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Proceedings of Topical Issues in International Political Geography

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Editors

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Editors

Radomir Bolgov
Saint Petersburg State University
St. Petersburg, Russia

Vadim Atnashev
St. Petersburg State University
St. Petersburg, Russia

Yury Gladkiy
Herzen State Pedagogical University
of Russia
St. Petersburg, Russia

Art Leete
Department of Ethnology
University of Tartu
Tartu, Estonia

Alexey Tsyb
Peter the Great St. Petersburg
Polytechnic University
St. Petersburg, Russia

Sergey Pogodin
Peter the Great St. Petersburg
Polytechnic University
St. Petersburg, Russia

Andrei Znamenski
University of Memphis
Memphis, TN, USA

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Preface

This volume contains the papers submitted (and accepted for publication) to the International Conference “Topical Issues of International Political Geography” (TIPG-2020). The volume focused on specific aspects of contemporary political geography and international relations. The volume provided a platform for discussion and collaboration of academicians and experts in the fields of political geography, human geography, geopolitics, urban studies, demography and population studies, migration politics, natural resources politics, international organizations and integration, conflicts and security, international law and other related areas of studies. TIPG is a continuation of the International Conference “Topical Issues of International Relations in the Current Geopolitical Context”, which has been held in St. Petersburg annually since 2016.

The Program Committee comprising of the recognized researchers from 15 countries had conducted a rigorous peer review.

The volume consists of seven parts. The titles of parts 1, 2, 5 and 6 were represented in the last TIPG conference of 2019. Discussion of 2019 has generated new works collected in the proceedings under this umbrella. At the same time, the volume discovered new directions for the studies. The titles of parts 3, 4 and 7 are new topics of TIPG. These parts consist of the papers presented on new sections of TIPG.

The chapters of the Part 1 “Ideologies of Regionalism and Globalization in Historical Context. Philosophy of politics” focus on the spatial aspects of two parallel processes—globalization and regionalism. The authors discuss the effects of globalization on the ideology, identity and symbolics of the nations and communities. The authors discuss such trends as Asianization and shift of the power from West to East. The context of the section is designed by historical framework of geographical issues with the use of historical geographical approach to studying the politics. Following Élisée Reclus, “geography is history in space while history is geography in time.”

The Part 2 “National Policies & International Politics” moves from cases at the local level to national, bilateral, multilateral and global ones. The chapters cover such issues of domestic and international politics as anticorruption policies, digital

strategies, elections, etc. The main idea of the section is to discuss effects of national policies on the international politics and effects of international politics on the national policies. The geographic space is a background for this discussion. The section contains a set of examples of comparative analysis focused on national cases (for instance, a comparative study of eHealth strategies in EAEU countries). Some studies represent the international platforms as a context of politico-geographical processes (for instance, Eurasian Economic Union and Belt and Road Initiative as platforms for Russia–China cooperation).

The publication of Part 3 “Geopolitics & Security” became possible due to cooperation with the Research Committee on Geopolitics and Security (Russian Association of Political Science). The chapters of the section discuss the international and domestic security issues related to the power distribution depending on the geographic location. The contemporary background is the COVID pandemic. The chapters study Eastern countries cases such as China, Kazakhstan, as well as non-traditional threats to national and international security, including food security.

The chapters of the Part 4 “Sustainable Development & Environment Protection” present the studies of international organizations and countries’ activities in the field of sustainable development as well as theoretical issues (for instance, the concept of Geo-Eco-Ideology). The authors analyzed the cases of the United Nations, European Union, BRICS and Arctic Council as well as national cases (for instance, Germany).

The chapters of the Part 5 “Migration and Socio-demographic Processes” deal with the migration and socio-demographic issues. They focus on cases of European countries, China and Russia. The authors make conclusions about challenges of migration to education and tourism, as well as the multiculturalism issues. In the context of COVID pandemic, online education became more and more topical. It changes our views on the place and time and effects on the migration flows.

The chapters of the Part 6 “Cultural Dimension of International Relations” represent the culture as a factor of geography (for instance, international cultural exchanges, cultural policy, etc.). Can Korean pop culture affect Chinese politics? What is the place of the concept of cultural diversity in the cultural policy of the European Union? Is the cultural expansion of the Gulf states an instrument of their religious and economic influence in Europe? The section is intended to answer these and other questions. The studies focus on national, regional and local cases in the EU, Asian and post-Soviet countries.

Finally, the Part 7 “Discourses of Political Geography” starts with the chapters which discuss theoretical and historical issues on the crossroad of the politics, geography and discourse. Then, the authors study the cases of the USA, China and Caucasian countries with demonstration of discourse analysis application to political studies of geographic space.

We would like to thank those who made this event possible and successful. We especially express our gratitude to the Program Committee members for their contribution to the event. We thank the authors for submitting their papers. We are proud to attract a great team of scholars from different countries and disciplines. We

will work further to sustain and expand the TIPG community through joint research and collaboration.

We will keep monitoring the evolution of COVID-19. We hope that TIPG-2021 will take place in St. Petersburg on time and everyone can safely make it through this global issue.

