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Актуальные проблемы обеспечения государственного суверенитета Российской Федерации

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Аннотация. В статье излагаются основные теоретико-методологические подходы к определению сущности суверенитета субъектов общественных отношений, рассматриваются качественные характеристики суверенитета российского государства, исторически обусловленные предпосылки и факторы его становления и достижения современного состояния. Доказано, что российский конституционализм, реализуемый в Конституции РФ, государственных стратегиях и концепциях, законах и других нормативных документах создает политико-правовые основы становления и усиления суверенитета Российской Федерации. На основе анализа современных угроз суверенитету российского государства обосновывается вывод о том, что консолидация общества является основным направлением укрепления всех компонентов, предпосылок и факторов суверенитета России.

Ключевые слова: суверенитет, государственный суверенитет, суверенитет Российской Федерации, проблемы обеспечения государственного суверенитета России

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Research article

Current issues of ensuring state sovereignty of the Russian Federation

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Abstract. The article outlines the main theoretical and methodological approaches to determining the essence of the sovereignty of subjects of public relations, examines the qualitative characteristics of the sovereignty of the Russian state, historically conditioned prerequisites and factors of its formation and achievement of the modern state. It is proved that Russian constitutionalism, implemented in the Constitution of the Russian Federation, state strategies and concepts, laws and other normative documents, creates the political and legal foundations for the formation and strengthening of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation. Based on the analysis of modern threats to the sovereignty of the Russian state, the conclusion is substantiated that the consolidation of society is the main direction of strengthening all components, prerequisites and factors of Russian sovereignty.

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Keywords: sovereignty, state sovereignty, sovereignty of the Russian Federation, problems of ensuring state sovereignty of Russia

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The greatness of Russia lies in strengthening its sovereignty, and sovereignty is based on self-sufficiency in technology, finance, the economy as a whole, and in the sphere of defense and security.
President of Russia V.V. Putin [1]

Introduction. The current state of international relations forces government bodies and civil society to pay special attention to the problems of ensuring their sovereignty, the high importance of which was mentioned by Russian President V.V. Putin: " ... any country, any people, any ethnic group must ensure its sovereignty" [2]. Taking these circumstances into account, the security and sovereignty of Russia have been and remain at the forefront of all the tasks that our state has set and solved in the past and intends to solve in the future [3].

Materials and research methods. The issues of ensuring state sovereignty are brought to the fore by the aggressive international policy of the United States and its allies, who are trying to maintain world hegemony by unceremoniously interfering in the affairs of other states, as well as the persistent efforts of some compatriots who proclaim themselves to be the national cultural elite, striving at any cost to relegate great Russia to the margins of the degrading Anglo-Saxon community. At the same time, foreign and local "well-wishers" suggest that Russia, allegedly not corresponding to the models of "true democracy" interpreted by them in a peculiar way, should follow the rules they have invented, the so-called "democratic transit", for the accession of former Soviet states to Western European civilization [4], for which our multinational people with a centuries-old history are offered to shamefully scold their past and present, to renounce our original culture and spirituality, the memory of the glorious deeds of our ancestors, who repeatedly saved the world from the oppression of the Mongol khans, Teutons, Bonapartists, fascists and other conquerors, tolerantly accept the ideas of the wicked LGBD communities and other perverts, and obediently live according to commands from Washington and Brussels. The inadmissibility of this is also demonstrated by the criticism of the ideas of liberal democratic transition, previously promoted as an ideal prospect for the transition of socialist states to "democratic prosperity" [5], undertaken in the last decade by the vice-president of the American Carnegie Endowment for Peace Among Nations, T. Carothers, and other developers of modern theories of democracy. According to many political scientists, Western European countries, which have called themselves "a unique civilized world" since the 9th century, have come to the end of their ethnic history, in which a high level of development in the spheres of production, services and communications is accompanied by the loss of the centuries-old foundations of Christian morality and traditional national cultures [6; 7; 8].

Research results and their discussion. The majority of Russians categorically do not accept the prospect of worshipping Western idols for themselves and their descendants and are convinced of the need to ensure the sovereignty of our Fatherland in every possible way.

State sovereignty: concept, main types. The theoretical and methodological foundations for studying current problems of ensuring the state sovereignty of the Russian Federation create the initial and modern ideas about the social phenomenon called sovereignty (from the French souverainete - supreme power, supremacy and independence of power).

