
POLITICAL ISSUE 1(35-38), 2020
SCIENCE ISSUES
Academic journal

MOSCOW, 2020

POLITICAL SCIENCE ISSUES

Academic journal

Nikolay P. MEDVEDEV,

Chairman of the Editorial Board, Doctor of Political Sciences,
Professor of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Peoples' Friendship
University of Russia (RUDN University) (Russia, Moscow)

Editorial Board:

BOZHANOV Vladimir A.	Doctor of History Sciences, Professor, Head of the Chair of World and National Literature, Belorussia National Technical University (Belorussia, Minsk)
DONAJ Lukasz	Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, Faculty of Political Science And Journalism, Department of International Relations (Poland, Poznań)
IRKHIN Yuri V.	Doctor of Philosophy Sciences, Professor, Chair of Politology and Political Administration, Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (Russia, Moscow)
KARAGZE Tatiana V.	Doctor of Philosophy Sciences, Head of the Chair of Politology and Sociology of the Moscow State Pedagogical University (Russia, Moscow)
KOVALENKO Valery I.	Doctor of Philosophy Sciences, Head of the Chair of Russian Politics of the Moscow State Lomonosov University (Russia, Moscow)
KOSIKOV Igor G.	Doctor of History Sciences, Chief Researcher, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Russia, Moscow)
KRIVOKAPIC Boris	Doctor of Legal Sciences, Professor, Business and Law Faculty, University "Union – Nikola Tesla" (Serbia, Belgrade)
MIKHAILOV Vyacheslav A.	Doctor of History Sciences, Head of the Chair of National and Federative Relations of the Russian Presidential Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (Russia, Moscow)
NASIMOVA Gulnara O.	Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Head of the Chair of Politology, School of Philosophy and Politology, Kazakh National University named after El-Farabi (Kazakhstan, Almaty)
NISNEVICH Yuli A.	Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, National Research University – Higher School of Economics (Russia, Moscow)
PAKHRUTDINOV Shukritdin I.	Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Head of Department "National interests and the stability of society" of the Academy of State and Social Construction under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan (Tashkent, Uzbekistan)
PLYAYS Yakov A.	Doctor of History Sciences, Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Head of the Chair of Politology of the Finance University under the Government of the Russian Federation (Russia, Moscow)
PRYAKHIN Vladimir F.	Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor, Chair of World Politics and Foreign Relations, Russian State Humanitarian University (Russia, Moscow)
PUSKO Vitaliy S.	Doctor of Philosophy Sciences, Professor of the Chair of Politology, Moscow State Technical University named after N.E. Bauman (Russia, Moscow)
SALKIEWICZ- MUNNERLYN Ewa	Ph.D., MFA, Academy Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (Poland, Krakow)
Olivier VEDRINE	Chief Editor of the Russian Edition of the French Review "Revue Défense Nationale", Speaker of the European Commission, Editor of the Franco-German Magazine on Foreign Politics "European Union Foreign Affairs Journal" and Rector of the Continental University in Kiev (France, Paris)

Editor-in Chief of the Review – Nikolay P. MEDVEDEV,
Doctor of Political Sciences, Professor of Faculty of Humanities
and Social Sciences, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia
(RUDN University) (Russia, Moscow)

**ESTABLISHED BY LLC
"PUBLISHING HOUSE
"SCIENCE TODAY"**

The Journal is published with
the participation of the Institute
of modern policy of the Peoples'
Friendship University (RUDN)

The Journal is registered
by the Federal Service
for Supervision of Mass Media,
Communications and Protection
of Cultural Heritage

Reg. Number PI No.FS77–46176
of August 12, 2011
The Journal is published quarterly

The journal is included
in the database of the Russian
Science Citation Index

The Five-year Journal's
impact factor is 0,808

The Journal is included
in Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

Academic papers published
in the journal undergo obligatory
editorial checking.

The authors' opinion not always
coincides with the opinion
of the Editorial Board.

At reprint of the article or a part
of it the reference to the Journal
is obligatory.

Address of the editorial office:
10, Zagoryevskaya street, building 4,
office 4, Moscow, Russia, 115598
Tel: (910) 463-53-42
www.voprospolitolog.ru,
www.souzpolitolog.ru
E-mail: voprospolitolog@yandex.ru,
souzpolitolog@yandex.ru

Executive Secretary
Shkurina S.S.

Computer-aided makeup by
Antsiferova A.S.