Radomir Bolgov
Vadim Atnashev
Yuri Gladkiy
Art Leete
Sergey Pogodin
Alexey Tsyb
Andrei Znamenski

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**Ideologies of Regionalism
and Globalization in Historical Context.
Philosophy of Politics**



The “Non-west” Methodological Concept for Building a System of International Relations in the Eurasian Space

Natalia Vasilieva¹, Zeinab Bakhturidse², Nikita Ivannikov², and Alexey Tsyb^{2,3}✉

¹ St. Petersburg State University, Saint-Petersburg, Russia

² Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University, St. Petersburg, Russia

³ Sociological Institute of FCTAS RAS, St. Petersburg, Russia

Abstract. The article deals with the activities of the project where the authors explore the political concept of “non-West”. The task of the research is to methodologically substantiate the use of non-Western approaches for the on the Eurasian continent. It is necessary to pay attention to the current world political situation in this region in the first half of the XXI century. The purpose of this study is to define the main trends that condition the formation and influence on international relations in the Eurasian space in the early XXI century. It includes the development of methodological principles of conceptual content of the terms “Eurasian space”, “Eurasian segment of world international relations”; revealing the peculiarities of formation of political relations of large and small states on the Eurasian space under the conditions of global regionalization; structuring the main Russian theoretical developments on the problems of Eurasian regionalism; determining the degree of influence of digitalization on strengthening the role of civil society in international relations of the Big Eurasian region; determining the role of civil society in international relations of the Big Eurasian region. Such a study has both theoretical relevance and practical application, as it provides an opportunity to predict and analyze trends in modern history.

Keywords: International relations · Geopolitical strategy of development of Russia · Greater Eurasia · Westernization and Eurasian space · Eurasian segment of global international relations · Digitalization and role of civil society

1 Introduction

The fundamental objective of the research is to convey methodological substantiation for applying non-Western approaches in order to define the main trends that condition the formation and influence on international relations in the Eurasian space in the early XXI century:

1. The transition from uni- or bipolarity to multipolarity [1];
2. The transition from globalization (westernization) to regionalization (centric state) (the policy of D. Trump and Covid-19 have put an end to globalization);

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3. International relations in the Eurasian space, which are in the stage of formation due to significant geopolitical changes – from the collapse of the USSR to the contemporary rise of Asian countries.

Internationally, the emergence of the Greater Eurasia concept was caused by objective factors. First, it was necessary to define a new modality of interaction between a large group of friendly states in the conditions of growing global uncertainty. Secondly, the historical process proved the impossibility of integrating the continent “from above” based on the model and methods that were created in Europe during the Cold War and found there a form of European integration close to perfect. Third, the objective need to adapt China’s growing power to the peculiarities of regional international relations, characterized by the presence of other superpowers and a large number of medium-sized and small states with a relative free choice.

There is a demand to define actual tasks required to implement the concept. Difficulties preventing the formalization of such tasks were experienced by those who support the concept and tried to implement which is a fact worthy of mentioning. The most important obstacle is, of course, the diversity of foreign policy objectives of the main participants and potential partners.

These factors require scientific work in the Russian expert community, since the Eurasian space is the basic one for forming the geopolitical strategy of Russia’s development in the XXI century. Thus, it is necessary to change the direction in the development of modern domestic political scientific thought. This is due both to the end of the period of yielding adoption of Western political thought, and with the awareness and acceptance of the Eurasian identity. Feature of the latter is the adoption, revaluation, addition and development of existing experience of Eastern civilization. In modern times, the development of Western political science leads to convergence with the theoretical concepts proposed by scientists from the East (mainly India, China, South Korea), as well as other researchers representing the countries of the non-Western world. The success of Asian countries in the last decades in socio-economic, technological and scientific fields is the obvious reason for the present changes. This success has integrated the common desire of the Eastern scientific elite to actively participate in contemporary and relevant science, and to influence the global development of the modern world. In practical terms, this may mean that the concept of Great Eurasia is capable of becoming a theoretical element that would bring a possibility for the intraregional states to conduct a proper identification in the context of a single, common space in which their interests can not be separated from those of their neighbors.

2 Contemporary Development of the Issue

In recent years, new conceptual approaches to understanding the nature of transformation of the world political system from Western-centric to polycentric type of development have appeared. In this connection, conceptual discussion problems about the need for integrative development of the theory of international relations in the Eurasian space, where the field of scientific reflection includes both Western and non-Western approaches to understanding the multifactoriality and multivalence of international relations in the XXI century were raised.

At the turn of the century, the creators of the theory of social constructivism enter into discussion with representatives of the main paradigms of Western schools of international relations [29], who to a large extent predetermined bringing to the fore the problems analysis of modern international relations using non-Western and Western approaches. According to the opinion of constructivists, analysis should be conducted using such categories as: identity, values, political views and institutions, that is, those created by actors themselves. T.A. Alekseeva notes the “remoteness” of the system of international relations from humanity as something that does not exist by itself. The system of the IR emerges only due to the human interest and, consequently, consists of ideas, and not being formed by material forces or actions [4, 5]. If this idea is to be developed, it may lead us to a fundamental conclusion that the nature of the international relation system should be understood as the result of human thought, theoretical concept that is produced by the system of certain ideas and norms applied to the political environment at certain times and places.

M.M. Lebedeva believes that the attempts to find solutions for shaping contemporary state-system model using non-Western civilization are caused by the crisis of the existing Western model [16]. B. Buzan and A. Acharya unanimously agree on the growing role of non-Western political thought, noting both the approach of Asian leaders to the interpretation of the world order as well as a significant impact of traditional political views of the Eastern people [2, 3].

