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**Russian-Latin American relations in the context of the formation of a
new world order**

Annotation of the dissertation for the degree

candidate of political sciences

specialty 5.5.4 - "International Relations, Global and Regional Studies".

The relevance of the research topic lies in the extreme importance of establishing political, trade and economic ties between Russia and the countries of Latin America in the context of the transformation of the world order. The National Security Strategy of the Russian Federation states that the achievement of the goals of Russian foreign policy is carried out, among other things, by supporting the development of regional and subregional integration in Latin America¹. In recent decades, there has been a tendency to strengthen the role of developing countries in world politics and economics, but their role in the global decision-making system is not significant enough. This explains the need for a new world order.

In the context of increasing turbulence in world politics and the inevitable transformation of the world order in favor of strengthening the positions of developing countries, there is a tendency of aggravation of conflicts in various regions of the world. In the process of transformation of the world order, there is an ongoing process of genesis of new centers of power in world politics and economics. One of these centers can be Latin America, which has a great resource and human potential. In the face of growing food security threats, the eyes of many countries are turning to Latin America, where 16% of agricultural land and about a third of the world's fresh water reserves are concentrated, with a population share of 9% of

¹ Указ Президента РФ от 02.07.2021 № 400 "О Стратегии национальной безопасности Российской Федерации"
// Система Консультант плюс: [сайт]. URL:
<https://www.consultant.ru/cons/cgi/online.cgi?req=doc&base=LAW&n=389271#upyNp1TE770R3Wdn> (дата
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the world². Brazil, the largest country in the Latin American region, is pursuing a progressive policy of consolidating the countries of Latin America based on the development of integration associations and active participation in the political and economic processes which take place in the region.

Under these conditions, Latin America is of particular interest to the actors of world politics. The United States, China, and the European Union are actively developing their positions in Latin America. Russia's foreign policy activities are aimed at helping to form a new center of power in Latin America as part of the genesis of a new world order. Russia considers the countries of the Latin American region as one of the priorities of its foreign policy and economy. The aggravation of political and economic competition in the Latin American region between the key actors of world politics for ensuring political influence and obtaining economic benefits from cooperation in the context of the genesis of the new world order actualizes the efforts of Russian diplomacy to achieve its national interests in Latin America. All these aspects explain the relevance of the topic of this study.

The purpose of the dissertation research is to develop directions for deepening Russian-Latin American cooperation in the context of the genesis of the new world order.

To achieve the goal set in the dissertation research, it is necessary to solve a number of **tasks**:

- to study the theoretical foundations of the new world order;
- to consider the approaches of the leading world powers to the formation of a new world order;
- to analyze the possibility of forming in Latin America a regional subsystem of a multipolar world order;
- to explore the option of forming in Latin America a regional subsystem of a polycentric world order;

² Trivelli C. Transformacion rural. Pensando el future de America Latina y el Caribe. 2030. Alimentacion, agricultura y desarrollo rural en America Latina y el Caribe. Santiago de Chile. FAO, 2019. - №1. - 76 p.

- to analyze the current state of Russian-Latin American relations and, on this basis, propose recommendations for increasing their effectiveness.

The object of the dissertation research is Russian-Latin American relations.

The subject of the dissertation research is the influence of the emerging new world order on Russia's relations with the countries of Latin America and regional integration associations.

The theoretical basis of the dissertation was the fundamental provisions of modern political thought, the sciences of international relations, the results of research by domestic and foreign scientists recognized by the scientific community, revealing the theoretical and methodological aspects of the formation of a new world order. Among them are such scientists as J. Ikenberry³, H. Kissinger⁴, A.-M. Slaughter⁵, L. Miller⁶, Bogaturov A.D.⁷, Batalov E.Ya.⁸, Tsygankov P.A.⁹, A.V. Kortunov¹⁰. The principles and tendencies of the formation of a new world order using a system-synergetic approach were analyzed by K.S. Gadzhiev¹¹.

The causes and course of transformation of the world order are analyzed in the dissertation based on a number of theories. The process of changing world orders can be partly explained on the basis of E. Toffler's theory of three waves¹². F. Fukuyama's dead-end theory of the "end of history" leads to a creative search for

³ Ikenberry J.G. After Victory: Institutions, Strategic Restraint, and the Rebuilding of Order After Major Wars. Princeton: University Press, 2000. P. 22.