The term "sovereignty" has a broad and narrow meaning.

In a broad sense, sovereignty is understood as the ability and possibility of a participant in public relations to act at his own discretion in realizing his interests.

In a narrow, specific sense, depending on the subjects of politics, the following types of sovereignty are defined:

- state;
- folk;
- national;
- sovereignty of the individual, the citizen.

In such meanings, the term "sovereignty" is used by the humanities to characterize the rights and freedoms of political actors within the territory of the state (internal sovereignty) and beyond its borders (external sovereignty).

Among the types of sovereignty, a special place is occupied by state sovereignty, which is a qualitative political and legal feature of the state, characterizing such political properties of state power as its supremacy and completeness within the country, independence and equality in international relations [9].

The sovereignty of a state is an indicator of its ability and capacity to conduct independent domestic and foreign policy without any restrictions. In this sense, the term is used in the preamble to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, where the revival of sovereign statehood is included among the value guidelines of the Russian Federation [10]. This fundamental provision of Russian constitutionalism, first formulated in the Declaration on State Sovereignty of the RSFSR of June 12, 1990 [11], is enshrined in Chapter 1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and other fundamental documents of the Russian Federation [10].

Thus, in the National Security Strategy of Russia, the goals of ensuring state and public security are declared to be the protection of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation, ensuring its sovereignty, independence, state and territorial integrity, protecting the fundamental rights and freedoms of man and citizen, strengthening civil peace and harmony, political and social stability in society, improving the mechanisms of interaction between the state and civil society, strengthening the rule of law and law and order, eradicating corruption, protecting citizens and all forms of ownership, traditional Russian spiritual and moral values from illegal encroachment, protecting the population and territories from emergency situations of natural and man-made nature [12], and in the Concept of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, which substantiated the current strategic goals and main objectives, basic principles and priorities of the foreign policy of our state, among the priority national interests of Russia in the foreign policy sphere are declared the protection of the constitutional system, sovereignty, independence, state and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation from destructive foreign influence [13].

State sovereignty requires the presence of the following qualitative characteristics:

- the ability and possibility of the state to independently determine and implement its domestic and foreign policy, its methods and means;
- independence, equality of rights and obligations of the state in relations with other states;
- the supremacy of state power in the system of public and social power on the territory of the state;
- unlimited extension of state power throughout its entire territory, to all spheres of public life, to the entire population and all public formations operating in the country;
- the unity of state power with its functional division into legislative, executive, and judicial branches;
- the inalienability of the legitimate and legal power of the state, allowing for the possibility, established by law, of delegating some of its powers to the subjects of the federation and local government bodies.

The initial development of theories of state sovereignty and civil society assumed the opposition of the state and the people, as a result of which the term "sovereignty of the people" appeared to state the independence of the institutions of urban self-government from local feudal lords, representing the bourgeoisie, hired workers and other social groups living in the cities.

The subsequent development of legal and political sciences contributed to the development of the categories of "civil society" and "sovereign democracy", which denote the priority of

people's power in the political system and the recognition of the people as sovereign. Such theoretical provisions are recognized by Russian constitutionalism and are enshrined in Part 1 of Article 3 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, where the multinational people of Russia are recognized as "the bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation" [10].

Further, parts 2-4 of the said article of the Constitution of the Russian Federation disclose the principles and forms of popular sovereignty in Russia:

"2. The people exercise their power directly, as well as through state authorities and local government bodies.

3. The highest direct expression of the power of the people is the referendum and free elections.

4. No one may seize power in the Russian Federation. The seizure of power or the appropriation of authority shall be prosecuted under federal law" [10].

The constitutional interpretation of the term "people's sovereignty" leads to its equivalent use with the term "state sovereignty" under the condition of the mandatory application of various democratic procedures for the free exercise by the people of their powers through a state governed by the rule of law, the priority of which is the creation of conditions for the exercise of the rights and freedoms of man and citizen of the Russian Federation. But only when the dominant interests of citizens and the state coincide in society, which are not identified due to the possibility of their inconsistency under non-democratic political regimes, do the concepts of "state sovereignty", "sovereignty of the people" and "sovereign democracy" become equivalent.

In scientific discussions about state sovereignty, a significant place is occupied by the question of determining the level (measure, limit) of independence of the sovereign, upon the reduction of which the state loses the quality called "sovereignty".