If we consider the paradigm of postmodernism from the point of view of methodology, it can be largely determined by the principles of “dialogical imagination”, which dictate the rejection of Euro- and ethnocentrism, replacing them with acentrism. The latter should be understood as a fundamental rejection of any privileged pole of superiority (e.g. the supremacy of Western civilization in world politics). According to J. Deleuze and F. Guattari, the “rhizome” type of thinking implies recognition of diversity and discursiveness both of human history and actual social reality, as well as the methods and ways of cognition. According to this, it can be concluded that there is a significant number of individual actors whose activities are independent of any pole of power or possible existing hierarchy. This picture emerges from an understanding of the impulsiveness, discreteness and polycentricity of historical development. It is these statements of the post-modernist paradigm that make it possible to declare fundamental changes in the theory of international relations.

Another idea that may be regarded as truly relevant, belongs to A. Panarin, who characterized the Western political science as “unconscious regionalism correlated with the development of European civilization but not quite adequate to other civilization worlds” [17]. Following this idea, we can consider as fair the statement of A.I. Kozinets and A.M. Kuznetsov about the need to promote the formation and development of alternative, non-Western concepts. It is the thing that may actually result in creation of the new theoretical approach in the theory of international relations [23].

The assessment of the position of contemporary Russian scholars on this issue is indeed necessary to ensure an objective analysis. According to A.D. Bogaturov, the search for development has led to an appeal to the West, and as a result, since 1991 scientific research may be considered as prevalence of simple translation and description of existing Western concepts rather than analysis [8, 9]. This formed the informal task of

modern Russian political science – to catch up with the years of imitation and copying, and, as a result, to return the West “intellectual duty”. This is possible through the introduction of original ideas and concepts into the theory of international relations by Russian scientists. They, in turn, will allow us to move away from the use of familiar Western theoretical constructs, which critical flaw is strong belief that the influence of the cultural, scientific and historical development of Russia is a deviation. In reality, the analysis of all theories, both Western and other, is necessary to understand one’s identity and to understand one’s position. The result of this analysis may become a scientific and methodological basis for foreign policy of Russian Federation and its geopolitical strategy.

3 Objective and Goals of the Research

The purpose of this study is to determine the main trends that may have a significant impact on international relations, particularly in the contemporary Eurasian space, as well as to develop methodology regarding theoretical research of “Eurasian space” concept. The other objectives are to conduct identification of the peculiarities of the international state-system within the Eurasian space under the conditions of global regionalization; to structurize the main Russian theoretical developments on the problems of Eurasian regionalism; to determine the degree of influence of digitalization on strengthening the role of civil society in international relations of Greater Eurasia.

4 Materials and Methods

Globalization as a civilizational development vital feature is increasingly losing its meaning, both in theoretical and practical terms. It is important to distinguish between the concept of globalization, where the principle of unification prevails, i.e. universality is understood as westernization, and the concept of global regionalization, where the mosaic principle prevails, i.e. universality is understood as a way to create unity in diversity. This is not changed by nowadays global agenda. Space of “Greater Eurasia” still consist of states upholding different and sometimes opposing trends, e.g. supra-nationalism and disintegration. Thus, the modern development of Greater Eurasia has no permanent direction, it is impulsive, discrete and polycentric, which implies the coexistence of a large number of international actors.

Within research a complex approach was used due to its capability of provision a set of different research methods and tools. Their synergetic effect allows to combine different descriptive characteristics of the research object.

The research strategies used in the project include author’s approaches and general scientific methods:

1. System approach, which allows to consider a complex structural and functional object;
2. Use of comparison, modeling, situational analysis, methods of qualitative and quantitative analysis;
3. Creation of a model of possible ways of evolution of modern international relations.

The certain system expressing object in the characteristics important for studying and capable to replace object was understood as models. That allowed studying of model to receive new data and to create exhaustive representation on subject of the research. As a method of applied research, modeling promotes scientific result and opportunity to complete future studies. That may be of much use while adapting obtained results to practical matters. Such model may be created in a process, which should include both descriptive and analytical data, which is why functional and behavioral approaches should be applied. While conducting modelling process all empirically obtained characteristics (both quantitative and qualitative) were used. The data was collected via usage of the following methods:

1. Desk-research. Finding and analyzing the results of existing research and studies, as well as data, which may be obtained via Internet- and other open and accessible sources of information;
2. Structural analysis of the content presented on the official websites of both objects and subjects of research.

Advantages of the selected methods: ergonomics, efficiency, versatility of research.

5 Expected Results and Their Scientific and Applied Relevance

The expected results include: a rationale for the theoretical significance of non-Western approaches to the studying international relations in the region under consideration. Identification of fundamental trends in the development of the system of international relations in the contemporary Eurasia, development of methodological principles of conceptual content of the term “Eurasian space”, theoretical substantiation of the idea that the synergy of cooperative action of the West and East of Greater Eurasia will make appropriate adjustments in the system of international relations of the XXI century, the peculiarities of formation of political relations of large and small states on the Eurasian space in the conditions of global regionalization; structuring of the main Russian theoretical developments on the problems of Eurasian regionalism; determination of the degree of influence of digitalization on strengthening the role of civil society in international relations of Greater Eurasia.

