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SUMAR

DREPT INTERNAȚIONAL PUBLIC

- **SCIUCHINA Natalia.** Măsuri legale de sprijin social pentru femeile la locul de muncă în condiții de schimbări climatice.....9

RELAȚII INTERNAȚIONALE

- **DERGACHEV Vladimir.** Caracterul imperial al superputerilor moderne și o nouă formulă geopolitică pentru ordinea mondială.....17

COMUNICĂRI ȘTIINȚIFICE

- **LÎSENCO Vladlena.** Diplomația digitală pentru pace: o nouă frontieră în relațiile internaționale.....39

TRIBUNA TINERILOR CERCETĂTORI

- **ABRAMOVA Iuliana.** Strategii internaționale pentru integrarea egalității de gen și a drepturilor femeilor în legislația națională.....53
- **PATRICHEEV Iurie.** De la complet la limitat: înțelegerea suveranității în contextul imperialismului rus în Europa de Est.....61
- **PETRIC Valeria.** Reglementarea legală a inteligenței artificiale în comerțul internațional.....72
- **PUPIK Andrej.** Statul Slovac 1939-1945 și persecuția minorității rome.....83
- **REȘETNIKOVA Victoria.** Reglementarea legală internațională de integrare a copiilor migranți în mediul educațional. Prezentare generală a practicilor naționale.....96
- **VALJENTOVÁ Tímea.** Sursele media ca arhitecți ai opiniei publice: impactul lor asupra societății și politicii.....108

NECROLOG

- **Vladlen S. VERESHCHETIN**.....120

RUBRICA REVISTEI

- Consiliul redacțional al revistei „Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale”.....126
- Colegiul de redacție (Recenzenții).....134
- Date despre autori.....139
- Cerințele privind condițiile de prezentare a manuscriselor pentru publicare în „Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale”.....143
- Declarație privind etica publicațiilor științifice.....155

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CONTENTS

PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW

- *SHCHUKINA Natalia*. Legal measures of social support for women at workplace under climate change conditions.....9

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- *DERGACHEV Vladimir*. The imperial character of modern superpowers and the new geopolitical formula of world order17

THE SCIENTIFIC COMMUNICATIONS

- *LISENCO Vladlena*. Digital diplomacy for peace: a new frontier in international relations.....39

THE TRIBUNE OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS

- *ABRAMOVA Iuliana*. International strategies for mainstreaming gender equality and women's rights in national legislation.....53
- *PATRICHEEV Iurie*. From full to limited: understanding sovereignty in the context of russian imperialism in Eastern Europe.....61
- *PETRIC Valeria*. Legal regulation of artificial intelligence in international trade.....72
- *PUPIK Andrej*. The Slovak state 1939-1945 and the persecution of the roma minority.....83
- *RESHETNIKOVA Victoria*. International legal regulation of integration of migrants children into the educational environment. Overview of national practices.....96
- *VALJENTOVÁ Tímea*. Media as architects of public opinion: their impact on society and politics.....108

OBITUARY

- *Vladlen S. VERESHCHETIN*.....122

OUR JOURNAL

- Editorial board of the „Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”.....126
- Reviewers.....134
- About authors.....139
- Requirements to papers for publication in the „Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”....147
- Declaration on the ethical and legal basis of the editorial policy.....157

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СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ ПУБЛИЧНОЕ ПРАВО

- **ЩУКИНА Наталья.** Правовые меры социальной поддержки работающих женщин в условиях изменения климата.....9

МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ

- **ДЕРГАЧЕВ Владимир.** Имперский характер современных сверхдержав и новая геополитическая формула мирового порядка.....17

НАУЧНЫЕ СООБЩЕНИЯ

- **ЛЫСЕНКО Владлена.** Цифровая дипломатия во имя мира: новая эпоха в международных отношениях.....39

Трибуна молодых ученых

- **АБРАМОВА Юлиана.** Международные стратегии для включения гендерного равенства и прав женщин в национальное законодательство.....53
- **ПАТРИКЕЕВ Юрий.** От полного к ограниченному: понимание суверенитета в контексте российского империализма в Восточной Европе.....61
- **ПЕТРИК Валерия.** Правовое регулирование искусственного интеллекта в международной торговле.....72
- **ПУПИК Андрей.** Словацкое государство 1939-1945 гг. и преследование цыганского меньшинства.....83
- **РЕШЕТНИКОВА Виктория.** Международно-правовое регулирование интеграции детей мигрантов в образовательную среду. Обзор национальных практик....96
- **ВАЛЙЕНТОВА Тимея.** Сми как архитекторы общественного мнения: их влияние на общество и политику.....108

НЕКРОЛОГ

- **Владлен Степанович ВЕРЕЩЕТИН**.....124

О НАШЕМ ЖУРНАЛЕ

- Редакционный совет «Молдавского журнала международного права и международных отношений».....126
- Редакционная коллегия (Рецензенты).....134
- Наши авторы.....139
- Требования к оформлению статей для публикации в «Молдавском журнале международного права и международных отношений».....151
- Декларация об этических и правовых основах редакционной политики.....159

МОЛДАВСКИЙ ЖУРНАЛ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ПРАВА И МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

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REVISTA MOLDOVENEASCĂ DE DREPT INTERNAȚIONAL ȘI RELAȚII INTERNAȚIONALE

„Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale”, a fost lansată în anul 2006 ca proiecție a unui forum ce promovează valorificarea diferitelor opinii, uneori diametral opuse, cu privire la starea actuală a dreptului internațional și a relațiilor internaționale, familiarizând cititorii săi cu punctele de vedere ale experților și oamenilor de știință din diferite țări, atât din Orient, cât și din Occident.

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Actualmente, publicația este o revistă conceptuală despre diferite domenii ale dreptului internațional și relațiilor internaționale, devenind un centru de atracție pentru forțele de creație, care a obținut recunoașterea publicului și a creat un colectiv larg de autori.

De-a lungul perioadei 2006-2025 în revistă au fost publicate mai mult de 860 de articole a autorilor din peste 25 de țări (Republica Moldova - 463, Ucraina - 84, România - 61, Federația Rusă - 52, Republica Slovacă - 44, Bulgaria - 10, Republica Belarus - 8, Republica Federală Germania - 7, Georgia - 7, Republica Franceză - 6, Grecia - 5, Turcia - 5, Azerbaidjan - 4, Regatul Spaniei - 3, Tadjikistan - 2, Ungaria - 2, Republica Polonă - 4, Cehia - 1, Cuba - 1, Israel - 1, SUA - 1, Republica Populară Chineză - 1, etc.). Spectrul problemelor examinate a devenit extrem de larg. O atenție sporită este acordată elucidării problemelor teoretico-practice din domeniul dreptului internațional și al relațiilor internaționale.

MOLDAVIAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The „[Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations](#)” was launched in 2006 as an open forum for different, sometimes diametrically opposite points of view on the current state of international law and international relations, acquainting its readers with the views of scientists and experts from different countries, both in the East and the West.

The journal that publishes articles with *open access*, is licensed under [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Public License](#) (CC BY), accredited in the Republic of Moldova as a scientific publication, is included in the international database: [ROAD \(Directory of Open Access scholarly Resources\)](#), [European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences \(ERIH PLUS\)](#), [WZB. Social Science Research Center Berlin](#), [CiteFactor](#), [Biblioteca electronică științifică eLIBRARY.RU](#), [Instrumentul Bibliometric Național](#) etc., to calculate the impact factor and citation index. The journal uses *double-blind reviewing* — (authors do not know who reviews their paper, and reviewers do not know the names of the authors).

Today it is a conceptual journal about various fields of international law and international relations, which became the centre of attraction of creative forces and managed to find its readers, forming around a wide group of authors.

Over the period 2006-2025 more than 860 articles have been published in the journal, by authors from more than 25 countries (The Republic of Moldova - 463, Ukraine - 84, Romania - 61, The Russian Federation - 52, The Slovak Republic - 44, Bulgaria - 10, The Republic of Belarus - 8, The Federal Republic of Germany - 7, Georgia - 7, The French Republic - 6, Greece - 5, Turkey - 5, Azerbaijan - 4, Spain - 3, Tajikistan - 2, Hungary - 2, Poland - 4, Czech Republic - 1, Cuba - 1, Israel - 1, USA - 1, The People's Republic of China - 1, etc.). Spectrum of the issues was as broad as possible. Particular attention is given to coverage of theoretical and practical issues of international law and international relations.

МОЛДАВСКИЙ ЖУРНАЛ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ПРАВА И МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

Издание «[Молдавского журнала международного права и международных отношений](#)» стартовало в 2006 г. как открытая трибуна для различных, подчас диаметрально противоположных точек зрения на современное состояние международного права и международных отношений, знакомя своих читателей с взглядами ученых и экспертов из разных стран, как с Востока, так и с Запада.

Журнал публикует статьи с *открытым доступом* под лицензией [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International Public License](#) (CC BY), аккредитован в Молдавии как научное издание, включен в различные международные базы данных: [ROAD \(Directory of Open Access scholarly Resources\)](#), [European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences \(ERIH PLUS\)](#), [WZB. Social Science Research Center Berlin](#), [CiteFactor](#), [Biblioteca electronică științifică eLIBRARY.RU](#), [Instrumentul Bibliometric Național](#) и др. для учета импакт-фактора и индекса цитирования. В журнале используются двустороннее слепое рецензирование (*double-blind reviewing* – рецензент не знает, кто автор статьи, автор статьи не знает, кто рецензент).

Сегодня это концептуальный журнал о самых различных сферах международного права и международных отношений, который стал центром притяжения творческих сил и сумел найти своего читателя, сформировав вокруг себя широкий авторский коллектив.

За 2006-2025 гг. в журнале было опубликовано более 860 статей авторов из более 25 стран (Республика Молдова - 463, Украина - 84, Румыния - 61, Российская Федерация - 52, Словацкая Республика - 44, Болгария - 10, Республика Беларусь - 8, Германия - 7, Грузия - 7, Французская Республика - 6, Греция - 5, Турция - 5, Азербайджан - 4, Королевство Испания - 3, Таджикистан - 2, Венгрия - 2, Польша - 4, Чехия - 1, Куба - 1, Израиль - 1, США - 1, КНР - 1, и т.д.). Спектр рассматриваемых проблем стал максимально широким. Особое внимание уделяется освещению теоретических и практических вопросов международного права и международных отношений.



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**DREPT INTERNAȚIONAL PUBLIC
PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ ПУБЛИЧНОЕ ПРАВО**

**LEGAL MEASURES OF SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR WOMEN AT WORKPLACE
UNDER CLIMATE CHANGE CONDITIONS**

**MĂSURI LEGALE DE SPRIJIN SOCIAL PENTRU FEMEILE LA LOCUL
DE MUNCĂ ÎN CONDIȚII DE SCHIMBĂRI CLIMATICE**

**ПРАВОВЫЕ МЕРЫ СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ ПОДДЕРЖКИ РАБОТАЮЩИХ ЖЕНЩИН
В УСЛОВИЯХ ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ КЛИМАТА**

SCIUCHINA Natalia / SHCHUKINA Natalia* / ЩУКИНА Наталья

ABSTRACT:

**LEGAL MEASURES OF SOCIAL SUPPORT FOR WOMEN AT WORKPLACE UNDER
CLIMATE CHANGE CONDITIONS**

One of the UN SDGs is tackling and minimize climate change. This is a threat that has many adverse consequences, including in the world of work. Women are one of the most vulnerable categories in labor relations, and unfavorable environmental factors, which are aggravated due to climate change, are not always taken into account and taken into account by the employer. The paper discusses some legal measures that are being taken at the international, regional, national and employer levels to minimize the adverse effects of climate change in labor relations with women.

A legal analysis of the norms of the international framework, as well as materials of international organizations on women's rights in a changing climate, is carried out. Some conclusions and proposals are formulated to improve the efficiency of legal regulation of labor and social security relations with women in the workplace.

Key words: legal measures, climate change, protection of labor rights, women in the workplace, social and legal support.

JEL Classification: K 31, K 31; K 33

Universal Decimal Classification: 341; 342.734

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

**ПРАВОВЫЕ МЕРЫ СОЦИАЛЬНОЙ ПОДДЕРЖКИ РАБОТАЮЩИХ
ЖЕНЩИН В УСЛОВИЯХ ИЗМЕНЕНИЯ КЛИМАТА**

Одной из ЦУР ООН является борьба с изменением климата и минимизация негативных изменений. Это угроза, которая имеет множество неблагоприятных последствий, в том числе в сфере труда. Женщины являются одной из наиболее уязвимых категорий в трудовых

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отношениях, а неблагоприятные экологические факторы, которые усугубляются из-за изменения климата, не всегда учитываются и принимаются во внимание работодателем. В статье рассматриваются некоторые правовые меры, которые принимаются на международном, региональном, национальном и уровне работодателя для минимизации неблагоприятных последствий изменения климата в трудовых отношениях с женщинами.

Проведен правовой анализ норм международного права, а также материалов международных организаций по правам женщин в условиях изменяющегося климата. Сформулированы некоторые выводы и предложения по повышению эффективности правового регулирования трудовых и социально-обеспечительных отношений с женщинами на рабочем месте.

Ключевые слова: правовые меры, изменение климата, защита трудовых прав, женщины на рабочем месте, социально-правовая поддержка.

JEL Classification: K 31; K 31; K 33

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REZUMAT :

MĂSURI LEGALE DE SPRIJIN SOCIAL PENTRU FEMEILE LA LOCUL DE MUNCĂ ÎN CONDIȚII DE SCHIMBĂRI CLIMATICE

Unul dintre ODD-urile ONU este abordarea și minimizarea schimbărilor climatice. Aceasta este o amenințare care are multe consecințe negative, inclusiv în lumea muncii. Femeile sunt una dintre cele mai vulnerabile categorii în relațiile de muncă, iar factorii de mediu nefavorabili, care sunt agravați din cauza schimbărilor climatice, nu sunt întotdeauna luați în considerare și luați în considerare de către angajator. Lucrarea discută câteva măsuri legale care sunt luate la nivel internațional, regional, național și angajator pentru a minimiza efectele negative ale schimbărilor climatice în relațiile de muncă cu femeile.

Se efectuează o analiză juridică a normelor cadrului internațional, precum și a materialelor organizațiilor internaționale privind drepturile femeilor într-un climat în schimbare. Sunt formulate unele concluzii și propuneri pentru îmbunătățirea eficienței reglementării legale a relațiilor de muncă și de securitate socială cu femeile la locul de muncă.

Cuvinte cheie: măsuri legale, schimbări climatice, protecția drepturilor muncii, femeile la locul de muncă, sprijin social și juridic.

Clasificare JEL: K 31, K 33

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Introduction

Tackling against climate change today is considered as a complex problem affecting many spheres of public life. UN SDG 13: Implement urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts, the objectives for achieving this goal include the following goal: “Integrate responses to climate change into policies, strategies and planning at the national level.”¹ Speaking about measures to respond climate change and their inclusion in policies at various levels, special attention should be paid to measures of legal support for the population as a whole, as well as the most vulnerable categories. Moreover, it is important to note that such support measures are needed in almost all states. This applies both in countries that are recognized by the international community as those most affected by catastrophic climate change and

¹ Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts. Available online: <https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal13> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

environmental degradation, as set out in the SDG 13 targets: least developed countries and small island developing states¹, and in developed countries.

Legal measures of social support for women at workplace under climate change conditions

The labor sphere is that part of human activity in which external conditions, including climatic conditions and the state of the environment, are still an important factor. Despite the increased influence of artificial intelligence on the labor market, climatic conditions determine the development of the labor market for a large number of workers, primarily in the agricultural sector, as well as in the service sector. Thus, the World Bank presented a report stating that over the next five years, artificial intelligence will change almost a quarter of the world's jobs². This cannot but cause concern.

Taking into account the fact that in many countries of the world women are employed in unskilled jobs, including in agriculture, they become dependent on climate change. In these conditions, measures of social and legal support in the event of dismissal or layoff of workers remain important. Women in the workplace are categories of employees for whom a mechanism of legal protection has been established on the basis of gender. Moreover, this applies to both the norms of international law and the provisions of national legislation.

Among the international legal acts, it should be noted, first of all, UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979³ and the conventions and recommendations of the International Labor Organization:

- Maternity Protection Convention, 1919 (No. 3);
- Women's Night Work Convention, 1919 (No. 4);
- Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100);
- Discrimination (Employment and Employment) Convention, 1958 (No. 111);
- Recommendation on Workers with Family Responsibilities, 1965 (No. 123);
- Workers with Family Responsibilities Convention, 1981 (No. 156);
- Home Work Convention, 1996 (No. 177);
- Maternity Protection Convention, revised, 2000 (No. 183).⁴

In the context of serious threats of climate change, in our opinion, a number of questions and problems arise related to the application of basic international standards as guarantees of the implementation of women's rights in the workplace.

First of all, the issue of women's employment is problematic. As has been repeatedly noted in reports and reviews of international organizations, there is a direct connection with climate change and the issue of women's employment. As noted back in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) its 2007 Assessment Report, "... the impacts of climate change will vary depending on gender, age and class, with the poor most likely to suffer".⁵ Experts also noted that due to gender inequality, women are vulnerable, since women make up the majority of the world's poor. Women are not considered by law to be employed in the case of housekeeping and childcare. In addition, women and natural resource management are sectors that experts note are particularly sensitive to climate change.

Secondly, speaking about employed women, the impact of climate change is manifested through occupational diseases. Climate and environmental factors such as soil salinization, an increase in average air temperature, a decrease in the ozone layer, soil waterlogging and

¹ UN Women: Europe and Central Asia. UN SDG 13. Available online: <https://eca.unwomen.org/ru/news/in-focus/women-and-the-sdgs/sdg-13-climate-action> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

² World Bank: AI will change about a quarter of jobs in five years. Available online: <https://habr.com/ru/news/732608/> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

³ UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, 1979. Available online: <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

⁴ ILO Conventions. Available online: <https://www.ilo.org/ru/resource/konvencii-mot> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

⁵ Climate Change Connections. Policy that Supports Gender Equality. Available online: https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/climateconnections_2_policy_0.pdf (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

others directly affect the health of working women. Based on this, the costs of social payments and benefits and pensions due to disability increase.

According to the International Labor Organization,¹ over 70 percent of the workforce is affected by climate change to some extent. Such changes, as identified in the ILO Report 2024, cause skin cancer and respiratory diseases, and more than 2.4 billion workers worldwide are exposed to excessively high temperatures in the workplace.² This threat associated with climate change is also dangerous from the position that harmful production factors in the workplace, so-called “new” ones, are not always taken into account by the legislator. The point is that legislation at the national level does not change flexibly in response to climate change, which is often studied and noticed at a more global level.

For example, for countries through which the Dniester River flows, a significant factor is the shallowing of the river along almost its entire length. The construction of power plants exacerbates this factor. For the employment sector, this causes consequences such as a decrease in the amount of arable land, a decrease in employment in agriculture, and a decrease in pastures. As well as rising air temperatures and increasing flooding along the entire length of the river.

One more important issue directly related to climate change and the position of women in the workplace is the change in the structure of the economy in the state due to environmental changes and climate change, which are often called climate disasters on a regional scale.

The factors we have indicated regarding women's rights in the labor sphere, taking into account climate change, directly affect issues of labor relations, as well as relations with social security and social protection. The factors we have indicated regarding women's rights in the labor sphere, taking into account climate change, directly affect issues of labor relations, as well as relations with social security and social protection.

In a broader approach, for example, as indicated in the materials of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and other international bodies and organizations involved in the protection of human rights, a gender approach and gender rhetoric predominates.

Speaking about the impact on women, the reports and reports of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights highlight the following areas of negative climate change³ impact on women, affecting their rights³:

✓ Food security: In this case, we are talking about unequal access to entrepreneurship in the field of food production, as well as limited opportunities for purchasing plant protection products in agricultural production;

✓ Health: As mentioned above, the impact on the health of women from adverse climate and environmental changes is greater than that of men, and UN experts note the negative effects of polluted water and air as unfavorable factors. And also the exclusion of women from the decision-making process;

✓ Gender-based violence: This factor also appears to need to be considered in the context of climate change. We are talking about economic violence, which worsens as the environmental situation worsens, including human trafficking and forced labor;

✓ Decent work: When it comes to decent working conditions for women, the issue of equality, respect for the principle of non-discrimination in labor relations, as well as providing additional guarantees for women and girls arises. Therefore, climate change is a factor

¹ Occupational safety and climate change. Available online: <https://www.ilo.org/ru/resource/news/izmenenie-klimata-sozdaet-celyy-kompleks-sereznykh-ugroz-dlya-zdorovya-70> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

² Ensuring safety and health at work in a changing climate. Global report, 2024. Available online: www.ilo.org/publns. (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

³ Climate Change: Protecting Women's Rights. Available online: <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/ClimateChange/materials/2PGenderLight.pdf> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

threatening compliance with guarantee standards, if we consider this problem in the legal field.

All of these factors, to one degree or another, are components of assessing the situation on the labor market for employed women. Legal measures are only one of the areas of influence on the situation within the framework of numerous policies adopted and developed to ensure women's rights in the context of climate change. The International Labor Organization has developed a practical guide "Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action".¹ This guide is of practical interest as it provides a detailed analysis of policy directions for gender mainstreaming in the context of climate change. The factors influencing the labor market are analyzed, and examples of the practice of ILO member countries in responding to climate change and taking into account risk factors for employed women are given. For example, it is worthy of attention to address the need to "promote women's access to information and communication technologies (ICT) and their use in their enterprises. In this case, we are talking about climate change and the business risks and development forecasts caused by such changes in relation to the green economy or attracting new customers, as well as monitoring and responding to climate change impacts (for example, in agriculture)."²

The regional factor is important in the process of legal regulation of problems arising in the labor sphere caused by climate change. It is obvious that the challenges associated with environmental problems are specific depending on the region, state, or individual territory. Therefore, when considering climate change, next, after the international interstate level (UN, ILO and other international intergovernmental organizations), is the regional international level. Professor V. Lisenco, considering the process of international law-making, draws attention to participation in this process, along with international intergovernmental, and non-governmental organizations, paying attention to the place and significance of the international legal acts they adopt³. It seems important to note that with regard to climate change issues, it is the mechanism of involving international organizations with their more formal procedures that can be effective for making effective decisions.

We should give an example of the involvement of civil society organizations in identifying problems and developing proposals to take into account women's interests in the context of climate change. Among the issues raised are issues of women's employment and ensuring compliance with their labor rights. Thus, as part of OHCHR's activities to combat climate change, taking into account gender perspectives, the following were presented: Desk Study on Gender-Responsive Climate Action (May 2019); results of the Human Rights Council Panel Discussion on Women's Rights and Climate Change (June 2019).⁴

These international documents were formed with the participation of representatives of civil society. In particular, along with Member States, national human rights institutions (e.g. the Ombudsman of the Republic of Croatia), UN agencies (ILO, UN Women, World Meteorological Organization), civil society organizations participated in the preparation of the conceptual study and panel discussions:

Asia Pacific Training and Research Center on Women;

Global Initiative for Economic, Social, Cultural Rights and Rural Development Institute Landesa;

¹ Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide. Available online: <https://www.ilo.org/publications/gender-equality-and-inclusion-just-transition-climate-action-practical> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

² Gender equality and inclusion for a just transition in climate action: A practical guide. P. 37. Available online: <https://www.ilo.org/publications/gender-equality-and-inclusion-just-transition-climate-action-practical> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

³ LISENCO V. International Non-Governmental Organizations: Legal Status, Types And Role in Modern World. Analytical work (scientific abstract) for a scientific degree Doctor Habilitat of Legal Sciences (based on published works). Chisinau, 2023. P. 24.

⁴ Tackling climate change with a gender perspective. Available online: <https://www.ohchr.org/ru/climate-change/gender-responsive-climate-action>. (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

Women against crime and corruption; Network of Proactive Moms; and the Coalition for Gender Equality in Decision Making.

Over the past few years, the tendency to take into account the opinions of civil society institutions, including women's non-governmental organizations, when making decisions related to minimizing the threats of climate change has intensified. Of course, this activity takes place within the framework of the desire for gender equality in all spheres of society, but processes are also being intensified to take into account women's opinions in the fight against climate change.

At the international level, the formation of National Adaptation Plans in countries is recommended. As of September 30, 2023, 48 countries had signed such plans, all of which noted the importance of gender considerations in NAPs and their commitment to defining a legal framework to capture the scope of activities and actors involved.¹ In our opinion, the issue of women's employment is directly related to the indication of gender-oriented actions in the NAP, including by defining their inclusion as a criterion for funding approval. In this case, as we see it, we are talking about the allocation of funds, including for improving labor protection mechanisms at the state level, introducing new technologies, compensation mechanisms to ensure the preservation of the economic independence of women entrepreneurs, and others.

As we can see, not so many countries have submitted National Adaptation Plans. In our opinion, there is a prospect for the availability of such documents in the state sector; they are comprehensive in nature and quite clearly define the subjects and areas of activity of each of them.

A kind of alternative, but, of course, not having a direct goal of preventing climate change, can be called collective social partnership agreements concluded as a result of collective bargaining between employees and employers. Today, collective bargaining remains a fairly relevant and popular form of interaction between employees and employers. At the international level, in addition to the ILO conventions regulating collective bargaining, a Global strategy on occupational safety and health 2024–30 and plan of action for its implementation was adopted in 2023.² As one of the four basic principles of the Strategy that define the directions of action detailed within the framework of the Action Plan, the principle is specified: A focus on prevention throughout the life cycle.³ Occupational safety and health issues and prevention of safety and health risks, as stated in the document, should consider all life stages, including periods before or after participation in the labor market. In our opinion, this principle includes, among other things, taking into account natural factors, environmental threats and climate change issues, which employees should be aware of and take into account in the process of work.

In 2024, the ILO Global report dedicated to World Day at Work is called: Ensuring safety and health at work in a changing climate⁴. The Global Report, in addition to focusing on the threats of climate change and the need to take them into account in employment policies, speaks directly about the employment of women and the protection of their rights in the workplace.

So, speaking about legal measures to support working women in the face of climate change, the following should be noted. Legal measures to support women are a complex concept. Legal norms of labor law, the right of social protection are direct regulators of emerging social relations, the subjects of which are women in the labor market.

¹ National Adaptation Plans 2023. Progress in the Formulation and Implementation of Naps. United Nations Climate Change Secretariat. 2023 Unfccc. P. 35.

² Global Strategy on Occupational Safety and Health 2024–30 and plan of action for its implementation. ILO 349th Session, Geneva, 30 October–9 November 2023. Available online: <https://www.ilo.org/resource/policy/global-strategy-occupational-safety-and-health> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

³ Global Strategy on Occupational Safety and Health 2024–30 and plan of action for its implementation. P. 4.

⁴ Ensuring safety and health at work in a changing climate, Geneva: International Labour Office, 2024

In addition, speaking about climate change, we should not forget about the legal mechanisms of environmental protection and environmental legislation. The complexity of the emerging relationships also involves an analysis of legal norms of financial law and legal measures of responsibility for violations of women's rights in the workplace caused by climate change. Using the example of the Republic of Moldova, we have already examined the legal mechanisms for the application and use of international legal methods for protecting women's rights, including in the area of employment.¹

Legal regulation of additional measures to support women in the workplace should be based on general legal and branch principles of legal regulation. Among them are the principle of equality, the principle of non-discrimination, the principle of observance, respect and protection of human rights. Branch principles of labor law - the principle of free labor, the principle of ensuring decent working conditions, the principle of participation of workers in the management of the organization in relation to the labor relations of women, in our opinion, are defined as basic for the application of legal guarantees and specialties of the legal regulation of women's working process. At the same time, the principle of equality should be the basis in determining the directions of legal regulation. Because many researchers note that it is in the situation with climate change and its impact on working women that the fear of inequality poses a threat. Moreover, in many countries this is the actual situation.

As researchers noted more than 8 years ago, "climate change is not only an economic, human security and human rights issue, but also an issue of environmental stewardship. In all of these areas, women are particularly, and in some cases disproportionately, affected by the impacts of climate change."²

Conclusions

That is why complexity in legal regulation should be the basis for achieving the goal of protecting and taking into account the rights and interests of employed women. We mean all levels of legal regulation: international, regional, national, employer (campaign) level, as well as the level of individual employment contracts. Unfortunately, the problem of illegal labor in the so-called "shadow labor market" remains relevant in many countries. People engaged in such work, primarily women, as well as girls, are in a vulnerable position. Their labor is unskilled and such labor is most vulnerable to climate change. Therefore, direct legal regulation of women's employment in this situation is not paramount, since it depends on cooperation to prevent serious adverse consequences of climate change, such as warming, desertification, destruction of the ozone layer and others.

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¹ SHCHUKINA N. International legal acts in the field of family protection, maternity, paternity and childhood. In: Materials of the international scientific-practical conference: Science, education, culture, February 12, 2021, Comrat, Republic of Moldova: State University of Comrat, 2021, Vol.1, pp. 414-420. ISBN 978-9975-3496-2-8; 978-9975-3496-1-1.

² Women and Climate Change: Impact and Agency in Human Rights, Security, and Economic Development. Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, 2015. Available online: <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Women-and-Climate-Change.pdf> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024).

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**RELAȚII INTERNAȚIONALE
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ ОТНОШЕНИЯ**

**ИМПЕРСКИЙ ХАРАКТЕР СОВРЕМЕННЫХ СВЕРХДЕРЖАВ И
НОВАЯ ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ФОРМУЛА МИРОВОГО ПОРЯДКА¹**

**THE IMPERIAL CHARACTER OF MODERN SUPERPOWERS
AND THE NEW GEOPOLITICAL FORMULA OF WORLD ORDER**

**CARACTERUL IMPERIAL AL SUPERPUTERILOR MODERNE
ȘI O NOUĂ FORMULĂ GEOPOLITĂ PENTRU ORDINEA MONDIALĂ**

DERGACHEV Vladimir* / DERGACHEV Vladimir / ДЕРГАЧЕВ Владимир

SUMMARY:

**THE IMPERIAL CHARACTER OF MODERN SUPERPOWERS
AND THE NEW GEOPOLITICAL FORMULA OF WORLD ORDER**

The Great Hour of geopolitics has arrived, when in the process of geopolitical transformation a new formula of world order is born: “Whoever has the largest volume of digital information and the speed of its processing, owns the world.” At this Hour, it is time to think about the image of the near future and to do this, remember the imperial past. In the revolutionary era of IT technologies, robotization of all types of activity, time is accelerating and, along with geographical space, cyberspace is being intensively developed.

New outposts for the development of the Earth's multidimensional space will be formed - cyberports with quasi-state functions similar to the East India Companies of the past. The struggle between the neoliberal model of the West and the global majority for traditional values will intensify.

Key words: geopolitics, geopolitical transformation, superpowers, imperialism, crisis of the state, cyberspace, cyberports, quasi-states, traditional values.

JEL Classification: F15, F52.

Universal Decimal Classification: 327.39

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

**ИМПЕРСКИЙ ХАРАКТЕР СОВРЕМЕННЫХ СВЕРХДЕРЖАВ
И НОВАЯ ГЕОПОЛИТИЧЕСКАЯ ФОРМУЛА МИРОВОГО ПОРЯДКА**

Наступил Великий час геополитики, когда в процессе геополитической трансформации рождается новая формула мирового порядка «Кто обладает наибольшим объемом цифровой

¹ Представленная статья выполнена в рамках авторского проекта «Геополитическая и геоэкономическая трансформация мира», реализуемого на портале «Институт геополитики». URL: <http://www.dergachev.org>.

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информации и скоростью её обработки, тот владеет миром». В этот Час пора задуматься об образе ближайшего будущего и для этого вспомнить имперское прошлое. В революционную эпоху IT-технологий, роботизации всех видов деятельности, время ускоряется и наряду с географическим пространством интенсивно осваивается киберпространство.

Будут формироваться новые форпосты освоения многомерного пространства Земли — киберпорты с квазигосударственными функциями на подобии Ост-Индских компаний прошлого. Обострится борьба между неолиберальной моделью Запада и Глобального большинства за традиционные ценности.

Ключевые слова: геополитика, геополитическая трансформация, сверхдержавы, империализм, кризис государства, киберпространство, киберпорты, квазигосударства, традиционные ценности.

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REZUMAT:

CARACTERUL IMPERIAL AL SUPERPUTERILOR MODERNE ȘI O NOUĂ FORMULĂ GEOPOLITĂ PENTRU ORDINEA MONDIALĂ

A venit Marea oră a geopoliticii, când, în procesul de transformare geopolitică, se naște o nouă formulă a ordinii mondiale: "Cine are cea mai mare cantitate de informații digitale și viteza procesării va deține lumea." În această oră, este timpul să ne gândim la imaginea viitorului apropiat și să ne amintim trecutul imperial. În epoca revoluționară a tehnologiilor IT, robotizarea tuturor tipurilor de activități, timpul se accelerează și, împreună cu spațiul geografic, spațiul cibernetic este intens stăpânit.

Se vor forma noi avanposturi pentru explorarea spațiului multidimensional al Pământului — cyberports cu funcții cvasi-guvernamentale asemănătoare companiilor din India de Est din trecut. Lupta dintre modelul neoliberal al Occidentului și majoritatea globală pentru valorile tradiționale se va intensifica.

Cuvinte-cheie: geopolitică, transformare geopolitică, superputeri, imperialism, criză de stat, cyberspace, cyberports, cvasi-state, valori tradiționale.

JEL Classification: F15, F52.

CZU: 327.39

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Введение

В современном мире институт государства переживают кризис, особенно с появлением киберпространства. Трансформация государств от империй древности к финансовой власти банкиров и купцов нового времени и далее в новейшее время к оффшорным неокOLONиализмом сопровождалась сменой механизмов господства.

Неолиберальная глобализация характерна не только выносом производственных мощностей из богатых стран, гибелью промышленного рабочего класса, деревни и общин, но и девальвацией традиционного труда, дефицитом созидательной мобилизации общества. Политика постправды стала преобладающей в англосакском мире (США, Великобритания) и их марионеток в Европе¹. Конструкция современного государства может обрушиться и под тяжестью безграничных финансовых транзакций

¹ Levitin Daniel J., Ph.D. *The Organized Mind: Thinking Straight in the Age of Information Overload*. — New York: Dutton/Penguin Random House and Toronto: Allen Lane/Penguin Random House and London: Viking/Penguin Random House. 2014. 512 s. *Карен Свасьян* Европа во тьме. «Кому достанется Европа. «Запад не владеет собой...». Интервью о новой «эре постправды» 11.03.2022. https://zavtra.ru/blogs/evropa_vo_t_me. (Visited 22.09.2024).

киберпространства, роботизации и лжи. Но как предупреждали классики философии – у всякого явления есть мера. Поэтому идея современных неолиберальных глобалистов о создании мирового правительства и государства есть фикция. Как утверждал Аристотель¹, благоденствие государства зависит не только от размеров природного и материального богатства. Все дело в пропорциях, соотношении между источниками созидательной энергии человека и другими ресурсами.

В процессе геополитической трансформации наступил Великий час геополитики, когда рождается новая формула мирового порядка. Время задуматься об образе ближайшего будущего и для этого вспомнить имперское прошлое. Оппоненты могут возразить, что не может быть империй, насаждающих демократию. Главная задача империй — обеспечивать безопасность входящих в них народов. Поэтому в связи с кризисом института современного государства возрождается интерес к имперскому устройству многополярного мира². В революционную эпоху IT-технологий, роботизации всех видов деятельности, массового внедрения киберфизических систем в производство и обслуживание человеческих потребностей время ускоряется и наряду с географическим пространством интенсивно осваивается киберпространство. Будут формироваться новые форпосты освоения многомерного пространства Земли — киберпорты с квазигосударственными функциями. Обострится борьба между неолиберальной моделью Запада и глобального большинства за традиционные ценности.

Имперский характер современных сверхдержав

Большие имперские пространства прошлого (Римская, Монгольская, Британская, Российская империи и другие) обеспечивали мир и безопасность торговых коммуникаций на огромных территориях Средиземноморья, Евразии и Земли. Существовали и существуют Большие пространства универсальных «имперских» мифов (Великая Индия, Великий Иран, Великая Россия, Великая Турция, Великая Грузия, Великая Армения, Великая Сербия и другие). Не куда не делись имперские устремления государства «безграничной справедливости» Соединённых Штатов Америки, прикрываемые фиговым листком демократии и утыканному по всему миру «зонами жизненных интересов».

В отличие от «Больших пространств» традиционной и новой геополитики (военно-политического и экономического), новейшая геополитика акцентирует внимание на многомерность множества пространств, создающих на рубежах созидательную или разрушительную энергетику. Такой подход к мироустройству находится в полном соответствии с европейской философской традицией, исходящей из кантовских представлений о множественности миров³.

Большие пространства во главе с метрополией образуются в результате территориальной экспансии имперской геополитики. После образования каждая империя переживала период расцвета, обусловленный возможностью концентрации значительных ресурсов и установления относительно прочного мира. Вместе с тем, централизованное управление и затратная экономика, реализация дорогостоящих проектов «века», огромные расходы на содержание армии, репрессии по отношению к целым народам приводили к распаду империй. Великий час империй наступил при концентрации колониальных ресурсов. В современном мире эти источники исчерпаны, но благодаря оффшорной геополитике и высоким технологиям киберпространства

¹ Аристотель. Политика. Афинская полития. – М.: Мысль, 1997.

² Владимир Дергачев [Имперская геополитика. Великий час мировых империй](http://dergachev.org/Landscapes-of-life/Imperial-geopolitics/index.html). — Аналитический и образовательный Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: <http://dergachev.org/Landscapes-of-life/Imperial-geopolitics/index.html>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

³ Дергачев В.А. Классификация Больших пространств Земли. — Аналитический и образовательный Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: <http://dergachev.org/latest-geopolitics/12.html>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

появились другие способы создания марионеточных государств и сырьевых протекторатов.

Империя стала олицетворением эпохи колониализма, но это не значит, что имперское устройство мира потеряло актуальность. Когда мир вступил в эпоху нестабильности и конфликта великих держав, империализм вновь становится важным фактором геополитики, как бы трудно это ни было признать. Империи не только оставляли после себя хаос, но и возникали для преодоления хаоса в государственном строительстве¹.

Уроки имперской истории приобретают особую актуальность в двадцать первом столетии. Действия трёх современных сверхдержав в геополитическом или экономическом и технологическом смысле – Китая, России и Соединённых Штатов за пределами своих границ носят имперский характер по духу. Китайская масштабная стратегия идти вовне на основе возрождения Великого шелкового пути (меркантилистской инициативы «Один, пояс, один путь») основана на имперской геополитической, торговой и военной логике средневековых империй Поднебесной династий Тан и Мин².

Попытки России подорвать очередной западный «Drang nach Osten» («Натиск на Восток») в целях создания зоны безопасности ядерной сверхдержавы напоминает воссоздание контуров советской империи. Соединённые Штаты с военными союзами и базами по всем миру реализуют имперскую форму управления, сравнимую с другими мировыми империями. Но США не смогли представить новые альтернативные великие мирные стратегии по аналогии с китайской. Поезд истории уже ушел.

История глобальных конфликтов часто характеризовалась огромными моральными различиями между конкурирующими империями. Древний Рим был жесток и одновременно самой просвещённой империей своего времени. Османская империя отличалась достойным уважением космополитизмом. Британская империя, несмотря на недостатки, была несравнима с Третьим Рейхом (империей геноцида).

Современная имперская реальность заключается в глубоком неравенстве в глобальном распределении власти. Соединённые Штаты и Китай конкурируют за мировое господство при значительном отставании России. Конкуренция за высокоскоростные сети 5G напоминает холодную войну. В прошлом, как только британская и французская империи рухнули в разгар холодной войны, конкуренция между Соединёнными Штатами и Советским Союзом вышла на мировую арену, поскольку недавно освобождённые колонии в Африке и Азии стали предметом захвата. Формально колонии остались в прошлом, возможно, не столько из-за морального совершенствования человечества, сколько потому, что они больше не имели экономического смысла. Соединённые Штаты и Советский Союз как миссионерские державы стремились навязать миру собственную систему ценностей. Китай, который осваивает новые рынки и игнорирует сложившиеся политические системы, фактически вернул империализм к его классическим, домиссионерским корням.

Другие державы в современном мире так же сохранили имперскую память. Индуистские националисты в Индии восторгаются древними имперскими династиями. Теократический Иран проецирует власть на границы Персидской империи древнего мира и средневековья. Турция взяла неootтоманский внешнеполитический курс и резко критикует Лозаннский международный договор 1923 года, который существенно

¹ Положительный опыт имперского устройства нашел в трудах всемирного известного британского и американского историка Нила Фергюсона, американского геополитика Роберта Каплана и других западных (и не только) интеллектуалов (см. список литературы).

² Владимир Дергачев Поднебесная империя Тан. Эпоха китайского Возрождения. — Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: http://dergachev.org/geop_events/061019-04.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

сузил постимперские границы. Ни одна из этих стран не раскаивается в своём имперском наследии¹. Наступающая новая имперская эпоха конфликта великих держав происходит в условиях пандемий, региональных конфликтов и кибервойн. Прошли времена огромных колониальных владений, сегодня выживание сверхдержав зависит от быстрого реагирования.

В прошлом империи часто распадались по внутренним причинам, это остаётся актуальным для современности. Не только в Америке, но в коммунистическом Китае имеются внутренние разногласия, хотя они не так прозрачны. Для России и постсоветских государств исключительно актуален вопрос транзита власти и трансформации политической системы. Несомненно, что уроки имперской истории приобретают особую актуальность в двадцать первом столетии.

В современной конфигурации геополитического треугольника Китай – США – Россия по инициативе Америки разыгрывается комбинация «США против двух». России и КНР многократно подчеркивали, что их партнерство имеет знак «плюс» и не нацелено против других. Однако американская политическая элита, разъяренная провалом своих намерений превратить их в протектораты создаваемого Западом мироустройства, формирует из них образ заклятых врагов базовых американских ценностей – свободы и демократии. Соединённые Штаты стремятся не только ослабить конкурентов, подорвать их экономическую и социальную стабильность, но и рассорить между собой с помощью экономических санкций и идеологических диверсий. При этом Россия – главный враг на геополитическом фронте, а Китай – на экономическом и технологическом. В результате такой пропаганды больше половины американцев воспринимают Китай и Россию как угрозу Соединённым Штатам².

США имеют богатейший опыт политических интриг, основанных на традициях англо-саксонской дипломатии с её основополагающим принципом «разделяй и властвуй». В прошлом Америка зачастую сознательно корректировала ход российско-китайских отношений исключительно в свою пользу (попытки закрепиться в Сибири в середине 19 века, провоцирование Японии к войне против России в начале 20 века, неожиданное обхаживание советских лидеров в конце 1950-х, а китайских – в начале 1970-х).

В настоящее время одна из главных причин развернувшейся борьбы США против Китая – экономическая конкуренция, а не идеи демократии и свободы. Время показало, что американская политическая система серьезно больна, но Вашингтон видит в Китае и России первопричины своих бед. У США пока хватает сил и средств воевать на два фронта — внешний и внутренний. Но когда речь заходит о национальных интересах Вашингтона в сохранении миропорядка, из которого США черпают ресурсы для своего процветания, внутренние противоречия отходят в сторону.

