Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

GLOBAL JOURNAL

OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCES: F

Political Science



Campaign for President of Brazil in 2022

Management System under the Quality

Highlights

Theory of the Three-Phase Development

Narratives of Putins War in Hungarian Media

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 24 ISSUE 3 VERSION 1.0

© 2001-2024 by Global Journal of Human Social Sciences, USA

Volume 24 Issue 14 was originally issued as F3

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F
Political Science

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: F
Political Science

Volume 24 Issue 3 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

© Global Journal of Human Social Sciences. 2024.

All rights reserved.

This is a special issue published in version 1.0 of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences." By Global Journals Inc.

All articles are open access articles distributed under "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences"

Reading License, which permits restricted use. Entire contents are copyright by of "Global Journal of Human Social Sciences" unless otherwise noted on specific articles.

No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage and retrieval system, without written permission.

The opinions and statements made in this book are those of the authors concerned. Ultraculture has not verified and neither confirms nor denies any of the foregoing and no warranty or fitness is implied.

Engage with the contents herein at your own risk.

The use of this journal, and the terms and conditions for our providing information, is governed by our Disclaimer, Terms and Conditions and Privacy Policy given on our website http://globaljournals.us/terms-and-condition/menu-id-1463/

By referring / using / reading / any type of association / referencing this journal, this signifies and you acknowledge that you have read them and that you accept and will be bound by the terms thereof.

All information, journals, this journal, activities undertaken, materials, services and our website, terms and conditions, privacy policy, and this journal is subject to change anytime without any prior notice.

Incorporation No.: 0423089
License No.: 42125/022010/1186
Registration No.: 430374
Import-Export Code: 1109007027
Employer Identification Number (EIN):
USA Tax ID: 98-0673427

Global Journals Inc.

*(A Delaware USA Incorporation with "Good Standing"; **Reg. Number: 0423089**)*

Sponsors: Open Association of Research Society
Open Scientific Standards

Publisher's Headquarters office

Global Journals® Headquarters
945th Concord Streets,
Framingham Massachusetts Pin: 01701,
United States of America
USA Toll Free: +001-888-839-7392
USA Toll Free Fax: +001-888-839-7392

Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
2nd, Lansdowne, Lansdowne Rd., Croydon-Surrey,
Pin: CR9 2ER, United Kingdom

Packaging & Continental Dispatching

Global Journals Pvt Ltd
E-3130 Sudama Nagar, Near Gopur Square,
Indore, M.P., Pin:452009, India

Find a correspondence nodal officer near you

To find nodal officer of your country, please email us at *local@globaljournals.org*

eContacts

Press Inquiries: *press@globaljournals.org*
Investor Inquiries: *investors@globaljournals.org*
Technical Support: *technology@globaljournals.org*
Media & Releases: *media@globaljournals.org*

Pricing (Excluding Air Parcel Charges):

Yearly Subscription (Personal & Institutional)
250 USD (B/W) & 350 USD (Color)

Editorial Board

Global Journal of Human-Social Science

Dr. Arturo Diaz Suarez

Ed.D., Ph.D. in Physical Education Professor at University of Murcia, Spain

Dr. Prasad V Bidarkota

Ph.D., Department of Economics Florida International University United States

Dr. Alis Puteh

Ph.D. (Edu.Policy) UUM Sintok, Kedah, Malaysia M.Ed (Curr. & Inst.) University of Houston, United States

Dr. André Luiz Pinto

Doctorate in Geology, PhD in Geosciences and Environment, Universidade Estadual Paulista Julio de Mesuita Filho, UNESP, Sao Paulo, Brazil

Dr. Hamada Hassanein

Ph.D, MA in Linguistics, BA & Education in English, Department of English, Faculty of Education, Mansoura University, Mansoura, Egypt

Dr. Asuncin Lpez-Varela

BA, MA (Hons), Ph.D. (Hons) Facultad de Filolog?a. Universidad Complutense Madrid 29040 Madrid Spain

Dr. Faisal G. Khamis

Ph.D in Statistics, Faculty of Economics & Administrative Sciences / AL-Zaytoonah University of Jordan, Jordan

Dr. Adrian Armstrong

BSc Geography, LSE, 1970 Ph.D. Geography (Geomorphology) Kings College London 1980 Ordained Priest, Church of England 1988 Taunton, Somerset, United Kingdom

Dr. Gisela Steins

Ph.D. Psychology, University of Bielefeld, Germany Professor, General and Social Psychology, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany

Dr. Stephen E. Haggerty

Ph.D. Geology & Geophysics, University of London Associate Professor University of Massachusetts, United States

Dr. Helmut Digel

Ph.D. University of Tbingen, Germany Honorary President of German Athletic Federation (DLV), Germany

Dr. Tanyawat Khampa

Ph.d in Candidate (Social Development), MA. in Social Development, BS. in Sociology and Anthropology, Naresuan University, Thailand

Dr. Gomez-Piqueras, Pedro

Ph.D in Sport Sciences, University Castilla La Mancha, Spain

Dr. Mohammed Nasser Al-Suqri

Ph.D., M.S., B.A in Library and Information Management, Sultan Qaboos University, Oman

Dr. Giaime Berti

Ph.D. School of Economics and Management University of Florence, Italy

Dr. Valerie Zawilski

Associate Professor, Ph.D., University of Toronto MA - Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Canada

Dr. Edward C. Hoang

Ph.D., Department of Economics, University of Colorado United States

Dr. Intakhab Alam Khan

Ph.D. in Doctorate of Philosophy in Education, King Abdul Aziz University, Saudi Arabia

Dr. Kaneko Mamoru

Ph.D., Tokyo Institute of Technology Structural Engineering Faculty of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University, Tokyo, Japan

Dr. Joaquin Linne

Ph. D in Social Sciences, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dr. Hugo Nami

Ph.D.in Anthropological Sciences, Universidad of Buenos Aires, Argentina, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina

Dr. Luisa dall'Acqua

Ph.D. in Sociology (Decisional Risk sector), Master MU2, College Teacher, in Philosophy (Italy), Edu-Research Group, Zrich/Lugano

Dr. Vesna Stankovic Pejnovic

Ph. D. Philosophy Zagreb, Croatia Rusveltova, Skopje Macedonia

Dr. Raymond K. H. Chan

Ph.D., Sociology, University of Essex, UK Associate Professor City University of Hong Kong, China

Dr. Tao Yang

Ohio State University M.S. Kansas State University B.E. Zhejiang University, China

Mr. Rahul Bhanubhai Chauhan

B.com., M.com., MBA, PhD (Pursuing), Assistant Professor, Parul Institute of Business Administration,
Parul University, Baroda, India

Dr. Rita Mano

Ph.D. Rand Corporation and University of California, Los Angeles, USA Dep. of Human Services, University of Haifa Israel

Dr. Cosimo Magazzino

Aggregate Professor, Roma Tre University Rome, 00145, Italy

Dr. S.R. Adlin Asha Johnson

Ph.D, M. Phil., M. A., B. A in English Literature, Bharathiar University, Coimbatore, India

Dr. Thierry Feuillet

Ph.D in Geomorphology, Master's Degree in Geomorphology, University of Nantes, France

Contents of the Issue

i. Copyright Notice
ii. Editorial Board Members
iii. Chief Author and Dean
iv. Contents of the Issue

1. Is there a Peaceful Economic Solution to the Tensions between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America about Taiwan? *1-4*
2. Truth, Lie and Fake News in Lula's And Bolsonaro's Speeches: An Analysis of Meanings from the Candidates' Twitter in the Campaign for President of Brazil in 2022. *5-12*
3. Two Years after the Outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian War-Narratives of Putin's War in Hungarian Media. *13-24*
4. Judging Femicides from a Gender Perspective. Special Reference to the Legal Regime of El Salvador. *25-31*
5. Political Conceptualisation of the Phenomenon of "Blooming Complexity" in K. Leontiev's Theory of the Three-Phase Development Process. *33-40*

v. Fellows
vi. Auxiliary Memberships
vii. Preferred Author Guidelines
viii. Index

Volume 24 Issue 14
Originally issued as F3

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 24 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Is there a Peaceful Economic Solution to the Tensions between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America about Taiwan?

By Dr. Stanley I. Buchin
Boston University

Abstract- As the tensions between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States of America (USA) mount about the desires of the PRC to incorporate Taiwan into its political and economic structure, is there no alternatives to war between the PRC and USA over the issue other than the forceful political takeover of Taiwan by the PRC? Is the USA caught like the British and French in 1938 with no choice other than appeasement or war? The author believes there is a feasible alternative, namely, the encouragement of the PRC and Taiwan to form a Greater Chinese Common Market similar the original European Common Market, where each country retains its political sovereignty, but with a joint set of economic, trade and investment policies. This approach has clearly worked in Europe with Germany no longer being a war threat, but instead playing a key leadership role in the European Common Market (ECM) and the subsequent European Union (EU). It is not clear whether this economic "Greater China" is enough to satisfy the desires of the PRC government for a cultural "Greater China" and political "Greater China" that would result from the forcible takeover of Taiwan by the PRC, but the formation of the GCCM would be possible without a war in the Taiwan Straits and could eventually lead to the political integration of Taiwan into the PRC.

GJHSS-F Classification: *LCC: DS740.5.T28*

ISTHEREAPEACEFULECONOMICSOLUTIONTOTHETENSIONSBETWEENTHEPEOPLESREPUBLICOFCHINAANDTHEUNITEDSTATESOFAMERICAABOUTTAIWAN?

Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

OPEN ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY, USA
RESEARCH | DIVERSITY | ETHICS

© 2024. Dr. Stanley I. Buchin. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Is there a Peaceful Economic Solution to the Tensions between the People's Republic of China and the United States of America about Taiwan?

Dr. Stanley I. Buchin

Abstract- As the tensions between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the United States of America (USA) mount about the desires of the PRC to incorporate Taiwan into its political and economic structure, is there no alternatives to war between the PRC and USA over the issue other than the forceful political takeover of Taiwan by the PRC? Is the USA caught like the British and French in 1938 with no choice other than appeasement or war? The author believes there is a feasible alternative, namely, the encouragement of the PRC and Taiwan to form a Greater Chinese Common Market similar the original European Common Market, where each country retains its political sovereignty, but with a joint set of economic, trade and investment policies. This approach has clearly worked in Europe with Germany no longer being a war threat, but instead playing a key leadership role in the European Common Market (ECM) and the subsequent European Union (EU). It is not clear whether this economic "Greater China" is enough to satisfy the desires of the PRC government for a cultural "Greater China" and political "Greater China" that would result from the forcible takeover of Taiwan by the PRC, but the formation of the GCCM would be possible without a war in the Taiwan Straits and could eventually lead to the political integration of Taiwan into the PRC.

I. Early Discussions about the Formation of a Greater Chinese Common Market

The idea of the formation of a Greater Chinese Common Market is not a new one.

According to Harry Harding in a 1993 paper, *The Concept of "Greater China": Themes, Variations and Reservations,* in the *China Quarterly*:

> "The first such reference can be found in the June 1979 issue of a Taiwanese journal, Changqiao (Long Bridge), which advocated the creation of a "Chinese Common Market" that would link Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macao, Singapore and the Chinese mainland. In Hong Kong, one of the first to use a similar concept was the futurologist Huang Zhilian who, in 1980, devised the terms *Zhongguoren gongtongti* (Chinese community) and *Zhongguoren jingji jituan* (Chinese economic grouping) to refer to economic co-operation among Hong Kong, Taiwan and the mainland."

In the next year, 1994, the *Chinese Economic Studies* devoted an entire issue to the concept of a Greater Chinese Common Market. The most notable article was written by Chu-Yuan Cheng, *Concept and Practice of a "Greater Chinese Common Market",* in which he further explored how such a market might work. The possibility of including Singapore is raised in the issue, which would have further emphasized that the GCCM was an organization of sovereign states.

The question of whether Taiwan could maintain its sovereignty in a Greater Chinese Common Market appears to have been the major obstacle to its formation in the last years of the twentieth century.

In 2005, the *Refugee Survey Quarterly* published a particularly interesting article by Wei-Wei Zhang, *Overseas Chinese and the Concept of "Greater China"* in which the author concluded that:

> "While the idea of 'Greater China' originates from the early time of China and Outer China, its more recent meaning reflects the increased interaction between China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and other Chinese communities. The evolution of the idea of 'Greater China has apparently revealed some characteristics:
>
> (a) "Greater China" in its economic and political sense, refers essentially to the integration of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macao and the Chinese mainland, and in its cultural sense, it is borderless, covering virtually all of the cultural contact between Chinese communities around the world;
>
> (b) The three levels of "Greater China" are in fact interrelated: Economic "Greater China" serves as a basis on which cultural "Greater China" has evolved and political 'Greater China may eventually take shape. In turn, cultural "Greater China" has enriched the idea of the Chinese-based economic integration and an eventual political unification."

He added:

> "As the integration of Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macao and Chinese economies have acquired its own logic, and these economies are so complementary and the potential gains from their cooperation so huge, an eventual institutionalized economic "Greater China" is a likely long-term scenario.
>
> A political "Greater China" is far more difficult to achieve due to the prolonged animosity between Beijing and Taipei and various international factors. It is however feasible that with the evolution of economic integration and deepening of cultural contact, Beijing and Taipei may eventually embrace some kind of modus vivendi, if not an all-out political arrangement, in order to stabilize their relations, or at least prevent such relations from deteriorating into uncontrollable regional or international crises. In this sense, economic, cultural and political "Greater Chinas" may well move in a direction of facilitating greater peace and prosperity."

Author: Professor of the Practice Emeritus, Boston University and Adjunct Lecturer, Lasell University, United States.
e-mail: sbuchin@bu.edu

© 2024 Global Journals

The author wants to echo the views presented above, namely, that a successful economic "Greater China" could eventually lead to political unification of the PRC and Taiwan in a peaceful fashion.

II. Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement of 2010 between the PRC and Taiwan

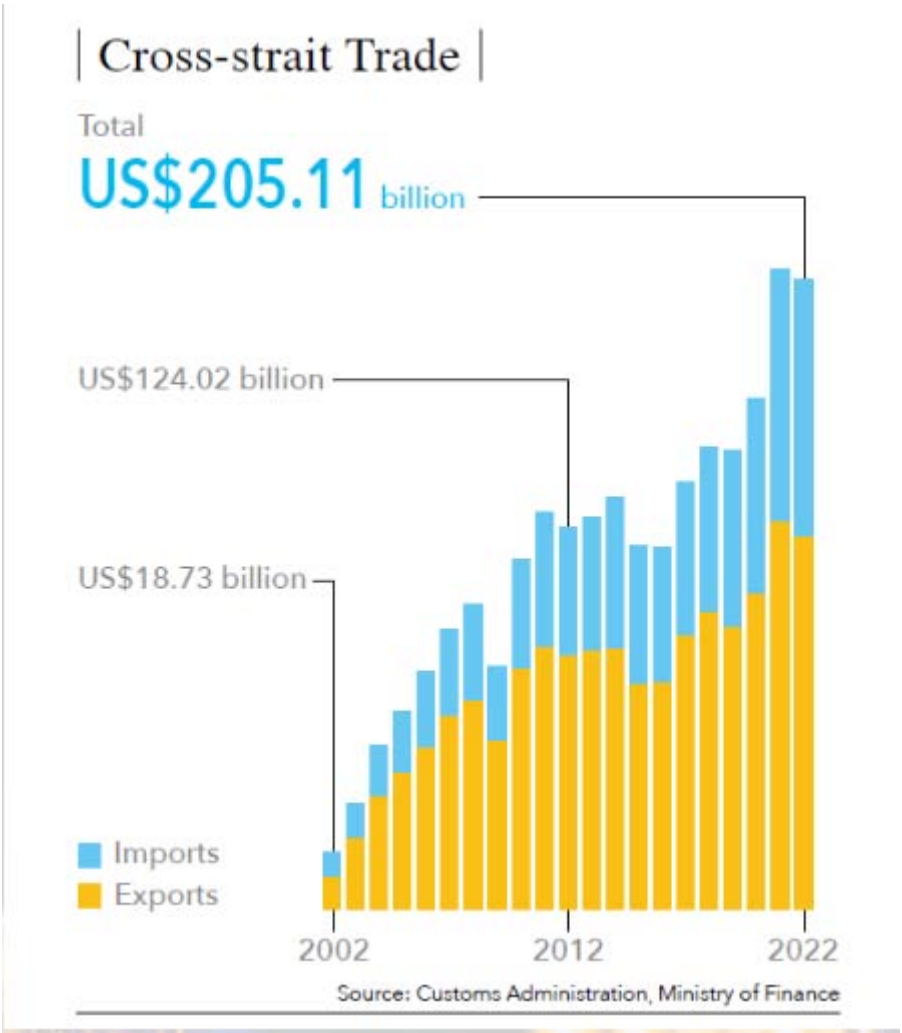
In 2010, the PRC and Taiwan signed an Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA), a free trade agreement designed to:

- Reduce tariffs and trade barriers between the two countries and
- Improve relations between them.

Siddarth Rai in a recent article from the *Institute of Chinese Studies* in Delhi concluded the following in May 2023 about the impact of the ECFA:

> "The formal opening up of Taiwan's economy to China by signing ECFA had helped Taipei to weather the 2008 global financial crisis, but it also accelerated the migration of the Taiwanese industries to mainland China. The ECFA was signed at a time when China was on the cusp of becoming the world's second-largest economy and was already rapidly expanding its presence in the global value chain. China's economic position has upgraded from a secondary to a primary role in cross-strait economic relations. China's complete industrial chain, strong international class companies, and deep capital strength have made Chinese companies more competitive than the traditional Taiwanese industries. President Tsai Ing-wen brought in several economic policy changes to reduce Taiwan's overdependence on the Chinese economy and to boost its high-tech sector companies. However, unlike Chinese enterprises, which are guided by state industrial policies, the profit-driven Taiwanese hi-tech companies continued trading and investing in the Chinese market until the US-China trade war broke out in 2018. President Tsai also unrolled New Southbound Policy to expand and diversify its trading relations with other countries in the region but with limited success as China is using its geo-economic influence in the region to isolate Taiwan."

Despite the political tensions between the PRC and Taiwan during the period following the signing of the ECFA in 2010, there has been a significant growth in the cross-strait trade between them as a result, as can be seen by the following data from the Taiwan Customs Administration in the Ministry of Finance:



© 2024 Global Journals

By 2019, the *CIA World Factbook* estimated the total volume of this trade amounting to US$165.8 billion. Exports by Taiwan to the PRC amounted to US$ 101.0 billion and imports from the PRC to Taiwan of US$64.8 billion. The PRC had become the largest trading partner of Taiwan as follows:

- *Exports:* China 26%, United States 14%, Hong Kong 12%, Japan 7%, Singapore 7%, South Korea 5%.
- *Imports:* China 21%, Japan 16%, United States 11%, South Korea 6%.

The *CIA World Factbook* also reported that the commodities involved in the 2019 international trading by Taiwan were as follows:

- *Exports:* Integrated circuits, office machinery/parts, computers, refined petroleum, liquid crystal displays.
- *Imports:* Integrated circuits, crude petroleum, photography equipment, natural gas, refined petroleum.

When we examine the direct investments by the PRC and Taiwan in each other, we find that most of the money has come from Taiwan into the PRC. According to Taiwanese government sources, between 1991 and the end of December 2022, approved investment in China averaged about US$10 *billion* per year, whereas Chinese direct investment in Taiwan averaged only US$24 *million* per year.

The author feels that this shows that economic cooperation between the PRC and Taiwan has been possible even in a hostile political environment and that both parties could benefit from further economic cooperation. The transformation of the ECFA into a Common Market structure with more coordination of economic and trade policies may be the easiest way to create this Common Market.

III. Economic Implications of the Greater Chinese Common Market

Let us examine two major economic implications of the formation of the Greater Chinese Common Market:

- The resulting size and economic power of the PRC through the GCCM in comparison with the USA and European Union
- Access to advanced semiconductor chips to the PRC and its resulting dominance of the worldwide market for such chips

Resulting Size and Economic Power of the PRC through the GCCM in Comparison with the USA and European Union

	PRC	GCCM	USA	European Union
Size in thousands of sq km	9,597.0	9,633.0	9,833.5	4,236.4
Population in millions (2019 estimated)	1,433.8	1,457.6	329.1	513.5
Real GDP (Purchasing Power Parity) 2019 in trillions of US $	22.5	23.6	20.5	19.9
Real GDP per capita 2019 in US $	15,693	16,191	62,298	38,724
Exports (Billions of 2019 US $)	2,631	2,853.7	2,519.7	2,387.8
Source: CIA World Factbook				1 Euro = $1.12

You are invited to focus on the impact of the Greater Chinese Common Market on the Real GDP (Purchasing Power Parity) lead over the USA and the EU in 2019 as follows:

% Lead in Real GDP (Purchasing Power Parity) 2019

Over	Of PRC	Of GCCM
USA	8.9%	13.1%
EU	11.6%	15.7%

If the Greater Chinese Common Market had been in existence in 2019, it would have added about 4 percentage points to the lead of the PRC over each of the USA and the EU in Real GDP (Purchasing Power Parity), a not insignificant impact.

The Real GDP (Purchasing Power Parity) is the measure generally used to compare the economic productivity and standards of living of countries or economic blocs. It adjusts the Real Gross Domestic Products of a country or economic bloc for the differences in internal purchasing power, that is, the exchange rate at which one country's currency would be converted into another to purchase the same "market basket" of products.

© 2024 Global Journals

Potential Dominance of the GCCM in the Manufacture of Semiconductor Chips

In 2023, Taiwan produced over 60% of the world's semiconductor chips and over 90% of the most advanced ones. Most were manufactured by a single company, Taiwan Semiconductor Manufacturing Corporation (TSMC). TSMC is one of the top three semiconductor manufacturers in the world (the other two being Samsung and Intel).

Semiconductor chips are used in increasing amounts in four of the fastest growing markets in the world, namely, consumer electronics, electric vehicles, medical equipment and military electronics. This growth is largely dependent on the following characteristics of the chips:

- Their becoming smaller and thinner in size
- Their capability to perform more computations in less time and
- Their production of less heat in their operation

This, in turn, requires less line width in the semiconductor circuitry. Line width is already measured in nanometers (nm) – a billionth of a meter. Apple is using bionic chips with 5 nm line width. By comparison, a human hair is 100,000 nm in width. To achieve such precision in manufacture requires special lithographic systems to print these circuits on the chips. And these lithographic systems are all manufactured by a single Dutch company, ASML, in whom TSMC, Samsung and Intel invested US$6.5 billion in 2012. The PRC is currently blocked from purchasing these special lithographic systems by an economic blockade by the USA and its Western allies, including the Dutch government.

The GCCM would not only make these advanced chips available to the PRC, but immediately make them the dominant force in the world for such chips. If this happened, the USA and EU would have to make multi-billion-dollar investments in their own semiconductor chip manufacturing plants to replace the TSMC output. The Biden administration has already started the process in 2021.

IV. Conclusions

The formation of a Greater Chinese Common Market would immediately accomplish two major goals for the PRC:

- Significantly increase its lead over the USA and EU economies in terms of GDP (Purchasing Power Parity)
- Give the PRC access to the manufacture of the most advanced semiconductor chips, including those with military application – a significant plus for Chinese involvement in the GCCM and negative for USA and Western support for such a move.

This leaves the following most significant political and economic questions:

- Would this be enough to convince the PRC government to proceed with the formation of the Greater Chinese Common Market, even with Taiwan retaining its political sovereignty with the hope that political integration might someday follow?
- Should the USA and its allies stimulate the formation of the GCCM, even if it makes available the most advanced semiconductor chips to the PRC increasing the strength of its military forces?
- Would the protection of a GCCM treaty satisfy the concerns of Taiwan about its forcible takeover by the PRC in the future?
- Should a common currency be implemented for the partner states in the GCCM? At what point in the development of the GCCM should a common currency be adopted?
- Will the formation of the GCCM help avoid warfare in the Taiwan Straits, but not replicate the kind of appeasement policies that didn't work for Chamberlain with Nazi Germany in the 1930s?

