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**RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY ACTIVITIES AIMED
AT SHAPING A NEW WORLD ORDER**

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Abstract of the dissertation
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The relevance of the research. The relevance of this dissertation research stems from the need for a scientific understanding of the transformation of the Russian Federation's foreign policy activities amid structural changes in the contemporary system of international relations. The new world order currently taking shape is a complex and dynamic system in which countries and international organisations interact across various fields. As a leading world power, Russia plays an important role in shaping a new world order. Research into the challenges associated with its emergence can contribute to a better understanding of Russia's motivations and objectives on the international stage and help anticipate its future actions.

The current stage of international relations is characterised by growing tensions between the West and developing countries. Escalating conflicts in security, economics and technology indicate a crisis in the established world order, creating a need to refine theoretical and applied approaches to the analysis of states' foreign policies. In these circumstances, Russia's foreign policy requires examination not merely as a response to external challenges, but as a system of purposeful actions through which a particular vision of the future world order is consolidated.

A sound analysis requires a distinction between the concepts of the 'world system' and 'world order'. This research does not treat them as synonyms. The world system is understood as the structural configuration of the international environment, encompassing the distribution of centres of power, resources, dependencies, institutions and stable channels of interaction among actors. World order, in turn, denotes the normative and institutional organisation of this system: the body of norms, rules and recognised arrangements through which states participate in decisions of international significance. Accordingly, transformation of the world system entails changes in the structure of international relations, whereas the formation of a new world order involves changes in the rules, institutions and principles under which that structure operates. Thus, a new world order takes shape amid the transformation of the world system but cannot be reduced to that process; it also entails a struggle to establish new norms, institutions and principles governing interaction among states on the world stage.

The scientific relevance of the research derives from substantial gaps in research on Russia's foreign policy activities within the emerging world order. Existing scholarship examines individual aspects of Russian foreign policy, including energy diplomacy, confrontation over sanctions and regional priorities, in considerable detail. However, a comprehensive approach that accounts for the relationship between Russia's foreign policy strategies and the transformation of world order, as well as the crisis affecting international institutions and the principles and norms of international law, remains insufficiently developed. Nor does the literature offer a common interpretation of Russia's role as an initiator of institutional change in world politics. These processes require the refinement of theoretical models of international relations and a reassessment of the role of states during the transition to a new world order.

The practical relevance of the research reflects a growing demand in foreign policy practice for research-based recommendations in a changing global environment. Whereas V. V. Putin's Munich speech in 2007 publicly challenged the unipolar model of international relations, the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation now identifies the formation of a 'just and sustainable world order' as one of the principal objectives of foreign policy. The Concept also defines Russia as a 'state-civilisation', a designation that does not fit the previous conceptual framework of international relations. These developments therefore concern not only political rhetoric, but also the direction of strategic planning, institutional engagement and practical diplomacy.

Research into Russia's foreign policy activities during the formation of a new world order is thus motivated both by the scholarly need to address existing theoretical and empirical gaps and by the practical need to develop effective strategies for foreign policy engagement.

Scientific development of the problem. Theoretical approaches to understanding a new world order, its nature and its substance are explored in the works of both Russian and international scholars. The structure and contours of the emerging international system are examined by M. M. Lebedeva, A. I. Nikitin, L. E. Grinin, A. V. Korotayev, A. A. Gromyko and E. M. Primakov.

Theoretical aspects of the transformation of world order are addressed in the research of E. Ya. Batalov, A. D. Bogaturov and P. A. Tsygankov.

N. A. Kosolapov, M. V. Strezhneva and A. N. Mikhailenko have made significant contributions to research into the evolution of world order.

The formation of world order receives particular attention in the works of international scholars such as J. Mearsheimer, H. Kissinger, F. Zakaria, H. Bull, A. Acharya, R. Sakwa and B. Buzan. Liberal and realist conceptions of world order are analysed in the works of G. J. Ikenberry, L. H. Miller, R. Kagan and Z. Brzezinski.

The redistribution of influence within the international system and the role of key actors, including Russia, China, the United States, the European Union, African and Latin American countries, and India, are examined by D. V. Trenin, A. V. Lukin, T. V. Bordachev, T. A. Shakleina, V. B. Mantusov, V. M. Davydov and P. P. Yakovlev.

