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**THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF A STRONG STATE AS A RESOURCE
OF THE POLITICAL STRATEGY OF MODERN RUSSIA**

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Abstract from Ph.D. thesis in Political Science

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Relevance

The theme of the nature of the state as a basic political institution has always been the most important in political science discourse. In particular, on the basis of the ideas of a strong state, there is a need for the emergence of the need for an existing rethinking of the role and functions of a modern state, in particular, on the basis of the ideas of a strong state.

The relevance of the research topic is determined by significant changes in the content and specifics of the world political process, the growth of contradictions in interstate relations, the scale of internal challenges facing modern Russia. The decisive role of the state in these conditions requires a comprehensive analysis of both theoretical and practical and administrative problems of increasing the efficiency of public administration. The exclusive role of the state-centric paradigm in the historical development of Russia and the ongoing global changes in the world political system stimulate a scientific search for prospects for the development of an effective functioning of the state.

The problem of a strong state is being actualized against the background of growing threats to discredit the national statehood and the need for theoretical substantiation of ways to improve the efficiency of public administration.

It becomes obvious that the growing need for further development of the theoretical and political foundations of the concept of a strong state coincides with the growing public demand for the practical creation of a modern effective state.

The need for a scientific search for ways to improve the efficiency of public administration is also due to the needs of a historical breakthrough, accelerated development, requiring more stress and efforts of society, its social and political institutions. As the process of strengthening the institutions of national statehood has been gaining momentum in Russia since the beginning of the current century, the need for a theoretical analysis of such development is becoming urgent for modern political science.

The degree of scientific elaboration of the topic

The idea of a strong state as the main factor of social progress in modern conditions at the present time is one of the most dynamically developing subjects in political and legal and in general in social science research.

In domestic studies, interest in the problems of the presented work arises in the mid-80s of the last century as an attempt to analyze the foreign experience of creating a strong state.

In the political aspect, for the first time in post-Soviet Russia, the idea of a strong state clearly manifested itself during the 1995 Duma election campaign, which was reflected in the collection of materials from a number of scientific and practical conferences of that time.

At this stage, the political and legal direction of the development of scientific interest in the problems of a strong state is formed and subsequently develops (dissertations of the early 2000s by P.V. Anokhin, M.A. Romanov, I.A. Ivannikov, N.K. Biglova).

The works that consider a strong state from the standpoint of the concept of an ideal state do not lose their relevance. One of the approaches most represented in modern domestic literature to a strong state as an objective need of the time and the most important factor of social progress continues to develop productively (a series of works by A.D. Kerimov and I.N. Kuksin, Zatonsky V.A., I.V. Ponkin, etc.)

Also relevant are publications devoted to the substantiation and development of the national ideology of modern Russia. Conceptualization of a modern strong state is practically impossible without a deep analysis of its managerial potential, and this area of research is one of the most intensively developing.

However, with a significant already volume of scientific publications in the above areas, the presented topic of this study is still clearly insufficiently studied.

This is especially felt in the part of political science proper: most of the publications on the problems of a strong state belong not so much to representatives of political science as to lawyers-state scholars.

Naturally, the complexity and conceptual ambiguity of the phenomenon of a strong state predetermine the use of an interdisciplinary approach, which makes it possible to represent the functioning of the Russian state-organized society in the unity of many of its aspects, with the dominance, naturally, of its political foundations. Hence the need to intensify scientific research in this direction.

The object of the research is modern socio-political relations in the field of building and developing a modern effective state, which together form the paradigm of strong statehood.

The subject of this research is the political science concept of a strong state as a theoretical basis for the political development strategy of modern Russia.

The aim of the research is to provide theoretical substantiation of the process of conceptualizing a strong state, political, legal and ideological and moral factors of building and developing a strong state in the context of the current stage of development of national statehood.

