work in more promising and profitable directions. Low earnings, instability and seasonality are becoming the main incentives to move within the continent in order to provide a family with an income exceeding the average income per family in Africa, which is about \$1 per person a day.

### **Solving the problem**

Migration policy is regulated by a set of measures at the social, economic and political levels. These measures should include optimization and improvement of the political system and state governance, optimization and development of private investment injections into the region, as well as increasing overall political responsibility for the events taking place in the region. It is known that there will be one rule for any region — if there is a national priority in any development direction, this area begins to have more influence

and becomes relevant among different communities, receives sufficient funding, centralized management and support. In addition, there is an explanation for the low efficiency of migration management. The main volumes of private investment are controlled by the state, and the high cost of the proposed projects and the presence of a large volume of contradictions in them become the main obstacles to the creation of a free market economy with competent regulation.

The main efforts should be directed to activating the processes of development and expansion of alternative professions in areas remote from cities, as well as supporting the population who are employed in the agricultural sector and handicraft production. All these measures are necessary to regulate the employment of the population and increase the volume of jobs, which will entail a qualitative increase in earnings and living standards.

From all of the above, it can be concluded that the migration situation in African countries, in particular, the situation with female migration remains quite difficult. This is due to a large number of reasons, which include, among others, the social situation, the oppression of women's rights, the country's economy, etc.

First of all, the authorities of African countries should work in two directions — changing attitudes towards women, and stabilizing the economic situation in underdeveloped countries.

Summing up, it is worth noting that when considering the female migration trend in Africa, there are reasons that contribute to the growth of migration in the region. The south of the continent, for example, is dangerous for the local population due to the abundance of armed clashes and wars, as well as the high dynamics of the growth of the starving population, climate change and environmental pollution. In addition, the political situation is quite unstable in some African countries, there is a critical disregard for human rights, and there is active activity of terrorist organizations in the region.

Moreover, migration has negative consequences for the host country, because refugees may not realize their labour potential and join the ranks of rebel formations, which lead to new flows of migration of the population. In order to regulate and control migration flows, control over applicants for migration, for example, to European countries, is being tightened. And internal migration is complicated by the dangers for migrants on the way, who die in clashes with terrorists or from diseases. Prompt measures are needed to regulate migration and ensure the safety of migrants on the way and on the ground. In addition, it is necessary to develop conditions in countries that will meet the quality of life and will become an incentive to stay at home and develop the economy there. Nevertheless, today many African countries are under inefficient and weak governance in terms of solving many issues, including the regulation of migration processes, which also shows a weak diplomatic potential. African States developed and signed a large number of declarations and agreements on migration cooperation at the bilateral level and within the framework of the African Union. Unfortunately, most of the agreements remain on paper and are unable to be implemented for a number of reasons. Increased many times in volume and intensity migration processes have a powerful impact on the structure and content of relations between the SSA countries. The migration problem has become a priority topic for most States in the region. African diplomacy seeks to achieve a favourable balance of interests with the recipient countries of migrants, respect for the rights of African migrants.

The prospect of the near foreseeable future can make Africa one of the leading regions in terms of population growth. At the time of 2018, the African population was more than 1.2 billion people, and according to UN estimates, the continent's population will amount to 2.4 billion people by 2050. All this will cause an increase in migration and, as a result,

aggravation of the problems that were discussed above. Thus, women's migration is an acute problem for African regions, which requires increased attention and the development of timely and comprehensive solutions that take into account many factors that prevent the growth of migration in Africa.