In recent years, questions of world order have increasingly been explored in non-Western as well as Western academia. Of particular relevance to this research are works by scholars from India, China, Türkiye, Africa and Latin America that conceptualise the transformation of the international system in terms of a post-Western order. These include works by A. Acharya, K. Subrahmanyam, S. Saran, S. Menon, B. S. Chimni, K. Bajpai, S. Mallavarapu, S. Jaishankar and C. Raja Mohan from India; Qin Yaqing, Yan Xuetong and Zhao Tingyang from China; A. Mazrui, F. Fanon, A. Césaire, A. Mbembe and F. Deng from Africa; R. Prebisch, F. H. Cardoso, E. Faletto, T. dos Santos, J. C. Puig, H. Jaguaribe, R. Russell, J. G. Tokatlian, J. A. Sanahuja, R. Bernal-Meza, A. Serbin and L. E. Rodríguez Hernández from Latin America; and A. Davutoğlu, İ. Kalın, P. Bilgin, M. Yeşiltaş and B. Aras from Türkiye.

Russian foreign policy and its role in shaping a new world order are analysed in the works of T. V. Zonova, D. V. Suslov, O. N. Barabanov and F. A. Lukyanov.

The development of the strategic directions of Russian diplomacy during the transition to multipolarity is examined by A. V. Torkunov, S. V. Kortunov and V. A. Nikonov.

The literature review thus demonstrates substantial scholarly interest in the transformation of world order and Russia's role in this process. Nevertheless, further

comprehensive research is needed into Russia's foreign policy priorities as a new international architecture takes shape. This gap provides the basis for the scientific novelty of the present research.

The object of the research is the contemporary system of international relations amid the transformation of world order.

The subject of the research comprises the priorities, instruments and directions of the Russian Federation's foreign policy activities aimed at participating in the formation of a new world order.

The purpose of the research is to provide a scientific justification for the place and role of the Russian Federation's foreign policy activities in shaping a new world order through the author's conceptualisation of the priorities, instruments, structural constraints and development prospects of these activities amid the transformation of the contemporary system of international relations.

To achieve this purpose, the following research objectives were formulated:

1. To conduct a comprehensive analysis of conceptual approaches to understanding the nature and structure of world order, systematising the principal theoretical paradigms used to examine it.
2. To establish criteria for a typology of the approaches adopted by key global actors to shaping a new world order, taking into account differences in their views of the principles, institutions and mechanisms of international interaction.
3. To identify the distinctive features of Russia's conceptual and doctrinal approach to shaping a new world order on the basis of the Russian Federation's strategic foreign policy documents.
4. To develop a classification of the instruments used in Russia's foreign policy activities to shape a new world order, demonstrating their relationship to Russia's strategic priorities and changes in the international environment.
5. To develop scenarios for the future evolution of the international system and identify the most likely trajectories through which Russia's role in shaping a new world order may be strengthened.

6. To identify the principal priorities, assess prospects, and formulate and substantiate recommendations for improving the effectiveness of Russia's foreign policy activities in shaping a new world order.

The hypothesis of the research is that Russia can become one of the poles of the emerging world order, provided that it consistently strengthens its overall geopolitical status and systematically brings its underlying economic and technological, military and strategic, demographic, spatial and geographical, and civilisational and cultural potential to bear. This, in turn, would enable Russia to move from reactive responses to external challenges towards a proactive strategy for shaping the norms and institutions of the international architecture, securing its role as a system-shaping centre of power in the formation of a new world order. The hypothesis may be considered confirmed if an increase in Russia's geopolitical status coincides with recognition of its role as a pole by other international actors. Such recognition would be evidenced by the incorporation of Russian initiatives into new treaties on international security guarantees, the institutionalisation of alternative mechanisms within BRICS, the adoption of Russian-sponsored resolutions by the United Nations General Assembly, and the consolidation of Global South states around Russia as evidence of the emergence of an independent pole.