Европа выбирает путь самоубийства по сценарию поздней Римской империи?

В Евросоюзе имеются сторонники мирового порядка, основанного на империях и убежденных, что без этого нет европейского будущего. При этом европейский колониализм продолжает сохранять негативную память в коллективном сознании сотен миллионов его жертв и их потомков. Основной геополитической доктриной Священной Римской империи являлся «Drang nach Osten». Передовым отрядом служил Тевтонский или Германский духовно-рыцарский орден. Это своеобразное средневековое НАТО, основанное в конце 12 века, вновь возродилось через восемь с половиной столетий.

Священная Римская Империя, а затем блистательная Византия, пали по причине деградации правящих элит, погрязших в гедонизме и разврате. Экономика, основанная в значительной мере на труде рабов, пришла в упадок; империи слабели и стали легкой

¹ [Robert D. Kaplan](https://nationalinterest.org/feature/afterlife-empire-170803) The Afterlife of Empire. — The National Interest (USA), October 16, 2020. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/afterlife-empire-170803>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

² [Виктор Ларин](https://www.dv.kp.ru/daily/217179/4283248/) Новая турбулентность в геополитическом треугольнике США – Китай – Россия <https://www.dv.kp.ru/daily/217179/4283248/>. Комсомольская правда, 11 сентября 2020 года. Виктор Лаврентьевич Ларин, востоковед, доктор исторических наук, академик РАН. (Visited 22.09.2024).

добычей варваров. Неумолимо надвигается, предсказанный западными мыслителями, закат Европы и англосаксонского мира, конец его 500-летнего мирового господства.

Экономического превосходства европейская цивилизация достигла не только за счет технического прогресса, но и предшествующей колонизации других народов мечом, огнем и крестом. Происходящая геополитическая трансформация ставит непростой выбор для еврейских народов, чьи представители стали трубадурами неолиберальной глобализации.

Современная Европа с упорством, достойного другого применения, может повторить судьбу поздней Римской империи. Эта наследница античной Греции, унаследовавшая ценности древнегреческой демократии, постепенно утратила гегемонию, наступил кризис в политике, экономике и искусстве, завершившийся крахом государства. Римская элита деградировала, погрязла в роскоши и разврате, легализации педофилии и других пороков. Не напоминает ли это современный насаждаемый европейский культ ЛГБТ с легализацией однополых браков и отмены института традиционной семьи?

Важной причиной деградации историки называют распространение с 212 года римского гражданства на представителей пришлых племен, что привело к разрушению имперской политической системы.

Тревожные для Европы тенденции подтверждает устойчивое падение промышленного производства, которое ускорилось в последние годы. Часть энергоемких производств, включая преимущественно металлургию и химическое производство, закрылось или перенесена в США, где природный газ дешевле. В странах ЕС снижается темпы экономического роста, наблюдается рецессия в первую очередь из-за резкого роста цен на энергоносители. Деиндустриализация усиливается из-за политики зеленых партий — заводы с дымящимися трубами сносятся и на их месте растут торгово-развлекательные центры или жилые кварталы. Рабочие превратились в служащих или работников сферы услуг. Современный город перестал производить материальный продукт на фоне улучшения экологии и падения уровня и качества жизни. Ослаб экспортный потенциал Европы, все более зависимой от импорта. Деиндустриализация закономерно сопровождается упадком образования, поскольку технические специалисты и инженеры больше не нужны.

Главный пострадавший – локомотив европейской экономики Германия, а также Франция и Италия. Германия, получившая наибольшие в Европе преференции от распада Советского Союза, смогла не только восстановить единство. Объединение ГДР и ФРГ дало мощнейший импульс для консолидации Европы и экономической экспансии в Западную и Восточную Европу, Китай и другие страны. С падением железного занавеса ФРГ получила доступ к дешевым ресурсам и огромному рынку сбыта самого протяженного государства мира (России) и постсоветских стран. Успешно был реализован и немецкий проект по интеграции в зону евро европейских стран. Экспорт немецких машин и оборудования стал символом экономической мощи Европы. Но без дешевых энергетических и других ресурсов немецкая экономика посыпалась как картонный домик. Благодаря «зеленым» Германию покинула или разорено треть промышленных компаний.

Европейский союз взял обязательства полностью отказаться от импорта дешевых российских энергоресурсов к 2030 году. Доля России в импорте газа в ЕС снизилась с 41% в 2021 году до 15% в 2023 года. Военный конфликт на Украине привел к постоянному росту цен на энергоносители в Европе, что ослабило её энергетическую безопасность. В Евросоюзе возникли глубокие разногласия между крупными державами (Германией, Францией и Италией) и восточноевропейскими странами, требующими, чтобы Россия потерпела поражение¹.

¹ Николай Петров Деиндустриализация Европы. 30.05.2024. https://www.stoletie.ru/zarubejie/deindustrializacija_jevropy_957.htm. (Visited 22.09.2024).

Инфокоммуникационные технологии угрожают современному институту государства

«Искусственный интеллект» (Artificial Intelligence, AI, ИИ) становится ключевым фактором не только экономического, но и геополитического могущества, входит во все сферы жизнедеятельности человека. Мировой финансово-экономический кризис и кризис, вызванный пандемией коронавируса, явились ускорителями внедрения в жизнь инфокоммуникационных технологий.

Великий час геополитики совпал со сменой технологичного уклада. Это **революционная эпоха IT-технологий, эра роботов**, когда на смену рабочих-пролетариев приходят программисты-пролетарии и роботизация всех видов деятельности, массовое внедрение киберфизических систем в производство (индустрия 4.0) и обслуживание человеческих потребностей, включая быт, труд и досуг. Время ускоряется и наряду с географическим пространством интенсивно осваивается киберпространство.

Вторая революция IT-технологий ведет к утрате банкирами своего финансового могущества. Возможно, в ближайшие годы бумажные деньги платежные документы в привычном виде исчезнут из оборота после широкого внедрения системы блокчейна (сети передачи данных, фрагменты которой расположены на компьютерах) в денежные операции. Вместе с деньгами отомрут многие профессии и традиционные банки. Люди смогут проводить платежи напрямую друг другу по открытой системе и сами контролировать движение своих денег. **Фактически на Западе банки становятся лишними уже в настоящее время.** Например, ставки в швейцарских банках уже отрицательные, за хранение денег на банковском счёте клиент должен ещё и доплатить.

Интернет тоже не вечен, появятся альтернативы существующей Всемирной паутине. В Сети будущего вход будет осуществляться только по виртуальному паспорту. Обязательная идентификация преградит передачу «грязных» денег, взяток и краж. Деньги превратятся из физических купюр в виртуальные цифры и перейдут из национальных валют в международные криптовалюты. **Цифровые технологии смогут вытеснить адвокатов, юристов, суды, риелторов, финансовых аналитиков, консультантов, бухгалтеров и многие другие профессии. Здесь роль государства будет сведена к минимуму.** Социальные сети, искусственный интеллект и блокчейн представляют собой своеобразный технологический вызов для современной цивилизации и традиционных институтов. Практически невозможной станет коррупция чиновников. А дать взятку по прозрачной прослеживаемой системе блокчейна равносильно её вручению перед камерами всех телеканалов мира. Бессмысленными станут и офшорные зоны, из которых легализовать деньги через прозрачную систему блокчейна будет невозможно¹.

Интернет впервые открыл нестатусный смысл свободы и бросил вызов институциональному обществу, где «вход» в коммуникацию организован или через социально-политический или географический (центр – периферия) статусы. Государство совершенно не в состоянии контролировать взаимодействие интерактивных сред в виртуальном пространстве Интернета, преобразующего статусную коммуникацию в нестатусную. Глобальная мобильность информации, капитала и квалифицированных кадров умственного труда не только подрывает роль государства в выполнении многих его фискальных функций, но и затрудняет или делает невозможным скрыть присущие правящей элите негативные качества (цинизм, продажность, «шкурные интересы», коррупцию, безнаказанность и др.). То есть для

¹ Без денег и интернета. Как через 10 лет изменится мир, в котором мы живём? (интервью с известными банкирами и финансовыми аналитиками) — [Еженедельник "Аргументы и Факты" № 8 20/02/2019.](#) (Visited 22.09.2024).

большинства требуется меньше времени, чтобы стало очевидным, что для «избранных слуг народа» ничто человеческое не чуждо, в том числе и пороки.

Вторая революция IT-технологий, основанная на искусственном интеллекте, предъявляет особые требования к информации. Новая геополитическая формула «Кто обладает наибольшим объемом цифровой информации и скоростью её обработки, тот владеет миром»¹. Высокоскоростная мобильная связь стала мощным геополитическим оружием. Здесь можно провести аналогию с географическим пространством, где Китай стал мировым лидером в создании высокоскоростных железнодорожных магистралей. Американское противодействие китайскому телекоммуникационному гиганту Huawei по созданию технологии пятое поколение мобильной связи 5G нельзя сводить к простой торговой войне. Эта мобильная связь обеспечивает не только высокоскоростную передачу информации в киберпространстве Земли, но и приоритет в принятии решений в военных конфликтах².

В международных отношениях и в научных коммуникациях преимущество получают государства и индивидуумы, обладающие наряду с вычислительными мощностями большим систематизированным массивом цифровой информации и скоростью её обработки. В этом суть первой мировой информационной (технологической) войны между США и КНР³. Победителем окажется государство, обладающее самым крупным массивом цифровой информации и скоростью её обработки. С появлением искусственного интеллекта важнейшим ресурсом, наравне с вычислительными мощностями, стали огромные массивы данных (информации) и скорость её обработки. Неожиданно для США здесь лидером стала КНР, первой в мире внедрившая технологию высокоскоростной мобильной связи G5. В настоящее время между ними развернулась борьба за доминирование на мировом рынке искусственного интеллекта, а значит и глобальное лидерство. Государственные инвестиции Пекина в ИИ примерно в 1,5 раза выше, чем доля Вашингтона. В ближайшие 15 лет ИИ сократит количество рабочих мест в мире на 40%⁴.

Технологическое неравенство всегда оказывало влияние на консолидированную мощь государства. Лучше всего это знают китайцы – Поднебесная империя утратила мировое могущество после технологического отставания от Европы. Современный коммунистический Китай не забыл своей драматической истории и не только догнал, но и перегнал США в этой области. Вашингтон вынужден отбросить политкорректность в международных отношениях, чтобы не утратить положение мирового технологического лидера и не дать право Китаю устанавливать новый мировой порядок.

Создание цифрового общества может вызвать и отрицательные последствия, игнорирующие фундаментальные основы развития человека. Поэтому современная технологическая цифровая индустрия обязана уделять все большее внимание вопросам этики, социальной ответственности и справедливого распределения богатства.

¹ Владимир Дергачев [Геополитика нового мирового порядка в преддверии второй IT- революции](http://dergachev.org/geop_events/070419-01.html). – Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: http://dergachev.org/geop_events/070419-01.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

² Владимир Дергачев [Китайский дракон киберпространства](http://dergachev.org/geop_events/160619-02.html). — Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: http://dergachev.org/geop_events/160619-02.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

³ Владимир Дергачев [Первая мировая технологическая война. Белая книга глобализации по-китайски](http://dergachev.org/geop_events/160619-03.html) – Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: http://dergachev.org/geop_events/160619-03.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

⁴ Kai-Fu Lee *AI Superpowers: China, Silicon Valley, and the New World Order*. — Boston, Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018, 272 s. Эта новая книга Кай-Фу Ли «Сверхдержавы ИИ: Китай, Силиконовая долина и Новый мировой порядок» стала бестселлером, самым цитируемым трудом о мировой гонке в области искусственного интеллекта.

Соединённые Штаты совершили великий подвиг, создав на бывшем Диком Западе (Калифорнии) мировой центр высоких технологий. Капитализация крупнейших ИТ-компаний («носорогов») сопоставима с макроэкономическими показателями крупных государств. Объем информации становится важнее и дороже, чем деньги. Снижается роль государства на фоне роста крупнейших транснациональных ИТ-компаний «носорогов» (Гугл, Амазон, Apple и другие). Поэтому неизбежным в США стал конфликт крупнейших технологических компаний с федеральной властью – «носорогов» наказывают за монополизм и грозятся раздробить на части. Интуитивно, вероятно, и политики почувствовали угрозу своему существованию. Амбициозные планы американских ИТ-гигантов являются составной частью глобалистского проекта, в рамках которого человечество должно стать расходным материалом во имя процветания кибергов англосаксонских корпораций.

Вместе с кризисом современного государства в прошлое уходят традиционная оппозиция правых и левых, однако разработка новых компьютерных технологий позволит перезапустить не только демократические институты, но и само государство¹. Лидеры ИТ-технологий (компании «единороги») Кремниевой долины убеждены, что передовые технологии могут успешно выполнять важные функции государства. Это мир криптовалют и других цифровых стратегий, которые используются в киберпространстве и не могут в полной мере контролироваться государством. Лидеры ИТ-технологий могут непреднамеренно приготовить инфраструктуру для рождения «государства 2.0». **Стратегия Кремниевой долины опережает государство в киберпространстве. Изменение существующего технологического ландшафта многомерного пространства «выталкивает» государство на периферию, делает его уязвимым и неэффективным.** Глобальный «неолиберализм» или «либеральный интервенционизм» переживает кризис. Но неолибералы никогда не отказывались от идеи могущественного государства. **Ситуация, где человечество полностью управляется машинами, в принципе невозможна².**

На пути глобальных амбиций коллективного Запада — коммунистический Китай³. **Для китайских властей обеспечение развития рынка инноваций является вопросом национальной безопасности.** Власти КНР выстраивают жесткую политику протекционизма, ограничивающую возможности внешних игроков на отечественном инновационном рынке. Китайский закон предусматривает неотъемлемое право граждан на безопасность персональных данных, однако заявляет о праве государства на вмешательство в данные, которые влияют на национальную безопасность. **Традиционный китайский (конфуцианский) подход ставит выше всего интересы государства и предполагает, что личными интересами можно пренебречь, если речь идет об общественной стабильности.** Китайская цивилизация существовала два тысячелетия благодаря принципам меритократии, механизму «кэцзюй» выдвижения и продвижения талантов по социальным лифтам Поднебесной. Коммунистический Китай возродил этот принцип, что создает прочный фундамент для формирования китайской меритократии информационной эпохи и искусственного интеллекта.

В регулировании цифровой среды Россия находится в числе догоняющих государств, и это может пойти на пользу. Опыт американского, европейского и китайского технологического регулирования дает представление о преимуществах и потенциальных проблемах, с которыми сопряжен каждый из существующих подходов, позволяет адаптировать лучшие практики, успешно избегая ошибок. В Индокитае,

¹ Стив Фуллер: «Государство 2.0» будет киборгом, но человек все равно останется неотъемлемой частью политического процесса». <https://expert.ru/expert/2020/48/>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

² Evgeny Morozov To Save Everything, Click Here. Technology, Solutionism, and the Urge to Fix Problems. —Penguin, 2014. 432 s.

³ Кто мировой лидер в области искусственного интеллекта? URL: <https://www.dw.com/ru/> (Visited 22.09.2024).

особенно в Сингапуре и Малайзии, формируется новый центр высоких информационных технологий. Всё больше «юго-восточных черепах», которые получили образование на Западе, возвращаются на родину. В Кремниевой долине и других крупных технологических центрах США появились представительства быстро растущих технологических и венчурных компаний Юго-Восточной Азии, заманивающих домой молодые таланты¹.

Многие специалисты обращают внимание на обратную «темную» сторону цифрового общества, когда станет возможной умственная деградация элит, а люди постепенно превратятся в штрих-коды. Современная западная демократия по своей природе (власть посредственности) не может обеспечить воспроизводство меритократии. Происходит вырождение западного института демократического выбора по социальной лестнице. По результатам исследования европейских психологов IQ (intelligence quotient) или коэффициент интеллекта урождённых до 1980 года выше на много пунктов, чем у родившихся позже и ставших политиками в информационную эпоху второй революции IT-технологий, роботизации всех видов деятельности. **Великих мыслителей капиталистическая система перестала производить.** Найдите принципиальные различия между республиканской и демократической партией США или между многими другими за рубежом. Они часто вместо идеологических целей образуют организованные партийные группировки (ОПГ), борющиеся между собой за власть и распределение ресурсов. Возможно, в будущем исчезнет профессия продажных политиков как ненужная токсичная прикладка между обществом и государством и им на смену придут «неподкупные» партии киборгов, но кто им создаст соответствующие программы?

Многополярный мир Великих империй сверхскоростей киберпространства

Новая историческая эпоха формируется на рубежах географического и киберпространства сверхскоростных коммуникаций, где создаются киберпорты, откуда цифровые «каравеллы» отправляются к новым неизведанным горизонтам. Неведомый мир порождает тревоги оказаться в «цифровом концлагере» или новых колониях киберпространства.

Как будут меняться границы и формы государств в эпоху высоких технологий?

В настоящее время в мире около двухсот государств, локализованных в географическом пространстве. Современные сетевые события происходят не в конкретной стране или местности, а в киберпространстве, поэтому к ним невозможно применять законы государств. Кибербезопасность становится важным фактором существования суверенных государств двадцать первого столетия. Возможно, в многомерном пространстве Земли на рубежах географического и виртуального пространства будут формироваться мировые империи будущего.

Каждая государственная форма имеет свою меру. Вестфальский мир был ориентирован на небольшие по размерам европейские государства. Современный Китай – это не государство в обыденном понимании, а государство-цивилизация, крупнейший в мире наряду с Индией Великий океан людей. Китайская Народная Республика – одно из немногих государств в мире, имеющих долгосрочную стратегию развития, по крайней мере, до середины двадцать первого века. И как показывает пандемия COVID-19, именно благодаря прямому доступу китайского государства к цифровым данным, так как компании IT-технологий тесно сотрудничают с государством, цифровой контроль оказался эффективным средством борьбы с эпидемией. Поднебесная с пятью тысячелетней историей давно доказала необходимость контроля огромной массы людей в целях безопасности и стабильности государства. Большая плотность населения и инфраструктуры, высокая скорость

¹ Елена Пустовойтова Силиконовая долина уплывает в Азию. Американским корпорациям грозят большие потери. URL: <https://www.fondsk.ru/news/2019/07/02/silikonovaja-dolina-uplyvaet-v-aziju-48510.html>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

технологического роста неизбежно выведут Китай на лидирующие позиции в создании систем социального рейтинга. В последние годы на Западе шли дискуссии, осуждающие Китай в создании «цифрового концлагеря». Но как оказалось — это шаг в будущее, которое ждет и остальной цивилизованный мир в ближайшие десятилетия. Можно с уверенностью констатировать, в Китае это будущее наступило. Несомненно, система социального кредитного рейтинга укрепитя в Китае и послужит примером для создания контроля распределения социальных благ для всего мира¹.

Новые форпосты освоения многомерного пространства Земли

По аналогии с Великими географическими открытиями, современное человечество отправляется в плавание еще в одном Великом океане – Океане сверхскоростей киберпространства. Новая историческая эпоха формируется на рубежах географического и киберпространства, заполняемого новой природой киберполитики, сверхскоростными коммуникациями и другими формами.

В двадцать первом веке Великий час геополитики характеризуется созданием киберпортов на границах географического и киберпространства. В формирующихся на рубежах геопространства и киберпространства империях нового мира современные технологические платформы транснациональных корпораций Кремниевой долины, такие как Google, Amazon, Uber, Facebook, займут важно место **киберпортов будущего**. Обратимся к примерам.

Американская транснациональная корпорация Google в 2015 году была реорганизована в международный конгломерат Alphabet Inc. Google — крупнейшая и самая популярная в мире многоязычная (более 200 языков) поисковая система интернета. Её доля на мировом рынке поисковиков превышает 60%. В качестве еще одного технологического киберпорта выступает **компания Facebook** — крупнейшая социальная сеть в мире.

В ряде стран мира государство принудило местных интернет-провайдеров закрыть пользователям доступ к социальной сети. К этим государствам относятся Северная Корея, Мьянма, Китай, Иран, Куба, а также Туркменистан, Украина и Россия. Чаше всего постоянный или временный запрет связан с политическими процессами и военными конфликтами, или в качестве меры по борьбе с религиозным инакомыслием.

Наряду с киберпортами Кремниевой долины (Калифорния) в геопространстве формируются новые полюса высоких технологий, такие как **Шанхай (Пудун)** и **Сингапур**. Из этих киберпортов новой эпохи цифровые «каравеллы» начинают завоевание новых горизонтов, и формировать киберимперии будущего.

Открытость и инновации — главная движущая сила развития **Пудуна**, ставшего важным двигателем национальной и международной экономики. ВВП Пудуна за 30 лет (1990 – 2020) вырос с 6 млрд. до свыше 1 трлн. юаней (\$150 млрд.) или в 165 раз. Повышается глобальная конкурентоспособность мегалополиса Шанхая (включая Пудун), который становится признанным в мире международным экономическим, финансовым, торговым и портовым центром. В будущем здесь сформируется один из мировых полюсов экономического и технологического развития, лидер новой мировой инновационной эры.

По аналогии с портами эпохи Великих географических открытий, **Сингапур** за счет диверсификации деловой активности становится мировым лидером в виртуальном пространстве и уже создал крупнейший коммуникационный узел — киберпорт. Это вольная гавань постиндустриальной эпохи, где концентрируются узлы связи между реальным географическим пространством и киберпространством. Сингапур — это государство вопреки всему, это антипод России — одно из самых малых по площади государств и самое протяженное. У Сингапура не хватает земли, нет полезных

¹ Очевидное или невероятное. Социальный кредитный рейтинг по-китайски <https://evo-rus.com/avto/exluzive/ochevidnoe-ili-neveroyatnoe-sotsialnyj-kreditnyj-rejting-po-kitajski.html>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

ископаемых, и приходится экспортировать пресную воду и энергетические ресурсы. Экономика зависит от поставок воды из Малайзии и импорта энергетических ресурсов и продовольствия, тогда как у России этого добра в избытке. Землю импортируют из Индонезии – покупают необитаемый остров, не пригодный для хозяйственной деятельности, и транспортируют грунт в Сингапур, где многие промышленные и селитебные площадки, взлетно-посадочная полоса международного аэропорта Чанги — насыпные¹.

Киберпорты с квазигосударственными функциями на подобии Ост-Индских компаний прошлого

Киберпорты могут показаться фантастикой, если бы не исторические аналоги современных высокотехнологичных компаний, претендующих на квазигосударственные функции. В эпоху Великих географических открытий на берегах океанов появились форпосты освоения и колонизации Земли. Главные из них были представлены крупнейшими квазигосударственными образованиями прошлого — Голландской и Британской Ост-Индскими акционерными компаниями XVII века. Им для управления колониями были делегированы государственные функции — от содержания вооруженных сил до чеканки валюты².

Некоторые исследователи считают, что по уровню капитализации этих компаний у них нет равных среди современных крупнейших ИТ-компаний («единорогов»)³. Квазигосударственным образованием была и Ганза — сверхдержава торговых вольных городов⁴. Таким образом, использование частного бизнеса для государственной экспансии не является чем-то новым. И появление такой частотной компании как SpaceX может стать причиной Pax Americana в космосе.

Бюджеты крупнейших компаний Кремниевой долины, например Apple или Google, превышают ВВП крупнейших государств мира, значительно уступают по финансовым показателям своим историческим аналогам. Например, Голландская Ост-Индская компания длительное время практически монополично контролировала торговлю специями и совершила несколько крупных географических открытий, была одной из доминирующих сил в мире, обладающих геополитической мощью. Её стоимость, по данным Yahoo Finance, в период расцвета оценивалась в \$7,4 трлн. в пересчёте на современные деньги.⁵

Звёздный час крупнейшей в истории человечества компании начался в эпоху Великих географических открытий. Государство разрешило ей вести переговоры и заключать союзы с местными правителями, чеканить собственную монету, строить фортификационные сооружения и вести войны. Голландская Ост-Индская компания повлияла на успешное развитие предпринимательской деятельности и на историю Великих географических открытий, она стала символом голландского государства, успешно функционировала два столетия. Её закат не отличается сценарием разорения

¹ Владимир Дергачев [Сингапур. Прагматизм диктатуры интеллектуального Дракона.](http://dergachev.org/geop_events/160318-01.html) — Аналитические и образовательный Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: http://dergachev.org/geop_events/160318-01.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

² 200 лет Голландской Ост-Индской компании <https://vc.ru/story/15429-dutch-east-india-company>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

³ Владимир Дергачев [Мировые единороги ИТ-технологий и инновационной экономики.](http://dergachev.org/geop_events/070419-02.html) — Аналитический и образовательный Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: http://dergachev.org/geop_events/070419-02.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

⁴ Владимир Дергачев Ганза. Сверхдержава торговых вольных городов. — Аналитический и образовательный Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: https://dergachev.org/geop_events/030713.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

⁵ Владимир Дергачев [Нидерланды. Воспоминания о золотом веке приключений и работоторговли.](https://dergachev-va.livejournal.com/193268.html) — Аналитические и образовательный Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: <https://dergachev-va.livejournal.com/193268.html>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

от многих современных компаний (коррупция, хищения, отсутствие инноваций и слабый менеджмент).

При создании **Британской Ост-Индской компании** была применена, можно сказать, гениальная идея пригласить наиболее успешных пиратов на государственную службу. В 16 веке королева Елизавета I возвела Френсиса Дрейка в рыцарское звание, после чего бывший пират грабил и открывал новые земли в интересах английской короны. С помощью Ост-Индской компании была осуществлена британская колонизация Индии и других стран Востока, что способствовало превращению Англии во владычицу морей и установления Pax Britannica — доминированию на море и в международных делах. Уже не секрет, что в настоящее время наиболее успешных хакеров (пиратов киберпространства) приглашают на работу в солидные компании.

Возможно китайский суперпроект «Пояс и путь» (BRI) является Ост-Индской компанией наоборот, но идущей с Востока на Запад мирным путем с помощью международных транспортных коридоров, включая евразийскую сеть железнодорожных, автомобильных и трубопроводных магистралей и морских портов.

Кто возглавит борьбу Глобального большинства человечества за традиционные ценности?

Великий час геополитики — это эпоха глобальной нестабильности, военных конфликтов, грозящих перерасти в Третью мировую термоядерную войну. Великий физик Альберт Эйнштейн пророчески предсказал: *«Я не знаю, чем будут сражаться в Третьей мировой войне, но в Четвертой мировой будут сражаться палками и камнями».*

Институты, символизирующие глобальный статус-кво Запада, такие как НАТО, ЕС, Всемирный банк, МВФ и ВТО и другие, постепенно ослабевают по своему влиянию на мир. На международной арене восходят организации глобального большинства, такие как БРИКС и ШОС во главе с Россией и Китаем. В начале 2024 года членами БРИКС стали Саудовская Аравия, Египет, Иран, Эфиопия, ОАЭ.

Глобальные балансы и позиции стратегических союзников Запада кардинально меняются. Запад во главе с США испытывает большие трудности в конфронтации на трех направлениях: Россия — Украина, Палестина — Израиль и Китай — Тайвань. Соединённые Штаты не извлекли исторических уроков о войне на два фронта, погубивших Наполеона и Гитлера.

Человечество живёт в библейские времена, когда старый мир разрушается, а новый еще не создан. Необходимо восстановление достоверности ядерного сдерживания, спасавшего мир более полувека¹. Длительное время относительно мирного сосуществования государств держалось на страхе перед ядерным оружием.

Несмотря на трудности, и отказа от создания советской Кремниевой долины, именно в Советском Союзе были созданы технологии искусственного интеллекта на службе геополитики – система «Периметр» и Резервная система управления СССР. По классификации НАТО эту технологию системы мгновенного ядерного удара назвали «Dead hand» («Мертвая рука») или аморальной, так как она в отличие от «моральной» превентивной аналогичной системы США, действует без команды человека. Решение о запуске принимает искусственный интеллект — сложная автономная контрольно-командная программная система. Несомненно, современные Соединённые Штаты обладают разрушительной военной мощью, но неприятным для Вашингтона и НАТО стало известие о возрождении советского Комплекса автоматического управляемого массированного ядерного удара «Периметр»².

¹ Сергей Караганов Век Войн. Статья первая. — Международный журнал «Россия в глобальной политике», январь 2024 <https://karaganov.ru/vek-vojn-statja-pervaja/>. Сергей Караганов Глобальное большинство и судьба России <https://globalaffairs.ru/articles/yadernaya-vojna-i-sudba-rossii/>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

² Владимир Дергачев Почему воскресла «Мертвая рука»? — Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: https://dergachev.org/geop_events/070414.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

Паритет в ядерном вооружении между сверхдержавами был в недавнем прошлом гарантом мира. В последние годы по мере смены поколения, «привыкания» к миру, интеллектуальной деградации, клипизации сознания обществ и элит ядерной войны перестали бояться. Современное стратегическое применение ядерного оружия приведет не только к локальной гибели одной из ядерных сверхдержав (США, Россия), но они погибнут вместе со всем миром.

Развёртывается качественно и количественно новая гонка вооружений, подрывающая стратегическую стабильность – показатель вероятности возникновения ядерной войны. Появляются новые виды оружия массового поражения (включая биологическое), которые находятся вне международной системы ограничений и запретов. На фоне распространения и резкого увеличения числа высокоточных дальнобойных ракет и новых вооружений различного класса, неожиданно началась революция относительно дешевых дронов. Они могут нести оружие массового поражения и способны сделать нормальную жизнь невыносимо опасной. Пошёл процесс миниатюризации ядерных боеприпасов, разрушающих стратегическую стабильность «сверху» и всё больше признаков перенесения гонки вооружений в космос.

Гиперзвук, в котором Россия и КНР пока лидируют в мире, рано или поздно распространится и подлётное время до целей сократится до минимума. Резко повысится опасение «обезглавливающего» удара по центрам принятия решений. Стратегическая стабильность может быть нарушена мощным ударом по важнейшим морским торговым коммуникациям – Суэцкому и Панамскому каналам, Баб-эль-Мандебскому, Ормузскому, Малаккскому проливам. Красное море уже стало опасной зоной для судоходства.

Начавшаяся неконтролируемая гонка вооружений требует повсеместного применения систем ПРО и ПВО. Под угрозой оказалось существование американских авианосцев – главной ударной военно-морской мощи США.

Искусственный интеллект в военной сфере создает новые риски эскалации любых локальных конфликтов из-за выхода оружия из-под контроля человека и государств. Требуется новая внешняя политика и приоритеты внутреннего развития государства. Предлагается **Четвёртый путь развития человечества** в отличие от либерализма, социализма (коммунизма) и национализма (фашизма, нацизма)¹ на основе философского и идеологического фундамента. Между собой столкнулись разные системы ценностей — две противоположные антагонистические мировоззренческие идеологии. Современный коллективный Запад выступает за абсолютный индивидуализм, ЛГБТ и гендерную политику, космополитизм и постгуманизм, неограниченную миграцию, уничтожение всех форм идентичности и философию постмодернизма. Развитие цифровых технологий и нейросетей поставило на повестку дня передачу инициативы правления в мировом масштабе от человечества к искусственному интеллекту.

Российская Федерация окончательно сделала ставку на защиту традиционных ценностей и связывает с ними фундаментальные процессы укрепления собственной цивилизационной идентичности и геополитического суверенитета. В ожесточенном противостоянии России с коллективным Западом, балансирующем на грани ядерного конфликта и третьей мировой войны, все более контрастно проявляется проблема традиционных ценностей².

¹ Александр Дугин Четвертый путь. Введение в Четвертую Политическую Теорию. — М.: Академический проект, 2024. 683 с.

² Александр Дугин Не просто конфликт интересов: на Украине решается судьба мира — РИА Новости. <https://ria.ru/20240514/interesov-1945681879.html>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

Китайская Народная Республика, получившая преференции ускоренного промышленного развития за счет глобализма, неизбежно обращается к извечным ценностям своей древнейшей культуры, включая конфуцианство. Китайскими мыслителями прошлого Поднебесная представлена как центр открытой для мира системы, но закрытой для духовного влияния извне, непоколебимо стоящей на страже своей суверенности, уникальности и самобытности.

В современной Индии доминирует глубинная идентичность, возрождающая основы древнейшей ведической культуры, религии, философии и социального уклада. Исламский мир со своими законами категорично отвергает систему ценностей коллективного Запада. В этом же направлении движутся народы Африки на новом витке деколонизации в области сознания, культуры и образа мысли, обращаясь к истокам своих автохтонных культур. Латинская Америка постепенно открывает новые горизонты традиционализма, религии и культурных корней, входя постепенно в конфликт с политикой США и коллективного Запада.

В эпоху глобальной геополитической трансформации и нестабильности зарождаются новые международные институты, которые возглавят борьбу за защиту традиционных цивилизационных ценностей. Возможно, это будет БРИКС, динамично формирующейся клуб государств третьего мира, но пока еще институционально не полностью оформившаяся международная организация. Сможет ли она выполнить всемирно идеологическую миссию сопротивления западной гегемонии, покажет время.

Идет глобальная геоэкономическая трансформация, которая проявляется в мировом логистическом кризисе и формировании нового коммуникационного каркаса в Евразии и других континентах¹. В китайский суперпроект ВШП «Один путь, одна дорога» уже вложено более 1 трлн. долларов США. МТК «Восток – Запад» и МТК «Север – Юг» Россия-Иран-Индия, пройдя через эпоху глобальной нестабильности, могут стать не только взаимодополняющими, но и основой нового коммуникационного каркаса Евразийского континента в процессе геополитической трансформации мира и смещения полюсов экономического и технологически развития с Запада на Восток. Будет создан Евразийский коммуникационный крест Восток - Запад и Север – Юг, а в будущем – Африканский коммуникационный крест – международные транспортные коридоры Каир – Кейптаун и Аддис-Абеба – Дакар.

Несмотря на новый технологический уклад и высокие технологии формирование нового мироустройство и коммуникационного каркаса с международными транспортными коридорами будет осуществляться с позиций геополитической мощи великих государств. В настоящее время эту роль в значительной степени выполняют частные военные компании (ЧВК). В мире насчитывается свыше 3 тыс. ЧВК с совокупным оборотом \$450 млрд. в год, основными заказчиками их услуг являются государства. Западные, преимущественно американские и британские ЧВК, а также Французский иностранный легион, прокладывают путь к ресурсам других государств под флагом «беспорочной» демократии. Российские ЧВК на Ближнем Востоке (Сирия) и Африке (Сахель) в значительной мере обеспечивают продвижение китайского суперпроекта «Один путь, одна дорога».

Евразийская геополитика США («Петля Анаконды»)² и военные интервенции на Балканах, Ближнем Востоке и Афганистане привели к усилению конфликтности на рубежах евразийских цивилизаций. В эпоху геополитической трансформации и нестабильности в мире Соединённым Штатам важно не допустить формирование нового мирового и евразийского коммуникационного каркаса.

¹ Владимир Дергачев Мировой логистический кризис и трансформация евразийских транспортных коридоров. Евразийский крест. — Интернет-портал «Институт геополитики». URL: http://dergachev.org/geop_events/220924-03.html. (Visited 22.09.2024).

² Владимир Дергачев Демократическая «Петля Анаконды»: новые рубежи евразийской геополитики США. – Международный журнал «Вестник аналитики» (Москва), 2007, № 3. URL: <http://dergachev.org/analit/7.html>. (Visited 22.09.2024).

Заключение

Наступил Великий час геополитики — начало нового 500-летнего глобального геополитического цикла и смещения геополитических и геоэкономических полюсов с Запада на Восток. Этот цикл совпал со сменой технологичного уклада, роботизации всех видов деятельности. Наблюдается кризис неолиберальной глобализации и формирование новых центров экономической и военно-политической мощи в эпоху глобальной геополитической нестабильности. Запад во главе с США постепенно утрачивает монополию на мировое господство и исключительность на фоне растущего авторитета Китая, Индии и других государств. Трансформация баланса сил приводит к снижению доминирования Запада в международных организациях. Но новая геополитическая архитектура многополярного мира будет рождаться в длительных конфликтах на фронтах Больших многомерных цивилизационных пространств. Запад уже не сможет прикрывать свои преступления (не только эпохи империализма) борьбой за права человека, демократию и «безграничную справедливость».

В условиях глобального реформирования моделей развития, сохраняется ведущая роль геополитической мощи и войн за ресурсы и рынки, а не территории. Глобализация сыграла злую шутку с Западом, вынос промышленности в развивающиеся страны ослабил военно-политическую мощь. Происходит вырождение западного института демократического выбора по социальной лестнице.

Наступил Великий час геополитики, когда в процессе геополитической трансформации рождается новая формула мирового порядка **«Кто обладает наибольшим объемом цифровой информации и скоростью её обработки, тот владеет миром»**. Создание цифрового общества может вызвать и отрицательные последствия, игнорирующие фундаментальные основы развития человека. Поэтому современная технологическая цифровая индустрия обязана уделять все большее внимание вопросам этики, социальной ответственности и справедливого распределения богатства.

Всемирные Сети превратились в мощное геополитическое оружие. Капитализация крупнейших американских ИТ-компаний «носорогов» сопоставима с макроэкономическими показателями крупных государств, чья роль в управлении снижается, а политики почувствовали угрозу своему существованию.

По аналогии с Великими географическими открытиями, современное человечество отправляется в плавание в неизведанном Великом океане сверхскоростей киберпространства. Новая историческая эпоха формируется на рубежах географического и киберпространства, где создаются киберпорты, откуда цифровые «каравеллы» отправляются к новым таинственным горизонтам. Неведомый мир порождает тревоги оказаться в «цифровом концлагере» или новых колониях киберпространства.

Ответ на смену государственных формаций нужно искать не только в образе будущего, но в историческом прошлом. В обозримо будущем киберпорты с квазигосударственными функциями на подобии Ост-Индских компаний будут играть существенную роль в формировании нового мирового порядка.

В процессе глобальной геополитической трансформации выявилась абсолютная не только военная, но политическая и экономическая зависимость Европы от Соединённых Штатов. Европейский союз, импотент в военно-политическом отношении и протекторат США, вспомнив о прошлом, решил поиграть в геополитику. Европейская история повторяется. Передовой отряд «Drang nach Osten» «чрезмерно миролюбивой» Европы, озабоченной распространением истинной демократии и прав человека, возглавляет североатлантический военный блок. НАТО во главе с США идет впереди ЕС на Восток, создавая «санитарный кордон» из марионеточных и враждебных

России государств. В результате Евросоюз получил Восточный фронт политической нестабильности.

Как неоднократно подчёркивал автор, геополитической и геоэкономической нестабильности в Восточной Европе способствует эгоизм великих держав, преследующих свои стратегические цели. Они поставили новые независимые государства (Украину, Молдову и Грузию) перед жестким выбором Или/Или между евроинтеграцией (зоной свободной торговли с ЕС) и евразийской интеграцией (ЕАЭС).

Обостряется борьба за выживание постсоветских государств, оказавшихся между молотом и наковальней великих держав. Перед политической элитой этих государств стоит вопрос выбора между ролью марионеток с призрачным будущим или защитников национальных интересов и традиционных ценностей.

В классической философии желание власти той или иной страны (ныне не входящей в «золотой» миллиард) стать частью другой, в данном случае западной, цивилизации считается аморальным фактором, ведущим к уничтожению социокультурного кода нации. Россия поздно, но опомнилась в стремлении стать частью «богатого пуза» Запада, Азербайджан после некоторых колебаний выбрал многовекторную внешнюю политику, ставшую фундаментом успешного развития. Постсоветские государства (Украина, Молдова и Грузия) потратили несколько десятилетий, чтобы стать частью Европейского союза, утратив в результате военных конфликтов часть территорий. Но со временем Грузия вспомнила о своих традиционных ценностях.

Большинство лидеров постсоветских государств игнорировали до поры до времени факт, что их границы созданы в советском геополитическом пространстве согласно ленинской концепции всемирной революции. И надо быть наивным и надеяться, что «цивилизационный» Запад сохранит сложившийся советский государственный статус-кво бывших советских республик. При вхождении в другое геополитическое пространство на Запад или Восток придут в движение не только границы, но под угрозой окажется само существование новых независимых государств.

В ближайшем будущем возрастут конфликты на постсоветском пространстве, где продолжится формирования новой мировой периферии. Если после распада СССР Запад использовал в качестве главной дубины в отношении новых независимых государств права человека, то в настоящее время отброшен этот фиговый листик демократии и вместо него увеличивает поставки снарядов и ракет, чтобы уничтожить Россию.

Процесс глобальной геополитической трансформации ведет к многополярному миру эпохи нестабильности и формированию новых геополитических и геоэкономических полюсов. **Главной функцией крупных держав остается безопасность, контроль торговых и информационных коммуникаций,** Великий час геополитики не отменяет наряду с военной и экономической мощью силу духа человека, борьбу за традиционные ценности. Нельзя изменить мир, не изменив себя.

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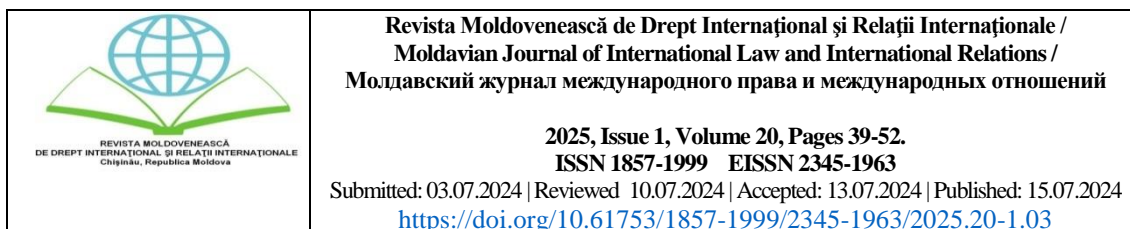
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**COMUNICĂRI ȘTIINȚIFICE
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НАУЧНЫЕ СООБЩЕНИЯ**

**DIGITAL DIPLOMACY FOR PEACE:
A NEW FRONTIER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**DIPLOMAȚIA DIGITALĂ PENTRU PACE:
O NOUĂ FRONTIERĂ ÎN RELAȚIILE INTERNAȚIONALE**

**ЦИФРОВАЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЯ ВО ИМЯ МИРА:
НОВАЯ ЭПОХА В МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЯХ**

LISENCO Vladlena* / LÎSENCO Vladlena / ЛЫСЕНКО Владлена

**ABSTRACT:
DIGITAL DIPLOMACY FOR PEACE:
A NEW FRONTIER IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The rise of digital technologies has changed how countries interact, offering new ways to promote peace and solve global conflicts. Digital diplomacy is a modern approach that uses information and communication technologies to improve dialogue, cooperation, and understanding between nations, organizations, and citizens. This article looks at how digital tools and platforms support peacebuilding, especially by connecting different groups, fighting misinformation, and resolving conflicts.