### References

1. Report on migration in the world [Electronic resource]. URL: [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/final-wmr\\_2020-ru.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/final-wmr_2020-ru.pdf) (accessed 20.06.2021)
2. Kommegni Fongang, J.P. (2019). Forced Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Vestnik RUDN. International Relations*, 19 (2), 264–273. DOI: 10.22363/2313-0660-2019-19-2-264-273.
3. "Africa in the global migration flow: history and modernity" / Collection of abstracts and reports. Moscow, September 23, 2020 / Ed. by S.V. Kostelyants. [«Африка в глобальном миграционном потоке: история и современность» / Сборник тезисов и докладов. Москва, 23 сентября 2020 г. / Под ред. С.В. Костелянца.]
4. Abramova I. Trans-African Trafficking of Illicit Drugs: a New Challenge to European Security / I. Abramova, L. Fituni // *Modern Europe*. — 2018. — No. 6. — pp. 40–50. [Абрамова И.О. Наркотрафик через африканский континент — новый вызов европейской безопасности / И.О. Абрамова, Л.Л. Фитуни // *Современная Европа*. — 2018. — № 6. — С. 40–50.]
5. Shulenina N.V. The African migration system: on the question of classification / N.V. Shulenina, N.G. Antonio // *Bulletin of the RUDN*. — 2017. — Vol. 19. — No. 3. — pp. 267–278. [Шуленина Н.В. Африканская миграционная система: к вопросу о классификации / Н.В. Шуленина, Н.Г. Антонио // *Вестник РУДН*. — 2017. — Vol. 19. — No. 3. — С. 267–278.]

Author of the translation of the article  
from Russian into English:

**Kirill Vasilev**

MCU, Institute of Foreign Languages





## ICT AND THE CLASSROOM: FROM THE TRANSMISSION TO SHARING AND FROM PERFORMANCE TO INTERACTION

### Abstract

We have completed the second decade of the new millennium. Furthermore, we have experienced a pandemic and the accelerating effect it has had on the use of digital and basic distance learning mechanisms. The changes caused by digital and intensive use of individual mediation forms, such as those made possible by digital devices, have made the tension towards traditional teaching and learning environments even more intense. Thus, the classroom space has become small: insufficient for society's needs, tiny for those who teach, and insignificant for those who learn.

Digital has brought new forms of time and space that we need to explore and greater urgency in dealing with the group and cooperation between individuals as basic dimensions to prepare for a reality where creativity and innovation are required values.

A brief reflection on the scope and possibility of technologies is proposed here to serve teaching and learning space more aligned with our time's needs, taking the classroom as a starting point.

**Keywords:** Teaching and learning, ICT, Digital, Classroom, Flipped classroom.

### Author

#### Luis Borges Gouveia

Full Professor University Fernando Pessoa  
(Porto, Portugal)



### Introduction

**I**nformation and Communication Technologies (ICT) have been the driving force behind increasing digitalization and, in its function, increasingly sophisticated automation. In this context, human-made artifacts are being made more evolved and autonomous and are often constituted as mediators and even substitutes for human beings in their functions and, in more advanced cases, even in achievements.

This ambition level has raised question about the class's role and its limitations since it corresponds to a record of the same time and the same space, still the same subject. This alignment between time, space, and subject is increasingly being questioned, given the diversity and de-

mands placed upon individuals and groups of individuals.

The promises of digital were precisely those of offering a new asynchronous time and a new remote space that, combined with the previous options, create alternatives, in many cases more efficient, for interaction, even in the context of teaching and learning. In this context, we face a challenge in which digital platforms transform the classroom's role as there is significant pressure to abandon teaching and learning practices. Those practices are based on external regulations and oriented on the supply side, while instead of meeting the demand and thus perceiving a learning context, more diverse and plural and based on a transformation of the transmission of knowledge for shar-

ing and the concerns of individual performance evaluation, for a peer evaluation, sustained in interaction.

This brief essay proposes an initial reflection in defense of the classroom and its transformation through new strategies associated with teaching and learning, taking into account the digital as an element of mediation.

### **Know-how, knowledge, and technology**

We are experiencing a time of haste, in which information flows with more incredible speed and in more significant quantities than it is possible to deal with, either the individual or groups, even in possession of considerable resources. This context has an impact on what makes us experts and even more on knowledge creation. Perhaps this explains a greater appetite for procedural knowledge or know-how, expressions used to describe practical knowledge about how to do something — a recipe, a practice, or an algorithm, as it is so often referred to today.