Bibliography

1. Chu-Yuan Cheng, "Concept and Practice of a "Greater Chinese Common Market"," *Chinese Economic Studies,* Volume 26, 1994 – Issue 6
2. Evelyn Cheng, "CHINA ECONOMY: China needs Taiwan's biggest chipmaker — more than the other way around," CNBC, August 19, 2022
3. CIA, *The World Factbook,* 2019
4. "Cross-strait Relations," *Taiwan.gov.tw: the Government Portal of the Republic of China/ Taiwan, 2024*
5. Harry Harding, "The Concept of "Greater China": Themes, Variations and Reservations," *The China Quarterly,* No. 136, Dec., 1993
6. Siddarth Rai, "Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement - A Study of Cross-Straits Economic Integration" *Institute of Chinese Studies, Occasional Papers,* No. 89, May 2023
7. Wei-Wei Zhang, "Overseas Chinese and the Concept of "Greater China"," *Refugee Survey Quarterly,* Vol. 24, No. 4, 2005

Author's Note: I want to express my gratitude to the members of the International Relations Discussion Group at Lasell Village, a senior living and learning community located on the campus of Lasell University, in which my wife and I reside, from whose semi-monthly discussions many of the ideas in this paper were developed and especially to the group's leader, Dr. Lawrence Clifford, BG (Retired) and it's China expert, Ms. Min-Hwa Cheng Kennard.

© 2024 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 24 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Truth, Lie and Fake News in Lula's and Bolsonaro's Speeches: An Analysis of Meanings from the Candidates' Twitter in the Campaign for President of Brazil in 2022

By Taís Seibt, Sérgio Trein, Carolina Timm & Juliana Coin
Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

Abstract- The research monitored mentions of the terms "fake news", "truth", and "lie" in the publications of the candidates Lula and Bolsonaro on their Twitter profiles during the electoral campaign for president in the Brazilian elections of 2022, in order to understand the meanings produced in their speeches, following the French Discourse Analysis methodology. Contemporary studies about disinformation on digital platforms bring the theoretical problematization of concepts. As a result, we have a rhetorical posture in Jair Bolsonaro's posts to reinforce a particular view of "truth" and "lie"—no citations were found for the term "fake news". On the other hand, Lula seeks to confirm the integrity of his statements or reiterate the falsity of what his opponent says, using discursive techniques similar to those of professional fact-checkers, concentrating all citations on the expression "fake news" in the research corpus.

Keywords: fake news; disinformation; truth; lie; lula; bolsonaro.

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC: JQ1869.A98



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2024. Taís Seibt, Sérgio Trein, Carolina Timm & Juliana Coin. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Truth, Lie and Fake News in Lula's and Bolsonaro's Speeches: An Analysis of Meanings from the Candidates' Twitter in the Campaign for President of Brazil in 2022

Taís Seibt [α], Sérgio Trein [σ], Carolina Timm [ρ] & Juliana Coin [ω]

Abstract- The research monitored mentions of the terms "fake news", "truth", and "lie" in the publications of the candidates Lula and Bolsonaro on their Twitter profiles during the electoral campaign for president in the Brazilian elections of 2022, in order to understand the meanings produced in their speeches, following the French Discourse Analysis methodology. Contemporary studies about disinformation on digital platforms bring the theoretical problematization of concepts. As a result, we have a rhetorical posture in Jair Bolsonaro's posts to reinforce a particular view of "truth" and "lie"—no citations were found for the term "fake news". On the other hand, Lula seeks to confirm the integrity of his statements or reiterate the falsity of what his opponent says, using discursive techniques similar to those of professional fact-checkers, concentrating all citations on the expression "fake news" in the research corpus.

Keywords: fake news; disinformation; truth; lie; lula; bolsonaro.

Note: A Portuguese version of this article was originally published in issue 17 of the Mediapolis journal. The republication in English was previously authorized by the editors.

I. Introduction

Considering the outcomes of the Brazilian electoral process of 2018 and the disinformation during the sanitary crisis caused by Covid-19 pandemics as of 2020, the electoral campaign for president of Brazil in 2022 brought even more attention to the dispute for the meanings of truth, lie and fake news among the candidates seeking for votes.

The ultimate example of such prominence was evidenced in the last national television debate that took place before the second round of the elections, when the Workers Party (PT) candidate Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva said that Jair Bolsonaro, who was running for reelection with the Liberal Party (PL), "lied 6,498 times" since he had taken office. The source of this number is the fact-checking website Aos Fatos, that verifies Bolsonaro's statements since 2019 (Aos Fatos, 2022, online).

Another curious fact of the campaign is the Lula's campaign registered an official channel at the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) called "Verdade na Rede" ("Truth on the Web"). The website and the social media associated to that profile did not mention Lula or PT — not even in their identification colors. The content was mostly verifications with a similar format as those used by journalistic initiatives specialized on checking digital content, refuting disinformation about Lula. After a TSE decision, on September, 20th, the channels were withheld (D'Angelo, 2022, online) and reestablished days later with changes that made it clear that they had electoral campaign content.

Understanding the meanings generated by spokespeople who had influence on the electoral debate—in this case, the candidates themselves—through their channels on social media platforms, where they obtain huge engagement (Recuero, 2021), is necessary to problemize the tensions in the highly polarized contemporary media and political environment. In this scenario, each candidate can trigger their particular meanings for these terms to gain the sympathy of their electorate. These meanings, however, can reinforce as well as distort the comprehension about disinformation in the electoral debate.

Given such circumstances, our research monitored mentions to the terms "fake news", "truth" and "lie" in candidates Lula and Bolsonaro's postings on their Twitter profiles during the electoral campaign for president of Brazil in 2022. Our general objective is to understand the generated meanings related to those words on the candidates speeches during the first round campaign period — from August, 16th, the first day of electoral advertising, to October, 2nd (included), the voting day. We aimed to capture the discursive intentions in the various situations in which the terms were mentioned by the candidates and tension the discursive divergences and convergences around the terms in the statements of candidates in such different positions in the political-ideological spectrum, following the French Discourse Analysis methodology.

Author α: Doctor in Communications at the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), professor at Unisinos (RS/Brazil) and IDP (DF/Brazil), leader of the Núcleo de Estudos em Jornalismo de Dados e Computacional - DataJor (CNPq/IDP). e-mail: tseibt@unisinos.br

Author σ: Doctor in Communications at PUCRS. Professor at Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS). Member of the Electoral Communication Research Group at UFPR.

Author ρ: MBA in Data Journalism (IDP) and member of the Núcleo de Estudos em Jornalismo de Dados e Computacional - DataJor (CNPq/IDP).

Author ω: Master's student in Communications at Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul (UFRGS), member of the Núcleo de Estudos em Jornalismo de Dados e Computacional - DataJor (CNPq/IDP) and of the Laboratório de Pesquisa em Mídia, Discurso e Análise de Redes Sociais - MidiaRS.

© 2024 Global Journals

To better understand the results, we started with contemporary studies about disinformation on digital platforms and their key concepts are discussed hereinafter. In the next section, we proceed to the discourse analysis of meanings, contextualizing the contents based on sample postings of each discursive sequence identified. As a result, we found a noticeably rhetorical stance in Jair Bolsonaro's postings, which aims to reinforce a particular view of "truth" and "lie". No mentions of the term "fake news" were found on Bolsonaro's profile during the considered period. On the other hand, Lula reinforces an intention to validate the veracity of his statements or to reaffirm the falseness of his opponent's assertions, using discourse techniques which are similar to those of professional fact-checkers. The 14 times the expression "fake news" appears in Lula's postings on Twitter during the period is a clear demonstration of that.

II. Key Concepts

The contemporary studies on information disorder (Wardle; Derahkshan, 2017) go in the same direction of the discussion about what is being called by several authors as "attention economy" (Da Empoli, 2020; Cesarino, 2022). The concept is not that new. In 1996, after identifying a paradigmatic shift in journalism, Charron and Bonville (2016, p. 340), for example, already referred to technical conditions of message production and reception that created a competitive situation not only between media, but also between the messages, which they defined as "hypercompetition". According to the Canadian theorists, this low intensity competition model evolves to a much more intense model starting in the 1970's.

According to Charron and Bonville, in the last thirty years, the number of those competing for the consumers' attention and the advertisers' money significantly grew, while the available attention volume and the publicity expenses did not grow in the same pace. However, in the attention market, the media competes against all activities in life (professional, personal, entertainment, etc.) which demand time. Yet, the available time per capita for media consumption did not raise in the last decades; people's life style transformations tend to shorten it (Charron; Bonville, 2016, p. 353).

In the second decade of the 21st century, the limited attention market was dominated by technology companies on the "platform press" (Bell; Owen, 2017), where an ecosystem was formed by a small number of technology companies that today manage a significant amount of information in our society and therefore influences the public opinion, The content hosting, distribution and monetization roles were absorbed by these companies, which converted in news, personal information and advertisement aggregators in various media formats—text, photo, audio, video. Besides that, these platforms capture the audience data—and profit with that data, since they enable targeting campaigns to highly specific user profiles.

This model demands scaling up in order to generate outcomes, which also stimulates the production of "viral" content, the use of bots, fake profiles and the creation of "digital guerrillas" to amplify the reach non-organically. This process intensifies the creation of parallel worlds, in which users are increasingly exposed to their own world perspectives, and this is intimately related to the disinformation phenomenon.

There are conceptual discussions about the approach of this phenomenon, also called "post-truth" by some authors. According to Guareschi, Amon, Guerra (2017, p. 14), the term "post-truth" is only used as a euphemism for "lie", removing from it the relevance to be studied as a distinct phenomenon. For experts, the term "post-factual" would better convey the idea of loss of confidence in facts.

The definition of fake news is also considered problematic. Allcott and Gentzkow (2017, p. 213) define it as "news articles that are intentionally and verifiably false, and could mislead readers". The authors exclude from this categorization several contents which they call "close cousins" of fake news, such as unintentional reporting errors, rumors originated from a particular news article, conspiracy theories, satires misinterpreted as facts, false statements from politicians, and biased articles that are not completely false. Many content categories framed as disinformation in Claire Wardle's (2020) definition are out of the scope proposed by Allcott and Gentzkow. Pursuant to Wardle, there are seven main types of disinformation: satire or parody, false connection, misleading content, false context, impostor content, manipulated content, and fabricated content.

Therefore, the definition of information disorder proposed by Wardle and Derahkshan (2017) tries to amplify the understanding of information "pollution" and to avoid the emptying of the term "fake news" in politics, which is frequently used by political leaders to counteract speeches the do not favor them—specially from the professional press.

Wardle and Derahkshan (2017) offer three conceptual classifications to discuss the problem of disinformation: misinformation, when fake data is shared, but with no intention to cause harm; disinformation, when false data is shared consciously in order to cause harm; malinformation, when genuine information is shared in order to cause harm, frequently related to personal or intimate data leakage.

From a cybernetic perspective, founded on digital anthropology, Letícia Cesarino questions the notion of "post-truth" disseminated as of 2016, when Oxford Dictionary chose it as the word of the year, defining it as an adjective "relating to or denoting

© 2024 Global Journals

circumstances in which objective facts are less influential in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief" (Oxford, 2016, online). In agreement with Cesarino, the separation of emotion and reason, subjectiveness and objectiveness comes from obsolete assumptions. Moreover, it is impossible to dissociate the new media from the body of the human users or, more specifically, from their "embodied cognition" (Cesarino, 2022, p. 209).

She addresses the algorithmic agencying in the contemporary processes of truth production as a cognitive process that is related to the construction of social confidence in an "emerging anti-structural dynamics":

> *The new media introduce a cybernetic bias that favors the emerging and proliferation of anti-structural forces in science as well. [...] While undermining social confidence on the preexisting expert system, the new media enable transferring it to different mediators—after all, it is impossible for human cognition to live in caos. (Cesarino, 2022, p. 228)*[1]

The author considers as expert systems, for instance, the education system and the professional press, which are social institutions that traditionally had the symbolic function of producing minimal social knowledge and consensus in democratic societies. In the platform society, where the real time, first-person shared testimony outruns the analytical slowness of the expert systems in giving meaning to events, a new path opens for conspiracy theories, where "contents not only undergo the revealing movement of showing facts in real time, but also are accompanied with the movement of emerging a truth that the 'elite' does not want the user to know"[2] (Cesarino, 2022, p. 232). Therefore, says the researcher, disinformation is not isolated pieces of false information: "It is *a whole custom environment* produced and delivered to each user by the algorithms"[3] (Cesarino, 2022, p. 245, original italics).

And the "engineers of chaos" (Da Empoli, 2020) have been efficient in articulating such agencying for political purposes. While revisiting a series of far-right political movements, Da Empoli offers a diagnostic about how the Internet, initially seen as a place for a democratic revolution, became an instrument of control, the vector of a revolution from top to bottom, that captures a huge amount of data and use it for commercial and political purposes (Da Empoli, 2020, p. 54).

The strategies of social mobilization—which produce consensus without any factual or scientific basis—reinforce political influencers without mentioning politics. As explained by Da Empoli, indignation, fear, prejudice, insult, race or gender controversy propagate on screens and generate much more attention and engagement than the tedious debate of old politics (Da Empoli, 2020, p. 88). It is a "revolution" that comes from the top of the social pyramid in an economic point of view, since they are the actors capable of capitalizing these spaces, creating charismatic leaders and highly influential gurus on social networks and then catapult them into institutional power, where they are able to pursuit higher political purposes. The author names the result as "quantum politics", where objective reality does not exist, since the version of the world each one of us sees is literally invisible to the eyes of others (Da Empoli, 2020, p. 175).

Discussing the concept or the definition of "truth" is not the object of this article. We aim to observe how the meanings of truth—as well as of lie and fake news— are socially constructed based on the discursive mobilization of political leaders when they give a statement or post on their channels in digital platforms. It is understood that the dissemination of such meanings in these spaces arise from discourse strategies that consider the full potential of how digital platforms work, and the final intention is to mobilize users in order to achieve their political interests. Capturing these meanings is relevant to discuss larger political projects imparted in the candidates' analyzed discourse strategies and to problematize the influence of these strategies on representative democracy.

III. Meaning Analysis

As claimed by Charaudeau (2008, p. 7), "language is power, perhaps man's first power". Through that power, men build language and shape it via exchanges and contacts throughout history. Consequently, language is a complex phenomenon that is not simply handling grammar rules and lexicon; it is much more of a staging of social life (Charaudeau, 2008). Due to this characteristic, language becomes an instrument of communication that is always functioning, both in everyday or colloquial relations and in institutional or formal interactions (Manhães, 2005).

In other words, discourse is a language on the move. Because of this perception, Discourse Analysis (DA) came up to study language beyond a system of grammar or linguistic formal rules. According to Orlandi (2000, p 15):

> *[...] Discourse Analysis, as the name indicates, is not about language or grammar, even though both things are in its*

[1] My own translation for the following original text: "As novas mídias introduzem um viés cibernético que favorece a emergência e proliferação de forças antiestruturais também no caso da ciência. […] Ao mesmo tempo que abalam a confiança social no sistema de peritos preexistente, as novas mídias propiciam sua transferência para outros mediadores - afinal, é impossível para a cognição humana viver no caos."

[2] My own translation for the following original text: "os conteúdos não perfazem apenas o movimento revelatório de trazer os fatos em tempo real, mas vêm acompanhados do movimento de trazer uma verdade que as 'elites' não querem que o usuário conheça".

[3] My own translation for the following original text: "Ela é todo um ambiente que é produzido e entregue de forma personalizada pelos algoritmos a cada usuário".

© 2024 Global Journals

scope. It is about discourse. Etymologically, the term carries the idea of course, run, movement. Therefore, discourse is words on the move, the practice of language; as we study discourse, we observe people talking.[4]

In Discourse Analysis, as the author emphasizes, we seek to understand language when it is making sense, in a symbolic point of view, but not as an abstract system. We try to understand it through ways of meaning, considering the fact that the production of meanings is part of human life, whether as an isolated subject or as member of a community. For this reason, Discourse Analysis also considers the conditions of language production and the contexts in which it is produced. Namely, it relates language to its exteriority, as Orlandi claims (2000). And, in this exteriority, there are both ideological and social aspects that will influence the formation of discourse and the discourse strategies that will be used.

These strategies are language operations used to produce effects of meaning. According to Charaudeau (2006, p. 218), the term strategy comes from the art of leading the operations of an army on the action field. In discourse, words are that army. In the Discourse Analysis perspective, it is known and has become common sense to state that there is no autonomous discourse: every discourse is necessarily related to other discourses. That is, in accordance with Foucault (1997), discourse is a practice that relates language to "other practices" in the social field. Therefore, words can convey different meanings, depending on the ideological stance of the speaking subject. These meanings derive from a discursive formation, which is constituted in the material instance of ideological formations.

Foucault (1997) was one of the first scholars to focus on the Discursive Formation (DF). For the author, it is established based on certain regularities, such as order, correlation, functioning and transformation. Under these conditions, discourse is constituted by a set of utterances that originate from the same DF system. In short, an utterance belongs to a DF as much as a sentence belongs to a text. In the early stages of Discourse Analysis, Pêcheux (1995, p. 312) considered a DF as a "closed corpus of discursive sequences" selected from a discursive space that is dominated by stable and homogeneous conditions of productions. Later, the author changed his idea of DF, relating it to notions of meaning and discourse subject, considering it as open and mutable. In this view of Discursive Formation, it is understood that words change their meaning depending on the positions of those who use them. According to the author, this happens because the Discursive Formation is what, in a given ideological formation, that is, from a given position in a given scenario, determines what can and must be said (Pêcheux, 1995, p. 160).

Orlandi (2000) complements, from the Discourse Analysis point of view, that the mere repetition (paraphrase) already conveys a different meaning, because it introduces a change in the discursive process. As per the author, when someone says the same thing twice, there is different effect of meaning each time, because they are two different events, just as two different words can also reaffirm the same meaning. Because of that, as mentioned by Benetti (2007), to analyze a text, first it is necessary to identify the DFs in it, since each DF is a kind of region of meanings. So, continues the author, the analyst's job is to identify and gather excerpts of the text—called Discursive Sequences (DS)— around nuclear meanings. Each one of these nuclei of meaning composes a DF and there are as many discursive formations and nuclear meanings as we can find in a text (Benetti, 2007). The analyst must, concludes the author, locate the discursive marks of the tracked meaning, the repetitions of meaning, which will enable the identification of the DFs.

That is exactly what was done in this research. We collected tweets from the official profiles of the two main presidential candidates of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro (PL) and Lula (PT), from August, 16th to October, 2nd, 2022, comprising the period of the first round of the Brazilian elections. Using the advanced search tool available on the social network's website, we searched the words "truth" (22 occurrences total), "lie" (17 occurrences total) and "fake news" (14 occurrences total).

After the collection of data, we identified the discursive formations related to the monitored terms and, within them, the discursive sequences that gave meaning to the discursive formation being analyzed. It is important to mention the number of discursive sequences is higher than the number of postings, because many referred to different nuclear meanings.

a) Truth on Lula's profile

On Lula's profile, we identified 19 discursive sequences for the discursive formation "Truth".

Discursive Sequence Combat Against Lies: 8
Discursive sequence São Francisco River Transposition: 2
Discursive sequence Violence Against Women: 1
Discursive sequence Campaign Donation: 1
Discursive sequence Bolsonaro: 1
Discursive sequence Lawsuit Against Lula 1
Discursive sequence The Future of Brazil: 1
Discursive sequence Unemployment: 1
Discursive sequence Countdown to the Election: 1

[4] My own translation for the following original text: "[...] a Análise de Discurso, como seu próprio nome indica, não trata da língua, não trata da gramática, embora todas essas coisas lhe interessem. Ela trata do discurso. E a palavra discurso, etimologicamente, tem em si a ideia de curso, de percurso, de correr por, de movimento. O discurso é assim palavra em movimento, prática de linguagem; com o estudo do discurso observa-se o homem falando."

© 2024 Global Journals

Discursive sequence Geraldo Alckmin: 1
Discursive sequence Engagement on Social Networks: 1

In the postings identified with the word truth, there were 11 different discursive sequences. In all of them, the meaning was always intended to clarify the truth, seeking to answer messages that aimed to produce untruth and disinformation meanings. Two postings clearly illustrate the effects of meaning intended, based on two different DSs.

"Spread the truth: 15 lies against Lula were already withdrawn from social media by TSE, including untruthful content disseminated by Bolsonaro. Lying is part of the strategy used by the Office of Hatred."[5] *(Lula Oficial, 2022)*

"Water is a basic right of all. That is why Lula and Dilma made over than 80% of the São Francisco River Transposition. While Bolsonaro lies, the people of the Northeast knows who truly provided the construction." (Lula Oficial, 2022b)[6]

The fist case is an example of DS Combat Against Lies. There was a notorious effort by Lula's campaign to position the Labor Party's candidate as someone who cares about truthful information, counterweighting Jair Bolsonaro's already consolidated image of disinformation disseminator. This started in the prior electoral campaign and went along his whole term of office, due to the daily verifications, for instance, performed by the fact-checking website Aos Fatos, mentioned in the introduction of this paper. Bolsonaro's profiles are frequently the object of researches that point out the usage of deceptive discourse as part of his communication strategy. There are approaches that apply techniques of discourse analysis, such as Viscardi's (2020) work, who analyzed Bolsonaro's Twitter in the 2018 elections; and also Gehrke's and Benetti's, who analyzed disinformation related to Covid-19 in Brazil and identified the former president and his sons as some of the main disseminators of false and deceptive discourse about the disease and its treatment.

In the second posting, we have the DS São Francisco River Transposition, a construction work that was initiated during the Labor Party's government and carried on by Bolsonaro's administration. The undertaking generated a dispute on media and in the debates about who was really responsible for the construction.

b) Lie on Lula's profile

In the discursive formation "Lie", we found 18 DSs:

Discursive Sequence Combat Against Lies: 11
Discursive sequence Evangelicals: 1
Discursive sequence The Future of Brazil: 1
Discursive sequence Campaign Donation: 1
Discursive sequence Religious Freedom: 1
Discursive sequence Bolsonaro: 1
Discursive sequence Press: 1
Discursive sequence Lawsuit Against Lula 1

Like in the postings identified for truth, the objective was always more forceful in this DF: that is, seeking to clarify the effects of disinformation intended by the opponent in the electoral campaign. At least one posting demonstrates the presence of DS Combat Against Lies:

"The current president is not used to coexist democratically. He has never met with unionists, indigenous people, quilombolas or entities that represent women. He only meets with his own gang to create lies. For him, it doesn't matter if he is lying or saying the truth". (Lula Oficial, 2022b)[7]

c) Fake News on Lula's profile

For the DF "fake news", we found 23 DSs on Lula's postings on Twitter during the considered period:

Discursive Sequence Combat Against Lies: 13
Discursive sequence Countdown to the Election: 3
Discursive sequence Engagement on Social Networks: 2
Discursive sequence Evangelicals: 1
Discursive sequence The Future of Brazil: 1
Discursive sequence Violence Against Women: 1
Discursive sequence Campaign Donation: 1
Discursive sequence Bolsonaro's Motociata: 1

In the postings identified with the expression "fake news", the effect of meaning of the discursive sequences was to introduce and point out the disinformation in the public debate and to fight it. An example that shows an attempt of fighting fake news, precisely through the DS Combat Against Lies, is presented below:

"We are in the homestretch and we will always stick with the truth. To follow the news of the combat against fake news, follow @Lulapelaverdade on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and TikTok. https://lula.com.br/verdade-na-rede/". (Lula Oficial, 2022c)[8]

Note that the posting refers to the profile "Verdade na Rede" as a source to follow the news of the combat against fake news. As addressed in the introduction of this article, this channel was questioned in the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) for not having, initially, any clear mention to Lula's party or campaign, despite the fact that it had been registered as an official

[5] My own translation for the following original text: "Espalhe a verdade: 15 mentiras contra Lula já foram derrubadas das redes sociais pelo TSE, inclusive conteúdos mentirosos divulgados por Bolsonaro. Para o gabinete do ódio, mentir faz parte da estratégia".