Scientific novelty of the research:

1. The dissertation advances, for the first time in research into Russia's foreign policy activities in shaping a new world order, the author's interpretation of world order as a polystructural dynamic system. Such a system encompasses not only the balance of power among states, but also the body of international institutions, norms, rules and value orientations through which actors substantiate their visions of a just world order. Its functional coherence is sustained by the complex interaction between a political and legal architecture encompassing norms, principles and institutions, and a dynamic sphere of informal practices that determine actors' behaviour on the international stage.

In contrast to approaches that view world order primarily in terms of the balance of power, institutional arrangements or the norms of international law, the dissertation argues that its contemporary transformation involves simultaneous changes in all these dimensions. The distribution of influence among centres of power is changing, the crisis

of existing institutions of global governance is intensifying, and competing conceptions of legitimate principles of international interaction are gaining prominence. On this basis, the research refines the criteria for distinguishing models of world order. It shows that these models are defined not only by the number of centres of power, but also by the distribution of influence, the sources of legitimacy of international rules, the role of formal and informal institutions, and the capacity of states and groupings to establish their own visions of a just and sustainable world order. This interpretation makes it possible to regard the formation of a new world order not simply as a transition from unipolarity to multipolarity, but as a more complex process involving the distribution of influence among centres of power and changes in norms, principles and institutions.

2. The dissertation offers the author's interpretation of the transformation of world order as a process involving both the weakening of the previous institutional model of international relations and the emergence of new centres of power with their own conceptions of the principles of global governance. The author conducted a comparative typological analysis of the national security strategies and concepts of Russia, the United States, China, India and the European Union, as well as the African Union, Latin American countries and Türkiye, as proponents of distinct projects for world order. The research identifies actual, rather than merely declared, differences among their approaches, ranging from the American 'rules-based order' and the Chinese 'community with a shared future for mankind' to the Indian model of 'highly uneven multipolarity' and Türkiye's positioning of itself as an independent pole. It argues that, under contemporary conditions, leading global actors are moving from predominantly institutional mechanisms for maintaining international order towards a more flexible combination of economic, technological, military and political, informational, and coalition-building instruments of influence.

The scientific novelty of this proposition lies in interpreting changes in world order not only as a consequence of an objective redistribution of power among states, but also as the result of purposeful foreign policy activities by actors seeking to change previous rules, constrain institutions that disadvantage them, and consolidate their own visions of the future international architecture. This approach makes it possible to view the

contemporary transformation of the international system as the managed dismantling of the previous world order, accompanied by the emergence of alternative centres of power, rather than as the construction of a new one.

3. The dissertation argues that Russia's foreign policy activities in shaping a new world order develop within an interconnected system of structural constraints in the international environment, rather than in response to isolated external challenges. These constraints include the persistence of Western-centred mechanisms of global governance, pressure through sanctions and technological restrictions, the unequal distribution of institutional influence, and competition among different conceptions of legitimate principles of world order. This approach reveals Russia's foreign policy activities as a process of overcoming the constraints of the previous order while simultaneously participating in the creation of alternative arrangements for international interaction. The author identified prospects for the development of Russia's foreign policy activities associated with the progressive removal of these structural barriers through the adaptation of strategies aimed at strengthening technological independence and demographic resilience, establishing a new security system, and expanding Russia's normative and institutional initiatives on the international stage.

4. The author substantiates a two-track model of Russia's foreign policy activities in shaping a new world order. One track seeks to constrain Western-centred mechanisms of international domination, while the other develops alternative arrangements for cooperation with non-Western centres of power. These directions are shown to form an interconnected strategy rather than operate in isolation. Criticism of unilateral sanctions, coercive pressure and the 'rules-based order' is accompanied by the gradual institutionalisation of BRICS, including the drafting of a charter, the establishment of coordinating bodies and the introduction of the alternative payment system BRICS Clear; the development of an alternative normative framework under UN auspices, including the progressive restriction of unlawful unilateral coercive measures through soft-law instruments, criteria for their legal assessment and the subsequent codification of specific prohibitions, as well as international regulation of artificial intelligence; the advancement of Eurasian integration through a single digital market in

the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU), the modernisation of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and North–South transport corridors; and the strengthening of bilateral strategic partnerships and relations with states of the World Majority. The scientific novelty of this approach lies in combining two tracks: strengthening Russia's own institutional arrangements while developing an alternative normative framework. This would enable Russia to move from a reactive foreign policy strategy towards proactive participation in shaping a new world order.