The here and now of the need for learning, even in the context of increasing digital sophistication (which accelerates time and shrinks space), provides reactions of individualization of teaching and learning and self-learning practices. Perhaps two compelling examples are: in the Star Trek series, with the Learning Islands (“Vulcan Learning Center” in which in an immersive space, it is “loaded” in the mind of the learner, knowledge, through cognitive stimuli and quickly — an individualized transformation of the classroom, emotionally based); and, more realistically, in the context of the virtual world of Second Life, with numerous examples of spaces for sharing and collaboration for learning (a collective transformation of the classroom, socially based).

These are just two of the many examples of proposals, fictionalized or put into practice and tried, proposed in recent years. These proposals also result from the common perception that the classroom has to be reinvented and that the

way to do it is not easy and will require, in addition to mobilization, innovation. We know that there is a need to educate for a different world. The emergence of digital culture with new and transformed skills is gradually being imposed. Examples of this are studies such as DIGICOMP within the European Union, at the OECD or the FEM — World Economic Forum.

Prepare individuals for a context where digital access; digital commerce; digital communication; digital literacy; digital ethics; a legal framework, also digital; the existence of digital rights and responsibilities; the need for digital health and well-being and, last but not least, digital security is demanding and a requirement for us to function in society. This presupposes digital citizenship that has to be framed in the classroom context. The risk is the classroom ceasing to be seen as a space of preparation for today’s society’s construction (and for the near future, at least immediately).

In this context, ICT provides a way to help discover a classroom that also promotes digital citizenship. TIC can facilitate access, reduce costs, create opportunities and assist in skills training. Besides, knowledge is implicit in the technology itself. We are faced with the irony of what technology will be needed to reinvent teaching and learning and the lacking the knowledge to do so: procedural knowledge and knowledge about what (besides how). The aftermath societal context, resulting from Covid19 will provide an opportunity to reinvent and reconsider some of the current practices.

### **Challenges facing classroom teaching and learning**

The double face of teaching and learning is a good starting point because it makes it possible to involve those who learn and those who teach as partners in the teaching and learning process in a relationship that is different from the existing one. In a context in which the time scale is no longer only human, and the oppor-

tunities for mobility and communication are multiple (read different), the one who learns the most is the one who teaches and, in this context, everyone must learn and teach, promoting strategies that are aligned with this reality.

At the outset, a more practical sense for the use of knowledge (as defended by Gilles Lipovetsky), whose work criticizes our society for its individualistic inclination and for having become a space of seduction, not authentic. However, it is precisely to respond to this situation that the author of this essay argues that the classroom should constitute a space/time for ideas and collaboration between all, providing collaborative learning and all learning. Ultimately, this will be an ideal position, but it supports the construction process and guides the discussion. We must learn what we need, retain what we learn and apply, what we learn — thus constituting a rationale of utility that can be perceived by the learner (a challenge in today's classrooms, where the perception of the usefulness of classroom presence is increasingly diffuse).

Already in his work *The Shock of the Future* of 1970 by Alvin Toffler, curiously a book about change, its author argues that “the illiterate of the future will not be those who cannot read or write, but those who are unable to learn, unlearn and relearn”. In this context and networks, cooperation, and communities that the classroom has to find its space for survival, as a place to build digital citizenship and space for collaborative teaching and learning.

### **The example of the inverted classroom (flipped classroom)**

Moreover, when do we learn? How to provide teaching and learning opportunities favored by technology in the classroom? On the one hand, there are proposals such as MOOC (Massive Open Online Course), the use of Serious Games, Simulation, three-dimensional and interactive content, Robotics and interactive

mechanisms, and visualization in an information environment that provide us with a potential for innovation and significant disruption to the classroom. On the other hand, the legacy and installed capacity and the (still) need to consider the school as a central institution of our society, make the classroom still a privileged space for teaching and learning processes.

