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## La Russia nel Mediterraneo: conseguenze sugli equilibri locali e globali

Giacomo Barbetta\*

### Abstract in English

In the contemporary era, the Kremlin's attention to the Mediterranean is one of the most relevant geopolitical facts not only for the balance of the area but also on a global level. Due to the US disengagement in the region and the European chronic difficulty to organize a common foreign policy, the Russian Federation has taken the opportunity to influence the Mediterranean Sea. As a matter of fact, on the one hand, the Kremlin wants to counteract the expansion of NATO to the East. On the other hand, Moscow aims at becoming the leading actor in the contemporary 'Great Game'. However, the Mediterranean is not an easy target. The Russian approach to the Mediterranean region has followed gradual steps such as the Kremlin's major involvement in the Black Sea, Moscow's huge investments in the military naval sector, and Russian military intervention in the Syrian conflict in support of Bashar al-Assad. Since the Russian presence in the Syrian battleground, the Kremlin has penetrated the Mediterranean region strengthening its position in the Middle East which has become the Russian picklock to the North African coasts characterized by strong instability. Since the Russian presence in the MENA region and general in the Mediterranean Sea has not been affected by US and NATO reactions this paper aims at analyzing future consequences and geopolitical developments of the Kremlin's presence in the Mediterranean Sea which could accelerate the advent of that 'multipolar world'. **Keywords:** nuclear energy, Middle East, geopolitics, oil, natural gas.

**Keywords:** Russia, Mediterranean Sea, geopolitics, United States, North Africa, Middle East

### Abstract in Italiano

L'attenzione della Russia verso il Mediterraneo è, oggi, tra i più rilevanti fatti geopolitici non solo per gli equilibri dell'area ma anche a livello globale. Mosca, infatti, attraverso la sua nuova postura nel Mediterraneo, facilitata anche dal disimpegno statunitense nell'area e dalla cronica difficoltà europea di esprimere una politica estera comune, intende, da un lato, contrastare l'ampliamento ad est della NATO e dall'altro imporsi nel nuovo 'Great Game' mondiale come attore di primo piano. Tuttavia, il Mediterraneo non è un obiettivo facile. L'avvicinamento da parte della Russia è stato graduale passando, dapprima, per il rafforzamento della propria presenza nel Mar Nero e poi, anche grazie ad investimenti notevoli che hanno riguardato principalmente le forze navali, attraverso lo sviluppo di tattiche, mezzi e infrastrutture. Ciò ha consentito al Cremlino, non appena se ne è presentata l'occasione con l'avvento del conflitto in Siria, di penetrare nel Mediterraneo e di stabilizzare, in breve tempo, la propria posizione tanto da allungare il proprio sguardo alle coste nordafricane caratterizzate da forte instabilità. Le reazioni da parte degli Usa e della NATO ci sono state, ma non sempre hanno ottenuto i risultati sperati. Si parla di 'vittoria' russa in Siria, ma questa sembra riguardare più che altro la ritrovata assertività e concretezza di azione piuttosto che un reale mutamento dei rapporti di forza. Tuttavia, le conseguenze di quanto successo sono tangibili e potrebbero accelerare l'avvento di quel 'mondo multipolare' di cui da diversi anni si dibatte.

**Parole chiave:** Russia, Mar Mediterraneo, geopolitica, Stati Uniti, Nord Africa, Medio Oriente

\* *Giacomo Barbetta is an independent researcher and geopolitical analyst.*

## Introduzione

Le mire della Russia sul Mediterraneo per rafforzare la propria posizione e promuovere i propri interessi nazionali hanno radici profonde. Già a partire dal XV secolo, infatti, la Russia ha guardato al *Mare Nostrum* come un obiettivo strategico da raggiungere, anche attraverso il rafforzamento delle proprie posizioni sui cosiddetti ‘mari ristretti’ sui quali ha sbocco, primo fra tutti il Mar Nero.

In chiave geopolitica il Mediterraneo, e in particolare la sua parte orientale, costituisce la “via più breve per raggiungere il Canale di Suez, il Mar Rosso e il Golfo Persico, corridoi interessati da importanti vie mercantili internazionali così come dagli spostamenti delle flotte militari statunitensi ed europee”.<sup>1</sup>

In pratica la Russia ha considerato, e considera tuttora, la sua presenza nel Mediterraneo come cruciale per garantirsi un ruolo da protagonista nello scacchiere globale. Questo, dopo la messa in sicurezza del Paese sul fronte interno (estirpazione della piaga del terrorismo soprattutto di matrice cecena) e il rilancio economico (anche attraverso la formazione di una classe media), è il terzo obiettivo che Putin si è prefissato di raggiungere nel periodo della sua permanenza al Cremlino perseguendolo con la determinazione e spregiudicatezza che ha contraddistinto finora il suo mandato<sup>2</sup>.

Ciò, oltre, a ridefinire profondamente gli equilibri nell’area e i rapporti di forza, ha avuto e avrà, come vedremo, anche ripercussioni sull’ordine mondiale poiché, secondo alcuni commentatori, la presenza non solo di facciata ma tangibile della marina russa nella questione siriana ha di fatto sancito la fine dell’egemonia ideale e militare statunitense e in generale una reazione al tentativo della NATO di ampliare la sua area di influenza ad est.<sup>3</sup>

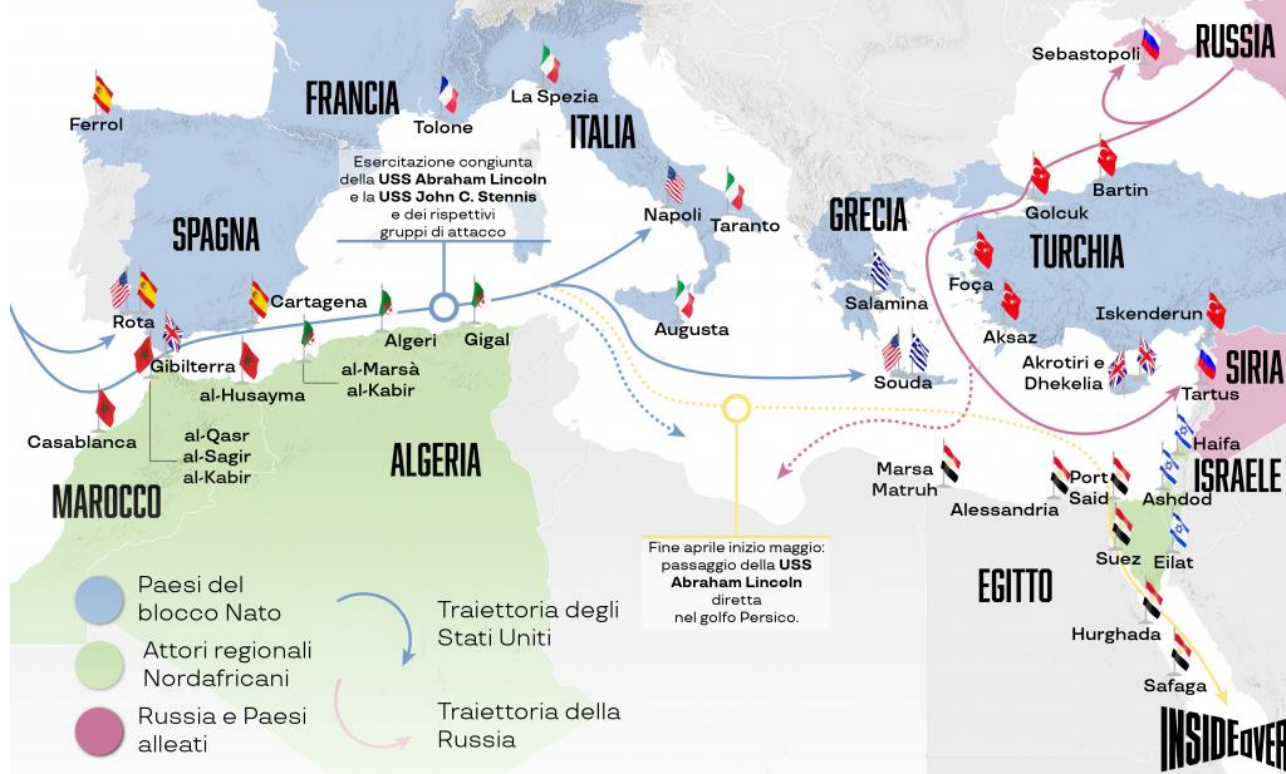
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<sup>1</sup> Semënov , Kirill (2020) *Il mare nostrum è anche un po’ russo*, Limes. Link: <https://www.limesonline.com/cartaceo/il-mare-nostrum-e-anche-un-po-russo>.

<sup>2</sup> Baldoni, Mattia (2019) *Dal caos al multipolarismo: 20 anni di Putin nella politica estera russa - Parte I e II*, Osservatorio Russia. Link: <https://www.osservatoriorussia.com/index.php/russia/politica-estera/entry/402-dal-caos-al-multipolarismo-20-anni-di-putin-nella-politica-estera-russa-parte-i>. Per un approfondimento sulla recente storia russa si veda: Ceccarelli Morolli, Danilo (2018) *Appunti di Geopolitica*, Roma: Edizioni Valore Italiano, pp. 227-238.

<sup>3</sup> Jones, Sam (2015) *Russia’s Syria strategy poses challenge to Nato in Mediterranean*, Financial Times. Link: <https://www.ft.com/content/cec668a8-7714-11e5-933d-efcdc3c11c89>; Courtney, William & McClintock, Bruce (2020) *Russia Is Eyeing the Mediterranean. The U.S. and NATO Must Be Prepared*, The RAND Blog. Link: <https://www.rand.org/blog/2020/06/russia-is-eyeing-the-mediterranean-the-us-and-nato.html>; Borshchevskaya, Anna (2020) *Russia’s Military Activity in the East Mediterranean Echoes Its Approach to Syria*, The Washington Institute for Near East Policy. Link: <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/russias-military-activity-east-mediterranean-echoes-its-approach-syria>.

# LE BASI MILITARI NEL BACINO DEL MEDITERRANEO



**Figura 1** Le basi militari presente nel Mediterraneo. Fonte: Bellotto, Alberto (2019) *Usa, Russia e Cina: è guerra per il Mediterraneo*, Insideover. Link: <https://it.insideover.com/politica/usa-russia-e-cina-e-guerra-per-il-mediterraneo.html>.

Per Mosca, infatti, “il Mediterraneo rappresenta un confine naturale della NATO: navigare liberamente nelle sue acque significa ampliare le opportunità di deterrenza nei confronti degli Stati Uniti e dei loro alleati, vantaggio particolarmente importante nel periodo della Guerra Fredda, che tuttavia gode di assoluto rilievo anche oggi”.<sup>4</sup>

Parag Khanna ha evidenziato gli errori degli strateghi occidentali nel pensare che, da quando è crollata l’Unione Sovietica, la Russia avrebbe accettato tacitamente l’espansione dell’Alleanza Atlantica giocando un ruolo subordinato o minore nello scacchiere geopolitico internazionale e all’interno di una alleanza con gli Stati Uniti e l’Europa.<sup>5</sup> Evidentemente non è andata proprio così. La Russia si percepisce come una potenza globale e di conseguenza agisce, spesso, andando oltre le proprie possibilità come è visibilmente avvenuto nel caso del

<sup>4</sup> Morengi, Denise (2020) *Dalla Crimea alla Libia, passando per la Siria, la Russia si espande nel Mediterraneo*, CeSI Centro Studi Internazionali. Link: <https://cesi-italia.org/articoli/1206/dalla-crimea-alla-libia-passando-per-la-siria-la-russia-si-espande-nel-mediterraneo>.

<sup>5</sup> Khanna, Parag (2019) *Il secolo asiatico?*, Roma: Fazi Editore, pag. 116.

riarmo e potremmo dire della rifondazione della flotta sovietica, praticamente inesistente alla fine della Guerra fredda.<sup>6</sup>

## **Il Mediterraneo: perché e come**

La relazione che lega la Russia al Mediterraneo è complessa e articolata e fonda le sue radici su aspetti storici, di identità nazionale, politici, strategici ed evidentemente anche economici. Ciò rende difficile dare delle interpretazioni univoche, imponendo un'analisi multilivello, sia con riferimento ai motivi per cui la Russia vuole fortemente riproporre la sua presenza nell'area mediterranea, sia riguardo ai modi con cui intende farlo.

Pertanto, la risposta all'interrogativo sul perché Mosca, nelle ultime tre decadi, abbia investito ingentissime risorse in questo piano di graduale riavvicinamento e poi di penetrazione nel Mediterraneo orientale tentando, successivamente, di espandere ulteriormente la propria area di influenza, implica una molteplicità di approcci e propone diversi livelli interpretativi.

Secondo lo studioso Carlo Jean la presenza russa nel Mediterraneo è la naturale applicazione di un modello di realpolitik in senso tradizionale "informata ai principi della 'guerra non-lineare', teorizzata da Vladislav Surkov" che prevede "una strategia indiretta, basata, come in Ucraina, sull'uso coordinato di tutti gli strumenti di potenza a disposizione (economici, politici, comunicativi e militari)". Il successo di questa strategia, dal punto di vista della diplomazia militare, sta non tanto nell'entità delle forze (la marina militare russa sembrerebbe dover ancora colmare il divario con quella statunitense o europea) quanto piuttosto "dalla credibilità di concretizzare le minacce" (su cui invece la Russia registra un netto vantaggio come ha dimostrato anche la recente esperienza ucraina). Quindi, pur nell'impossibilità, a detta degli stessi ammiragli russi, di garantire almeno per i prossimi anni una stabile presenza navale nel Mediterraneo, certamente questo atteggiamento assertivo induce gli altri attori in gioco a tenere in debito conto la presenza di Mosca nella regione.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Sono diversi gli studi inerenti all'espansione del settore Difesa in Russia così come le ricerche incentrate sullo sviluppo della marina militare russa. Per un approfondimento è possibile consultare: Cooper, Julian (2016) The military dimension of a more Militant Russia, *Russian Journal of Economics* Vol.2 (2), pp. 129-145; Congressional Research Service (2020) *Russian Armed Forces: Capabilities*. Link: <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/IF11589.pdf>; Bredesen, Maren Garberg & Friis, Karsten (2020) Missiles, Vessels and Active Defence. What Potential Threat Do the Russian Armed Forces Represent?, *The RUSI Journal*, Vol. 165(5-6), pp. 68-78.

<sup>7</sup> Jean, Carlo (2014) Il Ritorno della Marina Russa nel Mediterraneo, *Gnosis-Rivista di Intelligence*, Vol.3, pp. 123-129.



Il secondo motivo riguarda la religione del Cristianesimo Ortodosso, componente significativa dell'identità nazionale. I russi rappresentano Mosca come la Terza Roma erede di Bisanzio e si sono assunti la responsabilità di proteggere i cristiani d'Oriente.<sup>8</sup> È innegabile il fatto che la religione ortodossa ha rappresentato sin dal periodo dell'impero zarista un punto focale per la coesione patriottica e per la politica estera.<sup>9</sup> Mosca ha potuto assurgere ancor di più al ruolo di paese difensore dei cristiani quando, a seguito della scomparsa di Giovanni Paolo II e del Patriarca Alexei II, si è registrato un avvicinamento tra il Cristianesimo Cattolico e quello Ortodosso favorendo quindi una convergenza maggiore fra gli interessi geopolitici e quelli confessionali di Mosca.

Il terzo punto riguarda il vantaggio che Mosca pensa di poter conseguire dall'instabilità dell'area medio-orientale<sup>10</sup> e dalla crisi dell'Europa che lascia alla Cina e alla Russia (le quali negli anni hanno intessuto strette relazioni)<sup>11</sup> una notevole possibilità di manovra nel Mediterraneo orientale e in Africa.

Comprendere la strategia (il 'come') che la Russia intende utilizzare per raggiungere i propri obiettivi nella regione mediterranea è fondamentale e deve essere contestualizzata tenendo conto dell'aspetto strategico, tattico e militare e del fatto che diverse fonti aperte e studi di settore credono che la Russia non abbia ancora la statura necessaria per spingere il confronto muscolare oltre una certa soglia avendo Mosca una potenza militare inferiore a quella

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<sup>8</sup> Bos, Stefan J. (2019) *Hungary & Russia to protect persecuted Christians in the Middle East*, Vatican News. Link: <https://www.vaticannews.va/en/world/news/2019-11/russia-hungary-protect-persecuted-christians-middle-east.html>; Pietrobon, Emanuel (2019) *Russia's returns as defender of Christianity*, Insideover. Link: <https://www.insideover.com/religion/russias-return-as-defender-of-christianity.html>; Ceccarelli Morolli, Danilo (2020) *Per una geopolitica del diritto dell'Impero Romano d'Oriente*, Roma: Valore Italiano.

<sup>9</sup> Il ruolo della Chiesa Ortodossa nella storia russa è ampiamente dibattuto ed è divenuto argomento centrale nel mondo accademico e specialistico a seguito del rafforzamento dei rapporti tra il Cremlino e il mondo ortodosso. Cfr. Dixon, Simon (2006) *The Russian Orthodox Church in imperial Russia 1721-1917*. In Michael Angold (Ed.) *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 325-347; Papkova, Irina (2011) *The Orthodox Church and Russian Politics*, Oxford University Press; Liparteliani, Vladimir (2019) *Russia's Use of the Orthodox Church as a Tool of Influence*, *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, Vol 7(4), pp. 1-4

<sup>10</sup> Competizioni regionali, come quella ad esempio tra sunniti e sciiti, o fra l'Arabia Saudita e l'Iran, o ancora dalla questione di Cipro, rottura dell'alleanza di fatto fra Turchia e Israele, conflitto israelo-palestinese, confronto fra Salafiti e Fratelli Musulmani, maggiore indipendenza dall'Occidente della politica estera turca (sempre più interessata all'Eurasia) per la duplice frustrazione di Ankara di non essere stata ammessa nell'Ue e di non essere divenuta il 'modello' dei nuovi regimi arabi.

<sup>11</sup> Per un approfondimento sull'intensificazione delle relazioni sino-russe vedi: Gorenburg, Dmitry (2020) *An Emerging Strategic Partnership: Trends in Russia-China Military Cooperation*, PONARS Eurasia. Link: <https://ponarseurasia.org/an-emerging-strategic-partnership-trends-in-russia-china-military-cooperation/>; Rossi, Lucrezia (2020) *La partnership militare tra Mosca e Pechino nella Nuova Era*, Affari Internazionali. Link: <https://www.affarinternazionali.it/2020/05/la-partnership-militare-tra-mosca-e-pechino-nella-nuova-era/>; Rossi, Lucrezia (2020) *Russia e Cina nell'Artico: una relazione ambigua*, Affari Internazionali. Link: <https://www.affarinternazionali.it/2020/10/russia-e-cina-nellartico-una-relazione-ambigua/>.

statunitense con Washington sempre pronta a sfruttare il campo economico per contrastare la Federazione Russa (ad esempio con le sanzioni).



**Figura 2** Confronto tra il potenziale militare di Russia, Stati Uniti e Gran Bretagna. Fonte: Stickings, Tim (2020) *Russia's military strength 'is at its highest since the Cold War', with its nuclear weapons and air force particularly stronger, report says*, Daily Mail. Link: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-8793881/Russias-military-strength-highest-Cold-War.html>.

Tuttavia, è evidente la volontà russa di entrare a pieno titolo nel “Great Game”<sup>12</sup> e anche in questo frangente si dimostra valido l’assunto secondo il quale, per il Cremlino, l’obiettivo geopolitico è sempre più importante dei costi economici necessari per raggiungerlo.

È sempre Carlo Jean nella sua analisi del settore Difesa russo a sottolineare come la flotta russa dal 1991, data in cui è terminata la sua presenza nel Mediterraneo, sia risorta dalle proprie ceneri grazie a uno sforzo economico immenso e a una visione strategica a lungo termine maturata proprio durante i due decenni di ‘mondo unipolare’ a guida americana.

Il Piano per gli armamenti 2011-2020, inaugurato dal Presidente Medvedev, ha delineato le ambizioni strategiche e geopolitiche della Federazione Russa;<sup>13</sup> oggi il bilancio militare russo

<sup>12</sup> Per un approfondimento vedi, tra gli altri, Valle, Roberto (2015) *The Great Russia and Eurasia. Russian Geopolitics and Central Asia between the Great Game of the Nineteenth Century and the New Great Game of the Twenty-First Century*, *Storia del Pensiero Politico*, Vol. 3, pp. 451-474.

<sup>13</sup> Shishlin, Vladimir (2008) *Voennye priority Medvedeva*, Interfax. Link: <https://www.interfax.ru/russia/36173>; Nacional'naja oborona (2011) *V novoj Gosudarstvennoj programme vooruzhenija prioritet otdan*

è il terzo al mondo dopo quello di USA e Cina e circa un quarto di questo bilancio decennale straordinario (per un ammontare di circa 150 miliardi) è dedicato alla Marina.<sup>14</sup> Questo enorme investimento ha consentito la ricostituzione di una forza navale che nel 2020 poteva contare su 16 sommergibili, di cui otto a propulsione nucleare, e 51 navi moderne, di cui 15 fregate, 25 corvette e quattro navi d'assalto anfibio tipo Mistral. Nello sviluppo della Marina militare russa è previsto anche l'acquisizione di una seconda portaerei e l'ammodernamento dell'aviazione della Marina e di tre dei potenti incrociatori corazzati tipo Kirov.<sup>15</sup>



Figura 3 Marina militare della Federazione Russa. Fonte: Office of Naval Intelligence (2019) *Russian Federationa Navy. 2019 Recognition and Identification Guide*. Link: <https://www.oni.navy.mil/Portals/12/Intel%20agencies/russia/Russia Ship Silhouettes Unclassified.jpg?ver=2020-02-19-081844-763>.

vysokotechnologichnym obrazcam. Link: <https://oborona.ru/includes/period-ics/maintheme/2011/0314/21345724/detail.shtml>; Novyj oboronnyj zakaz. Strategii (2020) *Predvaritel'nye itogi GPV-2020*. Link: <https://dfnc.ru/c106-tehnika/predvaritelnye-itogi-gpv-2020/>.

<sup>14</sup> Wezeman, Siemon T. (2020) *Russia's military spending: Frequently asked questions*, Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. Link: <https://www.sipri.org/commentary/topical-background/2020/russia-s-military-spending-frequently-asked-questions#:~:text=Although%20Russian%20military%20spending%20decreased,3.9%20per%20cent%20in%202019.>

<sup>15</sup> Office of Naval Intelligence (2015) *The Russian Navy. A Historic Transition*. Link: <https://fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/historic.pdf>;



La strategia russa, oltre all'arricchimento e all'ammodernamento dell'arsenale bellico è passata anche per un rafforzamento della propria posizione nei cosiddetti 'mari ristretti' (Baltico, Caspio e soprattutto Mar Nero), attraverso il perfezionamento di una particolare tattica denominata *littoral warfare strategy*. Le operazioni militari che la Russia ha condotto nel conflitto russo-georgiano del 2008 e la difesa della Crimea dopo la sua annessione nel 2014 hanno indotto la Marina militare russa, nello specifico l'Ammiraglio di San Pietroburgo, a perfezionare una strategia marittima per i 'mari stretti' che sta influenzando l'intero programma navale russo. Il Cremlino ha ideato quindi una *littoral warfare strategy* in chiave russa che si basa sulla dottrina militare sovietica degli anni Cinquanta che prevedeva l'entrata in servizio di unità di piccole dimensioni, ma dotate di un potentissimo armamento. Attraverso questa strategia, gli analisti ritengono che la Marina russa abbia mantenuto o addirittura accresciuta la propria capacità di controllo marittimo e di proiezione del potere riuscendo a superare altre nazioni rivierasche garantendosi così una maggiore presenza operativa e deterrenza convenzionale. La mobilità delle unità navali militari nel Mar Baltico e nel Mar Nero garantisce alla Russia la possibilità di dislocare le proprie truppe in altri teatri di guerra o zone di interesse così come è avvenuto negli ultimi anni nell'area del Mediterraneo Orientale a seguito dell'intervento del Cremlino in supporto di Bashar al-Assad in Siria.<sup>16</sup>

La Russia, quindi, ha compensato l'assenza di basi stabili nel Mediterraneo radicando la propria presenza nel Mar Nero con l'istituzione nel 2014 delle basi navali di Novorossiysk e Sevastopol in Crimea che gestiscono il supporto logistico e il comando e controllo della Formazione Operativa Permanente della Marina Russa nel Mediterraneo, sin dalla sua creazione nel 2013, sotto il comando operativo della Flotta del Mar Nero.<sup>17</sup>

Per comprendere ancora meglio la proiezione russa nel *Mare Nostrum* basti pensare che con i mezzi d'istanza nelle basi del Mar Nero, come ad esempio le corvette di classe Buyan, dotate di sistemi di lancio verticale 3S-14 per i missili da crociera antinave Kalibr e Oniks con raggio massimo di 1500 chilometri, è possibile colpire obiettivi sensibili nel Mediterraneo.