The purpose of the study predetermined the formulation of the following research tasks:

- *Clarify* the theoretical and methodological foundations of the conceptualization of a strong state;
- *Provide* a comparative description of the analytical tools used in the study;
- *Consider* the evolution of ideas about a strong state in the history of Russian political thought;
- *Determine* the ideological and theoretical origins of a strong state in the Eurasian theory;
- *Describe* the place and role of the idea of a strong state as a factor in the political development strategy of modern Russia;

- *Identify* the basic conditions for the institutionalization of a strong state in the context of modern public administration;

The main provisions for the defense:

1. *The main problem* of the research is that the theory of a strong state in modern political science is at an early stage of development. The essence of a strong state is analyzed in modern scientific discourse in the context of theoretical pluralism and conceptual ambiguity of the phenomenon under study. The political science analysis of the proposed problem is burdened by ideological and ideological tension. As a result, the defining approach to the conceptualization of a strong state is based on the combined application of research approaches from various areas of social science..
2. The postmodern era significantly expands the possibilities for choosing analytical tools. The most justified from the point of view of the purpose of the work and its main tasks are the methods of comparative analysis, primarily its comparative-historical version; methods of statistical and index assessment, content analysis. Due to the conceptual ambiguity of the very concept of "strong state", the use of methods of discourse analysis, contributing to obtaining an adequate representation of the essence and specific properties of a strong state, is of particular importance..
3. *The following problem appears* as the main contradiction of the proposed research problems: the modern political system in Russia basically emerges at the turn of the XX - XXI centuries under the direct influence of the Western ideological and political tradition, and the new political order, formed by the modern state since the beginning of the XXI century, is actively stimulates domestic science to distance itself from world experience and be based on the national statist tradition.

In these conditions, in the author's opinion, scientific reflection on the new role of the national state is required, taking into account the actively

emerging fundamental changes in the geopolitical and domestic political order.

4. The Eurasian tradition of the priority of moral principles has a positive meaning for the formation of a modern strong state. Such a state is possible primarily through the prism of social and civil morality and the axiology of the state. The moral state in Russia has an advantage over the legal and social state, since it creates more solid foundations of the social structure of society and the sovereignty of the state, based on our national traditions..
5. The author's research position of the analysis of a strong state is based on the paradigm of public administration, which combines elements of political and administrative management, strategic goal-setting, increasing the role of civil society institutions, developing public control, modern political and administrative communications, legal culture, mutual responsibility of citizens and authorities.
6. Among the most significant threats to the formation of a strong state of internal order are spiritual and moral pessimism, social atomization of society, the problem of social justice, a sharp narrowing of the possibilities for the participation of civil society institutions in the dialogue between the state and society, uncertainty in the goal-setting of social development, low efficiency of political and administrative management, low level of political responsibility of the institutions of power and management, selfishness of national elites.

The structure of the work is determined by the subject, purpose and objectives of the research and includes a text with a total volume of 170 pages: introduction, 3 chapters, 6 paragraphs, conclusion and a list of used literature, including 274 titles.

The theoretical and methodological foundations of the research are revealed in the First chapter of the dissertation "Methodological foundations of the analysis of the concept of a strong state", which includes two paragraphs: *1.1 Theoretical pluralism in the explanatory paradigm of a strong state and 1.2. Analytical tools for studying the idea and project of a strong state.*

This chapter substantiates and operationalizes the research tasks as general scientific methods, such as analysis, synthesis, induction, deduction, as well as a number of theoretical positions of political science: the institutional approach, the theory of political systems by D. Easton and G. Almond, theories of democracy and post-democracy Crouch, theories political culture, monitoring democracy of John Keane. The importance of a comprehensive analysis of the socio-political, moral and ideological foundations of a strong state of the XXI century is emphasized, it is shown how the structural and functional system of a strong state determines the stable and sustainable development of a modern nation state.

An analytical assessment of neo-patrimonialism in the context of developing the concept of a strong state is given. In general, one of the most important methodological attitudes in the work is determined by the systemic understanding of the state as a universal political and administrative system that determines the main characteristics of politics and the main directions of development of the political system and society as a whole.

The second chapter of the dissertation "The genesis of ideas about a strong state and modernity" consists of two sections: 2.1. Evolution of ideas about a strong state in the history of Russian political thought ”and 2.2. Conceptual foundations of a strong state in the Eurasian discourse”.

On the example of the analysis of the political views of I. Ilyin, his theory of organic democracy, the interrelation of a democratic state with the socio-cultural foundations and characteristics of a particular state-organized society is interpreted.

The second paragraph of the chapter analyzes two main groups of judgments of the Eurasian theorists that have semantic meaning for the conceptualization of a strong state. One group reflects the traditional, largely archaic attributes of the national statehood, and the other - those of them that, in our opinion, may be useful in developing the socio-political foundations of a modern strong and effective state. As a result, the conclusion is substantiated that one of the theoretical sources of a strong and effective national statehood is seen in the reliance on Russian historical traditionalism.