Digital diplomacy allows governments and non-governmental actors to communicate in real time, giving marginalized communities a voice and encouraging inclusive participation in peace efforts. By increasing transparency and accountability, it modernizes traditional diplomacy and provides tools to address conflicts early. Digital platforms also play an important role in encouraging cultural exchange and aiding humanitarian initiatives in conflict zones. Despite its potential, digital diplomacy faces serious challenges. Cybersecurity risks, unequal access to digital resources, and the misuse of technology to spread disinformation threaten its success. This paper highlights the need for global agreements, ethical guidelines, and programs to strengthen digital capacity to minimize these risks and ensure that digital diplomacy supports peace rather than creating new tensions.

Using real-world examples and theoretical perspectives, this research explains how digital transformation is changing diplomacy in the 21st century. It argues that integrating technology into diplomatic practices is crucial for building long-lasting peace and ensuring global stability. This approach opens new opportunities for innovation and cooperation in international relations.

Key words: Digital diplomacy, peacebuilding, conflict resolution, misinformation, cybersecurity, transparency, international relations, global stability.

JEL Classification: F51, D74, Z18, L86

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РЕЗУМАТ:

**DIPLOMAȚIA DIGITALĂ PENTRU PACE:
O NOUĂ FRONTIERĂ ÎN RELAȚIILE INTERNAȚIONALE**

Creșterea tehnologiilor digitale a schimbat modul în care țările interacționează, oferind noi oportunități pentru promovarea păcii și rezolvarea conflictelor globale. Diplomația digitală reprezintă o abordare modernă care utilizează tehnologiile informaționale și de comunicare pentru a îmbunătăți dialogul, cooperarea și înțelegerea reciprocă între state, organizații și cetățeni. Acest articol examinează modul în care instrumentele și platformele digitale susțin procesele de menținere a păcii, în special prin conectarea diferitelor grupuri, combaterea dezinformării și soluționarea conflictelor.

Diplomația digitală permite actorilor guvernamentali și neguvernamentali să comunice în timp real, oferind comunităților marginalizate o voce și încurajând participarea incluzivă la eforturile de pace. Prin creșterea transparenței și responsabilității, aceasta modernizează diplomația tradițională și oferă instrumente pentru identificarea și rezolvarea timpurie a conflictelor. De asemenea, platformele digitale joacă un rol important în promovarea schimbului cultural și în sprijinirea inițiativelor umanitare în zonele afectate de conflicte. În ciuda potențialului său, diplomația digitală se confruntă cu provocări semnificative. Riscurile de securitate cibernetică, accesul inegal la resursele digitale și utilizarea greșită a tehnologiilor pentru răspândirea dezinformării amenință succesul său. Acest articol subliniază necesitatea unor acorduri globale, standarde etice și programe pentru consolidarea capacităților digitale, astfel încât să se minimizeze aceste riscuri și să se asigure că diplomația digitală sprijină pacea, în loc să creeze noi tensiuni.

Bazându-se pe exemple reale și perspective teoretice, cercetarea explică modul în care transformarea digitală schimbă diplomația în secolul XXI. Se argumentează că integrarea tehnologiilor în practicile diplomatice este esențială pentru construirea unei păci de durată și asigurarea stabilității globale. Această abordare deschide noi oportunități pentru inovație și cooperare în relațiile internaționale.

Cuvinte cheie: diplomație digitală, consolidarea păcii, rezolvarea conflictelor, dezinformare, securitate cibernetică, transparență, relații internaționale, stabilitate globală.

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

**ЦИФРОВАЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЯ ВО ИМЯ МИРА: НОВАЯ ЭПОХА В
МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЯХ**

Рост цифровых технологий изменил способы взаимодействия между странами, предоставив новые возможности для продвижения мира и решения глобальных конфликтов. Цифровая дипломатия представляет собой современный подход, который использует информационные и коммуникационные технологии для улучшения диалога, сотрудничества и взаимопонимания между государствами, организациями и гражданами. В данной статье рассматривается, как цифровые инструменты и платформы поддерживают миротворческие процессы, особенно за счёт объединения различных групп, борьбы с дезинформацией и разрешения конфликтов.

Цифровая дипломатия позволяет государственным и негосударственным акторам общаться в режиме реального времени, давая голос маргинализированным сообществам и поощряя инклюзивное участие в мирных процессах. Увеличивая прозрачность и подотчетность, она модернизирует традиционную дипломатию и предоставляет инструменты для раннего выявления и урегулирования конфликтов. Цифровые платформы также играют важную роль в поощрении культурного обмена и поддержке гуманитарных инициатив в зонах конфликтов. Несмотря на потенциал, цифровая дипломатия сталкивается с серьезными вызовами. Риски кибербезопасности, неравный доступ к цифровым ресурсам и злоупотребление технологиями для распространения дезинформации угрожают её успеху. В статье подчёркивается

необходимость глобальных соглашений, этических стандартов и программ для укрепления цифрового потенциала, чтобы минимизировать эти риски и гарантировать, что цифровая дипломатия поддерживает мир, а не создаёт новые напряжения.

На основе реальных примеров и теоретических подходов исследование объясняет, как цифровая трансформация меняет дипломатию в XXI веке. Утверждается, что интеграция технологий в дипломатическую практику является ключом к построению долгосрочного мира и глобальной стабильности. Этот подход открывает новые возможности для инноваций и сотрудничества в международных отношениях.

Ключевые слова: Цифровая дипломатия, миростроительство, разрешение конфликтов, дезинформация, кибербезопасность, прозрачность, международные отношения, глобальная стабильность.

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The Evolution of Digital Diplomacy

Digital diplomacy has evolved significantly in recent decades, driven by the rapid development of digital technologies. This transformation has redefined how nations communicate, collaborate, and address global challenges, marking a shift from traditional methods to dynamic, technology-driven practices. The evolution of digital diplomacy can be divided into distinct stages, each shaped by technological advancements.

The first stage emerged in the 1990s with the advent of the internet. Governments began using basic digital tools such as email and websites to communicate and share information. Embassies launched online platforms to provide travel advisories, cultural programs, and updates on foreign policy. These tools made information dissemination faster and more efficient, but the interaction was primarily one-way, with limited public engagement.

The next significant stage occurred in the 2000s with the rise of social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. These tools enabled real-time communication and interaction between diplomats, governments, and the public. This period introduced “Twitter diplomacy,” where leaders and officials directly addressed global audiences, fostering transparency and accessibility. Social media became a platform for shaping narratives, countering misinformation, and enhancing public diplomacy. For example, the U.S. State Department’s Digital Outreach Team used social media to engage with foreign audiences and promote positive narratives.

In the 2010s, the focus shifted to data-driven diplomacy. Governments began leveraging big data and analytics to monitor public sentiment, predict crises, and inform policy decisions. Tools like sentiment analysis helped diplomats understand global trends and respond proactively. This period also saw the rise of cybersecurity concerns, as cyberattacks and disinformation campaigns posed new challenges. Countries started negotiating international norms for cybersecurity and digital sovereignty, recognizing the importance of protecting digital infrastructure.

The COVID-19 pandemic in the early *2020s brought virtual diplomacy* to the forefront. With restrictions on travel and in-person meetings, governments relied heavily on virtual platforms like Zoom and Microsoft Teams to maintain diplomatic engagements. This shift normalized remote negotiations, conferences, and even high-level summits. At the same time, artificial intelligence (AI) began to play a more significant role in diplomacy. AI tools enabled real-time analysis of complex datasets, automated routine tasks, and provided insights for decision-making. For instance, AI-driven platforms helped counter misinformation and enhance public diplomacy by engaging with audiences more effectively.

As we move further into the 2020s, blockchain technology is emerging as a promising tool for digital diplomacy. Blockchain’s secure and transparent nature can be used for verifying international agreements, managing digital identities, and ensuring the integrity of

humanitarian aid distribution. This stage highlights the increasing importance of trust-building and transparency in diplomatic processes.

The digital age has reshaped nearly every aspect of human interaction, and diplomacy is no exception. Digital diplomacy, often referred to as e-diplomacy or cyber diplomacy, represents a transformative shift in how nations engage with one another, address conflicts, and collaborate for peace. This new frontier in international relations leverages information and communication technologies (ICT) to enhance dialogue, transparency, and cooperation. In an era defined by rapid technological advancement and interconnectedness, digital diplomacy has become a crucial tool for promoting peace and resolving conflicts.

Traditionally, diplomacy relied on formal negotiations, closed-door discussions, and official communiqués between states. However, the advent of digital technologies has expanded the diplomatic toolkit, enabling real-time communication and broader participation. Social media platforms, online forums, and virtual meetings have revolutionized how governments, organizations, and individuals interact on the global stage. Digital diplomacy has moved beyond state-to-state relations to include non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society groups, and even individual citizens¹.

This evolution reflects the growing importance of digital platforms in shaping public opinion, disseminating information, and fostering dialogue. Additionally, digital tools facilitate the rapid exchange of ideas and information, which is essential in addressing urgent issues such as conflicts, natural disasters, and humanitarian crises.

Digital Diplomacy and Peacebuilding

In the age of cyberwar, where digital technologies are predominantly viewed through the lens of defense and conflict, their potential for peacebuilding has been undervalued². While early enthusiasm highlighted the democratizing power of technology, today's cautious perspective focuses on risks and challenges. However, growing interest in "PeaceTech" has emerged, emphasizing the strategic use of technology to promote peace, prevent conflicts, and support peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding efforts³.

Digital transformation has expanded democratic participation by making information widely accessible, allowing people to become more informed and engaged citizens. Social media platforms, online news, and digital forums provide avenues for people to voice opinions, organize movements, and mobilize support for various causes. Online petitions, virtual town halls, and social media campaigns amplify voices that might otherwise go unheard, allowing individuals from diverse backgrounds to participate actively in democratic processes.

For instance, grassroots movements worldwide have gained traction through social media platforms, such as the Arab Spring, Black Lives Matter, and climate activism by groups like Fridays for Future. These movements illustrate how digital tools can facilitate rapid information sharing, mobilize support across borders, and demand accountability from leaders. In this way, technology has empowered citizens by democratizing access to information and creating new paths for civic engagement.

One of the most significant contributions of digital diplomacy is its role in peacebuilding. By connecting diverse stakeholders, digital platforms create opportunities for dialogue and cooperation that were previously unimaginable. These tools are particularly valuable in conflict resolution, where timely communication and the inclusion of marginalized voices are critical.

¹ Van Dijck, J. (2018). *The Platform Society: Public Values in a Connective World*. Oxford University Press.

² Bosoer, Giovanardi, Nesovic, "Global PeaceTech: navigating the landscape, innovating governance", European University Institute, STG Policy Brief, 2023/03, p. 3.

³ Davletov, Kalkar, Ragnet, and Verhulst, "PeaceTech Topic Map: A Research Base for an Emerging Field", Global PeaceTech Hub and GovLab, January 2023, p. 6.

Digital diplomacy allows governments and organizations to engage with communities that have historically been excluded from diplomatic processes. Marginalized groups, such as ethnic minorities, women, and youth, can now participate in peacebuilding efforts through online platforms. This inclusivity fosters a sense of ownership and accountability, which is essential for sustainable peace.

For example, in conflict zones, digital tools enable local communities to share their experiences and perspectives directly with international mediators. This real-time feedback helps ensure that peacebuilding efforts are grounded in the realities on the ground, increasing their effectiveness and legitimacy.

Social media platforms can play a vital role in promoting peace and reconciliation by spreading awareness, creating digital peace communities, and facilitating collaborative civil society actions. A notable example is the Maskani Commons project in Western Kenya, launched in 2019 by Rongo University's Center for Media, Democracy, Peace, and Security in collaboration with Build Up. The initiative provided 60 university students with a safe space to develop digital peacebuilding skills and manage their online engagement effectively. Participants addressed polarizing issues like politics, ethnicity, and COVID-19 on social media, leveraging the cultural significance of "Maskanis," informal gathering spaces in Kenya. Initiated during the COVID-19 pandemic, the project capitalized on the increased social media activity of youth, making it a timely and impactful initiative¹.

Digital instruments have become essential tools in modern peacebuilding, offering innovative ways to address global conflicts and promote stability. These technologies, ranging from social media platforms to artificial intelligence (AI), have reshaped traditional peacebuilding approaches by fostering dialogue, combating misinformation, and enabling early conflict detection. As the digital landscape evolves, these tools are proving invaluable in creating inclusive spaces for communication and improving the effectiveness of humanitarian efforts. However, their success also depends on overcoming significant challenges, such as cybersecurity threats, unequal access to technology, and the misuse of digital platforms. For example, the United Nations has utilized digital tools to monitor social media for signs of unrest in various regions. This proactive approach has enabled timely responses, saving lives and resources. Social media platforms have revolutionized peacebuilding by enabling real-time communication among governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and local communities. During the Arab Spring, for example, social media played a pivotal role in mobilizing citizens and spreading awareness about governance and reform. Similarly, in conflict-prone regions, digital tools facilitate dialogue between divided communities, building trust and reducing tensions.

One of the most significant contributions of digital instruments to peacebuilding is their role in early conflict detection. By analyzing data from social media, news reports, and satellite imagery, AI algorithms can identify signs of escalating tensions or potential outbreaks of violence. Platforms like CrisisNET collect and analyze this data, providing actionable insights to policymakers and peacebuilders. This proactive approach allows governments and international organizations to intervene early, addressing grievances or deploying mediators before violence escalates, ultimately saving lives and reducing the economic costs of conflict².

Digital technologies are also transforming humanitarian aid and post-conflict recovery efforts. Blockchain, for instance, ensures transparency and accountability in aid distribution by tracking resources and verifying transactions. This reduces corruption and ensures that assistance reaches those in need. In post-conflict settings, virtual reality (VR) and augmented reality (AR) tools are used to preserve cultural heritage, document historical events, and promote mutual understanding among communities. These technologies play a crucial role in

¹ Owino, "Becoming a Maskani Digital Peacebuilder", BuildUp, November 2020 and Ogenga, "Maskani is Our New Normal", ConnexUs, April 2022.

² Peace Innovation Institute, The Blockchain Society Lab.

rebuilding trust and fostering long-term stability by addressing the psychological and social impacts of conflict.

Digital instruments have introduced transformative possibilities for peacebuilding, offering new ways to foster dialogue, counter misinformation, and prevent conflicts. By enabling inclusive participation and improving transparency, these tools help address conflicts more proactively and sustainably. However, their success depends on overcoming critical challenges, such as cybersecurity risks and digital inequality. With the adoption of international guidelines, investments in capacity-building, and the development of ethical and inclusive technologies, the potential of digital tools can be fully realized. In an increasingly interconnected and complex world, digital peacebuilding represents a critical frontier in the pursuit of global stability and harmony.

Challenges of Digital Diplomacy

International competition is now back as the central paradigm of international relations in a world in which we see the revival of nationalism in various forms, the hardening of borders almost everywhere, and the international system cracking down along old and new geopolitical cleavages¹. Conflicts and wars are at the top of the international agenda, while massive resources are again being allocated to defence in the name of “preparedness”. In such a context, technology is obviously a critical area where strategic competition takes place. The weaponization, mastering, and control of technology is thus part of the new “Great Game”². The rapid pace of technological advancement and the global distribution of innovation are shaping the geopolitical landscape. The “geopolitics of technology” has become a central focus for global leaders, particularly in relation to critical technologies like Artificial Intelligence (AI), semiconductors, quantum technology, biotechnology, 5G/6G communications, cybersecurity, and robotics. These transformative technologies, often with dual-use applications in civilian and military domains, hold the potential to confer significant power to those who master them. The 2022 U.S. National Strategy highlights high-tech industries as pillars of national power and geopolitical competition³, while the European Union has launched initiatives like the Strategic Technologies for Europe Platform (STEP), with a €160 billion investment to enhance sovereignty and promote liberal norms through technological resilience.⁴

While digital diplomacy has transformed international relations and peacebuilding, it also faces significant challenges that can undermine its effectiveness. Issues such as cybersecurity risks, the digital divide, and the misuse of digital technologies present obstacles that must be addressed to ensure digital diplomacy fulfills its potential. A more holistic approach is needed, one that acknowledges the interconnected nature of modern technologies and requires a deeper examination to fully understand their socio-political impacts⁵.

Cybersecurity is one of the most pressing challenges in digital diplomacy. Cyberattacks, hacking, and data breaches threaten the integrity of diplomatic communications and peacebuilding efforts. Sensitive information exchanged during negotiations can be intercepted, leading to misunderstandings or conflicts. For instance, in conflict-affected areas, cyberattacks on electoral systems can destabilize democratic institutions and intensify existing tensions. Governments and organizations must prioritize robust cybersecurity measures, such as encryption technologies, secure communication channels, and regular training for

¹ Mazarr, Frederick, Crane, “Understanding a New Era of Strategic Competition”, RAND Corporation, 2022.

² Suri, “The Great Tech Game: How Technology Is Shaping Geopolitics and the Destiny of Nations”, Harper Collins India, 2022.

³ The White House, “National Security Strategy”, October 2022.

⁴ European Parliament, “Critical technologies: how the EU plans to support key industries”, October 2023.

⁵ Nicolaidis and Giovanardi, “Global PeaceTech: unlocking the better angels of our techne”, European University Institute, Working Paper, EUI RSC, 2022/66, Global Governance Programme.

diplomats. Moreover, international agreements on cybersecurity norms are essential to create a safe and cooperative digital environment for diplomatic activities.

The digital divide is another critical obstacle to digital diplomacy. Unequal access to digital technologies, particularly in developing regions, limits the ability of marginalized communities to participate in peacebuilding initiatives. In many areas, inadequate infrastructure, lack of internet connectivity, and low levels of digital literacy exclude vulnerable populations from meaningful engagement in online dialogue and conflict resolution. Bridging this gap requires coordinated efforts from governments, international organizations, and the private sector. Investments in affordable internet access, digital literacy programs, and infrastructure development are necessary to ensure digital diplomacy is inclusive and equitable. Empowering marginalized communities to use digital tools can enhance their voices in diplomatic processes and contribute to sustainable peace.

Another significant challenge is the misuse of digital technologies for malicious purposes. Disinformation campaigns, propaganda, and the use of social media to incite violence are common issues that exacerbate conflicts rather than resolving them. Malicious actors, including state and non-state entities, exploit digital platforms to manipulate public opinion, spread hate speech, and destabilize regions. Addressing these risks requires a multi-faceted approach. Governments and organizations must collaborate to develop regulatory frameworks that hold perpetrators accountable for spreading disinformation or inciting violence. Technological solutions, such as AI-driven fact-checking tools, can help detect and counter false narratives. Public awareness campaigns are also critical in educating users about recognizing and resisting manipulative content.¹

The rise of digital media has introduced both opportunities and threats to electoral integrity. Digital platforms allow political candidates to connect with voters directly, bypassing traditional media outlets and creating more direct communication channels. This can lead to increased transparency and engagement, as candidates reach voters on a personal level. However, digital platforms have also been used to spread false information and influence elections through targeted ads and manipulation. Cases of foreign interference in democratic elections, as well as the use of “deepfake” technology to produce convincing fake videos, highlight the need for robust security measures. The phenomenon of echo chambers—where users are exposed only to information that reinforces their views—exacerbates political polarization, making it difficult to engage in productive discourse. To safeguard electoral integrity, democracies must implement policies that ensure transparency in political advertising, limit the spread of disinformation, and promote media literacy among citizens. Encouraging critical thinking and digital awareness is crucial in helping citizens navigate the complex digital landscape and make informed decisions during elections².

To overcome these challenges and maximize the benefits of digital diplomacy, several key measures are essential. First, establishing international frameworks to regulate the ethical use of digital technologies in diplomacy and peacebuilding is crucial. These frameworks should address cybersecurity, data privacy, and the prevention of disinformation. Second, capacity-building programs aimed at bridging the digital divide are necessary. Such programs should focus on expanding access to digital tools and providing the skills needed to use them effectively. Third, collaborative partnerships between governments, technology companies, and civil society organizations are vital to developing innovative and socially responsible solutions.

While the challenges of digital diplomacy are substantial, they are not insurmountable. With coordinated efforts and a commitment to ethical practices, digital diplomacy can continue to evolve as a powerful tool for fostering dialogue, building trust, and resolving conflicts in an increasingly interconnected world.

¹ Hirblinger, “Digital Inclusion in Mediated Peace Processes: How Technology Can Enhance Participation”, USIP, September 2020.

² Hirblinger A. T., “Building a peace we don’t know? The power of subjunctive technologies in digital peacebuilding”, *Peacebuilding*, 11(2), 2023.

Navigating Freedom and Privacy in the Digital Age

The rapid advancement of technology has fundamentally reshaped privacy and surveillance, raising critical questions about the balance between security and personal freedom. The digital transformation has enabled governments and corporations to collect vast amounts of personal data, allowing them to monitor individuals' activities with remarkable precision. This data can be used to improve services, optimize resources, and enhance security, but it also poses significant risks to privacy and autonomy.

In democratic societies, the right to privacy is a cornerstone of individual freedom, protecting citizens from excessive government control and corporate exploitation. However, surveillance technologies such as facial recognition have raised concerns about potential misuse, especially in authoritarian regimes where such tools are employed to suppress dissent and track citizens. Even in democratic nations, extensive data collection by state agencies and tech companies has led to growing public concerns about the erosion of privacy. High-profile data breaches and scandals, such as the misuse of personal data for political campaigns, have further highlighted the risks associated with unregulated data collection¹.

To address these concerns, privacy regulations like the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) have been enacted. GDPR has set a global standard for data protection, limiting how much information organizations can collect and ensuring greater transparency about how data is used. Similar initiatives have been introduced in other regions, reflecting a growing recognition of the need for robust privacy protections in the digital age.

However, as technology evolves, so must privacy policies. Emerging technologies such as artificial intelligence, biometrics, and the Internet of Things (IoT) present new privacy challenges. Democratic governments must continually adapt their policies to protect individual freedoms while enabling necessary security measures. Striking this balance requires collaborative efforts among policymakers, technology companies, and civil society organizations to ensure that privacy is preserved without stifling innovation or compromising public safety.

The digital age has presented both opportunities and challenges for freedom of speech and privacy. While digital platforms have democratized communication and amplified voices, they have also facilitated the spread of harmful content and raised concerns about surveillance and data misuse. Addressing these challenges requires thoughtful regulation, ongoing innovation, and a commitment to upholding the principles of democracy and human rights in a rapidly changing technological landscape.

Balancing Innovation and Protection: Digital Regulation in the US, EU and Moldova

The regulation of digital activities has become a critical area of focus in both the United States, the European Union and Republic of Moldova, as governments and institutions grapple with the challenges of privacy, cybersecurity, freedom of speech, and democratic participation in an increasingly digital world. Legal frameworks in each country aim to balance the transformative potential of technology with the need to protect individuals, ensure fair competition, and safeguard democratic processes.

In the United States, digital regulation is fragmented across federal and state levels, addressing specific issues rather than providing a comprehensive framework. Privacy is a significant area of concern, but the U.S. lacks a federal law equivalent to the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Instead, sector-specific laws, such as the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) for health data and the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA) for children's data, provide limited

¹ Bennet, C.J., & Raab, C.D. (2020). *The Governance of Privacy: Policy Instruments in Global Perspective*. MIT Press.

protections. California's Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA) stands out as a state-level initiative granting individuals greater control over their data, signaling a move toward stronger privacy regulation¹.

Cybersecurity in the U.S. is addressed through laws like the Cybersecurity Information Sharing Act (CISA) and the Federal Information Security Modernization Act (FISMA), which focus on securing federal systems and encouraging public-private information sharing. However, the decentralized approach leaves gaps in addressing the cybersecurity challenges faced by the private sector and critical infrastructure. In the context of democratic participation, the Help America Vote Act (HAVA) sets minimum standards for voting technology, while the Federal Election Commission (FEC) oversees aspects of digital campaign financing. Proposed legislation, such as the Honest Ads Act, seeks to increase transparency in online political advertising, but it remains stalled in Congress.

Freedom of speech and content moderation are heavily influenced by Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, which grants liability protections to online platforms for user-generated content. This provision has fostered innovation but also sparked debate about the role of platforms in moderating harmful or misleading content. Efforts to reform Section 230 reflect the tension between protecting free expression and addressing the proliferation of disinformation and harmful content online².

In contrast, the European Union has adopted a more centralized and comprehensive approach to digital regulation. Privacy and data protection are governed by the GDPR, which establishes robust rights for individuals and strict obligations for organizations processing personal data. The ePrivacy Directive, soon to be replaced by the ePrivacy Regulation, complements GDPR by focusing on electronic communications and online tracking. These measures have set global benchmarks for privacy protection and inspired similar legislation in other regions.

The EU also prioritizes cybersecurity through initiatives like the Network and Information Systems (NIS2) Directive and the Cybersecurity Act, which strengthen standards for critical infrastructure and digital service providers. These frameworks aim to enhance the resilience of the EU's digital landscape while promoting cross-border collaboration.

In the realm of democratic participation, the European Democracy Action Plan addresses disinformation, foreign interference, and cyber threats to elections. This comprehensive strategy is supported by the Digital Services Act (DSA) and the Digital Markets Act (DMA), which establish rules for online platforms to ensure transparency, accountability, and fair competition. These regulations address the influence of tech giants, requiring them to moderate content responsibly and provide clear disclosures about political advertising. The EU's Code of Practice on Disinformation, though voluntary, reflects the region's proactive stance on combating false narratives and protecting the integrity of democratic processes.

Despite their different approaches, both the U.S. and the EU face shared challenges in regulating the digital space. The U.S.'s decentralized regulatory model allows for flexibility and innovation but often leads to inconsistencies and gaps in protections. In contrast, the EU's comprehensive approach provides clearer guidelines but can impose significant compliance burdens, particularly on smaller businesses. Both models offer valuable lessons, and greater transatlantic collaboration could lead to more effective solutions. Joint efforts to harmonize standards, share best practices, and address cross-border issues, such as disinformation and cybersecurity, are essential in a globalized digital environment. The experiences of both the U.S. and the EU underscore the importance of comprehensive, collaborative, and ethical approaches to navigating the complexities of the digital age.

Moldova has made notable progress in advancing its digital transformation, aligning with international standards set by the European Union and the United States. The adoption of the

¹ Lessig, L. (2006). *Code: And Other Laws of Cyberspace*. Basic Books.

² Morozov, E. (2011). *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom*. PublicAffairs.

Digital Transformation Strategy for 2023–2030 demonstrates the country’s commitment to building an inclusive and innovative digital society. The strategy prioritizes key areas such as digital education, the development of modern infrastructure, and the enhancement of data protection mechanisms, reflecting Moldova's ambition to modernize its governance and economy.

In the realm of cybersecurity, Moldova has taken significant steps, including its early accession to the Council of Europe’s Convention on Cybercrime in 2009 and the implementation of the National Cybersecurity Program for 2016–2020. Recent advancements include the 2023 cybersecurity law developed with EU assistance, which aims to strengthen Moldova’s resilience against growing cyber threats. This law, set to come into effect in 2025, aligns with EU standards and highlights Moldova’s proactive approach to addressing regional and global challenges in cybersecurity.

Data protection is another area where Moldova is working to harmonize its policies with EU regulations, particularly the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). This alignment is essential for fostering trust in digital services and ensuring compliance with international norms, making Moldova more attractive for trade and investment.

Despite these achievements, significant challenges remain. Structural issues such as corruption and a slow judicial reform process continue to hinder the full realization of Moldova’s digital transformation goals. While Moldova benefits from strong support from the EU and US, sustained political will and resource allocation are required to overcome these obstacles.

Economically, the EU remains Moldova’s largest trading partner, and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA) has provided opportunities to integrate with the European market. However, aligning Moldova’s standards fully with the EU and US will require deeper institutional reforms. Moldova’s efforts to bridge the digital divide and enhance cybersecurity are commendable, but ongoing challenges must be addressed to ensure sustainable progress.

Women in Mediation Through Digital Technologies

Women’s inclusion in mediation processes remains a critical challenge in the global pursuit of sustainable peace. Despite decades of international advocacy and frameworks like the Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) Agenda, women are still underrepresented in formal peace negotiations. Digital technologies, however, present a powerful opportunity to overcome these barriers and enhance women’s participation in mediation processes¹.

The WPS Agenda, rooted in United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions, underscores the importance of equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts to maintain peace and security. Women’s contributions in conflict prevention and resolution are increasingly recognized for their ability to improve outcomes in peace processes. Research shows that the inclusion of women in peace negotiations increases the likelihood of a peace agreement lasting at least two years by 20% and 15 years by 35%. Women bring diverse perspectives that broaden the scope of issues addressed in negotiations, fostering more comprehensive and sustainable solutions. Yet, despite these proven benefits, their representation remains strikingly low. In 2022, only 16% of negotiators in UN-led processes were women, with many conflicts, such as those in Yemen and Ethiopia, entirely excluding women from formal negotiations².

Barriers to women’s participation in mediation processes often stem from socio-political and structural obstacles. These include geographic constraints, cultural norms, safety concerns, and limited access to information. Women are frequently relegated to the roles of

¹ Hirblinger, “Digital Inclusion in Mediated Peace Processes: How Technology Can Enhance Participation”, USIP, September 2020.

² O’Reilly, Ó Súilleabháin and Paffenholz, “Reimagining Peacemaking: Women’s Roles in Peace Processes”, International Peace Institute, June 2015.

passive observers or token participants, even when they are actively involved in grassroots peacebuilding efforts. To address these challenges, digital technologies offer innovative solutions that can amplify women's voices, increase their access to negotiations, and create safer, more inclusive spaces for participation.

Digital inclusion can help overcome practical barriers to participation, such as geographic distance, time constraints, and safety concerns. Technologies like video conferencing, instant messaging, and online forums provide women with alternative ways to engage in peace processes without the need for physical presence. For example, digital platforms enable "asynchronous engagement," allowing women to contribute to discussions at times that suit their responsibilities and schedules. This flexibility is especially important for women who face cultural or logistical constraints that prevent them from attending in-person dialogues.

Moreover, digital technologies can create safe and anonymous spaces for women to express their views without fear of backlash or intimidation. These spaces can foster open and honest dialogue, particularly in contexts where women's participation is met with resistance. In Yemen, for instance, the WhatsApp Consultations organized by Build Up in collaboration with the Office of the UN Special Envoy for Yemen illustrate the potential of digital technologies in mediation. In 2021, ten WhatsApp focus group consultations were conducted with 93 women from different governorates. These consultations provided a platform for women to share insights on peace, conflict, and the impact of prolonged insecurity. By leveraging a widely accessible tool like WhatsApp, the initiative enabled the inclusion of women from diverse regions and backgrounds, despite the logistical and security challenges of in-person meetings¹.

Digital tools also enhance women's ownership of peace processes by ensuring that their contributions are not only heard but integrated into the outcomes. For instance, online platforms can facilitate collaboration between women's groups, policymakers, and mediators, strengthening the legitimacy and inclusivity of peace agreements. Digital technologies can also address issues of linguistic and cultural accessibility, enabling women from varied backgrounds to participate meaningfully. Translation tools, for example, can help bridge language gaps, while multimedia content can make complex information more accessible to participants with varying levels of literacy.

Digital solutions should be designed to enhance dialogue, foster collaboration, and create lasting connections among participants. Policymakers and practitioners must also address concerns around data privacy and cybersecurity to protect the safety and confidentiality of participants, particularly in politically sensitive contexts.

Conclusion

The digital era has revolutionized nearly every aspect of modern life, from how people communicate to how they engage with information, organize communities, and participate in democracy. Technology has brought about unprecedented access to information and opportunities for civic engagement, fundamentally reshaping the democratic landscape. However, while digital transformation has empowered citizens in new ways, it has also introduced complex challenges related to misinformation, privacy, polarization, and cyber security².

Digital diplomacy represents a transformative approach to international relations, offering innovative tools for promoting peace and resolving conflicts. By leveraging digital platforms and technologies, governments and organizations can enhance inclusivity, transparency, and accountability in diplomacy. However, the success of digital diplomacy depends on addressing significant challenges, including cybersecurity risks, the digital divide, and the misuse of technology. Through international cooperation, ethical guidelines, and investments

¹ Hawk, "Digital inclusion in peacemaking- Practice, promise and perils", p. 102, in Whitfield (ed), "Still time to talk: adaptation and innovation in peace mediation", Accord, issue 30, 2024.

² Zuboff, S. (2019). *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power*. PublicAffairs.

in digital capacity-building, the potential of digital diplomacy can be fully realized. As the world becomes increasingly interconnected, integrating digital tools into diplomatic practices is essential for building sustainable peace and ensuring global stability in the 21st century. This new frontier in international relations not only modernizes traditional diplomacy but also opens new opportunities for innovation and collaboration on a global scale.

Digital technologies hold immense potential to transform mediation processes by facilitating the inclusion of women and overcoming traditional barriers to their participation. By providing alternative avenues for engagement, creating safe and accessible spaces, and strengthening women's influence over peace processes, digital tools can contribute to more inclusive and effective mediation efforts. However, realizing this potential requires addressing the digital divide, ensuring equitable access, and integrating technology into broader peacebuilding strategies. Women's inclusion in mediation processes is not only a matter of equity but also a critical factor in achieving sustainable peace, and digital technologies offer a powerful means to advance this goal.

The rise of digital technology has transformed the way states and international organizations engage in diplomacy. This transformation, often termed "digital diplomacy," offers a new frontier for advancing peace and resolving conflicts in the modern world. By leveraging digital tools, governments, non-governmental organizations, and individuals can communicate more effectively, foster dialogue, and build collaborative networks that transcend borders and traditional barriers. Despite its many benefits, digital diplomacy also faces significant challenges. Cybersecurity threats, such as hacking and data breaches, can undermine trust and disrupt peacebuilding initiatives.

Digital diplomacy's evolution reflects the broader shift in how technology is reshaping global interactions. By integrating advanced tools like AI, blockchain, and big data analytics, nations can address modern conflicts more effectively, promote transparency, and build long-lasting peace. However, to realize its full potential, international collaboration is essential to establish ethical guidelines, ensure equitable access to technology, and address cybersecurity threats.

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**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
THE TRIBUNE OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS
ТРИБУНА МОЛОДЫХ УЧЕНЫХ**

**STRATEGII INTERNAȚIONALE PENTRU INTEGRAREA EGALITĂȚII DE GEN
ȘI A DREPTURILOR FEMEILOR ÎN LEGISLAȚIA NAȚIONALĂ**

**INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR MAINSTREAMING GENDER EQUALITY
AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN NATIONAL LEGISLATION**

**МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ СТРАТЕГИИ ДЛЯ ВКЛЮЧЕНИЯ ГЕНДЕРНОГО
РАВЕНСТВА И ПРАВ ЖЕНЩИН В НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬСТВО**

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ABSTRACT:

**INTERNATIONAL STRATEGIES FOR MAINSTREAMING GENDER
EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN NATIONAL LEGISLATION**

International human rights standards ensure equality and non-discrimination for all individuals, regardless of gender or sex. Both women and men are entitled to enjoy all human rights and fundamental freedoms. This study examines how transitional societies in post-Soviet countries have adapted this concept into law and fulfilled their international commitments alongside national obligations. The analysis is framed through the lens of international human rights obligations and the Sustainable Development Goals Agenda. The research also assesses the role of women's human rights organizations, with case studies from Georgia and the Republic of Moldova. The findings, conclusions, and recommendations are presented in the study.

Key words: Sustainable Development Goals, international legal protection instruments, women's human rights, gender equality.

JEL Classification: K 1; K 33.

Universal Decimal Classification: 341.2; 341.231.14; 331.23-055.2

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

**МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫЕ СТРАТЕГИИ ДЛЯ ВКЛЮЧЕНИЯ ГЕНДЕРНОГО РАВЕНСТВА
И ПРАВ ЖЕНЩИН В НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЕ ЗАКОНОДАТЕЛЬСТВО.**

Международные стандарты прав человека гарантируют равенство и недискриминацию для всех людей, независимо от пола или пола. И женщины, и мужчины имеют право пользоваться всеми правами человека и основными свободами. В этом исследовании рассматривается, как переходные общества в постсоветских странах адаптировали эту концепцию в закон и

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выполнили свои международные обязательства наряду с национальными обязательствами. Анализ проводится через призму международных обязательств в области прав человека и Повестки дня в области Целей устойчивого развития. В исследовании также оценивается роль женских правозащитных организаций с примерами из Грузии и Республики Молдова. Результаты, выводы и рекомендации представлены в исследовании.

Ключевые слова: Цели устойчивого развития, международные инструменты правовой защиты, права женщин, гендерное равенство.

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REZUMAT:

STRATEGII INTERNAȚIONALE PENTRU INTEGRAREA EGALITĂȚII DE GEN ȘI A DREPTURILOR FEMEILOR ÎN LEGISLAȚIA NAȚIONALĂ

Standardele internaționale privind drepturile omului asigură egalitatea și nediscriminarea tuturor persoanelor, indiferent de gen sau sex. Atât femeile, cât și bărbații au dreptul să se bucure de toate drepturile omului și libertățile fundamentale. Acest studiu examinează modul în care societățile în tranziție din țările post-sovietice au adaptat acest concept în lege și și-au îndeplinit angajamentele internaționale alături de obligațiile naționale. Analiza este încadrată prin prisma obligațiilor internaționale privind drepturile omului și a Agendei Obiectivelor de Dezvoltare Durabilă. Cercetarea evaluează și rolul organizațiilor pentru drepturile omului ale femeilor, cu studii de caz din Georgia și Republica Moldova. Constatările, concluziile și recomandările sunt prezentate în studiu.

Cuvinte cheie: Obiectivele de dezvoltare durabilă, instrumente internaționale de protecție juridică, drepturile omului ale femeilor, egalitatea de gen.

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All international and regional human rights instruments emphasize that human rights are universal, in the sense that they belong and apply to everyone. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights requires each State “to respect and ensure to all individuals within its territory and subject to its jurisdiction the rights recognized in the present Covenant, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion”¹ and other criteria.

Achieving gender equality, which entails ensuring equal rights and opportunities for women, men, and non-binary individuals, and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women, is a fundamental human right. However, women worldwide frequently experience human rights violations throughout their lives, and the enforcement of these rights for women has not always been prioritized by states and governmental institutions. Almost every third of women globally have been subjected to any form of violence, excluding sexual harassment, i.e. physical and/or sexual intimate partner violence, non-partner sexual violence, or both at least once in their life². Almost the same figures illustrate the prevalence of violence at the OSCE-led survey on violence against women, conducted in 8 states - Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia and Serbia, Republic of Moldova, Kosovo and

¹ International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 2 [Online] URL: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights#:~:text=2.,its%20own%20means%20of%20subsistence> (Date of visit: 16.11.2024).

² Violence against women prevalence estimates. World Health Organization. 2018.[Online] URL: [Violence Against Women Prevalence Estimates](https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women) (Date of visit: 14.11.2024).

Ukraine. According to that regional survey, 31% of women aged 18-74 pointed out that they experienced either physical and/or sexual violence at the hands of a partner or non-partner since the age of 15¹. The data is compatible with the EU average of 33%, ranging from 19% in Portugal to 52% in Denmark².

The impact of gender inequality and violence against women goes far beyond high rates of anxiety disorders and depression, unplanned pregnancies, suicides, HIV and sexually transmitted infections, which are higher among those women who have experienced violence in comparison to women who have not. Gender inequality hinders economic efficiency and growth, reduces quality of life, and ultimately limits productivity³.

Recognizing the importance of the equality, United Nations Member States adopted the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in November 2015 which considers to be a universal roadmap for people's well-being, prosperity and peace. The Agenda covers a holistic and comprehensive list of issues across the three aspects of sustainable development: the social, economic and environmental, reflecting human rights and human rights-based approach⁴. One of 17 Sustainable Development Goals, particularly focuses on achieving gender equality and empowering women and girls. Moreover, women's empowerment and gender equality are recognized as a cross-cutting objective across all the goals supplemented by the requirement of gender-disaggregated indicators. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action together with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development are recognized as foundations and shared commitments in the Agenda⁵. It sets an explicit list of targets and indicators to achieve and track the progress on a particular goal. The Goal 5 foresees 9 targets supplemented by 14 indicators, among which are the following⁶:

- End all forms of discrimination against all women and girls everywhere (5.1.)
- Eliminate all forms of violence against all women and girls in the public and private spheres, including trafficking and sexual and other types of exploitation (5.2.)
- Eliminate all harmful practices, such as child, early and forced marriage and female genital mutilation (5.3.)
- Recognize and value unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate (5.4.)
- Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life (5.5.)
- Ensure universal access to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights as agreed in accordance with the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development and the Beijing Platform for Action and the outcome documents of their review conferences (5.6.)
- Undertake reforms to give women equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to ownership and control over land and other forms of property, financial services, inheritance and natural resources, in accordance with national laws (5.a.)

¹ OSCE-led survey on violence against women: Well-being and Safety of Women. Main report. OSCE. 2019. p. 44-46

² Violence against women: an EU-wide survey. Results at a glance. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. [Online] URL: https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra-2014-vaw-survey-at-a-glance-oct14_en.pdf (Date of visit: 14.10.2024).

³ Jackson T. (2019). The post-growth challenge: secular stagnation, inequality and the limits to growth. *Ecol. Econ.* 156, 236–246. doi: 10.1016/j.ecolecon.2018.10.010

⁴ Lisenco Vladlena. Social-Economic and Legal Imperatives of Sustainable Development // *International Relations 2020: Current issues of world economy and politics Proceedings of scientific works*. Bratislava. ISBN 978-80-225-4786-4 ISSN 2585-9412. (SCOPUS). P. 427

⁵ United Nations General Assembly Resolution, 'Transforming Our World: the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development' (21 October 2015) UN Doc A/RES/70/1, para 11

⁶ Goal 5 UN Sustainable Development Goal [Online] URL: https://sdgs.un.org/goals/goal5#targets_and_indicators (Date of visit: 29.12.2024).

- Enhance the use of enabling technology, in particular information and communications technology, to promote the empowerment of women (5.b.)
- Adopt and strengthen sound policies and enforceable legislation for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls at all levels (5.c.).

For the purpose of monitoring Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of the 2030 Agenda, a set of 241 indicators was approved at the global level, based on which each country should be assessed at the regional and global levels. The list of SDG indicators was developed by the group of experts from the Inter-agency and Expert Group on SDG Indicators created by the United Nations Statistical Commission at its 46th session, composed of 50 representatives of UN Member States and international agencies as observers. In March 2017 the global indicator framework was presented and approved by the group, including some refinements on several indicators, at the 48th session of the United Nations Statistical Commission¹.

Out of 241 SDG global indicators, 230 indicators are unique and 9 indicators are repeated under two or three different targets. One of the aims of global indicators was to warn the Member States about the most pressing issues at the global agenda and the need to prioritize actions to tackle the issues at national and regional level.

Many countries with the support of UN Agencies focused on localizing the SDG indicators with a view to incorporate them into the national strategic framework, but also to establish a structure of assessing the progress and reporting in accomplishing relevant goals for the Member States. The process of nationalizing SDG indicators at the national level recognized the need for continuous engagement with academia, civil society organizations and the private sector to facilitate knowledge-sharing, to raise public awareness and to promote partnerships with the educational institutions in the SDG data collection and monitoring processes. In Georgia, during the initial assessment it was found a gap in the baseline data for certain indicators and SDG targets. It was reported that continued research is recommended to supplement data gathering and development of supplementary data that could be relevant for the contextualization of all SDGs at the national level. In Moldova, as a result of consultations on adjusting the indicators for the 2030 SDGs to the country context it was acknowledged that, out of 230 indicators, for 88 indicators there are no established methodologies and standards, or methodology are being developed and for 57 indicators methodology and standards are available, but data are not regularly produced by countries. What was identified during the process of nationalization of global indicators as a major challenge is a lack of calculation methodology for 88 of the global indicators, which consist of more than 30% of the total number of indicators to be reported.

