

МІЖНАРОДНА БЕЗПЕКА ТА ГЛОБАЛЬНІ ПРОБЛЕМИ СУЧАСНОСТІ

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STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF MODERN EMPIRES IN THE FRAMEWORK OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE THEORY

This present paper analyzes three powerful players of the modern global governance: the United States, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China. The main parameters that allow us to call them modern empires and help identify patterns of spreading influence are determined. The basic directions of geopolitical «giants» are used for comparative analysis of the imperial system of the above-mentioned countries.

Key words: global governance, empire, geopolitics, globalization, imperial power, post-empire.

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СТРУКТУРНИЙ АНАЛІЗ СУЧАСНИХ ІМПЕРІЙ КРИЗЬ ПРИЗМУ ТЕОРІЇ ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО УПРАВЛІННЯ

Аналізуються три потужних гравців сучасного глобального управління: Сполучені Штати Америки, Російська Федерація та Китайська Народна Республіка. Визначаються основні параметри, які дозволяють назвати їх сучасними імперіями і допомагають виявити закономірності поширення впливу. Описані основні напрями геополітичних «гігантів» використовуються для порівняльного аналізу імперської системи перелічених країн.

Ключові слова: глобальне управління, імперія, геополітика, глобалізація, імператорська влада, пост-імперії.

Запорожченко Р.А.

СТРУКТУРНИЙ АНАЛІЗ СОВРЕМЕННЫХ ИМПЕРИЙ СКВОЗЬ ПРИЗМУ ТЕОРИИ ГЛОБАЛЬНОГО УПРАВЛЕНИЯ

Анализируются три мощных игрока современного глобального управления: Соединенные Штаты Америки, Российская Федерация и Китайская Народная Республика. Определяются основные параметры, которые позволяют назвать их современными империями и помогают выявить закономерности распространения их влияния. Описаны основные направления геополитических «гигантов», которые используются для сравнительного анализа имперской системы перечисленных стран.

Ключевые слова: глобальное управление, империя, геополитика, глобализация, императорская власть, пост-империи.

The topicality of the theme lies in finding a new approach to forming a system of global governance, which has pursued new features in terms of information, diversification and unification in the spheres of the three key elements of international order: the individual, society and state. As the methodological concepts that were developed over the past

twenty years, proved their inefficiency in attempts to predict the possible outcome of the process of political decision-making in the global field, to identify patterns of formation and development of the state as the subject of global governance, because of their inability to foresee bifurcation points, nonlinear influence on decision-making and their results, to create a new system of global governance that focuses on multi-directed world and affect the economic and political processes; to extrapolate «global

governance» to the dynamic development of modern economic processes in terms of deetatization of the states and legitimization of supranational administrative apparatus, which are international organizations (associations, blocks, unions).

The article is to determine the role of three powerful international political players – the United States, the People's Republic of China and the Russian Federation, in the structuring of contemporary forms of global governance.

The above-mentioned countries nowadays turned into powerful actors of international relations, participating in global management, dealing with the redistribution of economic and political spheres of influence, building powerful interactions between centers and dependent territories. Therefore, we can speak of them as modern empires – consolidated and structured management system, which are located at a sufficiently large area, have in its arsenal powerful military force, the available resources (economic, demographic, political) and build a clear power hierarchy.

The United States. Currently, there is no denying the fact that the United States is the most influential and most powerful country in the world and is playing a leading role in international relations. The USA participates in addressing the issues of contemporary global governance, redistribution of influence spheres, the process of differentiation of global capital, legitimization / delegitimization of political regimes in developing countries. The USA owns a large spectrum of influence instruments, the main role of which belongs to economy.

Thus, the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 marked the beginning of large-scale dollarization of the economies of the world, which led to the establishment of Monetary US dominance in the world economy. The Federal Reserve of the United States received the strongest dominance – control of the national currencies of all countries and adjustability to their influence in the region. This has also allowed the USA to strengthen its positions in the US International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). Thus, in the IMF the USA have the largest share of the vote – more than 16%, while the number of votes of Germany, Japan, France, the UK ranges from 5% to 6% [1]. With the World Bank we have a similar situation – the USA have more than 16% [2, p. 48]. These indicators show the large scale of the US dominance in the world economy and the fact that the USA concentrated powerful instruments of influence and pressure on other countries.