The third chapter "The concept of a strong state as a theoretical basis for the development of Russia in the XXI century" consists of two sections: 3.1. The idea of a strong state in the political strategy of modernizing Russia and 3.2. Management potential of the concept of a strong state in the Russian context.

The chapter shows that in order to characterize a strong state, it is essential to proceed from a dual understanding of the strength of the state: to separate the static and dynamic strength of the state. Static power is determined by the infrastructural basis of the state, "the norm of its controllability," while dynamic power is based on the activity of the state, in the content and direction of its policies, etc. Moreover, the latter option is paramount in building a strong state capable of solving the problems of the transition period.

As a result of the analysis of the current scientific discourse on the problems of this work, carried out in this chapter, the opposition of two main tendencies is clearly manifested - a protective, relatively speaking, bias considering the problem of improving public administration within the framework of the established political order and a progressive desire to build a new public administration on the universal basis of the global civilizational experience..

A positive way out of this state is seen as a departure from a purely ideological substantiation of the project of a strong state from the standpoint of domestic traditionalism towards an objective scientific analysis of both national

specifics, as well as modern trends in world development of effective formats for building a strong and sustainable state order.

In this context, a strong state appears not so much in the form of a theoretical construct, but in the form of an effective institution of political and administrative management, designed to ensure state order and sustainable development of society as a whole..

The scientific novelty of the research is determined by the author's approach to solving an important scientific problem - the theoretical substantiation of the need to create a strong domestic state in the harmonious relationship of its political, legal and ideological and moral factors. The results obtained, containing elements of scientific novelty, are set out in the following provisions:

The main research results obtained by the author and constituting scientific novelty are as follows:

1. The scientific need for the transition from the metaphorical and symbolic image of a strong state to its socio-political concept based on institutional and value approaches has been substantiated.
2. The author's understanding of a strong state as the ability of the state to effectively implement the basic tasks of management, coordination of public life and ensuring national sovereignty is proposed.
3. It is concluded that the most important function of a strong state in Russia should be the departure from the discreteness of state power and the formation of a paradigm of continuity, evolutionary continuity of the existence and functioning of the domestic state.
4. The statement is formulated that the strengthening of the spiritual and moral foundations of the entire socio-political structure reflects the moral imperative of the formation in Russia of a strong state of the XXI century.

5. The main directions of the strategy of building a strong state in our country are proposed:
- moral development of man and society as a priority of social progress;
 - activation of a comprehensive dialogue between civil society and the state on the principle “no social and political institution should remain outside the real control of society”;
 - "Bureaucracy" of the state: overcoming the "privatization" of the state by the state apparatus;
 - constitutional restrictions on the privatization of socially needed resources;
 - a departure from the archaic for the 21st century practice of domination of informal institutions in public administration to the detriment of generally accepted public institutions of power.
6. *It is determined* that the political conditions for the institutionalization of a strong state in modern Russia are: a republican form of state with a presidential form of government, with a public democratic regime of government and taking into account the Eurasian specifics of the federal structure of the country.

At the end of each **Chapter** and in the **Conclusion**, the conclusions and results of the research are presented..

The research is interdisciplinary in nature. The results of a comparative analysis of the state of elaboration of the problems of a strong state are presented, in a generalized form they are reduced to the following basic provisions:

- 1. In modern socio-political discourse, a strong state in most cases is presented in the following form:**
- as a metaphor, the image of a successful state;
 - as a special Russian history of an all-powerful state, overcoming all its opponents.

2. ***In state studies*** since the 2000s. a strong state is interpreted in most cases as a legal and social state and is described as a set of signs of legal, social and ideological.
3. ***In social philosophy***, the problem of a strong state is reduced to characterizing the conditions for social creativity, where the individual acts as a subject of social creativity along with and in interaction with other social subjects, including the state.
4. ***In political science***, the category of a strong state has not yet found its wide distribution. There are studies of certain aspects of a strong state:
 - as a principle;
 - as an effective state;
 - as an ideological state;
 - as the development of Ilyin's organic democracy.

The analysis showed that the issue of conceptualizing a strong state from a political science standpoint is at the initial stage of research. It is revealed that in traditional political science, until recently, this issue was considered within the framework of the dichotomy of democratic-non-democratic states (liberal-conservative). However, since the beginning of the 21st century, the limitations of these traditional approaches have become obvious. The world political process is facing new global risks and this directly affects the nation state and Russia as well. As a result, this work states the need for the formation of a new paradigm of scientific understanding of the development of mankind as a whole and at the level of specific states..