Translated by
Chernyshova E.V.

Signed for printing on 25.03.2020
Format 60x84/16. Offset paper.
Offset print.
Number of printed sheets.
Circulation 500 copies.
Order 0000.

Printed at the LLC "PrintUP"
Nagorny drive, 12c1,
Moscow, Russia, 117105
Tel.: +7 (495) 925-00-06

ISSN 2225-8922 (print)

12 issues a year plus

4 issues a year of the translated (eng.) version

Languages: Russian and English

<http://voprosplitolog>

Included in the list of peer-reviewed scientific publications of the Higher Attestation Commission of the Russian Federation

Included in the Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

Materials of the journal are placed on the RSCI platform of the Russian scientific electronic library – Electronic Journals Library Cyberleninka

Subscription index of the journal in the Rospechat Agency catalogue is: 70035

Objectives and themes

Academic journal "Political Science Issues" is an international peer-reviewed scientific periodical in the field of political studies. The journal has an international character because of the composition of its Editorial Board, its editors, its contributing authors and topics of its publications.

The scientific journal is published since 2011 at the "Publishing House "Science Today". Translated (eng.) version of the journal is published since 2016. Since its inception, the journal was guided by high scientific and ethical standards and today it is one of the leading political science journals in Russia.

The purpose of the journal is to promote scientific exchange and cooperation between Russian and foreign political scientists.

The journal is intended for the publication of the results of fundamental and applied scientific research. Thematic focus of the journal is reflected in the following permanent headings: "History and philosophy of politics," "Political institutions, processes and technologies," "Political regionalism and ethno-politics," "Political culture and ideologies," "Political problems of international relations and globalization."

Format of publications: scientific articles, reviews, scientific materials, materials of round tables, scientific reviews, scientific reports devoted to research problems in the field of politics and political science.

The Editorial Board and the editors of the journal in their activities are guided by the principles defined by VAK of Russia for scientific journals, including: presence of the institute of peer review for the expert quality assessment of scientific articles; information openness of the publications; availability and compliance with the rules and ethical standards for the submission of manuscripts by the authors.

The target audience of the journal is Russian and foreign specialists-political scientists, as well as graduate students and masters in the fields of political science, state and municipal management and international relations.

The journal strictly adheres to the international publishing standards and publication ethics identified in the COPE (*Committee on Publication Ethics*) document. <http://publicationethics.org>.

Full details of the journal and its editorial policy, requirements to the preparation and publication of articles, archive (issues since 2011) and additional information are available on the website: <http://voprosplitolog.ru>

E-mail address: voprosplitolog@yandex.ru

CONTENTS

POLITICAL PROCESS IN RUSSIA

Zhuravlev O. V., Tushkov A. A. National Maritime Policy of Russia on the Pacific and Indian Ocean Regional Routes	5
Kononov L. A., Chebotarev A. V. Development of Theoretical Positions about the Perspective State Policy of the Russian Federation on Anti-Immigration Extremism	12
Rumyantsev O. G. On Some Political Science Aspects of the 2020 Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation	19
Nazarov V. P. On the Question of the Evolution of the Concept of National Security	27
Pohozhaev V. I. Some Priorities of the Modern State National Policy of the Russian Federation	34
Yang Chunlei Influence of Confucianism on the Political and Cultural Elite of the Russian Society	41

PROBLEMS OF EURASIAN AND POST-SOVIET COOPERATION

Mikhailenko A. N. How to Disclose Russia's Foreign Policy Potential?	49
Zalysin I. Yu. Features of Modern Terrorism	63
Emirov R. M. On the Prospects of Islam as a System-Forming Factor in the Caucasus	68
Pliev S. M. The Role of Information Warfare on the Example of the 2008 Armed Conflict in South Ossetia	75

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD POLITICS

Pyzh V. V. Geopolitical Picture of the World on the Eve of the Second World War: Lessons of Victory for the Geopolitics of the XXI Century	82
Nazarov A. D., Nazarova E. A. Phenomenon of Import EXPO: New Approaches in the State Policy of Regulating Exhibition Activities in the PRC	104
Lantsov S. A. Ethnic Terrorism and Ethnic and Political Conflicts of the XIX-XX Centuries: Analysis of Socio-Political and Ideological Factors	114
Rodionova M. E. Specifics of Foreign and Russian Experience in Financing Political Parties	123
Temeryuk A. S. Analysis of the Distribution of Election Results to the Finnish Parliament in the Course of Four Electoral Cycles	132
Zhambaeva U. B. Tibet Buddhism in the Yuan Dynasty Political Context	142