In addition to being able to explore the previous proposals, it constitutes a space of safety in which the conditions to focus on learning that considers:

A context with reduced cognitive load: using micro classes, videos; short stories, and an emotional connection;

- Allowing a trial and error environment: experimenting and doing it in a safe and supported way;
- Providing time between contents and concepts: facilitating their discussion and framing, in addition to the effort that requires time and attention (focus);
- Making concepts tangible, with content: producing knowledge through reading, perhaps returning the value of the book that seems to be rediscovered in years to come;
- Creating visual stimuli: using multimedia and integrating the fascination of audiovisual and interactive media, increasingly powerful and present;
- It provides diversity by stimulating curiosity and “seeing and hearing” the different, stimulating a digital culture with a critical capacity and tolerance for diversity.

How to stimulate these types of approaches in the classroom? The use of active methodologies is a way to innovate in the classroom. By placing the learner in a context in which he is also a producer of his “own” learning, he provides opportunities to explore knowledge and relate to his peers, also using his skills and digital culture, integrating this into the processes of teaching and learning (something that has been a recurring challenge in recent years).

An example of an active methodology is the flipped classroom in which the student is expected to explore the contents in time before their joint discussion. Thus, in the classroom, space is for discussion and deepening and not for transmitting knowledge. There is an emergence of proposals for the adoption of inverted classroom practices, sometimes through the systematization of adoption and practice models, such as the one proposed by Sargo, Gouveia, and Reis (2020), sometimes involving mobile devices in the classroom to integrate the times of individual and collective learning (Martins and Gouveia, 2020).

### **Final remarks**

The limits of information and communication technologies taking the teaching and learning context are smaller and less recognizable. In this context, it is argued that technology is reductive and supported that ICTs are considered an instrument and not an end in itself. A vision centered on technology imposes its "own" cycles associated with an investment, learning how to use and operate it, maintaining and amortizing costs, and then imposing, itself, the cost of change and new adaptation. This technology cycle first often leads to the establishment of an anchor to which we are stuck to our "own" competence park — not to forget that change is the new normal and that diversity is the promotion of this new normal — therefore, with demands for flexibility and agility that does not impose more restrictions than are necessary to the focus of our activity.

Over time, different technologies have emerged that have shaped its practices and have evolved the classroom technology to make it more capable and engaging as a teaching and learning space for the society that promotes it. In this sense, mobile devices and augmented reality

seem to be the near future to be taken into account.

Refocusing the activity on those who learn and not on those who teach can constitute the new "normal" classroom. This new normal will be necessary to impact spaces, activities, and teaching and learning strategies. Also, the actors in the classroom assume (or should assume) different roles and create relationship dynamics more associated with an active role by the part that the learner and must be involved in the teaching and learning process.

In this context, the reconfiguration of the classroom space, more digital and connected, is also a space to promote reading in mixed media (considering physical and digital components) and tangible, embodied by spaces of participation and collaboration that replace the board (black or white), possession and responsibility of the teacher, for collaboration tables and shared spaces, possession of the working groups. Thus, it will be almost certain, the advance of emerging technologies in their "occupation" of the classroom space, namely the use of artificial intelligence means; devices that provide an immersive and transparent experience (including the use of 3D printers and other augmented reality devices); and digital platforms that provide a space for interaction that projects the classroom out of its context and organizes a cohesive memory and space for collaboration.

Whereas the school is training people and the classroom is a space for dialogue, the most powerful technology is people and their training, so the classroom should be a space for discovery where curiosity can be exercised, promoting scientific culture, in the context of a digital culture that provides us with a sustainable future. For the classroom to be that place, it has to follow the times and spaces that today's society uses, inhabits, and explores.