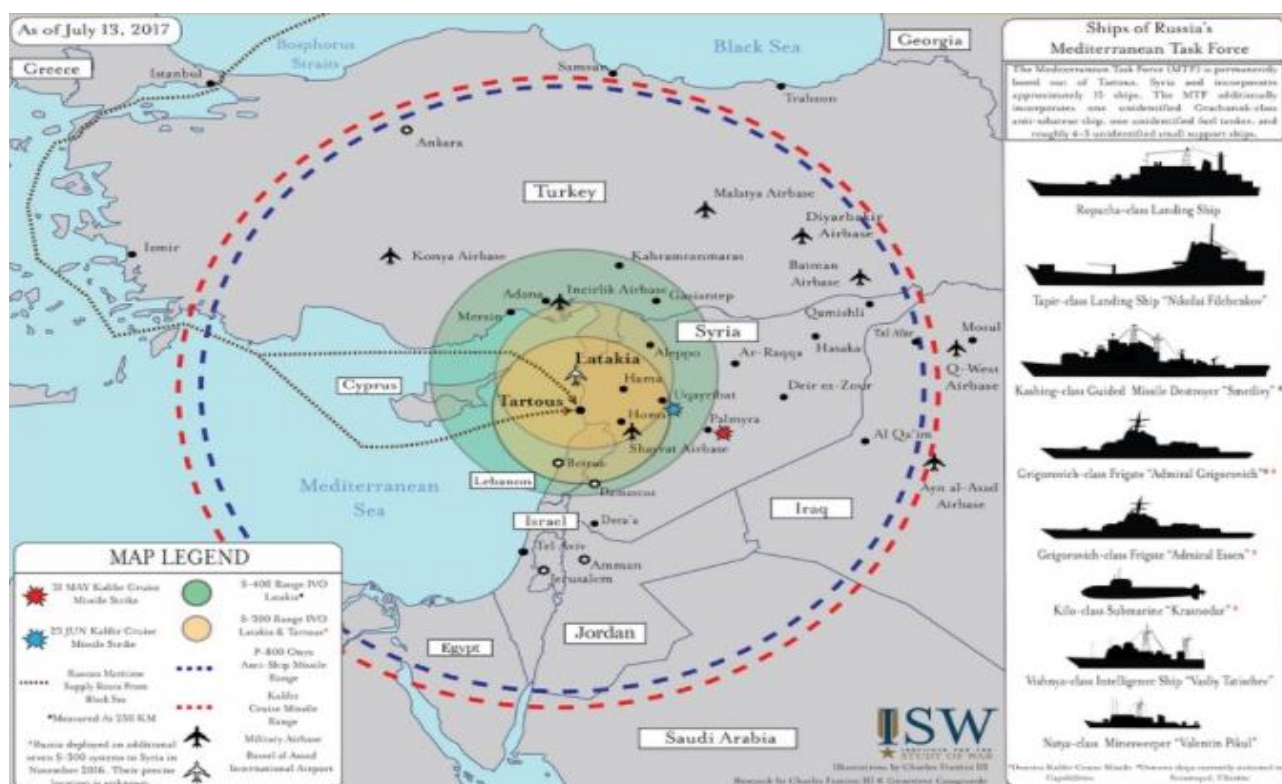
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<sup>16</sup> Ramoino, Piera Paolo (2017) *Una nuova strategia navale russa per i mari ristretti?*, AnalisiDifesa. Link: <https://www.analisedifesa.it/2017/01/una-nuova-strategia-navale-russa-per-i-mari-ristretti/>.

<sup>17</sup> Greco, Oronzo et al. (2017) *Strategia marittima ed interessi nazionali: rinnovata presenza militare e penetrazione economica della Federazione Russa in Mar Mediterraneo e nel Mar Nero*, Centro Alti Studi per la Difesa. Link: [https://www.difesa.it/SMD/CASD/IM/CeMiSS/DocumentiVis/Rcerche\\_da\\_publicare/publicate\\_nel\\_2018/Ricerca\\_AM\\_SMD\\_02.pdf](https://www.difesa.it/SMD/CASD/IM/CeMiSS/DocumentiVis/Rcerche_da_publicare/publicate_nel_2018/Ricerca_AM_SMD_02.pdf).

## La Russia nel Mediterraneo: azioni e reazioni.

Il conflitto siriano è stato interpretato nel mondo degli analisti occidentali come il pretesto del Cremlino per fare il proprio ingresso nello scenario mediterraneo. In effetti, il supporto russo al presidente siriano Bashar al-Assad ha permesso alla Federazione Russa di trasformare la base navale di Tartus da scalo commerciale e hub logistico a vero e proprio porto militare sul Mediterraneo. In aggiunta al consolidamento militare russo nel porto di Tartus, tra il 2017 e il 2019 Putin e Assad hanno firmato un accordo per la concessione della base aerea di Khmeimim nelle vicinanze di Latakia, sempre sulla costa mediterranea, per un periodo di 49 anni, rinnovabili alla scadenza per successivi periodi di 25 anni senza corrispondere alcun pagamento.<sup>18</sup>



**Figura 4 Le forze militari russe permanenti nel Mediterraneo Orientale. Fonte: Frattini III, Charles & Casagrande, Genevieve (2017) *Russia's Mediterranean Threat to NATO*, Institute for the Study of War. Link: <http://www.iswresearch.org/2017/07/russias-med-threat-to-nato.html>.**

<sup>18</sup> Thomas, Trisha (2018) *Russia uses Syrian war to boost Mediterranean presence, US Navy admiral says*, DefenseNews. Link: <https://www.defensenews.com/flashpoints/2018/05/07/russia-uses-syrian-war-to-boost-mediterranean-presence-us-navy-admiral-says/>; Cristiani, Dario (2020) *Framing Russia's Mediterranean Return: Stages, Roots, and Logics*, The German Marshall Fund of the United States. Link: <https://www.gmfus.org/blog/2020/08/17/framing-russias-mediterranean-return-stages-roots-and-logics>; Warsaw Institute (2020) *Russia Aims to Boost Military Facilities in Syria*. Link: <https://warsawinstitute.org/russia-aims-boost-military-facilities-syria/>; Trevithick, Joseph (2021) *Russia Is Extending One Of The Runways At Its Syrian Airbase*, The Drive. Link: <https://www.thedrive.com/the-war-zone/39113/what-does-russia-have-planned-for-its-lengthened-runway-at-its-air-base-in-syria>.

Questo fatto ha segnato un punto di svolta, un vero e proprio *game changer* per gli equilibri geostrategici dell'area, poiché, oltre alla dimensione offensiva e di deterrenza, la base di Tartus (sul cui adeguamento i russi hanno investito molto) costituisce anche uno 'scudo' difensivo fondamentale per le unità che operano nell'area e un hub logistico che consente (senza obbligare al passaggio per il Bosforo e i Dardanelli) di ampliare il proprio raggio d'azione. Opportunità che è stata subito colta da Mosca che, approfittando di una sempre maggiore libertà di movimento all'interno del Mediterraneo, è intervenuta in vari scenari di instabilità, primo tra tutti la guerra civile in Libia,<sup>19</sup> rafforzando anche le relazioni con gli altri attori allineati con Haftar come l'Egitto di al-Sisi in funzione della sua rilevanza strategica.<sup>20</sup>

Tuttavia, gli altri competitor nell'area, pur vivendo momenti di difficoltà, non sono rimasti (e non potranno rimanere) a guardare ed accettare supinamente questa nuova postura russa nel Mediterraneo. Già nel 2014, in occasione dell'intervento militare russo in Ucraina, gli Stati Uniti e la NATO avevano concordato interventi finalizzati a rafforzare il fianco orientale dell'Alleanza, senza però che questa 'strategia meridionale', a detta dell'ex vicesegretario generale della NATO Alexander Vershbow, abbia raggiunto i risultati sperati.<sup>21</sup>

Secondo gli analisti, gli Usa non considerano la Siria e la Libia come minacce alla propria sicurezza e non vorrebbero distrarre risorse utili a fronteggiare l'ascesa cinese anche in campo strategico-militare. Tuttavia, una maggiore presenza aerea e navale degli Stati Uniti e della NATO nel Mediterraneo potrebbe aumentare il costo per la Russia di perseguire opzioni per l'intimidazione militare, come l'installazione di sistemi avanzati di difesa aerea integrati e inoltre potrebbe anche assicurare gli alleati nel Mediterraneo rafforzando le loro posizioni rivolte a sud.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Arnold, Thomas D. (2020) *Exploiting Chaos: Russia in Libya*, Center for Strategic & International Studies. Link: <https://www.csis.org/blogs/post-soviet-post/exploiting-chaos-russia-libya>; Harchaoui, Jalel (2021) *The Pendulum: How Russia Sways its Way to More Influence in Libya*, War on the Rocks. Link: <https://warontherocks.com/2021/01/the-pendulum-how-russia-sways-its-way-to-more-influence-in-libya/>.

<sup>20</sup> Hamza, Youssef (2018) *Russia and Egypt grow closer as Kremlin asserts regional influence*, The National. Link: <https://www.thenationalnews.com/world/mena/russia-and-egypt-grow-closer-as-kremlin-asserts-regional-influence-1.782848>; Ramani, Samuel (2019) *Sochi summit highlights growing Russia-Egypt ties*, Middle East Institute. Link: <https://www.mei.edu/publications/sochi-summit-highlights-growing-russia-egypt-ties>.

<sup>21</sup> Vershbow, Alexander & Speranza, Lauren (2019) *More in the Med: How NATO Can Refocus its Efforts in the South and Italy Can Lead the Charge*, Atlantic Council. Link: <https://www.atlanticcouncil.org/in-depth-research-reports/report/more-in-the-med-how-nato-can-refocus-its-efforts-in-the-south-and-italy-can-lead-the-charge/>; Office of the Under Secretary of Defense (2020) *European Deterrence Initiative*. Link: [https://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2021/fy2021\\_EDI\\_JBook.pdf](https://comptroller.defense.gov/Portals/45/Documents/defbudget/fy2021/fy2021_EDI_JBook.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> Giuglietti, Lorenzo (2020) *The Eastern Mediterranean: What's next for NATO and the US?*, Atlantic Forum. Link: <https://atlantic-forum.com/content/eastern-mediterranean-what%E2%80%99s-next-nato-and-us>; Pierini, Marc (2020) *New Power Struggles in the Mediterranean*, Carnegie Europe. Link: <https://carnegieeu.org>

Tale presenza soprattutto a livello navale potrebbe essere garantita, con un impatto economico ed operativo contenuto, dall'ampliamento dei tempi di permanenza nel Mediterraneo delle navi da guerra statunitensi in transito da e verso il Medio Oriente e attraverso la realizzazione di esercitazioni congiunte con le forze NATO utilizzando le strutture dell'Alleanza già presenti nell'area.

Quindi, in definitiva, un 'contenuto' e mirato intervento oggi e la definizione una visione strategica a medio termine da parte degli Usa e della NATO per un'area così strategica potrebbero evitare un ben più consistente dispiego di mezzi e risorse in futuro con esiti estremamente più incerti.

## Conclusioni

Prendendo in considerazione gli sviluppi geopolitici e le strategie militari che la Russia e le potenze occidentali hanno elaborato negli ultimi anni è doveroso chiedersi in che modo i mutati equilibri di forza nel Mar Mediterraneo possono incidere a livello macro sugli equilibri mondiali.

Per capirlo bisogna tener presente delle varianti fondamentali. In primis è doveroso sottolineare come il dispiegamento marittimo russo in Siria, composto da circa quattromila uomini imbarcati, è il più grande che la Russia abbia mai fatto dai tempi delle Guerra Fredda. La presenza militare navale russa, anche se criticata o sottovalutata da alcuni analisti occidentali, è la reale manifestazione della politica estera del Cremlino e la messa in atto della strategia militare del Cremlino che appare sempre più organizzata ed efficace rispetto a quelle dei competitors europei e della NATO stessa. Se nei prossimi anni Mosca riuscirà a colmare il divario a livello tecnologico-militare secondo i programmi illustrati dal Cremlino, la flotta russa diverrà un potente strumento per la tutela degli interessi nazionali della Federazione Russa che dovrà essere tenuto conto negli equilibri dello scacchiere geopolitico mediterraneo.<sup>23</sup>

Ciò considerato e riprendendo quanto detto in apertura, la vittoria non solo quello militare della Russia in Siria e la sua affermazione nell'area del Mediterraneo, conseguente al disimpegno statunitense in Medio Oriente e alla crisi dell'Europa incapace di intraprendere una

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[rope.eu/2020/07/30/new-power-struggles-in-mediterranean-pub-82403](https://rope.eu/2020/07/30/new-power-struggles-in-mediterranean-pub-82403); Clarke, Colin P. et al. (2020) *Russia Is Eyeing the Mediterranean. The U.S. and NATO Must Be Prepared*, The RAND Blog. Link: <https://www.rand.org/blog/2020/06/russia-is-eyeing-the-mediterranean-the-us-and-nato.html>.

<sup>23</sup> Il Faro sul Mondo (2016) *Il ruolo strategico della Flotta russa nel Mediterraneo*. Link: <https://ilfarosulmondo.it/flotta-russa-mediterraneo/?web=1&wdLOR=c54519D83-6333-4421-A09E-A1A42BB6EEB>.

politica estera comune, sta accelerando e rendendo irreversibile il processo che porterà all'affermazione di un mondo multipolare caratterizzato da un protagonismo asiatico incarnato da Mosca e Pechino. È interessante vedere come la vittoria di Mosca in Siria ha lanciato la sfida multipolare su diversi fronti come quello coreano dove sia la Russia che la Cina hanno assunto il ruolo di mediatori in grado di destreggiarsi tra le provocazioni missilistiche di Pyongyang, le minacce di nuove sanzioni e la possibilità di un nuovo dispiegamento del sistema antimissile statunitense Thaad. La crisi coreana, così come la guerra siriana, hanno messo in evidenza l'impossibilità statunitense di opporsi alla *road map* russo-cinese che prevede una denuclearizzazione progressiva della penisola coreana.

Nonostante i toni roboanti del (ex *n.d.r.*) Presidente Trump, gli Stati Uniti non sembrano in grado di andare oltre la retorica bellicista né di opporsi alla *road map* russo-cinese che prevede una denuclearizzazione progressiva della penisola coreana”<sup>24</sup>.

È evidente che la teoria del *Sea Power* sviluppata dall'Ammiraglio Alfred Thayer Mahan nel 1890, per cui il potere di una nazione è strettamente legato al dominio dei mari che la circondano ottenuto attraverso il controllo dei principali stretti, la costruzione di basi navali e la capillare presenza della propria Marina, è ancora una chiave di lettura efficace per leggere la politica russa nel Mar Mediterraneo e le sue conseguenze a livello globale.

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<sup>24</sup> Vernole, Stefano (2017) *La vittoria in Siria spiana la via al multipolarismo*, Eurasia – Rivista di Studi geopolitici. Link: <https://www.eurasia-rivista.com/la-vittoria-siria-spiana-la-via-al-multipolarismo/>.



# Il progetto E-40: analisi economica, impatto geopolitico e rischio ambientale

Silvia Boltuc\*

## Abstract in English

The E40 Inland Waterway is a transnational project which aims at establishing an inland waterway through Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland and connect the Baltic and the Black Sea increasing the trade exchange. Once completed this infrastructural project will have a significant geopolitical value because it will improve the cooperation between Kiev, Minsk and Warsaw and at the same time will decrease Moscow's influence in Central and Eastern Europe. This report wants to analyse the geopolitical, economic, and environmental impact of the project E40 with the final purpose of understanding whether this infrastructure might really improve the socio-economic conditions of Ukraine, Belarus, and Poland or will result in an environmental disaster.

**Keywords:** E40, river transport, economy, geopolitics, environmental risk

## Abstract in Italiano

Il progetto di interconnessione fluviale E40 interessa l'Ucraina, la Bielorussia e la Polonia e ha come obiettivo quello di creare un corridoio di trasporto che possa unire il Mar Baltico al Mar Nero e favorire così un incremento di scambio di merci. Tale infrastruttura, una volta realizzata, avrà un peso geopolitico significativo, perché non solo migliorerà la cooperazione tra i governi di Kiev, Minsk e Varsavia, ma al contempo diminuirà l'influenza che Mosca è in grado di esercitare in Europa centro-orientale. Questo report ha come obiettivo quello di analizzare l'impatto geopolitico, economico e ambientale dell'E40 con il fine ultimo di comprendere se questa infrastruttura potrà realmente portare benefici ad Ucraina, Bielorussia e Polonia o comporterà solamente un disastro ambientale.

**Parole chiave:** E40, trasporto fluviale, economia, geopolitica, rischi ambientali

*\* Silvia Boltuc is the founder and Managing Director of SpecialEurasia. She is an international affairs specialist, business consultant and political analyst who has supported private and public institutions in the decision-making process providing reports, risk assessments, and consultancy. Due to her work and reporting activities, she has travelled in Europe, the Middle East, South-East Asia, and the post-Soviet space assessing the domestic dynamic and situations and creating a network of local contacts. She is also the Director of the Energy & Engineering Department of CeSEM – Centro Studi Eurasia Mediterraneo, and an editor/analyst at the Italian media agencies Notizie Geopolitiche and European Affairs Magazine. Previously, she worked as an Associate Director at ASRIE Analytica. She speaks Italian, English, German, Russian and Arabic.*

## Introduzione

L'E40 è un progetto internazionale che vede la partecipazione di Ucraina, Bielorussia e Polonia e che mira a collegare attraverso vie fluviali il mar Baltico al mar Nero. Questo progetto infrastrutturale è incluso nell'elenco approvato dall'Accordo Europeo sulle Principali Vie Navigabili Interne di Importanza Internazionale (UMVSH/AGN) firmato nel 1996 (l'Ucraina è entrata a far parte dell'UMVSH nel 2009) e avrà una lunghezza totale di 2.352,8 km collegando di fatto il porto polacco di Danzica al porto di Kherson in Ucraina. La via fluviale

interesserà la Vistola in Polonia, il canale di Bug fino a Brest in Bielorussia, il Pryp'jat in Bielorussia e Ucraina e il Dnepr in Ucraina.

Qualora fosse realizzato l'E40 avrebbe un significativo impatto a livello economico e geopolitico, perché consentirebbe di creare un corridoio di trasporto che unisce il mercato Baltico a quello del Mar Nero entrando quindi in competizione con i progetti di trasporto Nord-Sud proposti dalla Federazione Russa. Inoltre, interessando la regione dell'Europa centro-orientale, l'E40 potrebbe diminuire l'influenza del Cremlino su paesi di preponderante importanza strategica come l'Ucraina, la Bielorussia e la Polonia.

Considerando l'attuale situazione geopolitica che vede Mosca in contrasto con Kiev a seguito della Crisi Ucraina del 2014 e della relativa annessione della Crimea al territorio russo, Minsk alle prese con una crisi politica generata dalle elezioni presidenziali dello scorso agosto 2020 che hanno rinnovato il mandato presidenziale ad Aleksander Lukashenko contestato con continue proteste dalla popolazione locale, e le difficili relazioni russo-polacche per ragioni di natura storica, culturale, politica ed economica, comprendere la reale fattibilità dell'E40 è fondamentale tenendo conto che questa infrastruttura potrà incidere sullo scacchiere geopolitico euroasiatico e nelle relazioni tra la Russia e l'Occidente.

Questo report è stato realizzato attraverso la ricerca, selezione, valutazione e comprensione delle fonti aperte in lingua inglese, russa, ucraina e polacca inerenti l'E40. Occorre evidenziare come i dati presentati dalle fonti governative risultino talvolta discordanti con quelli presentati dalle diverse organizzazioni non governative (ONG) e dai media internazionali.

Un aspetto fondamentale in questo report è quello legato al mondo imprenditoriale e politico che ruota attorno alla realizzazione dell'E40 in Ucraina che ha visto emergere una commistione di intenti politico-economici e la compagnia ucraina SOBI già citata in giudizio per alcune attività illegali svolte sul suolo ucraino.



**Figura 5 Il progetto di collegamento fluviale E40. Fonte: Save Polesia Europe's Amazon (2020) *E40 waterway could pose increased radiation risk for millions of people*, Francoforte: Frankfurt Zoological Society. Link: [https://fzs.org/files/6915/8756/7161/SavePolesia\\_Fact-sheet\\_E40-could-expose-people-to-radiation.pdf](https://fzs.org/files/6915/8756/7161/SavePolesia_Fact-sheet_E40-could-expose-people-to-radiation.pdf)**

## Il progetto E40 tra benefici economici e dubbi infrastrutturali

Stando a quanto riportato dal Capo del Dipartimento di Sviluppo Strategico dell'Amministrazione dei Porti Marittimi dell'Ucraina, Vladimir Shemaev, il costo previsto dell'opera è di oltre 12 miliardi di euro, ma fino ad ora l'Ucraina ha stanziato 32,5 milioni di euro, la Bielorussia 176,3 milioni di euro e la Polonia 12,511 milioni di euro. Il ripristino del corso d'acqua E40 consentirebbe il passaggio di chiatte con capacità di carico pari a 5-6 mila tonnellate merci determinando una significativa crescita del commercio tra Bielorussia, Polonia e Ucraina. Fra gli altri, si prevede la possibilità di trasportare materiali come il carbone in Polonia, sali di potassio, prodotti petroliferi raffinati e prodotti in pietra in Bielorussia e prodotti in metallo e grano in Ucraina. La via d'acqua potrebbe facilitare il commercio multilaterale tra l'UE e i paesi del partenariato orientale, nonché tra l'Europa e il resto del mondo.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Shemaev, Vladimir (2019) *Proekt mizhnarodnoho vodnoho shlyaxu E40: perspektyvy ta obmezheniya*, Centr transportnyh strategij. Link: [https://cfts.org.ua/blogs/proekt\\_mizhnarodnoho\\_vodnoho\\_shlyakhu\\_e40\\_perspektivi\\_ta\\_obmezheniya\\_482](https://cfts.org.ua/blogs/proekt_mizhnarodnoho_vodnoho_shlyakhu_e40_perspektivi_ta_obmezheniya_482)

Secondo quanto dichiarato dal Ministro delle Infrastrutture dell'Ucraina, Vladislav Krykliy, il trasporto fluviale è il modo più economico e rispettoso dell'ambiente per consegnare le merci e il ripristino di vie navigabili interne efficaci è una delle principali priorità fissate dal Presidente.<sup>2</sup> L'adozione della legge 1182-1-d *Sul trasporto per vie navigabili interne*, adottata in prima lettura il 24 aprile 2020 dalla Verkhovna Rada (Consiglio Supremo dell'Ucraina, ossia il parlamento unicamerale dell'Ucraina),<sup>3</sup> dà il via alla riforma del trasporto fluviale che trasformerà il Dnepr in una potente arteria di trasporto aumentandone, secondo il ministro, il flusso di merci a 30 milioni di tonnellate all'anno. La legge stabilisce inoltre la creazione del Fondo Statale per lo Sviluppo delle Vie Navigabili Interne, dato non trascurabile giacché molte delle polemiche sollevatesi attorno all'opera riguardano proprio i finanziamenti.