The basis for discussion of this issue is the biosocial and spiritual essence of man, who, in order to peacefully coexist with other people, is forced to independently restrain his own freedoms and accept restrictions of his freedoms by society. But some egoists, in order to realize their own interests, neglect the laws of peaceful coexistence. Therefore, Part 3 of Article 17 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation formulates the constitutional and legal basis for such restrictions: "The exercise of human and civil rights and freedoms must not violate the rights and freedoms of others," and Part 2 of Article 19 sets out the state's guarantees for ensuring the equality of human and civil rights and freedoms regardless of gender, race, nationality, language, origin, property and official status, place of residence, attitude to religion, beliefs, membership in public associations, and other circumstances [10]. Violations of legitimate restrictive measures for those who commit them, as a rule, end in stigmatization and other protective sanctions of society.

Attempts to find a theoretical solution to the issue of limiting independence by introducing into scientific circulation such qualitative characteristics of sovereigns as "full sovereignty", "incomplete sovereignty", "limited sovereignty", etc. seem to be incorrect violations of the logic of using the term "sovereignty" in its original, initial meaning, indicating the presence of such qualities in the subject as "supreme power", "domination", which do not allow half-tones and are either present or absent. Thus, the English monarch, whose power was limited by parliament, lost the right to be called a sovereign, and the Emperor of All Russia, who shared exclusive legislative powers with the State Duma during the first Russian revolution, ceased to be an autocrat. Therefore, it is obviously necessary to recognize the validity of the indication of the President of Russia V.V. Putin that "... there is no intermediate state: either the country is sovereign, or a colony, no matter what you call the colony" [14].

Consequently, the concept of "sovereignty" is appropriate to apply for a comprehensive assessment of the abilities and capabilities of subjects of social relations to independently make and implement their own decisions without coercion, and, if necessary, to limit some of their freedoms at their own discretion, taking into account the interests of developing mutually beneficial cooperation with other people.

Formation of state sovereignty of the Russian Federation. In the 1990s, there were heated discussions in scientific and political circles about the possibility of the simultaneous existence of multiple sovereignties in one state: the sovereignty of the USSR and the sovereignty of the Soviet Socialist Republics. The grounds for the disputes were provided by Article 15 of the Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1936, which recognized the sovereignty of the union republics in the part not limited by the norms of Article 14 of the same document [15], as well as Article 76 of the Constitution of the USSR, adopted in 1977, which stated that “a union republic is a sovereign Soviet socialist state...” [16].

Article 68 of the republican Constitution adopted in 1978 defined the RSFSR as a “sovereign Soviet socialist state” independently exercising state power on its territory outside the limits specified in Article 73 of the USSR Constitution, and Article 69 of the RSFSR Constitution secured for Russia the right of free withdrawal from the USSR [17]. At the same time, Article 77 of the USSR Constitution and Article 77 of the RSFSR Constitution guaranteed the protection of the sovereign rights of the RSFSR by the USSR [16; 17]. In these formulations, Soviet constitutionalism defined the sovereignty of the USSR and its constituent republics, which corresponded to the principle of the right of nations to self-determination, according to which Article 69 of the RSFSR Constitution guaranteed the right of a republic to free withdrawal from the USSR [17]. With the total control of the union center's organs over the situation in the union republics, the sovereign rights of the subjects of the USSR were declarative in nature, but in the conditions of the growing crisis of the political system of the union state, the nationalistically oriented political elites of Russia and other union republics received massive support from the population to separate themselves from the union center weakened by perestroika.

The dominance of liberal views in the public consciousness led to a "parade of sovereignties" that realized the ideas of many sovereignties, right up to the declaration of their sovereignty not only by union republics, but also by autonomous republics and regions within the RSFSR.

The revelry of the "parade of sovereignties" in the RSFSR was also facilitated by the peculiar interpretation of the term "state sovereignty" in paragraph 5 of the Declaration on the State Sovereignty of the RSFSR, adopted by the First Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR on June 12, 1990: "the supremacy of the Constitution of the RSFSR and the Laws of the RSFSR throughout the territory of the RSFSR; the effect of acts of the USSR that conflict with the sovereign rights of the RSFSR are suspended by the Republic on its territory..." [11]⁴. The introduction of such a norm into the legal field terminated the absolute supreme power of the USSR on the territory of the RSFSR, which intensified the political crisis of the Soviet Union.

