

**Dr. Liudmyla GARNYK**  
**PhD (Political Sciences),**  
**MA (International Economic Relations),**  
**Guest Research Fellow of Leibniz-Zentrum Moderner Orient (Berlin, Germany),**  
**Member of Center for International relations “Peace & Security”**  
**Kiev, Ukraine.**

## **ROLE OF MUSLIM DIASPORA IN CHANGING WORLD ORDER: AN VIEWPOINT OF ARCHETYPE THEORY**

Since the second part of 20th century terms “smart powers” and “geostrategic interests” comes in wider rhetoric of policymakers and groups of influence concerning analysis, planning and managing of current and future societal transformations around the world where key players are representatives of diaspora. Despite of different attitudes among scholars to role and place of Muslim diasporas or even their members in local or regional socio-political life or setting up sustainable trade and economic relations between countries, issue of geostrategic role of diasporas as agents of influence in changing world order. Also, this issue today becomes key element of speculative polemics around contradictions between Muslim world and Western societies. Commenting balance of smart powers in changing world order and place of Muslim diasporas in it, we should consider that during last two centuries oriental intellectuals and leaders have discussed alternative to western matrix trajectory of successful socio-economic development and democratization for different Muslim communities in changing world, using elements of local pre-Islamic traditions and reinterpretation of Islamic dogmas.

Considering current situation in Ukraine, where NGOs together with other non-governmental actors play more leading roles than legal state, we can use modified archetype theory based on notion about empires and their attempts to renew their power by operating of political myths (Garnyk et al. 2021, 35-37). Also using as working hypothesis narrative that neopatrimonial order is general conceptual frame (Malygina 2010) and in the same time common symbolic border for variative transformations of political systems within many of nonwestern societies, we can collect and systematize information for further political decisions relevant to post-war renovation and democratization of societal system in Ukraine.

Contemporary Ukraine since getting its independence in 1991 can be described as battlefield between local political clans, usually mentioned by western media as

“Ukrainian political elites”, and aliens or foreigners (diaspora members), who aspire to achieve key leading positions in societal space for serving their own strategic interests (Yaghi & Garnyk 2017). Hence, Muslim diasporas play role of cultural diplomacy agents and in the same time economic and political influencers. But here each western scholar, dealing with Ukrainian Muslim community case, faces with semiotic-semantic mousetrap of local history aspects, like in case of Tatars. “Tatars”, as like as “Arabs”, is common name for representatives of various ethnical groups, whose origin or historical heritage are related with historical areal of settlement (Crimean Tatars) or migration from geographical region (Volga Tatars, Kazan Tatars etc.). Also, analyzing current complicated situation with Crimean Tatars, when representatives of Russian occupant official bodies have blamed Tatar activists in terroristic activity, we should pay attention to their hidden motives and strategic targets like it was in case with deportation of Crimean Tatars in 18 May, 1944 on Stalin’s order (Korostelina, 2015). Other Tatar communities (mostly migrants from Volga region and Kazan), previously settled in Eastern Ukraine, in Soviet epoch were incorporated into different social institutes, assimilated and/or marginalized (Safarov 1928) but despite this still support cultural and spiritual connections with their historical motherland (Brylov 2021).

Historically, each post-crisis conservative community after significant political, societal and economic changes under pressure of changed geopolitical reality, starts democracy-building process and obtains unspoken status of neo-colony or satellite state that are totally depended financially and politically on will of foreign sponsors, represented by post-modern conservative leading communities (constitutional monarchy or liberal democracy), like it has happened with many of Eastern European and Balkan states after collapse of Soviet Union (totalitarian empire). In case of middle eastern societies among whose are New global leaders (Gulf oil monarchies) and Post-modern inclusive network communities (i.e., global network NGOs, symbolic virtual states like so-called "Islamic state" or "Global Caliphate"), who aspires to spread their economic and geopolitical influence beyond regional borders.

Traditional forms of political formation in the Middle East are caliphate, sultanate and nomadism, that cemented in relevant social structures, behavioral patterns and archetypes, in and beyond Europe can be identified as attempts to build flexible social institutions (neo-tribes) that are alternative (illegal) or parallel (semi-legal) to the state. For example, representatives of mentioned earlier Tatar communities can demonstrate polarized attitudes to democracy and new political identity building (political nation

based on multilateralism and sociocultural inclusion) in post-war Ukraine. Current political rhetoric around Crimea and Crimean Tatars usually has populist character because of politicians only talks about these community but rarely try to make even a step toward meeting their cultural, spiritual or educational needs: issue of teaching on Tatar language in schools still stay a subject of long-term polemics among governmental officials and educators. Other side of populism and political negligence (or blindness) concerning Muslim communities in Ukraine is threat of social exclusion or alienation, accelerating by spread of radicalization among marginalized and uneducated poor people usually guided and supported by different groups of interests including extremist ones, especially in zones of interstate conflicts and confrontations. This aspect is coherent with territorial annexing, separatism due to ruining of state institutes and their weakness, demonstrated in impossibility to secure integrity of state territories. Here the best instrument for prevention of potential conflicts is balanced and inclusive educational system that allows to involve citizens and migrants into sociocultural and economic integration within legal framework of the state. This is still actual issue for contemporary Ukraine, when most of European countries already have such instruments to prevent potential social conflicts.