**Figura 6** Principali obiettivi della legge 1182-1-d Sul trasporto per vie navigabili interne. Fonte: VRU *pryjnyala zakonoprojekt №1182-1-d «Pro vnutrishnij vodnyj transport»* (2020) Invest in Kherson. Link: <https://investinkherson.gov.ua/news/vru-prijnyala-zakonoproiekt-1182-1-d-pro-vnutrishnij-vodnij-transport/>

Svyatoslav Volosyuk, ricercatore dell'Università di Varsavia, ha commentato la realizzazione di questa infrastruttura sostenendo che “quando si tratta di progetti su larga scala come l'E40, capire se sia vantaggioso per la società richiede di stimare appieno tutti i benefici e tutti i costi che derivano dalla sua attuazione e devono essere presi in considerazione anche i costi esterni, ovvero i costi che i terzi devono sostenere contro la loro volontà durante l'attuazione del progetto.”. Tuttavia, il documento attuale non li tiene in considerazione. “Dai documenti esistenti per il progetto E40 - sottolinea Volosyuk - si evince che la maggior

<sup>2</sup> *Ukrayina rozvyvatyme vodnyj shlyax E-40*, - Vladyslav Krykliy (2019) Ministerstvo infrastruktury Ukrayiny (MIU). Link: <https://mtu.gov.ua/news/31327.html>; “Verxovna Rada dala start reformi richkovykh perevezhen”, - Vladyslav Krykliy (2020) Ministerstvo infrastruktury Ukrayiny (MIU). Link: <https://mtu.gov.ua/news/31816.html>

<sup>3</sup> *Proekt Zakonu pro vnutrishnij vodnyj transport* (2020) Verxovna Rada Ukrayiny. Link: [http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4\\_1?pf3511=67954](http://w1.c1.rada.gov.ua/pls/zweb2/webproc4_1?pf3511=67954)

*parte dei vantaggi, che consiste nella riduzione dei costi di spedizione, sarà nelle mani dei vettori, di solito società private, mentre i contribuenti supporteranno l'onere del finanziamento del progetto.”<sup>4</sup>*

Inoltre, secondo quanto riportato dal Centro Economico Ecologico di Varsavia, molto importante per il trasporto su acqua è il modo in cui i costi di investimento (investimenti una tantum a lungo termine) si correlano con i costi operativi (volti a mantenere il progetto attuale). Se i costi operativi annuali sono superiori all'1% dei costi di investimento il progetto, di regola, diventa non redditizio. Nell'Europa continentale, con inverni rigidi e il periodo di navigazione limitato a diversi mesi, è probabile che tali progetti siano sistematicamente non competitivi. Nel caso dei fiumi polacchi, i quali sono in prevalenza poco profondi e molto tortuosi, qualora si volesse far transitare imbarcazioni di grandi dimensioni sarebbero necessari interventi al bacino idrico fluviale troppo costosi.<sup>5</sup>

Un altro aspetto negativo dell'E40, secondo il vicedirettore dell'Unione delle Imprese Bieloruse di Imprenditori e Datori di Lavoro, Ales Gerasimenko, il trasporto per via fluviale non potrebbe competere con il trasporto ferroviario il quale garantirebbe una velocità di consegna quasi triplicata e a tariffe molto più agevoli.<sup>6</sup>

Le ONG della coalizione *Save the Rivers* sfaterebbero anche il mito delle basse emissioni spesso utilizzato nei documenti governativi che promuovono l'E40. In effetti, citando gli ultimi dati dell'Agenzia Europea dell'Ambiente, la ferrovia emette tre volte meno CO<sub>2</sub> nel trasporto merci rispetto alla navigazione, e nel trasporto passeggeri questa differenza è otto volte.<sup>7</sup>

Le argomentazioni a sostegno del progetto non si esauriscono unicamente nella possibilità di spostare un maggior quantitativo di merci a fronte di costi più ridotti e con modalità a minor impatto ambientale. Secondo il Ministero delle Infrastrutture ucraino, l'opera stimolerà la costruzione navale, vedendo quindi il ripristino di diverse imprese ucraine del settore

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<sup>4</sup> Czajkowski, Mikołaj & Volosyuk, Svyatoslav (2019) *Jekonomicheskaja ocenka planov po rekonstrukcii mezhdunarodnogo vodnogo puti e40*, Minsk: Biznes sojuz predprinimatelej i nanimatelyj imeni professora M.S.Kunjavskogo, Respublikanskij sojuz promyshlennikov i predprinimatelej, Belorusskaja nauchno-promyshlennaja asociacija. Link: <https://bahna.land/files/5d281e8d2a5d42397bc41dc9.pdf>

<sup>5</sup> *The Methodological Errors of the E40 Project Developers Disqualify their Work* (2017) #STOP\_E40. Link: <https://stope40.org/en/articles/economic-mistakes>

<sup>6</sup> *Vodnyj put' E40 neset vysokie investicionnye riski* (2017) Belorusy i rynek. Link: <http://www.belmarket.by/vodnyy-put-e40-neset-vysokie-investicionnye-riski>; Martynovich, Artjom (2017) *Chto takoe vodnyj put' E-40 i kak jeto povlijaet na jekologiju i jekonomiku?*, Euroradio.fm. Link: <https://euroradio.fm/ru/chto-takoe-vodnyy-put-e-40-i-kak-eto-povlijaet-na-ekologiju-i-ekonomiku>;

<sup>7</sup> *Ostra krytyka planów kanalizowania polskich rzek* (2017) Koalicja Ratujmi Rzeki. Link: <http://www.ratujmyrzeki.pl/22-ostra-krytyka-planow-kanalizowania-polskich-rzek>



e creerà nuovi posti di lavoro. Ci sarebbe un risparmio nei costi di riparazione stradale dato l'alleggerimento del transito in favore dell'alternativa fluviale che si aggirerebbe intorno al miliardo di grivna (circa 29 milioni di euro). La legge sopracitata liberalizzerà il mercato consentendo il passaggio alle navi battenti bandiera straniera fra cui quelle militari, comprese le navi NATO di piccola classe, e quindi consentirà di superare alcune limitazioni stabilite dalla Convenzione di Montreux del 1936 sull'accesso navale internazionale al Mar Nero.<sup>8</sup>

L'E40 porterà come effetto collaterale una maggiore coesione territoriale dei paesi partner e nuove possibilità di integrazione. La via navigabile potrebbe consentire alle regioni di confine di rafforzare il loro ruolo internazionale diventando 'porte commerciali' per l'Unione Europea e l'Unione Economica Euroasiatica (UEE).



**Figura 7** La carta geografica mostra la possibilità di interconnessione del progetto E40 con il corridoio di trasporto Nord-Sud promosso della Federazione Russa. L'E40 risulta, però, essere anche un'alternativa di connessione tra l'Europa e l'Asia (e ovviamente la Nuova Via della Seta) in grado di estromettere la Russia dalle principali via di trasporto. Fonte: Glazyev, Sergei Y.

<sup>8</sup> La convenzione di Montreux venne firmata il 20 luglio 1936 da Turchia, Francia, Grecia, Romania, Regno Unito e Unione Sovietica con l'obiettivo di regolamentare la navigazione e il passaggio attraverso lo Stretto dei Dardanelli, il Mar di Marmara ed il Bosforo (compresi tutti sotto la denominazione di Stretti Turchi). L'Italia sottoscrisse l'accordo successivamente nel 1938. La Convenzione venne siglata con l'obiettivo di garantire la sicurezza alla Turchia e agli stati che si affacciano sul Mar Nero (l'Ucraina al momento della firma faceva parte dell'Unione Sovietica) e affermava il riconoscimento della piena libertà di transito delle navi mercantili di qualsiasi bandiera in tempo di pace, con la sola condizione di soddisfare i diritti di transito e le prescrizioni sanitarie.

(2019) “EAJeS — ES: perspektivy vseob"emljushhego jekonomicheskogo soglashenija”, *Evrazijskaja Integracija:Jekonomika, Pravo, Politika. Mezhdunarodnyj nauchno-analiticheskij zhurnal* Vol.4 (30), pp. 16. Link: [https://spb.ranepa.ru/images/nauka/EAEU/EAEU\\_42019.pdf](https://spb.ranepa.ru/images/nauka/EAEU/EAEU_42019.pdf)

Per la Bielorussia questo sviluppo garantirebbe al paese l'accesso diretto al mare, fornirebbe a Minsk una rotta alternativa al Mar Baltico attraverso Danzica e consentirebbe alla regione nel suo insieme di diversificare le rotte di transito permettendo al governo bielorusso di sottrarsi all'influenza russa.

Il governo ucraino è pronto a stanziare 500 milioni di grivna annui (circa 14,5 milioni di euro) nei prossimi quattro anni per coprire i costi di realizzazione dell'opera nel tratto di pertinenza nazionale. Vi sono in ballo diversi finanziamenti europei, fra gli altri dalla Banca Europea per gli Investimenti (BEI) e la Banca Europea per la Ricostruzione e lo Sviluppo (EBRD), ma la loro erogazione dipenderà molto dagli studi di fattibilità richiesti in termini di impatto ambientale.

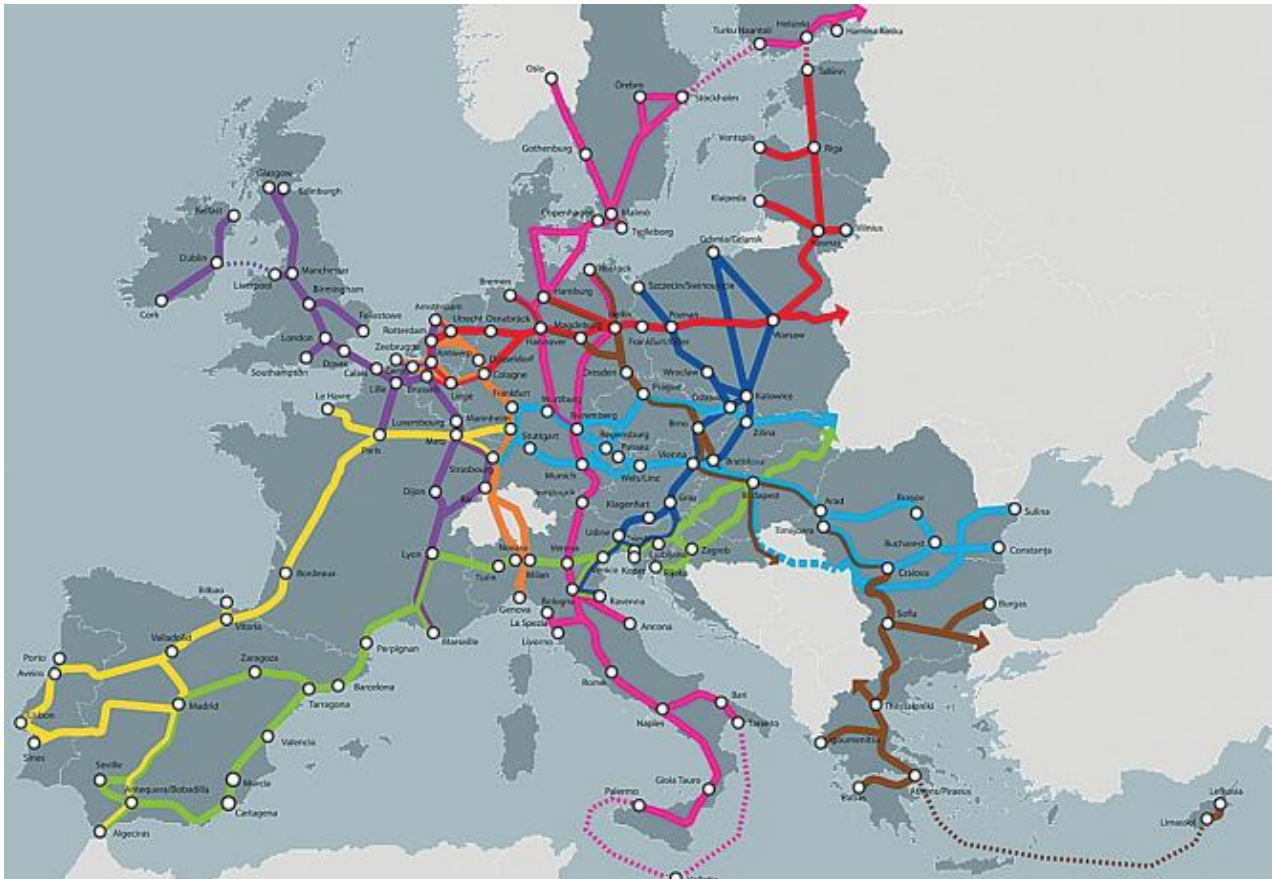
In una nota del 2019 del Parlamento Europeo, infatti, si fa presente che benché l'E40 rientri negli obiettivi strategici europei, non è incluso nei piani d'investimento della Rete di Trasporto Transeuropeo (TEN-T)<sup>9</sup> a causa di considerazioni ambientali ed economiche.<sup>10</sup> Anche le compagnie olandesi hanno dimostrato il loro interesse a partecipare, perché l'E40 si adatta alle rotte commerciali pianificate che collegano i Paesi Bassi e la Turchia.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> La politica della Rete di Trasporto Transeuropeo (dall'inglese *Trans-European Transport Network*, conosciuto anche con la sigla TEN-T) ha come obiettivo l'implementazione e lo sviluppo di una rete europea di linee stradali, ferroviarie, fluviali così come il miglioramento delle rotte navali e dei terminali aerei, marittimi e ferroviari. L'attuale politica TEN-T si basa sul Regolamento (UE) n. 1315/2013. Cfr. Regolamento (UE) n. 1315/2013 del Parlamento europeo e del Consiglio dell'11 dicembre 2013 sugli orientamenti dell'Unione per lo sviluppo della rete transeuropea dei trasporti e che abroga la decisione n. 661/2010/UE (2013) EUR-Lex Association of European Law. Link: <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32013R1315>

<sup>10</sup> Answer given by Mr Vella on behalf of the European Commission (2019) European Parliament. Link: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2018-006186-ASW\\_EN.html](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/E-8-2018-006186-ASW_EN.html)

<sup>11</sup> Netherlands interested in cooperation with Ukraine on E40 waterway (2019) Ukrinform. Link: <https://www.ukrinform.net/rubric-economy/2822922-netherlands-interested-in-cooperation-with-ukraine-on-e40-waterway.html>



**Figura 8 La Rete di Trasporto Transeuropeo (TEN-T) connette l'Europa dalla Penisola Iberica ai Balcani connettendo i porti sull'Oceano Atlantico a quelli sul Mar Nero. Fonte: *Trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T)*, European Commission Mobility & Transport. Link: [https://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/ten-t\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/ten-t_en); *European Commission puts forward record €13.1 billion investment in transport infrastructure to boost jobs and growth* (2015) European Commission Mobility & Transport. Link: [https://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/news/2015-06-29-cef\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/transport/themes/infrastructure/news/2015-06-29-cef_en)**

Il governo di Pechino, a giudicare dalle somme stanziare, con l'unica eccezione di quelle destinate al porto di Danzica, non sembra aver messo l'opera in cima alle proprie priorità, ma questo è un dato che andrebbe rivisto con l'avanzare del progetto dato che la sua realizzazione, per quanto iniziata, in realtà non sembra ancora un'assoluta certezza, per cui Pechino potrebbe subentrare in corso d'opera.<sup>12</sup>

Il progetto E40 presenta possibili collegamenti con altri corridoi di trasporto regionali e transcontinentali. Potrebbe collegarsi all'E70 europeo connettendo di fatto il Mar Nero con l'Europa occidentale.<sup>13</sup> Inoltre, tenendo conto che dal 2015 l'Ucraina fa parte del corridoio

<sup>12</sup> St John Murphy, Alexandra (2020) *The Geopolitical Link Between the Baltic and Black Seas: Belarus and the Strategic E40 Waterway*, The Jamestown Foundation. Link: <https://jamestown.org/program/the-geopolitical-link-between-the-baltic-and-black-seas-belarus-and-the-strategic-e40-waterway/>

<sup>13</sup> La rotta europea E70 è un sistema di collegamento che connette l'Europa Occidentale a quella Orientale partendo dalla città spagnola di La Coruña con la città georgiana di Poti sul Mar Nero.



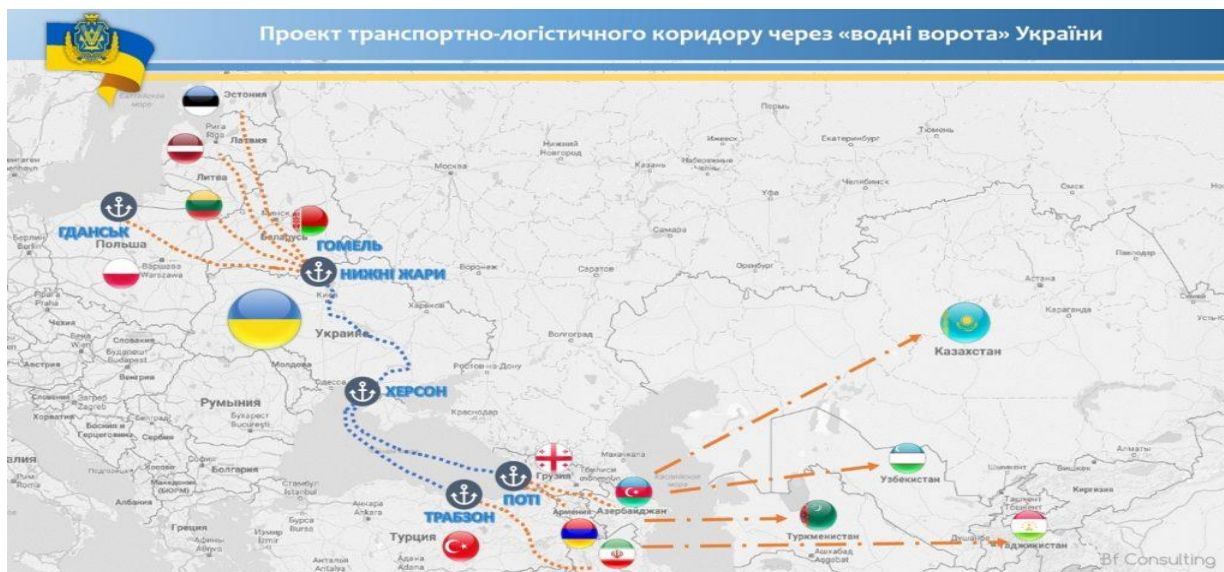
di transito trans-caspico, l'E40 potrebbe essere integrata in questa rotta di trasporto internazionale, progetto che già è stato discusso con i funzionari cinesi. In tal senso, il porto di Kherson potrebbe svilupparsi come nodo fondamentale del commercio transcontinentale. Se già dal 2018 al 2019 il porto ha visto un incremento nella gestione delle merci del 18%, il dato è destinato a crescere data l'inclusione dell'Ucraina nelle rotte della Via della Seta e del Corridoio Trasporto Europa-Caucaso-Asia (TRACECA).<sup>14</sup>

Gli investimenti cinesi potrebbero perciò arrivare sotto forma di sviluppo delle infrastrutture della iniziativa Belt and Road (BRI) conosciuta anche come Nuova Via della Seta. I fondi potrebbero arrivare inoltre dalla *Three Seas Initiative*<sup>15</sup> che vede tra i paesi membri la Polonia con l'Ucraina che ha palesato il proprio interesse a divenirne parte mentre la Bielorussia sembra non essere interessata. La partecipazione del presidente Donald Trump al vertice del 2017 e la decisione di Washington nel 2020 di stanziare un'importante somma di denaro a favore dell'iniziativa con l'intento di diminuire l'influenza cinese in Europa potrebbe far convergere altri investimenti nella zona qualora l'Amministrazione Biden decidesse di supportare tale iniziativa.

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<sup>14</sup> Il Corridoio di Trasporto Europa-Caucaso-Asia (TRACECA) è un programma internazionale di trasporto che coinvolge dodici paesi dell'Europa orientale, del Caucaso e dell'Asia Centrale (Armenia, Azerbaigian, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kazakistan, Kirghizistan, Iran, Moldavia, Romania, Tagikistan, Turchia, Turkmenistan, Ucraina, Uzbekistan) e mira a rafforzare le relazioni economiche, i commerci e il trasporto nelle regioni del Mar Nero, del Caucaso meridionale e centroasiatica.

<sup>15</sup> La *Three Seas Initiative* (Iniziativa dei Tre Mari) conosciuta anche come l'Iniziativa Baltico, Adriatico e Mar Nero (BABS) o *Trimarium* (dal latino) è un forum di dodici paesi dell'Unione Europea (Austria, Bulgaria, Croazia, Repubblica Ceca, Estonia, Ungheria, Lettonia, Lituania, Polonia, Romania, Slovacchia, Slovenia) lungo l'asse nord-sud dal Mar Baltico al Mar Adriatico e dal Mar Nero all'Europa centro-orientale. Questa iniziativa ha come obiettivo di creare un dialogo regionale sulle questioni che interessano i paesi membri. Il primo incontro della *Three Seas Initiative* è avvenuto a Dubrovnik in Croazia nel 2016. Cfr. *Europe's 'Three Seas Initiative' aims to curb Chinese influence* (2020) Deutsche Welle. Link: <https://www.dw.com/en/europes-three-seas-initiative-aims-to-curb-chinese-influence/a-55314607>



**Figura 9 Il progetto E40, secondo quanto previsto dal governo di Kiev, favorirebbe l'interconnessione del porto di Kherson con quello di Poti (Georgia) e di Trebisonda (Turchia) sul Mar Nero e grazie ai collegamenti della regione del Caucaso meridionale permetterebbe alle merci di raggiungere il Mar Caspio e quindi il mercato dell'Asia Centrale che è interessato dalla strategia di Pechino nota come Nuova Via della Seta. Fonte: Xersonshhyna v centri transportnoho xabu mizh Yevropyu ta Aziyeyu (2018) Invest in Kherson. Link: <https://investinkherson.gov.ua/news/херсонщина-в-центре-транспортного-ха/>**

## I rischi ambientali legati all'E40

Se le fonti governative parlano con enfasi e positivamente della realizzazione del corridoio di trasporto fluviale E40, di tutt'altro avviso sono invece le diverse ONG e le associazioni a tutela dell'ambiente che temono gli impatti devastanti dell'opera. Le argomentazioni a sostegno di tali preoccupazioni sono molteplici e riguardano diverse sezioni dell'E40 in ognuno dei tre paesi coinvolti.