It should be recalled that at the first Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR, the initiative for the Declaration was put forward by the former Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, V. I. Vorotnikov, with the aim of legally formalizing the statement on postponing the decision on the delimitation of powers of the USSR and the RSFSR until the signing of the draft treaty being prepared by M. S. Gorbachev on the replacement of the USSR with a new Union of Soviet Sovereign Republics, the draft of which by the fall of 1991 had significantly changed the federal nature of the treaty to a confederative one, which was reflected in the name of the proposed association - the Union of Sovereign States.

But under pressure from B.N. Yeltsin, elected Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, and his supporters, the draft Declaration was radically changed: this small document, consisting of 15 points, set out the fundamental principles of the new Russian constitutionalism. Point 15 of the document contains a statement that the Declaration is the basis for developing a

Ukova⁴ The first declarations of their state sovereignty were adopted by the Estonian (1988), Lithuanian (1989), Latvian (1989) Soviet Socialist Republics, which left the USSR in March-May 1990, as well as the Azerbaijan (1989) and Georgian (1990) Soviet Union Republics. After Russia, all other Union Republics adopted declarations of state sovereignty. Therefore, accusations against Russia in starting the "parade of sovereignties" are unfounded. The "parade of sovereignties" was started by the Baltic and Transcaucasian republics.

new Constitution of the RSFSR, concluding a new Union Treaty, and improving republican legislation.

The key point for the document was paragraph 5, which describes the basic principle of the state sovereignty of the republic: "To ensure political, economic and legal guarantees of the sovereignty of the RSFSR, the following is established:

- the full authority of the RSFSR in deciding all issues of state and public life, with the exception of those that it voluntarily transfers to the jurisdiction of the USSR;
- the supremacy of the Constitution of the RSFSR and the Laws of the RSFSR throughout the territory of the RSFSR; *the effect of acts of the USSR that conflict with the sovereign rights of the RSFSR shall be suspended by the Republic on its territory* ⁵. Disagreements between the Republic and the Union shall be resolved in the manner established by the Union Treaty;
- the exclusive right of the people to own, use and dispose of the national wealth of Russia;
- plenipotentiary representation of the RSFSR in other union republics and foreign countries;
- the right of the Republic to participate in the exercise of powers transferred by it to the USSR" [11].

The quoted point of the Declaration actually destroyed the legislative system of the USSR, in which the Union legislation had previously dominated. Because of this, the President and other organs of power of the USSR lost the legitimate foundations of real governance of the country, which significantly complicated the crisis of political power of the USSR. But the political elite did not adequately assess the emergence of new internal threats to the remaining part of the USSR (in the spring of 1990, three Baltic republics had already left the USSR) and the "parade of sovereignties" developed, giving rise to the legal recognition of the termination of the existence of the USSR in December 1991.

The concept of "state sovereignty" was introduced into the characterization of the Russian state on December 15, 1990, given by the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR in the updated version of the preamble to the Constitution of the RSFSR, which repeated the provisions of the Declaration on the state sovereignty of the republic and the determination to create a democratic state governed by the rule of law as part of the renewed USSR ⁶.

At the same time, the wording of Article 1 of the Constitution of the RSFSR was changed, which included a brief political and legal definition of the essence of the RSFSR: "a sovereign state created by the peoples historically united in it...".

The political and legal provisions of the Declaration, formulated in a hurry, turned out to be so successful that, practically unchanged, they became amendments to the Constitution of the RSFSR, and in 1993 they were included in the draft Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Thus, the Declaration created the political and legal foundations for the development of sovereign Russian constitutionalism and the implementation of the principles declared in it in the radically updated Russian legislation. The day of the adoption of the Declaration in Russia was initially called Independence Day, following the example of the United States, and only in 1998 was it renamed Russia Day, and in 2002 it was included in the list of state holidays.

By adopting the Declarations of Sovereignty, the Union Republics of the USSR, the autonomous republics and regions of the RSFSR began the political and legal formalization of the independence of the subjects of the Union and Russia. The "parade of sovereignties" of the autonomous republics of the RSFSR created real preconditions for the collapse of Russian statehood, which many analysts did not doubt, differing only in their forecasts of the timing.