## References

1. Gouveia, L. (2017). Da transmissão à partilha e do desempenho à interação. Tecnologias de ensino no "Saber Fazer". Seminário Tecnologias no Ensino / Formação Saber Fazer. 9 de Novembro de 2017, Auditório do Citeforma, Lisboa.
2. Gouveia, L. (2017). Transformação Digital: Desafios e Implicações na Perspectiva da Informação. In Moreira, F.; Oliveira, M.; Gonçalves, R. e Costa, C. (2017). Transformação Digital: oportunidades e ameaças para uma competitividade mais inteligente. 1ª edição, dezembro. Capítulo 2, pp. 5–28. Faro: Silabas e Desafios. ISBN: 978-989-8842-28-2.
3. Lipovetsky, G. (2019). Ensaio sobre a sociedade da sedução. Edições 70.
4. Lopes, S.; Gouveia, L. e Reis, P. (2020). O método MaCAIES: uma proposta metodológica para a implementação da sala de aula invertida no Ensino Superior. *Research, Society and Development*, Itabira, v. 9, n. 1, jan. ISSN 2525-3409. DOI: 10.33448/rsd-v9i1.1921
5. Martins, E e Gouveia, L. (2020). Benefícios e Desafios do Uso do Modelo Pedagógico ML-SAI. *Research, Society and Development*, v. 9, n. 1, jan.. ISSN: 2525-3409. DOI: 10.33448/rsd-v9i1.1611
6. OCDE. (2018). *Global Skills trends, Training Needs and Lifelong Learning Strategies for the Future of Work*. Report Prepared by the ILO and OECD for the G20 Employment Working Group. 2nd Meeting of the employment Working Group.
7. Geneva, Switzerland. 11–12 June. Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and International Labour Office (ILO), Geneva.
8. Toffler, A. (1970). *Future Shock*. Random House. UE. (s/d). *Lifelong Learning Platform*: <http://lllplatform.eu/> (Consultado a 27 de Novembro de 2019).
9. WEF (2016). *World Economic Forum White Paper Digital Transformation of Industries*. In collaboration with Accenture, Digital Enterprise, January. World Economic Forum.



## INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

---

Articles in the journal are published free of charge. The journal is published in electronic and printed form and distributed in higher education institutions of Russia and the world, among the expert and political science community, the political elite of Russia, is sent to the leading political science centers of the world.

We invite political scientists from Russia and abroad to publish their research in our journal. We believe that the cooperation of political scientists creates a more predictable and secure World — a World of cooperation, development and prosperity. Articles in the journal should be sent to the e-mail address of the journal: [studes@yandex.ru](mailto:studes@yandex.ru)

---

## CLEARANCE ARTICLES

---

The editors ask authors to adhere to the following basic principles of designing articles.

1. The journal receives articles in Russian in electronic form, in standard formats of Microsoft Word and Open Office Writer text editors (. \*.doc, \*.docx, \*.rtf extensions). Since the journal is published in Russian and English languages, the author commends the translation of the article into English.

2. The approximate volume of articles — 0.5 author's sheet (20 thousand characters, including blanks), the volume of the article can be increased in agreement with the editorial board.

3. Together with Article necessarily provide metadata:

3.1. Title of the article.

3.2. The brief summary of the article, shortly reflects its main content. The volume of the abstract should not exceed 1 thousand symbols with spaces. In the total volume of the article the text of the annotation is not taken into account.

3.3. Up to 7 keywords that correspond to the main content of the article.

3.4. For each author:

3.4.1. Surname, name, patronymic (if available).

3.4.2. Scientific status, place of work (if available), city and country of residence.

3.4.3. E-mail address.

3.4.4. Photo of the author, published together with the article.

4. Only the bibliographic references listed in alphabetical order at the end of the article are allowed; the use of footnotes for bibliographic references is not allowed.

5. Form Contact bibliographic references to the main text — by specifying the number of the source in the bibliography and, if necessary, page citation in square brackets.

Acceptable designations: [1. — P. 196] [2. — P. 330-332] [3] [4; 5; 7].

6. The use of footnotes is allowed only for meaningful notes.

7. Illustrations can be embedded in the text of the article. All illustrations (including graphic charts and diagrams) are necessarily duplicated by the authors in high resolution separately from the text of the article. The area of images is not less than 3 million pixels.