REFLECTIONS ON THE READ

Slizovskiy D. E., Medvedev N. P. Afterword to the Article by O. G. Rumyantsev "On Some Political Science Aspects of the 2020 Constitutional Reform in the Russian Federation"	148
--	-----

OUR AUTHORS	156
-------------------	-----

AUTHORS' GUIDELINES	158
---------------------------	-----

TIBET BUDDHISM IN THE YUAN DYNASTY POLITICAL CONTEXT

In 1267-1279, Kublai fights for the real conquest of all of China. To begin with, Kublai found himself a commander-in-chief of the Chinese Shetanktse, then he decided to move the capital of his kingdom from Karakorum to China, namely to the place of the old capital of Daxin, later and now it is Beijing. A new city was built in the suburbs of Dasino, it was called the great or the capital to Khanbalik, in Chinese Dadu. Kublai had no religious fanaticism, but there was an ethnic fanaticism. In this sense, it is much more interesting to identify common stereotypical bases of behavior associated with the psychology of Kublai, and more so with the nature of the unconscious, allowing you to build a different order of ethnic structure, based on the immanent sense of unity.

Key words: state, mentor, Buddhism, dynasty, politics, religion, legitimacy, Emperor.

In 1261, Kublai Khan appointed the Pagba Lama, the Khan of the law, that is, gave him power over Tibet, and the latter in return blessed the Yuan dynasty (the original creation of the world). Kublai Khan and his retinue and the Mongol army assimilated with the Chinese after the conquest of China. Kublai Khan devoted all his power to restoring the Chinese tradition.

By 1279, all of China was subject to Kublai and, importantly, Kublai had the legal title of the Great Khan of Mongolia and Chinese Emperor. During this period, part of Tibet was also captured, where Kublai Khan later adopted Buddhism. It is known that it was the Pagba Lama who helped Kublai Khan to realize that only Buddhism can help him create an ideal model of the universal emperor, the Chakravartin Raja, who rules people of many languages and “turns the wheel of Law.” So the Pagba Lama, on the instructions of Kublai Khan, created a new Mongolian alphabet, a square script. It is known that the Pagba Lama worked on the creation of a new writing system for two years and in 1269 he presented his work to Kublai Khan. As a sign of his admiration and gratitude, Kublai Khan

granted the Pagba Lama the title of Imperial Preceptor. Thus, the new writing system became the state language by order of Kublai Khan. The alphabet was used on seals and metal or wooden passes (paizs, as they were called in Mongolian).

As for the language, there were also significant changes, characterized by the study of its functional aspect. There is every reason to believe that the FSP (functional-semantic field) is the same not only for the related group of languages, but also for the entire ethnic area, which is based, including on racial differences. This assumption is based on the nature of ethnicity, when relations between people are built in a certain coordinate system: those similar to us and those unlike us. Moreover, dissimilarity becomes a source of conflict between ethnic groups, including on the basis of language. At the same time, it is the racial component in the nature of an ethnic group that serves as a kind of barometer of a person's well-being in a non-ethnic environment. The significance of the racial world that constitutes an ethnos is also that on this basis, the Diaspora may even have a dual ethnic identity. Kublai had ethnic fanaticism, but not religious fanaticism.

From the point of view of the internal content of the nature of an ethnos in a multi-ethnic state, the ethnic process reflects only the technology of power implementation, representing a set of relatively independent actions of subjects, structures and institutions connected by various goals and interests. In other words, the ethnic process reflects the political will of the authorities, on the one hand, and the real interactions of individuals, groups, and institutions, on the other. This process is accompanied by mutually exclusive trends – consolidation and divergence.

It can be assumed that in an ethnically diverse society, the latter trend is due to the nature of information culture, which acts as a social memory of humanity, providing a link between the past, present and future through language, customs, traditions and mainly – single origin. It should be noted that at the present stage of human development, completely new forms of relations are being formed that allow us to overcome various barriers and return to our origins. We are talking about the formation of virtual communities, including ethnic ones, in the context of the information revolution. An individual representative of an ethnic group can be located at a considerable distance and at the same time take an active part in the social life of the ethnic core, that is, the factor of integration of the spatial characteristics of the ethnic group receives an additional dimension – intersubjective. It is in this context that we speak of new forms of ethnic communities, meaning an ethnic structure internalized in the knowledge, feelings, and evaluations of its members.