[6] My own translation for the following original text: "Água é um direito básico de todos. Por isso que Lula e Dilma fizeram mais de 80% da Transposição do Rio São Francisco. Enquanto Bolsonaro mente, o povo do Nordeste sabe quem fez a obra de verdade."

[7] My own translation for the following original text: "O atual presidente não está habituado a conviver democraticamente. Ele nunca se reuniu com sindicalistas, indígenas, quilombolas ou entidades representativas de mulheres. Ele só se reúne com a turma dele para fazer mentiras. Para ele, mentir ou falar a verdade não tem diferença."

[8] My own translation for the following original text: "Estamos na reta final e seguiremos com a verdade sempre. Para acompanhar as notícias de combate às fake news, siga as redes @Lulapelaverdade no Twitter, no Facebook, no Instagram e no Tiktok. https://lula.com.br/verdade-na-rede/".

© 2024 Global Journals

profile in the candidacy registration available in the portal DivulgaCand, where TSE publishes the data that the candidates provided in their application. Specially dedicated to fight the rumors about Lula, the channel is a concrete example of the campaign's image building of Lula as an antagonist of Bolsonaro when it comes to disinformation.

Based on the persuasive techniques and procedures described by Roiz (1994), it is possible to make a more specific analysis of Lula's postings regarding the expressions Lie, Truth and Fake News. Using basically a verification narrative in the postings, Lula's campaign sought to give a persuasive intention to the information they considered interesting for his campaign, such as trying to demonstrate that his opponent used to invoke lies or disinformation. For this purpose, in a linguistic point of view, there was also a concern to structure the situation, facts or events in a simplified way in order to facilitate the understanding of the meanings. In argumentative terms, the postings were always treated with an interest on facts of reality, systematically repeating itself and followed of value judgments, in order to produce an effect of meaning that the messages issued by candidate Bolsonaro could contain untruths in his statements.

d) Truth on Bolsonaro's profile

We identified 9 discursive sequences for "truth" in Jair Bolsonaro's postings on Twitter during the analyzed period:

Discursive sequence Comparison Between Governments: 2
Discursive sequence Dictatorship: 1
Discursive sequence Press: 1
Discursive sequence Truth: 1
Discursive sequence Brazil Is Ours: 1
Discursive sequence Brazil Overcoming Challenges: 1
Discursive sequence UN: 1
Discursive sequence The President's Way to Express Himself: 1

According to the postings, there is a clear production of meaning seeking to show that today's Brazil, in Bolsonaro's administration, is better and overcoming challenges.

> *"Today's Brazil no longer serves these outdated regimes. Today we serve our people! The public money, which in fact belongs to Brazilians, when not given back through tax reductions, is used to develop our country, not to support dictatorships anymore. (Jair Bolsonaro, 2022)*[9]

In this posting, we find two different DSs: the comparison between governments, mentioning "outdated regimes", and the DS about dictatorship. An aspect that should be highlighted in this relation is the attempt to support a speech that defends the nation's freedom, connecting the opponent to Latin American "socialist dictatorships", while Bolsonaro is frequently labeled as authoritarian by this political rivals and the press.

The discourse seeks to invert the discussion of authoritarianism based on the polarizing—and populist— logic of "us against them": the others are authoritarians, because they support dictators. This the "truth" in Bolsonaro's speech. This type of discourse is qualified as an example of Bolsonaro's "raging populism" in Viscardi's (2020) analysis of the 2018 elections, in which the discourses of hate against the Labors Party (of candidate Fernando Haddad) and of fight against corruption reflect the dissatisfaction of a portion of the population with Brazilian politicians and bring these people together" (Viscardi, 2020, p. 1153). In a different analysis of meanings, in the context of the Covid-19 pandemics, Seibt and Dannenberg (2021) associate Bolsonaro's discourse strategies on Twitter to authoritarian speech characteristics, based on Levitsky and Ziblat (2018), one of those characteristics being the identification of enemies—the "system", the media, the corrupt. The example above contains all these aspects—the anti-Labor Party stance, the corruption.

e) Lie on Bolsonaro's profile

For the DF "Lie", we found 5 DSs in Bolsonaro's postings:

Discursive sequence Taxes: 1
Discursive sequence Comparison Between Governments: 1
Discursive sequence The Father of Lies: 1
Discursive sequence Corruption: 1
Discursive sequence The President's Way to Express Himself: 1

The discursive sequences found in the postings seek to produce an effect of meaning that the previous governments used to lie. An example of posting and DS that illustrates this item is:

> *"Before our arrival, Brazil was characterized by the high taxes. No one talked about reduction, because the administrations always billed the people for their harmful politics and practices. They said that less taxes meant less tax collection, which we proved to be a big lie". (Jair Bolsonaro, 2022a)*[10]

It is evident that the intention is to create a meaning of lie for the previous administrations, triggering the already mentioned discourse strategies of polarization and hate—the raging populism—, keeping the connection with the audience—the "people"— base

[9] My own translation for the following original text: "O Brasil do presente deixou de servir a esses regimes ultrapassados. Hoje servimos ao nosso povo! O dinheiro público, que na verdade é dos brasileiros, quando não devolvido através de reduções de impostos, é usado para desenvolver o nosso país e não mais sustentar ditaduras".

[10] My own translation for the following original text: "Antes de nossa chegada, o Brasil era marcado pelos altos impostos. Não se ouvia falar em redução, porque governos sempre repassaram a conta de suas políticas e práticas nefastas para o povo. Diziam que menos impostos era menos arrecadação, o que provamos ser uma grande mentira".

© 2024 Global Journals

on a purely rhetorical effort, with no commitment to factual truth.

f) Fake news on Bolsonaro's profile

We did not find any posting and, consequently, any discursive analysis related to the term on Bolsonaro's profile during the analyzed period. On one hand, this is surprising, since fake news became a highly relativized term in the public debate, used by the republican Donald Trump, in the United States, to even contradict the press. On the other, it is symptomatic that Bolsonaro does not use this term, since he is frequently accused by his political opponents—and by the press—of producing and disseminating fake news.

Just as it was done with candidate Lula, it is also possible a more specific analysis of Bolsonaro's campaign related to the persuasive techniques and procedures classified by Roiz (1994). Unlike Lula, who tried to establish a narrative closer to verification, Bolsonaro's campaign on Twitter sought to exploit superficial feelings and emotions of his voters, such as patriotic ideals, fantasies and obsessions. For that purpose, his campaign tried to promote the association of simplifying procedures, seeking to create two totally opposite fields. That is, his field of alleged truths; and his opponent's, with alleged lies. For that, exaggerations or distortions were used to describe some details of facts or events. Moreover, seeking to convince through the repetition of topics, such as the arguments that Brazil was much better compared to previous administrations.

IV. Final Considerations

The connection between the meanings produced by the two main candidates for president of Brazil in 2022, who featured the closest second round in the Brazilian democracy history[11], is that both sought to produce their own meanings of truth and lie when speaking to their followers. That is, there was a concern in reaffirming or repositioning the meanings of truth on the official profiles. However, the Lula's and Bolsonaro's discourse strategies are completely different.

Lula, who was elected for his third mandate as the president of Brazil, sought to create a verification narrative, with several postings classified in the discursive sequence (DS) of Combat Against Lies in all of the three analyzed discursive formations (DF). Bolsonaro prioritized a rhetorical speech, endorsing oppositions such as "us against them" and "good versus evil". This discourse characterizes not only his profile, but also the whole Bolsonaro clan, considering that Carlos, Eduardo and Flávio Bolsonaro, sons of the then president, who respectively hold office at the City Council of Rio de Janeiro, Federal House of Representatives and Senate, are highly active in social media[12].

After the elections, a question that remains is: will this discursive clash on social media continue after Lula's inauguration? And also: in the next elections, whether for president or not, will technology tools also be used as an instrument to convince the voters? Based on what was seen in the 2022 election, the discursive battle was not around the comparison of propositions. Strategies of counterpropaganda and disqualification of opponents have always been applied in electoral campaigns. However, nothing useful for the Brazilian democracy came out of what happened in 2022.

It is important that researches stitched together by understandings of media education, political science and online behavior come closer. From transdisciplinary perceptions like this, it will be possible to elaborate tools and methods that aim to develop —and possibly mitigate— the social consequences of disinformation.

References Références Referencias

1. Afonte (2022, October, 28th). Noções de verdade, mentira e fake news nas redes do clã Bolsonaro. *Afonte*. https://afonte.info/2022/10/28/nocoes-de-verdade-mentira-e-fake-news-nas-redes-do-cla-bolsonaro/
2. Allcott, H., Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, *31*(2), 211-236.
3. Aos Fatos (2022, November, 8th). Em 1.407 dias como presidente, Bolsonaro deu 6.673 declarações falsas ou distorcidas. *Aos Fatos*. https://www.aosfatos.org/todas-as-declara%C3%A7%C3%B5es-de-bolsonaro
4. Bell, E., Owen, T. (2017). The platform press: How Silicon Valley reengineered journalism. *Tow Center for Digital Journalism*. https://doi.org/10.7916/D8R216ZZ
5. Benetti, M. (2007). Análise do discurso em jornalismo: Estudo de vozes e sentidos. In: C. Lago, M. Benetti (Orgs.) (2007). *Metodologia de pesquisa em jornalismo* (pp. 107-122).Vozes.
6. Cesarino, L. (2022). *O mundo do avesso: Verdade e política na era digital*. Ubu Editora.
7. Charaudeau, P. (2006). *Discurso das mídias*. Contexto.
8. Charaudeau, P. (2008). *Linguagem e discurso*. Contexto.

[11] A different study analyzed postings by the Bolsonaro clan with the aid of the BolsoData platform, which considered the meanings of postings by Carlos, Eduardo, Flávio and Jair Bolsonaro on their official profiles on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and YouTube, as well as messages they shared in public channels in Telegram app, where a certain discursive pattern between the family members was observed (Afonte, 2022).

[12] The Brazilian president election had a second round on October, 30th, 2022, when Lula (PT) was elected with 50,9% of votes and Bolsonaro received 49,1% of votes.

© 2024 Global Journals

9. Charron, J., Bonville, J. (2016). *Natureza e transformação do jornalismo*. Insular.
10. Da Empoli, G. (2020). *Os engenheiros do caos*. Vestígio.
11. D'Angelo, A. (2022, September, 20th). TSE manda tirar do ar site de checagem da campanha de Lula. *Desinformante*. https://desinformante.com.br/tse-manda-tirar-do-ar-site-de-checagem-da-campanha-de-lula/
12. Foucault, M. (1997). *A arqueologia do saber*. Forense Universitária.
13. Gehrke, M., Benetti, M. (2021). A desinformação no Brasil durante a pandemia de Covid-19:
14. Temas, plataformas e atores. *Fronteiras*, *23* (2), 14-28. https://doi.org/10.4013/fem.2021.232.02
15. Guareschi, P.A., Amon, D., & Guerra, A. (Orgs.) (2017). *Psicologia, Comunicação e Pós-verdade.* Abrapso.
16. Jair Bolsonaro [@JairBolsonaro] (2022, August, 24th). *O Brasil do presente deixou de servir a esses regimes ultrapassados(...).* Twitter. https://twitter.com/jairbolsonaro/status/1562569005889888259
17. Jair Bolsonaro [@JairBolsonaro] (2022a, August, 18th). *Antes de nossa chegada, o Brasil era marcado pelos altos impostos(...*). Twitter. https://twitter.com/jairbolsonaro/status/1559550052477042689
18. Levitsky, S., Ziblatt, D. (2018). *Como as democracias morrem*. Zahar.
19. Lula Oficial [@LulaOficial] (2022, September, 10th). *Espalhe a verdade(...)*. Twitter. https://twitter.com/LulaOficial/status/1568715479908323331
20. Lula Oficial [@LulaOficial] (2022a, September, 20th). *Água é um direito básico de todos(…)*. Twitter. https://twitter.com/LulaOficial/status/1572374407460573190
21. Lula Oficial [@LulaOficial] (2022b, September, 2nd). *O atual presidente não está habituado a conviver democraticamente(....*). Twitter. https://twitter.com/LulaOficial/status/1565806711214063618
22. Lula Oficial [@LulaOficial] (2022c, September, 28th). *Estamos na reta final e seguiremos com a verdade sempre(…)*. Twitter. https://twitter.com/LulaOficial/status/1575236365658501121
23. Manhães, E. (2005). Análise de discurso. In J. Duarte, A. Barros (Orgs.) (2005). *Métodos e técnicas de pesquisa em comunicação* (pp. 305-315). Atlas.
24. Orlandi, E. (2000). *Análise de discurso: Princípios e procedimentos*. Pontes.
25. Oxford Living Dictionaries (n/d). Post-truth. In *Oxford Living Dictionaries*. Retrieved on July, 23rd, 2017, from https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/post-truth
26. Pêcheu, M. (1995). *Semântica e discurso: Uma crítica à afirmação do óbvio*. Editora da Unicamp.
27. Recuero, R., Soares, F.B., Vinhas, O., Volcan, T., Zago, G., Stumpf, E. M., Viegas, P., Hüttner, L.G., Bonoto, C., Silva, G., Passos, I., Salgueiro, I., Sodré, G. (2020). *Desinformação, Mídia Social e Covid-19 no Brasil: Relatório, resultados e estratégias de combate*. Mídia RS. https://wp.ufpel.edu.br/midiars/2021/05/17/desinformacao-sobre-covid-19-na-midia-social-brasileira-laboratorio-midiars-divulga-relatorio-de-pesquisa/
28. Roiz, M.F. (1994). *Técnicas modernas de persuasión*. Eudema.
29. Seibt, T., Dannenberg, M. (2021). Pandemia, desinformação e discurso autoritário: Os sentidos das declarações de Jair Bolsonaro no Twitter a partir de checagens do Aos Fatos. *Liinc em Revista*, *17*(1), e5687. https://doi.org/10.18617/liinc.v17i1.5687
30. Veja. (2022, October, 30th). Lula vence Bolsonaro e é eleito presidente da República. *Veja.* https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/apuracao-segundo-turno-eleicoes-2022/
31. Viscardi, J. (2020). Fake news, verdade e mentira sob a ótica de Jair Bolsonaro no Twitter. *Trabalhos em Linguística Aplicada*, *59*(2), 1134-1157. https://doi.org/10.1590/010318137158916202005 20
32. Wardle, C., Derakhashan, H. (2017). Information disorder: Toward an interdisciplinary framework for research and policy making. *Council of Europe Report*. https://edoc.coe.int/en/media/7495-information-disorder-toward-an-interdisciplinary-framework-for-research-and-policy-making.html
33. Wardle, C. (2020). Guia Essencial da First Draft para entender a desordem informacional. *First Draft*. https://firstdraftnews.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Information_Disorder_Digital_AW_PTBR.pdf?x75440

© 2024 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 24 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Two Years after the Outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian War-Narratives of Putin's War in Hungarian Media

By Andras Hugyik

Abstract- With the Russian military aggression against Ukraine, which was launched on 24 February 2022 as a special military operation, Russia essentially wants to prevent Ukraine from joining the Western world, to which Hungary belongs. As there are one and a half hundred thousand Hungarians living in Ukraine, it is in the fundamental Hungarian national interest that Ukraine succeeds in its efforts to join the Western integration organizations.

Everyone agrees that armed intervention against a sovereign state without a declaration of war is a violation of international law and constitutes aggression, regardless of the motives. However, in order to judge the Russia-Ukraine war objectively, it should be mentioned that since 1945, not only the Soviet Union and its successor, the Russian Federation, but also the United States of America have made use of this illegitimate instrument under international law and the UN Charter on numerous occasions.

Keywords: russia-ukraine war, reasons, identifying causes, consequences, hungarian perception, security policy, impact, nato enlargement, sanctions, views, social media, opinion polls.

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC: JZ1616



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2024. Andras Hugyik. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creative commons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Two Years after the Outbreak of the Russian-Ukrainian War-Narratives of Putin's War in Hungarian Media

Andras Hugyik

Abstract- With the Russian military aggression against Ukraine, which was launched on 24 February 2022 as a special military operation, Russia essentially wants to prevent Ukraine from joining the Western world, to which Hungary belongs. As there are one and a half hundred thousand Hungarians living in Ukraine, it is in the fundamental Hungarian national interest that Ukraine succeeds in its efforts to join the Western integration organizations.

Everyone agrees that armed intervention against a sovereign state without a declaration of war is a violation of international law and constitutes aggression, regardless of the motives. However, in order to judge the Russia-Ukraine war objectively, it should be mentioned that since 1945, not only the Soviet Union and its successor, the Russian Federation, but also the United States of America have made use of this illegitimate instrument under international law and the UN Charter on numerous occasions. It is also hard to deny that interventions have always been and are always driven by the violent defence of a great power's sphere of influence, or by a desire to expand its sphere of interest, or by some other interest considered legitimate and just, which does not exempt the intervening power from condemnation under international law for the use of brute force and its consequences.

The aim of this analysis is to present, characterize and compare the prevailing views in Hungarian public opinion, as expressed in social media and the press, without any distorted simplification. The basic principle of the author is that portraying and analyzing any military intervention merely as a struggle between "good" and "bad" is nothing more than a distorted simplification of real facts and contexts for one's own interests.

Keywords: russia-ukraine war, reasons, identifying causes, consequences, hungarian perception, security policy, impact, nato enlargement, sanctions, views, social media, opinion polls.

I. Introduction: The Official Hungarian Position Regarding the Russian Military Aggression Against Ukraine

The official Hungarian position regarding the Russian military aggression against Ukraine, which was launched on 24 February 2022 as a special military operation, can be summarized as follows: Russia essentially wants to prevent Ukraine from joining the Western world, to which we belong. As there are one and a half hundred thousand Hungarians living in Ukraine, it is in the fundamental Hungarian national interest that Ukraine succeeds in its endeavor. We are therefore committed to getting Ukraine's EU accession process underway as soon as possible. So Russia's attempt to conquer Ukraine is an attack on Hungarian interests.

Nevertheless, Hungary's support for Ukraine is controversial. The official Hungarian position is that the Russian-Ukrainian war is "not our war". Hungary is not a belligerent party and does not intend to become one: it does not send troops, does not supply arms, and does not allow foreign arms shipments to pass through its territory. However, we support the EU's efforts, including EU arms supplies to Ukraine, the humanitarian aid program, and the wide range of economic and political sanctions against Russia. The only thing we cannot support is the complete severing of energy ties because this is a measure that would be more damaging to us than to Russia. However, we are not opposed to any EU Member State that can do so by cutting off its energy relations with Russia, even completely.

According to official Hungarian policy, it is not in our interest to get involved in this war, but it is in our interest that the war should end as soon as possible and that it should end without the Russian side achieving the objectives for which it started the war.

This approach is interpreted by the official Hungarian policy as Hungary's support for peace and the early start of peace negotiations, while the other states that are effectively supporting Ukraine militarily prefer the continuation of the war. The Hungarian official position ignores the fact that a negotiated settlement is conditional on the possibility of compromise between the parties. But Russia - after the failed peace talks in Brest and Istanbul (23, 8) and the accession of the occupied territories to the Federation - cannot, and Ukraine - still confident of regaining the lost territories - does not want to make any compromises.

Unfortunately, the position of the collective West is as contradictory as the official Hungarian position. While the states that militarily support Ukraine now agree that there is no military solution to the conflict, military support for Ukraine is only increasing. Of the two contradictory positions, the Hungarian position is the more acceptable to the ordinary Hungarian citizen.

There are many stereotypes circulating in the Hungarian press and social media, including that the Ukrainian aspirations are the product of some kind of anti-Russian US/NATO conspiracy. These publicists

Author: Retired Police Colonel, Chief Councilor of the Hungarian National Police. He is a Military Engineer, Economist, and Political Expert, with a Ph.D. in Military Sciences.
e-mail: seniorhugyik@gmail.com

© 2024 Global Journals

should not be taken as the position of the Hungarian government or parliament. According to the Hungarian Parliament's resolution, we cannot accept any narrative that would antagonize Hungarian public opinion against NATO. (1)

Unfortunately, the parliamentary resolution is contradicted by the statements of the Speaker of the Parliament himself. László Kövér believes that the real reason for the war in Ukraine, which Pope Francis called provoked, is not the Donbas region, nor the general tension and confrontation between Ukraine and Russia, but the American strategy of keeping the US in Europe, excluding Russia from Europe and "pushing Germany down" by preventing it from taking the lead in Europe. (22) In evaluating this statement, it should be noted that although the Speaker of the Parliament is the head of the supreme legislative body, he is not a policymaker in Hungary.

Despite the fact that the Hungarian ruling party (FIDESZ), which used to promote "opening to the East" and did a lot of business with Russia, and Prime Minister Viktor Orbán, who regularly met with Putin, won another two-thirds victory on 3 April 2022, this does not mean that the majority of Hungarians have sided with the Russian aggressor or support the maintenance of friendly relations with Russia. According to a survey by Závecz Research conducted between 20-23 May 2022, only 33% of the population think it is a good policy to be friends with Russia. Even the ruling party camp is not unanimously pro-Russian, with only 45% in favor of friendly relations with Russia. (19)

Everyone agrees that armed intervention against a sovereign state without a declaration of war is a violation of international law and constitutes aggression, regardless of the motives. However, in order to judge the Russia-Ukraine war objectively, it should be mentioned that since 1945, not only the Soviet Union and its successor, the Russian Federation, but also the United States of America have made use of this illegitimate instrument under international law and the UN Charter on numerous occasions. It is also hard to deny that interventions have always been and are always driven by the violent defence of a great power's sphere of influence, or by a desire to expand its sphere of interest, or by some other interest considered legitimate and just, which does not exempt the intervening power from condemnation under international law for the use of brute force and its consequences.

It is less accepted that portraying these military interventions merely as a struggle between "good" and "bad" is nothing more than a distorted simplification of real facts and contexts for one's own interests.

The aim of my analysis is to present, characterize and compare the prevailing views in Hungarian public opinion, as expressed in social media and the press without any distorted simplification, and to draw some conclusions that I consider acceptable.

In connection with the Russian military aggression against Ukraine, launched on 24 February 2022 as a special military operation, the following well-distinguished approaches have appeared in the Hungarian media and community platforms In addition to the aforementioned official position of the Hungarian Government:

The reason for the Russia-Ukraine war is Russia's strategy, rooted in its imperial past, that economic and military power derives from the size of the country, and therefore Russia must seize every means to expand.

According to this approach, both the Soviet and Russian political leadership followed the logic of Tsarist Russian great power, according to which economic and military power derives from the size of the country, and therefore all means must be used to expand. For Soviet-Russian politicians, except Gorbachev, people are just numbers and puppets for the ultimate goal of Russia's territorial expansion, while stressing that the human being is the greatest value.

What the more sane part of the world today calls genocide in Ukraine is a logical step in such an approach, because it is necessary to expel Ukrainians from their homes so that the Russians can manipulate the ethnic composition of the occupied Ukraine territories and the fake referendums there, that will legitimize the Russian annexation. So you can understand why the Baltic countries are worried and why Finland and Sweden wanted to join NATO.

Indeed, historical experience tells us that possible Russian aggression is not a mere fantasy, but a very real possibility. And it is not NATO that is expanding eastwards, but the Russians who are pushing their neighbors into NATO and the EU.

It would be very important for Ukraine to successfully defend itself and, as a consequence, for the Russians to remove from power President Putin, whose misguided policies have caused enormous bloodshed among the Ukrainian and Russian people and enormous economic damage to his country and the world. As for the eventual restoration of Ukraine, the bill for the cost of that restoration should be met from the Russian assets that have been frozen.

The Russian leadership does not realize that the time spent on the war is working against it, because Ukraine will use this time to create the conditions for the war to continue successfully, while the Russian people can understand what is really happening in Ukraine.