The theoretical significance of the research lies in refining established understandings in political science of how world order is transformed, how states' foreign policy activities change under conditions of global instability, and what role Russia plays in these processes. The research draws on an interdisciplinary synthesis of international relations theory, geopolitics, geoeconomics, world-systems analysis and the civilisational approach. The author defines world order as a polystructural dynamic system whose coherence is sustained by the interaction between a formalised political and legal architecture and informal practices that shape actors' behaviour on the international stage. This understanding allows current changes to be viewed not simply as a redistribution of power, but as a qualitative transformation of the mechanisms through which norms, principles and institutions are coordinated.

The dissertation broadens the theoretical framework for analysing foreign policy amid the disruption of the established balance of power and intensifying global competition. The author conducted a comparative typological analysis of the national security strategies and concepts of leading global powers and actors, including Russia, the United States, China, India, the European Union, the African Union, Latin American countries and Türkiye. The research identified substantive differences in their approaches to shaping world order. It established a pattern whereby all leading powers are gradually moving away from purely institutional mechanisms towards direct economic, technological, and military and political instruments. This enabled a new interpretation of their foreign policy activities as the controlled dismantling of the previous system, accompanied by the creation of alternative centres of power, rather than as the construction of a new world order.

The research systematises existing models of world order: monopolar, unipolar, nonpolar, bipolar, multipolar, polycentric, multilateral and rules-based. It proposes a structure for a new world order as a system of interaction among norms, principles and institutions, providing analytical tools for examining transitional states of the international system. In contrast to linear interpretations of transformation, the research substantiates its nonlinear and conflictual character, which is relevant to forecasting within international relations theory.

With regard to Russia, the research identifies the principal problems hindering its foreign policy activities in shaping world order. These include terminological ambiguity in strategic documents, the need to strengthen the country's geopolitical status, and the need for a systematic approach to Russia's active participation in building a new architecture. In contrast to research focused on Russia's adaptation to existing international institutions, the dissertation proposes a model for a proactive foreign policy strategy. It encompasses two interconnected directions: strengthening Russia's own institutional arrangements, such as the gradual institutionalisation of BRICS and the advancement of Eurasian integration, and developing an alternative normative framework, including through the progressive restriction of unlawful unilateral coercive measures by means of soft-law instruments and the international regulation of artificial intelligence. This approach advances theoretical understandings of the capacity of non-Western states to influence the normative and institutional architecture of world order.

The theoretical significance of the research therefore consists in refining the conceptual framework through the author's definition of world order, identifying new patterns in the foreign policy activities of leading powers, systematising existing models of transformation, and substantiating a model for Russia's foreign policy strategy.

The practical significance of the research lies in its applied focus, which makes its findings and recommendations relevant to improving Russia's foreign policy strategy and developing effective mechanisms for engagement with key international actors as a new world order takes shape. The findings reveal the distinctive features of states' foreign policy activities in shaping world order and demonstrate their importance for ensuring state security. The research materials can be used in preparing analytical briefs on foreign

policy and by public authorities of the constituent entities of the Russian Federation responsible for developing international ties.

The theoretical basis of the research comprises key concepts in contemporary political science and international relations theory, together with established works by Russian and international scholars analysing the transformation of world order. These include G. J. Ikenberry, H. Kissinger, F. Zakaria, E. Ya. Batalov, A. D. Bogaturov and P. A. Tsygankov.

The dissertation analyses the causes and course of the transformation of world order through a range of theories. Transitions between world orders can be explained in part through S. Glazyev's theory of technological paradigms; Kondratieff's theory of long waves; I. Wallerstein's world-systems analysis; the civilisational theories of N. Danilevsky, O. Spengler, A. Toynbee, N. N. Moiseev, S. Huntington and F. Fukuyama; R. Keohane's theory of hegemony; E. Luttwak's geoeconomic theory; and J. Nye's theory of soft power.

Fundamental propositions explaining the origins and evolution of a new world order, including its institutional development during the early stages of formation, are conceptually articulated in the works of A. N. Mikhailenko.

