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International transport corridors in the context of the formation of a new world order

Abstract of a dissertation for a scientific degree
candidate of political sciences
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Relevance of the research topic. In the 21st century, it became obvious that the world community "is going through a period of profound changes, the essence of which is the formation of a polycentric international system." Research is being carried out on the properties that will be characteristic of this stage of world development. As is often the case, the meeting of the new with the old proceeds in an acute form, accompanied by an exacerbation of conflicts and global threats. Significant changes in the modern world order were made by the coronavirus epidemic, which struck many countries of the world. This crisis has clearly revealed the contradiction between the connectedness of countries and their security. The aggravation of this contradiction requires an urgent search for options for its resolution.

Large transport corridors, being part of the global logistics system, are inevitably involved in global world politics and economy. In turn, world political processes are influenced by the development of the transport and logistics potential of actors. International transit infrastructure has already become a global instrument of geopolitics. Taking this fact into account, world leaders - Russia, China, the European Union and the United States - are planning to allocate trillions of dollars in the future for ambitious transport projects, including land and sea options for international transportation corridors (ITC), and in developing countries investments in transport infrastructure will be from 4% by 2030 up to 25% of gross national product (GNP). Such large investments planned in the near future require scientific justification.

in the future for ambitious transport projects, including land and sea options for international transportation corridors (ITC), and in developing countries investments in transport infrastructure will be from 4% by 2030 up to 25% of gross national product (GNP)⁴. Such large investments planned in the near future require scientific justification.

Russia, which occupies one-seventh of the earth's land area and is the largest maritime power, by definition is the most important actor in solving international transport problems. The situations with Nord Stream 2 and the Northern Sea Route show how complex and contradictory these problems are. The shift of the centers of political and economic activity to the east, the emergence of new geopolitical challenges for Russia - an active actor in the Eurasian ITC system - also emphasize the urgency and practical significance of the problem. The special geographical position of Russia determines its leading role in international relations between the states of Europe and the Asia-Pacific region.

Russia has recently been officially declared a transit country⁵. The development of the ITC in the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) space can significantly strengthen the geopolitical positions of Russia. At the same time, in the implementation of Russia's national interests in various ITCs, there are obstacles, and overcoming them requires scientific study. All these aspects indicate the relevance of the topic of this dissertation research.

The object of the research is international transport corridors.

The subject of this research is the transformation of international transport corridors in the context of the formation of a new world order.

The purpose of the dissertation research is to determine the prospects for the development of international transport corridors and to develop proposals to improve the effectiveness of the implementation of the associated national interests of Russia.

⁴ Goodson J. The return of big infrastructure as a geopolitical Tool // URL:
[https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/](https://www.realcleardefense.com/articles/2018/11/1/the_return_of_big_infrastructure_as_a_geopolitical_tool_113928.html)

2018/11/1/the_return_of_big_infrastructure_as_a_geopolitical_tool_113928.html (data obrashcheniya: 08.11.2019).

⁵ Poslanie Prezidenta Federal'nomu Sobraniyu. 3 dekabrya 2015 goda // <http://kremlin.ru/events/president/news/50864> (data obrashcheniya 23.09.2019)

To achieve this goal, the author identified **the following tasks**:

1. Explore modern approaches to the concept of an international transport corridor;
2. To identify the most essential features of the new world order and their influence on the ITC;
3. To establish the positive aspects in the current state of the functioning of ITCs;
4. To study the existing problems in the functioning of ITCs and ways of resolving conflicts arising around them;
5. Determine the priority directions of ITCs' development;
6. Develop recommendations for the effective implementation of Russia's national interests in ITCs.

The theoretical basis of the research is the fundamental and applied works of Russian and foreign scientists on political science, conflict resolution, integration, the world economy, as well as the results of research in the field of international transport corridors. For each direction, the author used theoretical approaches that exist in modern political science.