⁴ Kissinger H. World Order: Reflections on the Character of Nations and the Course of History. London: Penguin Books, 2015. P. 9.

⁵ Slaughter, A.-M. A new world order [Text] / A.-M. Slaughter. – Princeton University Press, 2004.

⁶ Miller L.H. Global Order: Values and Power in International Politics / L.H. Miller. Boulder: Westview Press, 1998. P. 11.

⁷ Богатуров А.Д. Великие державы на Тихом океане. История и теория международных отношений в Восточной Азии после второй мировой войны (1945-1995). М.: Конверт - МОНФ, 1997. - С. 40.

⁸ Баталов Э.Я. «Новый мировой порядок»: к методологии анализа // Полис. Политические исследования. - 2003. - № 5. - С. 31

⁹ Международные отношения и мировая политика: учебник для бакалавриата и магистратуры / под ред. П.А. Цыганкова. М.: Издательство Юрайт, 2016. - С. 198-199.

¹⁰ Международные отношения и мировая политика: учебник для бакалавриата и магистратуры / под ред. П.А. Цыганкова. М.: Издательство Юрайт, 2016. - С. 198-199.

¹¹ Гаджиев К.С. Геополитические горизонты России: контуры нового миропорядка. 2-е изд. испр. и доп. М., Экономика, 2011, 479 с.

¹² Тоффлер Э. Шок будущего. М.: АСТ. 2008. - С.58.

new variants of the world order¹³. Various theoretical aspects of the formation of a new world order, including at the initial stage of its formation, can be found in the works of A.N. Mikhailenko¹⁴.

The dissertation uses the results of research on the problems of regionalism by such domestic and foreign scientists as A.G. Granberg¹⁵, P. Katzenstein¹⁶, N. Palmer¹⁷. The works of N. Luhmann¹⁸, V. Dergachev and L. Vardomsky¹⁹ and others were also of interest. The theoretical basis for the study of integration processes was the work of E. Haas²⁰, Yu.A. Tikhomirov²¹ and other scientists.

The methodological basis of the dissertation was the basic theoretical and methodological aspects of the formation of a new world order, the position of the countries of Latin America in the context of its genesis, political processes taking place in Latin America, directions of development in political, trade and economic relations between Russia and the countries of the Latin American continent.

As methodologies, structural-functional, systemic and comparative methodologies were used. Structural-functional methodology was used by the author in identifying the relationship between Russia and Latin American countries in the political, economic, humanitarian and other fields. The systematic methodology, which considers political events in Latin America in close connection with the global context, allowed to explore the successes and problems in Russian-Latin American ties in relation to the formation of a new world order. Comparative methodology

¹³ Фукуяма Ф. Конец истории и последний человек. М.: АСТ. 2007. - С.89

¹⁴ Михайленко А.Н. Контуры нового мирового порядка // Этносоциум и межнациональная культура. 2019. № 8 (134). С. 143–158; Михайленко А.Н., Алиев У.С. Тенденции развития нового мирового порядка // Известия Юго-Западного государственного университета Серия: История и право Научный журнал. - 2019. - Том 9. - № 5. - С. 134-144.

¹⁵ Гранберг А.Г. Основы региональной экономики. М.: ГУ ВШЭ, 2000. - 495 с

¹⁶ Katzenstein P.J. A World of Regions: Asian and Europe in the American Imperium. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005.

¹⁷ Palmer, Norman D. (1991): The New Regionalism in Asia and the Pacific. Toronto: Lexington Books, 1991

¹⁸ Глобализация и регионализация / Луман Н. Дифференциация / пер. с нем. М.: Издательство «Логос», 2006. – 430 с.

¹⁹ Дергачев В., Вардомский Л. Регионоведение: учеб. М.: ЮНИТИ-ДАНА, 2004. – 290 с.

²⁰ Haas, E. B. (1971) «The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing», in L.N. Lindberg and S.A. Scheingold (eds), European Integration: Theory and Research (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press).