Real threats of the collapse of the RSFSR became apparent during the preparation of a new Federal Treaty, called the Treaty on the delimitation of jurisdiction and powers between the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the sovereign republics within the Russian Federation on March 31, 1992. It was signed by 19 of the 21 republics

⁵Highlighted by the author.

⁶ On December 9, 1992, the mention of the USSR was excluded from the Constitution of the RSFSR.

that declared their sovereignty. Tatarstan and the Chechen Republic of Ichkeria refused to participate in the Treaty. Only on February 15, 1994, representatives of the federation signed with Tatarstan the Treaty "On the delimitation of jurisdiction and mutual delegation of powers between the bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the Republic of Tatarstan", which had an unprecedented character of an international treaty, and the Treaty on Peace and Principles of Relations between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic was signed on May 12, 1997.

The principle of sovereignty of the republics, recorded in paragraph 3 of the Federal Treaty, stated that "the republics (states) within the Russian Federation possess the full extent of state (legislative, executive, judicial) power on their territory, except for those powers that are transferred (assigned) to the jurisdiction of the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation in accordance with this Treaty" [18].

Discussions about the possibility of multiple sovereignties in the Russian Federation lost their political significance only after the adoption of the Constitution of the Russian Federation in 1993, paragraph 4 of clause 1 of the Final and Transitional Provisions of which established the principle of resolving legal conflicts: "in the event of inconsistency with the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation of the provisions of the Federal Treaty - the Treaty on the delimitation of subjects of jurisdiction and powers between the federal bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the sovereign republics within the Russian Federation 7... - the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall apply" [10]. Due to the supremacy of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, Part 1 of Article 4 established a single, indivisible sovereignty of Russia throughout its entire territory, and Part 1 of Article 6 established a single and equal citizenship of the Russian Federation [10], effectively abolishing the citizenship of the subjects of the Federation, declared by some republics during the "parade of sovereignties".

Modern political and legal the foundations of state sovereignty of the Russian Federation. The political and legal foundations of Russia's sovereignty are the Constitution and other legislative acts of the Russian Federation, and political documents of government bodies.

Thus, Article 3 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation recognizes the multinational people of Russia as the subject (bearer) of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, using it to express the power of the people in such forms of direct democracy as referendums and free elections, state authorities elected by the people and local government bodies [10].

Clause 1 of Article 4 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation indicates the extension of the sovereignty of the Russian Federation to its entire territory, which ensures the supremacy of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws throughout the territory of Russia (clause 2 of Article 4), as well as ensuring the integrity and inviolability of its territory by the state (clause 3 of Article 4) [10].

The specified provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation are specified by federal legislation.

Thus, the Federal Law "On Defense" defines a system of political, economic, military, social, legal and other measures to ensure the armed defense of the Russian Federation, the integrity and inviolability of its territory, as a necessary condition for ensuring state sovereignty [19].

The legal basis for state sovereignty is also defined by international documents, which include Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Internal Affairs of States and on the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty; Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the UN Charter; Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention and Interference in the Internal Affairs of States, and a number of other international acts. To implement them, in 2000 the UN created

⁷Highlighted by the author.

the International commission on questions interventions And state sovereignty . Its documents state that sovereignty gives states the right to control their internal affairs and obliges them to protect the rights of people living on the territory of these states, and if there is no capacity or will to do so, then responsibility passes to the wider international community ⁸. In this form, the UN declared the conditions for limiting state sovereignty by an undefined international community, which is used by the United States and its allies to justify interference in the internal affairs of countries and the construction of political systems under their control according to their illegitimate rules.

As we can see, the documents of the UN International Commission created a legal conflict of limiting state sovereignty, contrary to paragraph 7 of Article 2 of the UN Charter, which formulates the most important principle of this international organization: “ The Charter in no way gives the United Nations the right to intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, or requires Members of the United Nations to submit such matters to resolution under the present Charter; however, this principle does not affect the application of coercive measures on the basis of Chapter VII, which contains the rules of international law determining the procedure for UN action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace, and acts of aggression” [20].

Hiding behind the controversial norms of international acts imposed on the UN by countries with colonial experience, some economically strong states interfered in the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, Middle Eastern states, Afghanistan and other countries, destroyed their sovereign statehood with color revolutions and brought politicians to power that suited them.