The source of changes in the world order and international political processes is analyzed in the dissertation on the basis of a number of theories. The theory of three waves by E. Toffler can be used to explain the change in world orders⁶. F. Fukuyama's theory of the end of history directed the applicant to search for sources of further world development different from neoliberal approaches⁷. The greatest interest for this study in I. Wallerstein's world-system theory was presented by his ideas about the world-economy, as well as about development of world-system's as struggle for hegemony⁸. Taking into account the special attention of the applicant to the development of international transport corridors in the Eurasian region, theoretical views on the development of neo-Eurasianism of A.G. Dugin proved useful⁹.

⁶ Toffler E. *SHok budushchego*. M.: AST. 2008. S.58

⁷ Fukuyama F. *Konec istorii i poslednij chelovek*. M.: AST. 2007. S.89

⁸ Vallerstajn I. *Uskorennoe padenie. Nastuplenie epohi mnogopolyarnosti // Zakat imperii SSHA: krizisy i konflikty*. M.: MAKSPress, 2013. S. 67.

⁹ Dugin A. I. *Teoriya mnogopolyarnogo mira. Plyuriversum*. M.: Akademicheskij proekt. 2015. S.43.

In various theoretical approaches to the formation of a new world order, the author drew attention to a number of works related to the paradigm of world politics (Osipov G.V.¹⁰). When analyzing the possible options for a new world order, the paper used articles by A.N. Mikhailenko on unipolarity, bipolarity, multipolarity, polycentricity and multilateralism¹¹.

Since international transport corridors are closely related to the world economy, the dissertation used works on geoeconomics and its relationship with global processes by A.I. Neklessa¹². To identify the relationship between modern changes in the world order and the global transport infrastructure, other theories of the geoeconomic development were also used (V.A. Dergachev¹³, E. Luttvak¹⁴, E. G. Kochetov¹⁵).

To analyze the processes of resolving contradictions between participants in international transport corridors, the provisions of the functional concept of conflict (L. Coser¹⁶) and the dynamic concept of conflicts (K. Boulding¹⁷, R. Dahrendorf¹⁸) are used. To analyze the conflict potential of modern ITCs, we applied the theory of modernism¹⁹, which links conflicts with the geopolitical and geoeconomic changes that have occurred, as well as theories of "internal colonialism"²⁰ and "economic imperialism", which investigate the economic background in most conflict situations.

¹⁰ Osipov G.V. Paradigma novogo mirovogo poryadka i Rossiya. M.: Institut ekologo-tekhnologicheskikh problem, 1999; Plashchinskij A.A. Paradigma novogo mirovogo poryadka vo vneshnepoliticheskoy strategii SSHA: formirovanie i razvitiye: monografiya / A.A. Plashchinskij; pod nauch. red. S.N. Knyazeva; Mezhdunar. un-t «MITSO». Minsk: MITSO, 2017. 292 s.; Hulsman J. A Paradigm for the New World Order/ A Schools-of-Thought Analysis of American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era. Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1997.

¹¹ Mihajlenko A.N. Policentrichnyj mir: kakim emu byt' // Voprosy politologii. 2015. № 4 (20); Mihajlenko A.N. Kontury novogo mirovogo poryadka // Etnosocium i mezhnacional'naya kul'tura. 2019. №8 (134). S. 143-158; Mihajlenko A.N. Tendencii razvitiya novogo mirovogo poryadka // Izvestiya YUgo-Zapadnogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriya: Istoriya i pravo. № 5. Tom 9. 2019. S. 134-144.

¹² Neklessa A.I. Sistema geoekonomicheskogo miroustrojstva kak global'nyj proekt // http://www.intelros.org/books/opera_selecta/opera_selecta_43.htm (data obrashcheniya: 10.05.2021).

¹³ Dergachev V.A. Geoeconomika. Kiev: Vira-R, 2002. S. 88-122;

¹⁴ Luttwak, Edward. From geo-politics to geo-economics: the logic of conflict, grammar of commerce/The National Interest. Summer. 1990. P. 17.

¹⁵ Kochetov E.G. Geoeconomika. Osvoenie mirovogo ekonomicheskogo prostranstva. M.: Ekonomika, 1999. 418 s.

¹⁶ Koser R. Funkcii social'nogo konflikta. M.: Ideya-Press, 2000. S. 28-29.