Although NATO member states are careful not to give the Russians a reason to use weapons of mass destruction, the escalation of war is inevitable, as the protection of foreign arms supplies and the enhancement of the combat capabilities of Ukrainian forces require decisive NATO actions.

© 2024 Global Journals

Conclusions, comments

This approach is popular among those who forget about the remarkable historical fact, that in the heyday of the Russian Empire, the Empire included the Baltic States, Ukraine, Belarus, most of Poland (Kingdom of Poland), Bessarabia, the Caucasus states, Finland, the territories beyond the Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Central Asia, Siberia, Alaska. Today, the Russian Federation has only Siberia left. The end result of Russia's supposedly permanent territorial acquisition efforts was an unprecedented loss of territory.

It is also highly questionable that "the Russians are pushing their neighbors into NATO." For two decades, the efforts of post-Yeltsin Russia have been aimed at curbing organized crime, reining in wild capitalism, eliminating separatist tendencies, and creating a functioning market economy and a developing economy with adequate social safety net. At the time when the first waves of NATO enlargement were taking place, Russia was preoccupied with itself, posing no external threat to any state.

The Russian-Ukrainian war - the reappearance and manifestation of Russian great power ambitions.

The essence of this approach can be summarized as follows: According to Carl von Clausewitz, the 19th-century Prussian military theorist, war is the continuation of politics by other means. In the context of the unexpected outbreak of the Russo-Ukrainian war on 24 February 2022, it is particularly pertinent to ask what motivated Moscow to take this risky step of pursuing its policy by other means.

For a proper response, we should return to the disintegration of the Soviet empire. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 redrawn the balance of power. The states of Central and Eastern Europe, which once belonged to the Soviet sphere, were transferred to the Western sphere without exception, and the former Soviet member republics became independent states. The collapse of the Soviet empire caused an extremely serious economic-political and even moral crisis in the successor state, the Russian Federation. Despite the fact that the United States and Western Europe were the absolute victors in the Cold War, the leaders of these countries, at least between 1989 and 1991, approached the serious security issues arising in the new situation with an absolutely realistic mindset. US President George Bush Sr. and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, as well as British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, French President François Mitterrand, and NATO Secretary-General Manfred Wörner, all assured the last Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, that the release of the Central European countries from the Russian sphere of interest would not be used to expand NATO's influence in the East and that Russian security interests would be respected. However, the means to achieve this were never set out in a binding international treaty.

During Boris Yeltsin's presidency in the 1990s, the post-Soviet crisis rocked Russia, the national economy and military collapsed, and the emerging, highly corrupt Russian 'oligarch-capitalism' fundamentally weakened the former superpower. Despite the promises of Western leaders, the United States, the only remaining superpower on the world political stage, sought to use the new situation on the ruins of the Soviet Union to further increase the US and Western European influence in the world (China had just begun its 'long march' in the early 1990s).

U.S. foreign policy has been trying to bring Ukraine into its sphere of interest since the 1990s. Zbigniew Brzezinski, a former chief national security adviser to President Jimmy Carter, the "Gray Eminence" of American Political Life in his 1997 study "The Great Chessboard," made it clear that „Ukraine, a new and important space on the Eurasian chessboard, is a geopolitical pivot because its very existence as an independent country helps to transform Russia. Without Ukraine, Russia ceases to be a Eurasian empire… However, if Moscow regains control over Ukraine, with its 52 million people and major resources as well as its access to the Black Sea, Russia automatically again regains the wherewithal to become a powerful imperial state, spanning Europe and Asia." (13)

On this basis, he pointed out that it is in America's important medium-term strategic interest to separate Ukraine from Russia because, without Ukraine, the Russian Federation will never again be a Eurasian power. Ukraine's importance stems not from its strength but from its privileged position and internal weakness, which allows key geostrategic actors to influence the country. He also stated that gaining US influence over Ukraine is also key to preventing Russia and Western Europe from becoming too close. Brzezinski said the greatest potential threat would be a rapprochement between Germany and Russia because the combination of Russian raw material resources and German technology would create a center of power that would threaten America's global interests. (3)

The election of Vladimir Putin as President of the Federation on 7 May 2000 marked a turning point in the transformation of the adaptive and defensive foreign policy strategy of the Yeltsin era. Breaking with the Yeltsin decade, Putin has returned to the great-power approach of traditional Russian foreign policy thinking and the highly centralized exercise of power that, according to Richard Pipes, a Harvard historian and Russia expert, has always characterized Moscow. (14)

As head of state, Putin has severely broken the power of pro-Western oligarchs and brought the country's strategic raw material treasures under state control. He took serious steps to strengthen and

© 2024 Global Journals

develop the army. During his presidency, Russia once again fought back into the rank of military superpower. It also laid the foundations for the reassertion of traditional Russian imperial ambitions. The war in Dagestan, the second Chechen war, and then the Russo-Georgian war of 2008 were demonstrative and effective steps in the internal consolidation of the Russian Federation.

In 2008, there were several events that had an impact on Russia's security policy: - Kosovo declared independence and seceded from Serbia with strong US support, - South Ossetia and Abkhazia, predominantly Russian-populated territories, declared their independence and secede from Georgia with Russian support, - Georgia was granted NATO candidate status in April 2008.

As far as Russia's security policy is concerned, Russia has, since 1991, considered the neutrality of the two former Soviet republics, Belarus and Ukraine, directly bordering the NATO area, to be a vital security interest. In Belarus, Alexander Lukashenko's regime is in line with Moscow's vision of neutrality, and between 1991 and 2014, Ukraine was also dominated by governments that took into account Moscow's security policy needs.

The "revolution" that began in Ukraine on November 21, 2013, and resulted in a regime change in February 2014, commonly known as Maidan, did not bring any qualitative new inputs to Ukraine's social development.

The new pro-Western and anti-Russian Ukrainian regime, which resulted from the coup that overthrew Moscow-friendly President Viktor Yanukovych, did not overcome economic hardship and oligarchic capitalism very similar to Russia's, and hopes of swiftly joining the European Union also quickly disappeared.

The different governments in power since 2014 have not been able to solve the country's very significant problem, the issue of nearly eight million Ukrainian citizens of Russian nationality; on the one hand, they did not stop the anti-Russian actions of the strongly extremist Ukrainian nationalist groups, and on the other hand, they themselves were vigorously opposed to the autonomy aspirations of the Donetsk region inhabited by the Russian majority. Moscow's response to the Kyiv turnaround in 2014 was the annexation of the Crimean Peninsula to the Kosovo model and support for the separatist movements in Donetsk, which took the escalation of Russian-Ukrainian differences to a new level. Russia has essentially come to the same conclusion as Brzezinski.

Ukraine's potential membership of NATO (which America tried to force and which was understandably opposed by then French President Nicolas Sarkozy and then German Chancellor Angela Merkel) and the post 2014 Ukrainian government's policy of pushing for Western integration and deepening military cooperation with the United States excluded Ukraine's neutrality and undermined Russia's interests as a great power.

Already on 10 February 2007, Vladimir Putin stated in his speech at the Munich Security Conference in Germany that the US military presence along Russia's borders is contrary to the security interests of the Russian Federation. Putin criticized the monopolistic dominance and use of force by the United States in global relations. The result of such dominance, he said, is that no one feels safe. Because no one feels that international law is like a wall protecting them. (15)

The 2019 Ukrainian constitutional amendment, which declared the need for the country's membership in NATO at the constitutional level, was already too much for Moscow. The final step in the process leading to armed conflict was the rejection of Moscow's unacceptable security demands by the Biden administration. Although no one expected Russian intervention against Ukraine, it was one of the possible options in the process outlined above. (3)

Conclusions, comments

It is not surprising that Russia, which has once again become a great power, after having exhausted peaceful methods and options, is trying to impose by violent means (war) its security policy principles that are unacceptable to the West, namely the protection of the Russian minority abroad, the demand for the neutrality of the former Soviet republics neighboring Russia and the halting of NATO enlargement. It is also not surprising that the United States, together with its allies, is trying to prevent this, since it has a fundamental security interest in rejecting Russian security claims, in order to prevent Russia from becoming a superpower and to avoid endangering the hegemonic role of the United States in world politics. What is surprising is that none of the interested parties in the Russian-Ukrainian war (Russia, Ukraine, USA, EU, NATO) did essentially nothing to prevent the war.

It seems to me that with the certainty of victory, all the parties involved were anxiously awaiting the Russo - Ukrainian war, waiting for Russia's ambitions as a great power to reappear and manifest. Therefore, an approach that identifies the ultimate cause of the war as a revival of Russian great power ambitions is ultimately acceptable. However, it should be noted: - NATO's expansion towards Russia was a clear signal that the Alliance did not trust Moscow, that the Alliance considered Moscow a likely enemy. It is an obvious principle to strengthen defense capabilities in the direction from which the military threat comes. - However, this is not a problem in itself, as the Alliance is a defense alliance, and any country that agrees with the Alliance's objectives (including its enemy image) and meets the conditions for membership can join NATO. In simple terms, for a post-Soviet state this means that if you are a neighbor of Russia, but want to open up to the

© 2024 Global Journals

West in the future and feel that you will be exposed to Russian threats because you do not respect Russia's basic security policy needs, you can reasonably apply to join the alliance to increase the security of your country if you agree with the objectives (for example, Ukraine, Georgia) and meet the membership requirements. - But even the NATO enemy image is not a problem, since the United States, as the leading force of NATO, and the Russian Federation - despite the spectacular and successful rapprochement of the two countries during the Gorbachev era - have always considered each other enemies. - The emphasis on NATO's defensive nature seems credible and acceptable to most European states, except Russia. Perhaps it would also be credible for Russia if the enlargement of the alliance were not accompanied by significant NATO infrastructure building and the deployment of non-explicitly defensive weaponry on the territory of the newly acceded states.

It is probably a statement that many will not like, but it has to be said: the different interpretations of NATO enlargement and the principle of indivisible security (no one can increase his security at the expense of the security of the other), as well as the lack of compromise and dialogue between the United States and the Russian Federation, have contributed significantly to the Russian military aggression in Ukraine.

Regarding Zbigniew Brzezinski's study, "The Great Chessboard", it should be noted that it is not specifically a study, but rather Brzezinski's personal political creed, which has never become an openly declared strategy for any US administration.

The Russian-Ukrainian war is ultimately an indirect manifestation of the US struggle for scarce resources and new markets. The US wants to fulfill its cherished dream of supplying Europe with shale gas. But to do so, the US needed this war to impose sanctions against Russia and break Europe's energy dependence on the Russians.

Proponents of this approach argue that the United States, as a single superpower, has in recent decades sharply declined in its policy of influence and intervention to defend democracy, known as the export of democracy, which has generally resulted in the acquisition of new resources and markets by exploiting its global hegemony.

Since the 1990s, the Middle East and Central Asia have played a key role in U.S. policy of intervention and influence because of mineral resources, primarily oil. The occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan after 9/11 was almost automatic, but the pacification of the region failed. Attempts by the United States to intervene and influence North African states (e.g. Libya) have had similar results. In the end, it had to be seen that U.S. "democracy exports" had failed in Islamic states. Deeply religious Arab and Afghan societies could not accommodate democratic values. Things turned out much worse than in Vietnam, where the necessities of the Western way of life were accepted, at least in the southern part.

After the Arab Spring in North Africa and the failure in Afghanistan, the rest of Africa became the focus of attention, where the growing Chinese influence and the still present French interests hindered American ambitions.

The Central American region has not proved a worthwhile venture either: it is not solvent enough and its mineral resources are increasingly difficult to access.

The United States needed a region, a solvent market, where it could still assert its influence, its "world leadership," and where there was hope for a successful "democracy export". This region became Europe, where there was no need to fear riots or acts of terrorism against the United States.

So Europe is the perfect platform for the United States to pursue its economic ambitions, namely to expand its economic influence in Europe, but there is a big problem, the energy dependence of most European countries on Russia. The main aim of US strategists is to break this dependence. To do this, however, they needed Ukraine, where the export of democracy has been successfully launched because Ukrainians have a high level of confidence in the EU, NATO, and the United States.

In the case of Ukraine, it should be noted that the Ukrainian population of 52 million in 1991 has shrunk to around 40 million today due to foreign employment. (Refugees from the Russian-Ukrainian war have reduced this figure by a further 6-7 million.) Social conditions in the country have hardly improved since independence, and corruption is one of the highest in Europe. Ukraine has seen the cause of the negative internal political, social, and economic phenomena in its relations with Russia, which is why it has destroyed these relations, why it has become extremely anti-Russian and why it wants to belong to the EU and NATO, despite the fact that this logic has not been proven.

The Western, mostly American intervention in state affairs, did not help Ukraine to step on the path of development. Only IMF loans saved the country from state bankruptcy.

Ukraine has not found itself in such a vulnerable, indebted situation even in the period of close relations with Russia. Unfortunately, the young Ukrainian state's own problems of self-organization led to an extremely weak state governance performance, which the United States in particular wanted and was able to take advantage of.

The political situation was complicated by the anti-minority actions of the post-Maidan Ukrainian governments, tacitly supported by the West (the language law), and their consequences: the atrocities of

© 2024 Global Journals

Ukrainian semi-fascist extremists in Odesa, the eight-year civil war with the Russian inhabited separatist Donetsk and Luhansk, the Ukrainian sabotage of the implementation of the Minsk agreement to end the civil war, and the Russian response - the annexation of Crimea.

Washington certainly wanted to provoke a war, because this allows it to "rightly" launch worldwide anti-Russian propaganda, escalate sanctions against Moscow to the extreme, and acquire the European energy market through unprecedented sanctions and a united EU and NATO support. (4) Russia will be cut off from Europe, and the US realizes its cherished dream of having Europe supplied with shale gas by the United States. True, at a much higher price than Russian gas costs, but the Washington administration doesn't care. The bigger problem is that neither do EU bureaucrats. (5)

Conclusions, comments

The basic idea behind this approach is that the diversification of the EU's energy supply, i.e. the elimination of Russian energy dependence, creates the opportunity for the United States to acquire the European energy market, to supply the European energy market with US shale gas, is not entirely correct.

The truth is closer to the fact that it is very difficult to get rid of dependence on Russian gas: - American shale gas would not even be able to replace Hungary's annual gas consumption, let alone Germany's; - Qatari gas production has been tied up for years by India and China, and Norwegian gas production is already operating at full capacity; - the exploitation of the Middle East gas fields has been made impossible by the West with the wars in Iraq and Syria.

Despite all this, it seems that the majority of EU Member States were managing to get rid of the Russian gas with huge, unreasonable, unplanned financial expenditures that unfortunately slow down economic development and reduce living standards.

In relation to other elements of the approach, I think it is important to highlight the following: - It is difficult not to see the phenomenon that Ukraine, like many other Soviet successor states, finds the ultimate explanation for negative internal political, social, and economic phenomena in its relationship with Russia, which is why it destroys them, why it becomes anti-Russian, why it welcomes US support and why it wants to belong to the EU and NATO. This phenomenon has undoubtedly contributed to Russia's violent actions. - The specific anti-Russian actions of Ukrainian domestic policy after the Maidan revolution, such as the adoption of the Language Law and later the Law on the Indigenous Peoples of Ukraine, the support for the violent actions of Ukrainian extremists against the Russian minority, the termination of the Minsk agreement that ended the civil war against the separatists in Donetsk and Luhansk, are another trigger for the Russian attack. - Russia's response, the annexation of Crimea, the creation and later recognition of separatist republics, is a serious violation of Ukraine's territorial integrity and sovereignty by a country that, along with other major powers, gave Ukraine security guarantees in the Budapest Treaty in exchange for renouncing nuclear weapons. At the same time, the assumption that without the annexation of Crimea, there would already be US military bases on the peninsula is debatable, but not entirely unfounded.

The United States has unquestionably gained a great deal of political, economic, and military influence in Ukraine. However, it has used its influence not only to promote Ukraine's democratic development but also to advance US economic, political, and security interests. The American promotion of the development of the Ukrainian armed forces and the Ukrainian sabotage of the Minsk agreement led to the conclusion that Ukraine was preparing to take military action against Donetsk and Luhansk to restore its territorial integrity by force, which required a military counter-measure on the part of Russia.

Those who accept the approach described here believe that the often unfounded Russia-phobia of the United States in all areas, the thirty years of disregard for Russian security needs, the subordinate role of NATO and the EU vis-à-vis the United States, the "Russia is responsible for everything" phenomenon as the sole explanation for development problems in post-Soviet countries, anti-minority Ukrainian domestic policy and effective US military support to Ukraine (obviously for Ukrainian military action against the Russians inhabited separatist territories), were the factors that successfully provoked a bad Russian political decision - the Russian military aggression against Ukraine. This approach is supported by the fact that the only beneficiary of the Russian - Ukrainian war is the United States: Russia's political-economic - military importance is declining as much as the European Union's role in world economy and politics, and so American hegemony is only growing stronger.

The increase in non-dollar purchases of oil and gas by China and India from Russia, could threaten US financial hegemony. The US is forced to reassert its power against China and Russia, first by bringing the weaker Russia to its knees. Because of the mutual nuclear threat, the indirect war between the two powers is taking place in a buffer zone, currently Ukraine.

This narrative can be summarized as follows: Three superpowers are currently competing: the US, China, and Russia. China's economic performance poses a threat to US hegemony, as its economic predominance, especially in the oil trade, allows it to push for non-dollar settlements, which undermines the

© 2024 Global Journals

U.S. dollar without gold backing. The value of some USD 30 trillion realized in the oil trade is due to the fact that, at the request of the US, Middle Eastern oil-producing countries can sell oil only for dollars. This ensures the value of the dollar, even without gold backing. Anyone breaking this selling rule is exposed to war by the US (e.g. Iraq).

However, China has agreed with Saudi Arabia to buy oil for yuan instead of dollars. India, on the other hand, buys Russian oil for roubles in multi-billion batches. Buying in other currencies is likely to spread rapidly in world trade, leading to the deterioration of the dollar and potentially destroying the entire US economy. In this situation, the United States can do one thing: restore power over the Chinese-Russian adversary group, forcing the weaker Russia to its knees. The US can achieve this with sanctions and war.

As the American and Russian sides avoid the direct military struggle with each other due to the mutual nuclear threat, the so-called war between the two great powers happens in a buffer zone. This is currently Ukraine. The war in Ukraine is, in fact, a clash between Russia and the United States.

Whoever was in control of Russia, the war would have started just the same, because no great power can tolerate the deployment of hostile military potential in the buffer zone. The US did not tolerate it (the Cuban missile crisis of 1962) and would not tolerate it today. The current President, Joe Biden said as early as 1997 that the only thing that could provoke a "vigorous and hostile" Russian response would be NATO expansion, i.e. the creation of a Western military presence in the buffer zone. (16)

The United States was fully aware that military action would be Russia's only possible response, and with this, in mind, it continued its "provocation" in Ukraine (supplying weapons, installing chemical laboratories, helping to bring to power a pro-western Ukrainian government, providing all possible support to this government that was unwilling to act against anti-Russian semi-fascist extremists). In addition, the US withdrew its forces committed abroad (sudden withdrawal from Afghanistan) in order to concentrate its military forces on confronting Russia if necessary.

The United States (and the European Union under its influence) is always seeking a war in a buffer zone to weaken Russia's economy and military potential. If this is achieved, there is little chance of the war spreading to the West. Further deepening the military confrontation will weaken Russia, so it is in the West's interest. If Ukraine's military potential collapses or Ukraine makes peace with Russia, a new buffer zone will certainly be needed where the Russian-American confrontation can continue (for example Armenia with French and EU assistance).

Comments, conclusions

During the Russian – Ukrainian war the sanctions of Collective West have restricted Russia's access to the euro and the dollar. Moscow has accordingly encouraged its partners to switch to national currencies. However, apart from Russia, there is no evidence that the use of the dollar in the countries' foreign trade invoicing has declined significantly. Even among countries with close trade links with China, the use of the yuan is very limited.

The use of the dollar is also stable in global financial markets (40-50% of SWIFT payments are made in dollars, and the dollar is the main currency in 89% of foreign exchange buying and selling transactions). According to Oxford Economics, the dollar is likely to remain dominant until the yuan becomes a freely convertible currency. Until then, most countries - with the exception of a few that have limited barter trade with China - are not interested in accumulating large yuan balances. (7)

The explanation, saying that the United States and Russia avoid a direct military confrontation with each other because of their mutual nuclear threat, so war is fought in the so-called buffer zone in the post-Soviet states neighboring Russia, and the United States and the European Union under its influence, therefore, aim to encourage permanent wars in the so-called Russian "near abroad" to weaken the Russian economy and military potential, seems logical but not acceptable.

The United States has understandably always tried to intervene in the buffer zone, in the post-Soviet states neighboring the Russian Federation (Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan) or in the territory of the Russian Federation (in Chechnya, Dagestan) in order to encourage wars or civil wars and to shape their outcome, but it "created" actual wars to weaken Russia only in Georgia and Ukraine. However, the Georgian involvement cannot be called successful, since it is Georgia, not Russia, that has been weakened. In addition, Georgia has lost South Ossetia, a region that is about to join the Russian Federation.

The constant US - Russian confrontation in the buffer zone does exist, as the United States has always supported the opposing side to Russia, but to say that this is a manifestation of continuous and ongoing war between the two powers is an exaggeration. To put it simply, the U.S. encouragement of "color revolutions" for democracy should not be confused with the U.S. encouragement and support for a war that results in the economic and military weakening of Russia. The latter is exemplified only in Ukraine today. Thus, the Russo - Ukrainian war is not a typical but a unique phenomenon of the great power confrontation in the buffer zone.

As for current US President Joe Biden's statement in 1997 that the only thing that would provoke a "strong and hostile" Russian response would be NATO enlargement, the quote is not entirely accurate. In that

© 2024 Global Journals

statement, Joe Biden merely warned that the accession of the Baltic States, namely Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, to NATO could result in hostile behavior from Russia. However, he stressed that he did not mean military retaliation. (17)

The Russo-American conflict in relation to the Russian - Ukrainian war is based on Moscow's intention to restore its former empire, while the US's interest in the opposite. Washington set itself three goals: to defend an independent and liberal Ukraine, to weaken and isolate Russia, and to build a strong, united, and determined West. The war will continue until Russia is defeated and punished.

This approach can be summarized as follows: Russia's defeat in the war against Ukraine is inevitable, because: - The country's rise under Putin is only apparent, and the Russian Federation remains underdeveloped, which has a negative impact on the Russian army and its combat value. The achievements in the field of arms development should not be overestimated; - The size of the Russian military-industrial complex and the financing of the army are not in line with the country's alleged status as a military superpower, and Russia is, therefore, unable to provide the backdrop for a high-tech war costing hundreds of millions of dollars a day. - Russia's military potential, which stands above Ukraine, has been offset by the persistent resistance of the Ukrainians and massive Western aid. This was also possible because there is a significant difference in development between the Russian and Western weapons systems, and the Russians are also far behind their Western rivals in military planning and fighting style. - The passivity with which Russia is waging its hybrid war against Ukraine is incomprehensible. The inaction in the military, economic, political, and diplomatic fields, as well as in public opinion persuasion, propaganda, intelligence, and information warfare, is clearly visible, and it is only a matter of time when Russia is defeated by Ukraine. - Moscow is trying to end the war as quickly as possible to keep what it has gained, but it will not succeed because the Russian Federation has lost its strategic superiority and its initiative. - Ukraine as a political community has been strongly divided. One-half of the country preferred close ties with the West, while the other half preferred close ties with Russia. However, this changed after the Russian annexation of Crimea: the Western camp began to gain strength, and the current war has created a completely new situation, with the country organized into an Anti - Moscow entity, which can only lead to the conclusion that Russia has lost Ukraine completely and permanently.

Russia is left without a strong ally. Its only influential ally, China, does not wish to enter into a close political and military alliance with Russia, as it has long considered Russian foreign policy too noisy and unnecessarily risky. It does not openly and violently criticize Russia's actions, on the contrary, it supports it politically and provides economic aid in certain areas, but Moscow can expect no more than that. China will increase its oil purchases in Russia for its own benefit, but it is unlikely to take a step that would put its companies under sanctions from the West. Beijing has no interest in Russia emerging from the war in Ukraine victoriously and spectacularly strengthened. This would mean that Russia could turn to the Central Asian region to annex the part of Central Asia where four sovereign states, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, are located today. It would be much better for Beijing to have a Russia that does not suffer a catastrophic defeat, but still weakens and becomes more vulnerable to China.