In 2020, for example, the people of Venezuela had a hard time overcoming a political crisis that had been inflated since 2015 by US intelligence agencies with the aim of illegally replacing the president of the republic, N. Maduro, with the American protégé, J. Guaido. The restoration of constitutional order in Venezuela demonstrated popular sovereignty, the state's ability to maintain national independence and domestic political stability.

The desire for popular sovereignty can be seen in the mass support of the population for the military coup in the state of Niger , carried out on July 26-27, 2023, as a result of which power in the country passed to the National Council for the Defense of the Homeland , which proclaimed a political course to expel from the country French companies carrying out predatory economic activities.

As we can see, popular sovereignty is ensured by the power of the people (public power), which is exercised by civil society institutions directly (through referendums) and indirectly (through political parties, public organizations, confessions, etc.). Consequently, the development of civil society institutions and the degree of their participation in public power are important criteria for characterizing popular sovereignty. To strengthen them, a rule-of-law state is required, in which human rights and freedoms have priority.

In the Russian Federation, much is being done to develop a state based on the rule of law, capable of ensuring an increased role for civil society institutions in the functioning of the state.

At the same time, in many mono-ethnic states with the dominance of one nation in the population structure, the concept of national sovereignty loses its meaning. Thus, in the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus, national sovereignty is not mentioned, since the declaration of state sovereignty of the republic, which has about 80 percent of its inhabitants ethnic Belarusians [21], proclaimed that the Belarusian nation realized its sovereignty by creating a national state [21].

Contradictions in international legal documents on state and national sovereignty have been noted. Thus, in PACE Resolution No. 1832 of 4 October 2011, it is stated that "the right of ethnic minorities to self-determination... does not provide for an automatic right to secession [and] should first of all be implemented by the method of protecting the rights of minorities, as indicated in the Framework Convention of the Council of Europe for the Protection of National Minorities and in Assembly Resolution No. 1334 (2003) on the positive experience of autonomous regions

⁸Highlighted by the author.

as an incentive for conflict resolution in Europe." At the same time, member states of the Council of Europe are called upon to refrain from "recognizing or supporting actual authorities of the illegally separated territories, including those that were supported by foreign military interventions" [24].

Such legal conflicts are used to justify a policy of "double standards" that violates one of the fundamental principles of sovereignty – the equality of rights and obligations of all participants in the relationship.

In the modern world with increasing integration links and relationships in the characteristics states, the term "sovereignty" is used less and less in its original meaning - absolute independence and freedom to independently choose actions. More and more often, degrees of relative sovereignty of participants in social relations are distinguished, inevitably subject to the influence of various international and domestic political factors. Thus, when joining interstate political, economic, military alliances, the sovereignty of states is not strengthened, but, on the contrary, weakened, since states are forced to act in solidarity with other participants in the association even to the detriment of their own interests, as is happening now with the implementation of anti-Russian sanctions and the increase in NATO member states and other US vassals of arms supplies to Ukraine while depleting their own arsenals, which leads to a decrease in their military potential. Thus, in the context of the Palestinian-Israeli military conflict that began in October 2023, Israel made claims to the United States regarding the lack of its own ammunition, due to their supplies to Ukraine at the request of the United States [25]. The sovereignty of political actors is limited by international legal acts. In Russia, the legal basis for this is the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, included in its virtually unchanged Chapter 1. Thus, Part 4 of Article 15 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation provides for the inclusion of international legal acts in the legal system of Russia and their priority in the event of a contradiction with federal laws. In order to eliminate legal conflicts that periodically reveal the unacceptable nature of some international legal acts for Russia that have not been ratified by the Russian Federation in the prescribed manner, in 2020, amendments were made to Article 79 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, establishing that international treaties of Russia in their interpretation that contradicts the Constitution of the Russian Federation are not subject to execution in the Russian Federation [10]. This enshrined the supremacy of the Constitution of the Russian Federation in the legal field of the state, approved in Part 2 of Article 4 [10]. It should be recognized that if a political actor independently limits its sovereign freedoms and rights in relations with other political participants, then it retains its sovereignty, because it can always freely abandon the self-restrictions it has adopted, demonstrating the social nature of humanity, actively supported by Russia's tendency to increase mutually beneficial international cooperation, which is clearly seen in the concept of "One Belt - One Road", the international project "Greater Eurasian Partnership", and cooperation projects of the BRICS states.