All indicators for the SDGs targets are formulated in a specific, measurable, achievable format and the majority of them require concrete legal actions or adjustments to national and local legal frameworks. The essential and crucial role of national parliaments is recognized in achieving 2030 Agenda of Sustainable Goals through their enactment of legislation and adoption of budgets and ensuring accountability for the effective implementation of global, regional and national commitments.

For example, in the Moldovan context for the purpose of monitoring the achievement of SDG 5 on gender equality 16 gender-specific indicators were identified for the country, of which only 8 were available and another 8 were deemed as missing. It is important to highlight some of the missing indicators relevant to legal protection systems for women and girls or that appeared as a result and consequences of inequalities faced by women², among

¹ Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 6 July 2017 on the work of Work of the Statistical Commission pertaining to the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. [Online] URL: <https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n17/207/63/pdf/n1720763.pdf?token=TChYHPuy2WaXHJ6duG&fe=tr ue> (Date of visit: 20.09.2024).

² Report on nationalization of indicators for sustainable development goals, 2017 [Online]: URL: https://moldova.un.org/sites/default/files/2019-11/Indicators_UNU_EN.pdf (Date of visit: 30.11.2024).

which are: Actions for the implementation of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (indicator 5.1.1), Number of discrimination cases registered and solved (indicator 5.1.2), Recognition of household labour in the social insurance policy (indicator 5.4.4), Proportion of women aged 20-24 years who were married or in a union before age 15 and before age 18, disaggregated by location and ethnicity (indicator 5.3.1), Proportion of ever-partnered subjected to physical, sexual or psychological violence by persons other than an intimate partner/ husband in the previous 12 months, disaggregated by age (indicator 5.2.2.). At the Report on nationalization of indicators for sustainable development goals, issued in 2017, it was recommended to address the gap and report on 8 missing indicators by the development of the calculation methodology and identification of the primary source of data collection.

As part of the Sustainable Development Goals review and follow-up mechanisms, the 2030 SDG Agenda encouraged UN Member States to organise regular and inclusive assessment of the progress at the national levels, which are led and driven by the country. Moldova presented the first Voluntary National Review (VNR) in 2020 during the High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development 2020 that sought to strengthen government policies and institutions to reach the SDG targets for further implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. While the first VNR report, produced in 2020, three years after the initial report on nationalization of SDG indicators, did not contain information on missing gender-related indicators, the Progress Report on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in the Republic of Moldova from 2023 filled the gap on SDG 5 indicators and presented some progress in achieving legal protection mechanisms for women. The country report emphasized the existence of an important legal framework in Moldova to protect women from gender inequality¹, specifically Law no. 5/2006 on ensuring equal opportunities for men and women, Law no. 121/2012 on ensuring equality, Law no. 71/ 2016 on modification and completion of some legislative acts introduced a minimum representation quota of 40% for both genders in the electoral lists and governing bodies. The legal documents served as a basis for the implementation of national strategies and action plans to promote gender equality. Following and ruling by those flagship laws, the Government approved several multiyear programs to support and sustain the implementation of progressive laws on gender equality.

The Moldovan Program for promoting and ensuring equality between women and men for the period 2023-2027 (Government Decision no. 203/2023) aims to promote equal opportunities for women and men according to the priorities of the European Union Gender Equality Strategy and the EU Accession commitments for Moldova. Another policy document is the National Program on combating violence against women and domestic violence for the period 2023-2027 (Government Decision 332/2023) which contributes to ensuring zero tolerance for all forms of violence against women and domestic violence, combating gender stereotypes, building a multidisciplinary response to the cases of violence, developing social services for victims, and an effective response of the justice system by holding perpetrators accountable. And the third document the Government approved in March 2023 was the National Program for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security for 2023-2027, through Government Decision no. 152. The Program aims to promote women's participation in the security and defense sector, in conflict resolutions and international peacekeeping missions, as well as to reduce stereotypes and gender barriers and improve mechanisms for the prevention and investigation of violence.

The Global commitments to SDGs Agenda foresees that gender-responsive accountability mechanisms should be established and strengthened to increase compliance with gender-related goals and targets. Accountability means that duty-bearers, i.e. governments and

¹ Progress Report on the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in the Republic of Moldova [Online]: URL: https://moldova.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/raport_de_progres_odd_2023_vf_07_08_2023_en_final.pdf (Date of visit: 02.12.2024).

government institutions, national human rights institutions are responsible and report to the people whose rights and freedoms are affected by their actions and decisions¹. If these mechanisms are not in place and are not established, states and their respective governments would have focused the efforts on the achievement of goals, targets and indicators that are not consistent with international human rights standards of women's rights and are not grounded on the voices of women's civil society organisations. The SDG-specific 'follow up and review' mechanisms need to be strengthened, this includes to boost and inform their engagement with women's human rights. This means that women and women's human rights activists should be invited to participate in accountability processes and oversight national and regional monitoring mechanisms for SDGs indicators, especially gender specific goals and targets. At the same time, women's human rights organizations need to seek an avenue to influence policy making, to identify positive practices and systemic failures to address women's needs by the governments, and to inform policy-making and decision-making at all levels.

The Voluntary National Reviews presented by the Governments contain some information on the public consultations organised with civic society, representatives of the private sector, academia, international organisations and development partners to validate the drafts of the reports. It is also mentioned that participants were provided with the opportunity to comment on the conclusions of the report and gave proposals and recommendations for improvement. It is worth to mention that aggregated information on the profile of participants of the consultations impedes the assessment on the level of participation of women's rights civil society organizations and women's activists at the consultations and on the level of meaningful contributions to the discussions to mainstream gender and integrate women's rights. Thus, at the reports presented by Moldova a reference to the online public consultations was made in 2020 and specific consultations were organized with young people and persons with disabilities in 2023, leaving behind organisations that promote gender equality. The first report presented by Georgia included the description of various mechanisms to draft, compile and validate the report, where CSOs were part of the process at every stage, but the information on women's organisations' profile were also missing.

Despite the unforeseen challenges the world has faced over the past four years—such as climate change, food and energy crises, and ongoing and emerging regional conflicts—the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) Agenda remains a vital tool in fostering a more equitable global society. It plays a crucial role in strengthening legal protections for women's rights and ensuring accountability within the development agenda for the states². The negative socio-economic impact of COVID-19 pandemic also continued. Development progress on gender equality has been postponed and in some cases reversed as a result of multiple crises. Experts predict that it will take 286 years to close gender gaps in legal protection and remove discriminatory laws and 140 years for women to be represented equally in leadership in the workplace, at least 40 years - to achieve the equal representation of women in national parliaments³. Governments all over the world should work closely on implementation of SDG Agenda to reach the targets and uphold the commitments that made. Only genuine, inclusive and democratic participation of women activists and women's human rights organisations is a prerequisite for the equal world, where both men and women are protected. A key element for gender mainstreaming is ensuring women's effective and meaningful participation in the process. Feminist organizations and women's rights CSOs, especially those representing the

¹ Lisenco Vladlena. Общественные объединения как форма реализации прав человека. LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing GmbH & Co. KG Heinrich-Böcking-Str. 6-8, 66121 Saarbrücken, Germany, 2017, p. 45

² Sciuchina N. Social Human Rights of a Person and a Citizen in the Republic of Moldova. Monograph. [Online] URL: https://icjp.asm.md/sites/default/files/publicatii/natalia_sciukina_monografie.pdf_p.97 (Date of visit: 01.12.2024)

³ UN Progress on the Sustainable development Goals. [Online] URL: <https://unstats.un.org/sdgs/gender-snapshot/2022/GenderSnapshot.pdf> (Date of visit: 01.12.2024)

rights of marginalized women (ethnic minorities, Roma, women with disabilities, older women) must be considered and included in any accountability framework for the SDGs at the national, regional or global levels.

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**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
THE TRIBUNE OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS
ТРИБУНА МОЛОДЫХ УЧЕНЫХ**

**FROM FULL TO LIMITED: UNDERSTANDING SOVEREIGNTY IN THE
CONTEXT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE**

**DE LA COMPLET LA LIMITAT: ÎNȚELEGEREA SUVERANIȚII
ÎN CONTEXTUL IMPERIALISMULUI RUS ÎN EUROPA DE EST**

**ОТ ПОЛНОГО К ОГРАНИЧЕННОМУ: ПОНИМАНИЕ
СУВЕРЕНИТЕТА В КОНТЕКСТЕ РОССИЙСКОГО ИМПЕРИАЛИЗМА
В ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЕ**

PATRICHEEV Iurie* / PATRICHEEV Iurie / ПАТРИКЕЕВ Юрий

ABSTRACT:

**FROM FULL TO LIMITED: UNDERSTANDING SOVEREIGNTY IN THE CONTEXT OF
RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM IN EASTERN EUROPE**

The essay explores the evolution of the concept of sovereignty in the context of Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe, particularly its impact on Ukraine. It engages with a theoretical framework rooted in international relations and post-imperial studies, contrasting interpretations of sovereignty between IR scholars and international lawyers. The study identifies a shift in how sovereignty is perceived, moving from a monolithic understanding to a constructivist view where sovereignty is fragmented into a variety of types, most prominently, "full" and "limited".

This author argues that Russian policies towards Eastern European states reflect this division, with Russia treating its smaller neighbours as states possessing only limited sovereignty, a status that can be revoked by force, should the stronger neighbour so decide. Through an analysis of Russian rhetoric and actions, this author highlights how Moscow's foreign policy aims to restore its "full" or "imperial" sovereignty over its neighbours, while simultaneously challenging the sovereignty of Western powers. Conceptually, this study provides a nuanced understanding of sovereignty as a key concept in analysing Russian expansionist ambitions in the region.

Keywords: *sovereignty, Russian imperialism, Eastern Europe, constructivism, Russian foreign policy.*

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Universal Decimal Classification: 341.29.009(100)

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DE LA COMPLET LA LIMITAT: ÎNȚELEGEREA SUVERANITĂȚII ÎN CONTEXTUL IMPERIALISMULUI RUS ÎN EUROPA DE EST

Eseul dat examinează evoluția conceptului de suveranitate în contextul imperialismului rus în Europa de Est, în special impactul acestuia asupra Ucrainei. Argumentarea sa se angajează într-un cadru teoretic bazat pe relații internaționale și studii post-imperiale, contrastând interpretările suveranității între publiciștii din domeniul relațiilor internaționale și juriștii internaționali. Studiul identifică o schimbare în modul de percepție a suveranității, care trece de la o înțelegere monolitică la o viziune constructivistă în care suveranitatea este fragmentată în diverse tipuri, cel mai proeminent fiind „plină” și „limitată”.

Autorul susține că politicile rusești față de statele est-europene reflectă această diviziune, Rusia tratând vecinii săi mai mici ca state care posedă suveranitate doar într-o măsură limitată, un statut internațional care poate fi revocat prin forță, dacă vecinul mai puternic decide astfel. Printr-o analiză a retoricii și acțiunilor rusești, autorul subliniază cum prin politica sa externă Moscova urmărește să-și restabilească suveranitatea „plină” („imperială”) asupra vecinilor săi, în timp ce contestă simultan suveranitatea puterilor occidentale. La un nivel conceptual, acest eseu oferă o înțelegere nuanțată a suveranității ca un concept cheie în analiza ambițiilor expansioniste rusești în regiune.

Cuvinte cheie: suveranitate, imperialismul rusesc, Europa de Est, constructivism, politică externă rusă.

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

ОТ ПОЛНОГО К ОГРАНИЧЕННОМУ: ПОНИМАНИЕ СУВЕРЕНИТЕТА В КОНТЕКСТЕ РОССИЙСКОГО ИМПЕРИАЛИЗМА В ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЕ

Данное исследование анализирует развитие понятия суверенитета в контексте российского империализма в Восточной Европе. Основываясь на теориях международных отношениях и исследованиях в области пост-империализма, автор выявляет различные интерпретации этого понятия, данные ему исследователями в области международных отношений и международного права. Данное исследование отмечает изменение в восприятии суверенитета, который, благодаря влиянию теории конструктивизма, всё реже используется как монолитный концепт. Более того, можно выявить его различные виды, наиболее примечательными из которых являются “полный” и “ограниченный”.

Автор утверждает, что российская политика в отношении государств Восточной Европы отражает это разделение, поскольку Россия рассматривает своих более слабых соседей как государства, обладающие только ограниченным суверенитетом. Данный статус может быть изменён или отозван в любой момент, если более сильный сосед решит применять силу. Анализируя российскую риторику и действия, автор подчеркивает, что внешняя политика Москвы направлена на восстановление своего “полного” или “имперского” суверенитета над соседями, одновременно бросая вызов суверенитету сильнейших западных держав. Это исследование предоставляет нюансированное понимание суверенитета как ключевого концепта в анализе экспансионистских амбиций России в Восточной Европе.

Ключевые слова: суверенитет, российский империализм, Восточная Европа, конструктивизм, внешняя политика России.

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Introduction

Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine became the apogee of the former's decades-long expansionist foreign policies and the most striking example of the modern anti-imperial

struggle in Eastern Europe. Additionally, it brought two considerations to scholars' attention. First concerns oft-omitted arguments about how fundamentally different Eastern Europe is from its Western sister coming to the forefront of academic discussions. Authors began to revisit earlier works examining how the historical routes of these two regions resulted in their incomparably different levels of development and (factual) independence (Mälksoo, 2023). Secondly, Russian attempts to expand its territory by annexing more of Ukrainian territory, this time manifestly and with justifications anchored in principles of international law, led several academics to argue that Russian foreign policy entered an openly imperialist stage (Kuzio, 2023).

This second line of argumentation is conceptually sound, as the main defining feature of an empire is its creation through conquest (Howe, 2002). Additionally, scholars raised concerns that the invocation of the legal language to justify expansionist foreign policies can indicate Russia's (neo-)imperial ambitions (Oksamytna, 2023). Logically, most of this literature comes from the field of international relations (IR). However, reflecting the interdependence of international law and politics, international legalese has often been used to discuss this topic, and foreign affairs scholars might have a different understanding of inherently legal concepts. As the legal implications of imperialism, (de-)colonisation, and foreign policy cannot be underestimated (Chimni, 2022), this essay aims to trace the implications of, arguably, the most important concept of international law—*sovereignty*—in this academic discussion. As such, it will be guided by the following question:

In which form does the international legal concept of sovereignty find reflection in the academic literature of post-imperial studies in Eastern Europe, especially in the context of Russian expansionist policies?

Sovereignty in Post-Imperial Studies on Eastern Europe: Looking Behind the Façade ***Why is postcolonial language not applicable to Eastern Europe?***

Nowadays covered with a veil of romanticism (Forgacs, 2014), Eastern European states share a long history of subjugation by foreign powers. The difficulty in defining Eastern Europe further complicates studying its past—although it might be delineated geographically, defining this region is a much more challenging exercise for sociologists and lawyers (Okey, 1992). After centuries of passing these territories over from one dominant power to another, cultural and ethnic borders have been practically erased in many areas. In this light, drawing an analogy with Africa's colonial past, Patryk Labuda (2023) points out that the *post-colonial* language should equally apply to Eastern European nation-states that have suffered from the conquests of non-Western empires. As other countries' imperial ambitions do not affect Eastern Europe anymore, the focus of this essay lies on Russian expansionist ambitions.

However, inspired by Barbara Arneil's (2023) arguments in favour of clearly distinguishing between the concepts of 'imperialism' and 'colonialism', this author contends that Labuda and other publicists who refer to Eastern Europe's *post-colonialism*, instead of *post-imperialism*, fail to grasp the essence of Russian aggressive foreign policies against Eastern European countries. Instead, this conceptual distinction is crucial to consider from the beginning of this essay, because omitting it might cause a misleading perception of the current events in Ukraine and other Eastern European states that fight back against the Russian intervention, either militarily or politically.¹

¹ On the latter type, think of the recent arguments made by the Speaker of the Moldovan Parliament, Igor Grosu, that Russian political technologists' attempts to sponsor pro-Russian political campaigns in Moldova amount to an interference in the latter's internal affairs (PAS, 'Președintele Parlamentului, Igor Grosu, despre Blocul "Podeba", creat la Moscova' [2 May 2024], available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tssf8WeaTg&ab_channel=PAS-PartidulAc%C8%9Biune%C8%99iSolidaritate> accessed 04 May 2024). Another example concerns massive protests in Georgia initiated against the Parliament's decision to pass a controversial law 'on foreign agents', modelled almost precisely on a similar piece of legislation from Russia (R Forestier-Walker, 'No to the Russian
RMDIRI, 2025, Nr. 1 (Vol. 20) <https://rmdiri.md/>; <https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdiri>

According to Arneil (2023), in addition to the etymological and historical differences between colonialism and imperialism, they should be distinguished primarily because each of them bears a different connotation of *power*. As such, using hard power against ‘inferior’ populations of other territories is inherent to *imperialism* because an empire can only be built through conquest. Given that conquerors see these populations as inherently inferior, the use of force against the latter is justified. On the contrary, in the *colonial* narrative, the main objective is not to forcibly subjugate the population of overseas territories but rather to help them improve their lives in the course of economically abusing them, as they are simply ‘backward’, not ‘inferior’.

Based on this distinction, this author argues that the term ‘imperialist’ is more accurate than ‘colonialist’ to describe Russian expansionist policies in Eastern Europe. This contention is embedded in the official Russian rhetoric about Ukrainians being neo-Nazi (Rossolinski-Liebe and Willems, 2022). It implies that Ukrainians are (at least morally) inferior to Russians because their aspirations to join the ‘collective West’ made them forget that their common ancestors decades ago managed to fight back against the biggest evil in Russia and Ukraine’s common history (Siddi, 2017). According to this logic, as Ukrainians are inferior, they may be subjugated—when necessary, by conquest.

Recently, Marta Grzechnik (2019) has identified a gap in this field, whereby authors failed to pay attention to the anti-imperial struggle of Eastern European nations because of being predominantly concerned with the implications of Western colonialism in other regions of the world. Following this, the field has witnessed a blossom of contributions. Although most studies focused on specific Eastern European countries,¹ what is important for the context of this essay is that many authors used legal language to advance their arguments. After conducting preliminary library research, the concept of ‘sovereignty’ has been identified among the most often used legalese by IR scholars to discuss contemporary Russian imperialism in Eastern Europe. Broadening the scope of this discussion to take into account the broader situation in the region, the following passages will address the implications of its use in the recently boomed field of Eastern European post-imperial studies.

Do we speak the same language?

The notion of ‘state sovereignty’ is public international law’s Kuhnian scientific paradigm (Kiladze, 2022). A group of international legal scholars may disagree on virtually all concepts of the discipline, but none of them would doubt the fundamental character of the principle of sovereign equality of states. It is understood as signifying independence in interstate relations.² Put rather simply, international lawyers treat sovereignty as an element of binary code: based on the customary criteria laid down in the Montevideo Convention (Dugard, 2021), a country either possesses it (and, therefore, is a formally independent state) or lacks it.

Nevertheless, in ‘Understanding the Ukrainian Conflict from the Perspective of Post-Soviet Decolonization’, Bong-koo Kang (2020), an IR scholar, seems to follow a different approach to sovereignty. When analysing the war in Ukraine as an instance of anti-imperial

Law! Georgia Protesters Demand a European Future’ *Al-Jazeera* [4 May 2024], available at: <<https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2024/5/4/no-to-the-russian-law-georgia-protesters-demand-a-european>> accessed 04 May 2024).

¹ On Moldova and Ukraine, see, e.g., I Matveev, ‘Between Political and Economic Imperialism: Russia’s Shifting Global Strategy’ (2021) 25(2) *Journal of Labour and Society* 198; on Ukraine, see, e.g., E Drązkiewicz et al., ‘Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine’ (2023) 31(2) *Social Anthropology* 119; on Moldova, see, e.g., A Miller, ‘Starinnaya Khronika Tekushchikh Sobytiy’ (2023) 21(1) *Rossiya v Global’noy Politike* 172; R Shevchenko, ‘Osnovnyye Formy i Messedzhy Rossiyskogo Natzionalizma v Moldove’ (2020) 9(2) *Society, Document, Communication* 214. Also, more generally, see M Szczygielska, ‘Elephant Empire: Zoos and Colonial Encounters in Eastern Europe’ (2020) 34(5) *Cultural Studies* 789.

² *Island of Palmas case*, in *Reports of International Arbitral Awards*, Vol. 2 (United Nations 2006), 829, 838.

struggle in Eastern Europe,¹ he stated the following: ‘Ukraine has achieved legal and political independence and wanted to pursue full-fledged sovereignty [...] vis-à-vis Russia’. Furthermore, Kang (2020) went on to argue that such a ‘full-fledged’ sovereignty, understood as encompassing economic, technological, and cultural elements of independence besides political and legal ones, was unattainable for Ukraine without ‘enhancing self-reliance and independence from Russia’.

Based on this, this author deduces that for Kang, unlike for international lawyers, sovereignty is not equal to independence. Instead of understanding it in all-or-nothing terms, he (2020) approached sovereignty from a constructivist perspective, implying that a state’s sovereignty is not static and cannot be assumed—rather, its enjoyment is dependent on multiple factors. In this light, the following questions arise: what does it elucidate about the IR field’s perception of sovereignty? If sovereignty is not monolithic but consists of different aspects, can we speak of ‘piecemeal’ or ‘incomplete’ sovereignty? Or, to develop this question, under which conditions can a state achieve ‘full’, ‘complete’ sovereignty, as understood in international law, and is it at all possible? And, more specifically in the context of this essay, how do Russian imperialistic policies affect the sovereignty of Russia and its victims?

We do speak different languages, but can we still understand each other?

Writing in the immediate aftermath of the full-scale invasion of Ukraine, Monica Eppinger (2022) suggested distinguishing between ‘full’ and ‘limited’ sovereignty in the Eastern European post-imperial context. Anchoring this distinction in her colleagues’ comments, she analysed the implications of these types of sovereignty for Ukraine’s anti-imperial struggle against Russia. As such, according to Eppinger (2022), the concept of ‘limited’ sovereignty is derived from the Soviet approach to relations with constituent republics, whereby the only actual, ‘full’ sovereign was the Union itself, and the republics and satellites enjoyed sovereignty only to a limited extent and only because the USSR granted it to them. On the other hand, ‘full’ sovereignty is an attribute of a limited number of states ‘which ha[ve] an ability to project [their] interests beyond [their] territory, thereby forming [a] special sphere of responsibility with an exclusive right to intervene in the domestic affairs of ‘supervised’ countries’.

The latter logic finds reflections in contemporary statements and actions of Russian state officials. Their rhetoric and decisions, with invasions of Georgia and Ukraine being the most extreme examples, demonstrate that Putin’s geopolitical doctrine builds on the idea that Russia is the ‘full’ sovereign, the hegemon that is entitled by its status of the USSR’s successor to assert dominance over neighbours with ‘limited’ sovereignty, at any moment. In this light, it becomes challenging to find aspects in which this approach would be different from that of empires vis-à-vis their dominions.

Assuming that reports about Putin’s initial idea of a *blitzkrieg* followed by establishing a puppet government in Kyiv were accurate (Pearson and McFaul, 2022), this author argues that Putin views Ukraine as a country with a limited degree of sovereignty which is, on top of that, owed to Russia. His essay published in 2021 further evidences the reasonableness of this approach, as there Putin attempted to undermine Ukrainian sovereignty by arguing that it was Lenin who invented Ukrainian statehood by taking a part of the Soviet state’s sovereignty and transferring it to Ukraine. Against this background, Eppinger’s (2022) conclusion that Ukrainian battlefields ‘are testing the limits of the “limited sovereignty” paradigm’ becomes even more relevant, because the longer Ukraine resists, the more policy objectives Russian officials will put forward to justify the invasion.

Arguing along similar lines, Ruslan Zaporozhchenko (2023) noted that the decision to invade Ukraine in 2022 indicated a new development in the Russian doctrine of sovereignty. As his argument goes, by attempting to demonstrate how powerful Russia and its leader are,

¹ While Kang refers to those events as an anti-colonial struggle, in the context of this essay, it should be understood as an example of fighting back against Russia’s (neo-)imperial ambitions.

Putin aimed at completing the transition towards ‘absolute’ sovereignty. In light of Putin’s expansionist policies, Zaporozhchenko (2023) dubbed this type of sovereignty as ‘imperial’, which means nothing else than an exclusive right of a sovereign to assert his political power by using force. While acknowledging that this approach shares several points with the above-explained logic of Eppinger, this author sustains that Zaporozhchenko (2023) tends to oversimplify Russian expansionist policies of recent years by focusing exclusively on events that started in late February 2022. Although the full-scale invasion represents the most striking example of Russian aggressive foreign policy, one cannot overlook decades of Russia’s cultural, political, and economic expansion in the states that used to be part of the USSR—a bird-eye’s view is thus essential to understanding the logic behind Putin’s modern imperialism.

It is undeniably true that Putin’s masculine image could not be upheld without launching a war of aggression, where his military would demonstrate its Supreme Commander’s might. However, the Russian foreign policy of recent decades has produced ample examples of expanding its influence over the ‘Near Abroad’¹ without resorting to armed force. For instance, Romanian scholar Lică (2023) opined that, in an attempt to restore his state’s ‘lost’ sovereignty, Putin often used non-military imperialist strategies against smaller Eastern neighbours. Those usually revolved around disseminating pro-Russian narratives in the latter’s public space.

Even though these strategies took different forms, for instance, funding political campaigns of Russian-affiliated candidates (such as in Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine) (D’Anieri, 2022), manipulating language issues in plurilingual states (in Moldova and Ukraine) (Coșeriu, 2017), or even employing elements of hybrid warfare (against Ukraine) (Clark, 2020), the rationale behind these policies aligns with the baseline of Eppinger and Zaporozhchenko’s theses—Putin’s ambitions for the ‘Near Abroad’ are imperial.

What Lică (2023) alludes to with her notion of ‘lost’ sovereignty is that since the dissolution of the USSR Russia has lost its ‘full’ sovereignty in Eppinger’s terms. Thus, Putin’s expansionist external strategy should be seen in opposition to other states that are often deemed to be fully sovereign, such as the US. His attempts to juxtapose Russian actions to those of the US and other Western states indicate this (Kursani, 2023): think of, for instance, when Putin mirrored Western rhetoric concerning Kosovo to justify his Russian intervention in Crimea. Another interesting conclusion that logically flows from Russian officials’ continuous vain attempts to justify aggression against Ukraine is that nowadays Russia cannot (although wants to) claim to be a ‘fully-fledged’ sovereign in Kang’s terms, or an actual ‘imperial sovereign’ in Zaporozhchenko’s terms, either. Should it be otherwise (meaning that Russia was independent from the international community politically, technologically, and financially), it would stop trying to whitewash its atrocities in international fora (United Nations, 2024a, 2024b).

Thus, we can speak of a gradation of ‘limited’ sovereignty (within a larger framework of gradations of sovereignty in general), given that neither Russia nor Ukraine could be said to enjoy ‘full’ sovereignty, but the former attempts to deprive the latter even of the not-complete degree of sovereignty that it possesses. In this light, from this bacchanalia of terms that IR scholars use to refer to sovereignty, two preliminary conclusions are drawn about how they discussed this concept in the context of Russian imperialist policies against Eastern European states.

The new approach in practice

¹ ‘Near Abroad’ is a translation of the Russian term ‘ближнее зарубежье’ which encompasses former USSR republics that, unlike the Baltic States, did not radically cut relations with Russia off. On its policy implications, see, e.g., D R Cameron and M A Orenstein, ‘Post-Soviet Authoritarianism: The Influence of Russia in Its “Near Abroad”’ (2012) 28(1) *Post-Soviet Affairs* 1.

Firstly, given that IR scholars should, by virtue of their field's peculiarities, pay much more attention to political considerations than their colleagues studying international law,¹ they cannot take sovereignty's monolithic nature for granted anymore. As the scientific paradigm of the field of foreign affairs gradually but inevitably shifts towards constructivism (Peez, 2022), more publicists have attempted to break through the previously impenetrable veil of sovereignty to understand what it consists of. Thus, the field's approach to sovereignty changed (De Carvalho, 2021), and it is not seen as a state's inherent attribute, which, in realist terms, equalled independence (Feinstein and Pirro, 2021), but rather as a complex phenomenon whose degree depends on a variety of real-world circumstances. As such, IR scholars nowadays take political, technological, cultural, and even natural factors into account when discussing sovereignty, and depending on these input elements, the output extent of sovereignty changes within one state and from one state to another. This is where the different categories of piecemeal-like sovereignty, discussed above, stem from.

Secondly, in practical terms, this disintegration of the concept of sovereignty provides an interesting framework to make better sense of Russian aggressive foreign policies. Analysed against many approaches to sovereignty, these policies can be said to operate at two overlapping, but not equal levels. On the one hand, it is beyond doubt that, by intervening in its Western neighbours' domestic affairs, Russia attempts to assert geopolitical dominance over them. In line with the Brezhnev doctrine, which is quite similar to what Eppinger called 'full' sovereignty, it is a manifestation of Russia's imperial ambitions for Eastern Europe. Put rather simply, when Putin understands that his 'softer' policies no longer achieve desirable results and Russian neighbours start claiming their sovereignty back, he will resort to hard military force to prevent these nations, which only possess 'limited' sovereignty, from achieving more of it.

In this regard, the full-scale invasion of Ukraine provides an obvious example. When Ukraine decided to cut ties with Russia and diminish the latter's societal and political influence (O'Loughlin *et al.*, 2020), Putin first resorted to different proxies in Eastern Ukraine to demonstrate that he did not like that course of action. However, when it did not yield the desired results and Ukraine continued to claim more sovereignty, this time by openly and democratically following a pro-Western course, Putin decided to intervene using the full panoply of his military power. Even the very narrative of a 'special military operation', used in Russian propaganda to refer to the war in Ukraine, demonstrates that he does not treat Ukraine as an equal to Russia because a 'full' sovereign (which Russia is, according to Putin's logic) would only wage an official war against another 'full' sovereign (Gorobets, 2022).

On the other hand, however, Lică's (2023) consideration of 'lost' sovereignty (or, rather, lost full sovereignty) indicates that, by asserting dominance over its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe and Central Asia, Putin sends a clear message to other 'fully' sovereign states—Russia is ready to regain this status which it owns by virtue of being the USSR's successor. Putin and his officials' numerous attempts to challenge the 'collective West', at times in a confrontational manner, evidence that Russian foreign policy is conducted in such an aggressive way because hard power is, in Russian traditions of international politics (Shin, 2009), the only language that opposing 'full' sovereigns understand. And here is where Zaporozhchenko's thesis of 'absolute' (or 'imperial') sovereignty comes into play again, given that Putin, his inner circle, and Russian propagandists have been

¹ It is certainly true that international legal scholars, especially those conducting empirical research, cannot avoid considering political and other not-necessarily-legal concepts when drawing their conclusions. However, their importance is more limited for those lawyers who approach their questions from purely doctrinal or normative perspectives, because it is much easier to theoretically limit the impact of political considerations. On the contrary, IR scholars should not (and cannot) avoid dealing with politics *a priori* given that it is an inherent element of their field. On this matter, see, e.g., M Koskeniemi, 'The Politics of International Law' (1990) 4(1) *European Journal of International Law* 4.

straightforward in their threats of using force against the West and its allies (Horovitz and Wachs, 2022). In other words, the rationale behind Putin's recent geopolitical decisions can be seen as a much more radical adaptation of Donald Trump's 'Make America Great Again', with Russia substituting for America in this populist equation.

Concluding Remarks: What Can International Jurists Take Home from This Discussion?

As the world community is concerned that Ukraine's potential loss of sovereignty due to Russian aggression may signify a transformation of the international legal order (Kordan, 2022), this essay attempted to understand how IR academics employ the concept of 'sovereignty' to study Eastern European post-imperialism. Having encountered a plethora of different approaches to sovereignty, this author identified that, unlike international lawyers, modern IR scholars, who are inspired by constructivist approaches, have recently attempted to look behind this concept's façade.

In other words, instead of studying *the* sovereignty, they are examining its different gradations—'full', 'limited', 'imperial', 'absolute', 'full-fledged', and 'lost' *sovereignties* denote different degrees of power, independence, and even the existence of states. In this light, international jurists, who are obsessed with interpretation (Tzanakopoulos, 2020), can make use of these different interpretations of the idea of sovereignty to better understand Russian imperialist policies against Eastern European states. Several illustrative examples will follow.

In this context, think of the Russian approach to the principle of extraterritoriality. Article 61(2) of the Russian Constitution prescribes 'protection and patronage' to Russian citizens *abroad*.¹ Putin and his officials have used this provision to threaten Eastern European states with potential intervention in their affairs (Calugareanu and Pozdnyakova, 2022), and even to justify actions in Donetsk and Luhansk regions (Stebelsky, 2018). At the same time, Russian foreign policy distinguishes between different types of 'abroad' – in addition to a 'regular' abroad, there is the 'Near Abroad', where states, according to Putin, enjoy only a 'limited' degree of sovereignty.

Thus, if Putin denies those states' 'full' sovereignty, this constitutional provision can be read as referring exclusively to the 'far' abroad, namely, to exceptional situations when Russian nationals in countries not comprising Russia's sphere of influence might require diplomatic protection. An extraterritorial intervention in a 'fully' sovereign state's affairs would require a justification grounded in Article 61(2), as it would grant such actions some legitimacy, at least domestically. For the 'Near Abroad', however, since the Russian foreign policy's logic tells us to treat those states as possessing only 'limited' sovereignty, there is no need to resort to such strong constitutional arguments. At the end of the day, a 'full' sovereign should not look for excuses for its actions against 'limited' sovereigns, especially when it considers that this 'limited' sovereignty is owed to it historically.

Another controversial Russian decision that such a non-monolithic approach to sovereignty may help explain is placing Ukrainian President Zelenskyy on wanted list. Incriminating him with an undisclosed offence under the Russian Criminal Code (Sulima, 2024), Russian authorities that issued this order disregarded the fundamental logic of immunities enjoyed by heads of state, which stems from a universally accepted principle of international law.² However, when analysed through the lens of Russian foreign policy whereby Ukraine lacks 'full' sovereignty, it seems logical that the latter head of state's immunity (which stems from the necessity to discharge his official functions effectively) can be legitimately neglected, as a president of a 'limitedly' sovereign state cannot enjoy a

¹ The Constitution of the Russian Federation, Article 61(2), available at: <<http://archive.government.ru/eng/gov/base/54.html>> accessed 09 May 2024.

² *Arrest Warrant of 1 April 2000 (Democratic Republic of the Congo v. Belgium)*, Judgment, ICJ Reports 2002, p. 3, [51].

‘full’ degree of immunity. Moreover, given that Russia treats Ukrainian sovereignty as owed to and granted by it, it reserves the right to claim it back at any moment—together with all privileges and immunities stemming from it.

Even though these examples do not represent an exhaustive list, this author does not doubt that Russian officials will come up with other ‘creative’ justifications for their imperialist actions against Eastern European states. Against this background, as restoring and preserving Russian sovereignty remains a crucial objective for Putin and his coterie because their image rests on a strong (read: sovereign) Russian state, it is also beyond doubt that the above-identified approach of gradations of sovereignty, proposed by constructivist IR scholars, will provide a useful starting point to explain these actions.

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**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
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ТРИБУНА МОЛОДЫХ УЧЕНЫХ**

**LEGAL REGULATION OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE
IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE**

**REGLEMENTAREA LEGALĂ A INTELIGENȚEI ARTIFICIALE
ÎN COMERȚUL INTERNAȚIONAL**

**ПРАВОВОЕ РЕГУЛИРОВАНИЕ ИСКУССТВЕННОГО ИНТЕЛЛЕКТА
В МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ ТОРГОВЛЕ**

PETRIC Valeria* / PETRIC Valeria / ПЕТРИК Валерия

ABSTRACT:

**LEGAL REGULATION OF ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE
IN INTERNATIONAL TRADE**

This article examines the legal regulation of artificial intelligence (AI) within the context of international trade. As AI technologies increasingly influence global commerce, the need for a cohesive legal framework becomes paramount. The paper explores existing regulatory approaches across various jurisdictions, highlighting the challenges of harmonizing standards to accommodate the rapid evolution of AI. It analyses key issues such as intellectual property rights, liability, while proposing recommendations for international cooperation and the development of comprehensive guidelines. By addressing the intersection of AI and international trade law, this article aims to contribute to the ongoing discourse on fostering innovation while ensuring legal compliance and protecting stakeholders' interests.

Keywords: Artificial Intelligence, Global Trade, Data Protection, International Cooperation, Intellectual Property Rights, Regulatory Harmonisation.

JEL Classification: F51, Z18, K37, K23

Universal Decimal Classification: 323.1, 341.2, 342.7

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REZUMAT:

**REGLEMENTAREA LEGALĂ A INTELIGENȚEI ARTIFICIALE
ÎN COMERȚUL INTERNAȚIONAL**

Acest articol examinează reglementarea legală a inteligenței artificiale (IA) în contextul comerțului internațional. Pe măsură ce tehnologiile AI influențează din ce în ce mai mult comerțul global, necesitatea unui cadru juridic coeziv devine primordială. Lucrarea explorează abordările de

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reglementare existente în diferite jurisdicții, subliniind provocările armonizării standardelor pentru a se adapta la evoluția rapidă a IA. Acesta analizează aspecte cheie precum drepturile de proprietate intelectuală, răspunderea, propunând în același timp recomandări pentru cooperarea internațională și dezvoltarea unor orientări cuprinzătoare. Abordând intersecția dintre inteligența artificială și dreptul comercial internațional, acest articol își propune să contribuie la discursul în curs privind încurajarea inovării, asigurând în același timp conformitatea legală și protejând interesele părților interesate.

Cuvinte cheie: Inteligență artificială, Comerț global, Protecția datelor, Cooperare internațională, Drepturi de proprietate intelectuală, Armonizare reglementară.

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

ПРАВОВОЕ РЕГУЛИРОВАНИЕ ИСКУССТВЕННОГО ИНТЕЛЛЕКТА В МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ ТОРГОВЛЕ

В данной статье рассматривается правовое регулирование искусственного интеллекта (ИИ) в контексте международной торговли. Поскольку технологии искусственного интеллекта все больше влияют на глобальную торговлю, необходимость в единой правовой базе становится первостепенной. В документе исследуются существующие подходы к регулированию в различных юрисдикциях, подчеркиваются проблемы гармонизации стандартов для соответствия быстрому развитию искусственного интеллекта. В нем анализируются ключевые вопросы, такие как права интеллектуальной собственности, ответственность, а также предлагаются рекомендации по международному сотрудничеству и разработке всеобъемлющих руководящих принципов. Рассматривая пересечение ИИ и международного торгового права, эта статья призвана внести свой вклад в продолжающийся дискурс о содействии инновациям, обеспечивая при этом соблюдение законодательства и защиту интересов заинтересованных сторон.

Ключевые слова: искусственный интеллект, глобальная торговля, защита данных, международное сотрудничество, права интеллектуальной собственности, гармонизация регулирования.

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Introduction

1. Definition of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and its role in international trade.

Artificial intelligence (AI) has become a crucial component of contemporary business practices, and its role in global trade continues to expand. From warehouse automation to intelligent market analysis, AI technologies are providing companies with a competitive advantage by enabling them to optimize processes and enhance efficiency. However, as the use of AI in trade increases, there is a growing need for legal regulation that can protect the rights of all participants in the process, from consumers to producers.¹

Legal regulation of AI in international trade requires a comprehensive approach that takes into account both technical aspects and social, ethical and economic implications. In the context of globalization and rapid technological advancement, it is important to develop universal norms and standards that account for the diversity of legal systems and practices in

¹ Richmond et al. "Explainable AI and Law: An Evidential Survey." Digital Society Vol.3, no. 1 (2023): 123–80.

different countries. This includes data protection, liability for actions committed by AI, and respect for consumer rights.

This article discusses the current trends in the use of AI in international trade, the primary legal considerations, as well as the prospects and challenges related to the legal regulation of this rapidly evolving domain.

2. The relevance of AI legal regulation to ensure fair and safe trading.

Artificial intelligence is currently reshaping global trade, influencing various facets of business operations. Nowadays, organisations worldwide are implementing AI to increase efficiency, refine processes, and elevate customer experience. Logistics is among the initial sectors where AI has demonstrated its capability. AI-based systems help analyse freight data, anticipate potential delays, and optimize delivery routes.¹ Using algorithms to plan shipments can significantly reduce time and costs, and minimise losses by monitoring the status of goods in real time. Analysing big data is another important application area of AI. Algorithms can process vast amounts of information about sales, customer preferences, and market conditions, revealing hidden patterns and trends. This allows companies to forecast demand more accurately, which helps with effective inventory management and new product development. For example, major retailers are using AI to personalise offers and improve marketing strategies.

Process automation is also a game-changer. Virtual assistants, chatbots and robotic systems can handle customer inquiries, manage inventory and perform routine tasks, freeing up employees for more important functions. This not only improves service quality, but also reduces operational costs, which in turn increases customer satisfaction and boosts repeat purchases. Many companies are already successfully utilising AI in their business models. For example, Amazon² uses AI to manage its huge warehouse to optimise delivery processes. Similarly, Alibaba³ uses AI to analyse shopping data and predict consumer preferences, which significantly improves their service quality.

Thus, the current trends in the use of AI in international trade show that technology is opening new horizons for business, allowing it to be more flexible and adaptive. However, such changes also require a sensible approach to legal regulation to ensure that the rights of all market participants are protected.

I. Trends in the use of AI in international trade

1. Application of AI in logistics and supply chain management.

Artificial intelligence has become extensively integrated into the fields of logistics and supply chain management. In today's globalised economy where speed and efficiency are critical, the utilisation of AI enables companies to optimise their processes and enhance their competitiveness. One of the key areas where AI is being employed is in analytics and forecasting. Advanced algorithms are capable of processing vast amounts of data, including information on weather conditions, transportation route status, inventory levels, and market demand. This allows AI-based systems to predict possible delays in deliveries, enabling companies to respond to potential problems in advance and mitigate risks. Furthermore, AI is significantly improving inventory management. Machine learning technologies can analyse historical data on sales and seasonal fluctuations, allowing companies to plan their inventory more accurately. This not only reduces storage costs but also avoids shortages or oversupply, ensuring that goods are available at the right time and place, ultimately enhancing customer

¹ Wachter et al. "Why fairness cannot be automated: Bridging the gap between EU non-discrimination law and AI." *Computer Law & Security Review* Vol. 41 (2021): 01-72.