Secondo Oleksiy Vasyliuk, scienziato ambientale alla Environment People Law (EPL), non un solo chilometro dell'opera può essere realizzato senza disturbare il regime idrologico delle zone interessate e quindi intaccarne il prezioso ecosistema.<sup>16</sup>

Diversi siti polacchi hanno riportato le dichiarazioni d'intenti tutt'altro che accondiscendenti delle ONG che criticano la realizzazione dell'opera.<sup>17</sup> Diverse organizzazioni della coalizione

<sup>16</sup> Vasyliuk, Oleksiy (2018) *Vodnyj put' E40: risk radiacionnogo zarazhenija Dnepra (video)*, Kiev Vlast. Link: <https://kievvlast.com.ua/mind/vodnyj-put-e40-risk-radiatsionnogo-zarazheniya-dnepra-video?noredirect=true>

<sup>17</sup> Pawlaczuk Pawel (2016) *Wstępna ocena ryzyka oddziaływania Projektu Banku Światowego P147460 „Ochrona przeciwpowodziowa w dorzeczu Odry i Wisły” na przyrodnicze obszary chronione*, Klub Przyrodników. Świebodzin. Link: [http://www.kp.org.pl/pdf/stanowiska/wodne/2016-09\\_ryzyko\\_oddz\\_proj\\_bs\\_odra\\_wisla\\_na\\_przyrode\\_201609.pdf](http://www.kp.org.pl/pdf/stanowiska/wodne/2016-09_ryzyko_oddz_proj_bs_odra_wisla_na_przyrode_201609.pdf); *Stop dla drogi wodnej E40* (2018) Ogólnopolskie Towarzystwo Ochrony Ptaków. Link: <https://otop.org.pl/naszeprojekty/pilnujemy/stop-dla-drogi-wodnej-e40/>;

*Save the Rivers* e le ONG di Germania, Bielorussia e Ucraina, fanno sapere che monitoreranno le azioni dei governi interessati alla costruzione del corso d'acqua E40 e renderanno nota l'elevata nocività di tali idee educando la comunità sui cambiamenti irreversibili e catastrofici della natura che ne deriveranno.



**Figura 10** In questa carta geografica è possibile vedere in che modo il progetto E40 interessa i diversi corsi d'acqua in Polonia, Bielorussia e Ucraina. Fonte: Kosse, Irina (2020) *Is E40 River Route Connecting Baltic and Black Seas a Good Idea?*, 4Liberty.eu. Link: <http://4liberty.eu/is-e40-river-route-connecting-baltic-and-black-seas-a-good-idea/>

L'E40 passerà attraverso la Bielorussia interessando nove territori inclusi nella lista della Convenzione di Ramsar<sup>18</sup> che prevede la conservazione e la gestione degli ecosistemi naturali e, secondo quanto asseriscono diverse ONG e media internazionali, la realizzazione di questo progetto rischia di danneggiare la flora e la fauna e di avere un impatto ambientale negativo. Inoltre, questa infrastruttura interesserà per una lunghezza di quasi 500km il Pryp'jat, uno dei fiumi più ampi del paese che scorre attraverso la Polesia conosciuta come la 'Amazzonia europea'. I lavori per la realizzazione dell'E40 lungo il Pryp'jat rischiano di danneggiare il corso idrico e gli ecosistemi fluviali.

L'E40 attraverserà inoltre, il parco nazionale di Prypyatsky, la riserva radioecologica statale del Polesie, 15 riserve naturali, e 12 soggetti di importanza internazionale: in particolare distruggerà le paludi di Olmany, il più ampio complesso di paludi naturali in Europa. Le paludi di Olmany sono soprannominate “il polmone d'Europa”, poiché consumano 20 volte più

<sup>18</sup> La Convenzione di Ramsar, ufficialmente Convenzione sulle zone umide di importanza internazionale, venne firmata nel 1971 nella città di Ramsar in Iran ed è riconosciuto come il primo trattato intergovernativo con scopo globale e prevede la conservazione e la gestione degli ecosistemi naturali.

CO<sub>2</sub> rispetto alle foreste. Anche la popolazione acquatica ne risentirebbe, con il raddrizzamento degli archi del letto del fiume verrebbero meno le aree di riproduzione e la contaminazione ridurrebbe i banchi di pesci. L'E40 attraverserà i territori della riserva radioecologica statale, dove il limo del fiume ha accumulato enormi quantitativi di radionuclidi il cui sconvolgimento avrà conseguenze imprevedibili su Bielorussia e Ucraina. Attraverserà inoltre siti con scavi archeologici importanti come Turov, una delle più antiche città Bieloruse. Gli interventi sulla pianura alluvionale potrebbero distruggere ciò che finora è stato portato alla luce o scoprire reperti storici rimasti sepolti nei banchi. Preoccupazioni simili investono la Fortezza di Brėst di alto valore storico e culturale che si trova al confine polacco-bielorusso tra i Mukhavets e il Bug.<sup>19</sup>

Si temono altresì le conseguenze degli imponenti cambiamenti che verranno approntati nei tratti fluviali preesistenti, in particolar modo nella zona di pertinenza polacca avendo questa i corsi d'acqua che meno si prestano al tipo di navigazione prevista per il progetto E40 e che quindi dovranno essere soggetti a maggiori trasformazioni. Pubblicazioni riguardanti la pregressa esperienza renana dimostrano come interventi sui corsi d'acqua, come il raddrizzamento degli archi, hanno portato ad un aumento delle alluvioni.

Michał Kania, portavoce del Ministero polacco degli Affari Marittimi e dei Trasporti d'acqua, ha smentito le critiche rivolte al progetto E40 e ha assicurato che gli interventi sulla Vistola e la costruzione di dighe aiuteranno a proteggere la Polonia orientale sia dalla siccità che dalle inondazioni grazie alla funzione delle dighe di regolare il flusso di acqua garantendo un approvvigionamento idrico continuo e proteggendo le abitazioni disposte lungo il corso fluviale.<sup>20</sup>

## **E40 e l'area di Chernobyl: possibili conseguenze e rischi**

Per quanto riguarda l'Ucraina i malumori che si sono alzati investono principalmente un aspetto dell'opera. La parte ucraina dell'E40 passerebbe a soli 2,5 chilometri dal reattore nucleare nella zona di esclusione di Chernobyl. Gli ambientalisti sostengono che il ripristino

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<sup>19</sup> Byk, Julija (2016) «Vodnyj put' E-40 — jeto smert' dlja Poles'ja!» *Kakoj cenoj obojdjotsja Belarusi vyhod k morju?*, Zjaljony portal. Link: <https://greenbelarus.info/articles/10-10-2016/vodnyy-put-e-40-eto-smert-dlya-polesya-kakoy-cenoy-oboydetsya-belarusi-vyhod-k>; Tribuleva, Elena (2017) *Belorusskie jekologi vozrazhajut protiv proekta vodnogo puti E40*, Tut.by. Link: <https://news.tut.by/society/552535.html>; Kak E40 povlijaet na reki Belarusi? (2019) *Bahna obshhestvennaja ohrana dikoj prirody*. Link: <https://bahna.land/ru/reki-i-ozera/kak-e40-povlijaet-na-reki-belarusi>;

<sup>20</sup> Śmietana, Krzysztof (2020) *Rzeczne autostrady wyhamowały. Eksperci: Wydawanie miliardów nie ma sensu*, Dziennik Gazeta Prawa. Link: <https://gospodarka.dziennik.pl/news/artykuly/6451866,rzeczne-autostrady-wyhamowaly-ekologia.html>



del corso d'acqua E40 sia soggetto alla valutazione di impatto ambientale (*Environmental Impact Assessment*, EIA),<sup>21</sup> una valutazione di impatto ambientale che viene effettuata nella fase di sviluppo della documentazione a seguito dell'attuazione di un progetto. Le lamentele sono sorte nel momento in cui l'azienda che ha vinto la gara d'appalto per il dragaggio nelle zone a rischio radiologico ha affermato che i dati raccolti in loco e gli opportuni test sui sedimenti sono rassicuranti anche se ha negato l'accesso a tale documentazione. Il problema ovviamente non è solo ucraino, giacché all'epoca dell'incidente gli effetti delle radiazioni si sono diffusi velocemente verso nord in direzione Bielorussia. Ed è quantomeno curioso, che i due paesi, all'interno della triade che realizzerà l'opera, siano quelli che meno si sono spesi per il problema ambientale.

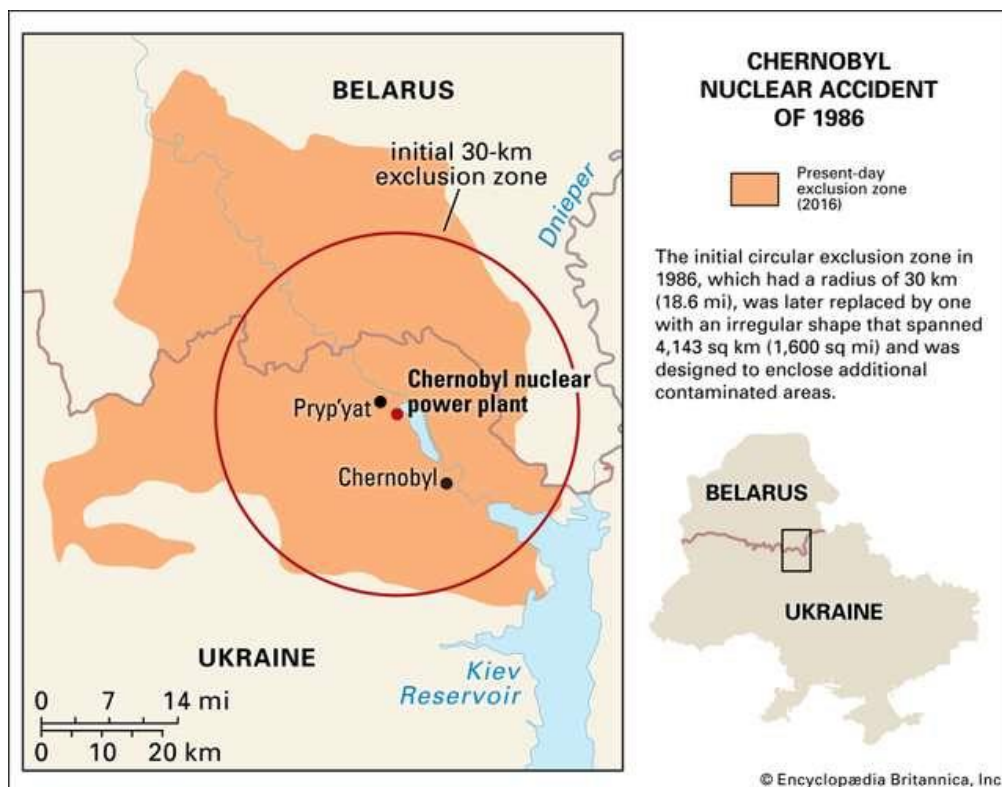


**Figura 11** La carta geografica evidenzia l'impatto ambientale che il progetto E40 potrà avere una volta completata la sua realizzazione. Fonte: *E40 waterway and Save Polesia campaign, Belarus* (2020) Environmental Justice Atlas. Link: <https://ejatlas.org/conflict/save-polesia-stop-construction-of-e40-waterway>

In Bielorussia diverse agenzie, fra cui il Centro per l'Idrometeorologia e il Ministero delle Situazioni di Emergenza, monitorano costantemente le aree contaminate dalle radiazioni. Stronzio, cesio ed elementi transuranici si sono depositati nelle aree contaminate. Recentemente è sorto un nuovo problema, come sottolinea Yuri Voronezhnev, in passato segretario del Commissione del Consiglio Supremo dell'Unione Sovietica che ha studiato le cause che hanno portato al disastro nucleare di Chernobyl, il plutonio-241 nel processo di decadimento

<sup>21</sup> La EIA è uno strumento nazionale per valutare l'impatto di una infrastruttura o attività sull'ambiente ed è soggetta alla decisione di competenza dell'autorità nazionale di ogni singolo paese.

si trasforma in americio-241 la cui distribuzione al momento non è stata sufficientemente studiata. Il comportamento dello stesso plutonio-241 e plutonio-239 è noto, perché sono stati condotti test di armi nucleari e sono state studiate le conseguenze delle esplosioni di Hiroshima e Nagasaki. Al contrario non ci sono informazioni sufficienti sull'americio-241 e il suo comportamento non può essere previsto.



**Figura 12** La carta geografica mostra l'iniziale area di esclusione imposta nel 1986 dal governo dell'Unione Sovietica a seguito del disastro di Chernobyl. Attualmente la zona di esclusione interessa un'area maggiormente estesa al confine bielorusso-ucraino. Fonte: The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica (2020), *Chernobyl disaster*, Encyclopedia Britannica. Link: <https://www.britannica.com/event/Chernobyl-disaster>

*“I lavori di dragaggio possono far scorrere del limo a valle del Prip’jat e del Dnepr fino al bacino idrico di Kiev che, insieme ai bacini idrici collegati, fornisce acqua a circa 30 milioni di ucraini” spiega Voronezhstsev, “e il limo accumula radionuclidi. Se il limo non viene toccato, non c’è pericolo particolare, perché in generale il fiume è pulito a causa del flusso costante. La minaccia è che durante i lavori di dragaggio il limo possa essere ‘disturbato’ e possa scendere a valle del Prip’jat e del Dnepr fino al bacino di Kiev”.*<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ivanova Tatyana (2016) *Belarus’s Chernobyl Taboo*, openDemocracy. Link: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/odr/belarus-s-chernobyl-taboo/>; Vorotnikov, Vladislav (2017) *Belarus’ president pushes for farms in Chernobyl exclusion zone*, FoodNavigator. Link: <https://www.foodnavigator.com/Article/2017/06/29/Belarus-president-pushes-for-farms-in-Chernobyl-exclusion-zone>

Anche il cambiamento del letto del fiume Prip'jat e la costruzione della diga vicino alla città di Narovlya, secondo Valery Dombrovsky, ricercatore presso il Polesye State Radiation and Ecological Reserve, avrà conseguenze dal punto di vista radiologico, perché potrebbe causare l'aumento della migrazione dei radionuclidi coinvolgendo il manto erboso che sin dall'epoca del disastro di Chernobyl raramente viene lavato dall'acqua e quindi immagazzina radiazioni in elevate quantità superiori al livello di normalità. La costruzione del progetto E40 coinvolgerà anche i laghi delle pianure alluvionali, ossia bacini idrici che si collegano al fiume durante le inondazioni primaverili e che contengono molti più elementi radioattivi che nell'alveo del fiume visto che l'acqua in questa zona del fiume non circola costantemente.<sup>23</sup>

### **Appalti e gestione dell'E40 in Ucraina**

In Ucraina la realizzazione del progetto E40 richiede fondi minori rispetto alla Bielorussia e il governo di Kiev è tra i maggiori fautori di questa infrastruttura e detrattori delle accuse che le diverse ONG hanno rivolto all'opera per quel che concerne l'impatto ambientale. Rai-vis Vetzkgans, presidente dell'Amministrazione dei Porti Marittimi dell'Ucraina (AMPU), promuovendo e rilanciando il progetto E40, ha affermato che i sedimenti nella zona di esclusione di Chernobyl non contengono sostanze radioattive. Per tranquillizzare l'opinione pubblica, inoltre, Vetzkgans, ha dichiarato che il lavoro di costruzione dell'E40 sarà accompagnato da un adeguato monitoraggio della zona in questione.<sup>24</sup>

Quello che preoccupa, però, in Ucraina non è soltanto l'impatto ambientale dell'E40, ma anche il contesto politico e le compagnie scelte per poter realizzare tale progetto. Emerge come figura di spicco la compagnia SOBI che ha firmato un contratto per il dragaggio della sezione ucraina del Prip'jat con la Flotta di Dragaggio dell'AMP: dalle indagini risulta che delle tre società che hanno chiesto di partecipare alla gara d'appalto, solo due hanno potuto prendervi parte, ossia la Orion-Ukraine e la SOBI.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Suvorau, Ihar (2018) *Chem ugrozhaet stroitel'stvo vodnogo puti E40 na zarazhjonnyh radiaciej territorijah?*, Bahna

obshhestvennaja ohrana dikoj prirody. Link: <https://bahna.land/ru/reki-i-ozera/chem-ugrozhaet-stroitelstvo-vodnogo-puti-e40-na-zarazhennykh-radiatsiej-territoriyakh>

<sup>24</sup> *Podpisan dogovor na dnouglublenie ukrainskogo uchastka Pripjati* (2019) Informacionnyj portal «Transportnyj biznes». Link: [http://tbu.com.ua/news/podpisan\\_dogovor\\_na\\_dnouglublenie\\_ukrainskogo\\_uchastka\\_pripiati.html](http://tbu.com.ua/news/podpisan_dogovor_na_dnouglublenie_ukrainskogo_uchastka_pripiati.html)

<sup>25</sup> Potockij, Nikolaj (2020) *AMPU platit figurantu ugovolnyh del po nezakonnoj dobyche peska za dnouglublenie Pripjati*, 368.media. Link: <https://368.media/2020/09/23/ampu-platit-figurantu-ugolovnyh-del-po-nezakonnoj-dobyche-peska-za-dnouglublenie-pripyati/>

La SOBI si è aggiudicata la prima gara nel 2019, con un contratto di quasi 12 milioni (circa 350 mila euro) di grivna per l'estrazione di 100 mila metri cubi di sabbia, che recentemente sono stati valutati insufficienti, ragion per cui si è giunti ad una seconda negoziazione senza gara d'appalto per l'estrazione di altri 30000 metri cubi di terreno. La cifra totale sfiora i 15,6 milioni di grivna (circa 455 mila euro).

Suscita dubbi il proseguimento dei lavori in Ucraina considerando che l'ultimo appalto vinto dalla SOBI è avvenuto in un momento in cui i rapporti tra Kiev e Minsk non sono certo quelli auspicabili per la realizzazione di un'opera di questa portata. Lukashenko ha infatti varie volte accusato l'Ucraina di interferire con i processi politici interni e minacciato di chiudere le frontiere.<sup>26</sup>

Anche la SOBI non è esente da critiche dal momento che è stata coinvolta in una serie di procedimenti penali per appropriazione indebita, evasione fiscale ed estrazione illegale di minerali, ad esempio sabbia dal fiume Desna, affluente di sinistra del Dnepr. Sembrerebbe che senza i dovuti permessi la sabbia sia stata lavata, conservata sulla riva e venduta senza detrarre nulla dal bilancio. Secondo una recente inchiesta, mentre l'azienda era impegnata nel dragaggio del Pryp'jat, contemporaneamente avrebbe stipulato contratti per la fornitura di materiali da costruzione, tra cui sabbia fluviale, in favore di alcune aziende ucraine, senza misurazioni della concentrazione radioattiva.

Da un'indagine delle fonti aperte inerenti la SOBI questa compagnia ucraina risulta essere registrata a nome di due uomini d'affari di Kiev, Sergey Nadeev e Anatoly Shaloplut, entrambi con legami con la politica ucraina. Nadeyev era un assistente dell'ex deputato del Partito delle Regioni (Partii regionov) Vitaly Khomutynnik e dell'ex deputato del popolo di BIUT Sergei Sobolev, mentre Shaloplut era un assistente dell'ex deputato del popolo Vasily Gorbai.

## Conclusioni

Il progetto E40 sarà realmente in grado di migliorare lo sviluppo economico di Ucraina, Bielorussia e Polonia? Da quanto si evince dai dati e dall'analisi delle fonti aperte sopra riportate

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<sup>26</sup> *Ukraine recalls its ambassador to Minsk over Wagner mercenaries and election interference accusations row* (2020)

BNE Intellinews. Link <https://www.intellinews.com/ukraine-recalls-its-ambassador-to-minsk-over-wagner-mercenaries-and-election-interference-accusations-row-189840/>; *Lukashenko accuses Ukraine of interference in Belarus' affairs*

(2020) 112 Ukraine. Link: <https://112.international/politics/lukashenko-accuses-ukraine-of-interference-in-belarus-affairs-54420.html>.



sembrerebbe che la realizzazione di questo corridoio fluviale di interconnessione sia molto più fattibile sulla carta che nella pratica. Infatti, mentre il governo di Kiev si è portato avanti con i lavori favorendo una compagnia come la SOBI che presenta collegamenti con il mondo politico ucraino, in Bielorussia e in Polonia l'E40 è ancora allo stato primordiale e richiede un significativo investimento da parte dei governi di Minsk e Varsavia nonché un quasi stravolgimento dei corsi d'acqua interessati e delle zone naturali che potrebbe modificare in maniera definitiva il territorio di questi paesi.

Il rischio ambientale è evidente come sottolineano le diverse ONG che si sono interessate a tale infrastruttura e il danno maggiore, le cui conseguenze potrebbero ricadere su tutta l'Europa centro-orientale e quindi interessare anche l'intera Unione Europea, potrebbe essere causato dagli errori di valutazione nei lavori da condurre nell'area del Prip'jat nella zona esclusiva di Chernobyl. Connettendo un sistema fluviale dal Mar Baltico al Mar Nero, l'E40 potrebbe favorire anche la diffusione di sostanze radioattive ancora presenti nella zona di Chernobyl che inquinerebbero l'intera area europea con ricadute pesantissime per quel che concerne le attività produttive agricole e la vita delle popolazioni locali.

Perché il governo ucraino supporta l'E40? È vero che l'Ucraina ha i corsi fluviali che si prestano maggiormente a tale infrastruttura e che richiedono meno interventi e quindi meno finanziamenti, ma

è anche vero che la gestione dei lavori di dragaggio affidata alla SOBI tramite la concessione di appalti pubblici in verità fa perno su una compagnia ucraina con precedenti legali e con un capitale societario pari a circa 500 euro. L'E40 rappresenterebbe per l'Ucraina il collegamento con il resto dell'Europa centro-orientale e con l'hub commerciale-logistico del Mar Baltico, diminuirebbe l'influenza russa in un periodo storico che vede Mosca opposta a Kiev per la questione del Donbass e della Crimea, e favorirebbe investimenti diretti stranieri (FDIs) con l'intento di supportare i progetti di sviluppo industriale ucraini e quindi risollevarne l'economia.

In conclusione, possiamo dire che, benché il progetto abbia un'indubbia importanza strategica ai fini della politica interna ed estera dei paesi interessati, le conseguenze ambientali sono maggiori rispetto ai benefici geopolitici, fattore di cui l'Unione Europea dovrà tenere conto quando valuterà se investire i propri fondi per costruire l'E40.

# Partial Legitimacy of the Biden Administration and What It Means for the USA and the World

Evgeny Pashentsev\*

## Abstract in English

Biden election as the U.S. president might hugely impact the world of the international relations and transform the U.S. foreign and domestic politics. Considering Biden's electoral campaign, his statements and political views, this paper investigates the legitimacy of the Biden Administration and its possible impact in the United States and the world.

**Keywords:** United States, Biden, geopolitics, international affairs

## Abstract in Italiano

L'elezione di Biden come presidente degli Stati Uniti potrebbe influenzare enormemente il mondo delle relazioni internazionali e la politica interna ed estera statunitense. Considerando la campagna elettorale di Biden, le sue affermazioni e discorsi e le visioni politiche, questo paper si pone come obiettivo quello di analizzare la legittimità dell'Amministrazione presidenziale di Biden e il suo possibile impatto negli Stati Uniti e nel mondo.

**Parole chiave:** Stati Uniti, Biden, geopolitica, affari internazionali

*\*Evgeny N. Pashentsev is a leading researcher at the Diplomatic Academy, Moscow. He is a member of the international Advisory Board of Comunicar (Spain). Evgeny is author/ editor of 39 books and more than 170 academic articles published in Russian, English, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Vietnamese languages. He has presented papers at more than 190 international conferences and seminars for the last 20 years in 24 countries. His areas of research interest include strategic communication, advanced technologies and social development, malicious use of artificial intelligence and international psychological security.*

## Introduction

The current situation in the United States, which remains, despite the obvious decline of its power, a leading economic and military power, inspires serious concern. The decline of the country is turning into an acute political crisis, multiple accusations coming from the now former President Donald Trump of massive fraud in the recent elections like this one: "This election is about great voter fraud, fraud that has never been seen like this before",<sup>1</sup> the Capitol riot by Trump supporters, which ended in bloodshed, and the growing confrontation between the supporters of the two largest parties, of course exacerbate the crisis, and, in the most negative way, affect the perception of the United States by the international community. The crisis in a country with one of the two largest nuclear arsenals in the world is objectively

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<sup>1</sup> Associated Press (2020.12.02) *In video, Trump recycles unsubstantiated voter fraud claims*. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://fox59.com/news/politics/in-video-trump-recycles-unsubstantiated-voter-fraud-claims/>; Associated Press (2021.02.05) *Poll finds 65% of Republicans say they don't believe Biden's election was legitimate*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.marketwatch.com/story/poll-finds-65-of-republicans-say-they-dont-believe-bidens-election-was-legitimate-01612570478?siteid=yhoof2>.

extremely dangerous for humanity with its possible consequences, and it cannot and should not remain indifferent to this crisis.

