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As a manuscript

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**ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF
NATION-STATES
IN THE CONDITIONS OF MODERN WORLD DEVELOPMENT**

**Speciality:
5.5.1. History and theory of politics**

**ANNOTATION
of the dissertation for an academic degree
Doctor of Political Science**

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The main results of the dissertation of A.N. Kharin

«Alternative models of the nation-state in the conditions of modern world development»

Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Political Science in specialty 5.5.1. «History and theory of politic»” A.N. Kharin – a comprehensive study of the current socio-political and scientific problem of research into alternative models of the evolution of modern statehood.

The relevance of research. We live in a rapidly changing world, and one of the most important factors of change is globalization, under the influence of which everything is transformed: society, culture, economy, political life. The processes of evolution of the modern state, transformation of its functions and role in world politics are also observed. The result of this is the emergence of theories of alternative forms of state, those that can replace this political institution. The latter circumstance raises the need to comprehend the concept of alternatives to the nation-state and identify the theoretical prerequisites of modern theories.

However, a paradox arises: despite numerous theories and approaches, there are still virtually no generalizing works that would consider various scenarios and models of the evolution of the nation-state itself and its alternatives. In this regard, a generalized analysis of the theoretical prerequisites for the emergence of modern concepts of the state is necessary.

Any theory represents a certain kind of scheme, so it is important to identify the relevance of theoretical constructs to emerging practice. No less important will be the determination of the specifics of theories and views emerging in individual countries, primarily in those that are the leading actors in world politics - the USA, China.

The ongoing processes cannot but affect our country. What will be its place in a changing world? What scenarios for the development of statehood are most acceptable? It is also necessary to trace this aspect, since the need for Russia to understand itself still remains a challenge for domestic political thought. The

authorities, the opposition, the public – they are all, one way or another, looking for new ways for the country to get out of the situation in which it finds itself after the collapse of the USSR and as a result of the restructuring of the global world order. The authorities, the opposition, the public - they are all, one way or another, looking for new ways for the country to get out of the situation in which it finds itself after the collapse of the USSR and as a result of the restructuring of the global world order. Researchers are trying to describe the phenomenon that arose thirty years ago in the place of the USSR – the Russian Federation. All this indicates the relevance of our chosen research topic.

It should be noted that the collapse of the USSR is actually considered complete, but disintegration processes continue to persist in our time. We see this in the example of conflicts in Moldova, the Caucasus, and Ukraine. In the 1990s, the Russian Federation also faced the threat of collapse. Destructive processes can only be countered by integration, creative ones, and the logic of globalization persistently leads to this: the formation of a single world economic, political, cultural and information space is accompanied by the process of regionalization.

Large spaces are being formed in Eurasia, America, and Africa. By uniting, countries can more easily solve emerging global problems of our time and interact more effectively in various areas, in particular in the economy. Will Russia be able to restore at least part of the common space and, through joint efforts with other post-Soviet countries, enter the world of cooperating regional associations? Or will the processes of regionalization pass it by? And if it can, then on what basis? Cultural values? Economics? Politicians?

Gradually emerging various models of alternatives to the nation-state in this regard offer their own options for the development of events. Due to all of the above, it is important to analyze those ideas and projects that are proposed in the modern conditions of transformation of the global world.

Object of dissertation research – concept of the nation-state in the conditions of globalization.

Subject of dissertation research – alternative models of nation-state transformation using the example of leading actors in world politics.

Purpose of the dissertation research – justification of alternative models of the nation-state as a political institution in the post-modern world, as well as the application of existing models of alternatives to the nation-state to individual participants in the global political process.

The set goal involves solving the following main tasks:

- explore schools and ideas about the state as a subject of the global political process and identify theoretical prerequisites for the formation of alternative models of the national state;
- systematize theories of the evolution of the state in the post-modern world, analyze globalist concepts as alternative scenarios to the modern state and the degree of their relevance to the current situation;
- consider the main types of state and formulate typologies of this institution, taking into account emerging concepts and approaches;
- explore possible alternatives to the nation-state in the postmodern era based on theoretical material - corporation-state, region-state, empire-state and civilization-state;
- evaluate existing concepts and approaches to the evolution of the United States in the post-modern world;
- identify the most likely scenarios for China's development in the context of the global political process, the main approaches to China's position in the global world;
- analyze the main projects, models of further evolution of the Russian Federation.