Thus, the interests of developing mutually beneficial cooperation between countries can justify measures of voluntary self-restriction of certain freedoms of sovereign states and do not violate their sovereignty.

Modern threats to the state sovereignty of Russia. In his speech at the plenary session of the Valdai International Discussion Club on October 5, 2023, Russian President V.V. Putin expressed concerns about threats to the state sovereignty of Russia and other countries of the world: "The concept of sovereignty in today's world is denied, the world is driven into a confrontation of "us or them". This is the vicious culture of the 20th century" [26].

Many prerequisites and factors of threats to the state sovereignty of the Russian Federation have a long history. But for the modern problems of Russian sovereignty it is important to note that in the 1990s the political elite and the politically active part of society were reoriented from the traditional Russian values denigrated by foreign and home-grown liberals to the liberal ones inherent to Western European and North American elites. Following the ideas of democratic transit, allegedly ensuring Russia's transition from the communist regime to liberal democracy and

entry into the world community, in fact deliberately destroyed the military-strategic, economic, cultural and other components of the sovereignty of the Russian statehood. Russia, having proclaimed itself the successor of the Soviet Union on many issues, was rapidly losing its state sovereignty and turning into a raw materials appendage of the G -7, claiming world domination.

In the 1990s, the governments of the USSR and Russia allowed foreign investors into all strategically important sectors of the economy, including defense and energy enterprises, the banking system, agriculture, education, culture, public services, and others. To please Western competitors, the powerful unified national electric power system, aircraft manufacturing, and other industries were destroyed. The consequences of foreign intervention in the Russian economy were its destruction, which is being overcome with great difficulty to this day.

In order to maintain world hegemony, the United States and its supporters export democratic revolutions, create domestic threats to the sovereignty of many countries by organizing "color revolutions" (Georgia, Ukraine, etc.), cultivating small opposition into mass protest movements (Belarus, Kazakhstan, Venezuela, etc.), and unprecedented sanctions against states that maintain independence (Iran, Russia, etc.). But the enemy states' hopes of undermining the unity of the peoples of Russia with numerous sanctions have failed: Russians condemned the trips abroad of individual citizens and demonstrative statements about the SVO, and the Russian economy was able to restore sectors that suffered from the severance of ties with foreign partners fairly quickly, socially significant programs are generally being implemented, the well-being of the people is ensured at a sufficient level, and the country's defense capability is being built up.

Consolidation of society is the main direction of strengthening Russia's sovereignty. For the multinational, multi-confessional Russian Federation, an important factor of state sovereignty is the unity of the people, who, according to Part 1 of Article 3 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, are the bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power.

The consolidation of Russian society is achieved on the basis of the unity of values, the main ones being the independence of the state and traditional Russian spiritual and moral values, defined by the Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of November 9, 2022 No. 809 [27]. The threat to these values and the national interests of Russia is created by extremist and terrorist organizations, certain information and communication means, the United States and other unfriendly states, a number of transnational corporations and foreign non-profit organizations, as well as some organizations and individuals on the territory of Russia that carry out destructive ideological influence on citizens [27]. The fight against these threats must be intensified by the state and the whole society in the spheres of education, culture, science, mass media and communications, taking measures to increase the cohesion of the people and prevent negative scenarios for the development of socio-political and economic processes.

Conclusion. Of great importance for national unity are the patriotic traditions of Russian society, manifested in a respectful attitude towards the great achievements of Russia in all periods of its history.

Examples of citizenship and patriotism are demonstrated by loyal sons and daughters of the Fatherland on the front lines of special military operations, in Syria and other "hot spots"; families of defenders of the Motherland who ardently support them; volunteers and other citizens who selflessly strengthen the power of Russia.

The answer to real threats to Russia's sovereignty, unexpectedly for its enemies, was the strengthening of the unity of our multinational people, the strengthening of other components of sovereignty. The result of the vile policy of our former foreign partners was the transformation of good-natured Russia, which welcomed all guests with wide open arms and peacefully forgave them for their numerous dirty tricks, into a mighty Russian hero, giving a decisive rebuff to the insolent aggressor.

Further implementation of state policy on the preservation and strengthening of the unity of Russian society contributes to the preservation and increase of the people of Russia, the protection of their interests, the maintenance of civil peace and harmony in the country, the protection of Russian society, the achievement of national development goals of Russia, and the strengthening of its state sovereignty.

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