8. The only acceptable form of highlighting special terms and concepts is italic; it is not allowed to single out whole sentences or paragraphs.

9. There are no tables with more than five columns. In the case of vertically oriented tables with a large number of columns, the authors must transpose them, or, if this is not possible, cut them down or break them down into their component parts.

10. In case of significant discrepancy between the text and the basic principles of registration, the article may be returned for revision to the author or rejected.

## EDITORIAL COUNCIL

---

**ABRAMOVA MARIANNA GRIGORYEVNA** — Ph. D. (History), Lecturer, Deputy Head of the Department of State Policy, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**BOITSOVA OLGA YUREVNA** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of Philosophy of Religion and Religious Studies, Faculty of Philosophy, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**VATYL VICTOR NIKOLAEVICH** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of Political Science, Grodno State University of Janka Kupala (Belarus)

**VILKOV ALEXANDER ALEKSEEVICH** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of Political Science, Faculty of Law, Saratov State University named after N.G. Chernyshevsky

**GUTOROV VLADIMIR ALEKSANDROVICH** — D. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Head of the Department of Theory and Philosophy of Politics, Faculty of Political Science, St. Petersburg State University

**CONCI ARCARO LUIS GUILHERME** — D. Sc. (Law), Professor, School of Law, Episcopal Catholic University of Sao Paulo (Brazil)

**KORNILOVICH VLADIMIR ADAMOVICH** — D. Sc. (Sociological Sciences), Director of the Program of the Faculty of Public and Municipal Administration of the IGSU RANEPa under the President of the Russian Federation, head of the meta-project of reforming the system of state strategic management in Russia

**KULESHOVA NATALYA SERGEYEVNA** — D. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Department of Political Science of the East, Institute of Asian and African Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**MARIAN VALERY PANTELEEVICH** — Professor, Ph.D. (History), Head of the Department of Foreign Languages of the Diplomatic Academy of the Russian Foreign Ministry

**MIHAILOVIC DEJAN** — D. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences, Technology Institute of Monterrey (Mexico)

**MOSHNIAGA VALERIY GEORGIEVICH** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Department of Political and Public Administration Sciences, Faculty of International Relations, Political Sciences and Public Administration, Moldova State University (Moldova)

**MCHELOVA MARIA MIRANOVNA** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of Comparative Political Science, Faculty of Humanitarian and Social Sciences, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia

**MUKHARYAMOV NAIL MIDKHATOVICH** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of Sociology, Political Science and Law, Institute of Economy and Information Technologies, Kazan State Power Engineering University

**PEREVEZENTSEV SERGEY VYACHESLAVOVICH** — D. Sc. (History), Professor, Department of History of Social and Political Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**PIROZHENKO OLGA VIKTOROVNA** — PhD in communication Sciences, Director Of the Russian-Spanish Center for Education and Cooperation of the Russian Presidential Academy of Higher Education and Science, Executive Director of the Russian Center Of the University of Valencia (Spain), Head of the Secretariat of the Alliance Of Russian and Spanish Universities

**SELEZNEVA ANTONINA VLADIMIROVNA** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Associate Professor of the Department of Sociology and Psychology of Politics, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

---

**SELLMANN JAMES D.** — Professor of Philosophy, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences, University of Guam.

**SIDOROV ALEXANDER VALENTINOVICH** — D. Sc. (History), Professor, Head of the Department of History of Public and Municipal Administration, Faculty of Public Administration, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**SOLOVYOV ALEXANDER IVANOVICH** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of Political Analysis, Faculty of Public Administration, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**FEDORKIN NIKOLAY SEMYONOVICH** — D. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Head of the Department of Political Science and Sociology of Politics, Faculty of Sociology, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**TSYGANKOV ANDREI PAVLOVICH** — D. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, San Francisco State University (USA)