American history is driven by periodic moments of loss of trust and moral convulsion. The famous political scientist Samuel P. Huntington noticed that these convulsions seem to hit the United States every 60 years or so: the Revolutionary period of the 1760s and '70s; the Jacksonian uprising of the 1820s and '30s; the Progressive Era, which began in the 1890s; and the social-protest movements of the 1960s and early '70s.<sup>2</sup> The understanding of the depth of the crisis is increasingly spreading in American society. As Robert Arvey notes in his publication in the *American Thinker*, analyzing the situation in the country after the elections:

*“The courts and the Congress have failed to perform their constitutional duty, whether explicit or implied, to preserve the Union. Until that changes, there will be no unity. How could there be? Matters will not get better; they will get worse, and that is a terrible thing.”<sup>3</sup> (Arvey, 2021).*

It seems now we are witnessing a *new and much deeper moral convulsion*, connected both with the systemic internal contradictions of American society, and the crisis of modern capitalism, the system of international relations as a whole. Half-measures cannot be helpful to overcome the crisis, and the ruling elite in the pursuit of power and wealth is not able to offer a way out of the crisis; its most radical factions are already considering extreme options to capture full authorities within the country and the total mobilization of all resources for a confrontation with China. Former Clinton adviser Naomi Wolf warned on February 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2021 on FOX News Channel's *Tucker Carlson Tonight* that the U.S. is becoming a “totalitarian state before our eyes.” She warns that the country is rapidly “moving into a coup situation, a police state” under the “guise of a real medical pandemic” (Hains, 2021).<sup>4</sup> Rod Dreher, a senior editor and blogger at *The American Conservative*, contends the United States is well on its way to becoming what is known as a “soft” totalitarian state.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the

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<sup>2</sup> Brooks, D. (2020.10.05). *America Is Having a Moral Convulsion*, The Atlantic. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/10/collapsing-levels-trust-are-devastating-america/616581/>.

<sup>3</sup> Arvey, R. (2021.01.09) *Was the Capitol storming America's Reichstag fire?*, American Thinker. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from [https://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2021/01/was\\_the\\_capitol\\_storming\\_america\\_s\\_reichstag\\_fire.html](https://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2021/01/was_the_capitol_storming_america_s_reichstag_fire.html).

<sup>4</sup> Hains, T. (2021.02.23) *Naomi Wolf Warns: USA Rapidly "Moving Into A Coup Situation, A Police State" Under The "Guise Of A Real Medical Pandemic."*, Real Clear Politics. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from [https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2021/02/23/naomi\\_wolf\\_warns\\_usa\\_rapidly\\_moving\\_into\\_a\\_coup\\_situation\\_a\\_police\\_state\\_under\\_the\\_guise\\_of\\_a\\_real\\_medical\\_pandemic.html](https://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2021/02/23/naomi_wolf_warns_usa_rapidly_moving_into_a_coup_situation_a_police_state_under_the_guise_of_a_real_medical_pandemic.html).

<sup>5</sup> Wikipedia (2021). *Rod Dreher*. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rod\\_Dreher](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rod_Dreher).

movement towards totalitarianism is recognized on both the left and right flanks of the country's political spectrum, although it is explained differently. We have already drawn attention in our previous publication to the obvious aspirations (and not only in the United States) to use the situation with the coronavirus for selfish interests by dominant groups.<sup>6</sup>

On the one hand, the internal socio-political crisis and the consequences of the pandemic distract the attention of the US imperial forces, require focusing on the internal problems of modernization, in order to be more successful and aggressive in the international arena, regain the status of the only superpower and unquestionably dominate the world, as in the 1990s. On the other hand, the understanding that more or less honest methods of economic competition will not restore the former dominance, and, in 10-15 years, the country is likely to go to the second, although significant, role in the world economy and politics, constantly reanimates the desire to restrain competitors by a variety of methods today (tomorrow it will be too late). In the process of leaving the position of the world hegemon, the stage of a rapid collapse of influence will inevitably come: external and internal loans are too large, after the collapse of financial and economic positions, it will be time to pay the bills in terms of politics. And under conditions of a qualitative decline in living standards and very likely social upheavals, it is difficult to guarantee the elite not only power and financial well-being, but also life itself. This is what scares the American establishment and, in addition to the current serious corporate contradictions, inevitably exacerbates the struggle for power. At the same time, the most adventurous part of the US elite in the pursuit of the outgoing power can be extremely dangerous for the United States and the entire world community when trying to replay the natural course of history. This was the case in the history of many declining empires, with one exception: they did not have the most powerful nuclear arsenal...

The current crisis has deep and long-standing roots. It was softened and partly postponed by the collapse of the USSR (happened for objective and subjective reasons) and the emergence of extremely favorable, somewhat hothouse conditions for the development of the only remaining superpower, the United States, but its establishment foolishly took advantage of this collapse in its own selfish interests. The wealth gap between the richest and the vast majority of the nation has grown steadily. The income inequality in the United States had

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<sup>6</sup> Pashentsev, E. (2020) Coronavirus Pandemics, Huawei 5G Technologies, Artificial Intelligence and Psychological Operations. *Geopolitical Report Vol.3*. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from [http://www.asrie.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Geopolitical-Report-Volume-3\\_2020\\_COVID19-5G-AI-Psychological-Operations.pdf](http://www.asrie.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Geopolitical-Report-Volume-3_2020_COVID19-5G-AI-Psychological-Operations.pdf).

hit its highest level in 2019 since the Census Bureau started tracking it more than five decades ago, even as the nation's poverty and unemployment rates were at historic lows. The situation became only much worse under the pandemic. When the Census Bureau began studying income inequality in 1967, the Gini index was 0.397. In 2018, it climbed to 0.485. By comparison, no European nation had a score greater than 0.38 in 2018 (Telford, 2019).<sup>7</sup> Technological superiority was shrinking, infrastructure was aging (experts say that U.S. infrastructure is dangerously overstretched, with a funding gap of more than \$2 trillion needed by 2025).<sup>8</sup> Attention is drawn to the striking similarity between the decline of the Pax Americana and the Roman Empire (Strauss, 2012).<sup>9</sup> The rise of antagonisms in the United States has been increasingly apparent since 2007–2009 Great Recession, and found its clear and obvious expression in the contesting of the results of the presidential elections of 2020, both by the outgoing President D. Trump and by most of the Republican Party. The election campaign, election results and ensuing events, questioned, if not the legal grounds of the new administration, then, of course, its legitimacy in the eyes of tens of millions of Americans, wider foreign communities, and a significant part of the ruling circles of other countries.

### **Formation of Conditions for the Delegitimization of the Presidential Elections**

The majority of mainstream media, the influential social networks, are largely responsible for the current situation. They were systematically and clearly biased the election campaign and election platform of D. Trump, and his chances of success. This created the initial grounds for doubting the legitimacy of the election campaign. The information asymmetry in the capabilities of Biden and Trump partly programmed the election results themselves. Trump, of course, not without intent irritated his opponents by his effective direct appeal to target audiences through social networks. Yes, this skill he greatly abused, and impermissibly covered his own and corporate interests with the slogan “America First.” However, he did not deprive his opponents of information, analytical and human resources which they use for large-scale influence operations. They clearly had more than enough of these opportunities and they skillfully used them. The poll conducted for the Media Research Center

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<sup>7</sup> Telford, T. (2019.09.27) *Income inequality in America is the highest it's been since census started tracking it, data shows*, Extra GoodShit. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://extragoodshit.phlap.net/income-inequality-in-america-is-the-highest-its-been-since-census-started-tracking-it-data-shows/>.

<sup>8</sup> McBride, J., & Moss, J. (2020). *The State of U.S. Infrastructure*. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/state-us-infrastructure>.

<sup>9</sup> Strauss, S. (2012.12.26) *8 striking parallels between the U.S. and the Roman Empire*, Badgleyb. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from [http://www.badgleyb.net/html\\_docs/8parallels.htm](http://www.badgleyb.net/html_docs/8parallels.htm).

found that one in six (17%) of seven swing state voters among them wouldn't have voted for Biden had they been aware of important pro-Trump and anti-Biden information that had been suppressed in the media prior to the election.<sup>10</sup>

Far too many pollsters also contributed to misinformation of the population. They systematically underestimated President Trump's support.<sup>11</sup> In the 2020 presidential elections, the national polls may have missed the numbers by about twice as much as in 2016.<sup>12</sup> President Trump added to the fusillade by accusing them of deliberately releasing false results to discourage his supporters from voting.<sup>13</sup> But as states have counted more results, the picture has shifted: Polls did underestimate Trump's vote, but by a relatively small amount — less, for example, than they underestimated President Obama's strength in 2012, when he ran for re-election. Maybe, “but the troubling thing about 2020 is not just that the polls missed again. It's that they missed again in the exact same places they missed in 2016 — and they missed by even more”. At least, in our opinion, the first preliminary results of the elections helped to form a certain pattern of perception of the final outcome among millions of Americans, which was already difficult to abandon. After all, the elections took place in an almost split country, under crisis conditions, in a psychologically extremely uncomfortable situation of a pandemic and under a long-term restriction of normal contact between people. And when President Trump prematurely announced his victory to his supporters, it was hard for them to accept the different end result as true, given the bias of mainstream media and pollsters and their faith in Trump.

For many years, the warring parties have reinforced public distrust in every possible way with mutual and not always adequate accusations. “People in the USA no longer merely disagree on ideology; they positively detest each other, both topically and personally”.<sup>14</sup> In such

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<sup>10</sup> Bell, L. (2020.12.16) *Election Legitimacy Faces Biggest Trial in Court of Public Opinion*, Newsmax. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://www.newsmax.com/larrybell/2020-election-polls-legitimacy-election-abuse/2020/12/16/id/1001792/>.

<sup>11</sup> Syndicated Local – CBS San Francisco. (2020.11.05) *Vote Count 2020: Polls Again Miss Mark In Presidential Race – ‘Trump’s Support Was Underestimated’*, MSN.com. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/vote-count-2020-polls-again-miss-mark-in-presidential-race-trump-s-support-was-underestimated/ar-BB1aI1Bp>; Russonello, G. (2021.01.20) *The Polls Underestimated Trump — Again. Nobody Agrees on Why*, The New York Times. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/04/us/politics/poll-results.html>.

<sup>12</sup> Romano, A. (2020.11.05) *Why the polls were wrong about Trump (again)*, Yahoo News. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://www.yahoo.com/news/why-the-polls-were-wrong-about-trump-again-234138787.html>.

<sup>13</sup> Lauter, D. (2020.11.06) *Polls underestimated Trump's support, but not by as much as you might think*, Yahoo News. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://news.yahoo.com/polls-underestimated-trumps-support-not-010709337.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Arvay, R. (2021.01.09) *Was the Capitol storming America's Reichstag fire?*, American Thinker. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from [https://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2021/01/was\\_the\\_capitol\\_storming\\_america\\_s\\_reichstag\\_fire.html](https://www.americanthinker.com/blog/2021/01/was_the_capitol_storming_america_s_reichstag_fire.html).



conditions, a weighted adequate response to the election results is difficult to expect (even assuming that they were 100% fair and honest). It can be assumed that the elections have acquired the connotation of just and legitimate or unjust and illegitimate process in the eyes of millions, not only by the final or even preliminary results, *but before the elections, due to the decline of trust in government institutions in the country.*

According to the Pew Research Center Report published in 2019, three quarters of Americans say that their fellow citizens' trust in the federal government has been shrinking, and 64% believe that about people's trust in each other. When asked a separate question about the reasons why trust has declined in the past 20 years, people offer a host of reasons in their written answers. In our opinion, an important result and evidence of a certain maturity of the respondents is that they do not attribute the decline in confidence to the activities of individuals or parties. So, President Donald Trump and his administration are mentioned only in 14% of answers as a factor of falling confidence, and a smaller share lays the blame on Democrats. Those who think there has been a decline of trust in the federal government over these two decades often see the problem tied to the government's performance: 36% of those who see the decline cite this. Respondents also cite concerns about how money has corrupted it and how corporations control the political process.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, the elections provided only an additional serious reason for US citizens to strengthen their negative vision of the existing order and attributes of power that are in clear contradiction with the declared commitment to democracy of the US ruling elite around the world. In the eyes of many Americans, not just the international community, the very possibility of winning the popular vote but losing the election hardly looks like a triumph of justice, more an archaic attribute of the past. However, other real or perceived contradictions of the American electoral system and a discussion of many of the claims by the Trump team challenging the election results and the legal decisions regarding them, which have by no means reassured the country, are beyond the scope of this article.

Maybe because in US society (as in almost any other today), there is a huge lack of trust in the authorities.

The storming the U.S. Capitol on January 6 by a mob of about 800 supporters of Donald Trump was not the act of members of ultra-nationalist groups. The team of more than 20

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<sup>15</sup> Rainie, L., & Perrin, A. (2019.07.22) *Key findings about Americans' declining trust in government and each other*, PEW Research. Retrieved 10 March 2021, from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/22/key-findings-about-americans-declining-trust-in-government-and-each-other/>.

researchers that has been reviewing court documents and media coverage for information on the demographics, socioeconomic traits, and militant-group affiliations (if any) of everyone arrested by the FBI, Capitol Police, and Washington, D.C. police for offenses related to the January 6 insurrection came recently to rather important conclusions. A closer look at the people suspected of taking part in the Capitol riot suggests a different and potentially far riskier and dangerous prospective: a development of a new kind of violent mass movement in which more “normal” Trump supporters—middle-class and, in many cases, middle-aged people without obvious ties to the far right—joined with extremists in an attempt to overturn a presidential election. There was an overwhelming majority among the rioters of well-to-do middle-aged Trump supporters who have something to lose. What is clear is that the Capitol riot revealed a new force in American politics—not merely a mix of right-wing organizations, but a broader mass political movement that has violence at its core.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the rioters are, in the absolute majority, citizens who doubted the results of the elections, and who, in an environment of political crisis, mutual distrust and accusations, went to join protest actions that were initially peaceful in nature, which is proved by many videos circulating the networks.<sup>17</sup> However, even if we assume that these videos are fake, since they attract millions of visitors and are obviously explosive, and no measures are taken to delete them on the networks, they reinforce the illegitimacy of the Biden administration in the public consciousness (or at least show its obvious weakness).

Serious riots that resulted in violations of the law and human casualties, with the participation of representatives of extremist organizations and possible provocateurs (which may not be known soon), became possible, including due to questionable actions of law enforcement agencies. Acting US Capitol Police Chief, Yogananda Pittman, said the response to the January 6 riot was a failure on multiple fronts.<sup>18</sup> Security officials testifying at Congress’s first hearing on the deadly siege of the Capitol cast blame and pointed fingers but also acknowledged they were woefully unprepared for the violence.<sup>19</sup> Some U.S. Capitol rioters claim they

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<sup>16</sup> Ruby, K. & Pape, R. (2021.02.03) *The Capitol Rioters Aren’t Like Other Extremists*, The Atlantic. Retrieved 11 March 2021 from <https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2021/02/the-capitol-rioters-arent-like-other-extremists/617895/>.

<sup>17</sup> Knightly, K. (2021.01.07) *“The Storming of the Capitol”: America’s Reichstag Fire?*, Off Guardian. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://off-guardian.org/2021/01/07/the-storming-of-the-capitol-americas-reichstag-fire/>.

<sup>18</sup> Wagner, M., Macaya, M., Mahtani, M., Rocha, V., & Fernando III, A. (2021.01.25) *February 25, 2021 Capitol riot hearing news*, CNN Edition. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://edition.cnn.com/politics/live-news/capitol-riot-house-hearing-02-25-20/index.html>.

<sup>19</sup> Mascaro, L. (2021.02.24) *Takeaways from Congress’ first hearing on Capitol riot*, APNews. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-capitol-siege-donald-trump-politics-ap-top-news-0e3d5173b4195e740bc63c038c71d479>.



were “escorted” into the building by the police and did not know they were breaking the law.<sup>20</sup> Thirty-five US Capitol Police officers are being investigated for their actions during the January 6 riot at the Capitol, and six of those have been suspended with pay (Al Jazeera, 2021).<sup>21</sup> [Washington DC](#)’s Metropolitan Police Department chief, Robert Contee, said that there was “no intelligence that there would be a breach” at the Capitol. But reports from online research groups, journalists and civil rights organizations found a flood of threats and calls for violence on 6 January weeks ahead of the failed insurrection (Woodward, 2021).

However, the leadership of the Democratic Party was no less responsible for the increase in violence in the country for political reasons, supporting the violent actions of left-wing anarchist groups. This was revealed at the Senate hearing on Trump's second impeachment. Former President Donald Trump’s legal team accused legislators from the Democratic party of hypocrisy as they played lengthy video montages of elected officials speaking about committing assault against Trump, threatening his supporters, and backing protests in 2020 that regularly turned violent (**Stieber, 2021**).

In the circles of Trump supporters, the version is already widespread that the storming of the Capitol is the equivalent of the arson attack on the Reichstag, which was arranged to punish communists and other political parties (Thomson, 2021; Knightly, 2021). In the context of history, another analogy is possible, according to which the storming of the Capitol is the equivalent of The Beer Hall Putsch (*Bürgerbräu-Putsch*) of Nazi November 8–9 1923.<sup>22</sup> Despite its crushing defeat, *Bürgerbräu-Putsch* gave rise to the legend of the Nazis’ sacrificial struggle against the “cosmopolitan left”. The Capitol riot with time in the eyes of many Americans can be more and more artificially and skillfully transformed in a revolt against the top Democrats who “stole the elections” from the patriots of America. Thus, the former

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<sup>20</sup> Harrison, I. (2021.02.23) *'On Our Side': Some U.S. Capitol Rioters Claim They Were 'Escorted' Into Building By the Police and Didn't Know They Were Breaking the Law*, Atlanta Black Star. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://atlantablackstar.com/2021/02/23/on-our-side-some-u-s-capitol-rioters-claim-they-were-escorted-into-building-by-the-police-and-didnt-know-they-were-breaking-the-law/>; ABC News, & Siegel, B. (2021.02.19) *In new defense, dozens of Capitol rioters say law enforcement 'let us in' to building*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/us/in-new-defense-dozens-of-capitol-rioters-say-law-enforcement-let-us-in-to-building/ar-BB1dPbrK?ebsb=3>.

<sup>21</sup> Al Jazeera. (2021.01.11) *A 'bad sign': World leaders and officials blast Twitter Trump ban*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/1/11/a-bad-sign-world-leaders-and-officials-blast-twitter-trump-ban>.

<sup>22</sup> The putsch did not receive any support at the time it took place, but after the Nazis came to power, the putsch was called a National Revolution, and the 16 dead putschists were called martyrs by official propaganda. On November 9, 1935, the sarcophagus with the ashes of these people was moved to Munich’s Königsplatz square. *Der neunte Elfte* (9/11, literally “the ninth of the eleventh”) became one of the most important dates on the Nazi calendar, especially following the seizure of power in 1933. Annually until the fall of Nazi Germany, the putsch would be commemorated nationwide, with the major events taking place in Munich.

New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, who led President Donald Trump's legal efforts to overturn his defeat in the 2020 wrote on Twitter: "To all those patriots challenging the fraudulent election, POTUS wants you to EXPRESS YOUR OPINION PEACEFULLY." "We are the law and order party," he added. "You are on the right side of the law and history. Act with respect for all." Giuliani's comments came as the president and others released similar statements calling for calm after the violent rioters had already breached security barricades and clashed with law enforcement before entering the Capitol building.<sup>23</sup>

Dec. 30, Josh Hawley became the first Senate Republican to announce his intent to challenge Biden's congressional certification. After the riot Simon & Schuster dropped plans to publish his book, "The Tyranny of Big Tech." Major donors severed ties. Yet something else happened, too. Hawley saw a surge in small-dollar donations to his campaign, making January his best fundraising month since 2018. As Axios first reported, the \$969,000 he amassed easily offset defections from corporate political action committees. Added to that was the applause of the Senate Conservatives Fund, which has since bundled more than \$300,000 for Hawley.<sup>24</sup> "Elites distrust patriotism," said Josh Hawley in a 2019 speech at a conference on conservative nationalism. A son of a banker, a graduate of both Stanford University and Yale Law School, first becoming a state attorney general and then being elected to the U.S. Senate at the age of 39, all the life path makes him an elite member in nearly every sense of the word. And while he said shortly after the riot that he would not run for president in 2024, his advisers have continued to hype him as "one of the favorites" of a potential Republican primary field.<sup>25</sup> Such people like Josh Hawley certainly have a good chance for a political career in the United States in the next round of history, but will they be able to meet the great challenges of history?

Only history will have the final word regarding which historical analogy is appropriate in case of the Capitol riot and the overall rise in political violence in the United States. . Alternatively, maybe both are appropriate at once. Maybe the leadership of both parties uses the loose conglomerate of numerous historically incapacitated organizations left over from the twentieth century (right-wing and left-wing) to conduct a kind of vendetta of the elites in the

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<sup>23</sup> Riotta, C. (2021.01.06) *Rudy Giuliani says pro-Trump rioters attacking US Capitol building are 'on the right side of history'*, The Independent. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-election-2020/rudy-giuliani-trump-capitol-hill-shots-b1783499.html>.

<sup>24</sup> Plott, E., & Hakim, D. (2021.03.08) *Josh Hawley Is 'Not Going Anywhere.' How Did He Get Here?*, Yahoo News. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.yahoo.com/news/josh-hawley-not-going-anywhere-131146330.html>.

<sup>25</sup> Suderman, P. (2021) *Josh Hawley's Toxic Populism*, Reason. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://reason.com/2021/03/06/josh-hawleys-toxic-populism/>.

struggle for power, for the redistribution of financial flows in the conditions of their impoverishment in the country, which is losing its former power? New progressive organizations, corresponding to the realities of the technological and social revolution of the twenty-first century, are still in the process of formation. This assumption does not in any way call into question the *objective reasons* for the discontent and social protest of millions of Americans and the disinterested motives that *the obvious majority of participants in these protests follow*. However, the parallel creation of legends about the victims of the struggle for justice and the peremptory mutual accusations of the bloody crimes of both sides of the political warfare prepare the country and the world for even greater sacrifices... But in the name of what and who?

Information radicalization through the channels of allied ICT giants from Silicon Valley is actively used by the leadership of the Democratic Party to eliminate political opponents. Two impeachments against one president were organized (which has no precedent in the history of the United States), and the second – after the end of the presidential term of D. Trump.

After the events of January 6, not only Twitter and Facebook but many other social media platforms banned or limited Donald Trump and his supporters from using their resources.<sup>26</sup> According to Kevin Roose, there are legitimate questions about whether a small handful of unelected tech executives, accountable only to their boards and shareholders (and, in Zuckerberg's case, to neither) should wield such enormous power. These actions also raise longer-term questions, such as whether the business models of social media companies are fundamentally compatible with a healthy democracy, or whether a generation of Twitter-addicted politicians can ever be untaught the lesson that racking up retweets is a surer path to power than governing responsibly.<sup>27</sup> In the same row is the refusal of some anti-Trump media from the option that allows their users the option to leave comments on the news. For example, a link in Yahoo News is eloquent: "Our goal is to create a safe and engaging place for users to connect over interests and passions. In order to improve our community experience, we are

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<sup>26</sup> Tannenbaum, E. (2021.01.10) *Every Social Media Platform Donald Trump Is Banned From Using (So Far)*, Glamour. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.glamour.com/story/donald-trump-social-media-bans-twitter-facebook>.