6 Conclusions

In previous years, the team members carried out analytical studies of the concept of “Greater Eurasia” in the modern scientific and political lexicon, its project function as an ideological and theoretical construct implemented in program documents and agreements of the coalitions of the continent’s states on an intercivilizational basis, analysis of the “Greater Eurasian Partnership” project as a logical continuation of the “Greater Eurasia” project together with the idea of “Greater Europe” proposed for several decades [11–13]. It also seems possible to analyze global security problems in a broader sense, understanding them not only as international, but also in the ontological sense of global security, which can be characterized by general models of development, structure and

functioning, interaction with the biosphere, human community and technosphere. Definitions of theoretical components of the new emerging integration paradigm have been developed by the example of EEU. In the framework of the research performed different concepts were proposed such as the concepts of global regionalization, multipolar world, “middle space” [15, 23]. It also revealed the emergence of new spatial and temporal forms of the post-Soviet space, caused by the impact of global transnational processes. Theoretical analysis leads to the conclusion that the result of this influence is the emergence of a new global neo-Eurasian region. And global regionalization is regarded by contemporary political science as an essential condition for the successful establishment and functioning of the Eurasian Union. Such an association will be larger than the USSR, as it will develop in new directions under the influence of transnational processes. Now we can consider integration as a way to create a qualitatively new space, not only as a form of interaction in the post-Soviet space. Such integration allows new participants to appear in the global neo-Eurasian region, and also has a positive impact on the intraregional ties between states, which may be regarded as restoration of these connections, development and usage of which were hindered by the dissolution of USSR [22, 24, 25]. Global processes, their impact on modern international relations, as well as the differences in their assessment are considered one of the key elements of modern world politics. Therefore, studying their theoretical aspects may have an important impact on modern scientific thought in the field of international relations [6]. A comparative approach was used, as well as an analysis of sources and statistical data on PRC policy issues in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) on the “16 + 1” cooperation platform with 11 member countries and 5 EU candidate countries based on both EU and PRC documents, as well as on 16 + 1 summit declarations and expert assessments [20].

Different conceptual approaches to understanding the nature of transformation of the world political system from the Western-centric to the polycentric type of development have been studied, in this connection the discussion problems of conceptual nature about the need for integrative development of the theory of international relations, where the field of scientific reflection includes both Western and non-Western approaches to understanding the multifactorial and multivalued international relations in the XXI century, have been analyzed [21]. Regional and sub-regional security issues were the focus of more targeted research, in particular on the South Caucasus. In these studies, the region appears to be an extremely important strategic object in the context of transformation of the existing system. It is also the subject of growing interest and confrontation of major geopolitical authors in view of the special current situation – the crisis situation in certain areas, unresolved problems of self-determination, separatism, exposure to outside influence, as well as attempts to expand its influence using soft power tools [10] were researched.

The roles of the both Russian and Chinese efforts affecting the current stance of the state-system and world order were also studied. Both countries largely support the United Nations as a unique actor addressing global challenges of our time, in particular, the security of the international community. Both leading states show solidarity in addressing the most important security issues, in particular, such items of the modern agenda as the nuclear status of DPRK and Iran, the Iraqi question [18, 19].

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Asianization as a Main Trend in World Politics

Zeinab Bahturidze¹ (✉), Natalia Vasilieva², and Ziad Shahoud²

¹ Peter the Great St. Petersburg Polytechnic University, Saint-Petersburg, Russia

² Saint Petersburg State University, Saint Petersburg, Russia

Abstract. The last 500 years was marked by the political and economic dominance of European civilization, which is reflected in the concept of Westernization of the world. In the first half of the twenty-first century, there is a change in the geopolitical map of the world, where the complexly structured world of Eastern civilizations, which geographically belongs to the Asian region, comes to the fore. In the international political science discourse, the theme of ‘Asianization’, ‘Asiancentrism’ in the 21st century came to the fore, which is methodologically developed in the concept of polycentrism, global regionalism and a non-Western world political picture of the world. As a result, on one hand, Eastern civilizations are returning the political and economic positions lost in recent centuries, and on the other hand, being technologically westernized, they introduce non-Western mental and value attitudes into world politics.

Keywords: Asianization · Asiancentrism · Westernization · World politics · Asian region · Mentality · Civilization

1 Introduction

In the 21st century, the main indicators of global economic growth are determined by the growing giants of Asia: China, Japan, India, Indonesia, Vietnam, South Korea, and a number of other eastern countries, which indicates the departure of European countries, the USA, and Canada to the second positions. Back in 2012, the US National Intelligence Council asserted that “in a tectonic shift by 2030, Asia will collectively surpass North America and Europe in terms of global power based on GDP, population, military spending, and technological investments” [1, p. 15]. In modern conditions, we can talk about the renaissance of Eastern civilizations (Chinese, Japanese, Hindu, Islamic), whose millennial historical and cultural background turned out to be a very important addition to the technological modernization that we borrowed from Western civilization. It is important to emphasize that Asian countries have a significant strategic resource in the context of the rapid development of a digital society - and that is their human capital. The top ten most populous countries in the world include China, India, Russia, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Japan, which makes up more than sixty percent of the world’s population. It is natural that, because of the socio-economic successes, the leaders of Asian countries strive to make their own significant adjustments to the global political order. Thus, the ‘Asianization’ of world politics most likely presupposes

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the reform of those structures of world politics and economy that are clearly dominated by Western countries today. In particular, these are such institutions as the UN Security Council, endowed with great powers, or the International Monetary Fund which has serious power, and controls financial flows throughout the world.

