

---

POLITICAL ISSUE 1(31), 2019  
SCIENCE ISSUES  
Academic journal

MOSCOW, 2019

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

Executive Secretary  
*Shkurina S.S.*

Computer-aided makeup by  
*Antsiferova A.S.*

Translated by  
*Chernyshova E.V.*

Signed for printing on 25.03.2019  
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

# CONTENTS

---

## THEORY, HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY OF POLITICS

- Boltenkova L.F., Ryabova E.I.** Territory of the Russian Principalities  
in the IX-XII Centuries and the Today Importance of this Issue ..... 4
- Goncharova L.N.** Analysis of Geopolitical  
and Geo-Economic Interaction of Regional Systems ..... 13
- Morozov I.L.** Left-Wing Extremism in Modern Russia:  
Definition, Classification, Trends ..... 19

## POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, PROCESSES AND TECHNOLOGY

- Glebov V.A., Grossman O.D., Grishin V.O.** Methods of Countering  
the Spread of Radical Ideas in Russia: Current Perspective ..... 26
- Grishaeva O.N., Nesterchuk O.A., Belyaeva V.P.** Scenarios of Stability  
and Variability of the Russian Institute of Presidency in the Context of Social  
and Political Transformations ..... 33
- Avtsinova G.I., Burda M.A.** Youth Policy in Modern Russia.  
Absenteeism and Political Protest..... 40
- Tatarov R.A., Franz A.S.** The Contours of the Political Regime  
of the Transnistrian Moldavian Republic in the Context of the State-Building ..... 46

## PROCESS POLITICAL PROBLEMS

### OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND GLOBALIZATION

- Mikhailenko A.N.** Modern Stage in the Formation of Polycentric World ..... 53
- Lebedeva M.L.** Power Technologies of the Organizational Model  
of French Regional Policy ..... 62
- Rodionova M.E.** Image Forming Technologies  
of the European Politicians (before and after the Election Campaigns)..... 73
- Kurbonova Z.M., Ikromova M.N.** The Role of Russian Federation  
in the Preventing of Inter-Tajik Conflict ..... 79

## REVIEWS

- Kozmenko V.M., Beresnev R.A.** Review of the article  
by Grishaeva O.N., Popova S.I., Belyaeva V.P., Grishina V.O.  
“The Fourth Presidential Term of V.V. Putin: New Challenges” ..... 83

- OUR AUTHORS ..... 89

## IMAGE FORMING TECHNOLOGIES OF THE EUROPEAN POLITICIANS (BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTION CAMPAIGNS)<sup>1</sup>

*The purpose of this article is to examine the peculiarities of image formation of the European politicians using the examples of the recent electorate campaigns, since the general elections of the heads of states are the most demanding from the point of view of the image and technology and most clearly demonstrate the tough rivalry among the individuals and the struggle of images. The article also focuses on the subsequent terms of government and some historical examples. Special attention is paid to the creation of international image of French President Emmanuel Macron, the peculiarities of his communication policy and his interaction with the media. The article cites the politician's ratings during the term of his presidency.*

**Key words:** *image, election campaign, communication strategy, reforms, Internet space.*

The image of political leaders of all levels plays a significant role, not to mention the image formation policy during the electoral campaigns of candidates to the post of head of state. Formation and proper use of the image by a political leader is of particular relevance due to the need to position the leader in the political space and to establish various types of communication channels with the society. In order to make a successful political career, the leader must be recognizable and this has become a necessary condition and component of any election campaign. In the European practice, especially during the electorate campaigns and when shaping the leader's image, the strategy of separating the leader's personal name from the party's image and brand is often practiced, as, for example, was done in case of S. Kurz ("Movement – list of Sebastian Kurtz"). A high degree of personification is becoming trendy in many countries, including Europe.

---

<sup>1</sup> Funded by the ERASMUS+ Programme of the European Union. Agreement Number 2015-0860/014-001.

First of all, we will define the concept of an image as “a stereotypical image of a politician or a public figure specially built during the target program of action,” proceeding from S.G. Kara-Murza’s point of view. The purpose of this article is to examine the peculiarities of image formation of the European politicians using the examples of the recent election campaigns, since the general elections of the heads of states are the most demanding from the point of view of the image and technology and most clearly demonstrate the tough rivalry among the individuals and the struggle of images. The article also focuses on the subsequent terms of government and some historical examples.

**Successful construction of a politician’s image.** It is primarily necessary to establish a certain sequence in shaping the image of a politician, starting with the determination of the audience requirements, relating the candidate’s real qualities with the expectations of the citizens and ending with the translation of selected characteristics into sign systems of various kinds and a series of events.