<sup>27</sup> Roose, K. (2021.01.11) *In silencing President Donald Trump, two tech giants show where power now lies*, The Economic Times. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/in-silencing-president-donald-trump-two-tech-giants-show-where-power-now-lies/articleshow/80206462.cms>.

temporarily suspending article commenting.” This approach puts these resources at a disadvantage, for example, compared to a right-wing news site [Breitbart News Network](#), or [Fox News](#), who still welcome comments on their news.

## **The Partial Legitimacy of the J. Biden Administration: Forms of Manifestation**

To date, the existence of only a partial legitimacy in the administration of J. Biden is proved by the fact that a number of internal (in the United States) and external target audiences did not recognize the process and results of the presidential election as legitimate and some audiences perhaps they continue to do it in future.

*According to public opinion polls, US citizens declare the illegitimacy of the last presidential election and, accordingly, the new administration en masse.* A [Quinnipiac University](#) poll conducted on December 10th found that 77% of Republican voters believe there was widespread voter fraud during the presidential election. Of voters overall, only 60% believe the election to be legitimate. Similarly, a [survey by Politico](#) found that 79% of Trump voters believe the election to be stolen through illegal voting and fraud.<sup>28</sup> Around the same time, at least two national polls ([CBS](#) and [FOX](#)) came out indicating that the substantial majority of Republicans, and somewhere between 35% and 40% of all voters, believe that the election was stolen and should be contested. This represents over 60 million Americans.<sup>29</sup> The poll from February 2021 from the Associated Press–NORC Center for Public Affairs Research, shows 33% of Republicans say Biden was legitimately elected as the 46th president of the United States, while 65% say he was not. Overall, roughly two thirds of Americans say Biden was legitimately elected, with nearly all Democrats saying so.<sup>30</sup> Thus, we can assume that the perception of Biden’s illegitimacy among Americans is quite stable and widespread.

This leads to the fact that Americans evaluate the actions of the new president under the influence of current emotions, largely based on their political preferences, likes and dislikes and not his actions. President Biden had barely occupied the Oval Office long enough to

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<sup>28</sup> Staub, A. (2020.12.29) *A Legitimacy Crisis of the Left’s Own Making*, Human Events. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://humanevents.com/2020/12/29/a-legitimacy-crisis-of-the-lefts-own-making/>.

<sup>29</sup> Wilkerson, M. (2020.12.21) *The Biden Administration Faces a Legitimacy Crisis*, The American Conservative. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/the-biden-administration-faces-a-legitimacy-crisis/>.

<sup>30</sup> Associated Press. (2021.02.05) *Poll finds 65% of Republicans say they don’t believe Biden’s election was legitimate*, Market Watch. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.marketwatch.com/story/poll-finds-65-of-republicans-say-they-dont-believe-bidens-election-was-legitimate-01612570478?siteid=yhoof2>.

arrange his desk and hang pictures, but voters already held firm opinions about his job performance. That is how polarized Americans are. Gallup polled nationally and reported in the beginning of February 2021 an “extreme partisan gap.” “Initial evaluations of presidents are more influenced by Americans’ party identification now than in the past.” The polling organization found an 87-percentage-point gap between Democratic and Republican views of Biden’s job performance — 98% of Democrats approved, but only 11% of Republicans did. Overall, it found 57% approval and 37% disapproval.<sup>31</sup> We will see in the future that Biden's first actions as president cause widespread rejection in society. In any case, the extremely intolerant approach to a political rival in the United States cannot be overcome quickly, even if the election campaign and its information support would be perceived by the population as absolutely legitimate.

*Illegitimacy in the eyes of a part of the American political elite.* Members of Congress, state legislatures, the Presidential Administration, and other officials representing the Republican Party challenged the legitimacy of the election through appropriate legislative procedures. They did not abandon their views, for the most part, even after the elections. The establishment of the Republican Party cannot afford to take a different position, since the Republican electorate consistently follows Trump, his agenda, and the GOP hopes to win back the House and Senate in the 2022 midterm elections with the support of Trump. Republicans who do not follow this course are ostracized and risk their political careers.<sup>32</sup>

*Illegitimacy in the eyes of a part of the military elite.* Some of the retired senior officers openly supported Trump in his allegations and the introduction of martial law in connection with the situation around the elections. Former national security adviser, retired Army Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn promoted a petition calling on President Donald Trump to temporarily suspend the U.S. Constitution, declare martial law and order the military to oversee a national revote for the 2020 presidential election.<sup>33</sup> He also said on TV that Trump “could take military capabilities, and he could place them in those [disputed] states and basically rerun an election.” During the 2020 presidential election, Thomas McInerney a retired US Air

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<sup>31</sup> Skelton, G. (2021.02.08) *Column: Trump is gone. But America's enduring problem with political polarization remains*, MSN.com. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/column-trump-is-gone-but-america-s-enduring-problem-with-political-polarization-remains/ar-BB1durn7>.

<sup>32</sup> Breuninger, K. (2021.02.16) *Republicans who voted to convict Trump in impeachment trial face backlash*, CNBC. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.cnbc.com/2021/02/16/republicans-who-voted-to-convict-trump-in-impeachment-trial-face-backlash-.html>.

<sup>33</sup> Kerr, A. (2020.12.02) *Michael Flynn Promotes Petition Calling On Trump To Suspend The Constitution And Declare Martial Law*, DailyCaller. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://dailycaller.com/2020/12/02/michael-flynn-petition-trump-martial-law/>.



Force three-star general who conducted 407 combat missions throughout his 35-year career had also promoted a theory that alleged voting machines deleted votes for Trump. McInerney also claimed that US Green Berets had “seized” computer servers in Germany that held election data during a CIA operation in which several soldiers were killed. Captain Scott O’Grady, 55, may not have risen to the rank of a general, but he became well known after his F-16 was shot down over Bosnia in 1995. O’Grady was stuck behind enemy lines for six days until he was rescued by US Marines. In November 2020, Trump nominated O’Grady for assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, a position that required Senate confirmation. O’Grady supported the ideas that the presidential election was rife with fraud. He retweeted a tweet saying that “calling for martial law is not a bad idea when there is an attempted coup against the president”.<sup>34</sup>

Before the elections, 235 former military leaders supported Trump, warning that the “historic way of life is at stake” in the USA. Their letter warns that those dangers include the growing acceptance of radical leftist ideology. “With the Democratic Party welcoming to socialists and Marxists, our historic way of life is at stake,” it says. The retired leaders went on to claim that the Democratic party’s positions regarding border security, the Iran nuclear deal, and policing also threaten U.S. national security.<sup>35</sup>

The military–industrial complex and the top echelon of the leadership of the armed forces had great preferences under Trump, and their support is quite understandable. Trump has used his job as commander-in-chief to be America’s arms-dealer-in-chief in a way no other president has since Dwight Eisenhower, as he prepared to leave the presidency, warned in early 1961 of the military–industrial complex’s political influence. The president has repeatedly appeared at weapons production facilities in swing states, appointed defense industry employees to top government jobs in an unprecedented way and expanded the Pentagon’s budget to near-historic highs – a guarantee of future income for companies like Lockheed and Boeing.<sup>36</sup> Trump’s request of \$740 billion for national defense in 2021 is still a huge amount of money. It exceeds the inflation-adjusted Cold War average (including costs of the

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<sup>34</sup> Choi, D. (2020.12.03) *Here are 4 former military officers who have embraced bizarre Trump conspiracies*, MSN.com. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.msn.com/en-in/news/world/here-are-4-former-military-officers-who-have-embraced-bizarre-trump-conspiracies/ar-BB1bC87t>.

<sup>35</sup> Blitzer, R. (2020.09.14) *235 former military leaders support Trump, warn 'our historic way of life is at stake'*, Fox News. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/former-military-leaders-support-trump>.

<sup>36</sup> Ahmed, A. S. (2020.10.18) *How Trump Got Played By The Military-Industrial Complex*, The HuffPost. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-military-industrial-complex\\_n\\_5f89cbbcc5b69daf5e12d23b](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-military-industrial-complex_n_5f89cbbcc5b69daf5e12d23b).

Korean and Vietnam wars, and the Reagan buildup) by more than \$200 billion. It represents nearly 40 percent of the global total; add in America's key allies, and the West accounts for at least two thirds of world military spending.<sup>37</sup> Of the senior officials serving under Esper, almost half have connections to military contractors, per the Project on Government Oversight. Do not forget that the military overwhelmingly voted for him in the 2016 election, where Trump outpolled Clinton among those in uniform by a two-to-one margin.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, a significant, if not a large, part of the military personnel as a whole remained on the side of D. Trump by the end of the presidential term. For soldiers and officers tired of constant combat missions, even a slight reduction in the presence of the US armed forces in "hot spots" was perceived as an obvious benefit.

Far-right sentiment is certainly strong in the US military. The widespread statements about the illegitimacy of elections in American society and the deepening crisis phenomenon in the country create a favorable breeding ground for right-wing military radicalism. *Approximately equal potential of antagonistic civil forces*, with even the *mere perception* of the government course as a *direct* threat to corporate interests of the military-industrial complex, and the military and national security, may provoke an attempt of active military intervention in the political process, as we previously had to write in several papers.<sup>39</sup> Hardly coincidentally, three days before the Capitol riot, all 10 living former defense secretaries warned in a *Washington Post* op-ed against "efforts to involve the U.S. armed forces in resolving election disputes".<sup>40</sup>

*Partial illegitimacy in the eyes of the international community.* We do not have data on public opinion polls in different countries about the legitimacy of the US elections, even if we assume that they were held. However, it is difficult to imagine that if the United States itself is almost split on the issue of the legitimacy of the elections, the public of other countries (especially those that have been subjected to sanctions and other forms of pressure from the United States) will believe the results of the elections more than the Americans

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<sup>37</sup> O'Hanlon, M. (2020.02.16) *Donald Trump Has Made the U.S. Military Stronger*, National Interest. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/donald-trump-has-made-us-military-stronger-124136>.

<sup>38</sup> Perry, M. (2020.06.07) *Why the U.S. Military Still Loves Donald Trump*, National Interests. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-us-military-still-loves-donald-trump-161786>.

<sup>39</sup> Pashentsev, E., & Miniar-Beloroutchev, C. (2002) *Armies & Politics*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <http://armiesandpolitics.com/>; Pashentsev, E. (2016). *Armies and Politics: the Nature of Military Coups in the Cold War Era (1940–1980)*. *E-Journal. Public Administration*, 56.

<sup>40</sup> The Washington Post. (2021.01.04) *Opinion: All 10 living former defense secretaries: Involving the military in election disputes would cross into dangerous territory*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/10-former-defense-secretaries-military-peaceful-transfer-of-power/2021/01/03/2a23d52e-4c4d-11eb-a9f4-0e668b9772ba\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/10-former-defense-secretaries-military-peaceful-transfer-of-power/2021/01/03/2a23d52e-4c4d-11eb-a9f4-0e668b9772ba_story.html).

themselves. In turn, the skeptical perception of the election results and the legitimacy of the new administration already objectively weakens the international position of the United States and will complicate the domestic and foreign policy of the administration of Biden. This is not just a weak election victory, it is a dubious victory – with such a verdict, it is difficult to feel confident in internal and external affairs. It is hardly a coincidence that Russia, China, Mexico and some other countries recognized Biden's victory in the election with a certain delay.

Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro — who sometimes has embraced the label “Trump of the Tropics” — said on 28 November 2020 he would wait a little longer before recognizing the U.S. election victory of Joe Biden. “I have my sources of information that there really was a lot of fraud there,” he said. “Nobody talks about that. If it was enough to define (victory) for one or the other, I don't know”.<sup>41</sup> The election results were greeted with quite scandalous reactions, even in the camp of the most obvious allies of the United States. Thus, Estonia's far-right Interior Minister Mart Helme quit, while his son Martin, who was the country's finance minister, survived a no-confidence vote to remain in government, after both men came under fire from coalition partners for criticizing U.S. President-elect Joe Biden.<sup>42</sup> “There is no question that these elections were falsified,” Martin Helme said in the interview, according to Estonian news portal Delfi and national broadcaster ERR. “I believe all normal people should speak up against it. There is no point in talking about democracy or rule of law in a situation where elections can be faked so plainly, boldly and on a massive scale”.<sup>43</sup> No one wants to enter into an open conflict with the United States on such an important issue of their domestic jurisdiction as the assessment of the results of presidential elections (although the United States has made it a rule to question the legitimacy of elections in other countries, passing off the selfish considerations of its elites as a belief in democracy, and to exert all sorts of pressure on the “guilty”). However, no one will ignore the specifics of the current situation, of course, and will remember it if circumstances force it.

*The partial illegitimacy of mainstream media*, especially social networks such as Twitter or Facebook, which openly and purposefully misled the public about Trump's popularity, is

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<sup>41</sup> The Associated Press (2020.11.29) *Brazil's Bolsonaro alleges fraud in US presidential election*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/brazils-bolsonaro-alleges-fraud-us-presidential-election-74448155>.

<sup>42</sup> Sytas, A (2020.11.09) *Far-right Estonian cabinet minister quits after criticising Biden*, Reuters. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-estonia-idUSKBN27P2BZ>.

<sup>43</sup> Olsen, J. (2020.11.09) *Estonia's far-right minister resigns over Biden remarks*, APNews. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://apnews.com/article/joe-biden-denmark-estonia-6fe4d6ca6533e60ad477aa8178dfd323>.

also evident in the eyes of wide audiences. Several world leaders defended Trump after Twitter closed down his account.<sup>44</sup> German Chancellor Angela Merkel's spokesperson said Twitter's decision to ban Trump from its platform was "problematic," adding that the freedom of opinion is of "elementary significance". Mexico's president Andrés Manuel López Obrado vowed to lead an international effort to combat what he considers censorship by social media companies that have blocked or suspended the accounts of U.S. President Donald Trump. "I can tell you that at the first G20 meeting we have, I am going to make a proposal on this issue," López Obrador said. "Yes, social media should not be used to incite violence and all that, but this cannot be used as a pretext to suspend freedom of expression" Facebook, Twitter and YouTube banned President Trump from their platforms for inciting January's deadly mob attack on the Capitol. But in other countries, social media giants have been far slower to shut down misinformation and hate speech,<sup>45</sup> and this allows us to talk about the double standards of these companies, which are afraid of losing their profits around the world. It can be assumed that the pressure on them will increase both from governments and from various public organizations around the world, although in many ways and for different reasons.

*The partial illegitimacy of the ruling elites of the EU and NATO.* Such a Biden victory naturally turns into a partial illegitimacy of the ruling elites of NATO and the EU, since the leaders of these countries have already unequivocally (although, perhaps, for different reasons) quickly and unconditionally recognized Biden's victory, which partially discredits them today.

The illegitimacy of the new US president in the eyes of a wide range of internal and external audiences is already obvious, already *fait accompli*. Thus, we can only talk about the partial legitimacy of the new president of the world's leading power. This, of course, is a destabilizing factor for the further development of the United States and a danger for the entire international community.

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<sup>44</sup> Takala, R. (2021.01.11) *World Leaders Defend Trump After He's Booted by Twitter*, Mediaite. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.mediaite.com/news/angela-merkel-austrian-pm-michael-mccormack-and-other-world-leaders-defend-trump-after-hes-booted-by-twitter/>.

<sup>45</sup> Bengali, S. (2021.01.15) *Facebook banned Trump but has failed to react quickly to other leaders who incited violence*, Yahoo News. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://news.yahoo.com/facebook-banned-trump-leaders-worse-100052072.html>.

## **The First Steps of the Biden Administration and Their Impact on the Legitimacy of the President and the Prospects for the Development of the Crisis in the United States**

Just after the elections J. Biden declared, “I promise you this: I will be a president for all Americans — whether you voted for me or not”.<sup>46</sup> This is a true message, but it is extremely difficult to implement it without increasing social tension. Some important measures of the new administration can clearly turn into a further split in society. “The Biden administration, in coordination with Democrats on the Hill, introduced legislation that would give citizenship to 10–20 million illegal immigrants,” Jessica Anderson, executive director of Heritage Action for America, said in a public statement.<sup>47</sup> Among other decisions on immigration rules, Biden has instructed the Department of Homeland Security to halt construction of the border wall, increase funding to sanctuary cities that refuse to work with federal law enforcement, restrict arrests and deportations of illegal immigrants, plus bolster the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program. He also sent a bill to Congress to grant green cards and citizenship to illegal immigrants who are already in the country over the next eight years. By giving green cards and citizenship to illegal immigrants, the bill would make them eligible for social welfare programs, which the country cannot afford. These actions from the new administration incentivize illegal immigration.<sup>48</sup> Biden’s lenient immigration policies have encouraged large migrant caravans to come north. As one of thousands of border-bound Hondurans told CNN, Biden is “going to help all of us” to become legal residents.<sup>49</sup> One day after President Joe Biden’s Department of Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas told reporters there is not a crisis at the border, the White House is evaluating how to provide more than 20,000 beds for the large influx of unaccompanied migrant children who are crossing the U.S.-Mexico border.<sup>50</sup> Things have gotten so bad that A. Mayorkas is asking

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<sup>46</sup> Biden, J. (2021) Official Twitter Account. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://twitter.com/JoeBiden/status/1325118992785223682>.

<sup>47</sup> Georgia Star News Staff. (2021.02.22) *Analysis: Six Key Aspects of Biden's Amnesty Bill - The Georgia Star News*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://georgiastarnews.com/2021/02/22/analysis-six-key-aspects-of-bidens-amnesty-bill/#:~:text=%E2%80%9CThe%20Biden%20administration%2C%20in%20coordination%20with%20Democrats%20on,Action%20for%20America%2C%20said%20in%20a%20public%20statement>.

<sup>48</sup> Anderson, J. (2021.02.11) *The concerning immigration policy taking place under President Biden*, The Hill. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://thehill.com/opinion/immigration/538314-the-concerning-immigration-policy-taking-place-under-president-biden>.

<sup>49</sup> Guzzardi, J. (2021.02.21) *Biden’s Problematic Polling*, The Independent – A voice for Southern Utah. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://suindependent.com/bidens-problematic-polling/>.

<sup>50</sup> Davidson, J. (2021.03.02) *Biden Admin Says It Needs Thousands Of Beds For Migrant Children*, The Federalist. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://thefederalist.com/2021/03/02/after-denying-border-crisis-biden-admin-says-it-needs-thousands-of-beds-for-surge-of-migrant-children/>.



DHS staff to volunteer to help deal with what he is calling an “overwhelming” number of migrants at the U.S.-Mexican border.<sup>51</sup>

In the future, the fulfillment of the election promises on immigration issues may give a result in a new “grateful electorate” for the Democrats, but already, due to unemployment, lack of financial resources, and fears that immigrants will become a source of Covid infection, only a minority of US citizens support the populist measures taken in the field of immigration legislation. The Morning Consult poll, a partnership with the journalism company Politico, found that several of Biden’s Executive Orders – especially those immigration-related – are among the most unpopular with voters. Of the voters polled, only 45 percent support including illegal immigrants in the census, and only 46 percent approve halting the Trump administration’s Remain in Mexico policy, which the Biden administration has undone.<sup>52</sup> People rightly fear that the measures taken will negatively affect their well-being. Of course, the problems of migrants can be solved with the progressive development of the country in the interests of the majority of Americans, and not the corporate elites, but this is not to be expected from the Biden administration.

According to Newt Gingrich most critiques of the current \$1.9 trillion bill have missed its real purpose. The true purpose of this bill is to funnel tax dollars to Democrat-allied states and institutions. The words “COVID-19 relief” “are propaganda to justify an unjustifiable bill” (Gingrich, 2021). In particular, the House version of the coronavirus stimulus bill contains more than \$100 million for an underground rail project in Silicon Valley, for which planning has been going on for several years but has not yet broken ground,<sup>53</sup> which is naturally perceived by the public as an additional gift from the Democrats to their high-tech corporate allies. It is hardly a coincidence that a coalition of more than 150 corporate executives signed a letter endorsing President Joe Biden’s \$1.9 trillion coronavirus stimulus package. According to CNN, the group of executives includes the top executives representing some of the powerful business interests in the US, ranging from bank and investment firms like Goldman Sachs and Blackstone, to technology companies like Google, Intel and IBM, to

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<sup>51</sup> Carroll, B. (2021.03.09) *Biden Border Crisis Escalating Dangerously Across the Southwest: Crossings On Pace to Top Past Three Years COMBINED*, PJMedia. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://pjmedia.com/news-and-politics/brucecarroll/2021/03/09/biden-border-crisis-escalating-dangerously-across-the-southwest-crossings-on-pace-to-top-past-three-years-combined-n1431277>.

<sup>52</sup> Guzzardi, J. (2021.02.21) *Biden’s Problematic Polling*, The Independent – A voice for Southern Utah. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://suindependent.com/bidens-problematic-polling/>.

<sup>53</sup> Olson, T. (2021.02.20) *House COVID bill includes over \$100 million for controversial Silicon Valley underground rail project*, Fox Business. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/house-covid-bill-millions-silicon-valley-transportation-project>.

hospitality companies like Loews Hotels & Co., and airlines including American and United Airlines.<sup>54</sup>

Biden told during the campaign (pretending to oppose Executive Orders) that he is the opponent of executive orders because only “dictators” like Trump resorted to them. During an infamous campaign interview, Biden told ABC’s George Stephanopoulos: “I have this strange notion, we are a democracy ... if you can’t get the votes ... you can’t [legislate] by Executive Order unless you’re a dictator. We’re a democracy. We need consensus.” But Biden fulfilled these promises by using the first week of his presidency to issue 40 Executive Orders.<sup>55</sup> President Biden faces the classic problem of the elected official who has promised everything but now actually has to govern.<sup>56</sup>

Lloyd J. Austin III, the Defense Secretary, a retired general who most recently sat on the board of the defense company Raytheon, declared, “I will fight hard to stamp out sexual assault and to rid our ranks of racists and extremists and to create a climate where everyone fit and willing has the opportunity to serve this country with dignity.” He went on, “The job of the Department of Defense is to keep America safe from our enemies, but we can’t do that if some of those enemies lie within our own ranks”.<sup>57</sup> The Defense Secretary went on to order a “stand down” of the entire US military over the next 60 days in order for commanders to address “extremism” in its ranks.

If the measures taken were aimed at actually identifying active terrorists, Nazis and racists, they would have to be extremely targeted. However, more and more evidence suggests that, in fact, an attempt is being made to broadly purge the armed forces of Trump supporters. Congressman Steve Cohen (D., Tenn.) suggested that at least 75% of the National Guard

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<sup>54</sup> Mattingly, P. (2021.02.24) *First on CNN: Biden's Covid plan gets backing from more than 150 top business leaders*, CNN Edition. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://edition.cnn.com/2021/02/24/politics/business-leaders-biden-covid-plan/index.html>.

<sup>55</sup> Hinderaker, J. (2021.02.03) *Our Biggest Liar? Joe Biden*, Powerline Blog. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.powerlineblog.com/archives/2021/02/our-biggest-liar-joe-biden.php>.

<sup>56</sup> Bresiger, G. (2021.02.01) *Opinion: Biden's Amnesty Promises Best Left Unkept*, Prescott eNews. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://prescottenews.com/index.php/2021/02/01/opinion-bidens-amnesty-promises-best-left-unkept/>.