**TSYGANKOV PAVEL AFANASYEVICH** — D. Sc. (Philosophy), Professor, Department of International Relations and Integration Processes, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**SHIRINYANTS ALEKSANDR ANDREEVICH** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Head of the Department of History of Social and Political Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**SHOMOVA SVETLANA ANDREEVNA** — D. Sc. (Political Science), Professor, Faculty of Communications, Media and Design, National Research University «Higher School of Economics»

**SHUTOV ANDREI YUREVICH** — D. Sc. (History), Professor, Dean of the Faculty of Political Science of Lomonosov Moscow State University

**YAMAMOTO KENSO** — D. Sc. (Philosophy), Associate Professor of the Faculty of Political Science, Shimane Prefecture University (Japan)

## EDITORIAL BOARD

---

**BEREZKINA OKSANA STEPANOVNA** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Associate Professor, Department of History of Social Movements and Political Parties, Faculty of History, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**BOBROVSKIKH EKATERINA VIKTOROVNA** — Ph. D (Political Sciences), expert of the Autonomous non-profit organization "Laboratory of Humanitarian Projects"

**BOLDIN VLADIMIR ALEKSEYEVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Assistant of the Department of History of Socio-Political Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**VASETSOVA ELENA SERGEYEVNA** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Associate Professor, Department of Political Science of the East, Assistant Director of the Institute of Asian and African Studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**VOLOSHIN ANDREY IGOREVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Head of the Scientific Portal of the Social and Political Studies «SCHOLA.SU», Expert of the Autonomous Nonprofit Organization «Laboratory of Humanitarian Projects»

**GOROKHOV ANDREY ANATOLYEVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Editor-in-chief of the journal "Русская политология — Russian political science"

**DUBOWY ALEXANDER** — Coordinator of the Research Center for Eurasian Studies, Faculty of Law, University of Vienna, Senior Fellow at the Research Cluster for Polemology and Legal Ethics, Austrian National Defense Academy, member of the Science Commission of the Austrian Ministry of Defense (Austria)

**YEZHOV DMITRY ALEKSANDROVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Associate Professor of the Department of Political Science of the Financial University under the Government of the Russian Federation

**EFANOVA ELENA VLADIMIROVNA** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Associate Professor, Department of International Relations, Political Science and Area Studies, Institute of History, International Relations and Social Technologies, Volgograd State University

**ZASLAVSKAYA NADEZHDA MIKHAYLOVNA** — Ph. D. (Law), Associate Professor, Department of Environmental and Land Law, Faculty of Law, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**ZELENIN YURY ALEKSANDROVICH** — Ph. D. (History), Associate Professor, Department of Legal Studies and Teaching of Social and Economic Disciplines, Altai State Pedagogical University

**KARAVAEV ALEXEY ALEKSANDROVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Expert of the Autonomous Nonprofit Organization «Laboratory of Humanitarian Projects»

**KVASHONKIN ALEKSANDER VASILIEVICH** — Ph. D. (History), Associate Professor of the Department of Regional and Municipal Management, Faculty of Public Administration of Lomonosov Moscow State University

**KIRSANOVA EKATERINA GENNADYEVNA** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Lecturer, Department of Russian politics, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**KOSORUKOV ARTEM ANDREEVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Senior Lecturer, Department of Political Analysis, Faculty of Public Administration, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**KURBANOV ARTEMY RUSTYAMOVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Senior Lecturer, Department of Philosophy of Education, Faculty of Philosophy, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**POLULYAKH DANIIL SERGEEVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Assistant of the Department of Comparative Politics, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University



---

**PUCHNINA OLGA EVGENYEVNA** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Senior Research Fellow, Department of History of Social and Political Studies, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**RUDNITSKAYA ANASTASIA PAVLOVNA** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Associate Professor, department of Political Science and International Relations, Russian State Social University