Research methodology and methods. The methodological foundations of the research reflect the complexity of the problem under investigation. The formation of a new world order cannot be explained solely through changes in the balance of power, the crisis of international institutions, or competition among ideas and values. These processes unfold simultaneously and influence one another. The research therefore combined several theoretical approaches, each of which was used to examine a particular dimension of Russia's foreign policy activities.

Political realism was used to analyse the power-related and structural dimensions of the formation of a new world order, the balance of power, the logic of hegemonic rivalry, and the national security strategies of leading powers, as well as to explain the causes of Russia's confrontation with the collective West.

Liberalism was used to examine the institutional architecture of a new world order, the role of international organisations, and the effectiveness of multilateral diplomacy and sanctions mechanisms.

Constructivism was employed to analyse the ideological and normative dimensions of the evolution of Russia's foreign policy identity, the discursive contest among conceptions of world order, and the role of cultural and civilisational factors in international relations.

The combination of these paradigms within a single research framework is methodologically justified by the complex nature of its object: the transformation of world order cannot be explained within a single theoretical tradition. These paradigms were integrated at the level of formulating research objectives and interpreting empirical data, thereby ensuring a multidimensional analysis. Methodological tensions among political realism, the liberal approach and constructivism were addressed in this research by assigning them distinct analytical functions. These approaches were neither treated as mutually exclusive explanatory frameworks nor reduced to a single universal theory. Each was applied to a particular dimension of Russia's foreign policy activities as a new world order takes shape.

The research followed a unified analytical sequence. First, the analysis examined changes in the structure of the international system, including shifts in the balance of power, intensifying competition among leading powers, and the constraints and opportunities emerging for Russia amid the crisis of the unipolar model. Political realism was used at this level. Next, the analysis examined the institutions, norms, international organisations and multilateral arrangements through which states seek to consolidate, change or contest the existing rules of international interaction. The liberal approach was applied here. Finally, the analysis examined how Russia's foreign policy activities are justified in terms of ideas, values and political meanings through the concepts of sovereignty, justice, multipolarity, the state-civilisation and the World Majority. This level was explored through the constructivist approach.

This research design avoids methodological ambiguity. Realism helps explain the international environment in which Russia operates; liberalism shows the rules and

institutions through which foreign policy engagement unfolds; and constructivism reveals the conceptions of a just world order and of Russia's own role in the world that inform its foreign policy activities.

This sequence makes it possible to examine Russia's foreign policy activities not only as a reaction to changes in the international environment, but also as deliberate participation in shaping new principles, institutions and the ideational foundations of world order.

World-systems analysis and the civilisational approach were used as additional theoretical frameworks. I. Wallerstein's world-systems analysis was employed to examine the cyclical rhythms of hegemony. Together with the civilisational approach, it provided a macrohistorical context, placing the changes identified through realism, liberalism and constructivism in a long-term perspective. The civilisational approach was used to explain Russia's foreign policy positioning as a 'state-civilisation' and to analyse conflicts along civilisational fault lines, adding a values-based dimension to the structural analysis offered by political realism.

The research employed the systems method and comparative analysis. The systems method enabled the author to analyse Russia's foreign policy activities as part of a broader system encompassing both domestic and external factors. It also made it possible to assess the effectiveness of foreign policy actions and identify potential directions for improving foreign policy strategy.

Comparative analysis enabled a systematic comparison of the current state and outcomes of the Russian Federation's foreign policy activities with those of other key actors as a new architecture of world order takes shape. The objects of comparison were models of world order—monopolar, unipolar, nonpolar, bipolar, multipolar, polycentric, multilateral and rules-based—and the national security concepts and foreign policy strategies of eight actors: Russia, the United States, China, India, the European Union, the African Union, Latin America and Türkiye. The comparison was based on the following criteria: the declared type of desired world order; the military, economic and institutional instruments used to achieve it; and attitudes towards the principles and norms of international law and international institutions.

Since the contours of a new world order are only beginning to emerge, the research also employed scientific forecasting tools.

Legal and policy documents were examined through content analysis, which made it possible to determine how frequently key concepts occur in textual sources. In addition, Russia's bilateral relations with individual countries were examined in depth using the case analysis method.