<sup>57</sup> Garamone, J. (2021.01.19) *Secretary Nominee Says Defense Resources Must Match Strategy*, Defense.gov. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.defense.gov/Explore/News/Article/Article/2476478/secretary-nominee-says-defense-resources-must-match-strategy/source/GovDelivery/>.

might be compromised because they voted for Donald Trump.<sup>58</sup> According to Thomas Kolditz, a retired Army brigadier general, and who now runs the Doerr Institute for New Leaders at Rice University:

... Trump's supporters in the military who think that what happened [on Jan. 6] was a good thing need to be managed out of the military as soon as possible...We're not talking about half a dozen people. We're probably talking about thousands across the Department of Defense. Many of them will have already run their mouth, put things on social media. But this was an insurgency, a crime against the state. And it's a duty obligation of the defense leadership to make sure that there are no, essentially, sleeper cells, people in the military who, for whatever reason, think an insurgency is a good idea or justifiable.<sup>59</sup>

Any broad interpretation of this purge provokes a corporate rebuff from the army and can push its conservative majority into the hands of right-wing radicals. Republicans and Trump personally perceive the purge as a direct attack on their powerful positions in the armed forces. Headlines like *Fox News'* "Biden defense chief starting ideological and un-American purge of the US military" gain numerous supporters in the comments. Also widespread in the social networks are articles and photo reports on how thousands of national guardsmen, sent to guard the Capitol after January 6, were turfed out of the Capitol building and sent to sleep in car parks, before being allowed back in late at night after complaints from lawmakers. Despite the quick reversal, two Republican governors commanded their troops home in protest.<sup>60</sup> Very soon, between 150 and 200 National Guard deployed to Washington, D.C., to provide security for President Joe Biden's inauguration tested positive for the coronavirus.<sup>61</sup> Thus, there are good reasons to conclude that both leading parties are actively trying to use the army for political purposes, guided by their own party interests. This may be a rather provocative and very dangerous game against the national interests.

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<sup>58</sup> The Spectator. (2021.01.18) *Dem Rep. Steve Cohen suggests that at least 75% of National Guard might be compromised because they voted for Donald Trump [video] – twitchy.com*, The Spectator. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://thespectator.info/2021/01/18/dem-rep-steve-cohen-suggests-that-at-least-75-of-national-guard-might-be-compromised-because-they-voted-for-donald-trump-video-twitchy-com/>.

<sup>59</sup> Colvin, G. (2021.01.08) *Retired brigadier general says Trump loyalists in military need rooting out*, Fortune. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://fortune.com/2021/01/08/trump-support-military-capitol-coup-attempt/>.

<sup>60</sup> Capurro, D. (2021.01.22) *'We feel betrayed': Thousands of National Guard sent to sleep in car park after guarding Capitol*, The Telegraph. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2021/01/22/feel-betrayed-thousands-national-guard-sent-sleep-car-park-guarding/>;

TMZ (2021.01.13) *Exhausted, Armed National Guard Members Sleep on Capitol Floor*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.tzm.com/2021/01/13/exhausted-national-guard-members-sleep-capitol-floor-riot/>.

<sup>61</sup> Ali, I., & Wallis, D. (2021.01.23) *More than 150 National Guard in Washington for inauguration test positive for coronavirus*, Yahoo News. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.yahoo.com/news/more-100-national-guard-washington-214731795.html>.

Shortly after his 2016 election victory over Democratic nominee Hillary Clinton in 2016. Donald Trump has laid out a US military policy that would avoid interventions in foreign conflicts: "We will stop racing to topple foreign regimes that we know nothing about, that we shouldn't be involved with," Trump said, insisting the United States must end a "destructive cycle of intervention and chaos".<sup>62</sup> By refraining from the military interventions of its Republican and Democratic predecessors, the Trump administration has not stopped threatening to use military force against undesirable governments, whether it is North Korea or Iran. Such threats were used under false pretexts against legitimately elected governments, for example, in Syria. The Trump administration participated in the preparation of coups, for example, in Venezuela.

When the new Biden administration came to power, it also revised the course of its predecessors. Antony Blinken, US secretary of state, in his first big speech March 3 since taking the job said: "...we will not promote democracy through costly military interventions or by attempting to overthrow authoritarian regimes by force. We've tried these tactics in the past, however well intentioned, they haven't worked. They've given democracy promotion a bad name and they've lost the confidence of the American people. We'll do things differently".<sup>63</sup> It doesn't sound entirely convincing coming from the person who was one of the advocates of the 2003 invasion of Iraq back when he worked as the staff director for Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by then-Senator Joe Biden. Medea Benjamin, co-founder of the anti-war group CODEPINK, tweeted, "So we will have a president who supported the invasion of Iraq, and a secretary of state (Tony Blinken) who supported the invasion of Iraq," noting how "In the U.S., there is no accountability for supporting the worst foreign policy disaster in modern history. Only rewards".<sup>64</sup> Also worth noting is that Blinken had just met with Juan Guaido, whom the previous US administration tried to install as the president of Venezuela, and expressed support for what is effectively an agenda for regime change in Caracas.<sup>65</sup> According to Stephen Zunes, a professor of politics and coordinator of

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<sup>62</sup> Voice of America. (2016) *Trump: US Must End 'Cycle of Intervention and Chaos'*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.voanews.com/usa/trump-us-must-end-cycle-intervention-and-chaos>.

<sup>63</sup> Rev. (2021.03.03) *Secretary of State Antony Blinken Speech on Foreign Policy Transcript March 3 - Rev.* Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/secretary-of-state-antony-blinken-speech-on-foreign-policy-transcript-march-3>.

<sup>64</sup> Zunes, S. (2020.11.24) *Biden's Pick for Secretary of State Helped Lead the U.S. Into the Iraq War*, Truthout. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://truthout.org/articles/bidens-pick-for-secretary-state-helped-lead-the-us-into-the-iraq-war/>.

<sup>65</sup> Malic, N. (2021.03.03) *Promoting democracy abroad 'by example' at home: Biden administration outlines top foreign policy priorities*, Russia Today. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.rt.com/usa/517128-blinken-foreign-policy-speech/>.

Middle Eastern studies at the University of San Francisco “...some progressives are relieved that Biden did not choose the even more hardline Susan Rice or other even more hawkish possibilities...however, what Blinken represents is essentially a return to the status quo ante. Both the United States and the world need better”.

It is very eloquent that already in the first weeks of Biden’s tenure as president, comments appeared in the media about the measures he took. The leitmotif of these publications is the idea that the new government measures exacerbate the division of the nation. It is quite clear that both the right<sup>66</sup> and the left<sup>67</sup> have their own complaints about the new administration. The first proceed from the fact that its agenda was too radical. The latter believe that Biden has reneged on many of his promises and is following a right-wing course. The left is more likely to be closer to the truth, since by their composition, program settings and actions themselves, the Biden administration and he personally are center-right, under growing pressure from the Republican Party on the one hand and the left wing of the Democrats and all those who voted for Biden out of protest and fear of a second Trump victory, on the other. In view of this, it will be extremely difficult for the Democrats to win the midterm elections of 2022.

President Biden faces the problem of the elected official who has promised too much and for too many but now actually has to govern under very complicated conditions. His slim majority in the election will evaporate quite quickly, as his rejection of the center-left items on his agenda is already evident. As Patrick Lawrence, a correspondent abroad for many years, chiefly for the *International Herald Tribune*, concludes: “It was inevitable that President Joe Biden would betray numerous of his campaign promises — and those that mattered most to wide-eyed voters who put him in office. The speed at which he and his people have revealed their treachery is nonetheless stunning”. For instance, Biden has openly rejected calls from within his own party to forgive up to \$50,000 in student loan debt and has hinted that there will likely be serious limits on any student loan relief — limits that could keep millions

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<sup>66</sup> Pollak, J. (2021.01.22) *Blue State Blues: 9 Ways Joe Biden Has Already Broken His Promise on Unity*™, Breitbart. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.breitbart.com/politics/2021/01/22/blue-state-blues-9-ways-joe-biden-has-already-broken-his-promise-on-unity/>; Justice, T. (2021.02.18) *Biden's 'Conservative' Supporters Must Defend His Hard-Left First Month*, The Federalist. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://thefederalist.com/2021/02/18/bidens-conservative-supporters-need-to-defend-his-partisan-hard-left-first-month/>.

<sup>67</sup> Rall, T. (2021.02.05) *It's Not Too Early to Criticize Joe Biden*, Counterpunch. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.counterpunch.org/2021/02/05/its-not-too-early-to-criticize-joe-biden/>; Lawrence, P. (2021.01.25) *Patrick Lawrence: Biden is Already Breaking Promises*, Consortium News. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://consortiumnews.com/2021/01/25/patrick-lawrence-biden-is-already-breaking-promises/>.



from qualifying for any loan forgiveness at all. Biden's new immigration guidelines, which include targeted Immigrations and Customs Enforcement (ICE) deportations, directly contradict his promise to halt deportations. In a conference call with governors, Biden assured them that a federal increase in the minimum wage will not pass Congress and that he has no intention of fighting to make it happen. This statement is only the latest in a series of compromises and broken promises that reveal the real priorities of the new administration.<sup>68</sup>

Republican neo-cons now shelter in the Democrat's big tent, today's party of war. The major difference from his predecessor is that the new US president promises a greater reliance on multilateral diplomacy and international cooperative agreements to achieve US imperial goals.<sup>69</sup> And the left rightly comes to the conclusion: "You can have democracy at home or empire abroad, but you can't have both. We will continue to suffer the latter under Joseph R. Biden, Jr."<sup>70</sup> The average American wants a reduction in record military spending, but this is unlikely to be achievable with a solid bipartisan majority of opponents of military budget cuts, relying on generous donations from military contractors.<sup>71</sup>

It is clearly advantageous for the Republicans to declare Biden's left-wing radicalism, since this successfully mobilizes the extreme right under their banner. In fact, they say: "only we can stop the radical left, the socialists, the communists." The same tactic, only with the opposite sign, is used by the Democratic leadership, intimidating the left wing with right-wing radicalism and Trump's unpredictability ("only we can stop the right-wing radicals, 'white supremacists,'" etc.). Very effective... for the time being. Since it is becoming increasingly difficult to control "sponsored" organizations in the context of the growing crisis, it is necessary to "blow off steam," giving a certain freedom to destructive radicals to show themselves in riots, attacks on law enforcement officers. We know how it ended in the Weimar Republic.

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<sup>68</sup> Hoff, J. (2021.02.19) *Biden Betrays Promise to Fight for \$15*, Left Voice. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.leftvoice.org/biden-betrays-promise-to-fight-for-15>.

<sup>69</sup> Harris, R. (2021.02.26) *Joe Biden's US Foreign Policy: Return to the Old Normal?*, Counterpunch. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.counterpunch.org/2021/02/26/america-is-back-joe-bidens-us-foreign-policy/>.

<sup>70</sup> Lawrence, P. (2021.01.25) *Patrick Lawrence: Biden is Already Breaking Promises*, Consortium News. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://consortiumnews.com/2021/01/25/patrick-lawrence-biden-is-already-breaking-promises/>.

<sup>71</sup> Semler, S. (2021.02.23) *Cut the Military Budget and Give Us \$2,000 Checks With the Money*, Jacobin Mag. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.jacobinmag.com/2021/02/stimulus-checks-lee-pocan-defund-pentagon-budget>.

The accusations of Democrats in radicalism, socialism, and even communism, which are loudly voiced by the right, may have goals that go far beyond the current campaign to discredit the Democrats through Cold War stereotypes. First, the accusations are convenient for escalating the confrontation with China on an anti-communist basis. Secondly, to prepare the conditions for the removal of the “socialist Marxist regime” of the Democrats from power. Marx would be very surprised to learn that the “Marxism” of the Democrats is embodied mainly in the protection of sexual minorities, the demolition of historical,<sup>72</sup> renaming schools,<sup>73</sup> military bases<sup>74</sup> and so on, without even a tentative hint of the elimination or restriction of private ownership on means of production, especially large-scale ownership, of the means of production. Even a serious racial problem takes on the grotesque forms of kneeling white police officers begging for leniency. Meanwhile, crime has increased dramatically on the streets of the United States, and criminals have taken advantage of the situation. According to the National Commission on COVID-19 and Criminal Justice (NCCCJ) report, homicides rose sharply in 2020, and rates of aggravated assaults and gun assaults also increased. Homicide rates were 30% higher than in 2019, an historic increase representing 1,268 more deaths in the sample of 34 cities than the year before.<sup>75</sup>

D. Trump in his interview to *Fox News* suggested “some very stupid rich people” are funding protest groups, rioters at RNC and across the US. They “... have no idea that if their thing ever succeeded, which it won't, they will be thrown to the wolves like you've never seen before”.<sup>76</sup> Such funding is most likely carried out with the purpose of shifting the attention from left-wing protest movements from fundamental, systemic issues to particular ones that do not pose a direct threat to those in power. About 40% of young people (18–38 years old) in the United States have a positive attitude to socialism,<sup>77</sup> not least because of the long-term

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<sup>72</sup> Wikipedia. (2021) *List of monument and memorial controversies in the United States*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_monument\\_and\\_memorial\\_controversies\\_in\\_the\\_United\\_States](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_monument_and_memorial_controversies_in_the_United_States).

<sup>73</sup> Tucker, J. (2021.01.27) *The next challenge for S.F. school district? Choosing new names for a third of its schools*, San Francisco Chronicle. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.sfchronicle.com/education/article/The-next-challenge-for-S-F-school-district-15904001.php>.

<sup>74</sup> Neuman, S. (2020.07.24) *Despite Trump's Veto Threat, Senate Approves Provision To Rename Military Bases*, NPR. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.npr.org/sections/live-updates-protests-for-racial-justice/2020/07/24/894976141/senate-approves-defense-bill-with-provision-to-rename-bases>.

<sup>75</sup> Rosenfeld, R., Abt, T., & Lopez, E. (2021). *Pandemic, Social Unrest, and Crime in U.S. Cities: 2020 Year-End Update*. Washington, DC: Council on Criminal Justice, p.3.

<sup>76</sup> Creitz, C. (2020.08.31) *Trump suggests 'some very stupid rich people' are funding protest groups, rioters at RNC and across US*, Fox News. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.foxnews.com/politics/trump-very-stupid-rich-people-funding-riots>.

<sup>77</sup> Montanaro, D. (2020.02.19) *Poll: Sanders Rises, But Socialism Isn't Popular With Most Americans*, NPR. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.npr.org/2020/02/19/807047941/poll-sanders-rises-but-socialism-isnt-popular-with-most-americans>.

consequences of the crisis of 2007–2009. In the event of a very likely failure of the Biden presidency, everything will be written off as a failed “socialist” experiment, which is not in sight. The fall in security that irritates most Americans, and the “left-wing” innovations of the Democrats in the spirit of George Orwell’s “1984” can be eliminated at the end of the next electoral cycle in the event of a relatively calm development of events.

However, the attention of the citizens themselves is increasingly shifting, for objective reasons, from the problems of the pandemic itself to acute social problems. And if in the face of a likely financial and economic collapse, a sharp deterioration of the situation in the country requires a “firm hand,” then it will have to “justifiably” put an end to the threat of left-wing radicalism, which goes beyond the acceptable and generally harmless framework of the system of “socialism” coming from large corporations. On the other hand, the bet itself is on the overaged Biden, who, according to some of his political opponents, suffers from increasing dementia – a convenient lightning rod for the US elites in the event of an uncontrolled development of events.<sup>78</sup> Almost everything can be “written off” for such a president.

In the context of all of the above, it seems likely that Republicans will maintain and even strengthen their vision of Biden’s illegitimacy because of the “stolen victory” and his “radical course.” In the eyes of the broad left spectrum, Biden, who from the very beginning was the “lesser evil,” will become the main political opponent. His actions will be increasingly assessed as unfair and illegitimate, and will be met with appropriate resistance from the right and left. Thus, Biden will become illegitimate for the apparently major part of the nation, which will cause a further weakening of the US imperial capabilities in the international arena. However, declining empires have repeatedly sought to change the course of history with foreign policy adventures, which we must also be prepared for.

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<sup>78</sup> Valverde, M. (2020.10.01) *PolitiFact - Geriatrics experts say Brit Hume’s claim that Joe Biden is ‘senile’ is wrong*, Politifact. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2020/oct/01/brit-hume/geriatrics-experts-say-brit-humes-claim-joe-biden-/>; Gardey, E. (2020.07.11) *Tracking Biden’s Mental Decline*, Spectator. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from [https://spectator.org/biden-cognitive-problems-aging-dementia/?utm\\_source=LibertyNation](https://spectator.org/biden-cognitive-problems-aging-dementia/?utm_source=LibertyNation); We Love Trump. (2021.02.23) *WATCH: Biden Drops The N-Word, Dementia, Or Racism?*. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://welovetrump.com/2021/02/23/watch-biden-drops-the-n-word-dementia-or-racism/>; Davis, J. (2021.02.21) *Australian News Host: ‘Joe Biden Is Struggling with Dementia’ and Media Helps Hide It*, Western Journal. Retrieved 11 March 2021, from <https://www.westernjournal.com/news-host-joe-biden-struggling-dementia-mainstream-media-complicit-hiding/>.

## Big Business and Partial Legitimacy of Biden

It is unlikely that the bet of business sponsors on Biden is accidental. The new US president is convenient for them for many reasons. Political views, career, business connections – definitely not a radical, but he was in the team of Barack Obama and was acceptable to the left spectrum against the background of the threat of Trump's re-election, which became important for winning the 2020 election. At the same time, the dubious nature of the victory and the age of the president make it a fairly manageable and controlled political asset. Partial legitimacy in the period of "oligarchic freedom" is not a disadvantage, but a virtue that frees business from excessive control of state power and facilitates the rapid enrichment of the few at the expense of the many.

The assessment of the socio-political system of the United States as an oligarchic is currently quite common. "We believe it is now appropriate to move a step further and think about the possibility of extreme political inequality, involving great political influence by a very small number of extremely wealthy individuals. We argue that it is useful to think about the US political system in terms of oligarchy," conclude the US professors Winters and Page.<sup>79</sup> In another study done by Gilens and Page, the researchers compared 1,800 different US policies that were put in place by politicians between 1981 and 2002 to the type of policies preferred by the average and wealthy American, or special interest groups.

*"Multivariate analysis indicates that economic elites and organized groups representing business interests have substantial independent impacts on US government policy, while average citizens and mass-based interest groups have little or nondependent influence". "...we believe that if policymaking is dominated by powerful business organizations and a small number of affluent Americans, then America's claims to being a democratic society are seriously threatened".<sup>80</sup>*

Destabilization of the situation in the US demonstrates the inability for progressive self-renovation (and very likely survival) within the existing status quo. This also explains the split among the ruling elites, part of which directly witnesses the necessity of the inter-formation revolution and the other part is ready to continue the former course, or establish the open dictatorship if necessary.

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<sup>79</sup> Winters, J., & Page, B. (2009) Oligarchy in the United States?. *Perspectives On Politics*, 7(4), 731-751. doi: 10.1017/s1537592709991770.

<sup>80</sup> Gilens, M., & Page, B. (2014) Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens. *Perspectives On Politics*, 12(3), 564-581. doi: 10.1017/s1537592714001595, p. 564-577.

Zbigniew Brzezinski in the introduction to his book “Strategic vision: America and the crisis of global power” stated “... there are several alarming similarities between Soviet Union in the years just prior to its fall and the America of the early twenty-first century” .<sup>81</sup> Among these similarities Brzezinski names the late Soviet “increasingly gridlocked government system incapable of enacting serious policy revisions, self-bankruptcy by committing an inordinate percentage of its GNP to military goals, the economic crisis and the deterioration of the quality of life, the ruling class became cynically insensitive to widening social disparities while hypocritically making its own privileged life-style and finally. In foreign affairs it became increasingly self-isolated”. “These parallels, even if overdrawn, fortify the case that America must renew itself and pursue a comprehensive and long-term geopolitical vision...”. One of the main ideas of the book that the consequential shift is in the center of gravity of global power from the West toward the East has to become more strategically deliberate in its global engagement with the new East. Such approach expressed by Brzezinski in his last years of life can be useful for the development of new US policy, by those who will be able to, as Brzezinski, to revise their views to meet the requirements of the time.

In 2013, the monograph of Nobel laureate and former Vice President of the United States Albert Gore named “The Future” was published. The researcher has made the unfavorable conclusion regarding the possibility of the American establishment to solve the existing problems, “...the weakened state of democratic decision-making in the U.S., and the enhanced control over American democracy by the forces of wealth and corporate power, have paralyzed the ability of the country to make rational decisions in favor of policies that would remedy these problems. These two trends, unfortunately, reinforce one another. The more control over democratic decision making by powerful wealthy interests, the more they are able to ensure that decisions on policy enhance their wealth and power. This classic positive feedback loop makes inequality steadily worse, even as it makes solutions for inequality less accessible”.<sup>82</sup>

A. Gore's conclusion about the obvious differences and, in fact, curiously similar dependence of the two parties from big business is extremely interesting. On the surface, it appears that Republicans have moved to the right and democrats have moved to the left. “Beneath the surface, however, the changes are far more complex. Both political parties have become so

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<sup>81</sup> Brzezinski, Z. (2012) *Strategic vision: America and the crisis of global power*. New York, NY: Basic Books, p.4.

<sup>82</sup> Gore, A. (2013). *The Future*. New York, NY: WH Allen, p.121.



dependent on business lobbies for the large sums of money they must have to purchase television advertisements in order to be reelected that special interest legislation pushed by the industries most active in purchasing influence – financial services, carbon-based energy companies, pharmaceutical companies, and others – can count on large bipartisan majorities.”.<sup>83</sup>

In this regard, it may also be necessary to take into account the words one of the theoreticians of 4th Generation Warfare, William S. Lind, the United States is a one-party state: “the single party is the party of the establishment, which is also the party of permanent war for permanent peace”.<sup>84</sup>

Such rather numerous claims of critically thinking representatives of the American elite witness the deep crisis among the upper circles of the American society, and their inability to solve serious problems facing the country and the whole world.

The estimates of the impact of COVID-19 on global poverty done by specialists of the World Bank demonstrate that the COVID-19 pandemic is likely to push between 88 and 115 million people into extreme poverty in 2020, setting back poverty reduction by around three years.<sup>85</sup> At the same time the billionaires “did extremely well” during the coronavirus pandemic. A report by Swiss bank UBS found that the total billionaire wealth globally climbed by a quarter (27.5%), reaching USD 10.2 trillion, up from USD 8.0 trillion at the beginning of April 2020. This is a new high, surpassing the previous peak of USD 8.9 trillion reached at the end of 2017. The number of billionaires reached 2,189, up from 2,158 in 2017.<sup>86</sup> Josef Stadler, the head of UBS’s global family office department that deals directly with the world’s richest people, gives a very sober assessment of the current situation: “Billionaires did extremely well during the Covid crisis, not only [did] they ride the storm to the downside, but also gained up on the upside [as stock markets rebounded]”.<sup>87</sup> In 2017 he warned: “We’re at an inflection point. Wealth concentration is as high as in 1905, this is something billionaires

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 119.

<sup>84</sup> Fazio, C. (2017.10.06) *Trump, Mattis And The Asymmetric War Against Venezuela*, MintPress News. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.mintpressnews.com/trump-mattis-asymmetric-war-venezuela/232953/>.

<sup>85</sup> Lakner, C., Yonzan, N., Mahler, D. G., Castaneda Aguilar, R. A., Wu, H., & Fleury, M. (2020.10.07) *Updated estimates of the impact of COVID-19 on global poverty: The effect of new data*, World Bank Blog. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://blogs.worldbank.org/opendata/updated-estimates-impact-covid-19-global-poverty-effect-new-data>.