The Russo-American conflict in relation to the war is based on Moscow's desire to restore its former empire and the US's interest in the opposite. This is a confrontation that Washington will win, bringing to an end a new era of Cold War and: - Russia's political, economic, military, and diplomatic potential is being severely weakened, and it is becoming an isolated and punished country. - At the same time, Ukraine will leave Moscow's sphere of influence and become a member of the European Union. - The war will not only mean the loss of Ukraine, but also the loss of Russia's closest allies in the Collective Security Treaty Organization and the Eurasian Economic Community, except Belarus. In other words, the war has not brought the possibility of rebuilding the former empire closer, it has made it impossible. It has also made increasingly distrustful those states which, for various reasons, have been prepared to cooperate extensively with Moscow. In this new situation, a new wave of anti - Russianism is beginning to emerge in the states of the post-Soviet space, some of which will try to strengthen their relations with the West even more actively than before. - Russia will be ousted from many international organizations, while efforts to restructure the UN will intensify. - Japan and Germany, freed from post-World War II constraints, will begin to develop their military forces rapidly and significantly and will seek to achieve an international political status commensurate with their economic and military strength. (18)

Comments, conclusions

This approach is a debatable but logical assessment of the possible cause, outcome, and consequences of the Russia-Ukraine war, and of the US aims in relation to the war.

There is, however, one generally acceptable counter-argument - history itself. The approach suggests that what Napoleon and Hitler failed to do, the alliance led by Ursula von der Leyen, Jens Stoltenberg and Joe Biden will succeed. Perhaps it will succeed in part and Moscow will be significantly weakened, but

© 2024 Global Journals

history shows that Russia has recovered from all the shocks much more quickly than political analysts thought.

Opinion polls among Hungarian citizens on the Russian-Ukrainian war show that the majority of the Hungarian public supports the official government narrative

At the begining of the conflict a majority of EU citizens have supported EU policy, diversification of energy supply, and sanctions against Russia.

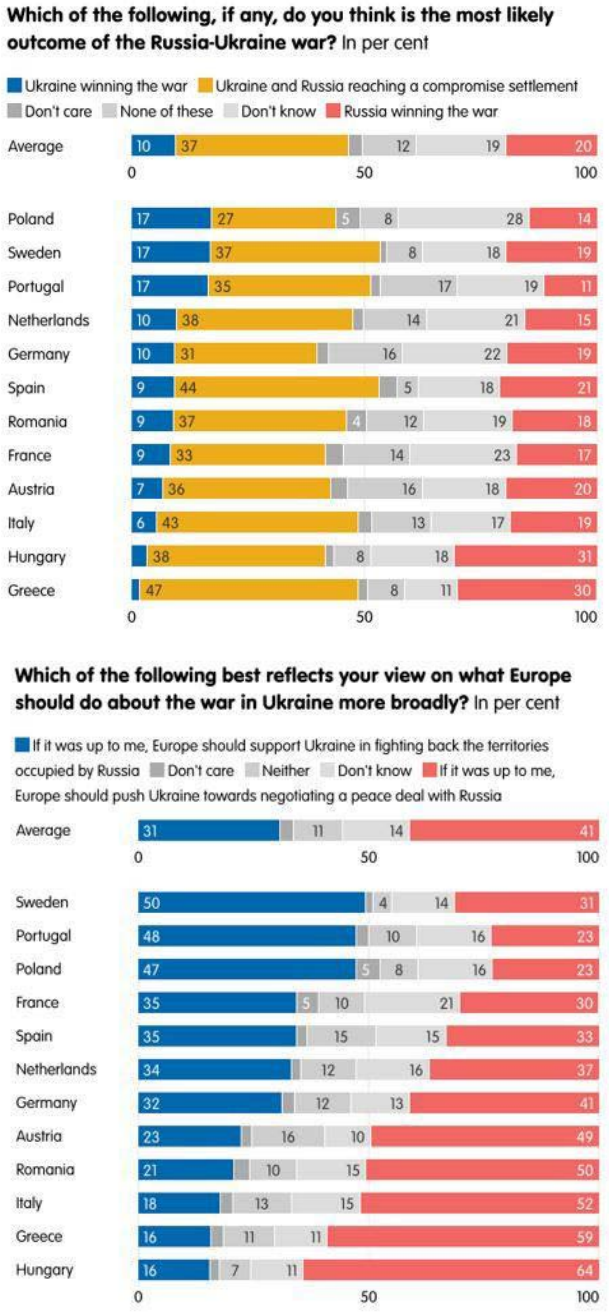
The well-known Hungarian public opinion research institute Ipsos conducted a survey on the Russia-Ukraine war between 25 March and 3 April 2022, covering 27 countries in Europe, Asia, and South America, which yielded the following results: - The Hungarian public was less afraid of Russia (68%) than the global public. - In Hungary, 38 % of citizens would be willing to pay more for natural gas and oil in order to divert heavy money from financing the Russian military by stopping gas and oil import from Russia. This proportion was 76% for Polish citizens and 54% on average in the 27 countries.

According to a survey with the participation of 26,578 citizens of 27 EU Member States, conducted by the EU between 19 and 16 May 2022, a majority of EU citizens were satisfied with the responses of the EU and national governments to the Russian invasion of Ukraine (59% and 57% respectively). (21)

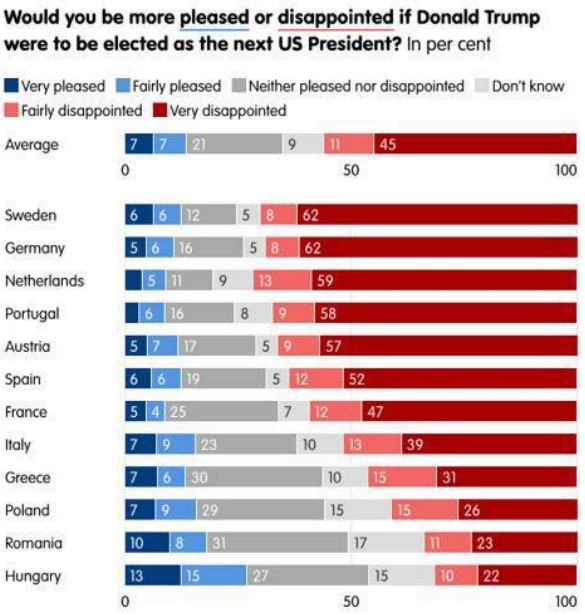
On behalf of ATV, Hungarian Target-Pulzus Media Research Ltd. conducted a public opinion poll in Hungary on the first anniversary of the outbreak of the war on issues related to it. The results of the poll are as follows: - 49 percent of respondents believe that Russia is responsible for the war, 10 percent that Ukraine is responsible, and 33 percent that both sides are responsible; - 49 percent of respondents fear that the conflict will spill over to other countries outside Ukraine; - 50 percent of respondents support EU sanctions against Russia, 35 percent oppose them. - The sanctions hurt Russia more, according to 46% of respondents, and the European Union more, according to 39%. (12)

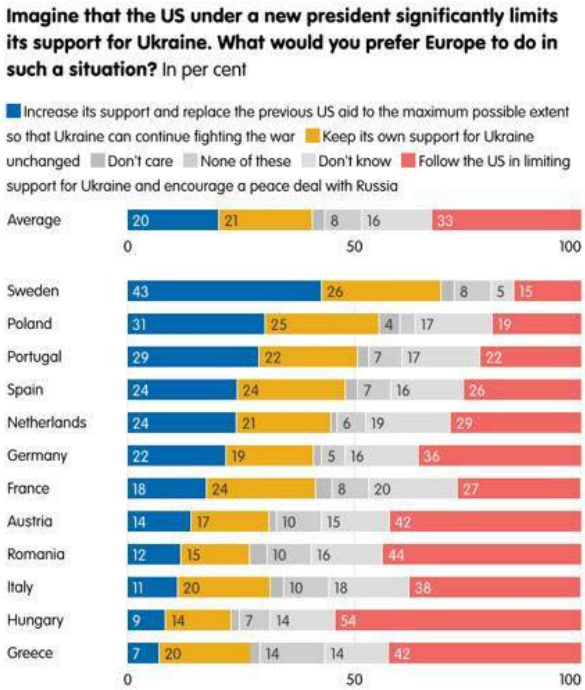
According to research by the Hungarian Századvég Europe Project, at the end of 2023, only one in five EU citizens agreed with the Brussels strategy and 72% preferring the alternative of bringing the parties to the negotiating table and ending the war immediately. The most pro-peace countries are Hungary (89 per cent), Greece (87 per cent), Malta (86 percent), Cyprus and Slovenia (85-85per cent). A geographical factor is clearly visible: as we move away from Ukraine, public support for the war declines. (2)

According to a poll of 12 EU member states published on 21 February 2024 by the pan-European think tank European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) Hungary has the highest proportion of people in Europe who believe that the nearly two-year-long Ukrainian-Russian war will end in victory for Moscow. And it is in our country that most people think Europe should encourage Kiev to negotiate peace with Russia. The survey also showed that Hungary has the highest proportion of people who would be happy if Donald Trump won the US presidential election and the highest proportion of people who think that Europe should also reduce its support to Ukraine if the US were to significantly cut back its support to Kiev. (10)



© 2024 Global Journals





The reasons for public supports of the official government narrative are: - the effective propaganda of the far-right, illiberal Hungarian government rejecting the basic EU values, - the lack of effective EU action with this rejectionist attitude, - the unconditional support by the opposition of the EU and NATO policy in Ukraine, - official Ukrainian policy on the Hungarian national minority, - the complete lack of Russophobia in Hungary, - the realistic assessment of the state of the war (sanctions against Russia are ineffective; Ukraine cannot retake the territories occupied by Russia even with Western support; Western support will decrease after the American presidential election; the overthrow of the Putin regime is an unrealistic goal; based on the results of Russian special military operation in Ukraine it is hard to believe that the Russian military is a sirious threat to Europe).

II. Concluding Thoughts

If we define the nature of the Russian-Ukrainian war on the basis of the acceptable elements of the above narratives, the Hungarian position can be summarised as follows: *the Russian military aggression against Ukraine is the result of an unjustified, inappropriate Russian political decision, reflecting the re-emergence of Russian great power ambitions and aimed at forcibly changing Ukraine's Western-oriented policy. The aggression has been facilitated, wittingly or unwittingly, by the successful US export of democracy to Ukraine, the US military presence in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Government's extreme anti-Russian and anti-minority policies, including the rejection of autonomy for the Donetsk and Luhansk regions, and the unconditional support of Ukraine by the EU and NATO, without any consideration of the possible consequences.*

The Russian military aggression against Ukraine was a bad political decision, because: - Ukraine was not a real direct threat to the security of the Russian Federation. - Despite the fact that the United States, EU Member States, and international security organizations for whom democracy, human rights, and non-discrimination are core values, did nothing to improve the Russian minority treatment in Ukraine, Russia still had peaceful means and options to protect the Russian population of Donetsk and Luhansk. - The Russian political leadership's calculation that the population of Ukraine would welcome Russian soldiers proved to be wrong; - Russia has suffered an extreme loss of prestige, it was declared an aggressor and lost the nimbus of peaceful power. (9)

In my view, if Ukraine is willing to compromise (giving up Russian-occupied territory and accepting military neutrality or non-full NATO membership), the following indisputable results would allow the war to be brought to an end by Russia: - Russian forces have successfully established a land link between Crimea and the breakaway territories in eastern Ukraine; - They have blown up the dam in the Herszon area, which cut off the water supply to Crimea; - Several strategic cities, namely Herszon, Berdyansk, Mariupol, Melitopol, as well as several smaller settlements in the Donetsk and Luhansk People's Republics have been liberated; - At Mariupol, the far-right Ukrainian Azov National Guard unit has been defeated, thus cleansing Ukraine of far-right Ukrainians, the Ukrainian Nazis. (Of course, there are still Azov and other extreme right-wing elements in the rest of the country, but the Azov regiment was headquartered in Mariupol); - Russian forces completely cut Ukraine off from the Sea of Azov; - Ukraine's static military infrastructure was essentially destroyed, so

© 2024 Global Journals

Ukraine was "demilitarized"; - Ukraine used up most of its strategic weaponry; - Russia took a number of prisoners of war accused of war crimes that is public evidence that the "Nazi" war criminals have been found.

Such a compromise could also be acceptable to Ukraine: - It would only lose territories with a Russian-speaking population where Ukrainian sovereignty would never be accepted; - It would create a united Ukraine in terms of political community; - Ukraine could become a member of the EU and NATO, while retaining its sea access via Odessa.

When will the moment come for compromise? - When it is no longer worth for Russia to waste further resources on the war against Ukraine, or when Ukraine's resources are exhausted despite Western support, and it would be more appropriate to end the war with a ceasefire agreement.

In other words, it depends fundamentally on when Western sanctions will weaken Russia „sufficiently", and when the repercussions of Western sanctions will „sufficiently" shake the economies of EU Member States. In the first case, "sufficient" refers to a situation where Russian forces can only occupy important territory at irrationally high cost. In the second case, „sufficient"' refers to a situation where the tolerance of EU citizens for a decline in living standards reaches a critical level and their support for Ukraine and for sanctions against Russia ceases.

Closing the war is made more difficult by the fact that the West does not seem to have a unified concept of how to end the Russo-Ukrainian war, or how to shape and influence Russian policy and Russian-Chinese relations. This is evidenced by a statement to The Telegraph by the former Chief of Staff of the United Kingdom, General Lord Richards, on 10 June 2022: „A lack of a coherent Western strategy is apparent in Ukraine. It is a "let's see how it goes" "strategy", in other words, not really strategy at all. There is still little idea in London, Washington or elsewhere how "we" want the war to pan out, or what sort of Russia we are seeking to shape, especially on the vital long-term issue of relations with China. Is there an opportunity, ...to persuade a weakened Russia to align with the West rather than having it pushed ineluctably into China's orbit? No one is thinking grand strategically because no one is brave enough to think beyond the political convention of the moment." (20)

NATO allies supporting Ukraine must decide 1. NATO will support Ukraine with direct military intervention. 2. NATO is merely helping Ukraine to create a military stalemate with the Russian army. 3. NATO allows the Ukrainians to be defeated.

Option 1 would provide an opportunity for Russia to start the first Russian-NATO war. In case 2, much of southern and eastern Ukraine would remain in Russian hands, but time could be gained for both European allies and Ukraine to rebuild credible deterrence, perhaps to prevent (or initiate) another Russo-Ukrainian war. Case 3 would mean a clear victory for Russia, the achievement of its goals.

What was the biggest mistake made by the collective West during the Russia-Ukraine war? I think the biggest problem was the fifteen thousand Western sanctions against Russia. The long-term persistence of these could lead to the fall of the Putin regime or to a strengthening of the perception that the problem for the Western world, and especially for America, is not the undemocratic, illiberal Russian regime, but the existence of the Russian Federation, the Russian people, Russian culture. It seems to me that the latter position already became dominant and the consequences of it will threaten the security of the whole world.

What will happen in next years? The lesson for 2022-2023 may be that Ukraine will not be able to retake the territory it has lost. As this is not understood by Kiev, in 2024-2025 the parties will not reach a ceasefire or some calmer state of affairs. (6)

Armed clashes are expected to continue with operationally insignificant successes and decreasing intensity until resources are exhausted, which could ultimately lead to a "freeze" of the conflict (armed activity simply stops without a ceasefire).

This situation favors Russia because it offers the opportunity to restore the combat capabilities of the armed forces. A new military operation against Ukraine will certainly happen, as Russia has not yet achieved its most important war aim, the change of Zelensky regime. An attack on NATO or any other state at the same time as an attack on Ukraine, unless Russia is successfully provoked, is very likely to be ruled out. Given the performance of Russian forces in Ukraine to date, even a restored or increased in combat capability Russian armed forces cannot fight two or more wars simultaneously. This period will also be marked, to a diminishing extent over time, by professionally conducted Ukrainian sabotage and terrorist actions on Russian territory and by Russian high-intensity missile and drone strikes against Ukrainian military and dual-use targets in response. But the course of the war will be determined in Moscow, Kyiv, Washington, Beijing, Tehran, and Pyongyang, not in Avdiivka, Tokmak, or Kramatorsk.

References Références Referencias

1. Zsolt Németh, "On Ukraine and Poland calmly", *Highway - Literary Present, (09 May 2022),* https://orszagut.com/kitekinto/ukrajnarol-es-lengyelorszagrol-higgadtan-2882?fbclid=IwAR1wtn1PrLawd4LyYZZVp2V6fbdvd38dXjB7ggAGWlnMyl_i0oMsgjtNF2A&utm_source=mandiner&utm_medium=link&utm_campaign=mandiner_202205
2. Dániel Kovács, "Europeans expect their leaders to end the Russian-Ukrainian war, interview with Századvég Director of Political Analysis",

© 2024 Global Journals

Növekedés.hu news portal, (06 January 2024), https://novekedes.hu/interju/keseru-kijozanodas-az-europaiak-az-oroszukran-haboru-lezarasat-varjak-el-vezetoiktol
3. Tamás Elter, "The decades-long battle between the United States and Russia continues in Ukraine", *ORIGO, (09 March 2022),* https://www.origo.hu/tudomany/20220306-valamennyi-szuperhatalmi-torekvest-a-nagyhatalmibirodalmi-gondolkodasmod-jellemzi-amihez-az.html
4. Krisztián Pap, "Why Ukraine?", *Demokrata, (17 April 2022),* https://demokrata.hu/vilag/pap-krisztian-miert-eppen-ukrajna-521213/
5. Gyula Németh, "The security situation of Ukraine in the light of the events on Maidan Square - PhD thesis", *PhD School of Security Studies, University of Óbuda Budapest, (2020),* http://www.lib.uni-obuda.hu/sites/lib.uni-obuda.hu/files/Nemeth_Gyula_ertekezes.pdf
6. Atilla Papp, „Interview with Tamás Csiki Varga, expert at the University of Public Service: We will not reach the ceasefire in 2024 - assessing the failed Ukrainian counter-offensive", *24.hu*, *(30 November 2023),* https://24.hu/kulfold/2023/11/30/orosz-ukran-haboru-ellentamadas-kudarc-avgyijivka-fekete-tenger-robotine-velika-novoszilka-volodimir-zelenszkij-zaporizzsja-kelet-ukrajna/
7. Egor Aleyev, „RTVI", *TASS website (08 June 2023),* https://rtvi.com/stories/ekonomicheskaya-vojna-rossii-i-zapada-kogda-ona-zakonchitsya-i-kto-pobedit/
8. Alexei Druzhinin, „Military operation in Ukraine - Ukraine was ready to sign a peace deal with Russia but gave up under US pressure", *TASS RUSSIAN NEWS AGENCY*, (8 Jun 2023), https://tass.com/politics/1629441
9. Miklós Kenyeres, "Balance after two months", *Facebook, (20 April 2022),* https://www.facebook.com/miklos.kenyeres.3/posts/pfbid0R5js1mafdgcHxUD9S33yhBWpcETGFvwYf7RgPSCR9kcQYj5HXzmThA6QMqAjpE1kl
10. Gábor Tar, „Turns out Hungarians think Russia will win the war", *Portfolio news portal, (21 February 2024),* https://www.portfolio.hu/global/20240221/kiderult-a-magyarok-szerint-oroszorszag-nyeri-a-haborut-670105
11. Ildikó D. Kovács, "The majority of Hungarians think the war in Ukraine is Ukraine's problem", *24.hu news portal, (21 April 2022),* https://24.hu/belfold/2022/04/21/orosz-ukran-haboru-magyarorszag-velemeny-szankciok-ipsos/
12. Gyula Szabó, „One third of Hungarians believe that Ukraine is also responsible for the outbreak of the war", *index news portal, (25 February 2023)*, https://index.hu/belfold/2023/02/25/orosz-ukran-konfliktus-kozvelemeny-kutatas-szankciok-brusszel/)
13. Ultan Banan, „The Grand Chessboard: A cold and unemotional look at the US proxy war in Ukraine", *(23 May 2022),* https://ultanbanan.medium.com/the-grand-chessboard-a-cold-and-unemotional-look-at-the-us-proxy-war-in-ukraine-2e06c78b1a43
14. Richard Pipes, „Flight From Freedom. What Russians Think and Want? Preview", *JSTOR, (May – June 2004),* www.jstor.org/stable/20033971
15. Editorial, „2007 Munich speech of Vladimir Putin", *Wikipedia,* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_Munich_speech_of_Vladimir_Putin
16. Rishi Bagree, „The only thing that could..." *Twitter, (09 March 2022),* https://twitter.com/rishibagree/status/1501374366885429248
17. Gerrard Kaonga, „Video of Joe Biden Warning of Russian Hostility if NATO Expands Resurfaces", *Newsweek, (08 March 2022),* https://www.newsweek.com/joe-biden-resurfaced-clip-russia-baltic-states-1997-video-1685864
18. Zoltán Sz. Bíró, "Chinese analysts say Russia's ultimate defeat in Ukraine is inevitable", *Qubit news portal, (08 June 2022),* https://qubit.hu/2022/06/07/kinai-elemzok-szerint-elkerulhetetlen-oroszorszag-vegervenyes-veresege-ukrajnaban
19. Flóra Csatári and Andrea Horváth Kávai, „Research reveals how Hungarians see Putin", *telex.hu news portal*, *(11 June 2022),* https://telex.hu/english/2022/06/11/research-reveals-how-hungarians-see-putin-and-other-world-leaders
20. General Lord Richards, „The West is not thinking strategically about the war in Ukraine", *The Thelegraph, (10 June 2022),* https://www.telegraph.co.uk/world-news/2022/06/10/lord-richards-west-not-thinking-strategically-ukraine-war/
21. European Commission, "Key challenges of our times - the EU in 2022", *Eurobarometer*, *(17 June 2022),* https://europa.eu/eurobarometer/surveys/detail/2694
22. László Kövér, „The ongoing debate about the future of the EU is about how to be America's scumbags", *Magyar Nemzet daily*, *(7 July 2022),* https://magyarnemzet.hu/belfold/2022/07/kover-laszlo-a-mai-europai-politika-teljesen-figyelmen-kivul-hagyja-az-emberek-legalapvetobb)
23. Ben Aris, „Top Ukrainian politician Oleksiy Arestovych gives seventh confirmation of Russia-Ukraine peace deal agreed in March 2022", *bne IntelliNews*, *(26 November 2023),* https://intellinews.com/

© 2024 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 24 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Judging Femicides from a Gender Perspective. Special Reference to the Legal Regime of El Salvador

By Morena Guadalupe Quintana Marxelly
Universidad de Salamanca

Abstract- This article addresses the legal problem of femicide violence in the context of the legal regime of El Salvador (Centro América) mainly in the field of procedural law, in which women suffer due to the lack of a legal figure or a protocol for action in cases of femicide. Which establishes an analysis methodology that incorporates the gender perspective as an interpretive criterion. It is a socio-legal investigation, with an interdisciplinary approach that links the science of law with gender studies. It presents a socio-legal problem about the fundamental rights of women in the course and resolution of judicial processes. The author presents a position, based on theoretical studies, jurisprudence, and comparative law, on the need to develop criteria for judicial action with a gender perspective, aimed at the justice administration sector. To support positions in the work, the reality of El Salvador is analyzed, but experiences from other legal contexts such as Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, and Nicaragua are also taken up.

Keywords: justice of el salvador/gender perspective/ femicides / due process/ discrimination/ violence against women.