2 Objectives of the Research

Against the rapid economic and social progress of Asian peoples, the crisis of the Westernization model of the political organization of the world is clearly visible, which makes scientists look for other solutions.

As noted by M.M. Lebedeva, it was the Eastern civilizations that gave a lot to mankind in medicine, mathematics, literature and other fields of knowledge [2]. According to the well-known theorists of international relations A. Acharya and B. Buzan [3], it is time for scientists and researchers to turn their attention to the origins of the Eastern political and philosophical tradition, which gives an intellectual impetus to find answers to the world political problems of our time. There is a need for new political constructs based on the many principles of theoretical approaches, where the political science developments of scientists from China, India, Vietnam and other countries of the non-Western world occupy a worthy place. According to T.A. Alekseeva [4, p. 9], “the international system is a product made by people consisting of a set of ideas and a system of norms created at a specific time and place”, therefore it is logical that the successes of Asian countries gave rise to the desire of the scientific elite of this macro-region to contribute to the theoretical understanding of the transformation of the international system, based on their mental and cultural traditions. It is difficult to disagree with the view that if events keep unfolding in the same way, “the two-century domination of Europe, and then of its giant North American offspring, will come to an end. Japan was the herald of the Asian future. she turned out to be too small, too introverted to change the world, but those who follow her, and above all China, are free of these shortcomings” [5, p. 17].

In fact, we can talk about a new philosophical worldview where the idea of ‘dialogical imagination’, and the rejection of the principle of euro-and-ethno-centrism come to the fore. Postmodern philosophical terminology (a-centrism, as the denial of any privileged domination “centers”, particularly of the West, in world politics) has proved to be in demand within the framework of the political discourse on the equivalence of western and eastern components of the contemporary political map. The methods of cognition and the forms of culture are diverse, and historical development has no constant direction, it is impulsive and discrete.

Therefore, the paradigm of Westernization, which has absorbed the worldview postulates of Western society, loses its theoretical universality in modern conditions, and what remains, according to A. Panarin, is an unconscious regionalism, correlated with European civilizational development, but not quite adequate to other civilizational worlds. It seems that this is also why it is so important to promote and contribute to the creation of non-Western concepts. After all, this is precisely what can help to emerge a new integral theoretical understanding of the system of international relations [6].

3 Methodology of Research

When considering the problems of the Asianization of world politics, it is important to find appropriate methodological approaches to the analysis of this political and economic phenomenon. It seems that the most adequate methods can be considered the historical, constructivist, and civilizational approaches.

From a historical point of view, natural and climatic conditions influenced the nature of political and economic relations in Eastern societies. In particular, the system of irrigated agriculture, prevailing in Asia, could not but have an impact. The so-called "rice-growing civilization" required the observance of civil, political and social discipline, which led to the formation of rigid administrative structures with a large number of officials. Such qualities of social behavior as collectivism and subordination to the state power came to the fore. There is an opinion according to which the essential difference that distinguishes the positions of power in the west, from positions in the east is indicated. According to L. Vasiliev, "if in antique-bourgeois Europe, power depends on the balance of contradictory tendencies in society, then in the East the authority of power never depends on anything of that kind. Ultimately, everything is decided only by the force of the power itself, the effectiveness of a well-established administration and a regular inflow of a guaranteed rate of income into the treasury" [7, p. 710].

The constructivist approach assumes to operate with such concepts as identity, cultural and religious values, political views, political institutions, which are constructed by the actors themselves. It should be noted that in Asia, all worldview systems and all social institutions formed a tendency to strengthen the central government. As the researchers note, "the states of the Eastern type are based on the principle of sacred justice, that is, statehood in them is messianic, freedom is not individual, but collective, this is the freedom of the people, which is constructed collectively, for the people, respectively, there is a collective destiny, a collective vocation (one cannot be saved, only all can be saved together), statehood is sacralized, and it is reproduced in local communities as the highest value" [7, p. 32].

The civilizational approach assumes, according to M.A. Barga, the application of the principle of space-time deployment of each civilization. This means that any civilization is immanently aspiring to its historical and logical "limit", which is predetermined by its potential for material and spiritual growth. In this regard, it is important to understand whether the Western civilization is lagging behind the Eastern civilizations, based on the assumption that there is an inconsistency crisis with the demands of modernity. It seems that at the moment, Eastern civilizational characteristics associated with the principles of collectivism, solidarity, and not individualism and liberalism are in demand, which was especially evident in the era of the "coronavirus", when the Asian paternalistic state systems proved to be the most successful in the fight against new "challenges" of the 21st century. According to K.S. Hajiyeu, in the Asian civilization code, along with paternalistic tradition, and other archaisms, such components as loyalty to traditions, philanthropy, a sense of duty, respect for elders, observance of the rules of social, intra-family, and group relations, etc. are of considerable importance.... [8].

4 Results of Research

Consideration of such a multifaceted phenomenon as the Asianization of world politics requires its analysis from different points. It seems logical to investigate the factor of Asianization in the world economy, politics, and culture.