New scientific results, received by the author and corresponding to the scientific specialty of the Higher Attestation Commission Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation – 5.5.1. – «History and theory of politics», included in the range of scientific specialties, approved by order of the

Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Russian Federation No. 118 24. February 2021, are as follows:

1 Every state inevitably goes through several stages in its development. The stage characterized by the dominance of the nation-state is being replaced by a new stage, characterized by the emergence of unique alternatives to the modern state. All this was reflected in political theory throughout the twentieth century.

Based on the analysis of the main theoretical prerequisites for the formation of alternatives to the nation-state, research of the concept of the state in the context of globalization, taking into account the problems associated with the existence of the nation-state in the modern world system, the main models of alternatives to the evolution of the nation-state have been identified - corporation-state, region-state, empire-state, civilization-state.

The corporation-state combines the features of a corporation and state power. This phenomenon has the following specific features:

- characteristic of the era of gradual erosion of state sovereignty;
- merges with government bodies or subordinates them to himself thanks to the resources in his hands (economic, political and informational);
- state interests are perceived through the prism of corporation interests (mainly commercial ones).

The region-state actively acts as an independent entity in the international arena and pursues economic interests. This term is understood in two senses:

- as an association of several states or regions, primarily for the sake of achieving specific economic goals, actively acting as an independent entity in the international arena;
- as a separate region of the country, becoming increasingly self-sufficient due to foreign economic activity.

As a rule, this is a temporary entity that can be modified into something else (for example, into a civilization-state) or cease to exist as a result of satisfying economic interests.

An empire-state is an alternative to a nation-state, formed by the unification of several nation-states based on political ideology. The empire-state is characterized by:

- the presence of a center in the form of one or another major power;
- blurred borders of the empire;
- weak connections between the center and the periphery;
- the presence of troops of the imperial center on the periphery;
- network structure or confederation;
- an imperial idea or a global project that promotes the active expansion of a postmodern empire.

A civilization-state arises by uniting several countries along sociocultural lines on the basis of common civilizational values, with cultural identity becoming the main binding element. Civilization-state is characterized by the following features:

- the unification of several states on a sociocultural basis;
- may exist in the form of a federation or confederation;
- the boundaries of this formation may also be blurred.

2. The advantages of the integrated use of a multivariate approach have been identified.

a) in the emphasis on the fact that different types of states and alternatives to it can coexist;

b) in the integrated use of two main theories - globalist and the theory of alternatives to the nation-state. Previously, these theories were analyzed separately;

c) in stating the general ideas of the two above-mentioned theories - the weakening or strengthening of the nation-state in post-modern conditions, the emergence of alternatives to the modern state, or its «dissolution» in the global «megastate»;

d) the opportunity to study various concepts that reflect the diversity of peacebuilding and do not conflict with each other. According to the logic of the multivariate approach, none of the concepts excludes the other.

3. It has been proven that in the future there will be not one (as it is designated in some theoretical constructions), but several alternatives to the nation-state in the global political process: empire-state, region-state, civilization-state, the beginnings of which can be observed today.

The USA, China and Russia are examples of these trends (as evidenced by the theoretical constructions of researchers in these countries). If previously one or two alternatives were often indicated, for example, S.P. Huntington - civilizations, J. Colomer - empires and small states, then the author of this dissertation research believes that there will be several alternatives: «corporation-state», «region-state», «empire-state», «civilization-state», «archaic states», etc.

And if earlier researchers mainly started from one paradigm, for example, sociocentric, and within its framework, as an option, from the cultural approach or naturalistic paradigm, and within its framework from geographical or geopolitical approaches, then this study takes into account polyparadigmality when analyzing alternatives, various approaches – economic, political, cultural.

4. Previously, as a rule, when speaking about a particular country, researchers adhered to one prognostic scenario – «empire» or «civilization». For example, Russia was characterized as a «civilization», «empire», or even «state-civilization» (V.I. Spiridonova, R.I. Sokolov, V.N. Shevchenko). For China, the term “state-civilization” was (and is) used (V.I. Spiridonova, R.I. Sokolova, V.N. Shevchenko). The USA was interpreted as an «empire» (J. Friedman), «liberal empire» (J. Ikenberry), «civilization» (V.V. Sogrin).

Using the example of each of the three analyzed countries, the author, taking into account different paradigms in political science and starting from the multivariate nature of campaigns, examined several scenarios: «region-state», «empire-state» and «civilization-state», – and checked which of the above scenarios works in a given situation. This method is explained by the fact that each of the above-mentioned countries, as well as the nation-state as a whole, is at this stage at a bifurcation point.