¹⁷ Boulding K. Ekonomicheskaya nauka i social'nye sistemy // Panorama ekonomicheskoy mysli konca HKH stoletiya. T.2. SPb.: Ekonomicheskaya shkola, 2002. S. 88-122;

¹⁸ Dahrendorf R. Sovremennyy social'nyj konflikt. M.: Rosspen, 2002. S. 19.

¹⁹ Kutyavina E.E. Prichiny etnicheskikh konfliktov // Vestnik Nizhegorodskogo universiteta im. N.I.

²⁰ Bonacich E. A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market // American Sociological Review. 1972. V. 37.R. 547-559.

In connection with the increasing importance of security problems in international relations in conditions of emerging new world order, the Copenhagen School's theory of securitization (B. Buzan, O. Waever, etc.²¹) was used for our theoretical analysis.

The methodological basis of the research includes a system of methodologies, methods, techniques, as well as approaches and principles for considering international relations.

Sociological, structural-functional, systemic, normative-value, critical-dialectical, and comparative methodologies were used as *methodologies* that set the perspective of the study. Sociological methodology allowed the author to deduce the social conditioning of political phenomena, especially in the analysis of migration conflicts in the spaces of the ITC. The structural-functional methodology was used by the author in identifying the relationships between various types of conflicts, as well as interdependencies between politics and economic development of ITC member countries. The systemic methodology, which considers political events in an inextricable connection with environment, allowed the author to investigate conflicts and problems in ITC spaces in a complex of political and economic problems. The normative-value methodology, which studies political phenomena from the point of view of personal rights and values, is applied by the author when considering the nature of confessional conflicts and their influence on the development of ITCs. Comparative methodology, involving the comparison of similar political phenomena, was used by the author to compare the activities of various ITCs.

Within the framework of these methodologies, the author used various *methods*, that is, a set of tools, techniques, standard rules that allow identifying certain patterns. Among them are general logical methods - quantitative and qualitative analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction, analogies,

²¹ Buzan B., Waever O. *Security: A New Framework for Analysis*. — Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998; Charrett C. *A Critical Application of Securitization Theory: Overcoming the Normative Dilemma of Writing Security* // Institut Català Internacional per la Pau. — 2009; Michael C. Williams, *Words, Images, Enemies, Securitization and International Politics*, *International Studies Quarterly* 2003(47):512.

classifications, a combination of historical and logical analyzes. The group of quantitative methods used by the author included statistical analysis and content analysis. Statistical analysis made it possible to compare the economic potentials of the largest countries in the world. Thanks to content analysis, the frequency of the use of key concepts in domestic and foreign strategic planning documents was established.

As special methods of political analysis, the author used systemic, comparative and institutional approaches, as well as case-study methods. The most detailed analysis of the TRACECA case is carried out in the dissertation. Elements of the neoinstitutional approach and the actor approach allowed the author to study the influence and relationships of actors in the global transport infrastructure.

To study the procedural aspects of ITCs development in the geopolitical system, a descriptive (descriptive) method is used, which makes it possible to reflect the dynamics and logic of ITC development in different geographical areas. When studying the experience of state regulation of ITC activities, a comparative method was used. The author compares the practices of managing the activities of ITCs, as well as tools for ensuring security in the transport sector in economic associations - the EU, the CIS - and in individual countries. The analysis of individual situations in the spaces of international transport corridors, reflecting the influence of geopolitics and changes in the world order, is provided on the basis of the case-study method. The work uses the methods of systemic and comparative analysis, systematization and synthesis. They made it possible to reveal the main ITC problems and outline the prospects for Russian policy in this area. Elements of quantitative analysis, economic and statistical analysis of data contributed to obtaining more accurate information about the state of the object under study.

The set of methods that form the method of conflict analysis was used by the author to analyze various types of conflicts that arise in the ITC spaces. Dissertation's methodological basis served as a foundation, thanks to which it becomes possible to consider the activities of the global transport infrastructure,

including ITCs, in the system of current changes in the world order and to predict the direction of future trends in its development.