The procedure for content analysis and supplementary event analysis is set out in Appendix 1, which specifies the source corpus, units of analysis and counting, the codebook, the rules for including and excluding contexts, the document–category matrix, normalised frequencies and time periods. This procedure makes the counting process reproducible and distinguishes the quantitative recording of categories from their subsequent interpretation in political science.

The empirical base of the research comprises:

1. Official foreign policy documents of the Russian Federation, including foreign policy concepts, national security strategies and programmatic documents on foreign policy.
2. Data on Russia's foreign policy actions in recent years, including its participation in international organisations, political and economic relations with other states, diplomatic activities, military operations and other measures aimed at advancing national interests and strengthening Russia's position on the world stage.
3. Official foreign policy documents of the United States, the European Union, China, India, Türkiye, and African and Latin American countries.
4. Data from resolutions and decisions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly.
5. Analytical materials, reports by experts and international organisations, and statistical data on economic, political and social indicators in various regions of the world.
6. Media materials and a broad range of online resources. The literature used in the dissertation was obtained from authoritative databases, including the Russian State Library's Digital Library, Springer, Scopus, Web of Science and Sustainalytics.

Main propositions of the research submitted for defence:

1. The dissertation argues that world order is a polystructural dynamic system grounded in the norms and rules of international law and in the actions of states and formal and informal international institutions. This system requires transformation when the geopolitical situation and the global balance of power undergo fundamental change. Existing models of world order include monopolar, unipolar, nonpolar, bipolar, multipolar, polycentric, multilateral and rules-based models.

2. The research establishes that, alongside classical theories explaining transitions between world orders in terms of power confrontation, other conceptions interpret this process through economic cycles, technological shifts and sociocultural change. The integration of alternative conceptual models into the analysis of the evolution of world order reflects a need for new explanatory frameworks. Classical theories that focus on power competition as the principal mechanism of change are losing analytical value as the architecture of global governance becomes increasingly complex.

3. The dissertation argues that the transformation of contemporary world order involves the simultaneous weakening of the previous institutional model of international relations and the emergence of new centres of power advancing their own projects for global governance. The approaches of Russia, the United States, China, India, Türkiye, the European Union, the African Union and Latin American states differ not only in their official declarations, but also in the instruments of influence they employ. Leading actors increasingly move from predominantly institutional mechanisms for maintaining order towards a combination of economic, technological, military and political, informational, and coalition-building instruments. This makes it possible to view the current stage not only as the construction of a new order, but also as the managed dismantling of elements of the previous one.

4. The research presents a new structure for world order that will be based on specific, generally accepted and effectively implemented norms of international law that will define rules of conduct on the world stage; principles intended to form the fundamental basis of international relations; and institutions that regulate international relations, maintain the balance of power and resolve conflicts. The formation of this new

structure is thus a nonlinear process of institutional development. Formal norms of international law, principles and institutions are not merely declared, but evolve under the influence of the underlying transformative forces identified in the research: technological paradigms; civilisational dynamics; geoeconomic strategies; the structural logic of world-systems analysis, which establishes long-term rhythms through hegemonic cycles and Kondratieff waves within which global leadership is consolidated and enters into crisis; the dynamics of hegemonic competition; and soft power resources.

5. The research identifies the two-track character of Russia's foreign policy activities in shaping a new world order. The first track seeks to constrain Western-centred mechanisms of international domination, including through criticism of unilateral sanctions, coercive pressure and the practice of replacing international law with a 'rules-based order'. The second track seeks to develop alternative arrangements for cooperation and normative and institutional mechanisms. These include the gradual institutionalisation of BRICS; strengthening the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the EAEU and the CSTO; developing Eurasian transport and digital projects; creating alternative payment mechanisms; promoting international regulation in emerging fields, including artificial intelligence; and strengthening ties with states of the World Majority. The combination of these directions enables Russia to move from a predominantly reactive foreign policy strategy towards more proactive participation in shaping a polycentric world order.

6. The outcomes of Russia's foreign policy activities were monitored as part of the research, and a comprehensive assessment was made of the extent to which declared priorities can be translated into concrete institutional and normative outcomes and norms of international interaction that strengthen Russia's position as one of the sovereign poles of a new world order. The research identified varying levels of effectiveness in Russian policy. The greatest progress has been achieved in the institutional dimension. However, the transformation of normative priorities and norms of international interaction faces the strongest resistance from the West and has met with only limited success. The overall assessment confirms the strengthening of Russia's position as an actual pole of power, but the pace and depth of the formation of a new world order remain dependent on

overcoming systemic opposition and further consolidating alternative centres of influence.