**SIDOROVA ALEKSANDRA ALEKSANDROVNA** — Ph. D. (Economics), Associate Professor, Department of theory and methodology of public and municipal administration, Faculty of Public Administration, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**STOLETOV OLEG VLADIMIROVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Senior Lecturer, Department of Comparative Political Science, Head of the Division for Educational and Methodical Work, Faculty of Political Science, Lomonosov Moscow State University

**HORDECKI BARTOSZ MARKOVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Ph. D. (Law), Department of Media Systems and Law of Mass Media, Faculty of Political Science and Journalism, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan (Poland)

**SHARAPOV IGOR RODIONOVICH** — Ph. D. (Political Science), Expert of the Autonomous Nonprofit Organization «Laboratory of Humanitarian Projects

## EDITORIAL OFFICE

---

**GOROKHOV ANDREY** — editor-in-chief

**VASETSOVA ELENA** — deputy chief editor

**STOLETOV OLEG** — deputy chief editor

**KARAVAEV ALEXEY** — deputy chief editor

**ZURNADZHIAN GOR** — adviser on cooperation with services of public administration and NPOs

**SMIRNOV NIKOLAY** — adviser for promotion and information technologies

**SHADSKAYA MARIA** — linguistic adviser on translations (English, French)

**ANDROSOVA NATALYA** — graphic designer

**KHLUPINA MARIA** — proofreader, literary editor

**VOLOBUEV SERGEY** — adviser

**SOBOLEV VLADIMIR** — scientific adviser.

**SHCHERBAKOV ILYA** — Coordinator of the Expert Council of Young Political Scientists of the journal Russian Political Science

*Editorial department of work with English-speaking political scientists*

**MAKOEVA DZERASSA** — head of department

**VASILIEV KIRILL** — consultant of the department

**CHAGUNINA MILENA** — consultant of the department

*Editorial department of work with Spanish-speaking political scientists*

**DASHKINA IRINA** — adviser of the department

**MATUSOVA ANASTASIA** — adviser of the department

*Editorial department of work with Italian-speaking political scientists*

**LOSHILINA MARIA** — adviser of the department

**Журнал «Русская политология — Russian political science» зарегистрирован  
Федеральной службой по надзору в сфере связи, информационных технологий и массовых  
коммуникаций (Роскомнадзор) 15.08.2016, номер свидетельства ПИ № ФС 77-66809**

Номер свидетельства	ПИ № ФС 77-66809
Статус свидетельства	действующее
Наименование СМИ	Русская политология — Russian political science
Дата регистрации	15.08.2016
Форма распространения	печатное СМИ, журнал
Территория распространения	Российская Федерация, зарубежные страны
Учредитель, главный редактор	Горохов А.А.
Адрес редакции	141102, Московская обл., Щелковский р-н, г. Щелково, ул. Центральная, д. 71, к. 2, кв. 226
Языки	русский, английский, китайский, немецкий, испанский, арабский
Тираж	500 экземпляров
Номер	№ 4(21), 2021 год
Подписано в печать	01.12.2021
Цена	Бесплатно

**Электронный журнал «Русская политология — Russian political science» зарегистрирован  
Федеральной службой по надзору в сфере связи, информационных технологий и массовых  
коммуникаций (Роскомнадзор) 18.10.2016, номер свидетельства ЭЛ № ФС 77-67389**

Номер свидетельства	ЭЛ № ФС 77-67389
Статус свидетельства	действующее
Наименование СМИ	Русская политология — Russian political science
Дата регистрации	18.10.2016
Форма распространения	сетевое издание
Территория распространения	Российская Федерация, зарубежные страны
Учредитель, главный редактор	Горохов А.А.
Адрес редакции	141102, Московская обл., Щелковский р-н, г. Щелково, ул. Центральная, д. 71, к. 2, кв. 226
Языки	русский, английский, китайский, немецкий, испанский, арабский
Тираж	500 экземпляров
Номер	№ 4(21), 2021 год
Подписано в печать	01.12.2021
Цена	Бесплатно

© 2021 «Русская политология — Russian political science».

При цитировании обязательна ссылка на журнал «Русская политология — Russian political science»