Provisions for Defense:

1. The definition of an international transport corridor is controversial. Until recently, there were economic, technological, logistic, legal and other components in it, but there was no political element. Today, policy and security issues play a leading role in the routing and ITC functioning. International transport corridors are the main means of ensuring transport, energy and information connectivity of countries and regions of the world. Connectivity can be seen as a boon for the development of international relations in terms of creating opportunities for countries to cooperate. At the same time, connectedness can act as a source of threats to the security of the countries of the world in the case of their confrontation. The states of the world must have effective levers to limit to necessary size cohesion between states when such a need arises. This duality of connectedness of the countries of the world is reflected in the development of international transport corridors.

2. International transport corridors can function successfully if global trends are observed in their management. Currently, a new world order is being formed in the world, which should be based on a new paradigm. The most essential features of the current stage in formation of a new world order are the speed and depth of the changes taking place, uncertainty of the international environment, growing conflict and increasing diversity of the world. They are the ones who make new demands on international transport corridors, which, according to traditional canons, are adapted for long-term, predictable, well-planned stable functioning. For successful functioning of ITCs this discrepancy must be eliminated. For this purpose, it is proposed to introduce the concept of ITC strategyness. It can be understood as the key property of long-term scientifically grounded safe political, socio-economic, scientific, technological and information ITC development to ensure effective implementation of the country's national interests.

3. Success in the development of international transport corridors is associated with the timely adaptation of countries and their associations to the formation of a new world order. They are manifested in the political, economic, legal, technological, information and other spheres through the development of the property of strategyness. The ITC TRACECA can serve as an illustration of this provision. The project uses the interests of major geopolitical players in its development. Integration interaction is an important factor in overcoming contradictions in the functioning of the ITC. TRACECA uses the most suitable arbitration method for considering legal conflicts in modern conditions. Along with regional integration, this ITC uses the process of creating mega-regional (trans-regional) integration structures developing in the world. The success of the ITC is facilitated by the optimal political and economic openness of countries, a skillful combination of protectionism and free trade policies, a solid strategic framework and a developed institutional framework for transport projects. For the same purposes, it is advisable to use the latest advances in logistics, where digital technologies are gaining more and more importance.

4. Problems in the development of international transport corridors reflect the inability of the countries that govern them to adapt to new conditions, to go beyond the outdated paradigm of world politics "friend or foe". Infrastructure projects are long-term, low-maneuverable, while political relations are much more fluid. The reasons for the aggravation in international relations are the change in the balance of power in the world arena. With the emergence of a new world order, tensions are growing between old and new leaders. The old beneficiaries and regulators of ITCs do not agree to downgrade their importance. The connectedness of countries becomes not an achievement, but a problem in their relations. Physical infrastructure is increasingly viewed in terms of military mobility and national security. Digital infrastructure is increasingly being used not for information, but for disinformation. The confrontation is moving into the high-tech sphere and negatively affects the international digital corridors. The development of conceptual apparatus of the

negative aspects of connectedness is being developed in the form of concepts such as strategic and critical dependence in their negative connotations.

5. The ITC development in the XXI century will take place in several priority directions, which should correspond to the new paradigm of world politics “Me and others”. One of them will be the conflicting redistribution of traffic flows of global geopolitical and geo-economic importance. The discrepancy between national interests will lead to situations when the countries of the world will increasingly strive to establish control over existing routes and create new transport directions. In the management of international transport corridors, more and more emphasis will be placed on the problems of ensuring international and national security. The general direction of resolving ITC contradictions is to find a measure, a middle ground between the connectedness and isolation of countries and regions. The state of the ITC depends to a large extent on the ability of countries to improve their competitiveness. To anticipate the development of the conflict potential of the ITC, a number of modern instruments will be increasingly used.

6. Russia has an essential basis for the active development of international transport corridors. At the same time, there are serious obstacles on this path. For the effective implementation of domestic national interests in this area, it is necessary to continue the theoretical development of problems in the field of ITC and, more generally, the theory of solving foreign policy problems. Russia should make efforts to improve its geopolitical and geo-economic competitiveness. It is necessary to strive to ensure the harmonization of the elements of ITC system as an effective non-violent means of conflict resolution. Russia should develop a leadership position, the manifestation of which could be new initiatives in the development of ITCs.



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