As for the forms of economic modernization of Asian countries, the expert community is unanimous in the opinion that in Asia the effectiveness of various forms of economic development has been proven in practice. A number of new forms of accelerated entry of Asian countries into the corps of modernized states can be named (Deng Xiaoping's concept of modernization, Lee Kuan Yew's paternalistic practice, etc.), which did not correspond to the Western textbook methods of modernization. In fact, a model of socio-economic development that is authentic to Eastern civilizational foundations has been formed: Asian identity and scientific and technical Western innovations have successfully complemented each other.

According to Deutsche Bank in the early 2010s. World's highest economic growth rates, except for those recovering of complete destruction like Libya and Iraq, were demonstrated by such a country as Mongolia - 12–17% per year. It also set a world record for industrial production growth - 37.4% in 2012 - primarily due to the launch of the Oyu-Tolgoi copper and gold mine. The explored coal deposit Tavan-Tolgoi4 also opens up great opportunities [9, p.11]. According to experts, among the ten fastest growing economies are such countries as Macau, Papua New Guinea, Laos, Cambodia, Turkmenistan, Bhutan, and a number of African states [10, p. 93]. According to N. Chan, the consumption demand in Asia “will grow from \$ 4.5 trillion in 2009 to \$ 44 trillion in 2030, which will be half of global demand, and 1.6 times higher than this indicator for all OECD countries. But even then, out of 4.2 billion people who will live in the developing part of Asia outside of China, 780 million will have an income of less than \$ 2 per day, and another 1.7 billion - \$ 2–10 per day.” [11, p. 34–35].

Probably, it is especially significant that the Asian economy is being transformed from an object of globalization into its subject, largely determining its direction and results. A good historical example can be seen in the early 70s. You can give a historical example of the early 70s. XX century: a number of oil-producing states of the Middle East, and with them, as V. Nikonov notes, Libya and Algeria announced a reduction in oil production, and imposed an embargo on oil supplies to the United States. Such a reaction to American support for Israel in the war against Egypt and Syria led to the disappearance of cheap oil. A new trend began to appear - the development of economic ties between Asian countries and states along the “South-South” line. These are not only African countries, but also the Central Asian region with its vast natural resources. China and India are actively starting to get involved in investment projects in the energy, mining and agricultural sectors.

An increase in the Asian share in the world economy requires the establishment of regional good relations between neighbors, therefore, for example, despite significant historical differences, the Chinese and Japanese business circles are in favor of improving relations, since Japan's industrial future is increasingly dependent on the huge Chinese market, and technological and investment proposals are extremely important for the Chinese digital economy.

The most significant integration successes are observed in Southeast Asia. The active development of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), ASEAN + 1 (plus China), ASEAN + 3 (plus Japan, China, South Korea), as well as APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation) creates an opportunity for economic interaction, both large and small Asian states.

Asian countries, having acquired a decisive economic weight on a global scale, are striving to actively shape the agenda of world politics. All the prerequisites for this are available, given the current international status of China and India. Along with Russia, they became the creators of a new, but already very influential informal structure in the non-Western world - BRICS. It is important to emphasize that the political weight of the Asian countries is enhanced by the presence of three nuclear powers. At the same time, the Asian countries have a common idea of how the world order will be transformed. First, it is assumed that in the field of foreign policy no state can dominate in Asia. Secondly, they all have the right to an independent course and resist pressure from outside. And finally, thirdly, cooperation between states is encouraged.

If we talk about the role of leaders in advancing Asia to the heights of world politics, then, undoubtedly, China plays the main role. Implementing a strategy to increase its influence in the world, China focuses on creating a “zone of good-neighborliness and zones of mutual prosperity” along the perimeter of its borders. It is interesting that in this direction of their activities, the Chinese authorities focus on those territories where there are serious reserves of raw materials, energy resources and high technologies.

According to S. Huntington, China can count on attracting the diaspora around the world to solve the tasks set by the Chinese leadership. “Come to the mirror and look at yourself” is the prompt of the Beijing-oriented Chinese to those compatriots who are trying to assimilate in foreign countries [12].

Migration processes have largely affected the Indian society, especially after gaining independence. The Indian diaspora is very influential in Western countries, especially in Britain and the United States.

The researchers note the fact that Indians in the United States have an average income 25% higher than the American average. It is also noted that “about 65% of Indians living in the United States have higher education, they own 15% of new firms in Silicon Valley, make up 10–12% of all US doctors, control about 40% of the American hotel business” [13].

Active promotion of specialists from Asian countries in the Western economic system is largely due to the quality of education. In recent decades, the governments of leading Asian countries have made quality education available to large numbers of young people. A number of Asian universities are in the first lines of the world rankings, which indicates the desire of Asian states to create their own research and technological structure of the world standard. Against this background, the emergence of a new migration trend is noteworthy. As noted by K. Brutents, we are talking about a “recurrent brain drain”, about the widespread return of graduates of foreign, primarily American, universities to their original countries [14].