² https://www.aboutamazon.com/?utm_source=gateway&utm_medium=footer

³ https://activities.alibaba.com/alibaba/following-about-alibaba.php?spm=a2700.product_home_newuser.0.0.66b067affHy1Du

service. The integration of AI with the Internet of Things (IoT)¹ is also opening up new opportunities in logistics. Sensors installed on vehicles and in warehouses collect real-time data, allowing for better tracking of shipments and equipment status and leading to improved management and forecasting in an uncertain environment.

Another important aspect is predictive maintenance, where AI helps predict the need for vehicle and equipment maintenance. This avoids unexpected breakdowns and delays in deliveries, which is critical to maintaining stable operations. Additionally, AI-powered risk analysis provides companies with risks assessment associated with changes in the supply chain, including political instability, economic fluctuations, or natural disasters. This enables companies to develop contingency plans to minimize potential impacts and reduce vulnerability. The use of AI can also contribute to more sustainable practices in logistics. Route optimisation and inventory management can help reduce carbon footprints, which is becoming increasingly important for companies seeking to meet environmental standards and consumer expectations.

Finally, AI facilitates better collaboration between different departments within the company, such as sales, marketing and logistics. This cross-functional communication leads to the creation of more aligned and efficient business processes. As a result, the integration of AI in logistics and supply chain management not only improves operational efficiency but also helps companies adapt to rapidly changing market conditions. Businesses that incorporate AI into their logistics processes gain a significant competitive advantage, allowing them to better meet customer needs and provide high-quality service.

2. Using AI to analyse data and predict market trends.

The use of artificial intelligence in analysing data and forecasting market trends is proving to be advantageous for international trade. In fast-paced markets, having accurate and up-to-date information is crucial for strategic decision-making. Modern AI-based technologies can process and analyse massive amounts of data from various sources, such as transactions, customer feedback, economic indicators, and even social media which allows companies to identify hidden patterns and trends that would be difficult to uncover using traditional data analysis methods. For instance, machine learning algorithms can analyse consumer preferences and behavioural patterns, making it possible to predict changes in demand and adapt product offerings accordingly.

Forecasting market trends using AI is also important for planning and strategic management. Algorithms can consider various factors such as seasonal fluctuations, changes in the economic situation, and political events to create more accurate predictions and to help prepare in advance for changes in demand, optimising inventory and reducing the risk of shortages or surpluses. Natural Language Processing (NLP)² technologies play an important role in analysing textual data such as customer reviews and social media posts in order to identify customer sentiment and preferences, which further enriches the understanding of market trends and enables companies to respond faster to changes in public opinion.

AI can also be useful in analysing the competitive environment. It can monitor competitors' actions, analyse their strategies and price changes, enabling companies to react swiftly to shifts in the competitive landscape and adapt their own strategies. In addition, AI's ability to process data in real-time is particularly beneficial in fast-changing industries, where customer needs can evolve rapidly. Customisation of offers and cross-selling are also becoming more effective through the use of AI. Algorithms can analyse shopping habits and suggest additional products or services, which helps increase the average transaction value and

¹ The internet of things, or IoT, is a network of interrelated devices that connect and exchange data with other IoT devices and the cloud. IoT devices are typically embedded with technology such as sensors and software and can include mechanical and digital machines and consumer objects. Source: <https://www.techtarget.com/iotagenda/definition/Internet-of-Things-IoT>

² Natural language processing (NLP) is a subfield of computer science and artificial intelligence (AI) that uses machine learning to enable computers to understand and communicate with human language. Source: <https://www.ibm.com/topics/natural-language-processing>

improves overall sales efficiency. Another important application of AI is the improvement of product quality. By analysing data on returns and complaints, companies can identify quality issues and make necessary changes to improve customer satisfaction and build customer loyalty. Finally, integrating AI with other technologies, such as blockchain, can provide even greater transparency and security in the data analysis process. Blockchain technology, in particular, may be used for ensuring transparent and unchangeable record-keeping of the trade transactions, allowing the use of decentralised ledgers to record all of the information.¹ A shared, unchanged record increases the level of trust and transparency between the trading partners, helps meet the increased tracking level for the goods, and allows real-time verification of the goods' stages at all parts of the supply chain.² As a result, the representatives will be able to completely eliminate the dangers of counterfeiting, theft, and illicit trade, reducing the risks of administrative delays that continue to occur due to paperwork processes.³

Thus, using AI to analyse data and predict market trends not only enhances business efficiency, but also enables companies to be more proactive in a rapidly changing market environment. This opens up new avenues for innovation and growth providing means to adapt to customer needs and market demands.

3. The role of AI in automating processes and improving customer service.

Artificial intelligence plays a pivotal role in streamlining business operations, significantly improving the efficiency of companies engaged in international trade. Automation can not only reduce the time and cost associated with routine tasks, but also improve customer service, ultimately contributing to customer satisfaction. One of the most notable applications of AI is the introduction of chatbots and virtual assistants that can handle customer inquiries around the clock. These systems are capable of answering frequently asked questions, assisting with ordering, and providing delivery status information. By doing so, companies can significantly alleviate the workload on their help desks, freeing up employees to handle more complex tasks. Another important area is the analysis of customer behaviour data. AI can identify buying patterns, which makes it possible to create personalised offers and recommendations. This approach not only increases customer satisfaction, but also leads to higher average check as customers receive more relevant recommendations.

AI can also automate marketing campaigns by analysing the results of previous efforts and optimising them in real-time. Algorithms can determine the most effective advertising channels and tailor messages based on the target audience resulting in a lower cost. In addition, the use of AI in customer relationship management (CRM)⁴ processes can automate the collection and analysis of customer data. This helps companies better understand the needs and preferences of their customers, which ultimately leads to more targeted and effective sales strategies. Automation also plays a crucial role in product quality management. AI can analyse data on production processes and identify deviations from standards. Feedback from customers collected through AI helps identify weaknesses in service and drive necessary improvements. Analysing user behaviour on a website or app helps tailor the interface and user experience, which improves convenience and customer satisfaction. In addition, modern

¹ Fornes, Gaston, and Maria Altamira. "Artificial intelligence and international business." In *Digitalization, technology and global business: How technology is shaping value creation across borders*, pp. 71-90. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023.

² Shrivastava, Pranjal, and Vandana Sharma. "Debunking the 5G Covid 19 Myth-A Comprehensive Review of 5G and its Implications in IoT." In *2023 4th International Conference on Intelligent Engineering and Management (ICIEM)*, pp. 1-6. IEEE, 2023.

³ Mayo, Shaker Mahmood. "Restrictions, Challenges and Opportunities for AI and ML." *International Journal of Innovations in Science & Technology* Vol. 5, no. 2 (2023): 121-132.

⁴ Customer relationship management (CRM) is a set of integrated, data-driven software solutions that help manage, track, and store information related to your company's current and potential customers. Source: <https://www.microsoft.com/en-us/dynamics-365/topics/crm/what-is-crm>

AI systems can learn from new data and changing market conditions, allowing them to adapt to new requirements and improve the efficiency of their functions.

Automating operational processes plays a pivotal role in mitigating the occurrence of human errors, particularly in domains such as financial management and inventory control. Leveraging artificial intelligence for analysing resource utilization enables organizations to streamline expenditures and enhance resource efficiency. In the context of the fiercely competitive landscape of global commerce, the significance of AI in process automation and enhancing customer service experiences is increasingly underscored. AI technologies not only contribute to heightened productivity levels within enterprises, but also foster the cultivation of enduring and value-driven customer relationships—a determinant factor for success in contemporary markets.

II. Legal aspects of the use of AI in international trade

1. General principles of legal regulation of AI.

The regulatory framework surrounding the application of artificial intelligence (AI) in the realm of international trade is emerging as a critical domain of interest, given the multifaceted implications of AI technologies on various facets such as consumer safeguards, accountability for AI-related errors, and the preservation of data protection and privacy standards. These principles form the basis for developing effective and ethical regulations that can ensure the safe use of technology.¹

Central to AI legal regulation is the imperative of **consumer protection**, particularly concerning the proliferation of AI-driven decision-making processes impacting individuals. Transparency in the decision-making mechanisms of AI and the provision of mechanisms for contesting such decisions are paramount in safeguarding consumer rights. Explicit disclosure of data usage practices and options for opting out of automated decision-making processes are deemed essential elements to protect consumer interests. Addressing **liability ramifications stemming from AI errors** poses a multifaceted challenge, precipitating a nuanced examination of delineating responsibility among developers, users, and the AI systems themselves. The absence of explicit legislation in this domain underscores the exigency of formulating liability standards, notably in cases where AI malfunctions result in tangible harm or infringements on human rights. Legal frameworks should account for the unpredictability of AI-generated outcomes and devise equitable systems for liability assignment. **Data protection and privacy** is another important aspect of legal regulation. Data protection and privacy can be defined as activities related to the protection of personal data owned by individuals and the management of their rights to control the data.² In terms of AI and international trade, these activities become highly important because of the amount of data exchanged and the level of danger in regard to the data processing and transactions³. AI depends on large amounts of data to learn and function, which poses a risk of privacy breaches. Data protection laws, such as the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in the European Union⁴, set strict requirements for collecting, processing and storing personal data. These laws ensure the rights of users to access, correct and delete their data. However, the need for big data to improve AI algorithms presents human rights advocates with a challenge: how to balance innovation and privacy protection.

The **ethical underpinnings** of AI utilization are gaining increasingly salience, mandating organizations to adhere to ethical standards encompassing algorithmic transparency and

¹ Davis, Joshua P. "Artificial wisdom? A potential limit on AI in law (and elsewhere)." *Okla. L. Rev.* Vol. 72, no. 1 (2019): 51-89

² Hoofnagle et al. "The European Union general data protection regulation: what it is and what it means." *Information & Communications Technology Law* Vol. 28, no. 1 (2019): 65-98.

³ Goldfarb, Avi, and Daniel Treffer. AI and international trade. No. w24254. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2018.

⁴ Minssen et al. "The EU-US Privacy Shield Regime for Cross-Border Transfers of Personal Data under the GDPR: What are the legal challenges and how might these affect cloud-based technologies, big data, and AI in the medical sector?" *EPLR* Vol. 4, no. 1 (2020): 34-50.

decision-making elucidation to foster trust and accountability. Additionally, ensuring **inclusivity and non-discrimination** precepts within AI frameworks poses a pivotal mandate to eliminate biases in algorithms that may disproportionately impact marginalized sectors of society. Encumbering companies with reporting obligations to signal AI interactions to users not only augments transparency but also empowers informed decision-making in user-technology interactions. **Collaborative endeavours** in international cooperation are adjudged pivotal for harmonizing regulatory paradigms concerning AI, mitigating legal lacunae and fostering a comprehensive approach to regulation. Autonomous systems such as unmanned aerial vehicles and self-driving cars necessitate specialized regulations to address unique legal and ethical ramifications, including safety protocols and liability considerations. **Intellectual property rights (IPR)** emerge as a pivotal jurisdiction necessitating scrutiny, particularly concerning the ownership claims with respect to IP generated through AI applications. The development of proprietary algorithms or software products through AI intervention necessitates robust IP protections to incentivize investments in AI research and development activities¹.

Conclusively, the foundational principles underpinning the legal regulation of AI in international trade underscore the necessity for a judicious equilibrium between consumer rights preservation and the facilitation of progressive technological advancements. A comprehensive legal framework serves as an indispensable step towards fostering a secure and ethical milieu for AI integration in the realm of trade.

2. Comparative analysis of international norms and standards:

- a. Regulation of AI in the European Union (GDPR, AI Act).
- b. Approaches to regulation in the USA and other countries.
- c. The role of international organizations (WTO, UN) in developing recommendations.

The disparate regulatory landscape for artificial intelligence (AI) necessitates a meticulous examination of prevailing norms and standards across regions and countries, encompassing both regulatory frameworks and initiatives spearheaded by international organizations to furnish regulatory guidance.

Regulation of AI in the **European Union (EU)** has epitomized a progressive approach. Notably, the EU's enactment of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in 2018, which engenders stringent regulations governing personal data processing, stands as a pinnacle. GDPR mandates transparency, user consent, and consumer protection measures pertaining to data processing. Moreover, the proposed AI Act purported by the European Commission in 2021 represents a salient initiative, aiming to establish a legal groundwork for the ethical and secure deployment of AI within the EU. Categorizing AI systems by risk tiers and prescribing developmental and operational mandates, the AI Act ensconces rigorous controls and mandatory evaluations for high-risk AI applications, such as those utilized in healthcare and law enforcement. In contrast, the regulatory paradigms in the **United States** and other countries deviate, lacking a unified national AI legislation but instead featuring regulations manifested at the state level and reliant on existing statutes like the Data Protection Act. The US administration's delineation of principles for responsible AI usage in 2020 underscores the emphasis on inclusivity and safeguarding citizen rights. Notably, individual states such as California are espousing their own data protection statutes, potentially surpassing federal regulations. Parallely, countries like China integrate AI regulation within broader initiatives concerning the digital economy, endeavouring to strike a balance between innovation and governmental oversight. **International organizations**, including the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations (UN), play pivotal roles in promulgating recommendations and standards for AI regulation. The WTO scrutinizes the impact of AI on international trade, endeavouring to sculpt strategies to adapt

¹ Brander, James A., Victor Cui, and Ilan Vertinsky. "China and intellectual property rights: A challenge to the rule of law." *Journal of International Business Studies* Vol. 48 (2017): 908-921.

extant rules in consonance with the evolving digital milieu.¹ The UN actively espouses the formulation of ethical norms and principles to underpin the safe and equitable utilization of AI technologies, encompassing recommendations concerning human rights vis-à-vis digital technologies. As a notable exemplar, Asif Khan's doctoral dissertation titled "Rules on Digital Trade in the Light of WTO Agreements" reflects a scholarly exploration of the burgeoning intersection between digital trade and WTO conventions.

Conclusively, the multifaceted regulatory framework governing AI underscores the dynamic interplay between regional and international guidelines, necessitating a nuanced approach that amalgamates varying legislative precepts, while harmonizing divergent regional imperatives to foster a comprehensive and cohesive regulatory ethos.

III. Prospects and challenges of legal regulation of AI

1. Challenges in adapting existing laws to rapidly evolving technologies.

The challenges associated with effectively regulating artificial intelligence (AI) are complex and multifaceted, largely stemming from the intricacies of aligning existing laws with the rapid advancements and unique characteristics of AI technologies. The high autonomy and self-learning capabilities inherent in AI pose novel legal and ethical dilemmas, as traditional legal frameworks may struggle to account for the unpredictable nature of AI decision-making and the dynamic evolution of these technologies. One of the key challenges is the unpredictability of the technology. AI systems can make data-driven decisions, making their behaviour difficult to predict. Traditional legal systems, based on clear rules and regulations, have difficulty interpreting results from AI. For example, machine learning algorithms may show different results depending on the input data, which creates legal uncertainty regarding responsibility for the consequences of their decisions.

The unpredictability of AI systems, driven by their data-driven decision-making processes, presents a significant hurdle in legal interpretation, particularly in assigning responsibility for AI-generated outcomes. The variability in results produced by machine learning algorithms due to different input data sources further compounds legal uncertainty, accentuating the challenge of attributing accountability for AI actions. Furthermore, the lag in updating existing laws to keep pace with technological progress necessitates legislative agility and adaptability to effectively address emergent AI challenges. The reliance on temporary measures or exemptions to bridge regulatory gaps can introduce inconsistencies and complexities, impeding comprehension by businesses and consumers. A critical obstacle lies in the requisite technical expertise among lawmakers to grasp AI intricacies, a skill set that may not always be readily available, hindering the formulation of robust and pragmatic regulations. Enhancing stakeholder engagement involving researchers, developers, and consumers is imperative to foster a balanced and efficacious regulatory environment. Embracing technology-neutral norms that transcend specific technologies enables the establishment of enduring regulations amidst rapid AI evolution. Similarly, the development of standards for testing and validating AI systems can mitigate errors and enhance accountability before widespread deployment.

The global dimension of AI regulation introduces further intricacies, with divergent approaches across countries posing challenges for international businesses operating in varying regulatory contexts. Disparities in regulatory stringency among jurisdictions can engender compliance complexities, elevating risks and operational costs for multinational enterprises. Monitoring and feedback mechanisms to assess the societal impact of AI implementations are integral for identifying and addressing regulatory shortcomings. Recognizing overarching digital law trends, such as cybersecurity and privacy imperatives, can inform the crafting of more effective legal frameworks that align with contemporary technological landscapes. Ethical and social considerations pertaining to AI deployment, encompassing concerns of discrimination, privacy infringement, and human rights violations,

¹ Khan, Asif. "Rules on Digital Trade in the Light of WTO Agreements." PhD Law Dissertation, School of Law, Zhengzhou University China, 2023.

necesitate deliberate integration into regulatory frameworks. However, accommodating these nuanced ethical dimensions within legal norms is a complex endeavour, given the diverse cultural and societal contexts in which AI operates. Establishing specialized committees or leveraging expert insights to analyse and propose legislative adjustments in response to technological advancements can foster nuanced and ethically robust regulatory frameworks.

In conclusion, the holistic regulation of evolving AI technologies demands a comprehensive strategy encompassing technical expertise, ethical scrutiny, receptivity to novel knowledge, and international cooperation to foster an adaptive and effective legal landscape conducive to the responsible deployment of AI innovations.

2. The need for international co-operation to develop universal norms. Examples of successful initiatives.

The spread of globalization and the emergence of AI technologies are the impulses for worldwide initiatives concerning the development of such norms. Every country has a different opinion about AI legislation which means they may be the reasons why the legal field is split and we have unfair competition should some countries act across borders. International cooperation is a facility for the countries involved in the exchange of knowledge, skills, and best practices in the field of AI regulations along with the sharing of technologies. It favours the establishing of uniform rules which are considered applicable in different jurisdictions. This is a requirement not just only to ensure that the technology is safe and ethical, but also to provide a certain degree of certainty for the businesses that operate all around the globe.

Overcoming the multiple issues of artificial intelligence (AI) which were raised, quite a few successful programs can be pointed to that demonstrate the legal norms such as how the states and international organisations are collaborating and developing. Here, it can lie in the further development of the regulation of AI and the first steps which the new initiatives can take. Probably, the most vivid illustration is the European Union and its initiative AI Regulation (also known as AI Act) introduced in 2021. It is crafted to define aloud regulations, boundaries, and requirements for AI utilisation in different areas of economic activity. The regulation covers the danger of AI and subsequently classifying systems according to the severity of their potential threat to social welfare. The implementation of this directive is a great example of how laws could be personalised to the technology taken into account if sectorial needs, protection of consumers came to the fore, and safety was ensured.

The OECD's AI guidelines that were developed in 2019 are another example. The guiding principles of the OECD on the use of AI aim at making certain no harm occurs through the responsible and ethical use of AI. Besides, the recommendations are given in the succession of transparency, inclusiveness, and safety of technology. A pivotal role in national strategies and the implementation of policies has been given to them by bringing out the harmonisation of different countries' AI regulations towards the general goal. Moreover, some other organisations like the World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) have been taking a try-and-piece approach to the production of guidelines that protect intellectual property in the AI environment, creating a common understanding of the rights of developers and users of technology.

An important aspect of successful initiatives is the work of the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO)¹ to develop standards for AI. These standards can provide a unified framework for the application of technology across sectors, enhancing its safety and security. In addition, the training of AI and legal professionals is a key element in creating a sustainable legal framework. Educating future professionals will ensure that regulations are effectively enforced and can respond quickly to changes in technology. An equally important step is public consultation in the development of norms, which will allow the views of different stakeholders to be taken into account and increase confidence in the regulation.

¹ Rittberger, Volker, Bernhard Zangl, Andreas Kruck, and Hylke Dijkstra. International organization. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.

Resilience to change should also be a priority in creating regulations that can adapt to future challenges. Integrating AI into existing sectoral norms in areas such as healthcare, transport and finance will create a more harmonised legal environment. In addition, the impact of new regulations on SMEs should be considered to avoid over-regulation that could hamper their operations. All these initiatives and approaches demonstrate that successful AI regulation requires active cooperation between states, international organisations and the private sector. The role of the private sector in the norms development process should not be underestimated. The involvement of companies and research organisations can lead to more practical and effective solutions based on real-world experience with technology. It is important that these norms respect ethical standards and human rights to help create a more equitable and sustainable legal framework.

Supporting developing countries in creating legal norms for AI is also an important aspect so that they can effectively participate in global regulation and not be left behind. Developing mechanisms to assess the societal impact of AI that can be applied internationally will help to better monitor and respond to potential problems. The need for norms to be flexible so that they can adapt to rapidly changing technologies also requires attention, given the specificities of different countries. International co-operation in developing universal norms to regulate AI is therefore a necessary step to create a safe and ethical environment for the use of the technology. It will create a more sustainable legal framework for business, enhance consumer protection and harmonise regulatory approaches globally. Thus, the successful initiatives already implemented at the international level provide clear examples of how to meet the challenges posed by AI. These examples show that effective legal regulation is possible with the active co-operation of all stakeholders.

Conclusion

The legal regulation of artificial intelligence (AI) in international trade is a complex but crucial challenge that requires a comprehensive approach and international co-operation. In the course of our research, we have looked at current trends in the use of AI, including its application in logistics, data analysis and process automation. These technologies are opening up new horizons for business, but their implementation also raises a number of legal and ethical issues that require careful consideration.

Analyses of the legal aspects of AI use have shown that existing laws often fail to keep pace with rapidly evolving technologies. Key regulatory principles such as consumer protection, liability for AI errors and data protection need to be reviewed and adapted. A comparative analysis of international regulations, including initiatives from the European Union and approaches from countries such as the US, highlights the need to create universal standards that can harmonise the legal landscape.

Examples of successful initiatives, such as the AI Regulation and the OECD principles, show that international co-operation is already beginning to bear fruit. However, further progress requires further work on adapting regulations to a rapidly changing environment, taking into account the specificities of SMEs, and providing education and training for professionals. Thus, effective legal regulation of AI in international trade is impossible without the active co-operation of all stakeholders. Only through joint efforts can a sustainable and ethical legal framework be created that will facilitate the safe and innovative use of technology. The prospects before us require a willingness to cooperate, adapt and continuously learn in order to maximise the potential of AI and overcome the challenges it poses to society.

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**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
THE TRIBUNE OF YOUNG SCIENTISTS
ТРИБУНА МОЛОДЫХ УЧЕНЫХ**

**THE SLOVAK STATE 1939-1945 AND THE PERSECUTION
OF THE ROMA MINORITY**

STATUL SLOVAC 1939-1945 ȘI PERSECUȚIA MINORITĂȚII ROME

**СЛОВАЦКОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВО 1939-1945 ГГ. И ПРЕСЛЕДОВАНИЕ
ЦЫГАНСКОГО МЕНЬШИНСТВА**

PUPIK Andrej* / PUPIK Andrej / ПУПИК Андрей

ABSTRACT:

**THE SLOVAK STATE 1939-1945 AND THE PERSECUTION
OF THE ROMA MINORITY**

The article analyzes the persecutions during the Slovak Republic 1939-1945 directed against the Roma minority. Through the analysis, the author of the article will argue for the approximation and characterization of the persecutory legislative instruments faced by the Roma during the given period.

In terms of content, the article is divided into: Introduction, the emergence of the Slovak state and the issue of the Roma, stages of persecution policies towards the Roma, persecution policies from 1939-1945 in the Slovak state, conclusion.

Keywords: analysis, persecution, Roma, minority, Slovak Republic 1939-1945

JEL Classification: F51, Z18, K37, K23

Universal Decimal Classification: 323.1, 341.2, 342.7

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REZUMAT:

STATUL SLOVAC 1939-1945 ȘI PERSECUȚIA MINORITĂȚII ROME

Articolul analizează persecuțiile din timpul Republicii Slovace 1939-1945 îndreptate împotriva minorității rome. Prin analiză, autorul articolului va argumenta pentru apropierea și caracterizarea instrumentelor legislative persecutorii cu care se confruntă romii în perioada dată.

Din punct de vedere al conținutului, articolul se împarte în: Introducere, apariția statului slovac și problematica romilor, etape ale politicilor de persecuție față de romi, politici de persecuție din 1939-1945 în statul slovac, concluzie.

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

СЛОВАЦКОЕ ГОСУДАРСТВО 1939-1945 ГГ. И ПРЕСЛЕДОВАНИЕ ЦЫГАНСКОГО МЕНЬШИНСТВА

В статье анализируются преследования в Словацкой Республике 1939-1945 гг., направленные против цыганского меньшинства. Посредством анализа автор статьи будет аргументировать необходимость сближения и характеристики преследующих законодательных инструментов, с которыми столкнулись цыгане в данный период.

По содержанию статья разделена на: Введение, возникновение словацкого государства и проблема ромов, этапы политики преследования цыган, политика преследования 1939-1945 годов в словацком государстве, заключение.

Ключевые слова: анализ, преследование, цыгане, меньшинство, Словацкая Республика, 1939-1945 гг.

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Introduction

Persecution itself is as old as civilization itself. Throughout history, they have applied to various ethnic, religious and other groups. Whether it was the natives in modern America or the religious persecution of opponents of the church, all persecutions had in common that they restricted the life and customs of a certain group of people. Due to the fact that they have an exclusively negative dimension, they have affected various groups throughout history, including the Roma.

Persecutions during the Slovak state mainly concerned Jews. However, it should not be forgotten that significant persecutions also affected the Roma, who formed the so-called asocial group within the state. They acquired this status in their way of life, or by nomadism. However, it is necessary to clarify that there were also Roma in the Slovak state who lived according to the model of the majority society and they were not the target of such persecution as nomadic Roma who made a living by selling horses, textiles and many other commodities.

Compared to the persecutions in Nazi Germany, these measures were milder for various reasons that will be mentioned in the given article. In short, the period of the Slovak state left certain grievances and unhealed wounds for the Roma, as well as for every opponent of the regime at that time. Individual persecution policies will be explained in detail in the article in question.

The article aims to analyze the persecutory measures against the Roma during the wartime Slovak state. We will explain what measures were directed against them and which were the most important from an objective point of view. As already mentioned, the Roma were one of the groups that paid extra for their way of life, or nomadism and the Slovak Republic sought to disrupt the traditional Roma way of life. Based on this, the mentioned measures were taken.

1. The emergence of the Slovak state and the Roma issue

From a historical point of view, the Roma started moving to the territory of today's Slovakia in the 16-17th century.¹ The establishment of the Slovak state was announced on March 14, 1939 in the current capital of the Slovak Republic. It was primarily the result of a deep political and moral crisis within Europe. German aggression also had a significant impact on the establishment of a unified state (in addition to the disintegration of pre-Munich Czechoslovakia). With regard to the political system, it was true that in theory it was characterized by the division of power into legislative, executive and judicial, but in practice the real power was in the hands of the state party – the Hlinková Slovak People's Party, which was also the only legal political party.²

The Slovak state was created primarily on the basis of Hitler's order, which meant the creation of a specific state entity.³ From a legislative point of view, the political representation at that time began with the elimination of democratic and continued with the establishment of totalitarian-fascist signs.⁴ Legislative measures were preceded by the inspiration of Nazi ideology from the position of the Slovak state. Nazism influenced the local Slovak nationalism of various political, social and economic elites.⁵ It was fully manifested in the topic of race - racial inferiority or hereditary genetic disease. Ideological starting points resulted in the fact that the definition of the term "Gypsy" in the legislation of the Slovak state was closely linked to an antisocial model of behavior.⁶ Based on this, the Slovak state (in many cases) in practice imitated or copied the discriminatory racial laws of Nazi Germany.⁷

The Constitutional Act on the Constitution, adopted on July 21, 1939, changed the name of the state to the Slovak Republic. The constitution of this republic was also based on the imperial constitution. Even the Citizenship Act was a copy of the German Reich Citizenship Act.⁸ In addition to the definition of the leading state party - HSĽS, the newly adopted constitution also enshrined the so-called civil inequality.⁹ In practice, however, it granted extensive privileges to national minorities - it recognized the freedom of national consciousness and explicitly prohibited denationalization.¹⁰ Within this state, Slovak minorities were divided into three categories: privileged (German and Hungarian), disadvantaged (Ukrainian, Polish and Czech) and finally oppressed (Jewish and Roma). In general, Roma representatives had the lowest social status among all social classes.¹¹

¹ Mann, B. A. 2007. *Od stereotypov ku genocíde*. In: *Nepriznaný holocaust: Rómovia v rokoch 1939-1945*. Bratislava: Občianske združenie In minorita. 2007. ISBN 978-80-969798-8-2. St. 27-32.

² Kamenec, I. 2011. *The Slovak state, 1939-1945*. In: *Slovakia in History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-80253-6. Pages 175-192.

³ Nečas, C. 1994. *Českoslovenští Romové v letech 1938-1945*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita. 1994. 220 stran. ISBN 8021009454.

⁴ Nečas, C. 2004. *SLOVENŠTÍ ROMOVÉ V LETECH 1939-1945*. In: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity. C, Řada historická*. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2004. ISBN 80-210-3725-3. St. 153-178.

⁵ Jelínek, Y. 1976. *Slovakia and its minorities 1939-1945: People with and without national protection*. In *Nationalities Papers: The Journal of Nationalism and Ethnicity*. ISSN 1465-3923, volume 4, issue. 1. Pages 1-15.

⁶ Pekár, M. 2006. *Výber dokumentov k rómskej otázke na východnom Slovensku v rokoch 1942 – 1945*. In *ANNALES HISTORICI PRESOVIENSES VOL. 6/2006*. Prešov: UNIVERSUM, 2006. ISBN 80-89046-40-1. s 309-332.

⁷ Mann, B. A. 2011. *RÓMOVIA V ČESKÝCH ZEMIACH A NA SLOVENSKU*. In *ÚVOD DO ANTROPOLOGIE ETNICKÝCH MENŠIN: Vybrané texty přednášek magisterského kurzu Fakulty humanitních studií Univerzity Karlovy v Praze*. Praha: UNIVERZITA KARLOVA V PRAZE, Fakulta humanitních studií, 2011. ISBN 978-80-87398-17-3. St. 21-52.

⁸ Lužica, R. 2005. *Vylúčenie Cigánov1/Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939 – 1945)*. In *Pamäť národa*, ISSN 1336-6297, roč. 2. 2005. st. 6-12.

⁹ Nečas, 2004

¹⁰ Vojak, D. 2016. *FROM THE HISTORY OF THE ROMA SUFFERING IN SOME CENTRAL EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHORTLY BEFORE AND DURING WORLD WAR II (HUNGARY, CROATIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, POLAND)*. In: *Pannoniana : Časopis za humanističke znanosti*. ISSN 2459-7465, Vol. 1 No. 1, 2016. Pages 175-188.

¹¹ Lužica, 2005

The number of Roma in this state represented more than 100,000 members, which was less than 4% of the total Slovak population. With the treatment of the Roma minority, the Slovak people's government gradually approached that of Nazi Germany, depriving the Roma of political, economic, civil and human rights. The Roma minority was said to represent a social burden for the state and their participation in work units was expected.¹

Although the Slovak Republic was a satellite state of Nazi Germany, it did not fulfill all the demands of A. Hitler. One of the areas under direct competence and decision-making was the Roma issue. The Slovak representatives were not as radical in relation to the Roma as it was in the case of Nazi Germany. The literature gives two reasons why the Roma were not under a harsh regime in the Slovak Republic. The first is the formal independence of Slovakia, the second is the integration of a large part of the Slovak Roma into the Slovak agricultural estate society.²

Stages of persecutory policies against the Roma

Several relevant authors clarify that the persecution measures in the Slovak Republic 1939-1945 had several stages or phases. The first phase, according to Ctibor Nečas, a prominent historian, was the application of racial discrimination, while the relevant legislation "accidentally" coincided with the legislation of the Third Reich. In the second phase, the Slovak ministerial regulations on the forced concentration of Roma only came close to the Reich regulations. Only finally, the third stage indicated that the regime in the Slovak Republic, which described itself as clerical-fascist, began to take over the Reich experience offered by the German side and used them to create the first partial initiatives. He applied them radically and in a similar spirit to the Nazi regime.³

In the first phase from 1939 to 1942, the Roma issue was not a priority area of public interest. The regime tried to solve the Jewish question. In this period, individual measures first applied to nomadic Roma and their means of livelihood, and gradually developed into comprehensive measures against all Roma. In practice, this meant: restrictions, precisely defined places of movement, restrictions on trades and businesses, police supervision, forced sale of property, their exclusion from the armed forces and forced camp concentration in labor units. The second stage took place in the years 1942-1944. During it, interest in solving the Roma issue grew. It was related to Nazi Germany's preparations for the liquidation of Roma on a pan-European level. Emphasis began to be placed on compliance with all standards that had been adopted in the previous period. Restrictions on freedom of movement and many other freedoms have also increased. A detention camp was also introduced as a tool to isolate all Roma and use them as labor. Ctibor Nečas speaks of the period of reprisals at the turn of 1944-1945 as an extraordinary third stage. It was the most cruel period for the Roma. It was characterized by the destruction of Roma settlements and the murder of Roma.⁴

Karol Janas, another important historian, states different facts regarding the course of Roma persecutions. The first stage was the period 1939-1944, which was characterized by persecutory policies aimed at eliminating nomadism. In the same period, there were persecutions in the army and the establishment of the first work units. The second and final period began in 1944 and ended in 1945. This was already the period after the failed SNP and the subsequent radicalization of policies from the German side.⁵ Other key historians include Ivan Kamenec, who states that in the case of anti-Roma policies, progress was made sporadically and they were replaced by policies of a regional type. The mentioned policies

¹ Nečas, 2004

² Hübschmannová, M. 2005. Po Židoch Cigáni I. díl (1939 - srpen 1944): Svědectví Romů ze Slovenska 1939-1945. Bratislava: Triáda, 2005. 900 s. ISBN 8086138143.

³ Nečas, C. 1992. Osudy československých Cikánů za německé okupace a nadvlády. In STŘEDNÍ EVROPA: Revue pro středoevropskou kulturu a politiku. ISSN 0862-091 X, 1992, roč. 7, č.23, strany 117-129.

⁴ Pekár, 2006

⁵ Janas, K. 2010. Perzekúcie Rómov v Slovenskej republike (1939-1945). Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2010. 112 strán. ISBN 978-80-89335-30-5.

were partly based on the legislation of the first Czechoslovakia, as well as Austria-Hungary and the implementation, or members of the gendarmerie were in charge of monitoring compliance with such measures. Based on these policies, Roma citizens were unofficially divided into two categories - nomadic and settled. General measures applied across the board to all Roma (exclusion from armed military attendance service), while regional measures (economic restrictions, work obligation in work units) concerned only nomadic Roma.¹

The literature also mentions other stages of persecution - The first stage was characterized by the military law and the regulation on work duty, as well as by decrees of the Ministry of the Interior and a number of orders at the national and local level. The second circle should be described as the concentration of Roma men in work units. The third phase was characterized by considerations about the establishment of concentration camps for Roma families. Finally, the fourth, supplementary circuit was marked by murders and the dragging of the population from Roma settlements to the gallows.²

3. Persecution policies from 1939-1945 in the Slovak state

The prologue to the persecution measures was the elaboration of the law on itinerant Roma and anti-social persons, which represented a model for other persecution measures. This law brought the status of antisocial persons to the Roma living on the territory of the Slovak state, which resulted in the restriction of civil rights and laid the foundations for the adoption of other persecutory policies.³ On March 24, 1939, a government regulation was adopted, according to which the labor departments were to concentrate and detain for work all persons detained in detention in the Ilava detention camp. These prisoners were obliged to work for the public good.⁴

On June 23, 1939, a regulation of the Regional Office in Bratislava was adopted on the reporting of the Roma population to their home municipalities and on the prohibition of horse trading.⁵ The intention of this regulation was to eliminate nomadism, order to sell horses to Roma and place Roma under police surveillance. The regulation also established that in villages with more than three families, Gypsy wardens, or gypsy vajda.⁶ Fulfillment of the ban was also to be ensured by withdrawing nomadic permits from all Roma, but primarily by withdrawing trade licenses - from both nomadic and non-nomadic Roma. This regulation radically affected the traditional life of part of the Roma society.⁷ This regulation was contained in the so-called the circular of the office in question and it also ordered that the district and notary offices carry out revisions of the domicile of all members of this community and subsequently submit proposals for their expulsion (if they lived in villages without domicile). According to the circular, they had to leave such villages within a month. If this did not happen, they should have been expelled.⁸

The first regulation, which was directed against the nomadic Roma, was contained in the regional office's circular of June 23. This circular was followed by other persecutory policies in the army, on the basis of which the term "Gypsy" was characterized. Efforts to limit the migration of Roma as much as possible resulted in the development of the outline of the

¹ Kamenec, I. 2006. Holokaust na Slovensku – porovnanie osudov rómskych a židovských obyvateľov. In. *Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna: čítanka*. Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku. 2006. ISBN 80-89008-20-8. St. 96-101.

² Kráľovič, T. 2019. Roma Persecution in the Slovak state 1939 – 1945: Labour Camp Issues in Regional, County and Police office Funds in Nitra. In *Studia Historica Nitriensia*, 2019, vol. 23, no. 2, pp. 456-474, ISSN 1338-7219.

³ Janas, K. 2006. Pokusy vlády slovenského štátu o likvidáciu obchodu s koňmi v rokoch 1939-1941. In. *Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna: čítanka*. Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku. 2006. ISBN 80-89008-20-8. St. 86-89.

⁴ Nečas, 1994

⁵ Nečas, 1994

⁶ Janas, K. 2007. Perzekúcia rómskeho obyvateľstva na Slovensku v slovenskej historiografii (Súčasný stav a perspektívy). In. *Nepriznaný holocaust: Rómovia v rokoch 1939-1945*. Bratislava: Občianske združenie In minorita. 2007. ISBN 978-80-969798-8-2. St. 15-20.

⁷ Janas, 2006

⁸ Nečas, 1994

government draft law, which will be presented below.¹ On the basis of the ban on horse trading, the Roma were not only to have their nomadic licenses officially taken away, but also to have their business licenses revoked.²

The decree of the Regional Office in Bratislava of June 23 also significantly affected the trade in waste, although, as stated, it was primarily directed against the trade in horses. The regulation was followed in practice, but it was accepted with embarrassment.³ After the application of this regulation, the number of unemployed residents increased, and for that reason the district authorities asked the Ministry of Economy to solve this problem.⁴

An important landmark was also the adoption of the constitutional law on state citizenship.⁵ The Act on State Citizenship, or the constitutional law, which entered into force on September 25, 1939, divided the population into two groups. The first was represented by civil servants/citizens, the second by foreign elements. From the position of the Roma, it was possible to obtain full citizenship of the Slovak state only on the condition that they have a permanent residence, a permanent occupation, as well as education, or they lived an ordered civil life. Even if they only worked on a case-by-case basis, it was not possible to consider them as members of the Slovak nationality.^{6,7} The mentioned law also divided the Slovak Roma into the Slovak Roma community and the others, or settled and nomadic. Settled Roma had permanent residence and some stable work, and therefore it was possible for them to become citizens of this state. Nomadic Roma could not become citizens of the Slovak state mainly because of many differences and inability to lead a social life according to the model of the majority society.⁸

A key role in the creation of regulations that were directed against nomadic Roma was also played by the outline of the government draft law on wandering Gypsies.⁹ Although it was not adopted by the Slovak Parliament, it served as the basis for many other departmental and government decrees or regulations.¹⁰ The Slovak state began to fully implement its anti-Roma policy at the end of 1940. However, already at the beginning of 1940, several legislative measures were gradually adopted, e.g. military law or government regulations with the force of law, etc.¹¹

On January 18, 1940, the Military Law was issued, which determined that Roma and Jews may not be members of the armed forces (military personnel). Instead, they were supposed to work in special groups.¹² This law also determined that only Aryans could be members of the armed forces. For that reason, the Roma soldiers serving in the army were to be released by the end of January (as of January 31 and transferred from military service to labor service by

¹ Kráľovič, 2019

² Nečas, 1994

³ Janas, K. 2006. Pokusy vlády slovenského štátu o likvidáciu obchodovania s odpadkami v rokoch 1939-1944. Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna: čítanka. Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku. 2006. ISBN 80-89008-20-8. St. 82-85.

⁴ Janas 2006

⁵ Janas, 2006

⁶ Macsó, K. 2018. The 'Roma Question' in Slovakia. In. European and Regional Studies. ISSN 2066-639X, vol. 14, 2018. pages 71-83.

⁷ Nečas, 1994

⁸ Tritt, R. 1992. STRUGGLING FOR ETHNIC IDENTITY: Czechoslovakia's Endangered Gypsies. New York: Human Rights Watch. 1992. ISBN 1-56432-078-2.

⁹ Janas, 2010

¹⁰ Letz, R. 2012. Slovenské dejiny V. (1938-1945) Bratislava: Literárne informačné centrum, 2012. 367 s. ISBN 978-80-8119-135-0.

¹¹ Lehoczka, L. 2020. NARIAĐUJEME, VYHLASUJEME...! VÝBER DISKRIMINAČNÝCH OPATRENÍ VOČI CIGÁNOM/ RÓMOM NA SLOVENSKU V ROKOCH TOTALITY 1939 - 1945 SPRACOVANÝ Z FONDOV MV SR, ŠTÁTNEHO ARCHÍVU V NITRE. In. HISTORICKÝ ČASOPIS. ISSN 0018-2575, roč. 68, č.4, strany 723-734.

¹² Mann, B. A. 2015. Tragické osudy Rómov v Podpoľaní počas druhej svetovej vojny. In Nové poznatky o holocauste Rómov na Slovensku. Bratislava: Občianske združenie In minorita. 2015. ISBN 978-80-970598-3-5. St. 5-22.

mid-April (April 15).¹ Immediately after the martial law was passed, the Ministry of National Defense issued an order on February 29, according to which Roma of all military status were dismissed from the army. Based on that, they were transferred to additional district headquarters or reassigned to the records of the already mentioned infantry regiments No. 1-9. Together with other non-Aryans, they were incorporated into infantry regiments by order and law. In these regiments, they were "used" to complete and strengthen military buildings, but also to help the public and civil sectors, respectively. they did various unskilled and auxiliary jobs.²

The Military Law was supplemented by two government regulations with the force of law - on the work obligation and on the temporary adjustment of the work obligation of Jews and Gypsies. The first regulation from May 29, 1940 laid down the possibility for military administrations to enlist unemployed persons aged 18-60, or still avoiding work.³ According to the second regulation with the force of law (also dated May 29, 1940), all Roma who did not have a stable job - nomads and settlers - had to perform various activities for the benefit of the state for two months instead of military training. This work duty was performed in specific facilities of the forced concentration camp.⁴

For the purpose of a closer definition of the term "Gypsy", a special decree was issued on June 18, 1940, which more accurately characterized this term. The decisive criterion for conceptual definition was the way of life.⁵ The decree of the Ministry of the Interior of June 18, 1940 defined the term "Gypsy" in the following way: "Gypsy is to be understood according to § 9 of the regulation with the force of Act no. 130/1940 Sl. from. only that member of the gypsy race, descended from it through both parents, who lives a nomadic or settled life, but avoids work."⁶ The term "Gypsy" was defined only when the Ministry of National Defense investigated the racial affiliation of individual military personnel and asked the government for more detailed terminological information on this matter. At the same time, people without a permanent residence were considered to be Roma members of the Roma community, and mainly nomadic and non-working Roma were included under this decree. It was on the basis of this request that the Ministry of the Interior issued the aforementioned special decree of June 18, 1940.⁷

The need for new anti-Roma legal norms was first pointed out by the main police headquarters, whose transcription became the impetus for the development of the outline of the government's draft law on itinerant Roma and vagabonds. It was based on a law during the first Czechoslovakia, namely from 1927, as well as a government regulation in 1928. The law being prepared was supposed to effectively include economically active Roma in the labor process.⁸

The decree of the Ministry of the Interior from April 2, 1941 was also significant. According to this decree, the work obligation was to take the form of work centers or units. Thus, two types of forced concentration camps were established. While the first category was intended for Jews, the second for all anti-socials, which included Roma without employment.⁹ On April 20, a decree was issued, which was the first of the official decisions that discriminated against settled Roma.¹⁰ The decree definitively canceled the nomadic permits

¹ Nečas, 2004

² Janas, 2007

³ Mann, 2015

⁴ Nečas, 2004

⁵ Nečas, C. 2006. Pronásledovaní Cikánů v období slovenského státu. In. Rómovia a druhá svetová vojna: čítanka. Bratislava: Nadácia Milana Šimečku. 2006. ISBN 80-89008-20-8. St. 39-48.