There is an understanding that the direct translation of a certain generalized culture leads only to some spatial and cultural disorientation of some people due to the localization of their consciousness. And, to the same extent, there is a reverse order of understanding that culture is not transmitted as a certain attitude, but is a consequence of centuries-old formation of the way of thinking, actions

and actions that characterize the nature of an ethnic group as a special manifestation of its internal and external life.

So on the instructions of Kublai, a new code of laws was created by the 90th years of the 13th century, combining the basics of the Genghis Khan Yasa with the Chinese Jin Code. It introduced new administrative divisions, dividing the country into twelve provinces, created departments for internal and foreign affairs, and a department for the supervision of employees. “Kublai gave his protégé the so-called Pearl Document, according to which Buddhist monks were exempt from taxation and received various other privileges. Soon after, he sent the Pagba Lama and his younger brother back to their homeland as the abbot of the main Sakya monastery. While Kublai sent small detachments of troops to “pacify” the remote corners of Tibet, which were still beyond the reach of the Mongols, the Pagba Lama and his brother were supposed to establish Kublai’s moral authority over the entire country” [4. P. 44]. At this time, Kublai’s Mongol opposition arose, and the Mongol world did not want to accept Kublai’s sinization. The leader of this opposition in Mongolia was Kaidu, the grandson of Ogedei, who ruled in Kashgar. He was continuously at war with Kublai throughout his life.

As a result, it is known that China was ruled by Chinese dynasties according to the ancient Chinese tradition. The Chinese themselves call their country Jungo, that is, the Middle state or Tian Xia, the middle Kingdom, on the principle that China was considered the most important state in the world. Consequently, the Mongols and the manjuri, who seized China, became part of China. This is an archaic sino-centric concept, but it is still used in the Chinese politics.

However, if we study history outside of this sino-centric model, we can come to a very different conclusion. The name Jungo, the Middle state, was used to refer to different states within different limits. The barbarian states included Han China, where the Han people who created this country are located. However, outside of the Chinese culture, it was impossible to create a legitimate dynasty in China, where the Han people made up a fairly large majority of the population and after the annexation of China by foreign empires, the majority population in these empires was also Han. It was a serious problem for the conquerors, and as a result, foreign conquerors adapted the Chinese state system and declared the dynasty their own in order to legitimize themselves in the eyes of the Han majority. So, when we talk about the Yuan Empire, it was not a Chinese empire, China was only a part of it, it was a purely Mongol state that included China. “The Yuan period is characterized by the capture of China by the Mongol nomads. The Mongol rulers continued the traditions of both Chinese rulers and Genghis Khan and were loyal to Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism. In addition, representatives of other religions – Christians and Muslims – found shelter at the court of the Mongol Khans. The Mongols carefully looked at the Confucian principles of administrative and bureaucratic arrangement of state power” [5. P. 121]. The borders of the Yuan Empire included not only the adjacent countries of Mongolia proper, but also all

the territories conquered by the Mongols from the Pacific to the Atlantic, as well as Russia itself. So the borders of the Yuan Empire were not completely defined. The then khanate was ruled by the Genghisids, the Golden Horde, they were independent, but formally recognized themselves as vassals of the great Khan, whose residence was located on the territory of Beijing. This dependence did not apply to the relations between the Mongol Khans and representatives of the Tibetan Sakya school, they were not Imperial vassals, it was the relationship of mentor and patron, and finally these relations were formed under Kublai. Formally, the source of worldly power over Tibet, the head of the Sakya school was endowed with the Mongol Khan, but the Khan himself, who claimed universal power, legitimized it by the religious mandate of his mentor. "Civil and military Affairs were transferred to a special official, ponchen, who was appointed by the Mongol Khan for a certain period. Tibet was divided into 13 regions, the appointment of the chiefs of which also depended on the Mongols. In 1268, 1287, and 1334, the Mongols conducted three surveys in Tibet to determine the amount of tribute. It shows that they actually exercised a certain power over Tibet" [3. P. 205].