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC: HV6250.4.W65



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2024. Morena Guadalupe Quintana Marxelly. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Judging Femicides from a Gender Perspective. Special Reference to the Legal Regime of El Salvador

Morena Guadalupe Quintana Marxelly

Abstract- This article addresses the legal problem of femicide violence in the context of the legal regime of El Salvador (Centro América) mainly in the field of procedural law, in which women suffer due to the lack of a legal figure or a protocol for action in cases of femicide. Which establishes an analysis methodology that incorporates the gender perspective as an interpretive criterion. It is a socio-legal investigation, with an interdisciplinary approach that links the science of law with gender studies. It presents a socio-legal problem about the fundamental rights of women in the course and resolution of judicial processes. The author presents a position, based on theoretical studies, jurisprudence, and comparative law, on the need to develop criteria for judicial action with a gender perspective, aimed at the justice administration sector. To support positions in the work, the reality of El Salvador is analyzed, but experiences from other legal contexts such as Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, Guatemala, and Nicaragua are also taken up. This study concludes with some criteria of fairness of judgment so that those who administer justice can carry out both the interpretation and application of the law with a gender perspective, implementing a method to verify if there was a situation of violence or vulnerability in the victim due to gender issues. This is a great challenge since it is up to the judiciary to deploy its entire protective approach to people in vulnerable situations, especially those who have historically been discriminated against: Women.

Keywords: justice of el salvador/gender perspective/ femicides / due process/ discrimination/ violence against women.

Real and judicial justice do not walk hand in hand, while the Possible barriers need to be identified and eliminated to allow judging with a gender perspective, as a criterion judicial reference in those cases in which they commit asymmetric relationships or gender stereotypes. (Poyatos, M., 2022, p. 1)

I. Introduction

The issue of women's perspective in the law is recent, being an expression of the demands of women's rights in history and this has permeated justice. Likewise, the normative vision of gender has been moving from the supranational level to the internal legal system of El Salvador.

This academic contribution is part of the research for the author's doctoral thesis on the administration of justice with a gender perspective in crimes of violence against women. Special reference to the Law of El Salvador, at the American University in Nicaragua and the University of Salamanca in Spain.

The motivation to study this topic lies in highlighting the importance of understanding that applying justice with a gender perspective in cases of crimes of violence against women and femicide violence, constitutes a tool that contributes to progress towards effective equality, mainly in the evaluation of the evidence and that it is one of the main difficulties towards the fundamental right to effective judicial protection and to achieve the deconstruction of the stereotypes that discriminate against women due to their gender mainly in the field of Law.

This is a socio-legal investigation, with an interdisciplinary approach that links the science of law with gender studies, to contribute to scientific knowledge regarding innovations in criminal and procedural law.



Fig. 1: Women hold crosses at a protest against femicide and violence against women in front of the National Palace in Mexico City, Mexico. ©REUTERS/ Edgard Garrido

Author: Doctoranda del programa de Doctorado en "Administración de Justicia Hacienda y Estado Social" de la Universidad de Salamanca y Doctoranda en Derecho e investigadora de Universidad Americana de Managua, UAM (Nicaragua) Primera edición 2022-2024. Título de suficiencia Investigadora de la Universidad Americana en Nicaragua y conferencista nacional e internacional en materia de justicia y género. País: El Salvador. e-mail: lupitamarxelly@gmail.com
ORCID Nº: https://orcid.org/my-orcid?orcid=0000-0003-4633-8771

© 2024 Global Journals

Thus, this research addresses the legal problem of femicide violence in the context of the legal regime of El Salvador, mainly in the field of criminal and procedural law, suffered by women and their families, due to the lack of a legal figure or an action protocol. In cases of femicides, it establishes a methodology for analyzing the legal phenomenon that incorporates the gender perspective as an interpretative criterion.

The objective of this study is to contribute to the research and transfer of knowledge on gender equality from intersectionality, aiming to protect the fundamental rights of women with the application of justice from a gender perspective and from an intersectional approach, which forms one of the fundamental pillars of the rule of law in any democratic society.

The scientific contradiction detected is that, in the legal context of El Salvador, despite having a *corpus luris* protecting women's rights, legal practices permeated with discriminatory stereotypes towards women based on gender, whether institutionalized or persist by law or in practice.

Caused by the absence of an analysis methodology based on fundamental rights, equality, non-discrimination, life and personal integrity, and effective judicial protection, all recognized in political constitutions and international human rights instruments, which allows equitable justice to be applied.

Throughout this research, the hypothesis of searching from the application of the science of Law, the use of "*gender*" as a category of analysis, and "*the gender perspective*" as a legal methodology binding on the principle of equality and non-discrimination is supported. having the criminal process as the main constitutional guarantee, for addressing the sociocultural problems that women experience and the obstacles they face to the real exercise of their rights. Pretending that Law and justice serve as hope for Salvadoran women victims of gender violence.

This contribution deals with academic research in the field of legal science from an interdisciplinary approach linking gender studies with procedural law. It originates from the reflections raised in two articles by the doctoral student: "Access to family justice for women victims of gender violence. A look from Salvadoran law", published in the Scientific Journal of Social Studies (RCES) (Quintana Marxelly, 2022). "Access to family justice for women victims of gender violence. A view from Salvadoran law", published in the European and Ibero-American Journal of Thought and Analysis of Law, Political Science and Criminology of the University of *Salamanca AIS, Ars Iuris Salmaticensis* (Quintana Marxelly, 2023).

And "Application of law with a gender perspective towards equal justice. A challenge to eradicate violence against women in the legal regime of El Salvador", published in the European and Ibero-American Journal of Thought and Analysis of Law, Political Science and Criminology of the University of Salamanca *AIS, Ars Iuris Salmanticensis* (Quintana Marxelly, 2024). These investigations are produced within the framework of the author's doctoral training.

To support positions in this study, the Methodology of the science of law by Larenz K. (2001) is used to address the problem. The socio-legal research methods of Villabella A. (2020) and the Comparative Law method of Dr. Lucio Pegoraro (2016), as well as the observation method and the documentary research technique to analyze the reality in which the author works: El Salvador, but also takes up experiences from other legal contexts in Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Argentina, Colombia, Guatemala, and Nicaragua among others, on how to administer justice with a gender perspective. It is suggested that these experiences be taken up again, to guarantee the protection of the rights of Salvadoran women in the process of an equal administration of justice.

The aforementioned legal contexts have delved into a new jurisprudential trend on how to administer justice with a gender perspective, called by some "gender-sensitive methodologies" to standardize through action protocols the jurisprudential criteria for judging with a gender perspective. Proposed as a practical instrument to realize the gender perspective towards effective equality.

Certainly, although the country has laws, jurisprudence, and doctrine with significant advances in matters of gender equality, until now the victim is the one largely forgotten in the criminal process. And the problem of violence against women and femicides in El Salvador has not stopped.

Within this order of ideas, the report of the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2019) observes that multiple structural factors perpetuate discrimination against women: gender stereotypes and these increase their risk situation. Among these factors, the Commission has mentioned machismo and the prevalence of sexist stereotypes, as well as historical discrimination connected to the social fabric, coupled with social tolerance against violence against women, in all its dimensions, physical, psychological, sexual, economic, among others (OEA, CIDH, 2019, paragraph 94).

Evidenced by the aforementioned, the prevalence of gender stereotypes, and the influence of discriminatory sociocultural patterns present in the imagination of judicial operators, is one of the main obstacles that women victims of violence face in accessing justice. Which in most cases translates into inaction on the part of police, prosecutors, and judges when reporting these violent events.

The relevant review is what was pointed out by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2021) in its report on the Situation of human rights in El Salvador, observing that:

© 2024 Global Journals

> The Commission received information on the prevalence of misogynistic, sexist, and discriminatory socio-cultural patterns that permeate Salvadoran society as a whole and impact the rights of women and lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and gender diverse and intersex (LGBTI) people to live free of violence and discrimination (OEA, CIDH, 2021, paragraph 176).

This analysis indicates that these socio-cultural and misogynistic patterns have resulted in the normalization and tolerance of violence against women and against LGBTI people, as well as in a facilitating context for its occurrence, and a situation of generalized impunity for these Crimes (OEA, CIDH, 2021, paragraph 177).

The Salvadoran legal context must apply minimum standards through a protocol of judicial action to guarantee women the right to a life free of violence and discrimination, contained in various international instruments, including their right to access to a simple and effective judicial remedy, and thus have the proper guarantees that protect them when they report acts of violence. To overcome stereotypes that cause discrimination and inequality between women, men, and LGBTI+ people.

Therefore, the question that this research attempts to answer is: ¿How to incorporate the gender perspective in sentences to guarantee the effective protection of women's fundamental rights in light of the constitutional and supranational standards of human rights towards Equal justice without discriminatory stereotypes?

To answer this question, the idea that this author defends with this study is to present lege ferenda proposals to strengthen legal frameworks by incorporating gender intersectionality in jurisdictional decisions to guarantee the fundamental rights of women, in the process of the materialization of the right to equality in jurisdictional decisions.

The result is that using the gender perspective as a method of analysis in the administration of justice in El Salvador from a focus on the right to effective judicial protection, according to numerous authors, allows us to visualize the asymmetric relationships, prejudices, and stereotypical patterns due to gender in specific cases, which are key elements, in the investigation, classification of the crime, evaluation of the evidence and the judicial ruling.

Gender is a useful category for the analysis of the legal phenomenon, as maintained by multiple authors, who have made significant contributions from gender theory, including Olympe de Gouges (1791), Simone de Beauvoir (1949), Marcela Lagarde (1996), Marta Lamas (1996), Alda Facio A. (1992), Abboud Castillo, N. (2016), Kemelmajer de Carlucci (2019), González Ferrer & Pérez G. (2021) and Del Pozo Pérez (2023), among others.

So far what has been said, it is evident in this study that, given the existing gender gaps in the current norms, jurisprudence, and doctrine of the Salvadoran legal context, it is necessary to have an action protocol that contains the theoretical-practical criteria and that contributes to the elimination of discrimination due to gender stereotypes and in a particular way, to serve as a guide of action for those who interpret and apply the law and thus guarantee the full realization of the principle of equality and non-discrimination with observance of other fundamental principles such as those of justice, independence and impartiality. What it is about is stopping this problem (Quintana Marxelly, 2024, p. 91).

As the Belém do Pará Convention points out, violence against women not only constitutes a violation of human rights but is also an offense to human dignity and a manifestation of the historically unequal power relations between women and men, which transcends all sectors of society regardless of their class, race or ethnic group, income level, culture, educational level, age or religion and negatively affects its foundations (UN, 1979, Preamble).

In response to what has been stated, it is demonstrated that the influence of these sexist stereotypes can also negatively affect the investigation of specific cases, mainly, the evaluation of the evidence and finally the development of sentences.

Meanwhile, this study shows that the use of gender stereotypes in legal arguments, in addition to violating the fundamental rights of individuals, violates the principle of judicial impartiality.

In conclusion, in this section the issue of equity and gender equality between women and men is an extremely complex issue rooted in structural inequalities that one gender has suffered and suffers from specifically: women.

What has been argued up to this point is that it is through the history of family relationships that they have been legally regulated from a patriarchal perspective, under the conception that women must assume traditional roles of caregivers, submissive, dependent, reproductive, and homemakers. These conditions related to gender relations have contributed to discrimination and violence against women.

II. Importance of Gender as a Category of Analysis of the Legal Phenomenon in Cases of Crimes of Violence Against Women

Gender is a useful category for the analysis of the legal phenomenon, of relatively new construction and is generally understood or ignored, since gender is a complex category since it has constitutive elements of social relations and significant power relations.

© 2024 Global Journals

Considering that it is essential for legal operators to start from a solid conceptual base that allows them to effectively develop better elements to comply with their constitutional and conventional obligations.

To achieve the previous goal, the development that has occurred around the concept of gender and gender perspective from International Human Rights Law, the doctrine from gender theory, and in domestic law is analyzed.

Thus, with the elements obtained in the development of this topic in the three indicated sources, it is intended to propose a concept that delimits the scope and content of gender in the field of law.

It should be noted that gender is a necessary category of analysis to consider in the application of generic and conventional norms of women's fundamental rights to guarantee effective judicial protection.

Therefore, one of the necessary definitions to administer justice in cases of crimes of violence against women and femicide violence is to define the concept of gender.

Taking into account that the word and gender studies are relatively recent in normative history.

Del Pozo Pérez (2023), in her studies, has raised the need to incorporate gender as a hermeneutical methodology of the legal phenomenon, to judge with a gender perspective in judicial decisions in cases of violence against women. Who has identified the training deficit of the people called to intervene in the investigation of these criminal acts. Stating that:

> If we use the gender perspective in the analysis of the case, both in taking the victim's statement and in the rest of the proceedings, we will contribute to the most effective protection of survivors of gender violence and to their obtaining effective judicial protection. of the system (Del Pozo Pérez, 2023, p. 16).

Thus, this study shows the need to avoid jurisdictional decisions permeated with discriminatory stereotypes, which cause asymmetries in the application of legal norms, hindering access to justice, to guarantee effective judicial protection of women's rights in equality with men.

Indeed, failure to act with due diligence in cases of crimes of violence against women constitutes a form of discrimination, a denial of their right to equal protection of the law, and a breach of the State's duty to guarantee access to Justice.

III. Importance of the Gender Perspective as a Binding Methodology for Equal Justice

Using the gender perspective as a methodology for analyzing the legal phenomenon binding on inclusive justice results in access to justice for those who, due to their biological, physical, sexual, gender, or contextual conditions, see their fundamental rights violated. Equally important is to avoid the use by those who judge misogynistic and indecorous language in jurisdictional decisions.

Since it shows stereotypes, and discriminatory prejudices towards women based on their gender, as well as practices that re-victimize women victims of gender violence.

The result is that the use of inclusive language is not only a way to dismantle inequalities and power asymmetries but also an obligation for those who administer justice in Mexico, particularly when judging with a gender perspective. (Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation of Mexico, 2022, p.236)

Since language is one of the key factors that determine cultural and social attitudes, using gender-inclusive language is an extremely important way to promote gender equality and combat gender bias. (United Nations, 2019).

The application of justice with a gender perspective is a translation and application method that uses gender theory to correctly apply the principle of equality between the parties; as well as the constitutional and supranational legal standards of reinforced protection for populations in situations of discrimination to be applied and interpreted in all procedural and substantive norms.

Which is why numerous authors, with whom the undersigned agree, have established that gender is a useful category for historical analysis. Being gender is a cultural construction and not a trait that derives naturally from the sex with which one is born (Lamas, 2013, p. 111). Hence it is stated that gender is established as the primary form of significant power relations (Scott, W. 2013).

Thus, the gender perspective manages to vindicate the rights of victims and prevents their re-victimization, guaranteeing the legal protection of women's rights on a basis of equality with men, before the competent national courts.

This is what Figueruelo Burrieza, A. (2012) maintains, a postulate that I share, stating that the gender perspective is the key to applying it in the administration of justice, arguing that understanding the Law with a gender perspective requires understanding that only equality will be achieved. when legal norms are developed taking into account the sum of the genders (material equality) and not when the same rights for women and men are recognized in the regulatory framework (formal equality).

Only in this way will we achieve a new concept of women and men, with their functions in society and the family, as well as in their reciprocal relationships, indicating that:

© 2024 Global Journals

> The gender perspective and transversality must be understood as a means to promote women's rights and as an instrument to clearly and precisely mobilize all political actions towards the achievement of real and effective equality (Figueruelo B., 2012, pp. 59- 76).

Based on the above, what is intended with the use of the gender-sensitive methodology is to provide judges with tools to confront the effects on the protected legal rights of women, such as human dignity, life, integrity, and protection of the rights of women in vulnerable situations.

Thus, the legal protection of women's rights on a basis of equality before national courts are enshrined in CEDAW, in article 2 literal c, where the State's commitment is defined in these terms:

> The legal protection of the rights of women on a basis of equality with those of men and guarantee, through the competent national courts and other public institutions, the effective protection of women against all acts of discrimination. (CEDAW, 1981, art. 2, literal c)

In these situations, the State must, as established by CEDAW, stop doing or preventing anything that has the purpose or result of impairing or nullifying the exercise for women, of the human right to access to justice.

There is a supranational commitment of the state of El Salvador to recognize that violence against women is a violation of human rights and is a form of discrimination. This means that States are held responsible if they do not respond appropriately to this type of violence.

Violence against women is a socio-cultural problem that violates human rights and endangers the development of society. It constitutes the most complete expression of the degradation and attack on human dignity, an inherent and inalienable human right of the human person.

The fact that different manifestations of violence against women and femicides continue to be recorded every day shows that they are a consequence of a crisis of values that affects the family, a crisis that normally has its causes in what the woman suffers, the fruit of unequal justice based on gender.

This is evident in this study, the relevance of keeping the gender perspective in mind in the legal field, since it is an important route to be able to conceive and implement Human Rights in their real dimension. It turns out that only through law and justice used as instruments of social change can women will be able to achieve equity and gender equality.

IV. Conclusion

Gender is a useful category for the analysis of the legal phenomenon, of relatively new construction and is generally understood or ignored, since gender is a complex category, since it has constitutive elements of social relations and significant power relations.

Meanwhile, the integration of the gender perspective, intersectionality, and inclusive and non-sexist language in jurisdictional activity in the administration of Salvadoran justice in cases of crimes of violence against women is a normalized and binding obligation for all bodies. judicial, and that it is a matter that is difficult to apply, due to:

First, because of its new concepts. Second, due to the need to apply a contextualized and pro-person approach from a human rights perspective. Third, because it conflicts with traditional legal dogmatics and the need for the judicial power to break paradigms, in this regard I am referring to the legal culture immersed in a patriarchal system. Fourth, due to the difficulty in identifying the discriminatory stereotypes present in norms, jurisprudence, and doctrine.

Fifth, due to the lack of training in the administration of justice in gender matters, which extends to all levels that operate justice: prosecutor's office, police, forensic experts, litigants, etc.

In short, gender is a social construction that is generated, maintained, and reproduced fundamentally in the symbolic spheres of language and culture. Therefore, gender is a way of understanding those historically discriminated against, women, not as an isolated element of society, but as an integral part, both of the family and of society as a whole.

In summary, when talking about administering justice from a gender perspective, reference is made to a necessary interpretation tool to focus on the concepts of discrimination and violence against women, showing us that they are a structural and systematic phenomenon and not something anecdotal among socially isolated subjects.

Facilitating the people who administer justice, to apply the Law through the lenses of gender, to allow them to review the norms, sentences, in short, the Law in general, and make gender stereotypes visible in the work of investigation, prosecution, and sanction in the process's judicial cases of violence against women. The differences between women and men occur not only due to their biological determination but also due to the cultural differences assigned to human beings.

References Références Referencias

1. Abboud Castillo, Neylia (2016) Tesis Doctoral en Ciencias Jurídicas sobre "El cuidado compartico. Especial referencia al derecho nicaragüense". Universidad de la Habana. file:///C:/Users/Usuario/Downloads/Tesis%20doctoral%20Neylia%20Abboud%20C.%202016%20(2).pdf
2. Conway, J. K., Bourque, S. C. y Scott, J. W. (2013). "El concepto de género", en Lamas, M. (Comp.) El

© 2024 Global Journals

género. La construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual, pp. 21-34.
3. Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos. (2015). *Estándares Jurídicos vinculados a la igualdad de género y a los Derechos de las mujeres en el Sistema Interamericano de Derechos Humanos: Desarrollo y aplicación. Actualización del 2011 – 2014.* https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2015/10240.pdf
4. De Beauvoir, Simone (2015). El segundo sexo. Ediciones Cátedra- Universidad de Valencia. Formato Documento Electrónico (APA) https://www.solidaridadobrera.org/ateneo_nacho/libros/Simone%20de%20Beauvoir%20-%20El%20segundo%20sexo.pdf
5. De Gouges, O. (1791) Declaración de los Derechos de la Mujer y la Ciudadana. http://www.derechoshumanos.unlp.edu.ar/assets/files/documentos/los-derechos-de-la-mujer-y-de-la-ciudadana.pdf.
6. Del Pozo Pérez, M. (2023). Actuaciones del Cuerpo Nacional de Policía en violencia de género: perspectiva de presente-futuro. Igualdades, 8, 11-42. Doi: https://doi.org/10.18042/cepc/IgdES.8.01
7. Facio, A. (1992). Cuando el género suena cambios trae. (Una metodología para el análisis de género del fenómeno legal. ILANUD. https://catedraunescodh.unam.mx/catedra/CONACYT/16_DiplomadoMujeres/lecturas/modulo2/1_Alda%20facio_Cuando_el_gen_suena_cambios_trae.pdf
8. Facio, A (1999). "Metodología para el análisis de género del fenómeno legal." *Agencia Nuba.* https://www.agencianuba.com/equis/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/S_1_1.pdf
9. Figueruelo Burrieza, A. (2012). Introducción de la perspectiva de género en el Derecho Penal. En A. Gallardo Rodríguez (coord.). Igualdad, retos para el siglo xxi (pp. 59-76). Santiago de Compostela: ANDAVIRA.
10. Figueruelo Burrieza, Ángela. (2023). Ley 15/2022, de 12 de julio, integral para la igualdad de trato y la no discriminación [BOE-A-2022-11589]: Aspectos constitucionales. AIS: Ars Iuris Salmanticensis, 11(1), 154–155. https://revistas.usal.es/cuatro/index.php/ais/article/view/31615
11. Foro económico mundial (2023) Índice global de la brecha de género. *https://datosmacro.expansion.com/demografia/indice-brecha-genero-global*
12. González Ferrer, Y. (2020). Discriminación por estereotipos de género (Herramientas para su enfrentamiento en el Derecho de las familias). *Ediciones Olejnik.*
13. González Ferrer, y Pérez Gutiérrez, I. (2021). *Guía teórico-práctica de aplicación del enfoque de Género y prevención de la violencia en el ámbito jurídico.* UNFPA Cuba. https://cuba.unfpa.org/es/publications/gu%C3%ADa-te%C3%B3rico-pr%C3%A1ctica-de-aplicaci%C3%B3n-del-enfoque-de-g%C3%A9nero-y-prevenci%C3%B3n-de-la-violencia
14. Kemelmajer de Carlucci A. (2019) "Estándares de la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos sobre derechos de las mujeres". *Journal international de bioéthique et d'éthique des sciences 30 (1), 15-60* https://www.cairn.info/revue-journal-international-de-bioethique-et-d-ethique-des-sciences-2019-1-page-15.htm?contenu=resume
15. Lagarde, Marcela (1989) Tesis Doctoral: 'Los cautiverios de las mujeres: madresposas, monjas, putas, presas y locas', Nueva Tribuna, 8/11/2011 https://ru.dgb.unam.mx/handle/20.500.14330/TES01000815918 file:///C:/Users/Usuario/Downloads/0815918.pdf
16. Lagarde, Marcela (1996) "El género", fragmento literal: 'La perspectiva de género', en Género y feminismo. Desarrollo humano y democracia, *Ed. horas y HORAS, España, 1996, pp. 13-38.* https://catedraunescodh.unam.mx/catedra/CONACYT/08_EducDHyMediacionEscolar/Contenidos/Biblioteca/Lecturas-Complementarias/Lagarde_Genero.pdf
17. Lamas, M. (Comp.). (2013). *El género: La construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual.* Programa universitario de estudios de género, Porrúa. https://www.legisver.gob.mx/equidadNotas/publicacionLXIII/El%20genero.%20La%20construccion%20cultural%20de%20la%20diferencia%20sexual.pdf
18. Larenz K. (2001). Metodología de la ciencia del derecho ([1a Ed]). Ariel. file:///C:/Users/Usuario/Downloads/metodologia-de-la-ciencia-del-derecho compress.pdf
19. Naciones Unidas (2019) Lista de verificación para usar el español de forma inclusiva en cuanto al género v2 5 de julio 2019 https://www.un.org/es/gender-inclusive-language/guidelines.shtml
20. ONU. Derechos Humanos. Oficina del Alto Comisionado de OACNUDH, en Guatemala (2015), *Herramienta para la incorporación del enfoque de género de derechos humanos y la perspectiva de género en la elaboración de sentencias relativas a delitos de feminicidio y otras de violencia contra la mujer.* https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Women/WRGS/Herramienta_DHVSG_alta.pdf
21. OEA. Comisión interamericana de derechos humanos, (CIDH, 2019), Violencia y discriminación contra mujeres, niñas y adolescentes*: Buenas prácticas y desafíos en América Latina y en el Caribe.* http://www.oas.org/es/cidh/informes/pdfs/ViolenciaMujeresNNA.pdf