Another indicator is the establishment of a US military hegemony, namely the construction of a strong and dynamic army, able to respond to potential threats to the country and serve as the «patrol» areas of the United States. According to Global Firepower (GFP) the US has the most powerful army in all respects and is far ahead of Russia and China, which take the second and third places respectively [3]. With powerful naval forces, the United States entered the expanses of the world's oceans and took control of all maritime trading system.

Another instrument of US military power is the dominance of the NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), which is used to lobby their own purposes, to consolidate military capacities of the armies of developed countries and to conflict potential and real threats to national interests. Taking into account these characteristics the United States can be seen as a military and financial empire.

To ensure the functioning of the system of imperial government United States has used domains – supporting points of distributing spheres of influence. They are objects of the empire, and members of the network system of domination, so their conservation formed military bases worldwide. Network domain system, backed by military power and world economies dependent on the US dollar is a factor of legitimization of global US dominance.

The use of economic and administrative and military resources allows the United States to influence the internal processes of other countries to remain a global hegemon, economically and politically redistribute the world, deciding who can participate in trade relations of the region and who is not permitted. The use of power resources, as noted by scientists, is the «imperial grand strategy of the United States, which provides for the right of preventive military action in its sole discretion» [4, p. 20].

The American political scientist George Friedman singled out the following US goals: «to complete domination over the oceans, to strengthen physical security and ensure the US control of the international trading system» [5, p. 44]. So it is interesting that domains are influence instruments of other geopolitical players and act as stimulants for the US economy. This extensive network domain system allows the USA to have constant and cheap labor, reorienting the country from internal to external commodity markets and to ensure the creation of production capacity worldwide. The function of receiving and

reallocating the capital is exercised by the representatives of TNCs (transnational elite) that are included in the political elite and actually become subjects of the empire, forming the principles of its functioning.

In this situation, the possible collapse of the empire can be a result of inability to control domains, which entails the destruction of the whole system. Therefore, the existing factor of danger destruction outside the Empire encourages the latter to use physical violence, administrative and law enforcement resources, establishment of military bases, acting as observers, should quickly respond to system failures. Thus, the prevention of such failures by exporting democracy («*democratia populus*») outside and extrapolation of the functioning of the political system to the domain consolidates center with the periphery. The United States as a form of modern global imperial system is characterized by a reflective individualist behavior of every citizen, as the dominance of private ownership of the state and value of individual freedoms and ideals formed a society of individuals. Although, it should be noted that mass, primarily cultural, by the United States is used to support globalization and spreading its influence by exporting information products worldwide. This affects the network structure of post-empire, creating a demand for the «American people»: individualistic, independent and prosperous; creates an image models, integrates the domains of residents in the general community of the Empire; generates a list of features required to achieve that image. As noted by A. Toffler: «These traits arise not only under the influence of pressure on people. They generated voltage existing between internal needs or desires of many individuals and external demands or pressures of society» [6, p. 283].

Thus, americanization is a factor promoting imperialism. So we can speak about inclusive transnationality and creating network system for exchange gains of globalization and its support. The United States does not create barriers to penetration of other cultures in their own empire, but try to show their weakness, vulnerability and discrepancy of high standards that formed in the state. The US as a superpower of the XXI century, sets cultural trends and information development, so any influence of outside cultures will be considered as undermining the authority of a world leader.

The Russian Federation. Russian Federation traditionally attributed to the signs of «imperial state». This perception is associated with the historical development of the country from the

Russian Empire through the Soviet Union and modern Russia. This image is supported by the foreign policy pursued by the Russian Federation, and which is aptly described by the American political scientist George Friedman: «If we want to understand the behavior and intentions of Russia, we must begin with its fundamental weakness – borders» [5, p. 102], and this is an acceptable fact, providing that every modern empire seeks to increase its own space existence. The aggressive foreign policy explains the «principle of offensive realism»: To protect yourself, be sure to attack. However, the available tools of political, economic, cultural and military influence limit Russia to the scope of its regional dominance.