In this period, the concept of two orders was created, its author was Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyaltsen. The concept describes ideal relationship of the great emperors with religion. All living beings want to be saved, spiritual salvation consists in complete liberation from suffering, and worldly salvation consists in well-being, according to the above concept. Thus, spiritual salvation is possible only through the attainment of bodhichitta. Bodhichitta (SKT. Bodhi – "enlightenment" and Chitta "consciousness"; in Tibet – byang chub kyi sems) is the most important concept of Buddhism, meaning the perfect state of the individual, devoid of negative obstacles. Bodhichitta arising from the great compassion is also interpreted as a harmony of internal and external manifestations. This state is pure and perfect, located outside of time and space [1].

Enlightenment means knowing the only true path that leads to liberation from suffering and Nirvana. Such enlightenment is possessed by a bodhisattva (Bodhi – "awakening, enlightenment," sattva "being"). A bodhisattva is one who has performed numerous feats of love and compassion, gradually accumulating merit, and has come closer to the state of a sage who has learned the truth and has come out of the painful wheel of endless births and deaths. The natural result of Buddhist practice is clear thinking, arising from the experience of an unimpeded inner space. This practice allows you to completely get rid of suffering and cyclic births. Infinite suffering and liberation in Buddhism are revealed in a single form of being, liberation is the extinction of our desires, but there must be a principle of the middle way, and this is the absolute independence of the inner being.

Thus, the concept of two orders, put forward by Kung Pagba Gyaltsenu, the spiritual liberation and worldly good depend on the religious and worldly orders, the first is owned by the Lama, and the second – by the ruler himself. They are equal, but each has its own specific functions. The "unity of the two

laws” – the secular and spiritual – codified the predominant spiritual positions of the Buddhist leader over the secular ruler, leaving the state political functions to the secular ruler.

The unity of the two laws over time extended not only to the political sphere of the heads of the Church, but also covered the daily life of ordinary people, thereby defining the specific features of the “social face” of Buddhism in the Mongolian land [2. P. 326]. The Lama here corresponds to the Buddha himself, and the ruler of the chakra corresponds to the Vartin. The Vartin chakra is the ideal Buddhist monarch. The mentor – patron relationship and the concept of two laws have no analogues in modern law, the concepts of which do not apply to them, so there is no standard category in international law to indicate the position of Tibet in respect of the Mongols in their Empire. In this regard, it is impossible to agree with the established statement that the “concept of two laws” was a legal fiction, since Buddhism in the Yuan Empire was not considered an official religion, its hierarchs were not included in the imperial system of government, and the patronage of Buddhism was explained solely by the desire of the Mongol Khans to maintain control over the Buddhist part of their subjects. Although Buddhism was considered the most favorable religion in the Yuan Empire, the idea of Buddhism played a significant role in the relationship between the Yuan dynasty and Tibet, since Tibet was a Buddhist state and the Buddhist monks actively participated in the political life of their state. It is known that Kublai appointed Pagba Lama as the state tutor of the Yuan Empire. Following Buddhism prevented the assimilation of the Mongols by the Chinese in the Yuan Empire, where the Chinese constituted the most numerous part of the population and it was facilitated by the fact that the Yuan emperors were Buddhists and showed religious tolerance. There was definitely some control of the Tibetans by the Mongols, but the principle of direct subordination did not apply to them. There was only the Mongols’ help in governing Tibet and maintaining peace, but the incorporation of Tibet into the Yuan Empire.

REFERENCES:

1. Alexeyev V. M. V starom Kitaye [In old China]. M.: Vost. Literatura; 1958 (In Russ.).
2. Buddizm v sotsiokul’turnykh i politicheskikh protsessakh Rossii, Vnutrenney i Vostochnoy Azii: transformatsii i perspektivy [Buddhism in the socio-cultural and political processes of Russia, Inner and Eastern Asia: transformations and prospects]. Edited by L. E. Yangutov. Ulan-Ude: Publishing house of Buryat State University; 2017 (In Russ.).
3. Klinov A. S. Politicheskiy status Tibeta i pozitsiya derzhav (1914 g. – konets XX v.) [Political status of Tibet and the position of the powers (1914 – the end of the XX century)]. Maikop; 2000 (In Russ.).

4. Maine John. Khan Khubilay: ot Ksanadu do sverkhderzhavy [Khan Kublai: from Xanadu to superpower]. M.: AST; 2008 (In Russ.).

5. Yangutov L. E., Khaltaeva O. R. Religioznyye verovaniya v politicheskoy kul'ture imperatorskogo Kitaya [Religious beliefs in the political culture of Imperial China]. Edited by T. B. Tsyrenov. Ulan-Ude: Publishing house of Buryat State University; 2016 (In Russ.).