A politician must inspire sympathy and trust among the people and the image of the leader must be designed in accordance with the expectations of the citizens and the electorate, for example, he/she should look well on the TV, should have an adequate property status, be successful in his/her previous activities and have a reputation of an exemplary family man/woman [5. P. 16-19]. All the more important is the timely appearance of the relevant image at a given time in order to formulate a public demand for a new political leader. For example, when French sociologists recorded a request for an update of the French political elite, Emmanuel Macron became a response to such request.

Successful image of a candidate during an election campaign facilitates and simplifies the solution of such propaganda tasks as: introduction of the candidate’s image into the voters’ consciousness; an increase in the degree of the candidate’s popularity and attention to his person; positioning of the candidate among his/her opponents; gaining of the voters’ sympathy and trust, creating a positive psychological attitude to the perception of any information regarding the course of the election campaign in a way favorable for the candidate; neutralization of the negative information about the candidate; facilitation of the recruitment of supporters to the candidate’s team; formation of confidence that the candidate is the best candidate for the selected post among the candidates running in the same district; formation of an active determination to vote for this candidate.

When constructing an image, it is necessary to follow certain rules, such as, for example, the priority influence of the campaign strategy on the formation of the image, the need to conform the basic features and image requirements to the real qualities of the politician’s personality; the need to take into account electoral preferences in the formation of the image; the need to take into account the images of rivals when designing the image of the candidate.

The election of French President Emmanuel Macron was immediately associated with the expectations of vigorous actions by a young and ambitious politician aimed at strengthening the international influence of his country.

Emmanuel Macron departed from the traditional methods and strategy based on traditional parties and classical programs and preferred the network movement with a populist program in which he combined neoliberal values in the economy with the obligations of the welfare state and social protection of the population.

The need for re-thinking the imageology issues, as well as promoting the image of a politician was caused by the transfer of communication with the citizens from the traditional media to the Internet space, social networks and the blogosphere. For a political, government or business actor, it is important to build their activities and position and promote their image by mastering modern technologies and, above all, information technologies as reflected by the Internet environment and its interactive services system [3. S. 245-248]. It is the Internet environment that assists the creation and promotion of an international image. Image building is possible both for the internal and external environment, in our case, for the international community.

**The image of the president with the monarch's face and the peacemaker's image.** When the international image of E. Macron was created, he was positioned like a monarch, prudent, rational and peace loving, reasonable in conducting dialogues and eager to participate in the resolution of international conflicts; as a person who hears and considers all points of view. This image was also broadcast for the internal positioning of Macron to the French population. Macron was presented as a person who does not neglect the use of social networks.

As for the first steps after the election of Macron President of the Fifth Republic, the word "monarchy" was repeated quite often, although Macron's image strategy was somewhat corrected since then and the magnitude of the task set before him to return to active foreign policy was felt.

A number of Macron's meetings in the first few months of his presidency with such heads of states as Putin, Merkel, Trump, Libyan Prime Minister Faiz Saraj, and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan were aimed to demonstrate one thing: Paris seeks to occupy a more significant place in the process of settling international conflicts, it strives to be more involved in the global political processes in general.

Meetings with leaders of major world powers such as Putin and Trump in terms of image strategies served as important signals to the international community that France claims a more significant role in the international space, emphasizing the importance of transatlantic unity as considerable element of the French foreign policy and paying greater attention to the European affairs.

It is also interesting that to emphasize the importance and duration of relations with other countries Macron's team skillfully used historical dates, stressing that the meeting with Putin commemorated 300 years of diplomatic relations between Russia and France, and the meeting with Trump was devoted to the 100th anniversary of US entry into World War I.

**Features of Macron's communication strategy: president recluse.**

The image of Macron was influenced by such foreign policy events as Donald Trump's election US President and also by massive leaks of classified information in the media that imposed limitations on the behavior pattern of the newly elected French President.

Initially, positioning was built on the readiness for an open dialogue with the society, a greater openness than we saw later. The image makers took into account blunders of the communication strategy of the previous presidents Francois Hollande and Nicolas Sarkozy, who had often communicated with the press and allowed reporters to the backstage of the political process, thus partially contributing to their own defeat. In this connection, Macron subsequently abandoned the open model of behavior and acted differently, trying to limit his press communications. Restricted communications with journalists and tight control of relations between high-ranking officials and the media have established a clear distance between the journalistic community and the president. Many experts drew a parallel with Francois Mitterrand, who had also distanced himself from the journalists. Such policy allowed both presidents to adequately hold themselves in public, to prevent the occurrence of uncontrolled or unwanted moments and to avoid large reputational losses, helping to preserve the royal image.

Unlike his predecessors, Macron became a "silent president" after canceling the ritual July 14 interview with journalists and the practice of interviews without a microphone. The experience and communication system of his predecessors made Macron depart from the traditional methods of communication with journalists and employ other methods, such as the use of visual images in most cases through a television frame: Macron shakes hands with Putin, takes a military parade, encourages dialogue of implacable enemies, etc.