<sup>86</sup> Bruce, R. (ed.) (2020). *Riding the Storm. Market turbulence accelerates diverging fortunes*. Geneva: UBS and PwC Switzerland, p.36.

<sup>87</sup> Neate, R. (2020.10.07) *Billionaires' wealth rises to \$10.2 trillion amid Covid crisis*, The Guardian. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2020/oct/07/covid-19-crisis-boosts-the-fortunes-of-worlds-billionaires>.

are concerned about. The problem is the power of interest on interest – that makes big money bigger and, the question is to what extent is that sustainable and at what point will society intervene and strike back?”.<sup>88</sup>

More than two-thirds of Americans experienced financial setbacks in 2020 due to job loss, declining household income or a drawdown of emergency savings, according to a new Fidelity study.<sup>89</sup> The US breaking records of deaths from the pandemic. But according to Oxfam's calculation – based on poverty data from the World Bank and wealth data from Credit Suisse and the Forbes Billionaires list – the world's 10 richest people, including Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos and Tesla founder Elon Musk, added \$540 billion to their collective net worth in the last three quarters of 2020. If they handed over around \$80 billion, they could keep those imperiled millions above the poverty line for a year while economies rebuild. With the remainder of their 2020 profits, these 10 billionaires could pay for both rounds of the COVID-19 vaccine for every person on Earth and still come out ahead. (Oxfam used World Health Organization data to estimate a cost of around \$9 per dose, a total expenditure of \$141.2 billion for the world's 7.8 billion inhabitants).<sup>90</sup> But, of course, this is from the realm of dreams.

In its annual report, “The Dirty Dozen 2018: Employers Who Put Workers and Communities at Risk,” the National Council for Occupational Health and Safety (COSH) ranked Amazon and Tesla as among the most dangerous work environments in the United States, exposing the grim reality that workers face in the modern tech industries. “Recordable injuries for workers at Tesla Motors were 31 percent higher than for the rest of the automotive industry in 2015 and 2016. [...] The rate of serious injuries among Tesla workers, requiring days away from work, restricted duty or job transfer, was also much higher at Tesla than at other auto factories: more than double the industry average in 2015 and 83 percent higher in 2016”.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Neate, R. (2017.10.26) *World's witnessing a new Gilded Age as billionaires' wealth swells to \$6tn*, The Guardian. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2017/oct/26/worlds-witnessing-a-new-gilded-age-as-billionaires-wealth-swells-to-6tn>.

<sup>89</sup> Murphy Marcos, C. (2020.12.08) *'Survival mode': Over 68% of Americans had financial setbacks in 2020 amid the pandemic*, USA Today. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.usatoday.com/story/money/2020/12/08/economy-2021-these-biggest-concerns-americans-next-year/6488131002/>.

<sup>90</sup> Schupak, A. (2021.01.24) *10 Billionaires Made Enough Money During The Pandemic To Vaccinate The Entire World*, The HuffPost. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/billionaires-covid-19-vaccinate-entire-world-oxfam-report\\_n\\_600daa1dc5b6d64153accc64](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/billionaires-covid-19-vaccinate-entire-world-oxfam-report_n_600daa1dc5b6d64153accc64).

<sup>91</sup> Blake, E. (2018.05.01) *Report: Amazon and Tesla among most dangerous workplaces in the US*, World Socialist Web Site. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2018/05/01/amzn-mo1.html>.

Thus the exploitation of labour force is one of the main sources of great profits of the richest people on the Earth.

At the beginning of 2020, Musk's net worth was nearly \$30 billion (still a very healthy number). In the midst of January Tesla and SpaceX founder and CEO Elon Musk surpassed Amazon CEO Jeff Bezos to become the richest human on the planet, with a net worth of \$189 billion. Musk's wealth increased by \$160 billion over the course of a year. The main source of Musk wealth is his stock in Tesla, an electric vehicle company which controls less than one percent of the global auto market. Tesla delivered 499,550 cars in 2020, short of its annual target of 500,000 vehicles, according to the Motley Fool website. In contrast, Toyota produced 8.8 million vehicles globally in the 2019 to 2020 fiscal year and General Motors sold more than 6 million trucks and cars worldwide in 2020. The company itself has reached over \$760 billion in market value, according to BBC News— "more than the total market value of carmakers Toyota, Volkswagen, Hyundai, [General Motors] and Ford combined". The rise of Tesla stock out of all proportion to its actual productive activities is so unreal that BBC technology correspondent Rory Cellan-Jones put it bluntly: "To believe the electric car-maker's worth could rise so rapidly in just 12 months is the ultimate example of irrational exuberance".<sup>92</sup>

Social selfishness generally characterizes the actions of the US financial elite during the pandemic. According to a *Washington Post* poll conducted in the summer of 2020, the 50 wealthiest people in America have publicly donated about \$1 billion for coronavirus relief — that's a big number, but it adds up to a very small fraction of their combined net worth: less than 0.1%.<sup>93</sup>

The establishment is evidently losing its capacity to control the situation in the US and beyond. That fact logically leads to the national crisis and the right wing dictatorship at the end or... revolution. Now we can find publications about the Third American Revolution not only in the left radical editions.<sup>94</sup> Discussion of scenarios of the all-national crisis and the prospects of the American revolution in 2014 by well-known representatives of mass media and

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<sup>92</sup> Goldstein, J., & Hall, T. (2021.01.11) *Elon Musk becomes world's richest person as pandemic death toll breaks records*, World Socialist Web Site. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2021/01/11/musk-j11.html>.

<sup>93</sup> Elkins, K. (2020.06.06) *Survey shows that America's richest people have donated less than 0.1% of their wealth for coronavirus relief*, CNBC. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/06/06/how-much-americas-richest-are-donating-for-coronavirus-relief.html>.

<sup>94</sup> Lind, M. (2013.05.07) *Is revolution coming to the U.S.?*, Salon. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from [https://www.salon.com/2013/05/07/is\\_revolution\\_coming\\_to\\_the\\_u\\_s/](https://www.salon.com/2013/05/07/is_revolution_coming_to_the_u_s/).

the CIA looks quite symbolically on air at Fox News in 2009.<sup>95</sup> This revolution can become much more radical than many political scientists and economists are ready to imagine today. The authors of the forecasts could have made a mistake in the timing, but apparently not in the general trend of development

These and other global contradictions of modern capitalism are not a product of conspiracy or “ill will” on the part of certain leaders. The elite does not want its inevitable death by nuclear fire; however, increased economic and social antagonism has an unavoidable impact on international affairs, further aggravating the situation. At the same time, the criticism of “neoliberalism” (in favor of “national capitalism”) under the banner of defending national interests and national identity reflects the objective conflicts between nations and a global oligarchy. However, it is full of inner contradictions and inconsistencies. Sometimes this criticism simply serves as a disguise for the battle of transnational clans supported by certain state elites.

Extreme right-wing groups replace the people’s legitimate desire for social justice with agitation for a national one, which, in reality, turns out to be only “an exclusive right” of the national elite to steal from the population. Global confrontation is developing at a time when the social system itself, on which the world’s oligarchic pyramid rests together with its rival clans, is suffering from a deep crisis. The breakdown of the global system cannot resolve the conflicts of capitalism; it will only lead to war. This is the most convincing strategic communication proving the failure of the current system to drive social progress further.

The increasing strife in foreign relations reflects the growing competition for market outlets. This situation is somewhat similar to those on the eve of both the First and Second World Wars. Ultimately, however, unsuccessful attempts to build socialism under the leadership of the proletariat showed that it lacks prospects. The liberal model of capitalism is collapsing. In such circumstances, right-wing authoritarian sentiment is on the rise, leading even to attempts to whitewash Nazism as some kind of *ultima ratio* of certain elites. However, even the bloodiest dictator regimes could not stop the progress of history being only an obstacle in the way of forthcoming transformations.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> NSfuture. (2009) *Media and The CIA Predict The Next American Revolution, Rebellion and Resistance by 2014*, Youtube. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QtI\\_zspZBkI](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QtI_zspZBkI).

<sup>96</sup> Zuroff, E. (2009.09.28) *The Nazi whitewash*, The Guardian. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2009/sep/28/eric-pickles-tories-latvia-nazi>; My Future America (2014.10.31) *Simon Wiesenthal Center: Whitewashing Nazis in Eastern Europe Equate Nazism to Communism: Expert*. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <http://myfutureamerica.org/?p=5466>.

The general context of the situation in the United States and in the world naturally turns the new president into a hostage to the grandiose economic speculation on the pandemic. Most of the US GDP is stock market speculation, while ordinary people need real jobs. Now, after trillions in new spending, the market still continues to climb, but unemployment is now reversed and it is high, not low. Debt is rising, commercial real estate is sagging. So the question is, how long can this scenario continue?<sup>97</sup> Stocks are near all-time highs and the housing market is red hot. In the waning days of Donald Trump's presidency, Jeremy Grantham, the value-investing legend and co-founder of Boston-based [GMO](#) warned that U.S. stocks were in an epic bubble. He now predicts Joe Biden's economic-recovery plan will propel them to perilous new heights, followed by an inevitable crash. "We will have a few weeks of extra money and a few weeks of putting your last, desperate chips into the game, and then an even more spectacular bust," Grantham, said in a Bloomberg "Front Row" interview. "When you have reached this level of obvious super-enthusiasm, the bubble has always, without exception, broken in the next few months, not a few years".<sup>98</sup> President Biden will oversee an economy that is "in the late stage of an epic bubble," billionaire real estate developer Jeff Greene told "The Claman Countdown".<sup>99</sup>

According to Egon Von Greyerz, the founder of Matterhorn Asset Management AG/Gold Switzerland, Zurich, "in the next 4 years the BY team (Biden&Yellen) will most probably be the ones who fulfil Voltaire's prediction in 1729 that "Paper Money Eventually Returns To Its Intrinsic Value – ZERO"... Stock market investors should now have sleepless nights that they are about to lose up to 99% of their wealth within the next 5 years...The repercussions would obviously be devastating not just for private investors but for pension funds, institutions, as well as for the global world economy".<sup>100</sup> Of course, you can argue about the timing of the financial and economic collapse. Moreover, the collapse is not inevitable. But it requires a different policy, which is not capable of a partially legitimate president, especially

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<sup>97</sup> Stand in the Gap Radio. (2021.02.25) *Bursting Bubbles: From the Stock Market to Joe Biden*. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://standinthegapmedia.org/2021/02/bursting-bubbles-from-the-stock-market-to-joe-biden/>.

<sup>98</sup> Schatzker, E. (2021.01.22) *Grantham Warns of Biden Stimulus Further Inflating Epic Bubble*, Bloomberg. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2021-01-22/grantham-warns-of-biden-stimulus-further-inflating-epic-bubble>.

<sup>99</sup> Stabile, A. (2021.01.20) *Billionaire: Biden inherits US economy 'in the late stage of an epic bubble'*, Fox Business. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.foxbusiness.com/economy/billionaire-says-us-economy-in-late-stage-of-epic-bubble-about-to-burst>.

<sup>100</sup> Von Greyerz, E. (2021.02.26) *Egon Von Greyerz: 2021 Outlook - International Affairs*. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://en.interaffairs.ru/article/egon-von-greyerz-2021-outlook/>.



at such an advanced age. The movement towards the abyss will continue: slow or fast, time will tell...

## Conclusion

If in the United States there was no further escalation of the crisis, striking antagonism between the luxury of the elite and the fall in living standards of the majority of the population, serious problems with the partial legitimacy of President Biden would not exist. Mainstream media would smoothly soften it all and D. Trump's claims about the "stolen election" would be remembered with a smile. Then they would become a curiosity of history. But no, the world is in the most severe crisis of recent decades, which is only getting worse, there is less and less doubt about it. Therefore, Biden's partial legitimacy in the context of his inability to cope not so much with the crisis, but with its obvious use by the ruling elites of the United States in their own interests, could quickly make the president not legitimate at all; moreover, it could turn him into the embodiment of evil in the eyes of *most* Americans and residents of other countries.

The decline in the legitimacy of the president in the context of the expected growth of economic problems, social antagonisms and political confrontation will inevitably reduce the effectiveness of the US state machine and may even end with the early termination of the president's powers outside the legal framework. The rocking of American society by the leadership of the two largest parties, reflecting the undeniable contradictions in the establishment at the same time, serves as a kind of spectacle, distracting ordinary Americans from the further concentration of property and power in the hands of the elite of corporate elites. Now the situation is much more acute than in pre-revolutionary Mexico, where the largest owners of haciendas competed for territory with some European states. In the United States, the largest states exceed the GDP of some not-so-small European states. As for the wealth of Bezos or Musk, each of them exceeds the total GDP of fifteen European states, with the lowest indicators of GDP on the continent.

The crisis in the US has gripped most of 2020 and will continue for most Americans at least into 2021. People are being prepared for further casualties. The crisis must be deep enough and long enough for the richest to become even richer at the expense of everyone else. Every American will be able to get a COVID-19 vaccine by the end of July 2021 if they want one, Biden promised in February 2021 (Ellis, 2021). At the same time, Dr. Fauci says that it is

“possible” that Americans will be wearing masks in 2022.<sup>101</sup> Of course, we can assume that where there are masks, there will be, to a certain extent, other restrictions on social and business activity, especially ruinous for small and medium-sized businesses, which, as in any cyclical crisis, are easy prey for large corporations.

The pandemic allows the elite to shift the arrow of responsibility for the current situation from socioeconomic reasons that are dangerous for their well-being to *force majeure*. Moreover, the goal is to blame the origin of the pandemic and, in many respects, its consequences, on the main geopolitical enemy of the US – China. This is a very important difference from the Great Recession of 2007–2009, when Joseph Stiglitz wrote about the roots of the Great Recession: “This crisis has a very clear ‘Made in the USA’ label on it. Not only did the United States export its toxic mortgages, but it also exported the deregulatory philosophy that allowed others to buy these toxic mortgages and ensured that regulators abroad did not stop it”.<sup>102</sup>

The United States – objectively the strongest country in the world in economic, scientific and technical terms, with the most developed medicine, was the undisputed leader in the number of infected people and deaths from coronavirus. This is a rather strange development, even if we take into account the serious mistakes of the Trump administration’s counteraction the pandemic. But the deepest crisis allows the most serious way to rationalize production at the expense of the population in the absence of mass protest against the social system. Democrats blame the Republicans, Republicans blame the Democrats for underestimating/ exaggerating the danger of Covid, and of course all of them blame the Russians and Chinese, but not corporate America – an important achievement of the American elite in the technology of political manipulation compared to the Great Depression or the Great Recession, when US citizens and the whole world were sure that the crisis was “made” in the US. It is possible that after a “long and selfless struggle” with the crisis, corporate America will record a victory over the coronavirus through its donations. It is unlikely, however, that corporate elites will mention that these donations are a small part of the funds “borrowed” from ordinary Americans during the pandemic.

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<sup>101</sup> Harmata, C. (2021.02.21) *Dr. Fauci Says It's 'Possible' Americans Will Be Wearing Masks in 2022, Calls 500K COVID Deaths 'Terrible'*, MSN.com. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/us/dr-fauci-says-its-possible-americans-will-be-wearing-masks-in-2022-calls-500k-covid-deaths-terrible/ar-BB1dSEdE>.

<sup>102</sup> Stiglitz, J. (2009). The global crisis, social protection and jobs. *International Labour Review*, 148(1-2), 1-13. doi: 10.1111/j.1564-913x.2009.00046.x, p.2.

The pandemic is a catalyst for the degradation of modern capitalism. Poverty and social polarization are growing and provide an objective basis for further aggravation of systemic contradictions. Degradation in the United States is accompanied by the fleeing of the middle class from the cities. A combination of the coronavirus pandemic, economic uncertainty, and social unrest is prompting waves of Americans to move from large cities and permanently relocate to more sparsely populated areas. The trend has been accelerated by technology and shifting attitudes that make it easier than ever to work remotely. Citizens of all ages and incomes are moving in record numbers to suburban areas and small towns.<sup>103</sup> In 2020, there was a significant disorganization of police actions, not only due to objective processes of social polarization, but also due to the fact that the police became the object of political manipulation in the inter-party struggle. There is a mass arming of the population: U.S. gun sales in January 2021 surged 60% to 4,137,480. This makes it the largest single month since figures started to be recorded in 1998. The rise is part of a trend. Gun sales in the United States rose 40% last year to 39,695,315. Who bought these guns? CBS News pointed out that *over 5 million people were first-time gun buyers last year*. CNN reported a sharp rise in sales to Black Americans and women. “Sales to women are also up 40% through September when compared with the same period last year”.<sup>104</sup>

Partially legitimate Biden will not be able and will not want to meet the demands of a wide range of forces that initially voted not so much for Biden as against Trump. We can expect that the unsatisfied part of the electorate will stand in open opposition to the presidential course. A reduction in support for Democrats due to the inability to effectively address national issues is more than likely. Even a complete end to the coronavirus pandemic, which is still to come, as well as a complete economic recovery, will not solve the remaining problems of American society. They are only escalating, so far.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to exclude various options for the development of the situation outside the constitutional framework (chaotic and disintegration of the country, military coup, civil war, etc.). At the beginning of the crisis of the 1930s, the United States, represented by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, put forward an adequate capable popular leader with a program of rather radical reforms at that time. Now such a popular leader is not yet

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<sup>103</sup> Tate, K. (2020.05.07) *Americans leave large cities for suburban areas and rural towns*, The Hill. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://thehill.com/opinion/finance/505944-americans-leave-large-cities-for-suburban-areas-and-rural-towns>.

<sup>104</sup> McIntyre, D. A. (2021.02.03) *This Is How Many Guns Were Sold in All 50 States*, 24/7 Wall St. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://247wallst.com/consumer-products/2021/02/03/this-is-how-many-guns-were-sold-in-all-50-states/>.

visible in the political arena of the country. Meanwhile, the crisis is more fundamental due to modern and promising technologies (primarily AI), which are already seriously changing and will change the world much more than the technological innovations of the first half of the twentieth century.

*The most radical technological revolution in the history of mankind cannot be matched by stagnation or a limited and indecisive evolution of socio-political forms.* But it is this impossible combination that provokes growing tension around the world. The United States, due to its relatively *high level of development and geopolitical importance*, is experiencing the *most intense* antagonism of the old forms and their *undiscovered and unused capabilities*. For their disclosure and use, they need to overcome the schemes and concepts of previous epochs (with all the careful study of them for the synthesis of a new model of development). If they do not do this, they will fall into a crisis much more serious for the country and the whole world than the USSR, which has become a victim of the old dogmas, inertia and corruption of the party and state elite. The transition to the new system cannot simply be canceled or stretched out for many decades. Perhaps only a more decisive and rapid transition will create the conditions for successfully overcoming the crisis. However, this transition is not a reckless, desperate leap into the future, but a conscious, strategic move forward with the intelligent use of the latest technologies, which, however, can also pose a great danger.<sup>105</sup>

Unfortunately, the two opposing leaders are quite old (Biden –78 years, Trump –74 years) to start a long-term fundamental transformation. For Biden, this question is particularly acute, given the mass of clearly politicized accusations against him about progressive dementia. There is a growing tendency to use this information to destabilize the situation.

Some circumstances are really alarming. Halfway into his first 100 days, President [Joe Biden](#) has yet to hold a formal, solo news conference, raising questions about accountability with the White House under increasing pressure to explain why. Biden has gone longer without facing extended questions from reporters than any of his 15 predecessors over the past 100 years.<sup>106</sup> Sens. Tim Kaine (D-Va.) and Todd Young (R-Ind.) introduced March 3 bipartisan legislation that would repeal decades-old authorizations for the use of military force in the

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<sup>105</sup> Cfr. Pashentsev, E. (2020) Global Shifts and Their Impact on Russia-EU Strategic Communication. In: Pashentsev E. (eds) *Strategic Communication in EU-Russia Relations*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-27253-1\\_8](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-27253-1_8).

<sup>106</sup> Gittleson, B. (2021.03.11) *Biden not yet holding a formal news conference raises accountability questions*, Yahoo.com. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.yahoo.com/gma/biden-not-yet-holding-formal-100150308.html>.

Middle East, amid escalating tensions between the U.S. and Iran in the region.<sup>107</sup> Is this really about war powers or is this about Joe Biden health? Any serious uncertainty about the president's health only exacerbates political nervousness in the United States.

However, in Iran, Ayatollah Khomeini led the Islamic revolution in 1979 at an even older age, but this is hardly the case of Biden. In addition, it is not the equivalent of the Islamic revolution that is in demand in the United States. Rather, the rise of extremism and terrorism under one or another quasi-religious cover at the beginning of the twenty-first century is the result of many years of inability of more developed countries to make a qualitative leap in their development. Unfortunately, it is not age, but the old ideological schemes (with all the serious differences between them) of the entire US establishment that are the main brake on the path of overdue transformations.

The parity of almost antagonists (Democrats and Republicans) with their approximate equality of forces and the sharpness of contradictions, the growing inefficiency of the government, the distrust of the election results of tens of millions of Americans, when the Biden administration makes decisions that strengthen the split in the country, the obvious intention to organize a purge in the armed forces from extremists and racists (read: from their political opponents) – all this can be used by certain circles with the assistance of the armed forces to restore order in the country and hold new elections. The military budget after its previous reduction by Barack Obama hit a record in the history of the United States: In the fiscal year 2020 it reached \$721.5 billion. Trump, who has tried to support the armed forces in every possible way, but without getting involved in new military adventures, remains more popular among the military than Biden.

Far-right dictatorship, if it be established in power in the US, will certainly be a mobilization plan to counter the growing power of China under the anti-Communist slogans in an attempt to keep the leading positions in the most reactionary, most chauvinistic part of the American elite. The fate of the EU in such conditions would be to become a resigned proxy force of the U.S. in a global confrontation with Russia and China. Such prospects undoubtedly might cause serious conflicts in NATO and the EU. However, it is impossible to exclude the chaotic nature and disintegration of the country. The theories of “controlled chaos” are good as long

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<sup>107</sup> Desiderio, A., & O'Brien, C. (2021.03.03) *Bipartisan senators introduce bill to strip Biden of war powers*, MSN.com. Retrieved 12 March 2021, from <https://www.msn.com/en-us/news/politics/bipartisan-senators-introduce-bill-to-strip-biden-of-war-powers/ar-BB1ecMni>.



as the chaos is really controlled, but no one can guarantee this, since the existing social system in the United States, if not exhausted, is close to being so.

In subjective terms, much depends on the formation of a strong progressive movement/party in the country, which can see a way out of the crisis in a socially oriented economy, the democratization and deoligarchization of public life, in the accelerated introduction of high technologies (not least AI), in the comprehensive development of a human being, his/her capabilities, including the use of the latest technologies. A more perfect society is a society of augmented human beings, not a post-human society in which there is no place for people. In foreign policy, it is important to abandon the role of the world gendarme in the international arena to mutually beneficial multivector cooperation while maintaining and developing a reasonably sufficient and highly developed military potential necessary to curb possible aggression from outside, and not wasteful satisfaction of the immoderate appetites of military contractors. In the meantime, progressive organizations that correspond to the realities of the technological and social revolution of the twenty-first century are still in the process of formation, which indicates the immaturity of the subjective factor of implementing socially oriented transformations in the United States. So far, the new has not yet emerged from the old organizational and ideological forms. It is very likely that many future creators of the twenty-first century US prosperity are among the grassroots of the Republican and Democratic parties, but they do not yet realize their future role, experiencing acute mutual hostility and / or experiencing political frustration. This is quite normal in difficult transitional moments of history. The practical question is whether new ideological and organizational forms will have time to develop before the final destruction of the old forms with historical consequences that are dangerous for all mankind. Only citizens of the USA themselves can provide an answer.





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**Website:** [www.specialeurasia.com](http://www.specialeurasia.com)

**E-mail:** [info@specialeurasia.com](mailto:info@specialeurasia.com)

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