5. ***In the course of this study, new approaches to the characterization of the modern state have been identified:***
 - index characteristic of statehood;
 - the state as the main producer of politics, an efficient state with decent governance;
 - moral state;
 - as a concept of intertwined institutions in political governance;

- rethinking the political process of the "era of uncertainty" at the beginning of the current century.

The dissertation states **conceptual pluralism** regarding the very essence of the supposed strong state, which implies the demand in the modern scientific discourse of a kind of "Great Debate" on the problem of a strong state. In this sense, the author sought to make a feasible contribution to the rethinking of the modern strong Russian state not from the standpoint of Russia's traditional ideological approach, but from the standpoint of the spiritual and moral foundations of the development of society and the state..

6. The dissertation is written in line with the axiological approach to the formation of a strong state. The rethinking of the role of spiritual and moral principles of the modern state is analyzed, the study of the state in historical dynamics, carried out through the prism of ethics and axiology of the state, is positively assessed. On this basis, as well as based on the results of a comparative analysis of the current political science discourse, the author's position on the conceptualization of a modern strong state is presented..

The study of the current scientific discourse on the conceptualization of a strong state revealed a distinct opposition of two main tendencies - a protective, relatively speaking, bias considering the problem of improving public administration within the framework of the established political order and a progressive desire to build a new public administration on the universal basis of the global civilizational experience.

As a result, a positive way out of this state is seen as a departure from the purely ideological substantiation of the project of a strong state from the standpoint of domestic traditionalism towards an objective scientific analysis of both national specifics, as well as modern trends in world development of effective formats for building a strong and sustainable state order..

The main theoretical result of the dissertation is the proof of the necessity consistent transition from the patrimonial nature of the state to social partnership, which we consider as a constantly renewing mechanism for the formation of an atmosphere of public trust and social solidarity. This is what determines the sustainable and stable development of society as the main task of a strong state..

Approbation of research results

The main provisions and conclusions of the study were presented at several Russian and international scientific and practical conferences and forums:

1. Conference of the Russian Association of Political Science (RAPS) "TRAJECTORY OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIA", Moscow, Moscow State Pedagogical University, December 6 and 7, 2019. An article on the results of the conference "Updating the Eurasian Image of a Strong State" has been published.
2. «III International Scientific Forum "Public Administration: Breakthrough Technologies in the Era of Digitalization", held by the North-West Institute of Management, RANEPA (St. states: theoretical and political foundations».
3. Conference STRATCOM-2018 "Strategic communications in business and politics", propaganda in a digital society. As a result of the conference, theses were issued "A strong state in political discourse: instrumental possibilities of analysis»
4. Scientific-practical conference "The 1993 Constitution: Russia's Challenge and the Image of the Future" dedicated to the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation " in the concept of a strong state ”.

On the topic of the dissertation work, there are 5 published articles published in publications included in the list of scientific periodicals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation and 2 publications in other publications:

Articles in peer-reviewed scientific journals and publications recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission under the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation:

1. Belov L.P. The idea of a strong state: the position of I.A. Ilyina // State Service. - 2020, v. 22. - No. 5. - From 93-97.
2. Belov L.P. Justice and tradition in building a strong state of the XXI century // Questions of political science. 2020. -Issue 9 (61), v. 10. –S. 2733-2740.
3. Belov L.P. Foundations of a strong state in the Eurasian theoretical heritage // Questions of political science. 2019. -Issue 9 (49), vol. 9. –S. 1992-1997.
4. Belov L.P. Strong state: towards the construction of a theoretical model // MANAGEMENT CONSULTING. 2019, Issue 4.-C.114-122
5. Belov L.P. Ideological component of the concept “strong state // MANAGEMENT CONSULTING. 2018. Issue 10, -S. 143-152.

Works published in other publications indexed by the Russian Science Citation Index:

1. Personnel policy of public administration of a strong state: theoretical and political foundations // SCIENTIFIC WORKS of the North-West Institute of Management RANEP. 2018.v. 9, Issue 4 (36), - P.44-51.
2. Actualization of the Eurasian image of a strong state // Trajectories of Russia's Political Development: Institutions, Projects, Actors: Materials of the All-Russian Scientific Conference of the RAPN with International Participation, Moscow, Moscow State Pedagogical University, 2019, pp. 61-62.