**The impact of unpopular reforms on the image of Macron.** Inside France, Macron faces great difficulties in constructing his image. This is due to the fact that the populist statements made during the election campaign even at that time caused doubts regarding their implementation. However, it is worth noting that some elements of populism were present in the strategy of almost all politicians, who claimed to win the majority of voters.

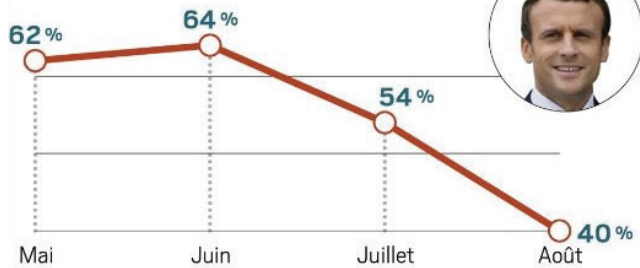
Macron inherited many problems from Francois Hollande (many measures were budgeted for 2017 under President Hollande) and the new administration had an obligation to implement such unpopular reforms as reduction of social support for the population, reduction of army funding and labor law reform that have become a serious test for the young president, triggering a wave of protests in many French cities. The situation is not easy for Macron, since he is faced with challenges and unpopular measures.

Not all of Macron's actions had a positive impact on his image. For example, when he was supposed to address the armed forces, he put on his military uniform, causing a mixed reaction from the French society. Of course, it is necessary



## Total des opinions favorables

### EMMANUEL MACRON, 2017



### L'évolution de la cote de popularité d'Emmanuel Macron comparée à celle de ses prédécesseurs en début de mandat

ifop

**Le Journal du Dimanche**

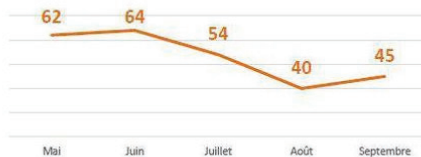


Fig. 1. Macron's rating in 2017



Fig. 2. Emmanuel Macron popularity index



to realize that the adoption of unpopular reforms and measures and the image miscalculations directly affected Macron's rating and popularity.

However, it is necessary to note the work of his professional team of PR and communication experts, evidenced by the reasonableness of each statement made by the President, which probably allowed him to avoid large reputational losses.

The results of a survey conducted by the sociological service Ifop show a growing approval of the President's policy. In early January 2019, Macron's approval rating was 28%, while in December 2018 only 23% of the French supported the head of state. The level of trust has grown in the age group of 65 years and above and among workers. The survey was conducted on-line on January 3 and 4 among 1.014 people aged 18 years and above.

The nature of the fall of the Macron's rating does not pose serious threats in the short term, since he has a stable majority in the National Assembly and is protected by his cohesive team, while his competitors are weakened. The decline in the rating is explained by Macron's attempts to systematically implement a long-term modernization program that requires sacrifices from most social groups. Macron understands the challenges facing France in the modern world. In the long term, there are obvious threats connected with the future presidential elections of 2022.

## REFERENCES:

1. *Bunin I. Frantsiya: pobeda Makrona i novaya sistema vlasti* [France: Macron's victory and the new system of power. Information site of political comments Politkom.ru] // <http://politcom.ru/22706.html> (In Russ.).

2. *Dyubien A. Rossiysko-frantsuzskim otnosheniyam ugrozhayet ravnodushiy* [Indifference threatens Russian-French relations] // <http://russiancouncil.ru/analytics-and-comments/interview/rossiysko-frantsuzskim-otnosheniyam-ugrozhaet-ravnodushie/> (In Russ.).

3. *Efimova I.N., Makoveychuk A.V. Sotsial'nyye seti kak novyy mekhanizm formirovaniya imidzha sub'yektov politicheskoy deyatel'nosti* [Social networks as a new mechanism of forming the image of political subjects] // *Izv. Altay state university*. 2012. Issue. 4. V. 1 (In Russ.).

4. *Loginov V. Makron primeril obraz monarkha* [Macron tried on the image of the monarch] // "Gazeta.Ru" about the image strategy of Emmanuel Macron 07/31/2017 // [https://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2017/07/30\\_a\\_10811582.shtml](https://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2017/07/30_a_10811582.shtml) (In Russ.).

5. *Myakotkina O. Tekhnologii formirovaniya i prodvizheniya imidzha politicheskogo lidera v usloviyakh obshchestva massmediya* [Technologies of formation and promotion of the image of a political leader in the conditions of a mass media society] // *Vlast*. 2007. No. 7 (In Russ.).