5. Instead of the concepts «empire», «geocivilization», «state-civilization», it is proposed to use the categories «empire-state» and «civilization-state». In this regard, by «geocivilization» researchers understand a subject of geopolitics, and not an alternative to the state, while the concept of «state-civilization» is also applicable to some modern states, for example, India.

The introduction of new concepts («empire-state», «civilization-state»), according to the author, was caused by a number of reasons. Firstly, they reflect the onset of a new stage in the history of the nation-state, characterized by the emergence of alternative entities. Secondly, these categories demonstrate the multivariate nature of the formation of a post-modern state. Thirdly, a clear distinction is made between the phenomena of «empire» and «empire-state». The author relates the category «empire» more to the pre-modern and modern stages.

6. Typologies of such phenomena as «corporation-state», «region-state» and «empire-state» are proposed. In the «corporation-state» the author distinguishes two types – «internal» (arising on the basis of the country's subordination to its own transnational corporation (hereinafter referred to as TNC)) and «external» (based on the subordination of the state to foreign TNCs).

A typology of «regions-states» is given based on levels of regionalization - microregion-state (within a separate country), mesoregion-state (union of several regions of individual countries), macroregion-state (regional associations, for example, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (hereinafter referred to as ASEAN)).

There are two types of «empire-states»: corporate-ideocratic and liberal.

7. Various theoretical options for the possible transformation of the leading subjects of the world political process - the USA, China and Russia - have been identified. When analyzing scenarios for the evolution of the United States, the term «global principate» was proposed.

The author substantiates the prospects of the «region-state» scenario for China, while most researchers consider China as a civilization or an empire (R. Kaplan, P. Hanna, J. Colomer, S. Huntington, V.A. Dergachev and others). The

author argues that Western models of state transformation are not suitable, for example, for China (especially since there is a different understanding of the terms «civilization», «power», etc.), however, the PRC is often written about as an empire or a civilization, as mentioned above.

8. A different vision of civilizational supersystems is formulated. The latter were often divided on the basis of the opposition «West» - «East». The term «metacivilization» was used (V.A. Dergachev). For example, B. Albani used it to designate two mega-civilizations: European and non-European.

The author substantiates a different content of megacivilization (as a large civilizational bloc), distinguishes two main types of it (Mediterranean and Indo-Pacific), defends the following thesis: this division is more relevant than the opposition «West» - «East». This definition can be applied as one of the typologies not only of modern civilizations, but also of possible post-modern civilizations-states.

9. The concept of «Meso-African subcivilization» is introduced, which is an integral element of Islamic civilization. As a rule, researchers distinguish four subcivilizations in the Islamic world: Arab, Persian, Turkic and Malay. According to the author, a Meso-African subcivilization can be distinguished, which includes some countries of North and West Africa: Mali, Niger, Chad and others. On the one hand, Islam predominates in them, on the other, these countries do not belong to the Arab-Islamic subcivilization, because in them the Arab population is either extremely small or absent.

Approbation of the study. The dissertation was discussed at the Department of Political Science and Political Management of the Russian Academy of National Economy and Public Administration under the President of the Russian Federation. Also, the main provisions and conclusions of the work are presented at All-Russian and international conferences.

In addition, the main conclusions of the dissertation are presented in four monographs and several dozen articles, including in such journals as: «Russia in

global politics», «Free thought», «Power», «Social and humanitarian knowledge», «Geopolitics and security».

the development and teaching of educational courses «Political Science», «History of World Civilizations», «Geopolitics», «Theory of International Relations», «Sociology».

The results and conclusions obtained in the dissertation are substantiated using a variety of methods and approaches - systemic, institutional, civilizational, phenomenological, typological, system-dialectical, polyvariant, etc. The conclusions are based on a wide range of works by both foreign and domestic researchers on the analyzed topic. In addition, media materials were used.

Publications. The main provisions of the dissertation research are reflected in three monographs and one textbook, 56 articles: 21 of them are from the list of the Higher Attestation Commission (including one article from Scopus). The total volume of publications is 65.01 printed pages.

Structure of the dissertation. The dissertation consists of an introduction, five chapters with conclusions, a conclusion and a list of references. The total volume of the dissertation is 429 pages.



A.N. Kharin.