© 2024 Global Journals

22. OEA. Comisión interamericana de derechos humanos, (CIDH 2021), *informe sobre informe sobre la Situación de derechos humanos en El Salvador* https://www.oas.org/es/cidh/informes/pdfs/2021_ElSalvador-ES.pdf
23. Pegoraro, L. (2016) Teoría y modelos de la comparación. Ensayos de Derecho constitucional comparado. *Editorial Jurídica Olejnik, Santiago de Chile, 2016.*
24. Poyatos Matas, Gloria (2019) "Juzgar Con Perspectiva de Género: Una Metodología Vinculante de Justicia Equitativa*." IQual. Revista de Género e Igualdad, no. 2 (February). Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Murcia: 1–21.* doi:10.6018/iqual.341501. https://revistas.um.es/iqual/article/view/341501/257391
25. Poyatos Matas, G. (2022). Tesis Doctoral: Un método manejable para juzgar con perspectiva de género en el orden de lo social. Tesis doctoral por la Universidad de Murcia. https://digitum.um.es/digitum/handle/10201/119903
26. Quintana Marxelly, M. G. (2022). Acceso a la justicia familiar para las mujeres víctimas de violencia de género. Una mirada desde el derecho salvadoreño. RCES. *Revista Científica de Estudios Sociales, 1 (1), 270-311.* https://revistasnicaragua.cnu.edu.ni/index.php/revistaestudiossociales/article/view/7880/9925
27. Quintana Marxelly, M. G. (2023). Acceso a la justicia para las mujeres víctimas de violencia de género: un reto para el poder judicial salvadoreño*. AIS: Ars Iuris Salmanticensis, 10(2), 63–100.* https://doi.org/10.14201/AIS202210263100. https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/autor?codigo=5907338
28. Quintana Marxelly, M. G. (2024). Aplicación del derecho con perspectiva de género hacia una justicia igualitaria. Un reto para erradicar la violencia contra la mujer en el régimen jurídico de El Salvador*. AIS: Ars Iuris Salmanticensis, 11(2), 83–114.* https://doi.org/10.14201/AIS202311283114
29. Sánchez, C. (29 de noviembre de 2019). Normas APA (7ª edición). https://normas-apa.org/contacto/
30. Villabella Armengol, C. M. (2020). Metodología de la investigación socio-jurídica. Benemérita Universidad de Puebla-Universidad de Camagüey. https://archivos.juridicas.unam.mx/www/bjv/libros/13/6226/12a.pdf

Comparative law

31. Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation, Mexico (2022a). Protocol for Judging with a Gender Perspective. https://bit.ly/3SROndH.
32. Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation, México (2022b*) Guide for the use of inclusive and non-sexist language.* https://www.scjn.gob.mx/igualdad-de-genero/sites/default/files/pagina-portal/2022-12/Gui%CC%81a%20para%20usos%20de%20lenguaje%20inclusivo%20y%20no%20sexista%20SCJN.pdf

© 2024 Global Journals

This page is intentionally left blank

© 2024 Global Journals

Global Journal of human-social science: F
Political Science
Volume 24 Issue 3 Version 1.0 Year 2024
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Political Conceptualisation of the Phenomenon of "Blooming Complexity" in K. Leontiev's Theory of the Three-Phase Development Process

By Anton Pastukhov
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv

Abstract- The peculiarities of the political perception of the phenomenon of "blooming complexity" are analyzed, which is actualized in the theory of the processuality of natural development in the teachings of K. Leontiev. An attempt is made to conceptualize the political foundations of the "blooming complexity" phenomenon. The basic scientific problem is the identification of characteristic features of the second phase - "blooming complexity", which fits into the triadic system of the birth, establishment and decline of states and civilizations in the theory of K. Leontiev. The results of the study are representative of the characteristics of the political features of each period of the system: primary simplicity, flourishing complexity, secondary confusing simplification - which appear in homologous unity and historically encapsulate a certain state-civilization in the general historical context.

Keywords: k. leontiev, blooming complexity, despotic idea, triune historical process, nationality, political system, political development, political process, conservatism, historical and political formation.

GJHSS-F Classification: FOR Code: 160609



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:

© 2024. Anton Pastukhov. This research/review article is distributed under the terms of the Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). You must give appropriate credit to authors and reference this article if parts of the article are reproduced in any manner. Applicable licensing terms are at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/.

Political Conceptualisation of the Phenomenon of "Blooming Complexity" in K. Leontiev's Theory of the Three-Phase Development Process

Anton Pastukhov

Abstract- The peculiarities of the political perception of the phenomenon of "blooming complexity" are analyzed, which is actualized in the theory of the processuality of natural development in the teachings of K. Leontiev. An attempt is made to conceptualize the political foundations of the "blooming complexity" phenomenon. The basic scientific problem is the identification of characteristic features of the second phase - "blooming complexity", which fits into the triadic system of the birth, establishment and decline of states and civilizations in the theory of K. Leontiev. The results of the study are representative of the characteristics of the political features of each period of the system: primary simplicity, flourishing complexity, secondary confusing simplification - which appear in homologous unity and historically encapsulate a certain state-civilization in the general historical context. The concept of "blooming complexity" was scientifically reflected upon, in the process of consideration of which the ideas of the immanent despotic idea of the state, the concept of the real forces of society, the vision of K. Leontiev regarding the concepts of nation, nationalism, nationality, politics of foundations, etc., were articulated and worked out, as well as the peculiarities of the imperative of the social stratification A political revision of the historiosophical theory of development was carried out, according to which a certain state-civilization, passing through a three-phase process, is replaced by another. During the disclosure of the research topic, the principles of objectivity and impartiality were used, as well as the elimination of subjective evaluative judgments.

Keywords: k. leontiev, blooming complexity, despotic idea, triune historical process, nationality, political system, political development, political process, conservatism, historical and political formation.

Introduction

The relevance of the scientific study of the political legacy of K. Leontiev is due to the fact that he created an original concept of the development of state-civilisations and stated that the historical fate of secondary mixing simplification, which precedes the natural annihilation of the state organism, cannot be avoided. For example, J. Baudrillard articulated a narrative about the crisis of Western democracy, stating that "our system has reached the stage of ultimate saturation and is now beginning to vulgarise - in your interpretation, this is the phase of secondary simplification. Rather, it is a path to total banality" (Baudrillard 2016: 194-195). Also, the modern conditions of the thinker's work are evidenced by the identification of those components of the apogee of political and social development that allow us to characterise a particular state in terms of its stability, political and cultural power, etc. The category of the despotic idea, which cements a new worldview of the state's political system, deserves special attention.

This problem has been studied by foreign and domestic scholars, in particular: A. A. Meleshchuk, G. D. Gachev, A. R. Bury, M. D. Klyashtornyi, M. V. Kuznetsov, H. Clauter, M. O. Emelyanov-Lukianchykov, S. M. Pushkin, V. M. Mikheev, and others.

Leontiev's political-state doctrine has a polyphonic aspect: "there was no one ideal centre from which all private thoughts in Leontiev's worldview would emanate and converge like radii" (Solovyov 2007: 45), states V. Solovyov. However, we would like to actualise the basic borderline component of his doctrine, namely, the political paradigm of the historical process through the prism of the existence of statescivilisations and their self-determination, with all its peculiar phenomena and features.

According to V. Rozanov, the theoretical and methodological topicality of K. Leontiev's political doctrine is central: "Leontiev's doctrine of the three phases of any development, any history, any progress - this doctrine is the root of 'all Leontiev', of all his objections and affirmations, of his politics and monasticism" (Rozanov 2007: 39). It was most fully outlined in the work "Byzantism and Slavism" (1975), in which K. Leontiev proves the difference between the concepts of "progress" (technical, scientific, industrial, economic and especially egalitarian-liberal) and "development": "gradual ascent from the simplest to the most complex, gradual individualisation, on the one hand, from the world around us, and on the other - from similar and related organisms, from all similar and related phenomena.

A gradual transition from colourlessness, from simplicity to originality and complexity.

The gradual complication of the constituent elements, the increase in the richness of the inner and at the same time the gradual strengthening of unity" (Leontiev 2007a: 180) is how the thinker understands the process of development and improvement of all processes and phenomena: precisely as an increase in

Author: Ph.d Student, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Faculty of Philosophy, 60 Volodymyrska St., 01033, Kyiv, Ukraine.
e-mail: antonipastukhov@gmail.com,
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7256-521X

© 2024 Global Journals

diversity in harmonious unity. The category of progress is considered by Leontiev in a pejorative connotation, for example, V. Gamsheeva believes that "progress is understood negatively because of its 'intermittency' and 'unconventionality.' Adulation of progress, hope for the achievements of science and technology, and not for God, is not a rational thought, as some naively believe, but a dangerous form of religious consciousness" (Gamsheeva 2017, 79).

If we talk about the political contextualisation of the definition, then we come to what is ideal for K. Leontiev's ideal structural status of the state is one in which there is a broad vectorisation of political and metaphysical meanings, forms and representations, under the centrifugal retaining force of internal despotic unity; in other words, there is an immanent centre of metaphysical (immovable and absolute) principle in any political system that does not allow semantic variation to function outside its jurisdiction: "so that the highest point of development, not only in organic bodies, but in organic phenomena in general, is the highest degree of complexity, united by a kind of internal despotic unity" (Leontiev 2007a: 180). In this way, the thinker articulates an important, partly central concept in his political philosophy - "complexity". This category fits into the triadic construction of the emergence, establishment and extinction of states, using the example of all other natural organisms that also go through processes: youth, maturity and old age.

It should be nuanced that the thinker's system of views can be attributed to the organic theory of the origin of states (G. Spencer, N. Danilevsky), based on the fact that "the laws of development and fall of states are probably not only homogeneous with the laws of the organic world, but also with the laws of the emergence, existence and death of all things" (Leontiev 2007a: 180), but this is not the end of the story, as will be shown below. N. Berdyaev falsely and biasedly perceived Leontiev's picture of historical and political development, believing that K. Leontiev only "acts as a defender of a kind of sociological realism and even naturalism" (Berdyaev 2007: 10) - this statement trivialises and distorts the epistemological completeness of the doctrine of the three-stage progressive development of states, especially conceptually distorts the understanding of the second evolutionary stage. Our mental attitudes are more similar to the vision of P. Struve, who argued that "in essence, Leontiev, as a philosopher of history and political thinker, is a deeply penetrating metaphysical mind" (Struve 2002: 484); the essence of his doctrine is metaphysical, and its formalisation takes on the contours of organic theory, but the latter does not essentially affect the former.

K. Leontiev depicts his picture of the graded evolution of political organisms as a sinusoidal organic development of state structures, which has a three-phase modus (Leontiev 2007a: 185), and consists of:

- Primary Simplicity, characterised by homogeneity, uniformity and one-form society, public institutions, culture, etc. In this phase, the political form and existential constitution of the community, substantial original characteristics, attributes and demarcation symbols of a particular socio-political group begin to be nominally formed, departing from the ancient integral structure that this anthropological community was part of; at the same time, "simplicity and uniformity in the beginning, more equality and more freedom", great homogeneity and uniformity of thoughts, life, behavioural activism, etc. are postulated - "differences are not enough". etc. - "there are not enough differences" (Leontiev 2007a: 188) within the community, the thinker states. Similarly, there are no explicit signs of separation from other political and state systems yet, due to the lack of immanent complexity of forms, which is the determinant that acts as a conjuncture of difference from other political communities. This is followed by a process of complexity, whose distinctive features are "the strengthening of power, a deeper or sharper (depending on the initial structure) division of classes, a greater variety of life and a diversity of regions" (Leontiev 2007a: 188) - that is, like all natural phenomena, the state becomes more complex and gradualised.

An important aspect of the historical path of a people is its starting point: "the beginning of history always puts an indelible stamp on the entire subsequent role of the people" (Leontiev 2007a: 188) - that is, at the very beginning of the emergence of a national community, there are some objective (historical, political, geographical, etc.) prerequisites for its further distinctive and unique development, which can be more or less actualised in the key of the historical progress of the nation.

At this time, the dominant structural element of the political system should be progressives and modernisers who lead the existence of the state organism to "flourishing complexity" through permanent intentions to create new things and establish a model of substantive political development.

- Blooming Complexity (or "flourishing complexity of manhood" as interpreted by G. Gachev (1991: 50), where the main properties are: political and social diversity, cultural and foreign policy differences, class individualisation, state power and influence of state institutions, external heterogeneity and immanent syncretism of constituent parts in ontic polyphony, as well as diversity of all forms, ideas and feelings, and even suffering: "At the same time, on the one hand, wealth increases, on the other hand, poverty increases, on the one hand, the resources of pleasure become more diverse, on the other hand, the diversity and subtlety (development)

© 2024 Global Journals

of feelings and needs generate more suffering, more sadness, more mistakes and more great deeds, more poetry and more comedy. There are great wonderful dictators, emperors, kings, or at least brilliant demagogues and tyrants..." (Leontiev 2007a: 189). Therefore, this period is the most metaphysically heterogeneous, distinctive, all-developed, since it is the scaling of all ontological spheres of life, rather than the vectorial development of one side (for example, technical progress or social eudemonism). A. Meleshchuk believes that for K. Leontiev, "the viability and historical stability of any nation is determined by the diversity, differentiation and expressiveness of all forms of its cultural life" (Meleshchuk 2017: 170). The philosopher states that in these historical moments, the aristocratic principle and the monarchical principle are highly actualised: "behind the internal need for unity, there is a tendency to one-man rule, which, by right or only by fact (author's note), but always grows stronger in this era" (Leontiev 2007a: 189), i.e. one-man rule may be revolutionary, but it will also be considered legitimate based on the spirit of the era. In this example, the monarchy is the integrative force that allows the constituent parts of the political community to function without leading to disintegration: The provinces are diverse, but subject to a strict hierarchy; social groups differ in opinions and views, but do not escape the ideological root cause; cultural differences are intensified in a complex form of centre supremacy; thus, the state logos dominates the entire social organism, but does not repress and quantify the latter, but optimises the work of a complex and multidimensional mechanism. V. Zenkovsky writes: "Leontiev's cult of statehood meant the same 'binding' principle that he ascribed to the moment of form in the ontology of beauty... Statehood ensures the life and development of a people or peoples, but the very strength of statehood depends on the spiritual and ideological health of its population" (Zenkovsky 1991: 261). Schematically, the essence of this phase can be illustrated in the following theoretical variation: Various structural and functional elements (spheres of the sociocultural existence of the state) begin to individualise and develop in their own logic of action and even tend to alienate when an original master idea (which does not necessarily correspond to the monarchical or aristocratic principle, they can be its synergistic components) attracts them and places them in a strict metaphysical framework that does not allow for disintegration of the system. In other words, the despotic central organising idea of syncretism, which prevents political unity from decaying due to the complication of cultural and social conditions of existence, and the structural and functional elements of the political system, which, in the process of complication, themselves become more individualised and substantive in their originality, inductively interact with each other and thus form an original form of the state.

The most important attribute of the period of complexity is social inequality and the need for clear social stratification for the optimal functioning of the political system: "groups and strata are necessary, but they have never been completely destroyed, only reborn..." (Leontiev 2007d: 364). The differentiation of society, and even social inequality, is an imperative for the relevant life of the state, where strata should be complex in their immanence. N. Berdyaev believes that "'flourishing complexity' is the greatest inequality of positions, the greatest diversity of parts, restrained by despotic unity" (Berdyaev 2007: 10). Each social group has its own central idea that determines the peculiarities and uniqueness of these groups: the nobility has its own, the bureaucracy has its own, the aristocracy has its own, etc., and it (this metaphysical basis) should not flow into other stratified communities, while they are constantly engaged in the process of interaction: "interaction (now friendliness, now hostility, now solidarity, now antagonism) between these groups and strata is inevitable; but the mixing and mutual penetration of the contents of these groups and strata is nothing but the proximity of decomposition" (Leontiev 2007d: 368). From this, the thinker derives the concept of real forces of society, which he sees in some fundamental social elements that "determine the character of the history of a nation" (Leontiev 2007d: 369), i.e. directly affect the paradigmatic landscape of the state, its form and idea. Their essence includes: their special internal organisation; varying degrees of their separation; and their natural static nature. Further, we can distinguish the following groups of social institutions or real social forces in the thought of K. Leontiev:

a) spiritual institutions - religion and the church;
b) state institutions - the monarch, the army, the bureaucracy or the bureaucracy;
c) social institutions - communities and specifics of land tenure;
d) economic institutions - capital and labour parameters;
e) cultural institutions - the nature of science and art.

Thus, the variability of change and transcendence of the quality of the connection of all the above subsystems organises a special political-state formation, different from the others. None of them "can be completely erased from the social organism. It is only possible to bring each of these forces to its greatest or smallest manifestation" (Leontiev 2007d: 371). The concept of political and social statics is inextricably linked to a period of flourishing complexity: "the salvation is not to intensify the movement, but to

© 2024 Global Journals

somehow suspend it..." (Leontiev 2007d: 366). Leontiev was an absolute opponent of social, economic, political or cultural mobility, whether in capitalism, individualism, urbanism, etc. - in them he found dispositions to undermine the political system of the state and create a link to the transition to the phase of secondary simplification.

In this time (of blooming complexity), the metaphysics of the state, its individual and distinctive form of being, is manifested. "Form is the despotism of an inner idea that prevents matter from scattering. Breaking the bonds of this natural despotism, the phenomenon dies" (Leontiev 2007a: 186). It is in this connotation that K. Leontiev perceives the form of a phenomenon, including political, in the context of the postestablishment dictatorship of an idea that organises the entropy of matter, gives it a deterministic appearance, character and image, and when it loses its own metaphysical identification (the centre of the organising idea), or departs from it, the politically organised unity is destabilised and comes to the point of self-annihilation. P. Struve writes about Leontiev hat "he not only practically but also metaphysically understood the nature of the state and gave it a justification" (Struve 2002: 484). Leontiev is convinced that for both the individual and the state, the ideological and spiritual side of ontology are "indestructible needs" (Leontiev 2007a: 185). Thus, in this contextuality, K. Leontiev sharply alienates himself from the fundamental determinants of the theory of organic development of states and acts as an idealist for whom the primacy of ideas is more fundamental than the primacy of material givenness. In fact, the establishment of an original and original political principle and the constitution of a kind of conciliar social formation on its basis is the basic characteristic of the second period of the state's existence. However, there is no need to draw an equivalence between the concepts of "state" and "statehood" - the former is the subject itself, existing as a phenomenon, while the latter is its essence, those substantive properties that personify a *particular state*: these include its own system of political and legal ideas embodied in the very life of the national organism, as well as in laws.

For K. Leontiev, "the development of the state is accompanied by a constant clarification, separation of its inherent political form" (Leontiev 2007a: 186), i.e., the comprehension and establishment of its own state and cultural singularity. He is convinced that every nation and political unity has its own form, and it is "basically unchanged to the historical coffin" (Leontiev 2007a: 191). As noted above, it is precisely in the phase of complexity that this original paradigm for a state system is revealed, for example, Athens developed its characteristic type of democratic republic, ancient Egypt a sharply class-based monarchy, Sparta created "a compressed and despotic form of aristocratic republican communism with something like two hereditary presidents" (Leontiev 2007a: 192), at the apogee of Rome's development, an electoral dictatorship or the so-called electoral emperorship was established, etc.

At the same time, in the context of the development and apologetics of a kind of state foundation, the philosopher is puzzled by the understanding of nationalism, nationality and national beginning, which somehow reorganise identity itself - "even between the expressions nationality and nationalism, I find a significant shade" (Leontiev 2007c: 823). Therefore, in his work "The Cultural Ideal and Tribal Politics" (1888), he argues with vivid reasoning that the policy of nationalism leads to cosmopolitan results, which in the hermeneutical structure of his ideas are identical to decomposition and state elimination. S. Khatuntsev is convinced that "Leontiev developed a range of original ideas about national movements and national politics, created a personal, albeit small in scope, conceptual and terminological apparatus for this area, wrote and published several special works on the national question, and became a theorist of a special kind of nationalism - "cultural" nationalism" (Khatuntsev 2014). On this basis, K. Leontiev operationalises the concept:

- *the nation* is an existing, given being, defined by territory and language: "the nation is the thing itself; the term nation corresponds to the most concrete of all concepts, belongs to the order that is being analysed" (Leontiev 2007c: 824). Leontiev did not consider the concept of "nation" in detail, systematically, considering it "too visual", almost physical, at the level of ethnogeographical data (Khatuntsev 2014);
- *nationality* acts as a set of separating features and characteristics of one people from another, what is hidden behind the nation, its idea when the common qualities of one community (internal integration) are opposed to other qualities of another community (external demarcation), i.e. the functioning of immanent syncretism with exogenous disunity. It is more immobile, difficult to change. "Nationality is an idol, an idea hidden behind the real and concrete physical phenomenon that we call a nation" (Leontiev 2007c: 825), "nationality is a distraction from the nation; its imaginary and imagination-coloured shadow, its reflection in our minds and in our imagination" - this is how Leontiev understands this political category: "the sharper these signs are, the more expressive this totality of them is, the more nationality, i.e. peculiarity, originality, originality, is in a nation" (Leontiev 2007c: 824-825). The basic features that can distinguish one nationality from another are: religious differences, differences in the form of political

© 2024 Global Journals

institutions, and everyday features that are not so much external as reflect the psychological constitution of people, i.e., they are a form of the idea of the people. The author also articulates nationality as a concept of historically acquired features and existing qualities, which is how it differs from the national ideal;

- the *national ideal* is a potentialised nationality, i.e., the enthroned features and ideas of the nation: "it is a different subjective idea of different citizens about the idol of the future real nation" (Leontiev 2007c: 826);
- *nationalism* is "rather a kind of driving, active principle that acts in the name of this shadow (nationality - author's note)" (Leontiev 2007c: 827). Thus, Leontiev sees nationalism as a system of agency for affirming one's own identities;
- *tribalism or tribal politics* is a policy aimed at supporting the interests of language and tribe alone, which leads to cosmopolitan results. N. Berdyaev wrote that "he (Leontiev - author's note) was absolutely negative about nationalism, about the tribal beginning, which, in his opinion, leads to revolution and the democratic equation" (Berdyaev 2016: 86) - but here we should draw a dichotomy between tribalism and nationalism, as shown above. According to Leontiev, "for a political programme to succeed, a central unifying idea is necessary, around which peoples could rally, and he considered the commonality of blood without such an informative idea to be barren and even dangerous" (Gronin 2021).

Thus, based on the philosopher's ideas, it is necessary to clearly distinguish between the concepts of national and tribal politics: The former is seen as culturally selective, protective and creative, it is a policy that separates the metaphysics of one nation and state from others; the latter aims at tribal emancipation, the search for ways and methods to manifest national freedom, which leads to the same methodology developed by Western Europe, that is, the general social equalisation, mixing and homogenisation of society. The former is ontologically and axiologically broader, the latter is narrower. Therefore, we should also distinguish between tribal and national ideals. The fundamental problem is that there is a process of overlapping concepts, the understanding and ideas of tribalism contaminate the category of nationality and the concept of nationalism that comes from it.

Proceeding from the irrelevance of using the concept of nationalism, the thinker recreates his own category, the so-called *policy of foundations* - an applied, active policy aimed at actualising and preserving the cultural and historical foundations of the people and closely related to the concept of nationality as the essence of cultural, historical, folk and other principles. The former determines the procedural landscape of the latter, and sees it as the cornerstone of its functionality. Therefore, the main state idea in a period of flourishing complexity should be the policy of fundamentals.