As noted by Western experts (for example, D. Moisi [15, 66–67]), in comparison with China, India does not restore its historically lost world positions, it forms the image of a modern democratic power that is looking into the future. There is an opinion that,

“Indians will not consider foreign policy as a crusade, just as they do not see the spread of democracy as their main national task. Indian way of thinking says, ‘live and let live’. Indians abhor obligations. India does not feel very comfortable being called America’s ‘main ally’ in Asia or an integral part of a new ‘special relationship’. This discomfort in the precise and clear definition of friends and enemies is an Asian trait in particular” [16, p. 172–173]. It is important to emphasize that the political elite holds the balances quite delicately in the foreign policy and economic spheres, based on their national interests. So, on the one hand, close and diverse contacts with Western countries are maintained, but at the same time, relations with Russia are developing steadily, in particular, in the military-technical sphere. India’s successes in the economy and world politics give reason to believe that the Indian potential (demographic, cultural, civilizational, etc.) will enable the country to take an important place among the major actors in modern world politics.

Conceptually, India’s foreign policy is based on the principle of “three strategic rings”, but the tasks of foreign policy influence relate to South Asia, where India itself has the largest territory, population and GDP. The Indian leadership emphasizes that the solution of regional problems should remain within the competence of India itself, without the intervention of any external forces.

As for world politics, in the 21st century India has taken a number of decisive steps towards a non-Western version of building the world system. Over the past decades, India has been putting into practice the conceptual ideas of mutual assistance along the South-South line. Back in 2003, the Indian leadership initiated the signing of the Brasilia Declaration, which marked the starting point of the institutionalization of the IBSA format (India, Brazil, South Africa). According to the expert, the officially declared goal of IBSA was to stimulate dialogue and cooperation along the South-South line in such areas as poverty alleviation, development, global climate change, dialogue of cultures (peace as “unity in diversity”), healthcare, education, promising areas of energy, scientific and technological progress, and investment [17, 122–123].

When we look at the Asianization process of World politics; we see that the main two countries are India and China. Nevertheless, there are political, economic and territorial problems hindering the relations of these two giants. These two countries competed for centuries over the control of Central Asia, Burma, Tibet, and the states of the South and Southeast Asia. In modern times, the two giants have a competition over raw materials and markets not only in Asia but in many parts of the world, like Africa, and Latin America.

Another issue between India and China is the naval presence of China in the India Ocean. This is a painful topic for India. A. Volodin points out that many in India perceive China’s activities in the Indian Ocean as part of the Chinese “Pearl String Strategy”. According to this doctrine, China seeks to surround India with naval bases. In India, they suspect that China is willing to take their country in a “geopolitical grip”, from the coast of Myanmar to Pakistan (from east to west). India defends its leading role in the Indian Ocean, from Suez to Singapore, and this does not please China [17, pp.282–283].

Returning to the topic of the civilizational eastern “offensive” against the position of western modernity, it should be noted that an important component of this process is tradition in its broadest sense. As F. Braudel pointed out, “in contrast to the West, which

sharply divides the human, and the divine, the Far East does not know this difference. Religion permeates all forms of human life: the state is religion, philosophy is religion, morality is religion, social relations are religion. All these forms are related to the sacred. Hence their tendency towards immutability, towards eternity" [18, p.183]. Power is traditionally sanctified by divine powers. For example, in modern Japan, the person of the emperor is sacred, he is directly connected with higher powers. The same can be observed in modern China, where the Confucian ethics of submission to the power of ruler-father determines the behavioral stereotypes of the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire. As the Russian orientalist, L. Vasiliev notes, traditional ideas are very tenacious in the modern political life of Asian countries: those in power must fulfill the sacred duty of protecting their subjects. And the people must follow the universal - established by heaven - laws. Therefore, ideas about the hierarchy of society, relations of domination and subordination are natural [7].

For example, the role of Islam can hardly be overestimated in countries such as Indonesia, Pakistan and Bangladesh. More and more grounds are found for the assertion that Islam and Confucianism have common values on which the achievements in the economies of Asian countries are based. In particular, Lee Kwang Yew, constantly contrasted the ethical norms of Confucian culture (order, discipline, family responsibility, hard work, collectivism, abstinence) to Western attitudes towards individual success (self-confidence, individualism, disrespect for power), which led to the "decline" of Western civilization.

As known, all world religions represented in Asian society speak of peace and human solidarity, however, in the practice of international relations in the Asian region there are still many unsolved problems, one of which is the creation of a collective security system. Undoubtedly, certain successes in this direction were achieved in the second half of the 20th century when the countries of Southeast Asia announced the creation of a nuclear-free zone, which was a complete surprise for the USSR and the United States. In modern conditions, much depends on the active peacekeeping position of India, China, Vietnam, Indonesia and other states to increase the level and scale of Asian security cooperation. The South China Sea islands have never had a permanent population. The question of their jurisdiction is related to the possibility of extracting energy resources from the continental shelf.

Another problem that concerns the global security system is the threat of terrorism. Many Asian states faced with it, in which the activities of extremists and separatists are carried out, including the training of new militants of these organizations (we are talking about countries such as China, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Myanmar). This problem is even more acute for the states of Arab Asia. As T. Friedman noted, "the term 'Arab spring' should be abandoned. There is nothing in it that looks like a spring... The 'Arab awakening' is also no longer appropriate, given what exactly awakened" [19].

5 Discussion Questions

The term 'Asian civilization' is a very broad and therefore imprecise definition of the features that are observed in the economic, political and cultural life of Asian peoples.