²¹ Тихомиров Ю.А. Взаимодействие государств и интеграция в современном мире / Право и межгосударственные объединения. - 2003. - №3. – С. 12.

gave the applicant opportunity to compare the state and results of Russia's cooperation with various Latin American countries.

Within the framework of these methodologies, the author used various research methods. Among them are general logical methods, such as analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, analogy, classification. The new world order is only taking shape, so forecasting methods were used in the dissertation. The dissertation also used extensive economic information; economic and statistical methods were used to process it.

Among other quantitative methods, content analysis was used, with the help of which the frequency of use of key concepts in the analyzed texts was established. The method of discourse analysis was used to interpret the tone of the key concepts used. When analyzing Russia's relations with specific countries of Latin America, the method of case analysis (case-study) was used. Positive results were obtained by using the SWOT analysis method in studying the strengths and weaknesses, opportunities and threats in the development of the countries of the Latin American region. Methods of systematization made it possible to establish the general, particular and singular in the approaches of various countries to the emerging new world order.

In the course of the study of Russian-Latin American relations, the author used the methodology as a set of research methods in their sequence and interconnection to identify quantitative and qualitative indicators of the development of the countries of this region, depending on the formation of a hierarchical or heterarchical system of regional leadership on the continent.

Provisions for defense:

1. The world order is a complex system which includes principles and rules of international relations based on the actions of states, as well as formal and informal international institutions. These principles, rules, and institutions require transformation as the balance of power in the world changes. Researchers identify six main types of world order: unipolar, bipolar, multipolar, polycentric, multilateral world and a world based on rules. In theoretical terms, a clear distinction between

these options has not been developed, in the political science literature there is confusion and synonymous use of these terms. The question of what kind of world order will be established as a result of the world political transformation system remains uncertain. The least likely are a unipolar world and a rules-based world. A bipolar world and a multilateral world seem more likely. The most probable are polycentric and multipolar worlds.

2. The leading countries of the world have their own approaches to the establishment of a new world order. To maintain its dominant position in the world, US foreign policy is aimed at the genesis of a world order based on rules. The European Union is striving to form a paradigm of a multilateral world order based on Western values. China's policy is focused on building communities of shared destiny, which is in fact a variation of the multilateral world order with China in its center. Russian policy is aimed at forming a polycentric world in which equality, respect for sovereignty, and partnership would be observed for the benefit of all peoples of the world.

3. The most likely options for a new world order are multipolarity and polycentrism. In the event of the formation of a new world order in the form of a multipolar world, Brazil will most likely assume the role of the Latin American pole of power. Brazilian political discourse often uses the term "multipolarity" when discussing options for a new world order. This country is the undoubted regional leader in the hierarchy in Latin America in terms of the main geopolitical and geo-economic indicators. It is the largest on the continent in terms of territory, population, gross domestic product and some other items. It has the largest military spending. It is the most likely candidate from the Latin American region to take the place of a permanent member of the UN Security Council in the process of its reform. Success in the functioning of the Latin American pole will largely depend on its policy.

4. In the event of the formation of a polycentric world in Latin America, a heterarchical system may be formed, in which, along with Brazil, there will be several countries in leadership positions. Mexico can show leadership qualities in

the development of education system. Argentina has serious grounds for leadership in the field of international tourism. Colombia has historically developed a vast experience in resolving internal armed conflict, which can be productively used on the continent. Chile can play a flagship role in increasing the competitiveness of Latin American countries. Cuba provides a wonderful example of the development of medical diplomacy. The use of these leadership positions in the common interest will allow the Latin American countries to ensure their more effective development.

5. With uncertainty on the world stage, it is not yet clear what form the new world order will take. Therefore, Russia must be ready for the emergence of both multipolarity and polycentrism in Latin America. Within the framework of a multipolar system, Russia should help Brazil to achieve higher qualitative indicators of development, such as gross national product per capita, human development index and a number of others. Brazil lags far behind other countries in the Latin American region. In the event that a polycentric heterarchical world order is formed in Latin America, Russia should contribute to the development of those potential leadership qualities that the countries of Latin America possess. In addition, Russia should pay special attention to the regional organizations CELAC and MERCOSUR.

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