It should be further nuanced that in this period of the state's life, conservative and protective forces should be an important socio-intellectual beginning, which will restrain the annihilating direction leading to the third phase of the life of social organisms, and is also an implication of the decline and death of systematised political unity: "all the guardians and friends of reaction are right, on the contrary, in theory, when the process of secondary simplifying mixing begins; for they want to heal and strengthen the organism" (Leontiev 2007a: 194). Their ideologemes and conceptual constructions will slow down or freeze the natural entropic process of decomposition of human communities, under the important condition of appealing to the abovementioned politics of the foundations.

N. Berdyaev was convinced that "only in this aristocratic flowering did he (K. Leontiev - author's note) see the beauty of life and suffered madly from the consciousness that the 'liberal-egalitarian process' takes humanity in the opposite direction, to the realm of the bourgeoisie, which causes disgust and disgust in the aesthete and aristocrat, romance and mysticism" (Berdyaev 2007: 5) - because for K. Leontiev is synonymous with social uniformity and homogeneity, it is opposed to the phase of state fruition, unacceptable to the logic of political system complication and is a distinctive feature of the third phase of state development.

- Secondary mixing simplification, for which the basic parameters are: internal and external uniformity, similarity with related phenomena and objects, reduction of the number of distinctive features, weakening of unity, general mixing and idealess commonality. This phase precedes the phenomenon of the death and elimination of the state: "simplification of constituent parts, reduction of the number of signs, weakening of unity, strength and at the same time mixing. Everything gradually decreases, mixes, merges, and then disintegrates and dies, turning into something common, not existing in itself and not for itself. The pernicious becomes more uniform internally, closer to the world around it, and more similar to related, close phenomena (i.e. freer)" (Leontiev 2007a: 185), freedom here being understood as the possibility of going beyond systemic despotism and ascending to other similar objects and phenomena. Zenkovsky was convinced that "the degeneration of statehood and the spiritual degeneration of peoples go hand in hand, and here the naturalist in Leontiev suggested

© 2024 Global Journals

to him the idea of the 'cosmic law of decomposition'" (Zenkovsky 1991: 261). Thus, the third period of extinction is as natural a stage in the functioning of states as death is for any living organism - it is the fate of all societies. However, we can determine the most fatalistic principle of decomposition for K. Leontiev (he actualises it in the context of his entire work) - it is homogeneity, uniformity and generality; the abolition of hierarchy within the state and the external original constitution of an integral political organism: "the very mixing is already a kind of simplification of the picture, a simplification of the legal fabric and everyday patterning. Mixing all colours leads to grey or white. <…> People are simpler personally, in opinion, tastes, in the simplicity of consciousness and needs; communities and whole national or religious remnants are simpler among themselves" (Leontiev 2007a: 195). Based on the above, it can be argued that, according to Leontiev, there is a synchronicity between the whole (the state) and its constituent parts (individuals, social or national communities, cultural identities, etc.), and since the phenomenon of the fading of the whole in one way or another affects the units within its sphere, this leads to the destructivisation of the overall system, both from the centre and from the periphery. G. Gachev, analysing the ideas of K. Leontiev, is convinced that in the third phase, civilisation "is moving towards the lowering of Spirit and Beauty, simplifying the individual and his needs, the structure of society, and the range of interests, activities and goals. Egalitarian vulgarity of democracy", he states (Gachev 1991: 50).

However, "secondary simplification and secondary confusion are the essence of the signs, not the cause, of state decay" (Leontiev 2007a: 215), and Leontiev sees freedom as the main source of the decay of states, which postulates a departure from the authority of state institutions, the non-glutinisation of the internal despotic idea of society, and the extension of rights and freedoms to all social elements. N. Berdyaev wrote that "Leontiev professed the mysticism of power, adored the state, the mystical meaning of freedom was closed to him" (Berdyaev 2007: 19); "he values the individuality of some fictitious whole, not the living human individual" (Berdyaev 2007: 13). In principle, one can understand Leontiev's thorough rejection of individualism, since he saw it as a departure from the sacred and central idea of society, which leads to the establishment of the decomposition of the entire state unity; the main axiological attitude for the thinker is the primacy of the power and strength of the common over the private, of holism over individualism: "he preached the morality of values, the values of beauty, flourishing culture, and state power, as opposed to a morality based on the supremacy of the individual, on compassion for the human being," summarises N. Berdyaev. However, all of the above does not counterbalance the latter's words, but only complements them. P. Struve states the existential objective generality of Leontiev's formula of state inequality: "Leontiev's understanding of the state is combined with an extremely acute, also metaphysical and mystical, sense of the inequality of forces in the economy of nature and history. A conscious and submissive acceptance of this dismemberment and this inequality is necessary" (Struve 2002: 485) - perceiving inequality in everything (from natural phenomena to historical hierarchy), he gives it the colour of objectivity not only in anthroposocial reality, but in all ontological systems.

An important feature of simplification is the process of smoothing out the morphological outlines of a cultural and historical type, which is represented by egalitarianism, eudemonism, expansion of rights and freedoms, denunciation of class partitions - "the egalitarian-liberal process is the antithesis of the development process" (Leontiev 2007a: 187). Anything that cancels the ontological diversity of class, cultural, national, ethnic, etc. communities is a direct evil of the organic development of civilisation, but due to the historical inevitability of these processes, they can only be suspended, frozen, and prevented from being actualised. "The passion for equality and mixing is destructive for cultures and civilisations and leads to their old age and death. The transfer of the ideals of equality and justice to the realm of culture, in his opinion (K. Leontiev's opinion - author's note). Leontiev - author's note), means virtually unification of creativity, levelling of individuals and styles, intellectual averaging, replacement of true cultural values with flat platitudes, replication of cultural templates, widespread domination of dullness, mediocrity, and bourgeoisie" (Buryi 2017: 120), writes A. Buryi, stating that egalitarianism and social equality are the political detonator that undermines the state foundation.

It should be noted that those initial distinguishing universal attributes of a nation that begin to form in the phase of primary simplicity and are ideologically established in the moment of flourishing complexity are not annihilated: "that in the process of decomposition and death, some features that emerged in the period of flowering or complexity remain until the last minute" (Leontiev 2007a: 213). Thus, we can come to the conclusion that there are certain deep constitutions in the national life of a society that are preserved throughout the historical life of a people.

Thus, from the thinker's apothegm we come to the conclusion that every cultural state (i.e., a state with a civilisational landscape) goes through a triune process of birth, maturation and extinction - a process he considered fatal (Berdyaev 2016: 86). Likewise, each

© 2024 Global Journals

historical period of the life of a political organism corresponds to an optimal form of government: during the birth of the state, aristocracy functions, in the middle and the most static period - sole power "even in the form of a strong presidency, temporary dictatorship, sole demagoguery or tyranny" (Leontiev 2007a: 140), and during the death of state integrity - democratic, egalitarian and liberal principles (plutocratic principle of government). Based on the above, we come to the conclusion that for K. Leontiev the most appropriate form of government is the one that is equivalent to the political principle in the period of flourishing complexity, namely, one-man rule.

However, it should be noted that the greatest duration of the existence of states varies from 1000 to 1200 years, but "cultures, combined with states, mostly outlive them" (Leontiev 2007a: 195), i.e. culture as a phenomenon of existence can exist without the state, and the state without culture will rapidly come to the third phase of stagnation. The thinker comes to this conclusion by analysing the fundamental historical retrospective of the life of states, for example: Egypt, ancient Babylon with Assyria, the Jewish state, the Perso-Median state, the Greek republics, Rome and Byzantium, former France, England and Germany - "all of them had one thing in common: they were complex and within their national boundaries there was more or less deep diversity" (Leontiev 2007b: 72). After reflecting on the historical information about these political entities, Leontiev concludes that one civilisation replaces another in the unfolding of history, with an approximate functioning in the 10th-12th centuries, with an immanent triadic logic of existence. Thus, the thinker forms a special historiosophical concept, according to which the main determinant of historical development is the state-civilisations, which postulate the cyclicity of the world-system, and the latter, in turn, takes the form of a wave-like scheme.

Summing up, it should be noted that the phenomenon of "blooming complexity" articulated by the author cannot but be considered in a complex system of triadic development: without actualising the first stage of primary simplicity, characterised by homogeneity and uniformity, as well as without understanding the essence of the third period of repeated mixing simplification - therefore, only in ideological monolithicity does this political phenomenon enter into its ontological integrity. This triadic process is the methodological basis of K. Leontiev's doctrine, which he extrapolated to all state structures. We can consider the category of "blooming complexity" to be multi-conceptual, since it incorporates a multiplicity of concepts and ideas that constitute it in the field of political foundational metaphysics. Important substantive features of this phase are: the presence of class partitions, i.e. social and class differentiation; the functioning of the politics of principles led by a conservative and protective element of the political elite; the establishment of an original cultural paradigm of the existence of the people and the state as its protector; a special political form with a fundamental and centrally organising despotic idea, etc. Analysing the latter factor of the phenomenon we are intellectually dissecting, we should point out its system-forming theoretical potential for creating a possible syncretic political system of state metaphysics. An important feature of K. Leontiev's doctrine is also the changeability and transgressiveness of one state-civilisation by another, which leads to the conclusion that history thus takes on an undulating and sinusoidal movement.

References Références Referencias

1. Gronin, Glenn. 2021. *«The Revolutionary Konstantin Nikolaevich Leontiev»*, Disenchanted Wanderer. NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY PRESS. The Revolutionary Konstantin Nikolaevich Leontiev. cornellpress.cornell.edu. Web. URL: https://www.cornellpress.cornell.edu/the-revolutionary-konstantin-nikolaevich-leontiev/.
2. Zlatkova, J. 2015. *«Byzantism and Slavdom: Political Ideology of Constantine Leontiev»*. Cyril and Methodius: Byzantizm and the Word of the Slavs. Ssaloniky. Academia.edu Web. URL: https://www.academia.edu/37923396/Byzantism_and_Slavdom_Political_Ideology_of_Constantine_Leontiev
3. Berdyaev, N. A. 2007. *K. Leontiev is a philosopher of reactionary romance. Anthology of thought: East, Russia and Slavdom*. Moscow: EKSMO. (in Russian).
4. Berdyaev, N. A. 2016. *Russian idea*. Moscow: "E". (in Russian).
5. Gachev, G. D. 1991. *Russian Duma. Portraits of Russian thinkers*. Moscow: "News". (in Russian).
6. Zenkovsky, VV 1991. *History of Russian Philosophy*. Volume 1, part 2. Leningrad: "EGO". (in Russian).
7. Zenkovsky, V. V. 2005. *Russian thinkers and Europe. thinkers of the twentieth century*. Moscow: Republic, 2005. (in Russian).
8. Leontiev, K. N. 2007a. *Byzantism and Slavism. Anthology of thought: East, Russia and Slavdom*. Moscow: EKSMO, 2007. (in Russian).
9. Leontiev, K. N. 2007b. *Literacy and nationality. Anthology of thought: East, Russia and Slavdom*. Moscow: EKSMO. (in Russian).
10. Leontiev, K. N. 2007c. *Cultural ideal and tribal politics. Letters to Mr. Astafiev. Anthology of thought: East, Russia and Slavdom*. Moscow: EKSMO. (in Russian).
11. Leontiev, K. N. 2007d. *The average European as an ideal and an instrument of world destruction. Anthology of thought: East, Russia and Slavdom*. Moscow: EKSMO. (in Russian).
12. Rozanov, V. V. 2007. *About Konstantin Leontiev. Anthology of thought: East, Russia and Slavdom*. Moscow: EKSMO. (in Russian).

© 2024 Global Journals

13. Solovyov, Vl. S. 2007. *In memory of K. N. Leontiev. Literacy and nationality. Anthology of thought: East, Russia and Slavdom*. Moscow: EKSMO. (in Russian).
14. Struve, P. B. 2002. *Konstantin Leontiev. Leontiev K. N. Russian memoirs. XIX century. My literary destiny Memories*. / Comp., intro. article, note. T. F. Prokopova. Moscow: Russian book. (in Russian).
15. Khatuntsev, S. V. 2022. K.N. *Leontiev on nationalism and national politics*. 8ref.com. Web. 2014. URL: http://8ref.com/9/referat_91394.html. (in Ukrainian).
16. Baudrillard, J. *Zhukh terrorism. There was no Gulf War.* Moscow: RIPOL classic. (in Russian).
17. Bury, A. R. 2017. *Konstantin Lentiev and Volodymyr Solovyov as "mirrors" of Russian culture of the 19th century*. Taurian historical scientific readings. Tavria National University named after V. I. Vernadskyi. Kyiv. tnu.edu.ua. Web. URL: https://tnu.edu.ua/sites/default/files/normativbasa/tnuistorctenia012017.pdf#page=120. (in Ukrainian).
18. Gamsheeva, V. M. 2017. "*The formula "development-progress" in the philosophy of history of K. M. Leontiev*. "Gilea: scientific bulletin": Collection of scientific works. - Kyiv. Issue 121. (in Ukrainian).
19. Meleshchuk, A. A. 2017. *Peculiarities of organicism in the philosophy of history of K. Leontiev and M. Danylevsky.* "Gilea: scientific bulletin": Collection of scientific works. - Kyiv. Issue 127. (in Ukrainian).

© 2024 Global Journals

Global Journals Guidelines Handbook 2024

www.GlobalJournals.org

Memberships

Fellows/Associates of Social Science Research Council

FSSRC/ASSRC Memberships



Introduction

FSSRC/ASSRC is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals accredited by Open Association of Research Society, U.S.A (OARS). The credentials of Fellow and Associate designations signify that the researcher has gained the knowledge of the fundamental and high-level concepts, and is a subject matter expert, proficient in an expertise course covering the professional code of conduct, and follows recognized standards of practice. The credentials are designated only to the researchers, scientists, and professionals that have been selected by a rigorous process by our Editorial Board and Management Board.

Associates of FSSRC/ASSRC are scientists and researchers from around the world are working on projects/researches that have huge potentials. Members support Global Journals' mission to advance technology for humanity and the profession.

FSSRC

Fellow of Social Science Research Council

FELLOW OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the most prestigious membership of Global Journals. It is an award and membership granted to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Fellows are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Fellow Members.

Benefit

To the institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.



Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A FSSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 1 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Fellows can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Certificate

Certificate, LOR and Laser-Momento

Fellows receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Designation

Get honored title of membership

Fellows can use the honored title of membership. The “FSSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., FSSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., FSSRC.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Recognition on the Platform

Better visibility and citation

All the Fellow members of FSSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation. All fellows get a dedicated page on the website with their biography.

Career | Credibility | Reputation

© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

Future Work

Get discounts on the future publications

Fellows receive discounts on future publications with Global Journals up to 60%. Through our recommendation programs, members also receive discounts on publications made with OARS affiliated organizations.

Career | Financial



GJ Account

Unlimited forward of Emails

Fellows get secure and fast GJ work emails with unlimited forward of emails that they may use them as their primary email. For example,
john [AT] globaljournals [DOT] org.

Career | Credibility | Reputation



Premium Tools

Access to all the premium tools

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Financial

Conferences & Events

Organize seminar/conference

Fellows are authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). They can also participate in the same organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent. Additionally, they get free research conferences (and others) alerts.

Career | Credibility | Financial

Early Invitations

Early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences

All fellows receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

Exclusive



Publishing Articles & Books

Earn 60% of sales proceeds

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Exclusive | Financial

Reviewers

Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Fellow members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

Access to Editorial Board

Become a member of the Editorial Board

Fellows may join as a member of the Editorial Board of Global Journals Incorporation (USA) after successful completion of three years as Fellow and as Peer Reviewer. Additionally, Fellows get a chance to nominate other members for Editorial Board.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

And Much More

Get access to scientific museums and observatories across the globe

All members get access to 5 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 10 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

ASSRC

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

ASSOCIATE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL is the membership of Global Journals awarded to individuals that the Open Association of Research Society judges to have made a 'substantial contribution to the improvement of computer science, technology, and electronics engineering.

The primary objective is to recognize the leaders in research and scientific fields of the current era with a global perspective and to create a channel between them and other researchers for better exposure and knowledge sharing. Members are most eminent scientists, engineers, and technologists from all across the world. Associate membership can later be promoted to Fellow Membership. Associates are elected for life through a peer review process on the basis of excellence in the respective domain. There is no limit on the number of new nominations made in any year. Each year, the Open Association of Research Society elect up to 12 new Associate Members.

Benefit

To the institution

Get letter of appreciation

Global Journals sends a letter of appreciation of author to the Dean or CEO of the University or Company of which author is a part, signed by editor in chief or chief author.



Exclusive Network

Get access to a closed network

A ASSRC member gets access to a closed network of Tier 2 researchers and scientists with direct communication channel through our website. Associates can reach out to other members or researchers directly. They should also be open to reaching out by other.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Certificate

Certificate, LoR and Laser-Momento

Associates receive a printed copy of a certificate signed by our Chief Author that may be used for academic purposes and a personal recommendation letter to the dean of member's university.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation



Designation

Get honored title of membership

Associates can use the honored title of membership. The “ASSRC” is an honored title which is accorded to a person’s name viz. Dr. John E. Hall, Ph.D., ASSRC or William Walldroff, M.S., ASSRC.

Career | Credibility | Exclusive | Reputation

Recognition on the Platform

Better visibility and citation

All the Associate members of ASSRC get a badge of "Leading Member of Global Journals" on the Research Community that distinguishes them from others. Additionally, the profile is also partially maintained by our team for better visibility and citation.

Career | Credibility | Reputation

Future Work

Get discounts on the future publications

Associates receive discounts on future publications with Global Journals up to 30%. Through our recommendation programs, members also receive discounts on publications made with OARS affiliated organizations.

Career | Financial



GJ Account

Unlimited forward of Emails

Associates get secure and fast GJ work emails with 5GB forward of emails that they may use them as their primary email. For example, john [AT] globaljournals [DOT] org.

Career | Credibility | Reputation



Premium Tools

Access to all the premium tools

To take future researches to the zenith, fellows receive access to almost all the premium tools that Global Journals have to offer along with the partnership with some of the best marketing leading tools out there.

Financial

Conferences & Events

Organize seminar/conference

Associates are authorized to organize symposium/seminar/conference on behalf of Global Journal Incorporation (USA). They can also participate in the same organized by another institution as representative of Global Journal. In both the cases, it is mandatory for him to discuss with us and obtain our consent. Additionally, they get free research conferences (and others) alerts.

Career | Credibility | Financial

Early Invitations

Early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences

All associates receive the early invitations to all the symposiums, seminars, conferences and webinars hosted by Global Journals in their subject.

Exclusive



Publishing Articles & Books

Earn 60% of sales proceeds

Associates can publish articles (limited) without any fees. Also, they can earn up to 30-40% of sales proceeds from the sale of reference/review books/literature/publishing of research paper.

Exclusive | Financial

Reviewers

Get a remuneration of 15% of author fees

Associate members are eligible to join as a paid peer reviewer at Global Journals Incorporation (USA) and can get a remuneration of 15% of author fees, taken from the author of a respective paper.

Financial

And Much More

Get access to scientific museums and observatories across the globe

All members get access to 2 selected scientific museums and observatories across the globe. All researches published with Global Journals will be kept under deep archival facilities across regions for future protections and disaster recovery. They get 5 GB free secure cloud access for storing research files.

Associate	Fellow	Research Group	Basic
$4800 **lifetime designation**	$6800 **lifetime designation**	$12500.00 **organizational**	APC **per article**
Certificate, LoR and Momento **2** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **10** research contacts/day **1 GB** Cloud Storage **GJ** Community Access	**Certificate,** LoR and Momento **Unlimited** discounted publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **5 GB** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**Certificates,** LoRs and Momentos **Unlimited** free publishing/year **Gradation** of Research **Unlimited** research contacts/day **Unlimited** Cloud Storage **Online Presense** Assistance **GJ** Community Access	**GJ** Community Access

Preferred Author Guidelines

We accept the manuscript submissions in any standard (generic) format.

We typeset manuscripts using advanced typesetting tools like Adobe In Design, CorelDraw, TeXnicCenter, and TeXStudio. We usually recommend authors submit their research using any standard format they are comfortable with, and let Global Journals do the rest.

Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

Authors should submit their complete paper/article, including text illustrations, graphics, conclusions, artwork, and tables. Authors who are not able to submit manuscript using the form above can email the manuscript department at submit@globaljournals.org or get in touch with chiefeditor@globaljournals.org if they wish to send the abstract before submission.

Before and during Submission

Authors must ensure the information provided during the submission of a paper is authentic. Please go through the following checklist before submitting:

1. Authors must go through the complete author guideline and understand and *agree to Global Journals' ethics and code of conduct,* along with author responsibilities.
2. Authors must accept the privacy policy, terms, and conditions of Global Journals.
3. Ensure corresponding author's email address and postal address are accurate and reachable.
4. Manuscript to be submitted must include keywords, an abstract, a paper title, co-author(s') names and details (email address, name, phone number, and institution), figures and illustrations in vector format including appropriate captions, tables, including titles and footnotes, a conclusion, results, acknowledgments and references.
5. Authors should submit paper in a ZIP archive if any supplementary files are required along with the paper.
6. Proper permissions must be acquired for the use of any copyrighted material.
7. Manuscript submitted *must not have been submitted or published elsewhere* and all authors must be aware of the submission.

Declaration of Conflicts of Interest

It is required for authors to declare all financial, institutional, and personal relationships with other individuals and organizations that could influence (bias) their research.

Policy on Plagiarism

Plagiarism is not acceptable in Global Journals submissions at all.

Plagiarized content will not be considered for publication. We reserve the right to inform authors' institutions about plagiarism detected either before or after publication. If plagiarism is identified, we will follow COPE guidelines:

Authors are solely responsible for all the plagiarism that is found. The author must not fabricate, falsify or plagiarize existing research data. The following, if copied, will be considered plagiarism:

- Words (language)
- Ideas
- Findings
- Writings
- Diagrams
- Graphs
- Illustrations
- Lectures

- Printed material
- Graphic representations
- Computer programs
- Electronic material
- Any other original work

Authorship Policies

Global Journals follows the definition of authorship set up by the Open Association of Research Society, USA. According to its guidelines, authorship criteria must be based on:

1. Substantial contributions to the conception and acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation of findings.
2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

Copyright

During submission of the manuscript, the author is confirming an exclusive license agreement with Global Journals which gives Global Journals the authority to reproduce, reuse, and republish authors' research. We also believe in flexible copyright terms where copyright may remain with authors/employers/institutions as well. Contact your editor after acceptance to choose your copyright policy. You may follow this form for copyright transfers.

Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

Declaration of funding sources

Global Journals is in partnership with various universities, laboratories, and other institutions worldwide in the research domain. Authors are requested to disclose their source of funding during every stage of their research, such as making analysis, performing laboratory operations, computing data, and using institutional resources, from writing an article to its submission. This will also help authors to get reimbursements by requesting an open access publication letter from Global Journals and submitting to the respective funding source.

Preparing your Manuscript

Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

.

Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



© Copyright by Global Journals | Guidelines Handbook

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

INDEX

A

Aggregators · 2
Animosity · 1
Apparently · 1

C

Conspiracy · 2, 3, 10
Contrary · 12, 5

D

Deterioration · 15, 14
Deterministic · 4
Deterrence · 10
Disseminated · 3, 5
Distortions · 7

E

Embodied · 3, 4
Enshrined · 27

F

Factual · 2, 3, 7

I

Immanence · 3
Immersed · 28
Indecorous · 26

P

Palpable · 19
Passivity · 16
Peculiarities · 1, 3
Persuasion · 16
Persuasive · 6, 7
Preached · 6
Prevalence · 24, 25
Prominence · 1

R

Reaffirming · 7
Reciprocal · 27
Relativized · 7
Restoration · 10

T

Tacitly · 14
Tendency · 3
Tolerance · 10, 25

V

Veracity · 2
Violation · 9, 14, 27



save our planet



Global Journal of Human Social Science

Visit us on the Web at www.GlobalJournals.org | www.SocialScienceResearch.org
or email us at helpdesk@globaljournals.org



ISSN 975587

© Global Journals