⁶ Pekár, M. 2015. Komentované pramene k dejinám Slovenska 1939-1945. Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach. 2015. 112 strán. ISBN 978-80-8152-268-0.

⁷ Nečas, 1994

⁸ Nečas, 2004

⁹ Mann, 2015

¹⁰ Nečas, 1992

introduced during the first Czechoslovakia.¹ Holders of nomadic permits were ordered to return to their villages of permanent or temporary residence within 8 days, and their nomadic wagons had to be sold. If this did not happen, their property was seized and auctioned for the benefit of the state treasury. Based on this decree, nomadic Roma were placed under police surveillance and could only leave their homes with written permission from the police.² It established the obligation for settled Roma to remove their dwellings from the vicinity of public roads and to build them separately from other residents. In villages with more than three settled gypsy families, district offices of gypsy vajdas were established, who answered to the municipal mayors and ensured order in these settlements.³

The decree was issued twice, which means that in the first case it was not applied very much, or was not observed. On the contrary, with the second decree, the displacement of Roma settlements has already taken place.⁴ In other words, in practice the settlement of Roma was not very effective (municipalities that were supposed to accept them rejected them), and therefore a decree was issued with the same intention on 21 July 1943, in which Minister of the Interior Alexander Mach announced the opening of a concentration camp specifically for Roma. However, in 1942, the Ministry announced its intention to create such a camp in advance.⁵ For the second time, this decree abolished nomadic letters and also applied to the horse trade. The ministry left the distinction between a nomad or a merchant to the district or notary offices. Violation of the decree was punishable by high fines and even imprisonment.⁶

As already stated, in order for settled Roma not to be very "in sight", they were obliged to remove their dwellings, if they were located near railway lines, state and other public roads, and move them from there to more remote and specially designated places. However, the mentioned measures were not implemented in full, or in all places.⁷ Thus, the original state was left due to a lack of funds. While many municipalities demolished such settlements, other municipalities did not have enough funds for this purpose.⁸

There are also two decrees of the Ministry of the Interior on the organizational and working rules of these facilities dated May 28 and September 19, 1941. While according to the first decree, the departments were established by the central labor office of the Ministry of the Interior, the second decree allowed the establishment of departments not only by the central labor office, but also at the request of county authorities or employer companies. There were 11 such work units in the territory of the Slovak Republic (West Slovakia – Dubnica nad Váhom, Ilava, Most na Ostrove; Central Slovakia – Jarabá, Očová, Revúca, Ústie nad Oravou; East Slovakia – Bystré, Hanušovce nad Topľou, Nižný Hrabovec, Petič. At the central labor office it was considered that a work unit for Roma people would be opened in Krupina, but this project did not take place.⁹

Based on the decree of the Ministry of the Interior on organizational and camp regulations from May 28, it was possible to define camps and units as places of forced camp concentration, the intention of which was to use the labor force of enlisted persons. Practical experience from the operation of these units was the starting point for issuing a new decree of the Ministry of the Interior dated September 19, 1942 on the organizational rules of work units. This provision entered into force on November 1, 1942 and greatly expanded or changed the previous regulations. Pursuant to the decree of September 19, labor departments were established by the central labor office of the Ministry of the Interior. The antisocial element was included in these units - the selection of antisocials was in charge of notary

¹ Lužica, 2005

² Nečas, 1992

³ Nečas, 2006

⁴ Hübschmannová, 2005

⁵ Letz, 2012

⁶ Janas, 2006

⁷ Nečas, 2004

⁸ Mann, 2007

⁹ Nečas, 2004

offices, police stations and municipal administration. In 1942, the outline of the government draft law on the so-called antisocial persons. According to this law, even an antisocial person over the age of 18 could be considered a Roma, regardless of gender. Although the draft went through a comment procedure, the adoption process was lengthy and it was not submitted to the parliament for approval.¹

In 1942, the Ministry of the Interior changed the concept of solving the Roma issue. It started with the building and opening of the first work units for Gypsies and antisocials. On September 2, the Ministry of the Interior came into conflict with the Ministry of Transport over the regulation governing the settlement of Roma in municipalities. It interfered with his competence. The regulation against Roma nomadism was also tightened in 1943. On April 5, the presidium of the Ministry of the Interior tightened the previous interpretation of Roma asociality. According to the new system, it was sufficient only if a Roma worked and was not a burden on his surroundings. This also applied to settled Roma. The ministry specified who can be considered antisocial - he was also someone who works but commits an offense against property. If the victim did not ask for compensation, he could be included in the employment relationship. The pressure to eliminate Roma nomadism increased in 1943.²

A directive from April 1943 defined almost all members of the Roma community as antisocial. The exception was only employed and Roma adapted to society. The recruits for the work units were selected on the basis of the lists of municipal notary offices, they were secured by gendarmerie stations with the help of the Hlinka Guard's emergency units. Work units were used to perform heavy work in the state or public interest, usually for 30 days.³⁴

According to these guidelines, all those who did not work and were a burden to their environment were considered antisocial. They were e.g. Roma without a job, and they could be placed in labor camps. Based on the reports from the gendarmerie stations, we know that the measures have proven themselves very well in practice, because since then there has not been an offense committed by the Roma. The threat of being transferred to work units forced the Roma to follow the established rules. Despite its effectiveness, the Minister of the Interior was not satisfied with the given directives and imposed an obligation on the district chiefs to submit a list of Roma who had to be evicted from the villages by July 31, 1943. It was already the second decree, which meant an order for the resettlement of Roma from gypsy settlements from villages to remote places. After all, this also happened in the larger one. This situation lasted approximately from the second half of 1943 until the outbreak of the SNP in August 1944.⁵

On March 26, 1943, the second military law was issued, which brought significant changes to the status of the Roma. As a result of this law, the distinction between asocial and orderly Roma ceased to exist. From June 1943, the Ministry of National Defense ordered the reassignment of all Roma to the labor force, regardless of their asociality. They were in the labor camp until 1945.⁶ The regulation of June 23, 1943 again strongly ordered the removal of Roma dwellings from busy roads and restricted freedom of travel and avoiding work. At the same time, the provisions of this regulation forwarded that a concentration camp for Roma would be opened, and therefore the Ministry of the Interior requested to submit a list of all persons who had to be interned in this projected facility.⁷

The Roma population outside the labor camps was limited by ever wider and sharper discriminatory policies. The basis of one of them was the decree/decreed of the Ministry of the Interior from July 21, 1943. According to this decision, municipalities moved to relocate gypsy settlements to reserved places located in remote parts of municipal cadastres. By means

¹ Nečas, 1994

² Janas, 2010

³ Mann, 2015

⁴ Nečas, 1992

⁵ Královič, 2019

⁶ Janas, 2007

⁷ Nečas, 1992

of involuntary eviction, ongoing mechanisms of social adaptation and assimilation were stopped or the positive social and ethical norms of the Roma population were lost. Roma members were once again socially isolated and cut off contacts with the majority, but also with each other - they fell into the abyss of social distance. The ministerial decree allowed the use of several other measures that restricted freedom of movement.¹

In accordance with this decree, the authorities obliged the municipal boards to establish special settlements, in which those Roma whose dwellings were until then located near busy roads were to be forcibly placed. In municipalities with a smaller number of Roma, this regulation was implemented more easily than in those where more Roma lived. On July 21, 1943, the Ministry of the Interior strongly warned the chiefs of the district and state police offices to comply with all orders regarding the migration, residence, and work duties of Roma and to submit a detailed report on this by August 15. The circular also informed that a concentration camp would be opened in the near future and subordinate authorities were to draw up lists of Roma families that had to be concentrated there.²³

On October 7, the Ministry of the Interior, in agreement with the Ministry of Economy, issued a decree that determined the conditions for issuing identification cards for garbage collection. The decree significantly tightened the previous practice. Private companies interested in issuing identification cards had to be approved or confirmed by the district or state police office. It entered into force on November 1, 1943, and its implementation was controlled by the police and security authorities. In case of violation of the conditions, they were obliged to withdraw the given identification cards.⁴

Due to health conditions, the Ministry of the Interior in the east of Slovakia banned those Roma who did not present a medical certificate of health from traveling by trains, buses and other means of public transport. The ban lasted until the end of January 1944, while in April of the same year the scope of the decree was extended from the eastern part to the entire territory of Slovakia.⁵

On June 13, 1944, a circular of the Ministry of the Interior established a ban on public transport for Roma for health reasons, which was a measure to prevent or restrict movement. He also ordered that each district office report the occurrence of typhus in the given district to all doctors as well as to the police and railway stations. They were subsequently to be entrusted with checking whether, in addition to a doctor's statement, the Roma passengers also had a travel permit from the relevant local authority. With this method, the Roma lost the possibility to use trains and buses and other means of public transport. Roma were also targeted by local ordinances that prohibited them from entering parks, public rooms, and shops; they also had a set time for entering villages and towns. Failure to comply with these regulations was punished by imprisonment and other methods.⁶

On July 7, 1944, the Ministry of Transport and Public Works issued a decree banning Roma from traveling by rail. The reason was a large epidemic in eastern Slovakia. It targeted all Roma without distinction.⁷

Also in July, the Minister of the Interior returned to the decree "On the adjustment of certain conditions of the Gypsies" and he supplemented his previous circular issued on July 21, 1943. From complaints and submissions, he learned the fact that some municipalities incorrectly applied his decree in practice. It was in the circular that he once again explained how the authorities should proceed when relocating Roma. At the end of the circular, the minister canceled the directives of September 2, 1942, which resulted in a competence dispute

¹ Nečas, 2006

² Nečas, 2004

³ Nečas, 1994

⁴ Janas, 2010

⁵ Nečas, 2006

⁶ Mann, 2015

⁷ Janas, 2010

with the MDVP. A day later, another circular was issued, which returned to the decree "On the adjustment of certain conditions of the Gypsies". The Minister of the Interior emphatically called on the subordinate authorities to strictly observe the already issued regulations that dealt with the collection of garbage by the Roma. Competent authorities were approached to radically prevent roaming and other indecencies of Gypsies.¹

On July 20, 1944, the Ministry of the Interior issued another ban - the removal of any ID card from Roma for garbage collection; implement a strict review of all occupations for the collection of raw materials and withdraw these permits from unreliable persons; to arrest begging and wandering Roma; organize anti-Roma raids. At the end, the decree strictly stated that in case of disrespect and improper obedience, there will be a consistent and strict control of the responsible official bodies. Under the impression of this threat, the district police station organized large-scale raids in the first week of August, during which all Roma who showed identification cards for the collection of raw materials were detained.² However, the decree was no longer applied because the central authorities of the Slovak Republic lost their power in the summer months.³

At the end of August 1944, German military forces entered Slovak territory. This happened with the approval of the Bratislava government and they started the occupation against which the Slovak army and partisan units rebelled. The insurgents controlled most of western and all of central Slovakia. Subsequently, however, they were forced to retreat to the mountains and switch to a partisan way of fighting. German forces then completed the occupation of the Slovak Republic. The German forces were assisted by units of the Hlinka Guard.⁴

After the invasion of the Slovak Republic, the Nazis did not differentiate between social and asocial Roma, and in that period there was a cancellation of work units for Roma. Only two camps were active – in Dubnica nad Váhom and Ústí nad Oravou. The last one was concluded on December 31, 1944 in Ústí nad Oravou. After the SNP and at the end of the Second World War, discrimination turned into brutal persecution. In practice, it was mainly implemented in the detention camp in Dubnica nad Váhom.⁵

A joint initiative of the Ministry of the Interior and the Economy was a response to the occurrence of nomadism under the pretext of collecting iron and textile waste. On October 7, 1944, they issued a special circular canceling all previous permits authorizing the collection of waste materials. On November 2, 1944, by order of the Ministry of National Defense, a detention camp for Roma was opened in Dubnice nad Váhom on the site of the former labor unit. The camp served for the forced concentration of Roma families, or members of the Roma minority regardless of age or gender. The first prisoners were the Roma members of the original unit, to whom the Roma and their families, detained in Trenčianská and in other counties, including the distant Šarišsko-Zemplínská county, were added relatively quickly. The period from the fall of 1944 to the spring of 1945 was characterized by the suppression of the SNP, the seizure of power by the Nazi army, and the murder of the Roma community throughout the territory of the Slovak Republic. It was mainly for three reasons - active participation in the uprising, support for resistance units, an increasingly open object of racial hatred. Many Roma actively participated in the SNP. However, after its suppression and the occupation of Slovakia by the German army, mass extermination of Roma occurred in several places, especially in central Slovakia.⁷

¹ Kráľovič, 2019

² Nečas, 1994

³ Janas, 2006

⁴ Nečas, 2004

⁵ Nečas, 2007

⁶ Janas, K. 2008. Organizačná štruktúra pracovných útvarov v rokoch 1941-1944. In. Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938 – 1945: Slovenská republika 1939 – 1945 očami mladých historikov VII. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa. 2008. ISBN 978-80-89335-05-4. St 329-341.

⁷ Nečas, 1994

Conclusion

The article in question aimed to analyze the persecution measures aimed at the Roma minority in the Slovak state, or in the Slovak Republic of the totalitarian state in the years 1939-1945. Based on the findings, it is appropriate to state that the persecution of the Roma community began already in the first year of the existence of the Slovak state. For this purpose, we have listed the most important persecution policies. An important tool during the persecution was the Regional Office in Bratislava, which played an important role in the process of persecution. In the same way, the adoption of the constitutional law on state citizenship was a fundamental element in the persecution of the Roma population, because it divided the Roma into foreign elements and citizens of the Slovak Republic. At the same time, the Roma had to fulfill certain requirements in order to acquire the citizenship of this state. The military law, which prohibited Roma from serving in the army, also played a key role. Instead, they were supposed to figure in working groups for different purposes. The martial law was followed by two government regulations, which also represented an adequate tool for persecuting the Roma. Other persecutory policies were: the decree of June 18, 1940, the decree of April 2, 1941, as well as of April 20, 1941. The decrees of May 28 and September 19, 1941, then of September 19, 1942, were also related to persecution. 21 July 1943, 13 June 1944, 7 July 1944, 20 July 1944, 7 October 1944.

The author believes that the persecution of the Roma was one of the chapters that this community had to endure. However, the Roma were not only persecuted during the wartime Slovak state, but also during the entire history when they were active in Europe. A certain relaxation occurred in the 19th century. The regime that came after the clerical-fascist Slovak state also carried out certain persecutions of the Roma not only in the territory of Slovakia. This chapter may be the subject of further research.

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**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
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**МЕЖДУНАРОДНО-ПРАВОВОЕ РЕГУЛИРОВАНИЕ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ ДЕТЕЙ
МИГРАНТОВ В ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНУЮ СРЕДУ. ОБЗОР НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ
ПРАКТИК**

**INTERNATIONAL LEGAL REGULATION OF INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS
CHILDREN INTO THE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. OVERVIEW OF
NATIONAL PRACTICES**

**REGLEMENTAREA LEGALĂ INTERNAȚIONALĂ DE INTEGRARE A COPILOR
MIGRANȚI ÎN MEDIUL EDUCAȚIONAL. PREZENTARE GENERALĂ A
PRACTICILOR NAȚIONALE**

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

**МЕЖДУНАРОДНО-ПРАВОВОЕ РЕГУЛИРОВАНИЕ ИНТЕГРАЦИИ ДЕТЕЙ
МИГРАНТОВ В ОБРАЗОВАТЕЛЬНУЮ СРЕДУ. ОБЗОР НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ ПРАКТИК**

В условиях современной миграционной ситуации все больше детей иностранных граждан сталкиваются с проблемами интеграции в образовательную среду страны пребывания. На универсальном международно-правовом уровне заложены основы правового положения иностранных граждан, в том числе, право на образование, однако процесс интеграции в образовательную среду остается вне его поля., что усложняет регулирование процесса. Среди прочих вызовов выделены барьеры в виде языкового пробела и неготовности образовательных организаций организовывать учебный процесс под потребности этой категории детей. В статье представлен анализ международно-правовых основ интеграции детей иностранных граждан в образовательную среду, а также практики регулирования процесса, оказывающие поддержку образовательным организациям и детям.

Ключевые слова: международное право, мигранты, вынужденно перемещённые лица, интеграция детей мигрантов, международно-правовое регулирование интеграции, интеграция в образовательную среду.

JEL Classification: K33; J13; I20

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ABSTRACT:

INTERNATIONAL LEGAL REGULATION OF INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS CHILDREN INTO THE EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT. OVERVIEW OF NATIONAL PRACTICES

As a result of the present migration situation, an increasing number of foreign-born youngsters struggle to integrate into the host nation's educational system. Although the universal international legal level has established the fundamentals of foreign residents' legal status, including their right to education, the process of integrating into the educational system is still outside its purview complicating the regulation of the process. Language problems and educational institutions' reluctance to modify the curriculum to accommodate this group of children's demands are additional challenges that are emphasized. The worldwide legal framework for integrating migrants' children into the educational system is analyzed in this study, along with state policies that assist educational institutions and children.

Key words: *international law, migrants, internally displaced persons, integration of migrant children, international legal regulation of integration, integration into the educational environment.*

JEL Classification: K33; J13; I20

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REZUMAT:

REGLEMENTAREA LEGALĂ INTERNAȚIONALĂ DE INTEGRARE A COPIILOR MIGRANȚI ÎN MEDIUL EDUCAȚIONAL. PREZENTARE GENERALĂ A PRACTICILOR NAȚIONALE

În condițiile situației migratorii contemporane, tot mai mulți copii ai cetățenilor străini se confruntă cu probleme de integrare în mediul educațional al țării gazdă. La nivel internațional universal, sunt stabilite bazele statutului juridic al cetățenilor străini, inclusiv dreptul la educație, însă procesul de integrare în mediul educațional rămâne în afara acestui domeniu, ceea ce complică reglementarea procesului. Printre alte provocări, sunt evidențiate barierele sub formă de dificultăți lingvistice și lipsa de pregătire a organizațiilor educaționale de a organiza procesul de învățare conform nevoilor acestei categorii de copii. În lucrare este prezentată analiza fundamentelor internaționale-juridice ale integrării copiilor cetățenilor străini în mediul educațional, precum și practicile naționale care oferă sprijin organizațiilor educaționale și copiilor.

Cuvinte cheie: *drept internațional, migranți, persoane strămutate în interior, integrarea copiilor migranți, reglementarea juridică internațională a integrării, integrarea în mediul educațional.*

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Введение

Согласно данным Международной организации миграции на 2020 год за пределами своей страны происхождения проживает 281 миллион человек, 26% из которых

являются международными мигрантами моложе 14 лет¹. Увеличение миграции семей с детьми школьного возраста вызывает значительные трудности как для иностранных граждан, так и для образовательных систем принимающих стран, несмотря на гарантию права на образование, зафиксированного в универсальных международных документах². В совместной брошюре Международной организации по миграции, Верховного комиссара Организации Объединенных Наций по делам беженцев, Международного фонда помощи детям Организации Объединенных Наций «Доступ к образованию для детей беженцев и мигрантов в Европе» 2019 года³ указано, что прослеживается разрыв в успеваемости между учащимися из числа местного населения и учащимися-детьми иностранных граждан. Дети сталкиваются с языковым барьером, сложностью учебных программ и социально-культурными различиями. Образовательные организации сталкиваются с нехваткой инклюзивных методов работы с такими детьми и недостатком квалифицированных специалистов. Вопрос международно-правового регулирования интеграции детей иностранных граждан в образовательную среду был исследован через анализ международно-правовых норм и подходов, а также национальных практик. Успешные примеры из практики различных государств могут послужить катализатором для разработки механизмов, направленных на урегулирование процессов интеграции как на международном региональном уровне с учетом специфики региона, так и на универсальном международном уровне.

Мировым сообществом образование признается одним из основных прав человека. Всеобщая декларация прав человека устанавливает право каждого на образование (ст. 26)⁴. Конвенция о борьбе с дискриминацией в области образования ЮНЕСКО 1962 г. гарантирует иностранным гражданам, проживающим на территории принимающих государств, такой же доступ к образованию, что и граждан государств пребывания (ст. 3)⁵. Международная конвенция о защите прав всех трудящихся-мигрантов и членов их семей ООН 1990 г. предоставляет иностранцам право на образование на основе равенства обращения с гражданами соответствующего государства (ст. 30)⁶. Более того, в п. 2 ст. 45 той же Конвенции гарантируется сотрудничество государства работы по найму с государствами происхождения лиц, направленное на вовлечение детей трудящихся-мигрантов в местную систему школьного обучения, особенно в отношении обучения их местному языку. Таким образом, ключевые универсальные международно-правовые документы создали однозначную основу права на образование мигрантов, заключающееся в обязательстве государств предоставлять каждому лицу, находящемуся на его территории, доступ к услугам и материальным ресурсам, необходимых для приобретения базовых школьных навыков. Кроме того, нашел отражение принцип недискриминации применительно к праву на образование, который отражается в его доступе вне зависимости от правового статуса и наличия документов⁷. Принцип

¹ Migration Data Portal. Total number of international migrants at mid-year 2020 [Online]: https://www.migrationdataportal.org/international-data?i=stock_abs_&t=2020. (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

² Manzoni C. How schools are integrating new migrant pupils and their families. National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 2017. 106. p.

³ International Organization for Migration, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations Children's Fund. Access to Education For Refugee and Migrant Children in Europe, 2019 [Online]: <https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/document/access-education-refugee-and-migrant-children-europe/> (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

⁴ Генеральная Ассамблея ООН. (1948). "Всеобщая декларация прав человека" (217 [III] А). Париж. [Online]: <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

⁵ Конвенция ЮНЕСКО о борьбе с дискриминацией в области образования 1962 г. [Online]: https://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/educat.shtml (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

⁶ Международная конвенция о защите прав всех трудящихся-мигрантов и членов их семей ООН 1990 г. [Online]: https://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/conventions/migrant.shtml (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

⁷ Киселева Екатерина Вячеславовна, Осипова Мария Николаевна Правозащитный подход к миграции на примере проблем реализации права на образование детьми-мигрантами без регистрации в РФ //

недискриминации распространяется на всех детей школьного возраста, проживающих в принимающей стране, вне зависимости от их гражданства и правового статуса. Это означает, что даже нелегальные мигранты, лица без документов имеют законное право требовать соблюдения своего права на образование, и государство обязано немедленно и безоговорочно удовлетворить это требование¹. Реализация этого права предполагает обеспечения равного доступа всех лиц к образовательным организациям.

В п. 23 Совместного замечания общего порядка № 3 (2017) Комитета по защите прав всех трудящихся-мигрантов и членов их семей и № 22 (2017) Комитета по правам ребенка об общих принципах, касающихся прав человека детей в контексте международной миграции², указано, что «государствам-участникам следует обеспечить интеграцию детей-мигрантов и их семей в жизнь принимающих стран путем эффективного осуществления их прав человека и обеспечения доступа к услугам наравне с гражданами самой страны», в частности путем обеспечения эффективного доступа к образованию. Это свидетельствует об озабоченности мирового сообщества вопросами интеграции иностранных граждан в принимающем государстве и необходимости реализовать конкретные меры поддержки.

В рамках специальных процедур Совета по правам человека ООН действуют специальный докладчик ООН по вопросу о праве на образование, благодаря деятельности которого была разработана система 4-A (availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability), согласно которой государства обязаны защищать и осуществлять право на образование, обеспечивая доступность, приемлемость и адаптируемость образования³. В докладе по вопросу о праве на образование 2021 года Специального докладчика по вопросу о праве на образование (2016-2022 гг.) доктора Кумбы Боли Барри указано, что для гарантии осуществления в полной мере права иностранных граждан на образование доступные и приемлемые образовательные программы должны быть адаптируемыми, то есть направленными на учет потребностей мигрантов⁴. Адаптируемость образовательной программы, как указано в разделе «D» доклада, заключается в содержании учебных программ, проведении языковой политики в школах, работе с кадрами образовательных организаций.

Каждый человек должен иметь право на образование, однако мигранты сталкиваются с рядом препятствий при попытке воспользоваться этим правом. Согласно исследованию по странам Организации экономического сотрудничества и развития, переселившиеся в другие государства граждане имеют в среднем худшие результаты, чем местное население в различных областях, включая образование⁵. Это может

Пробелы в российском законодательстве. 2016. №8. [Online]: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/pravozaschitnyy-podhod-k-migratsii-na-primere-problem-realizatsii-prava-na-obrazovanie-detmi-migrantami-bez-registratsii-v-rf> (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

¹ Tlepina S, Akshalova R., Ramazan A. International legal protection of the right to the education of migrant children. Л.Н. Гумилев атындағы Евразия ұлттық университетінің Хабаршысы. Құқық сериясы, 147(2), 2024. 78–88 p.

² UN Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (CMW), Joint general comment No. 3 (2017) of the Committee on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and No. 22 (2017) of the Committee on the Rights of the Child on the general principles regarding the human rights of children in the context of international migration, CMW/C/GC/3-CRC/C/GC/22, 16 November 2017. [Online]: <https://www.refworld.org/reference/research/cmw/2017/en/119187> (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

³ de Beco, G., Quinlivan, S., & Lord, J. E. (Eds.). In *The Right to Inclusive Education in International Human Rights Law*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. 96-11 pp.

⁴ General Assembly of the United Nations. Report of the Special Rapporteur on the right to education, Koumbou Boly Barry A/76/158 16 July 2021, [Online]: https://www.right-to-education.org/sites/right-to-education.org/files/resource-attachments/UN_Special%20Rapporteur_Right%20to%20Education_Right%20to%20Education%20of%20Migrants_A_76_158_E_October2021_EN.pdf. (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

⁵ Solano, G., Huddleston, T. *Migrant Integration Policy Index 2020*, Barcelona/ Brussels: CIDOB and MPG, 2020. 262 p. [Online]:

RMDIRI, 2025, Nr. 1 (Vol. 20) <https://rmdiri.md/>; <https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdiri>

интерпретироваться как признак сохраняющихся барьеров на пути эффективной интеграции иностранных граждан. Результаты интеграции зависят от многих факторов, включая страну происхождения, условия принимающего общества и уровень подготовки мигрантов¹.

Касательно миграционных процессов в Российской Федерации несмотря на то, что основной моделью миграции из стран постсоветского пространства является одиночная миграция, около 16% мигрантов приезжают в Россию вместе со своими семьями, включая несовершеннолетних детей². Причиной этому является намерение родителей-мигрантов обеспечить своих детей российским образованием³.

Освоение другого языка и социальных норм у детей особенно младшего возраста происходит неосознанно, а по мере взросления такое усвоение становится менее эффективно⁴. В связи с этим напрашивается вывод о том, что важно и целесообразно работать с детьми иностранных граждан.

Согласно п. 21 Указа Президента Российской Федерации «О Концепции государственной миграционной политики Российской Федерации на 2019- 2025 г.» одной из приоритетных задач миграционной политики в стране является содействие интеграции мигрантов⁵. Касательно процессов интеграции в социокультурное пространство страны для детей проводниками и агентами в первую очередь становятся образовательные организации. Однако стоит учитывать тот факт, что успешная интеграция мигрантов, заключающаяся в обеспечении основных прав, возможна при перенесении акцента государственного регулирования интеграции с федерального уровня на местное самоуправление⁶. Таким образом, на глобальном уровне достаточно обозначить направление политики регулирования, а на местном уровне – принимать соответствующие меры правового регулирования.

Вызовы перед образовательными организациями

Рассмотрим некоторые барьеры, препятствующие процессам интеграции детей иностранных граждан в образовательных организациях. Среди сложностей восприятия образовательных программ детьми педагоги указывают на языковой барьер⁷. В документе, подготовленном Азиатско-Тихоокеанским многоязычным сообществом по заказу ЮНЕСКО, отмечено, что учителя принимающей страны часто не готовы обучать детей-мигрантов и вынужденно перемещенных лиц в силу незнания исторических и

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/347436763_Migrant_Integration_Policy_Index_2020/comments.

(Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

¹ Report by Eurostat Indicators of immigrant Integration: A Pilot Study. European Union, 2011 <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-statistical-working-papers/-/ks-ra-11-009>

² Мукомель В.И., Григорьева К.С., Монусова Г.А. [и др.]. Адаптация и интеграция мигрантов в России: вызовы, реалии, индикаторы : [монография] отв. ред. В. И. Мукомель, К. С. Григорьева ; ФНИСЦ РАН. – М. : ФНИСЦ РАН, 2022. – 400 с. DOI: 10.19181/monogr.978-5-89697-407-9.2022 (с. 253)

³ Там же, с. 254.

⁴ Касенова Н.Н., Мусатова О.В., Джурабаева Г.К. [и др.]. Работа с детьми мигрантов в образовательных организациях : учебно-методическое пособие /; М-во науки и высшего образования Российской Федерации, Новосиб. гос. пед. ун-т, Новосиб. регион. общ. орг. «Узбекско-русский национально-культурный центр». – Новосибирск: Изд-во НГПУ, 2020. – 198 с.

⁵ Указ Президента РФ от 31 октября 2018 г. N 622 "О Концепции государственной миграционной политики Российской Федерации на 2019 - 2025 годы" (с изменениями и дополнениями) <https://base.garant.ru/72092260/>

⁶ Смидович Г.С. О необходимости законодательного регулирования, локализации и индивидуального подхода к интеграции мигрантов // Миграционное право. 2020. № 4. С. 11-15. DOI: 10.18572/2071-1182-2020-4-11-15.

⁷ Мукомель Владимир Изявич Особенности адаптации и интеграции детей мигрантов - представителей «Полуторного поколения» // Известия Иркутского государственного университета. Серия: Политология. Религиоведение. 2013. №2-2. [Online]: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/osobennosti-adaptatsii-i-integratsii-detey-migrantov-predstaviteley-polutornogo-pokoleniya> (дата обращения: 22.11.2024).

политических обстоятельств миграции учащегося¹. Среди прочих вызовов также выделяется неосведомленность специалистами этнических и культурных различий между различными группами мигрантов и принимающей культурой.

Отсутствие разграничения понятий «мигрант» и «вынужденно перемещенное лицо» приводит к тому, что разные категории рассматриваются как одна однородная группа. Это может привести к отсутствию соответствующей контексту подготовки учителей для учащихся-детей иностранных граждан. В документе также обращается особое внимание на предоставление доступа к образованию для детей, переживших внутригосударственный конфликт². В таких случаях образовательные организации могут помочь в процессе восстановления эмоционального состояния ребенка, поскольку образовательный процесс становится формой адаптации. Более того, отмечается, что вынужденно перемещенные дети сталкиваются с барьерами на пути к доступу на получение образования, включая, например, отсутствие обязательных для приема в школы документов, недостаточное владение языком принимающей страны.

Практики государств

Международным правом гарантируется доступ к образованию в международных универсальных документах, государства призываются обеспечивать реализацию этого права. На региональном уровне правовые рамки также закрепляют право на образование, а также определяют соответствующую политику интеграции детей иностранных граждан, учитывая региональные особенности. На примере Европейского Союза и его государств-членов отчетливо виден курс по применению интеграционных мер, направленных в отношении детей иностранных граждан.

На уровне Европейского союза подчеркивается значимость равного доступа к инклюзивному и качественному образованию для детей-иммигрантов, что подтверждается такими документами, как Сообщение о защите детей в условиях миграции 2017 года и Рекомендация Совета о продвижении общих ценностей и инклюзивного образования 2018 года.³ Документы акцентируют внимание на то, что образование является ключевым фактором для интеграции, однако на практике многие дети иностранных граждан сталкиваются с серьезными препятствиями, такими как недостаточное знание языка, социальная сегрегация⁴. Эти проблемы усугубляются миграционным кризисом, последствием которого стала подача 236 000 ходатайств о предоставлении убежища от лиц моложе 18 лет в 2022 году, что составило 25% от всех соискателей убежища в ЕС⁵.

В 2018 году Исполнительное агентство по образованию и культуре Европейской Комиссии разработало документ «Интеграция учащихся из числа мигрантов в систему образования и профессиональной подготовки в школах Европы. Национальная политика и меры»⁶, в котором рассматриваются лучшие практики – меры, принимаемые государствами-членами Европейского Союза, направленные на интеграцию детей иностранных граждан в школах принимающих государств. В документе отмечается, что

¹ United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Approaches to Language in Education for Migrants and Refugees in the Asia-Pacific Region, 2020. 40 p. [Online]: <https://gcedclearinghouse.org/sites/default/files/resources/200326eng.pdf> (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

² Там же, с. 11.

³ Гаева А.С. Основные направления политики интеграции детей-иммигрантов из третьих стран в сфере школьного образования: инструменты и практики стран ЕС // Вопросы этнополитики. 2019. № 3. С. 113–121.

⁴ Там же, с. 114.

⁵ European Statistical Office. Migration and asylum in Europe – 2023 edition [Online]: <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/interactive-publications/migration-2023>. (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

⁶ European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice. Integrating Students from Migrant Backgrounds into Schools in Europe: National Policies and Measures. Eurydice Report. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2019. 196 p. [Online]: <https://eurydice.eacea.ec.europa.eu/publications/integrating-students-migrant-backgrounds-schools-europe-national-policies-and-measures>. (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

наличие детей-мигрантов в образовательных организациях привело к принятию специальных образовательных мер, ориентированных на этих детей.

В образовательных учреждениях Финляндии нередко осуществляется обучение на языках, на которых говорят дети, что рассматривается как способ содействия развитию плюрилингвизма среди всех обучающихся¹. В странах Западной Европы образовательными организациями часто принимаются специальные меры из-за большого количества детей-мигрантов, отводя время на обучение языку и культуре страны происхождения. Такой подход часто осуществляется в сотрудничестве с направляющими странами, в частности, Бельгия, Франция, Германия, Люксембург и Испания заключили с государствами отправления мигрантов двусторонние соглашения об обучении языку происхождения детей иностранных граждан².

В документе Европейской Комиссии отмечено, что в таких странах, как Франция, Италия, Австрия, Португалия и Словения, особое внимание уделяется компетенциям преподавателей, которые работают с детьми иностранных граждан³. Страны проводят мероприятия по повышению компетентности кадров в удовлетворении не только академических, но и социально-эмоциональных потребностей учащихся из числа мигрантов, а также в области межкультурного образования.

В образовательных организациях Испании введена должность ассистента преподавателя, который помогает иностранным учащимся интегрироваться в принимающее сообщество. Эти специалисты вносят свой вклад в удовлетворение потребностей учащихся-мигрантов, включая их академическую успеваемость, а также их социальное и эмоциональное благополучие⁴.

Шведское законодательство предусматривает право детей, включая детей иммигрантов и беженцев, в возрасте от 6 до 16 лет посещать школу⁵. Несмотря на существующее право детей мигрантов посещать занятия, проводимые на их родном языке, классы для таких занятий создаются при наличии пяти или более носителей одного и того же языка⁶. Закон об образовании Швеции (Skollag (2010:800)) 2010 г.⁷, а также дополнение к нему (Skolförordning (2011:185)) 2011 г.⁸ содержат положения об освоении учебных программ на родном языке. Так, в соответствии с главой 9 дополнения к Закону обучающимся предоставляется возможность развивать как английский, так и свой родной язык, а также, если учащийся говорит на другом языке, кроме английского, которым он пользуется ежедневно, школа может в некоторых случаях организовать преподавание на этом языке.

В обозреваемом документе Европейской Комиссии также отмечается роль Министерства национального образования Франции, ведущего политику по облегчению интеграции детей иммигрантов во французскую образовательную систему, нацеленную на разработку комплекса мероприятий по работе с иммигрантской

¹ Там же, с. 21.

² Jacobs D. The International Integration of Migrants. What Is the Role of Sending Society Actors and Is There a Transnational Educational Field? INTERACT RR 2013/03, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, FI: European University Institute, 2013. 17 p. [Online]: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/353822242_The_Educational_integration_of_migrants_What_is_the_role_of_sending_society_actors_and_is_there_a_transnational_educational_field (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

³ European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, Указ. соч., с. 24.

⁴ Там же, с. 24.

⁵ Butenko, V., Chekmazov, A. Sweden's immigrant integration policy: the role of language. *Przegląd europejski*, 2020(4), 133-137. <https://doi.org/10.31338/1641-2478pe.4.20.10>.

⁶ Там же, с. 135.

⁷ Закон о шведском школьном образовании 2010:800 от 23.06.2010 г. [Online]: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-lagar/dokument/svenskforfattningssamling/skollag-2010800_sfs-2010-800 (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

⁸ Регламент о школьном образовании 2011:185 от 24.02.2011 г. [Online]: https://www.riksdagen.se/sv/dokument-och-lagar/dokument/svensk-forfattningssamling/skolforordning-2011185_sfs-2011-185/ (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

молодёжью¹. Во Франции разработана многоуровневая система, которая основывается на наличии рекомендаций для педагогов, психологов и других специалистов, занимающихся изучением проблем интеграции иммигрантской молодёжи в образовательную среду принимающего государства, созданы специальные классы дифференцированного обучения для детей иммигрантов, а их семьям оказывается правовая поддержка и финансовая помощь. Более того, вопросы доступа к образованию и включения детей иностранных граждан в образовательную среду Франции освещены в Порядке зачисления иностранных учащихся с иностранным гражданством.

В соответствии со ст. 36 Закона Итальянской Республики №40 от 6 марта 1998 года о положении иностранцев, которые находятся на территории Италии, применяются все действующие положения, касающиеся права на образование, доступа к образовательным услугам, участия в жизни школьного сообщества². Однако барьеры при интеграции детей всё равно имеются, включая незнание итальянского языка, и именно школы совместно с университетами разрабатывают специальные курсы для детей, а также пособия для учителей для работы с такими школьниками, их родителями, учитывая различные культурные и религиозные особенности³.

Заключение

На международном уровне в универсальных документах обозначено лишь прямое право лиц на образование. Однако тенденция разработки совместных замечаний общего порядка, а также документов и комментариев представителей универсальных международных организаций свидетельствуют об озабоченности мирового сообщества вопросами интеграции детей иностранных граждан в принимающих странах.

Изучая практику регулирования интеграции на международном региональном уровне, можно отметить, что государства-члены самостоятельно управляют процессами интеграции мигрантов. Это особенно актуально для европейских стран, где миграционный кризис вызвал множество последствий как для самих мигрантов, так и для принимающего общества. Государства-члены вынуждены принимать специальные образовательные меры, учитывая потребности детей, направленные на гармоничное погружение детей мигрантов в новую для них среду. Такие меры охватывают не только непосредственное взаимодействие со школьниками, но и проведение работы с педагогическим составом.

Реализация национальных практик свидетельствует о потребности в правовом регулировании вопросов интеграции детей иностранных граждан в образовательную среду, характеризующимся инклюзивным подходом, направленным на конкретные потребности детей и возможности образовательных организаций. В связи с этим представляется целесообразным установить базовое направление международно-правового регулирования процессов интеграции детей иностранных граждан, которое позволит государствам самостоятельно определять конкретные меры.

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¹ European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, Указ. соч., с. 60

² Закон Итальянской Республики от 6 марта 1998 года №40 «Об упорядочении иммиграции и положении иностранцев» [Online]: <https://www.normattiva.it/uri-res/N2Ls?urn:nir:stato:legge:1998:40> (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

³ Омельченко Елена Александровна Образование детей международных мигрантов как вклад в устойчивое развитие? // Вестник РУДН. Серия: Международные отношения. 2019. №2. [Online]: <https://cyberleninka.ru/article/n/obrazovanie-detey-mezhdunarodnyh-migrantov-kak-vklad-v-ustoychivoe-razvitiye> (Дата посещения: 21.11.2024).

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**TRIBUNA TÎNĂRULUI CERCETĂTOR
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**MEDIA AS ARCHITECTS OF PUBLIC OPINION:
THEIR IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND POLITICS**

**SURSELE MEDIA CA ARHITECȚI AI OPINIEI PUBLICE:
IMPACTUL LOR ASUPRA SOCIETĂȚII ȘI POLITICII**

**СМИ КАК АРХИТЕКТОРЫ ОБЩЕСТВЕННОГО МНЕНИЯ:
ИХ ВЛИЯНИЕ НА ОБЩЕСТВО И ПОЛИТИКУ**

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ABSTRACT:

**MEDIA AS ARCHITECTS OF PUBLIC OPINION:
THEIR IMPACT ON SOCIETY AND POLITICS**

The media are an indispensable component of the modern information environment, profoundly shaping our perceptions of the world as well as our opinions and attitudes. This paper examines the media's role as a critical tool in the processes of communication, public opinion formation, and political discourse. It provides a foundational theoretical framework for understanding the significance of the media in contemporary society, while exploring how media influence the public image of politicians within the political arena.

Keywords: media, media influence, public opinion, political discourse, public image of politicians.

JEL Classification: D83; F50; J38

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REZUMAT:

**SURSELE MEDIA CA ARHITECȚI AI OPINIEI PUBLICE:
IMPACTUL LOR ASUPRA SOCIETĂȚII ȘI POLITICII**

Mass-media este o componentă indispensabilă a mediului informațional modern, modelând profund percepțiile noastre despre lume, precum și opiniile și atitudinile noastre. Această lucrare examinează rolul mass-media ca instrument critic în procesele de comunicare, formarea opiniei publice și discursul politic. Acesta oferă un cadru teoretic fundamental pentru înțelegerea

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semnificației mass-media în societatea contemporană, în timp ce explorează modul în care media influențează imaginea publică a politicienilor în arena politică.

Cuvinte cheie: mass-media, influența mass-media, opinia publică, discursul politic, imaginea publică a politicienilor

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РЕЗЮМЕ:

**СМИ КАК АРХИТЕКТОРЫ ОБЩЕСТВЕННОГО МНЕНИЯ:
ИХ ВЛИЯНИЕ НА ОБЩЕСТВО И ПОЛИТИКУ**

Средства массовой информации являются незаменимым компонентом современной информационной среды, глубоко формируя наше восприятие мира, а также наши мнения и отношения. В данной статье рассматривается роль СМИ как важнейшего инструмента в процессах коммуникации, формирования общественного мнения и политического дискурса. Он обеспечивает фундаментальную теоретическую основу для понимания значения средств массовой информации в современном обществе, а также исследует, как средства массовой информации влияют на общественный имидж политиков на политической арене.