The current structure of imperial power in Russia is a combination of three elements: the subject – the so-called «oligarchat» that brings together the elite in whose hands the main economic and symbolic capital is concentrated; the object which is a colony that by joining the military expansion of the empire is used as outposts sphere of influence and preserves the main borders of the empire; the resources – labor and administrative power, where Russian raw material base and its successful use are preferred in conducting foreign policy. It is important that the construction of Empire is not based on domains, as in the US, but on the colonies – which have economical, political and military dependence from the center. Therefore, great importance is given to ideological foundation, as an ideology (political / religious) was and remains an important part of «imperial traditionalism» in Russia, which is manifested in the pride of past victories, worship the greatness of history, constantly carrying out the parallels between past and present, unification of all achievements of Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union. So the likely collapse of the imperial government, formed in Russia is possible if ideological foundations – the Russian Orthodox Church and the President in the form of a charismatic leader are delegitimized.

Another important factor is that in the world ranking GlobalFirepower (GFP) Russia takes the second place on military power [3]. And this fact is acceptable, taking into account the geographical location of the empire, the size of the borders to be protected, and its position in two world regions: Europe and Asia. Russia is also a member of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank (WB), where it has its share of votes equal to 3% of the total [1; 2, p. 48]. Since these international institutions are dominated by the United States,

Russia is forced to look for other possible economic source of power. In an alternative model of global initiatives for the Russian club BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) was established, which is the idea of forming an international financial institution that can compete with the World Bank and the IMF – BRICS Development Bank. The main objective of the bank is the protection of national currencies from market fluctuations and efforts to reduce the dollarization of the world.

Therefore, we can say that modern Russia has global imperial character, and it is demonstrated by the participation of the civil war in Syria, the redistribution of spheres of influence in Eastern Europe and the Middle East, the initiation of military conflict in the last ten years (Transnistria, Chechnya, Georgia, Ukraine), the constant deterioration of relations with neighboring countries. To maintain such a structure Russia is using hard-power, which is «the ability to make others do what you want and get the results you want» [7]. The presence of military forces and economic mechanisms of coercion transforms the system of international relations into compulsory diplomacy where the last word rests with the more powerful state.

The peculiarity of the political system of traditional pre-centered hierarchy is a clear vertical power headed by the charismatic leader who absorbed most attractive to the public images and uses the administrative power unit for construction of an authoritarian government. Other elements of this vertical structure are presented by the representatives of «oligarchat» who are committed to the leader and whose existence and well-being depend on the political will of the leader. It forms the ideological system-reflexive behavior of society in which each individual cannot exist separately from the accepted norms, because it will be considered a manifestation of dissent that is not acceptable in the imperial order. Unlike «American society of individuals» for Russia as empire «society of the masses» is traditionally inherent which actively supports the political program and vectors of the leader. Such society is vulnerable to cultural and information manipulation, while available multiculturalism does not prevent the unification and provides consolidated habitat regime.

The People's Republic of China is historically positioning itself as a powerful Eastern empire – «Middle Kingdom». However, modern China also claims to be positioning itself as an empire based on its economic and military potential. Indeed, manufacturing and

resource capacities allow China to compete with the United States. Evidence of this is the existence of the third force army in the world [3], the active participation of China in the IMF and the World Bank (the annual increase in the share of votes), the establishment of Beijing Development Bank BRICS, attempts to build its own financial system through progressive displacement from the region of the dollar and replacing its yuan, an active investment policy in Latin America, Africa, Europe, including the United States. This allows us to evaluate modern China as a global empire and to talk about whether China will in the XXI century become a new superpower.

All this is a consequence of the establishment of China's system of centralized imperial government, among which are: the subject – the Communist Party of China, together with its management and big bureaucracy; the object – domains (Africa, Middle East, Latin America, Europe, Russia) through which the impact of the state extends; resources – economic and demographical which enabled China to become a major player not only in the world economy, but have considerable political influence. As noted by John Friedman: «The basis of Chinese state regime lies in two factors. The first is the pervasive bureaucracy that controls all of China. The second is the power of the army and security forces that carry out the will of the state and the Communist Party» [5, p. 97]. In imperial network structure, which forms China, domains are the raw materials for a strong manufacturing sector. China is trying to get into all available regional dimensions (economic, political, cultural). However, as noted by scientists, «China is encountering resistance or mistrust of small countries, because they are interested in maintaining their sovereignty and consideration of their economic interests in the future» [8, p. 84].