7. The dissertation argues that contemporary geopolitical transformation gives rise to two principal scenarios for restructuring the international system, each of which shapes the specific character of Russia's actions on the world stage. An assessment of future scenarios for the formation of world order in terms of polarity identifies two principal possibilities: movement towards either a bipolar or a multipolar world. Forecasting the polarity of the future world order, however uncertain its present contours may be, is imperative for determining the Russian Federation's strategic directions. The key task of Russian foreign policy is not to adapt passively to these scenarios, but to actively promote and defend the fundamental principles underpinning its international positioning, irrespective of the particular configuration of centres of power. The transitional period may exhibit elements of structural nonpolarity accompanied by growing disorder and competition. Even under these conditions, however, the Russian Federation will consistently pursue an approach aimed at fulfilling the fundamental requirements set out in the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation.

The reliability of the research findings and conclusions is supported by the soundness of its underlying methodological principles, the adequacy of its theoretical and empirical foundations, the substantiation of the author's assessments, inferences and conclusions, and the presentation and discussion of the research results.

Presentation and dissemination of the research results. The dissertation was discussed at a meeting of the Department of International Security and Russian Foreign Policy, Faculty of National Security, Institute of Law and National Security, Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education 'Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration'. The principal findings and content of the research are reflected in six publications by the author, including four research articles in leading peer-reviewed periodicals recommended by the Higher Attestation Commission (VAK). The total length of the publications written by the author is 2.4 printed sheets. These publications include:

1. Bazhanova, E.S. 'Russia's Foreign Policy amid the Transformation of World Order'. *Ethnosocium and Interethnic Culture*, 2023, no. 6 (180), pp. 137–142.
2. Bazhanova, E.S. 'Approaches of Leading World Powers to Shaping a New World Order'. *Ethnosocium and Interethnic Culture*, 2023, no. 7 (181), pp. 30–39.
3. Bazhanova, E.S. 'The Current State, Achievements and Challenges of Russia's Foreign Policy Activities in Shaping World Order'. *Ethnosocium and Interethnic Culture*, 2024, no. 2 (188), pp. 112–117.
4. Bazhanova, E.S. 'Priority Areas of Russia's Foreign Policy Activities in Shaping a New World Order'. *Eurasian Union: Issues of International Relations*, 2025, no. 7 (72), pp. 1763–1770.
5. Bazhanova, E. S. 'The Current State and Development Prospects of Russia's Foreign Policy Activities in Shaping World Order'. In *Proceedings of the International Youth Academic Forum LOMONOSOV 2025*, edited by I. A. Aleshkovsky, A. V. Andriyanov, E. A. Antipov and E. I. Zimakova. Moscow: MAKSS Press, 2025.
6. Bazhanova, E. S. 'The Current State and Development Prospects of Russia's Foreign Policy Activities in Shaping World Order'. In *Public Administration and Russia's Development: New Horizons and a Vision of the Future: Collected Papers of the International Conference Session, Moscow, 20–24 May 2024*. Moscow: Nauchnaya Biblioteka Publishing House, 2025, pp. 677–683.

The research results were presented at national and international conferences:

1. International Round Table 'Russia's Foreign Policy amid the Transformation of World Order', Institute of Law and National Security, RANEPa, 20 April 2023.
2. Ninth International Scientific and Practical Conference for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students and Young Researchers 'Speransky Readings', Institute of Law and National Security, RANEPa, 22 November 2023.
3. All-Russian Youth Academic Forum 'Public Administration and Russia's Development: New Horizons and a Vision of the Future', Institute of Public Administration and Civil Service, RANEPa, 14 May 2024.
4. International Scientific Conference for Undergraduate and Postgraduate Students and Young Researchers 'Lomonosov 2025', Lomonosov Moscow State University, 15 April 2025.

Structure of the dissertation research. The structure of the dissertation follows the logic of the research. It comprises an introduction, two chapters containing five sections, a conclusion, a bibliography and an appendix.