Ключевые слова: СМИ, влияние СМИ, общественное мнение, политический дискурс, публичный имидж политиков.

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Introduction

In today's modern society, the media play a crucial role in shaping public opinion and influencing political processes. Their capacity to deliver real-time information and create discourse on both national and global levels makes them a powerful tool in constructing how individuals perceive and interpret societal events. The media not only disseminate information but also actively shape public opinions, attitudes, and decisions, positioning themselves as integral players in the political process. Their influence is particularly evident in how they present politicians and political issues, directly impacting voters' perceptions and behaviors.

The aim of this article is to analyze the media's influence on the political sphere and broader society, focusing on identifying the mechanisms through which media shape public discourse. Special attention is given to how media narratives influence the understanding of political issues and figures, and how such influence may strengthen democratic processes or, conversely, contribute to their potential disintegration. Here, "disintegration" refers to the erosion of democratic processes and societal consensus, which are essential for the proper functioning of democracy.

The media have the power to reinforce democratic values, such as pluralism of opinions and informed decision-making, yet they can also undermine them. When misinformation is disseminated, polarizing narratives are propagated, or public discussions are manipulated, trust in institutions declines, society fragments, and the capacity for constructive dialogue is lost. This erosion of democratic foundations can have far-reaching consequences for political stability and societal cohesion. Therefore, this article seeks to identify these mechanisms and highlight the importance of critical media literacy and responsible media conduct in the democratic system.

1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The impact of media on public opinion and politics has been extensively studied, with various authors contributing to the understanding of this complex issue from distinct perspectives. This article reviews selected works that are critical to comprehending the topic, drawing upon academic publications, conference papers, case studies, and expert articles to provide a broader contextual understanding.

One of the most cited scholars in this area is Robert M. Entman, whose work *Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm* (1993) emphasizes the importance of framing in shaping public opinion. According to Entman, "framing" involves the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of reality by the media, influencing how events are perceived and interpreted by the public. His work serves as a foundational framework for understanding how media shape political communication.

Similarly, the article *The Framing of Politics as Strategy and Game: A Review of Concepts, Operationalizations and Key Findings* (2011) by Aalberg, Strömbäck, and De Vreese examines the phenomenon of "strategic framing," where politics is portrayed as a competition or game. The authors highlight that this approach fosters public cynicism towards politics by prioritizing dramatic conflicts over substantive discussions. Their findings are instrumental in understanding how media coverage impacts trust in political institutions.

In Slovakia, Dana Petranová's book *Persuasion and Media* (2013) explores persuasive techniques employed by the media to influence audience behavior and opinions. Petranová underscores the significant role media play in shaping societal consensus, often underestimated in its magnitude. Her work sheds light on the psychological and communicative strategies underlying media manipulation.

The influence of media on families and society in the context of the information age is analyzed by Burgerová and Piskura in their article *Multimedia and Media in the Context of Families Living in the Information Society* (2021). They address the risks associated with digitalization and multimedia consumption, including dependence on information technologies, and raise questions about how media may disrupt traditional family values and relationships.

Rastislav Tóth's article *The Political Role of Mass Media* (2018) examines how media act as active participants in political systems. According to Tóth, mass media no longer merely mediate information but increasingly shape political agendas and voter behavior, illustrating the blurred lines between journalism and political activism.

Notable contributions also include Jürgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (2006), which analyzes changes in the conditions of the public sphere critical to understanding media communication. Habermas argues that mass media play a crucial role in forming the public sphere and shaping political discourse, thereby influencing democratic decision-making.

Hallin and Mancini's *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics* (2004) compares media systems and their impact on politics across different countries, showing how political and historical contexts shape media's role in public opinion and communication.

Noam Chomsky, in *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* (1997), warns against the manipulative techniques used by mass media to control public opinion.

Chomsky stresses that media often serve as instruments for disseminating ideologies and propaganda benefiting the powerful.

Daniel Kahneman's *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (2011) provides insights into the psychological mechanisms affecting how individuals process information and form opinions, which directly influence how media messages are received and impact political decisions.

The seminal work by Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* (1955), investigates media's indirect impact on political behavior and the role of opinion leaders. The authors argue that media influence is mediated through opinion leaders, whose selection and emphasis of information significantly shape public opinion.

Walter Lippmann's *Public Opinion* (1922) asserts that media shape public opinion by constructing images of the world that audiences accept. Lippmann's work laid the groundwork for understanding mass communication and its impact on political decision-making.

While not all publications are included in this review, the authors highlighted here strive to unravel the complex and dynamic interactions between media, the public, and political processes. Their work reflects efforts to analyze both the nature of media influence and the mechanisms through which it impacts societal processes, values, and behavior. Common to their research is an effort to reveal the hidden connections between media strategies and political power, focusing on uncovering the manipulative techniques that shape individual and collective opinions and actions.

These contributions also raise the issue of media responsibility as conveyors of information and their impact on the quality of democratic processes. Works like those by Entman and Tóth demonstrate that media today are not merely neutral intermediaries but active creators of political and societal frameworks, influencing beyond the traditional boundaries of journalism. This underscores the importance of critical thinking and media literacy as essential skills for modern citizens, who are exposed to overwhelming information flows daily.

The current literature highlights the necessity of an interdisciplinary approach that combines theoretical insights from communication, sociology, psychology, and political science with practical recommendations for policymakers and journalists. Such an approach is essential to addressing the challenges posed by the digital age, including misinformation, media manipulation, and strategic framing. Ultimately, these studies emphasize that understanding media mechanisms is not merely an academic interest but a prerequisite for reinforcing democratic values and protecting societal discourse from distortion and polarization.

2 THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION ON SOCIETY AND POLITICS ACCORDING TO PIPPA NORRIS

In her book *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Society*, author Pippa Norris explores the relationship between politics, media, and the public sphere in the context of post-industrial societies. Norris investigates how political communication has transformed due to digital technologies and new media, which today play a key role in the dissemination of information and the shaping of public discourse. She focuses on the dynamics that emerge between the media and political institutions, and how this relationship influences public opinion and citizen political participation. Norris argues that in post-

industrial societies, where media and new technologies are increasingly central to political life, a so-called "virtuous circle" emerges between political communication and engaged citizenship. According to Norris, this cycle contributes to the fact that high-quality political communication encourages active and informed citizenship, which, in turn, enhances political culture and public debate. However, Norris does not only examine the positive aspects of this interaction. She also highlights the challenges posed by the misuse of media in the political context. The sheer volume of information disseminated through various media can lead to the polarization of public discourse and influence citizens' political decision-making. The relationship between media and politics, therefore, can also become a source of tension and societal polarization. Norris analyzes how different types of media (traditional and digital) affect political participation and civic engagement. While traditional media can serve as tools for informing the public, digital technologies can create new platforms for civic engagement, but they also facilitate the spread of misinformation and the manipulation of public opinion. In her work, Norris illustrates that there exists a reciprocal cycle between media, politics, and the public that can either support democratic stability and increase political engagement or contribute to eroding trust in political institutions and create a polarized public. This complex relationship between media and politics is crucial for understanding the current challenges and opportunities faced by post-industrial societies (Norris, 2000).

3 Media as a pillar of the modern information environment

The current form of society is shaped by the digital and information environment, where media play a crucial role in the creation of the so-called information society. The development of media technologies, which began with the invention of the telegraph and film, shows how media tools have continuously evolved and significantly contributed to changing the way we perceive and interact with the world. In the context of modern technologies, such as smartphones, computers, and information-communication systems, media have become an inseparable part of everyday life. Technological progress, including advancements in virtual reality (such as the Sensorama device), not only demonstrates the speed of technological change but also its profound impact on society. This progress allows media to continuously expand their capacity for the transmission and distribution of information. Various forms of media, from smartphones to printers to multifunctional devices, enable more efficient integration and accessibility of information to a wide range of users. This increases the availability of information, which is perceived as one of the most valuable commodities in today's information society. Access to information affects not only individuals but also broader economic and social processes, contributing to the advancement of society as a whole (Burgerová – Piskura, 2021).

3.1 Habermas and the Transformation of the Public Sphere

This technological progress and media development not only change the way information is distributed but also shape the process of public discourse itself, a subject closely examined by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (2006). Habermas looks at the historical development of the public sphere, which was once a place where citizens discussed societal issues and formed political opinions. However, as Habermas points out, over time the public sphere has transformed, primarily due to the commercialization and politicization of the media. The traditional model of public discussion has been replaced by a system where media increasingly reflect the interests of political and economic elites, which limits citizens' opportunities for free and equal exchange of opinions. In this way, Habermas highlights that modern media, which should serve as tools for shaping public opinion, have increasingly become instruments for manipulating the public and controlling public discourse (Habermas, 2006).

3.2 Media and Public Discourse in the Context of Media Systems

This process described by Habermas can be better understood through the framework presented by Hallin and Mancini (2004) in *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Their findings identify three main models of media systems—liberal, democratic-corporatist, and polarized pluralist—that illustrate how media are not only tools for spreading information but also active players in shaping public discourse and political processes. These models emphasize that media in different cultural and historical contexts affect how society interacts with information and how public opinion is formed. For example, the liberal model, typical of Anglo-Saxon countries, emphasizes the independence of media and their market orientation, which supports diversity of opinion. The democratic-corporatist model, common in Scandinavian countries, favors cooperation between public and private media and regulation to ensure balance. On the other hand, the polarized pluralist model, often found in Southern European countries, shows how media can be closely linked with political ideologies. Connecting these findings to the role of media as a pillar of the modern information environment emphasizes their adaptability across different societal systems. As intermediaries of information and creators of public discourse, media significantly influence not only communication but also the dynamics of social, economic, and political processes in an information society. This complex perspective helps to better understand the indispensable role of media in creating modern communication structures (Hallin – Mancini, 2004).

4 THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEDIA ON SOCIETY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATION

Communication has undergone significant development, which can be divided into three main stages: from oral and interactive expression, through written and printed forms, to the current electronic exchange of information. Communication tools have become an inseparable part of everyday life, influencing not only our behavior but also cultural perceptions and social structures. The term "media" encompasses a wide range of mass communication tools, such as the press, radio, television, and online platforms, all of which have a significant impact on shaping public opinion and organizing society. The system of these information channels, which integrates the activities of various means, has a profound effect on the thought and behavioral patterns of the population and is closely tied to the public interest. Media tools thus become a decisive factor in creating social discourses and responses to current socio-political events. Communication technologies can be divided into two main types: secondary tools, such as writing, mail, and the telephone, which allow for expanded communication between individuals, and tertiary channels, such as print and broadcasting, which serve to disseminate information on a mass scale and address wide groups of people. Modern forms of communication, which combine the characteristics of these two types, such as social platforms, increase accessibility to information and promote interaction between users and media (Volková, 2020).

A significant example from Slovak politics that illustrates the impact of social media on public opinion is Igor Matovič's political campaign and his OĽaNO movement before the 2020 parliamentary elections. Matovič relied heavily on the Facebook platform, where, through regular posts, videos, and live broadcasts, he communicated directly with voters, gaining popularity and directly addressing various social groups. Matovič used Facebook not only as an information channel but also as a tool for criticizing political opponents and presenting his own views and solutions. His online activity had a significant impact on public discourse and gained considerable attention, contributing to his political success. Through direct communication with voters on social networks, he managed to bypass traditional media, giving him greater control over his message and image. Matovič often communicated

in an authentic and direct manner, which helped him connect with voters who felt ignored by traditional political elites.

This example clearly illustrates how social platforms allow politicians to gain direct contact with voters and create their own media space outside of traditional communication channels. They enable immediate reactions to current issues and the mobilization of support in real time. Igor Matovič's campaign on Facebook was one of the key factors that helped him win the 2020 elections, where the OLaNO movement received the most votes and subsequently formed a government.

Despite the rise of social media, traditional channels such as print, radio, and television continue to maintain their important role in shaping public opinion. These media adapt to new technologies and societal changes, while still playing a key role in disseminating reliable information and maintaining public dialogue. The media system, as a complex and dynamic whole that continuously adapts to technological innovations and social changes, has a fundamental impact on society's behavior and its cultural values.

5 SPOTLIGHT: HOW THE MEDIA SHAPE POLITICS

The mass media have become a key factor in political life, having a significant influence on decision-making within state institutions and shaping public opinion. Their ability to determine which issues are important plays a crucial role, as they decide which topics deserve attention. Without their media visibility, many problems and individuals could remain unnoticed. The mass media have the power to bring less popular topics to the forefront and present technical matters in a way that the broader public can understand. Furthermore, they can influence political events and draw attention to regional politicians, transforming them into significant figures on the national or international stage. Citizens often obtain information and opinions through various media, such as newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and the internet, with politicians having limited direct access to the public. Mass media serve as a bridge between the political sphere and citizens, with the public having learned to trust the media more than political institutions. In this way, the media influence political processes, shape the values recognized in society, and determine the importance of individual political decisions. The media also have the power to create and strengthen political personalities. If the media ignore new politicians, these individuals have little chance of gaining wider recognition or success. On the other hand, if the media continuously expose certain politicians to the public, they can help them achieve high political positions with minimal effort. A prominent example is Václav Havel, who became a key figure in the revolutionary events in Czechoslovakia, thanks to his media presence. In Slovakia, the media supported regional politician Rudolf Schuster from Košice, helping him become the most prominent candidate in the 1999 presidential elections. In this way, the media influenced the political environment and reduced competition from other parties during the pre-election period, creating favorable conditions for this candidate (Tóth, 2018).

In conclusion, the mass media play a crucial role in political life and have a significant impact on shaping public opinion and the decision-making of state institutions. Their ability to set the agenda and bring less popular issues to the forefront allows them to influence political processes and help create political figures, as demonstrated by the examples of Václav Havel and Rudolf Schuster. In this way, the media can reduce competition between candidates and create favorable conditions for certain personalities. Therefore, it is essential for citizens to approach information critically and be aware of the potential manipulative aspects of the media in the political sphere.

6 MEDIA AND MANIPULATION: HOW THEY INFLUENCE OUR OPINIONS AND DECISIONS

Mass media play a pivotal role in society and politics, with their influence manifesting in several important areas. Primarily, they shape public opinion and influence citizens' views. Their communication is aimed at understanding the needs and concerns of viewers, thereby gaining their trust. In this way, they form the public's opinions on various political issues and events. Media organizations employ sophisticated persuasive methods to achieve long-term influence over viewers without direct coercion. These approaches create an empathetic relationship with the audience, enabling them to effectively manipulate content and discourses relevant to the public. Today, the media strive to engage viewers in content creation, strengthening their sense of involvement and recognition. This interactivity enhances the relevance of the media and their impact on politics. Mass media also shape the image of the world, which may appear stable and realistic, yet can sometimes be artificially constructed. Modern commercial media seek to legitimize their existence and justify their approach to presenting reality, influencing the perception of important societal issues and events. Furthermore, the media can highlight political actors and issues, shifting them from marginal topics to the center of attention. This process can have a significant impact on political decision-making and competition. Overall, mass media play a key role in shaping political and social discourses, which has broad consequences for the functioning of democracy and public life (Petranová - Vrabc, 2013).

A specific example of media influence can be seen in the media coverage of anti-government protests in Slovakia in 2023. The protests, which expressed citizens' dissatisfaction with political decisions, became the subject of extensive media attention. The media used various persuasive techniques to create an empathetic connection between the public and the protesters, presenting the protests as a legitimate form of civil discontent through personal stories and emotionally charged content. Additionally, the media played a crucial role in shaping the public image of political actors who supported the protests. This media discourse moved political figures from peripheral positions to wider public awareness, influencing the political dynamics and public agenda. The interactivity of the media, especially through social networks, allowed the public to react to news and engage in political discussions, further enhancing the media's influence on shaping public opinion. This example shows how the media can not only inform but also shape and manipulate political discourses, influencing public decision-making.

Manipulation primarily occurs through selective information choices, withholding certain facts, or exaggerating others, altering context, and evoking specific emotional or cognitive effects. In the case of the media coverage of the 2023 anti-government protests in Slovakia, some media outlets may have favored a narrative that supported the protests, presenting only one side of the issue. Such behavior could lead to the polarization of society and reinforce biases against opposing viewpoints. Manipulative techniques, such as emotionally charged language, dramatization, or selective footage from the protests, can promote a one-sided understanding of the situation and create an image that aligns more with the media's agenda than with reality. Furthermore, through algorithms on social networks, these manipulative effects could be further amplified, as users received content tailored to their preferences, thus strengthening the so-called echo chamber effect, where they are only exposed to opinions that reinforce their existing beliefs. This aspect highlights the dual nature of media influence—while they have the potential to support democratic processes, they can also contribute to the distortion of public discourse and manipulate the public if their practices are unethical or aligned with specific political or economic interests (Kahneman, 2011).

This phenomenon of manipulative media influence closely relates to the concept introduced by Walter Lippmann in his book *Public Opinion* (1922). Lippmann developed the idea of the so-called pseudo-environment, which arises when the public does not perceive actual reality directly but through a media-constructed image of the world. Given individuals' limited capacity to process complex information about global events, the media act as a filtering and organizing mechanism that presents the public with a simplified version of reality. This constructed reality significantly influences the perception of political and societal issues, provoking specific emotional reactions and shaping societal views. The pseudo-environment becomes a tool of power, as selective event coverage and framing of issues often serve specific interests, distorting public discourse and manipulating collective decision-making. An example of this is when the media, through dramatization or exaggeration of a particular event, create the impression of its absolute priority, even though, in a broader context, it might not be as significant. This process has profound consequences for democratic processes, as the media not only reflect but also actively co-create social reality (Lippmann, 1922).

The media not only inform but often play an active role in shaping and manipulating public opinion. Noam Chomsky, in his publication *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda* (1997), explains how mass media function as tools of propaganda. According to Chomsky, the media often serve to "manufacture consent," meaning they promote dominant narratives that legitimize the decisions of political and economic elites. This process includes selective reporting, event framing, and manipulating the public through sophisticated communication techniques. Chomsky warns about the risk of citizen passivity in democracies, where the media create the illusion of free choice and objective information, yet in reality, they simplify or distort reality to suit the interests of powerful institutions. Emotionally charged news, dramatization, or fact selection can lead to the polarization of society and suppress critical thinking. This manipulative influence can significantly disrupt democratic discourse by reinforcing only those perspectives that align with elite interests. These findings underscore that the media not only reflect societal reality but actively construct it. Therefore, it is essential for citizens to approach media content critically in order to effectively engage in democratic processes (Chomsky, 1997).

6.1 The Influence of Media on Opinions and Decisions: Research by Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld

The research by Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld in *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications* explores how mass media and interpersonal communication influence political opinions and decisions. The authors emphasize the role of opinion leaders who have a decisive influence on spreading media information among the public. This process creates a two-step communication model, where media first influence leaders, who then impact the wider public. Katz and Lazarsfeld show that media do not influence individuals directly, but through personal interactions where opinion leaders filter and interpret information. This mechanism allows for the manipulation of public opinion, as the views and stances of leaders can shape how media messages are perceived and used in decision-making. The research suggests that opinion leaders play a key role in shaping public opinion, which can be a powerful tool of manipulation, especially in a political context where mass media influence voter decisions and political stances (Katz - Lazarsfeld, 1955).

7 FRAMING IN POLITICAL COMMUNICATION: POWER, DISCOURSE, AND THE INFLUENCE ON PUBLIC OPINION

Framing in political news plays a fundamental role in how politics is presented and perceived. These frames are designed to focus attention on specific aspects of reality while leaving other aspects hidden, which can provoke various reactions from readers. Today, politicians are forced to compete with journalists for control over the framing of news, which has a significant impact on political power. Frames in newspaper articles reflect the power and identity of those who seek to dominate the media discourse. In many cases, the stories may align at one level of framing but diverge at other levels, meaning that they may share a unified perspective on certain issues, while differing in interpretations or suggested solutions. This framing process is particularly important in political discourse because it determines which issues and perspectives dominate the media space and which are suppressed. Such frames can influence public understanding of specific political events and reactions by creating different interpretations based on the selection and presentation of information. To better understand this mechanism, one could look at the example from the period before the Iraq War, where U.S. media often framed the debate over Iraq policy in only two possibilities: war or sanctions. Other, more moderate alternatives, such as negotiations, were marginalized or completely ignored in the public discussion. This framing process significantly influenced the public discourse because the wider public was exposed only to a limited selection of options presented by the media. Criticism that did not fit into the framework of war or sanctions was ignored, severely limiting the breadth of political debate. This example shows how media can shape public opinion by preventing the development of broader or alternative discourses. Framing thus creates a power dynamic that not only determines what is the subject of public discourse but also shapes how the public perceives these issues and what political decisions are considered acceptable (Entman, 1993).

In his book *Mass Communication Theory*, McQuail (2010) argues that the media are not just a tool for informing the public but also a powerful instrument that can shape public opinion in alignment with political and economic interests. According to McQuail, the media influence which topics and perspectives enter public discourse, which in turn has a decisive impact on political processes and societal values. He emphasizes that the media can be used to support dominant ideologies that reflect the power structures of society, often to the benefit of a particular elite. This influence can be used to manipulate public discourse and influence political decisions, thereby strengthening the power of those who control the media (McQuail, 2010).

8 POLITICS IN THE MEDIA: THE GAME OF POWER AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION

The concept of framing politics plays a crucial role in understanding how the media and politicians depict political events. This approach focuses on the power dynamics that develop between politicians and the media, emphasizing who gains the advantage and who suffers a loss. It concentrates on political campaigns and the tactics applied within them, which leads to politics being presented as a competition or game, diverting attention away from the main political issues and problems that should be the focus of discussion. Several factors contribute to the popularity of this approach. Various studies suggest that the media often prefer to depict politics as a strategic game, which can evoke feelings of distrust and cynicism towards the political system among citizens. Journalists strive to expose the tactics and strategies used by politicians to maintain their independence and objectivity. Today, political campaigns are increasingly complex, and journalists feel obliged to analyze the strategies employed. Although framing politics as a strategic game can provide valuable insights, it also has negative consequences. It can distract attention from real political issues and lead to a

decrease in political engagement among citizens. Many experts argue that this approach reduces the amount of political information available to the public. On the other hand, there are opinions suggesting that focusing on the strategic aspects of politics can increase public interest in political events and stimulate political discussions. Overall, the way the media frames political events is significant because it can profoundly influence how citizens understand and engage in the political process (Aalberg et al., 2011).

Vliegthart and Walgrave (2008) in their study on the influence of the media on political agenda-setting show that the relationship between media coverage and political decision-making is cyclical. This means that the media not only influence the political agenda, but political decisions can also determine what the media will cover. In this way, there is mutual reinforcement between the media and political actors. According to their research, media content often predetermines which topics become public issues, while political decisions can adjust how these topics are presented in the media. This process strengthens the influence of the media on public discourse and increases their ability to shape public perception of important political and social issues. Their research further shows that this cyclical process is not a one-time event but occurs in a dynamic relationship between politics and the media, where both sides continuously influence and shape the public agenda. This can lead to greater public interest in political issues but also to selected preferences that do not reflect the full spectrum of political problems, with some topics receiving more attention than others. These findings indicate that the media have a strong influence on political decision-making and on which issues become important in the eyes of the public (Vliegthart - Walgrave, 2008).

Conclusion

Based on the research into the influence of the media on society and politics, we have arrived at several important conclusions. Today, the digital and informational environment plays a key role in shaping our lives, with the media becoming an integral part of daily communication and interaction. The historical development of media technologies demonstrates how our modes of communication have evolved — from oral expression to print and, eventually, to today's online platforms.

We have found that access to information is currently one of the most valuable commodities, affecting not only individuals but also economic processes and societal progress. New forms of communication, such as social media, have radically transformed how we share and receive information, directly impacting public opinion and political processes. Mass media have the power to influence the formation of public opinion and political decision-making. Their ability to determine which issues are important is crucial because it influences how citizens perceive political events. Our observations suggest that the media act as intermediaries between the political sphere and the public, with citizens increasingly trusting the media more than political institutions.

We are also aware of the risks of media manipulation, which can distort our perceptions and narrow the discourse to certain topics. The framing applied by the media in presenting political events can deeply impact public understanding and evaluation of those events. This process demonstrates how the media can amplify certain politicians and issues while others remain unnoticed.

In conclusion, we can state that the media play a critical role in the functioning of democracy and the shaping of public life. Our views on the role of the media in politics should be informed and critical so that we can better understand the complexity of the media environment and its impact on our decision-making and behavior in society. It is important to be aware of these mechanisms and critically assess the content we consume. Ultimately, we should support media outlets that focus on providing quality, objective, and factual reporting, as this will contribute to improving democratic dialogue and citizen engagement in the political process.

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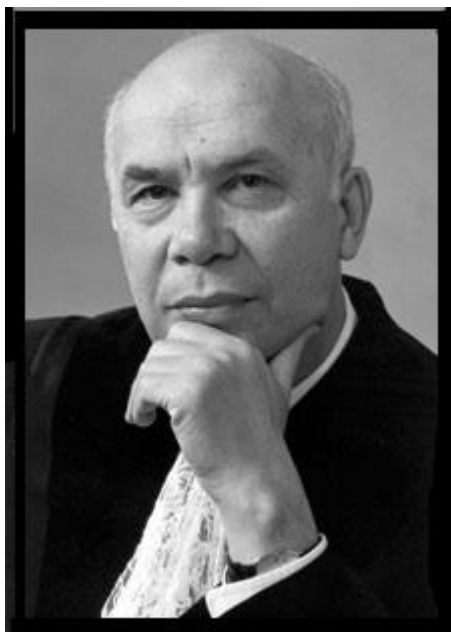
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NECROLOG



Vladlen S. VERESHCHETIN

La Moscova, la vârsta de 92 de ani, a decedat **Vladlen S. Vereshchetin** (8 ianuarie 1932, Bryansk — 7 august 2024, Moscova) — jurist sovietic și rus, specialist în dreptul internațional public și problemele juridice ale explorării spațiului cosmic; doctor habilitat în drept (1976); profesor la Departamentul de Drept Internațional al Universității Ruse de Prietenie a Popoarelor „Patrice Lumumba” (RUDN, 1982); profesor de drept internațional la Facultatea de Drept a Universității din Akron, SUA (1991); membru al Curții Permanente de Arbitraj de la Haga (1984—1995).

În 1992—1994, Vladlen S. Vereshchetin a fost membru al Comisiei ONU pentru Drept Internațional, iar în ultimul an a condus această comisie. Apoi, din 1995 până în 2006, a fost judecător la Curtea Internațională de Justiție de la Haga; din 2012, arbitru în dreptul spațiului cosmic la Curtea Permanentă de Arbitraj a ONU (Haga).

În 1985—1997, Vladlen S. Vereshchetin a fost vicepreședinte al Asociației Sovietice de Drept Internațional (în prezent — Asociația Rusă de Drept Internațional), iar în 1984—1997 — a fost vicepreședinte al Asociației Sovietice pentru Națiunile Unite (în prezent — Asociația Rusă pentru Națiunile Unite).

Între 1978 și 1995 a fost vicepreședinte al Institutului Internațional de Drept Spațial, iar în 1995 a devenit directorul onorific al acestuia (Paris, Franța). În 1977, a devenit membru cu drepturi depline al Academiei Internaționale de Astronautică (SUA), din 2006 – membru străin al Academiei Bulgare de Științe.

Vladlen Vereshchetin este autorul și coautorul a peste o sută șaiszeci de lucrări științifice care acoperă diverse domenii ale dreptului internațional. S-a specializat în dreptul internațional al spațiului cosmic, problemele de justiție internațională și o serie de probleme în teoria dreptului internațional.

A fost membru al comitetului editorial al revistei «Russian Law Journal», membru al comitetului editorial al revistei «European Journal of International Law» și, de asemenea, a editat revista americană — „Journal of Space Law” și revista chineză „Chinese Journal of International Law”.

În anii 2013-2024 a fost membru al consiliului editorial al revistei «Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale».

Chipul lui Vladlen S. Vereshchetin va rămâne în inimile tuturor celor care l-au cunoscut.

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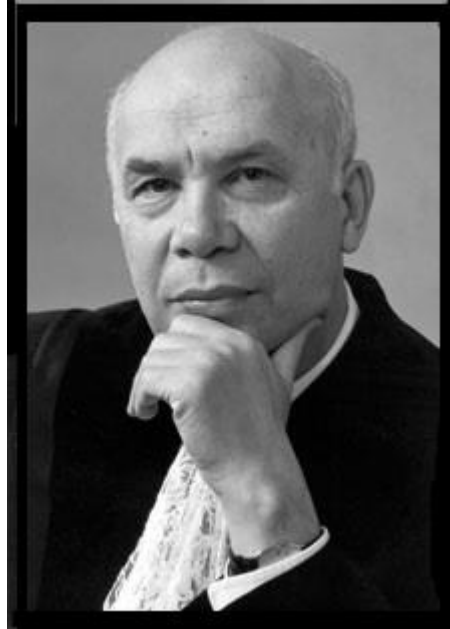
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OBITUARY



Vladlen S. VERESHCHETIN

In Moscow, on August 7, 2024, at the age of 92, Vladleuk Stepanovich Vereshchetin died (January 8, 1932, Bryansk — August 7, 2024, Moscow) — Soviet and Russian lawyer, specialist in international law and legal problems of space exploration; Doctor of Law (1976); Professor at the Department of International Law of RUDN University (1982); Professor of International Law at the School of Law at the University of Akron, USA (1991); member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague (1984—1995). In 1992—1994, Vereshchetin was a member of the UN Commission on International Law, and in the last year he also headed this commission. Then, from 1995 to 2006, he was a judge at the International Court of Justice in The Hague; Since 2012, – space law arbitrator of the Permanent Court of Arbitration (d. The Hague).

In 1985—1997, Vereshchetin served as vice-president of the Soviet Association of International Law (then — Russian Association of International Law), and in 1984—1997 — was vice-president of the Soviet Association for the United Nations (then — Russian Association for the United Nations). Between 1978 and 1995 he was vice-president of the International Institute of Space Law; in 1995 he became its honorary director (Paris, France). In 1977, he became a full member of the International Astronautical Academy (USA). Since 2006 – foreign member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

Vladlen Vereshchetin is the author and co-author of more than one hundred and sixty scientific papers covering various areas of international law; he specialized in international space law, problems of international justice and a number of issues in the theory of international law.

He was a member of the editorial board of the «Russian Law Journal», a member of the editorial board of the «European Journal of International Law», and also edited the American

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In 2013-2024 - member of the editorial board of the «Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations».

The memory of Vladlen S. Vereshchetin will long remain in the hearts of all those who knew him.

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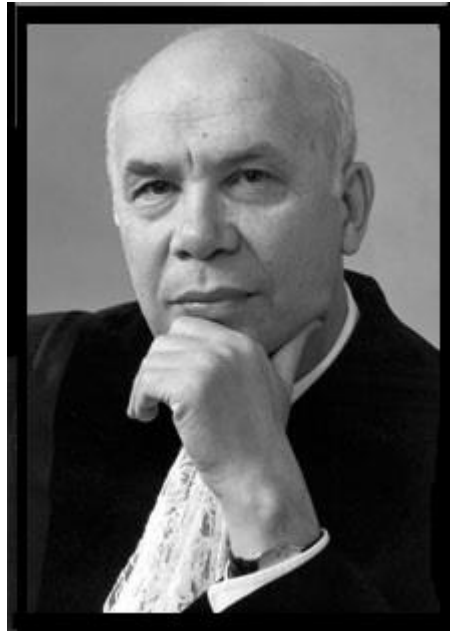
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НЕКРОЛОГ



Владлен Степанович ВЕРЕЩЕТИН

В Москве 7 августа 2024 на 92-м году жизни скончался **Владлен Степанович Верещетин** (8 января 1932, Брянск — 7 августа 2024, Москва) — советский и российский юрист, специалист по международному праву и правовым проблемам освоения космоса; доктор юридических наук (1976); профессор на кафедре международного права РУДН (1982); профессор международного права Школы права в университете Акрона, США (1991); член Постоянной палаты третейского суда в Гааге (1984—1995).

В 1992—1994 годах Верещетин входил в Комиссию ООН по международному праву, а в последний год также и возглавлял данную комиссию. Затем, в период с 1995 по 2006 год, он являлся судьёй Международного суда ООН в Гааге; с 2012 г. — арбитр по космическому праву Постоянной Палаты третейского суда (г. Гаага).

В 1985—1997 годах Верещетин занимал пост вице-президента Советской ассоциации международного права (затем — Российская ассоциация международного права), а в 1984—1997 годах — являлся вице-президентом Советской ассоциации содействия ООН (затем — Российская ассоциация содействия ООН). Между 1978 и 1995 годом он был вице-президентом Международного института космического права; в 1995 году стал его почетным директором (Париж, Франция). В 1977 году стал действительным член Международной астронавтической академии (США). С 2006 г. — иностранный член Болгарской Академии наук.

Владлен Верещетин является автором и соавтором более ста шестидесяти научных работ, затрагивающих различные сферы международного права: он специализировался на международном космическом праве, на проблемах международного правосудия и на ряде вопросов теории международного права.

Являлся членом редакционного совета «Российского юридического журнала», членом редсовета «European Journal of International Law», а также — редактировал американский журнал «Journal of Space Law» и китайский журнал «Chinese Journal of International Law».

В 2013-2024 гг. - член редакционного совета журнала «Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений».

Память о Владлэне Степáновиче Верещэтинe надолго останется в сердцах всех тех, кто его знал.

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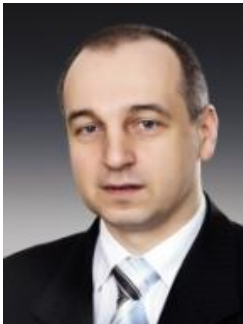
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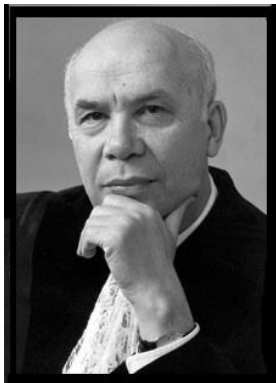
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**RUBRICA REVISTEI
OUR JOURNAL
О НАШЕМ ЖУРНАЛЕ**

CERINȚELE

**privind condițiile de prezentare a manuscriselor pentru publicare în
„Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale”**

Revista teoretico-științifică „Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale” acceptă pentru publicare articole în limbile moldovenească (română), rusă, engleză, spaniolă, franceză, germană (la discreția autorului), care conțin rezultate inedite ale cercetărilor efectuate și care sunt ajustate la „Cerințele privind condițiile de prezentare a manuscriselor articolelor”.

Consiliul Redacțional acceptă manuscrisul articolului pentru publicare în corespundere cu profilurile ediției („drept” și „științe politice”), cu un volum nu mai mult de 20 de pagini, inclusiv figuri și tabele. Manuscrisul ar trebui să conțină doar materiale originale, efectuat la un înalt nivel științific, reflectând rezultatele cercetării efectuate de către autor, obținute cu cel mult un an înainte de publicare, și care conține un element clar privitor la inovația științifică a cercetării și propria contribuție a autorului. Sunt acceptate pentru publicare materialele care anterior nu au fost publicate în alte ediții și nu au fost destinate pentru publicarea simultană în diverse ediții. Articolele sunt expuse recenzării obligatorii, în conformitate cu *Anexa 3*. Pentru doctoranzi (competitori) este obligatorie recenzarea articolelor de către conducătorul științific. Pot fi publicate doar articolele care au primit recenzii pozitive.

Cerințele menționate mai sus se aplică tuturor materialelor trimise pentru publicare în adresa revistei. Consiliul Redacțional are dreptul de a nu accepta publicarea materialelor în caz de: a) nerespectarea cerințele privind condițiile de prezentare a manuscriselor articolelor; b) plagiat; c) conținutul articolului este neadecvat cu profilurile revistei.

În cazurile când nu sunt respectate cerințele redacția are dreptul să nu examineze manuscrisul. Consiliul Redacțional își rezervă dreptul de a reduce volumul articolului prezentat (dacă este necesar), expunându-l în versiunea redacției (introducând modificări redacționale, care nu schimbă sensul general al articolului prezentat de autor). Formulările și prezentarea materialelor în articolele publicate nu reprezintă întotdeauna poziția revistei și nu angajează în nici un fel redacția. Aceste materiale se publică în ordine de discuție, în scopul asigurării posibilității de a expune diverse opinii. Responsabilitatea asupra conținutului articolelor, selecției și preciziei faptelor și informației citate revine în exclusivitate autorilor. În același număr al revistei poate fi publicat doar un singur articol al unui autor.

Numărul de autori al unui articol nu poate fi mai mare de două persoane. Autorul (ii) trimite redacției 2 exemplare originale a articolului (semnate de autor) în imprimare pe hârtie și trimite articolul în format electronic prin e-mail la adresa: alexandruburian@yahoo.com, alexandruburian@mail.ru

Volumul articolului nu trebuie să depășească 1,5 c.a. dactilografiate pe hârtie, format A4 (60 de mii de caractere, sau 16-20 de pagini de text), inclusiv figuri, tăblițe, referințe și scheme. Atunci când se plasează referințe bibliografice în limba engleză este necesar de indicat denumirea oficială a surselor (revistelor) în limba engleză.

Pentru a plasa un articol în Revistă este necesar de prezentat următoarele documente: cerere, informațiile despre autor (ia), articolul, fotografia autorului (autorilor) în format JPG, adnotare (abstract, rezumat) în trei limbi (română, rusă și engleză) într-un volum de 100 de cuvinte, cuvinte-cheie (5-7 cuvinte). Adnotarea nu trebuie să conțină referiri la literatura citată, tabele și figuri.

Informația despre autor (i) conține următoarele date: numele, prenumele, patronimicul autorului (autorilor), locul de muncă, funcția, titlul științific, gradul științific, adresa poștală, adresa electronică și numărul de telefon. Numele autorului (autorilor) ar trebui să fie listate sub titlul articolului, în dreapta.

Cerințele tehnice pentru perfectarea manuscrisul pentru publicare:

Titlul articolului nu trebuie să depășească trei linii. Titlul ar trebui să fi dat numai cu majuscule (Times New Roman 16) și centrat. Sursele literare utilizate în articol trebuie prezentate într-o singură listă la sfârșitul textului (bibliografie), în conformitate cu **Anexa 2**. Referirile la literatura de specialitate menționate în text sunt obligatorii, trebuie să fie plasate în partea de jos a fiecărei pagini a textului și necesită să fie perfectate în conformitate cu **Anexa 1**. Referirile la sursele externe sunt prezentate într-o limbă străină și sunt urmate, în cazul traducerii în română și rusă, cu indicație privitor la traducere. Numerotarea referirilor la sursele literare este dată în ordinea menționată în text. Trimiteri la lucrări nepublicate nu sunt permise. Lista bibliografică (de la sfârșitul textului) este dată în ordine alfabetică în funcție de prima literă a prenumelui autorului (autorilor).

Acronimele și abrevierile trebuie să fie descifrate la prima mențiune în textul articolului. În textele în limba română, engleză, franceză, spaniolă și germană se utilizează ghilimele germane („”), în textele în limba rusă se utilizează ghilimelele franceze (« »).

Parametrii paginii:

Documentul trebuie salvat în MS Word, formatul de pagină A 4, marginile paginii: sus și jos - 2 cm, dreapta - 1,5 cm, stânga - 3 cm, Font - Times New Roman; Dimensiune font - 12, spațiere - 1,5. Aliniere pe lățime, un spațiu la stânga - 1,5. Numerotarea paginilor este consecutivă, secvențială, în partea de jos a paginii, pe centru.

Redactarea textului:

Despărțirea manuală în silabe a cuvintelor (transferul din rând în rând) este inacceptabilă. Figurile și tabelele trebuie să fie numerotate, să aibă denumire, legendă și subiect. Titlurile lor și trebuie să fie prezentate în text după alineatul care conține un link de referință la ele.

Exemplarele autorului:

Fiecare autor al articolului obține doar un număr al revistei, indiferent de numărul de autori.

Consiliul Redacțional

Anexa 1

Exemple de referințe bibliografice:

Referințele (citatele) de la sfârșitul fiecărei pagini trebuie să conțină semnele de punctuație și să urmeze aceleași reguli ca și plasarea lor în descrierea bibliografică.

Dacă textul nu este citat de o sursa originală, dar de un alt document, atunci se utilizează următoarele cuvinte la început de referință: citat de: (citând sursele împrumutate):

Exemplu:	Citat de: Dumitru Mazilu. Drept diplomatic. București: Editura Lumina Lex, 2003, p. 115. Citat de: Alexandru Burian. Drept diplomatic și consular. Chișinău: Editura ARC, 2003, p. 154.
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La amenajarea secvențială a referințelor (citatelor) primare și repetate se utilizează termenul "Ibid." sau ("Ibidem"):

Referință primară	Jeffrey Mankoff. Politicii externe Ruse: întoarcerea unei Mari Puteri în politică. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, p. 217.
Referință repetată	Ibid., p. 47 sau Ibidem., p. 47.

La amenajarea nesecvențială a referințelor (citatelor) primare și repetate, când referințele urmează nu concomitent una după alta, se utilizează termenul *Op. cit.* (opus citato) și este prezentat folosind caractere cursive:

Referință primară	Jeffrey Mankoff. Politicii externe Ruse: întoarcerea unei Mari Puteri în politică. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, p. 217.
Referință repetată	Jeffrey Mankoff. <i>Op. cit.</i> , p. 65.

Anexa 2

Exemple de „Listă bibliografică” (bibliografie):

Lista bibliografică este plasată după textul articolului cu titulatura „Bibliografie”. Toate link-urile din listă sunt numerotate secvențial și sunt aranjate în ordine alfabetică.

Descrierea unei cărți cu un singur autor:

Exemplu	Jeffrey Mankoff. Politicii externe Ruse: întoarcerea de mare putere politica. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009. XII + 359 p.
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Descrierea unei cărți cu trei sau mai mulți autori:

Exemplu	David G. Victor... [et al.]. Gaze naturale și geopolitică: din 1970 pînă în 2040. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. xxv + 508 p.
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Descrierea unui articol publicat într-o revistă:

Este necesar de a indica numele autorului articolului, denumirea articolului, denumirea revistei, anul, numărul ediției sau volumul, numărul paginei de la începutul și sfârșitul articolului.

Exemplu	Serghei Lavrov. Rusia și lumea în secolul XXI. În: Rusia în afacerile globale. Iulie-septembrie 2008, Vol. 6, nr. 3, p. 8 - 18.
---------	---

Descrierea unei teze de doctorat:

Exemplu	Vladislav Boiko. Securitatea energetică în contextul globalizării. Teză de doctor în științe politice. Moscova, 2012. 250 p.
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Descrierea unui autoreferat a tezei de doctorat:

Exemplu	Yuri Jukov. Centrismul politic în Rusia. Autoreferatul tezei... candidat în științe politice. Sankt-Petersburg, 2012. 24 p.
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Descrierea publicațiilor științifice electronice:

Pentru surse de electronice, trebuie să specificați practic aceleași informații ca pentru reviste: autorul, titlul, numele site-ului (sau secțiune a site-ului) și URL-ul. Articolul ar trebui să conțină noțiunea [Online]; informații la data de partajare pe rețeaua electronică (după fraza „Vizitat la:” indica data, luna și anul): (Vizitat la: 03.02.2012).