As a result, gravity model of production-oriented demographic resources of the empire, raw materials domains and dependent position of the allies that serve markets for goods is formed. It is also important that due to the powerful industrial complex the Empire attracts investment and economically developed countries redirect their production, placing it in China. Thus, there is a close network and production system that concentrates most of the capital in China, although it remained the prerogative of the USA.

All this interacts with the system as a reflexive behavior of society and its vision of China's role in global governance. The country

has long been held de-individualization of rights and the transformation of the individual into the mass (universal, shared). Although many modern scholars suggest a liberalization of China for the past twenty years, it is impossible to say that such "softening" in the economy have an impact on changes in the behavior of society. It should be noted that the subject of the empire is represented by the Communist Party, which specifies the vectors of social development, controlling these processes and following their compliance. In case of system failures or deviations from the common doctrine reaction from the authorities is immediate. However, as Henry Kissinger said: «China economically achieved great results, but this country needs 24 million annually to find jobs in cities to take 6 million people each year leave rural areas to equip 150 to 200 million the number of internal workers» [9, p. 54-55]. Also it is necessary to add that the above described facts contribute to the large middle class demands to meet their material needs. Each year, China increases its own resource requirements to ensure the welfare of its citizens, but it is threatened by the collapse of the empire. Indeed, social movements do not occur when the situation is really bad, but when the situation improved but the recession at once started.

To interact within the entire system China uses the concept of soft-power – the policy of

agreements, beliefs, economic pressure to find new allies to unite, for the sake of their own interests. China has a claim to territory that are near its borders and which China wants to return to its possession, because there are important resources, and these areas are of strategic importance for the promotion and protection of internal frontiers center. However, China's political elite understand the use of military force to resolve the current result of the war. However, military conflicts are not in the interests of «Far Eastern dragon» because they can wrap it against the modern world economic leaders. All it could take investment out of the country, reduce production capacity, begin the sanctions to be focused on reducing the share of Chinese goods on world markets, and most importantly could deprive a large number of domains that readily attach to their sphere of influence of other modern empire. Therefore, the use of soft-power in international relations is the best mechanism for global equilibrium and development in China.

Thus, the proposed extrapolation of the concept «post-empire» allows us to determine the internal structure of the modern principles of global governance and the role of the above-described powerful players in international relations.

Table 1.

Comparison characteristics of methodological parameters of modern empires: the USA, the Russian Federation and the China.

№	PARAMETERS	The USA	The RUSSIAN FEDERATION	The PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC of CHINA
11	Empire Model	Military and financial	Ideological	Production and materialistic
22	Structure of imperial power	Subject – combination of economic and political elite Object – domains Resources – economic, administrative, military	Subject – «oligarchat» Object – colonies Resources – administrative, military, energy	Subject – the Communist Party of China (party, officials) Object – domains Resources – economic, demographic
33	Raisond'etre	Domains are the instrument of influence on other geopolitical players and present the stimulus of economic advances	Seizure is explained by the desire of influence. Ideology is a vital element of empire existence.	Domains present the material basis.
44	Scale of influence	Global	Global	Global
55	Empire build	Formation of network system of domains through «democratia populus»	Pre-centralized hierarchy	Gravity production model
66	Reflection	Individualist	System and ideological	System

77	Structural characteristics	Inclusive trans-nationality, Americanization – as a factor of imperialism promotion	Struggle for preserving imperial identity. Implementing <i>hard-power</i>	Implementing <i>soft-power</i> as an instrument of building the empire
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Lastly, we can note that on the basis of determining methodological parameters of modern global empires the features of imperial organization are pursued by the United States of America, the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China. These states due to their geopolitical, geoeconomic and geographical features became modern powers of globalization concentrating in their interests production and material bases, a big amount of world economic capital, monopolized cultural and information process, have powerful military and administrative structures and dominate in all spheres of public life.

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