At one time, S. Huntington wrote, “in East Asia alone, there are countries belonging to six civilizations - Japanese, Chinese, Orthodox, Buddhist, Muslim and Western, and taking into account South Asia, Indian is added to them..... The result is an extremely complicated sample of international relations” [12, p. 344]. However, for all the diversity of nations, languages and beliefs, one can find some common matrix characteristics that unite Asian peoples into a collective Asian civilization. And, probably, the most important characteristic can be considered mental attitudes based on traditions and beliefs. Moreover, religious values are often opposed to Western ideas and values, primarily liberal, and sometimes even social democratic. In this regard, the Western expert community discusses a lot about the democratic foundations of Asian society. According to J. Kurlanczyk, the spread of democracy principles in Asia has significantly slowed down if not reversed in recent years, therefore the prospects for establishing civilian control in the young democracies of South and Southeast Asia are very uncertain. Particular disappointment is associated with the failure of the ‘Arab Spring’ in the Middle East, because as a result, the power positions of the military and Islamists only strengthened, and the liberal intelligentsia was a losing party. Everywhere in Asia, there is “growing” disillusionment with democracy” and “authoritarian nostalgia” [20, p. 12–13].

There are many reasons for the rejection of Western democratic values, which, in particular, is associated with the growth of Asian self-awareness, primarily as a result of the modernization in the economy. This modernization was conducted based on its own economic and political models. This enabled the “Asian Tigers” (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan) to transfer themselves from an agrarian economy to advanced industrial states within a generation. Then the two giants of Asia, China and India, followed them.

According to the famous Russian researcher A.D. Voskresensky, “Asian democracies can be quite different from the European and American models, but still remain democracies. They are not “better” or “worse”, they are simply “different” and, perhaps, are better adapted to solve their own political problems” [21, 20–25].

The ideas of “historical revenge”, the restoration of historical justice, trampled by the colonial might of the Western powers, are gaining great popularity. As S. Huntington notes, Asian society is firmly convinced that economic success is due to Asian culture that surpasses the culture of the West, which is in a postmodern crisis. Such sentiments are gradually but steadily strengthening the belief of Asian political elites that the role of the United States, and the West, as a whole, as “Big Brother” in the political scenario of the 21st century no longer exists. In this regard, the viewpoint of Japanese political scientists H. Sato and T. Inoguchi is interesting to consider. They came up with it at the end of the 20th century, and it says that over the next 50 years, the “PAX AMERICANA” model is unlikely, as there is an “accumulation of fatigue” from a confrontational foreign policy. Therefore, the United States will gradually lose motivation for its policy of sole intervention in the world and regional processes. The transformation of the United States into the world’s largest debtor leads to the fact that the American administration is no longer seeking to cover the costs of global goals alone. This is clearly seen from the decline in US interest in providing assistance to foreign states and in financing the

UN. This forecast is very much in line with the current political course of D. Trump. Therefore, Japanese political scientists considered promising the era of “global-post-American world order” [22, p. 102], whose contours are seen by modern Asian politicians in the century of Asia concept, which testifies to the overcoming of such idea as the superiority of the West.

It is important to emphasize that, for example, in modern China, an active state campaign is being conducted to promote the values inherent in Asian culture among young people through cinema and the internet, such as the superiority of group interests of the group over individual interests, which contributes to the general group potential that is necessary to raise the economy and culture of the country. Thus, the state seeks to “overcome” Western cultural and moral-ethical values, which are incompatible with some Asian traditions.

Thus, we can talk about the offensive of Asian countries in all areas of civilizational development. The emergence of the Asian region on the first roles in world politics and economics gives unprecedented importance to interaction with it. In this regard, Russia has a special place, which in Asia has 80% of the territory and 70% of the borders, Eastern Muslim and Buddhist traditions are widespread.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia’s geostrategic and geopolitical center is located in the Krasnoyarsk region. Russian prospects are inextricably linked with the Far East and Siberia. The impetus for stepping up interaction with Asian countries was the form of APEC 2012 in Vladivostok. Even a new term has appeared - Russia - a Euro-Pacific power, which is quite logical, given the importance of the Asian and Far Eastern regions for the future Russian state. As D. Trenin wrote back in 2003, “the present - and even more so the future - Russia is no longer” Eurasia “and even less: Euro-Asia”. Most accurately it can be described as a Euro-Pacific country open to the outside world...” [23]. Thus, the rise of Asia is directly related to the national interests of Russia.

For the Russian Federation, the Asianization trend is reinforced by the tendency in the West to form the image of Russia as an aggressor prone to conflicts and far from the tolerance, humanism, democratic values inherent in Europeans. Besides an active sanctions policy led to ousting the Russian Federation from the western space of the world economy and international relations. A comparative analysis of the Russian Federation foreign policy concepts demonstrates the transformation of theses, and aspirations: from a clearly expressed inclination to be included in a single world space (the 1993 Concept), and familiarization with European values, to a clearly recognized serious crisis “in relations between Russia and the Western states”, and the need for an “independent foreign policy dictated by the national interests of the country” (Concept of 2016). It seems quite logical and justified to turn to the east in order to find partners and allies to solve the problems of ensuring regional and global security (the threat of world terrorism, economic, and environmental problems) [24], to establish a new system of international relations based on a holistic picture of the world of civilization where Asia with its centuries-old traditions and priorities will find a worthy place.

6 Conclusions

Summing up, it should be noted that the rise of Asia does not mean the return to the bipolar world model of the late 20th century. The conclusion of the American scientist