Exemplu	Burian Alexandru, Gurin Corina. Procesul decizional în politica externă și influența lui asupra negocierilor. În: Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale. 2011, nr. 4, p. 39 - 55. [Online]: http://www.rmdiri.md/pdf/RMDIRI20114.p.df/ . (Vizitat la: 07.09.2012).
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REGULAMENTUL
cu privire la recenzarea articolelor științifice în
„Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale”

1. Articole științifice primite de redacția *Revistei Moldovenești de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale* trec prin Instituția de recenzare.

„Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale” a adoptat un sistem de patru niveluri de recenzare a articolelor și materialelor prezentate spre publicare:

Primul nivel – recenzarea de către Redactorul-șef (*main editor peer review*);

Al doilea nivel - recenzie de „nivel deschis” (*open peer review* - autorul și recenzentul se cunosc reciproc) – recenzia este transmisă la redacție de către autor;

Al treilea nivel - recenzie de nivel „orb-unilateral” (*single-blind* – recenzentul știe despre autor, autorul - nu);

Al patrulea nivel - recenzie de nivel „orb-dublu” (*double-blind* - atât recenzentul, cât și autorul, nu știu unul despre altul).

2. Fiecare articol științific necesită să aibă recenzii:

- deschise: *primul nivel* – recenzia (decizia) redactorului-șef; *al doilea nivel* - recenzia unui recenzent oficial, specialist în domeniu (doctor sau doctor habilitat);

- confidențiale (oarbe): *al treilea nivel* – recenzia redactorului științific sau a unui membru al consiliului redacțional sau al colegiului de redacție; *al patrulea nivel* – la decizia consiliului redacțional și recenzentul poate fi doar din exterior.

3. Toate articolele științifice, primite de Consiliul redacțional al revistei, sunt supuse obligatoriu recenzării „orb-dublu” (*double-blind* - atât recenzentul, cât și autorul, nu știu unul despre altul). Această recenzare este efectuată de către experți externi din baza de date de experți (recenzori) ai revistei, la solicitarea Consiliului redacțional.

4. Analizând recenziile, redacția evaluează prezența în articole a elementelor de actualitate a problemei științifice pe care autorul pretinde să o soluționeze. Recenzia necesită să descrie în mod clar valoarea teoretică sau aplicativă a investigației, și să coreleze constatările autorului cu conceptele științifice existente. Un element de bază al recenziei ar trebui să fie aprecierea de către recenzent a contribuției personale a autorului articolului la soluționarea problemei. Este necesar de a menționa în recenzie corespunderea stilului, logicii și nivelului de accesibilitate a expunerii științifice a materialului de către autor, precum și un aviz privind fiabilitatea și valabilitatea concluziilor.

5. După primirea recenziilor, redacția analizează articolele prezentate și adoptă decizia finală, în baza unei evaluări complete, privitor la publicarea sau ne-publicarea articolelor. În baza deciziei adoptate autorului i se comunică, prin e-mail sau poștă, informația cu privire la evaluarea articolului și decizia adoptată. În cazul că se refuză de a publica articolul, recenziții rămân anonimi.

6. Colegiul de redacție își rezervă dreptul de a trimite articolul la o recenzie suplimentară externă anonimă (*double-blind*). Redactor-șef, în asemenea caz, trimite recenzentului o scrisoare în care solicită recenzarea, atașând la scrisoare articolul și modelul conform căruia se recomandă de a efectua recenzia.

7. Prezența recenziilor pozitive nu este un motiv suficient pentru publicarea articolului. Decizia finală privitor la publicarea articolului este adoptată de consiliul redacțional.

8. În cazul în care există o critică substanțială din partea recenzentului, însă articolul, la general, este evaluat pozitiv, consiliul redacțional poate aprecia articolul ca polemic și poate decide de a-l publica în rubrica „Tribuna discuțională”.

9. Originalele recenziilor sunt păstrate la „Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale”.

**RUBRICA REVISTEI
OUR JOURNAL
О НАШЕМ ЖУРНАЛЕ**

**REQUIREMENTS
to papers for publication in the
„Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”**

„Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations” being a scientific-theoretical journal admits for publication articles in Moldovan (Romanian), Russian, English, Spanish, French, German (optional author) languages, containing the results of original research, designed in accordance with the „Requirements for the articles”.

An Editorial Board of the „Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”, accept manuscript for publication corresponding to the edition profiles, no more than 20 pages, including figures and tables. The manuscript should contain only original material, performed at a high academic level, reflecting the author's research results, completed no more than one year before publication, and containing a clear element of creation of a new knowledge. The materials which earlier were not published and have been not intended to the simultaneous publication in other editions for printing are accepted. Articles are exposed to obligatory reviewing, in accordance with the *Appendix 3*. For post-graduate students (competitors) the review of the supervisor of studies is obligatory. We print only articles which have received only positive reviews.

The rules mentioned above apply to all the material sent to the journal for publication. The Editorial Board has the right not to accept materials to the publication in a case of: a) non-compliance of the paper with the requirements for its publication; b) plagiarism; c) inappropriate content of the presented paper to the journal profiles.

In cases when the requirements are not respected the editorial board has the right not to examine the manuscript. The editors reserve the right to reduce the volume of the article (if it is necessary), exposing it to editorial revision, make editorial (which do not change the general sense) changes in the author's original. Editors can publish materials without sharing author's opinion (in order of discussion). Authors are responsible for the selection and accuracy of the facts, quotes, and other information. Journal will only publish one article per author in each volume of the issue.

The number of authors should not be more than two people. Author (s) sent to the editor two copies of the article (signed by the author both in print and electronic form and send the article in electronic form by e-mail at: alexandruburian@yahoo.com , alexandruburian@mail.ru

The paper shouldn't exceed 1,5 printer's sheet of the typewritten text of format A4 (60 thousand characters, or 16-20 pages of text), including tables, list of references and drawings (schemes). At drafting of bibliographic references in English it is necessary to specify official English-speaking names of journals.

In order to place an article in the journal you should present following documents: an application, information about the author (s), an article, one author (s) photograph in JPG form, annotation provided (abstract) in three languages (Romanian, Russian and English) in a volume of 100 words, Keywords (5 - 7 words). Abstract should not contain references to the quoted literature, tables and figures.

Information about the author (s) contains: author's name, affiliation, post a scientific degree, an academic status, mailing address, e-mail address and telephone number Author's name should be listed under the article's title on the right.

Technical requirements to registration of the manuscript for the publication:

Title of the article should not exceed three lines. The title should be given only in capital letters (Times New Roman 16) and centred. Literary sources used in the paper should be submitted in one list at the end (bibliography). Bibliographical list is presented after the text item in accordance with *RMDIRI, 2025, Nr. 1 (Vol. 20)* <https://rmdir.md/> ; <https://www.usem.md/md/p/rmdir>

the *Appendix 2*. Footnotes to the literature mentioned in the text are mandatory and must be prepared in the bottom of the page in accordance with the *Appendix 1*. References to the foreign sources are given in a foreign language and are followed in the case of translation into Romanian and Russian indication of the translation. The numbering of the sources is given in the order mentioned in the text. References to unpublished works are not permitted. The bibliography is given in alphabetic order according to the first letter of authors surnames. Acronyms and abbreviations should be deciphered in a place of the first mention in the text. In text presented in Romanian, English, French, German or Spanish language, German inverted commas („pads”) should be used; in text presented in Russian language the French inverted commas («fur-trees») are used.

Page Setup:

The document must be saved in MS Word, A 4 page format, page margins: top and bottom - 2 cm, right - 1.5 cm, left - 3 cm Font - Times New Roman; font size - 12, line spacing - 1,5. Alignment on width, a space at the left - 1,5. Numbering of pages is through, in the bottom of the page, on the centre.

Text drafting:

Using of manual transfer (manual hyphenation) is unacceptable. Figures and tables should have a caption and subject headings and should be presented in the text after the paragraph containing a link to them.

Author's copies:

Each author obtains only one issue of the journal, regardless of the number of authors.

The Editorial Board

Appendix 1

Example of bibliographic footnotes:

Punctuation and prescribed punctuation in citations should follow the same rules as their placement in the bibliographic description.

If the text is not cited by the original source, but by another document, then following words are used: in the beginning of the reference: *Quoted by*, with a reference to the citing sources of borrowed text:

Example:	Quoted by: Ernst Gabriel Frankel. Oil and Security A World Beyond Petroleum. The Netherlands: Springer, 2007, p. 115.
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«Ibid.» or (Ibidem) are used in the sequential arrangement of primary and repeated references.

<i>Primary</i>	Jeffrey Mankoff. Russian foreign policy: the return of great power politics. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, p. 21.
<i>Repeated</i>	Ibid., p. 47.

Op. cit. (opus citato) is used in repeated footnotes containing item to the same document without following the primary reference and is presented using italics.

<i>Primary</i>	Jeffrey Mankoff. Russian foreign policy: the return of great power politics. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, p. 217.
<i>Repeated</i>	Jeffrey Mankoff. <i>Op. cit.</i> , p. 65.

Examples of a bibliography:

Bibliographical list is placed after the text article and is supplied after the notion „Bibliography”. All links in the list are numbered sequentially and are arranged in alphabetical order.

Book with one author:

Example	Jeffrey Mankoff. Russian foreign policy: the return of great power politics. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009. xii + 359 p.
---------	--

Book with three and more authors:

Example	David G. Victor ... [et al.]. Natural gas and geopolitics: from 1970 to 2040. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press Cambridge University Press, 2006. xxv + 508 p.
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The paper from the journal:

Article from a journal should contain following description - author (s), article title, journal name, year, and page number of the beginning and of the end of the article.

Example	Sergei Lavrov. Russia and the World in the 21 st Century. In: Russia in global affairs. July-September 2008, Vol. 6, nr. 3, p. 8 – 18.
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Dissertation

Example	Vladislav Boiko. Energy security in the context of globalization. Political Science Dissertation. Moscow, 2012. 250 p.
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A dissertation synopsis:

Example	Yuri Jukov E.H. Political centrism in Russia. Dissertation synopsis ... candidate in political science. Saint Petersburg, 2012. 24 p.
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Description of the electronic scientific publications:

For electronic sources, you need to specify practically the same information as for journals: author, title, name of the site (or section of the website) and the URL. The item should contain the notion [Online]; information on the date of the electronic network share (after „Visited on:” indicate the date, month and year): (Visited on: 03.02.2012) is used in referring to the e-resource e-mail address.

Example	Chietigi Bajpae. China’s Quest for Energy Security. In: Power and Interest News Report. February 25, 2005. [Online]: http://www.pinr.com/ . (Visited on: 07.09.2011).
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PROVISION
about the reviewing of scientific articles in
„Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”

1. Scientific papers received to the Editorial office of „Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”, pass through peer review process.

„Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations” comprises a four-level system of peer review articles:

1st level – reviewing by the editor (main editor peer review);

2nd level – an open peer review (the author and the reviewer know each other) – a review is submitted to the editor by the author;

3rd level - one-sided i.e. „blind” peer review (single-blind - the reviewer knows the author, but the author - doesn't know the reviewer);

4th level – double-blind peer review (neither reviewer nor author know about each other).

2. Each scientific article must be accompanied by a review:

– Open: 1st level – a review (conclusion) of the editor; 2nd level – a review of official reviewer, specialist of appropriate scientific profile (doctorate or PhD);

– Closed (blind): 3rd level – a review done by a scientific editor or a member of the editorial board; 4th level - a review done by the decision of the editorial board and only external.

3. All scientific articles, received by the Editorial Board of our journal are subject to mandatory review by bilateral double-blind („double-blind” - the reviewer does not know who the author of the article is, the author does not know who the reviewer is). This review is carried out by external experts from the expert database of experts (reviewers), at the request of the Editorial Board.

4. An editorial board, making the evaluation of reviews, draws attention to the relevance of the scientific problem to be solved by the author. The Review should clearly describe the theoretical or applied significance of the study; correlate the author's conclusions to existing scientific concepts. An essential element of the review should be the assessment a personal contribution to the solution of the issue by the reviewer. Correspondence to the style, logics and the availability of the narration to the scientific nature of the material and obtaining of the conclusions about the reliability and validity of the findings – are key aspects that must be noted in the review.

5. The issue about the received articles is considered after the obtaining of reviews, and then the final decision, based on the evaluation of reviews about the publication or refusal to publish articles, is made. On the basis of the decision the author (s) is sent a letter by e-mail or mail, which provides a general assessment of the article and the decision. In the case of failure in the publication, the reviewers remain anonymous.

6. The Editorial Board has the right to direct the article for additional external anonymous peer review. Editor in Chief directs the reviewer a letter asking for peer review. The letter includes an article and a recommended form of review.

7. The presence of positive reviews is not sufficient grounds for the publication of the article. The final decision on advisability of publication is taken by the editorial board.

8. In cases when the article is composed by a significant proportion of criticisms that have been made by the reviewer, as well as the overall positive recommendation, the Editorial Board can attribute the material to the category of polemical material and print it in the manner of scientific debate.

9. The Review originals are stored in „Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”.

**RUBRICA REVISTEI
OUR JOURNAL
О НАШЕМ ЖУРНАЛЕ**

**ТРЕБОВАНИЯ
к оформлению статей для публикации в
«Молдавском журнале международного права и международных отношений»**

Научно-теоретический журнал «Молдавский журнал Международного права и международных отношений» принимает к публикации статьи на молдавском (румынском), русском, английском, испанском, французском, немецком (по выбору автора) языках, содержащие результаты оригинальных исследований, оформленные в соответствии с «Требованиями к оформлению статей».

Редакция «Молдавского журнала международного права и международных отношений» принимает к публикации рукописи, соответствующие профилям издания, не более 20 страниц, включая рисунки и таблицы. Рукопись должна содержать только оригинальный материал, выполненный на высоком научном уровне, отражая результаты исследований автора, заверенных не более чем за год до публикации и содержать очевидный элемент создания нового знания. К печати принимаются материалы, ранее не издававшиеся и не предназначенные к одновременной публикации в других изданиях. Статьи подвергаются обязательному рецензированию, в соответствии с *Приложением 3*. Для аспирантов (соискателей) обязательна рецензия научного руководителя. Печатаются только статьи, получившие положительные рецензии. Гонорар за публикации не выплачивается.

Настоящие правила распространяются на все материалы, направляемые в редакцию журнала для публикации. Редакция вправе не принять материал к публикации в случае: а) несоблюдения автором правил оформления рукописи; б) выявления элементов плагиата; с) несоответствия материала тематике журнала.

В случае несоблюдения настоящих требований редакционная коллегия вправе не рассматривать рукопись. Редакция оставляет за собой право при необходимости сокращать статьи, подвергая их редакционной правке, вносить редакционные (не меняющие общего смысла) изменения в авторский оригинал. Редакция может опубликовать материалы, не разделяя точку зрения автора (в порядке обсуждения). Авторы несут ответственность за подбор и достоверность приведенных фактов, цитат и прочих сведений. В одном номере журнала может быть опубликована только одна статья одного автора.

Число авторов статьи не должно быть более двух человек. Автор (ы) присылают в редакцию 2 экземпляра статьи (подписанные автором) в печатном виде и направляют статью в электронном виде по электронной почте по адресу: alexandruburian@yahoo.com , alexandruburian@mail.ru

Объем статьи не должен превышать 1,5 п. л. машинописного текста формата А4 (60 тыс. знаков, или 16-20 страниц текста), включая таблицы, список литературы и рисунки (схемы). При оформлении библиографических ссылок на английском языке необходимо указывать официальные англоязычные названия журналов.

Для размещения статьи в журнале необходимо предоставить в редакцию заявку, информацию об авторе (ах), статью, фотографию автора (ов) в формате JPG, аннотацию (резюме), представленную на трех языках (румынском, русском, английском) объемом – до 100 слов, ключевые слова (5-7 слов). Аннотация не должна содержать ссылок на цитируемую литературу, рисунки, таблицы.

Информация об авторе (ах) содержит: ФИО авторов, место работы, должность, ученую степень, ученое звание, почтовый адрес, электронный адрес и контактный телефон. ФИО автора должно быть указано под названием статьи справа.

Технические требования к оформлению рукописи для публикации:

Название статьи не должно превышать трех строк. Название должно даваться только заглавными буквами (Times New Roman 16) и располагаться по центру. Литературные источники, использованные в статье, должны быть представлены общим списком в ее конце (Библиография). Библиографический список приводится после текста статьи в соответствии с **Приложением 2**. Сноски на упомянутую литературу в тексте обязательны и должны быть оформлены внизу страницы в соответствии с **Приложением 1**. Ссылки на иностранные источники даются на иностранном языке и сопровождаются в случае перевода на румынский и русский язык указанием на перевод. Нумерация источников идет в последовательности упоминания в тексте. Ссылки на неопубликованные работы не допускаются. Список литературы (библиография) дается в алфавитном порядке по фамилиям первых авторов. Сокращения и аббревиатуры должны расшифровываться по месту первого упоминания в тексте статьи. В тексте на румынском, английском, французском, испанском языке используется немецкие кавычки („лапки”), в тексте на русском языке используются французские кавычки («ёлочки»).

Параметры страницы:

Документ должен быть сохранён в формате MS Word. Формат страницы А 4; поля страницы: верхнее и нижнее – 2 см, правое — 1,5 см, левое — 3 см. Шрифт - Times New Roman; кегль — 12; межстрочный интервал — 1,5. Выравнивание по ширине, отступ слева — 1,5. Нумерация страниц — сквозная, внизу страницы, по центру.

Оформление текста:

Использование ручных переносов (manual hyphenation) неприемлемо. Рисунки и таблицы должны иметь нумерационный и тематический заголовки и должны быть представлены в тексте после абзацев, содержащих ссылку на них.

Авторские экземпляры:

Каждому автору полагается один авторский экземпляр номера журнала вне зависимости от количества авторов статьи.

Редакционный совет

Приложение 1

Пример оформления библиографических сносок:

В библиографических сносках расстановка знаков препинания и предписанной пунктуации должна подчиняться тем же правилам, что и расстановка их в библиографическом описании.

Если текст цитируется не по первоисточнику, а по другому документу, то в начале ссылки приводят слова: Цит. по: (цитируется по), Приводится по: , с указанием источника заимствования:

Пример оформления:	Цит. по: Крупянко М.И., Арешидзе Л.Г. США и Восточная Азия. Борьба за «новый порядок». М.: Международные отношения, 2010, с. 325.
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При последовательном расположении первичной и повторной ссылок используют слова «Там же» или «Ibid.» (ibidem) для документов на языках, применяющих латинскую графику:

<i>Первичная</i>	Гаджиев К.С. Геополитика. Учебник для бакалавров. М.: Издательство Юрайт, 2012, с. 27.
<i>Повторная</i>	Там же, с. 47. или Ibid., p. 47.

В повторных сносках, содержащих запись на один и тот же документ, не следующих за первичной ссылкой, приводят заголовок, а основное заглавие и следующие за ним повторяющиеся элементы заменяют словами «Указ. соч.» (указанное сочинение), «Цит. соч.» (цитируемое сочинение), «Op. cit.» (opus citato):

<i>Первичная</i>	Жинкина Ю.В. Стратегия безопасности России: проблемы формирования понятийного аппарата. М.: Российский научный фонд, 1995, с. 87.
<i>Повторная</i>	Жинкина Ю.В. Указ. соч., с. 67. или Жинкина Ю.В. <i>Op. cit.</i> , p. 65.

Приложение 2

Примеры оформления списка библиографии:

Библиографический список приводится после текста статьи и следует после слова «Библиография». Все ссылки в списке последовательно нумеруются и располагаются в алфавитном порядке.

Описание книги одного автора:

Пример оформления	Гаджиев К.С. Геополитика. Учебник для бакалавров. М.: Издательство Юрайт, 2012. 479 с.
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Описание книги четырех и более авторов:

Пример оформления	David G. Victor ... [et al.]. Natural gas and geopolitics: from 1970 to 2040. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press Cambridge University Press, 2006. xxv + 508 p.
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Описание статьи из журнала:

Для статьи из журнала нужно указать автора (ов) статьи, название статьи, название журнала, год, номер выпуска и страницы начала и окончания статьи.

Пример оформления	Конобеев В.Н. Геостратегия США в Евразии. В: Проблемы управления. 2008, №1 (26), с. 87 – 97.
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Описание диссертаций

Пример оформления	Ганнохина Т.Г. Модификация свойств ПВХ в процессе синтеза: дис. ... канд. хим. наук: 02.00.06. Н. Новгород, 1999. 109 с.
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Описание авторефератов диссертаций:

Пример оформления	Жуков Е.Н. Политический центризм в России: автореф. дис. ... канд. филос. наук. М., 2000. 24 с.
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Описание электронных научных изданий:

Для электронных источников нужно указать практически те же данные, что и для журналов: автор, название статьи, название сайта (или раздела сайта) и адрес URL. В записи обязательно должен присутствовать текст [Online]:, при ссылке на электронный ресурс после электронного адреса в круглых скобках приводят сведения о дате обращения к электронному сетевому ресурсу (после слов «дата обращения» указывают число, месяц и год): (Дата посещения: 02.03.2012)

Пример оформления	Китай встает на «правильную сторону истории» в Персидском заливе. В: Мировая политика и ресурсы. [Online]: http://www.wpr.ru/?p=2591 . (Дата посещения: 07.01.2012).
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ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ
о рецензировании научных статей в журнале
«Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений»

1. Научные статьи, поступившие в редакцию журнала «Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений», проходят через институт рецензирования.

В журнале «Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений» принята четырехуровневая система рецензирования статей:

1^й уровень — рецензирование главным редактором (main editor peer review);

2^й уровень — открытое рецензирование (open peer review — автор и рецензент знают друг о друге) - рецензия, представленная в редакцию автором;

3^й уровень — одностороннее «слепое» рецензирование (single-blind — рецензент знает об авторе, автор — нет);

4^й уровень — двухстороннее «слепое» рецензирование (double-blind — оба не знают друг о друге).

2. Каждая научная статья должна иметь рецензии:

– открытые: 1^й уровень — рецензия (заключение) главного редактора; 2^й уровень официального рецензента – специалиста соответствующего научного профиля (доктора или кандидата наук);

– закрытые (слепые): 3^й уровень — научным редактором или одним из членов редколлегии; 4^й уровень — по решению редколлегии и только внешнее.

3. Все научные статьи, поступившие в редакцию нашего журнала, подлежат обязательному двустороннему слепому рецензированию (double-blind — рецензент не знает, кто автор статьи, автор статьи не знает, кто рецензент). Это рецензирование производится сторонними специалистами из базы экспертов-специалистов (рецензентов), по поручению редакции.

4. Редколлегия при оценке рецензий обращает внимание на наличие в материале актуальности решаемой автором научной проблемы. Рецензия должна однозначно характеризовать теоретическую или прикладную значимость исследования, соотносить выводы автора с существующими научными концепциями. Необходимым элементом рецензии должна служить оценка рецензентом личного вклада автора статьи в решение рассматриваемой проблемы. Целесообразно отметить в рецензии соответствие стиля, логики и доступности изложения научному характеру материала, а также получить заключение о достоверности и обоснованности выводов.

5. После получения рецензий рассматривается вопрос о поступивших статьях и принимается окончательное решение на основе оценки рецензий об опубликовании или отказе в опубликовании статей. На основе принятого решения автору (авторам) по e-mail или почте направляется письмо, в котором дается общая оценка статьи и принятое решение. При отказе в публикации рецензенты остаются анонимными.

6. Редколлегия вправе направлять статьи на дополнительное внешнее анонимное рецензирование. Главный редактор направляет рецензенту письмо с просьбой о рецензировании. К письму прилагаются статья и рекомендуемая форма рецензии.

7. Наличие положительных рецензий не является достаточным основанием для публикации статьи. Окончательное решение о целесообразности публикации принимает редакционная коллегия.

8. При наличии в статье существенной доли критических замечаний рецензента и при общей положительной рекомендации редколлегия может отнести материал к разряду полемичных и печатать его в порядке научной дискуссии.

9. Оригиналы рецензий хранятся в редакции журнала «Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений».

**RUBRICA REVISTEI
OUR JOURNAL
О НАШЕМ ЖУРНАЛЕ**

**Declarație
privind etica publicațiilor științifice și baza juridică a politicii editoriale a revistei
„Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale”**

Colegiul de redacție al publicației periodice științifico-teoretice și informațional-practice „Revista Moldovenească de Drept Internațional și Relații Internaționale” aderă la principiile de etică a publicațiilor științifice acceptate la nivel internațional, reflectate, printre altele, în recomandările Comisiei pentru etică a publicațiilor științifice (Comisia pentru publicație etică (COPE) (<http://publicationethics.org/about/guide>), Ghid pentru etica publicațiilor științifice (editura etică Resource Kit) Elsevier editor (<https://www.elsevier.com/editors/publishing-ethics>), Codul de etică și deontologie profesională a cercetătorilor și a personalului universitar din Republica Moldova, aprobat de către Consiliul Național de Atestare și Acreditare la 23.05. 2012 (http://edu.asm.md/tc_userfiles/cod-etica.pdf).

Termeni-cheie:

Etica publicațiilor științifice — un sistem de reguli de conduită profesională în relațiile dintre autori, recenzenti, redactori, editori și cititori în crearea, diseminarea și utilizarea publicațiilor științifice.

Redactor — un reprezentant al revistei sau editurii științifice, responsabil pentru pregătirea materialelor pentru publicare, precum și menținerea contactului cu autorii și cititorii publicațiilor științifice.

Autor — o persoană sau un grup de persoane (grup de autori), care participă la crearea și publicarea rezultatelor cercetării științifice.

Recenzent — expert care acționează în numele unei reviste științifice sau editurii și realizează expertiza materialelor științifice prezentate de către autor pentru a determina posibilitatea publicării lor.

Editor — persoană juridică sau fizică care exercită editarea publică a unei publicații științifice.

Cititor — orice persoană care a făcut cunoștință cu materialul publicat.

Plagiat — atribuție intenționată a dreptului de autor a unei alte opere de artă sau știință, idei sau invenții ale altor oameni. Plagiatul poate fi o încălcare a legii drepturilor de autor și legii brevetelor și poate atrage după sine răspunderea juridică ca atare.

1. Principiile de etică profesională în activitatea redactorului și editorului

Membrii consiliului editorial au următoarele responsabilități:

1.1. Să ia în considerare toate materialele manuscrise furnizate de autor, și să ia o decizie obiectivă cu privire la posibilitatea publicării lor, pe baza relevanței și a fiabilității studiului, precum și profilul de specialitate al revistei.

1.2. Să aibă atitudine respectuoasă față de autor, indiferent de rasă, sex, orientare sexuală, religie, origine, naționalitate, statutul social, preferințele politice sau a altor calități subiective;

1.3. Să respecte dreptul autorului de proprietate intelectuală, să împiedice divulgarea rezultatelor cercetării utilizarea acestora în scopuri personale fără consimțământul autorului;

1.4. Să excludă din articol materialele care conțin falsificarea rezultatelor și a plagiatului, precum și copierea multiplă a informațiilor și atribuirea falsă a dreptului de autor;

1.5. Să asigure confidențialitatea și anonimatul recenzării materialelor manuscrise;

1.6. Să angajeze în calitate de recenzenti a articolelor doar specialiștii de înaltă clasificare.

2. Principiile etice în activitățile recenzentului

Recenzentul este responsabil pentru respectarea următoarelor principii:

2.1. Să efectueze expertiza științifică confidențială a materialelor științifice manuscrite prezentate spre publicare de către autor, care are ca scop îmbunătățirea calității acestora și ajutorarea consiliului editorial să ia o decizie cu privire la posibilitatea publicării rezultatelor studiului;

2.2. Autorul/coautorul manuscrisului nu poate acționa în calitate de referent al articolului său;

2.3. Să refuze să recenzeze articolul în cazul când dispune de o insuficientă competență pentru această abilitate sau incapacitatea de a furniza recenzia manuscrisului într-un timp specificat;

2.4. Să asigure o maximă obiectivitate a recenziei pe baza relevanței, meritelor științifice, originalitatea și autenticitatea rezultatelor cercetărilor efectuate de autor. Orice critică a naturii subiective, care decurg din relațiile personale ale recenzentului cu autorul sau orice alte motive, sunt inacceptabile și nu sunt permise;

2.5. Să raporteze toate cazurile de posibile conflicte de interese;

2.6. Să nu păstreze copii ale manuscrisului și nu-l transmită la alte persoane terțe. În plus, informațiile furnizate în manuscrisele peer-revizuite, nu pot fi folosite în propriile cercetări înainte de publicarea lor fără consimțământul autorului;

2.7. Să verifice claritatea prezentării materialului în curs de revizuire pentru ca acesta să conțină link-uri către toate datele utilizate din lucrările publicate anterior;

2.8. Să argumenteze concluziile sale cu privire la manuscrisele peer-revizuite, astfel încât autorului și membrilor consiliului editorial să le fie clar obiectivitatea și legitimitatea acestora;

2.9. Să informeze membrii consiliului editorial, în cazul în care manuscrisul în curs de revizuire are o asemănare semnificativă cu articole publicate anterior, adică, cazuri de *plagiat*.

3. Principiile pe care trebuie să le ghideze autorul publicațiilor

Autorul — este persoana care a avut o contribuție personală la formarea și interpretarea rezultatelor cercetării. Prin furnizarea manuscrisului în vederea editării și difuzării comunității științifice a conținutului acestuia, autorul trebuie:

3.1. Să se bazeze exclusiv pe date precise și reale, precum și interpretarea lor obiectivă, evitând declarații inițial false și frauduloase cu privire la rezultatele obținute;

3.2. Să nu prezinte materialele manuscrite pentru examinare spre publicare în mai mult de o revistă, și să nu participe multiple și duplicate publicații, care sunt considerate ca fiind *autoplăgiat*;

3.3. Să dezvăluie toate sursele de sprijin financiar sau de altă natură pentru studiu, în rezultatul cărora a fost pregătit manuscrisul, cu menționarea separată a rolului și contribuției fiecărei părți;

3.4. Informații de conversații personale sau corespondență pot fi folosite în cercetare numai cu acordul scris al persoanei căreia îi este furnizat;

3.5. Textele și informațiile grafice derivate din rezultatele publicate ale studiilor altor persoane, trebuie să fie prevăzute cu referire la activitatea relevantă. În plus, activitatea de același subiect, rezultatele care au influențat cursul studiului, ar trebui să fie anunțate în lista de referințe;

3.6. Atunci când a fost depistată o denaturare semnificativă sau constatări eronate în manuscrisul acceptat spre publicare sau articolul deja publicat este obligat să notifice consiliului editorial de a face corecții, negări sau revocarea lucrărilor;

3.7. În cazul luării deciziilor de către consiliul editorial privitor la publicarea manuscrisului, autorul este de acord cu transferul drepturilor la publicarea și difuzarea acestuia (în versiunile electronice și pe hârtie), inclusiv plasarea informațiilor bibliografice în bazele de date Science Citation, SCOPUS, Web of Science și versiunea full-text al Bibliotecii Electronice Științifice (*elibrary.ru*) în acces liber.

Consiliul Redacțional

**RUBRICA REVISTEI
OUR JOURNAL
О НАШЕМ ЖУРНАЛЕ**

**Declaration
on the ethical and legal basis of the editorial policy
of the „Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations”**

The Editorial Board of the scientific-theoretical and information-practical periodical publication „Moldavian Journal of International Law and International Relations“ commits to the internationally accepted principles of publication ethics expressed in the recommendations of the Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (<http://publicationethics.org/about/guide>), Elsevier Publishing Ethics Resource Kit (<https://www.elsevier.com/editors/publishing-ethics>) and the Code of ethics and professional deontology of the researchers and academic staff in the Republic of Moldova, approved by the National Certification Board and Acreditare at 23.05. 2012. (http://edu.asm.md/tc_userfiles/cod-etica.pdf).

Key terms

Publication ethics is a system of professional conduct standards in relations between authors, reviewers, editors, publishers and readers when creating, disseminating and using scientific publications.

The **Editor** is a representative of the research journal or the publisher responsible for selecting and preparing materials for publication and encouraging communication between authors and readers of scientific papers.

The **Author** is a person or a group of persons (group of authors) who produce a manuscript that contains the results of their scientific research.

The **Reviewer** is an expert acting on behalf of the research journal or the publisher and providing scientific evaluation of authors' works in order to consider their publishing.

The **Publisher** is a legal entity or a natural person responsible for publication.

The **Reader** is any person who has familiarized themselves with the published materials.

Plagiarism is a wrongful appropriation of another author's scientific or artistic work, ideas, discoveries or inventions. Plagiarism may be a violation of copyright law and patent law and, as such, can entail legal liability.

The Code of Conduct for Editors-in-Chief and Publishers

Editors have the following general responsibilities:

1.1. Editor is bound to consider all materials of the manuscript submitted by Author. The final responsibility for accepting or rejecting the manuscript (based on its relevance, integrity, and fitting into the journal profile) without any personal and ideological favoritism or malice rests with Editor;

1.2. Editor should treat Author respectfully, regardless of their race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, religious beliefs, origin, citizenship, social status or political preferences of the author and other subjective qualities;

1.3. Editor is obligated to observe the intellectual property rights of Authors by keeping in confidentiality all data provided in the manuscript without using them for personal purposes or transferring to the third parties;

1.4. Editor should exclude from publishing all plagiarized or falsified materials, as well as take serious steps in case of redundancy and false attribution of authorship;

1.5. Editor ensures confidentiality and anonymity of the review process;

1.6. Editor should invite only highly professional specialists as Reviewers.

The Code of Conduct for Reviewers

Reviewing of the submitted manuscript should be based on the following major principles:

2.1. Reviewer maintains confidentiality concerning the scientific inquiry of the manuscript, which is intended to improve its quality and helps the editorial board to finalize their decision on publishing the results of research;

2.2. Author/Co-author of the manuscript cannot act as Reviewer;

2.3. If Reviewer recognizes that either the manuscript is not related to their scholarly background or the time allocated for review is not enough, it immediately sets the ground for refusal;

2.4. When reviewing the material submitted for publication, Reviewers are obligated to be objective in their evaluation of the manuscript. All suggestions and judgements should be based on the relevance, integrity, and originality of the results of research performed by Author. Any critical statements of a subjective nature arising from personal attitudes to Author or other reasons are not acceptable;

2.5. Reviewers should disclose all conflicts of interest that may arise;

2.6. Reviewer is not allowed to keep any copies of the manuscript or transfer the materials under review to any other side. The manuscript cannot be used for personal research purposes prior to its publication unless special permission is obtained from Author;

2.7. Reviewer ensures that the manuscript is coherently written and contains all references to the cited or used works;

2.8. Reviewer should support their conclusions about the manuscript, thus ensuring that Author and Editor understand the basis of all comments and judgements;

2.9. Reviewer should point out if the manuscript bears considerable similarities to the works published earlier, i.e., report on plagiarism.

The Code of Conduct for Authors

Author is a person who has made a worthy contribution to the process of research or interpretation of its results. Author submitting their manuscript for the purpose of publishing and distribution in the scientific community should strive to comply with the following rules:

3.1. Authors should rely upon exceptionally accurate and actual data, as well as their unbiased interpretation without permitting any false or fraudulent claims about the obtained results;

3.2. Authors are not allowed to submit the same manuscript to any other journal for publication, in whole or in part, when it is being considered by Journal. In addition, they should not participate in multiple and redundant publications, which is regarded as self-plagiarism;

3.3. All research funders, as well as other sources of support, should be clearly identified and listed in the manuscript, including indication of the role of each contributing party;

3.4. Data obtained in the private talk or correspondence can be used only subject to prior written approval from the person, who provided them;

3.5. Graphic or textual data from the works published by other authors should be indicated with reference to the source, from which they were taken. Besides, all works published elsewhere and covering similar issues, which influenced the research, should be given in the list of references;

3.6. If Authors discover significant errors and incorrect conclusions in their manuscripts, either accepted for publishing or already published by Journal they should immediately inform Editor about it in order to take appropriate steps, such as correction, disclamation, or retraction;

3.7. As Editor makes the final decision to publish the manuscript, Authors agree with the transfer of the right to publish and distribute their published work (in print and electronic versions), as well as with that the bibliographic data will be included in the science citation databases SCOPUS, Web of Science and the full text will be freely available in the Scientific Electronic Library (elibrary.ru).

The Editorial Board

**RUBRICA REVISTEI
OUR JOURNAL
О НАШЕМ ЖУРНАЛЕ**

Декларация

**об этических и правовых основах редакционной политики журнала
«Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений»**

Редакционная коллегия научно-теоретического и информационно-практического периодического журнала «Молдавский журнал международного права и международных отношений» придерживается принятых международным сообществом принципов публикационной этики, отраженных, в частности, в рекомендациях Комитета по этике научных публикаций (Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE) (<http://publicationethics.org/about/guide>), Руководстве по этике научных публикаций (Publishing Ethics Resource Kit) издательства Elsevier (<https://www.elsevier.com/editors/publishing-ethics>), Кодексе этики и профессиональной деонтологии исследователей и университетских кадров Республики Молдова от 23.05. 2012 г. (http://edu.asm.md/tc_userfiles/cod-etica.pdf).

Основные термины:

Этика научных публикаций — это система норм профессионального поведения во взаимоотношениях авторов, рецензентов, редакторов, издателей и читателей в процессе создания, распространения и использования научных публикаций.

Редактор — представитель научного журнала или издательства, осуществляющий подготовку материалов для публикации, а также поддерживающий общение с авторами и читателями научных публикаций.

Автор — это лицо или группа лиц (коллектив авторов), участвующих в создании публикации результатов научного исследования.

Рецензент — эксперт, действующий от имени научного журнала или издательства и проводящий научную экспертизу авторских материалов с целью определения возможности их публикации.

Издатель — юридическое или физическое лицо, осуществляющие выпуск в свет научной публикации.

Читатель — любое лицо, ознакомившееся с опубликованными материалами.

Плагиат — умышленное присвоение авторства чужого произведения науки или искусства, чужих идей или изобретений. Плагиат может быть нарушением авторско-правового законодательства и патентного законодательства и в качестве такового может повлечь за собой юридическую ответственность.

1. Принципы профессиональной этики в деятельности редактора и издателя

На членов редакционной коллегии возлагаются следующие обязанности:

1.1. Рассматривать все материалы рукописи, предоставляемые автором, и принимать объективное решение о возможности их публикации, исходя из актуальности и достоверности проведенного исследования, а также соответствия профилю Журнала.

1.2. Уважительно относиться к автору вне зависимости от его расы, пола, сексуальной ориентации, религиозных взглядов, происхождения, гражданства, социального положения, политических предпочтений авторов или иных субъективных качеств;

1.3. Соблюдать право автора на интеллектуальную собственность, не допуская раскрытия данных исследования или использования их в личных целях без согласования с автором;

1.4. Исключать из публикации материалы, содержащие фальсификацию результатов и плагиат, а также многократное копирование информации и ложное приписывание авторства;

1.5. Обеспечивать конфиденциальность и анонимность рецензирования материалов рукописи;

1.6. Привлекать к рецензированию статей исключительно профильных специалистов высокого класса.

2. Этические принципы в деятельности рецензента

Рецензент несет ответственность за соблюдение следующих основных принципов:

- 2.1. Осуществлять конфиденциальную научную экспертизу авторских материалов рукописи, которая призвана улучшить ее качество и помочь редакционной коллегии принять решение о возможности публикации результатов проведенного исследования;
- 2.2. Автор/соавтор рукописи не может выступать в роли ее рецензента;
- 2.3. Отказываться от рецензирования в случае недостаточной для этого квалификации или невозможности предоставить рецензию рукописи в указанные сроки;
- 2.4. Гарантировать максимальную объективность рецензии на основе актуальности, научной значимости, достоверности и новизны результатов исследования, проведенного автором. Любые критические замечания субъективного характера, проистекающие из личного отношения к автору или каких-либо иных причин, неприемлемы и не допускаются;
- 2.5. Сообщать о всех случаях возможного конфликта интересов;
- 2.6. Не хранить у себя копии рукописи и не передавать ее материалы иным лицам. Кроме того, сведения, приводимые в рецензируемой рукописи, не могут быть использованы в собственных исследованиях до опубликования без согласия автора;
- 2.7. Проверять ясность изложения рецензируемого материала и наличие в нем ссылок на все используемые сведения из ранее опубликованных работ;
- 2.8. Аргументировать свои выводы о рецензируемой рукописи так, чтобы автору и членам редакционной коллегии была понятна их объективность и правомерность;
- 2.9. Информировать членов редакционной коллегии, если рецензируемая рукопись имеет значительное сходство с ранее опубликованными статьями, то есть о случаях плагиата.

3. Принципы, которыми должен руководствоваться автор научных публикаций

Автор — лицо, которое внесло свой индивидуальный вклад в формирование и интерпретацию результатов исследования. Автор, предоставляющий рукопись с целью опубликования и распространения в научном сообществе содержащихся в ней сведений, должен:

- 3.1. Опирается исключительно на точные и реальные данные, а также их объективную интерпретацию, не допуская изначально ложных и мошеннических заявлений о достигнутых результатах;
- 3.2. Не подавать материалы рукописи на рассмотрение к публикации в более чем один журнал, а также не принимать участие в многократных и дублирующих публикациях, что расценивается как самоплагиат;
- 3.3. Раскрывать все источники финансовой или иной поддержки исследования, по результатам которого подготовлена рукопись, с отдельным указанием роли и вклада каждой стороны;
- 3.4. Информация из личной беседы или переписки может быть использована в исследовании только с письменного согласия лица, которое ее предоставило;
- 3.5. Текстовая и графическая информация, заимствованная из опубликованных результатов исследований иных лиц, должна быть приведена с указанием ссылки на соответствующую работу. Кроме того, работы в рамках схожей тематики, результаты которых повлияли на ход исследования, должны быть оглашены в списке литературы;
- 3.6. При обнаружении существенных неточностей или ошибочных выводов в принятой к публикации или уже опубликованной рукописи требуется уведомить об этом редакционную коллегию Журнала для внесения корректировки, опровержения или отзыва работы;
- 3.7. При принятии редакционной коллегией решения о публикации рукописи автор соглашается с передачей права на ее издание и распространение (в электронной и бумажной версиях), в том числе на размещение библиографической информации в базах научного цитирования SCOPUS, Web of Science и полнотекстовой версии в Научной электронной библиотеке (elibrary.ru) в свободном доступе.

Редакционный совет

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DE DREPT INTERNAȚIONAL
ȘI RELAȚII INTERNAȚIONALE**

**MOLDAVIAN JOURNAL
OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**МОЛДАВСКИЙ ЖУРНАЛ
МЕЖДУНАРОДНОГО ПРАВА
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