Nomadism is an orientation towards global migration, which tries to adapt to the commercialized environment of the world market, including the development of extraterritorial forms of social organization (Gellner 1991). Post-modern nomadic narratives in light of social anthropology (archetype theory) were discussed in works of Michael Maffesoli (Maffesoli 2019) and by members of Scientific-Public Community “Ukrainian School of Archetypes” (URSACH 2020). Classical forms of post-modern social organization in light of neo-tribe archetype are non-governmental entities – religious network organizations and different virtual thematic communities – who demonstrate political and institutional flexibility on regional and local (national) levels and due to this can used by different stakeholders pretended on global hegemony (smart powers) by stimulating development of supraterritorial relations among individuals (Schlote 2000). Most of them deal in the sphere of public diplomacy and successfully realize worldwide different humanitarian, charitable and educational projects (Saner & Yiu, 2003: 2-3).

Caliphate as archaic form of Muslim hegemon state (Ferguson, 2008) becomes today a leitmotif for reactionary activists, widely represented by different public non-government and religious organizations, to consolidate their efforts on legalization and

setting up control on societal space of Ukraine like in case of new-born in 2021 NGO “Council of Ukrainian Muslims” (Ukrinform 2021). Character of hidden treat has also case with recognition and legalization the Military Chaplaincy Service as part of Armed Forces of Ukraine (Barsukova 2022; Zdioruk 2016) and representatives of some reactionists religious groups (i.e., Muslim Brotherhood, Hizb-at-Tahrir etc.) were its the most active lobbyists (Gordeyev 2021). Analyzing case of post-Arab Spring presidential elections in Egypt, when has wined Mohamed Morsi, leader of Freedom and Justice political party affiliated with reactionist movement well-known as Muslim Brotherhood and its international network, we can see how populism works in society under socio-political conflicts accompanied by emerging social inequality or / and economic crisis (Hadiz, 2016: 140). Anyhow in Central Europe and neighbor states with post-Soviet authoritarian heritage also can demonstrate political populism but with different by nature and outcomes regarding to social conflicts and segregation (Jurstakova, Evangelos Ntontis and Reicher, 2022).

Global religious subcultures and religious-political movements have become part of world politics just as secular non-governmental organizations have become part of global civil society. Only since beginning of the 21st century, they began play leading role in public policy as new interstate actors extending boundaries of classical international relations theory. Different non-governmental organizations, private foundations and non-profit public organizations have filled the social sphere of politics and society in most of world's liberal democracies, determining the trajectories of their further development (Thomas 2005: 98-100). Contemporary Ukraine is defined in Constitution as secular state, where political and religious spheres are separated and regulated by national legislation on freedom of conscience and religious organizations. Institute of Conscience Freedom includes norms of constitutional, administrative, labor, civil and other branches of law, which regulate, in particular, activities of religious communities and public organizations: church and religious organizations in Ukraine are separated from state and school - from church. Anyhow key role in sociopolitical space formation in Ukraine as like as in any other secular state, is occupied by religious organizations which spread ideological and political solidarity parallelly stimulating or limiting democratization processes (Thomas 2005: 97). Religious organizations in Ukraine have got numerous privileges, in particular, they are exempted from import duties on goods received from abroad as humanitarian and logistical aid. They have the right to participate in public life and use mass media on the same level with public

associations. Democracy building processes in Ukraine since late 1990s have created favorable conditions for Islamists to create public organizations and religious communities, also joining them to global and transnational networks.

Privileges and freedoms granted to non-governmental organizations have stimulated commercialization of primarily Islamist organizations activity, in particular, their unhindered dissemination of extremist ideas and beliefs. Today in Ukraine, there are officially operating: branches of Muslim Brotherhood (Arraid Association, later - NGO “Council of Ukrainian Muslims”), neo-Salafists networks based in big cities and regional centres (i.e., religious community in Odesa named “The Straight Path”, that was closed for its extremist activity) and in Crimean territory. Leading role in building intercultural dialogue and human rights advocacy on national and international levels play Ukrainian Sufi community, represented by Spiritual administration of Muslims of Ukraine that headed by Sheikh Ahmed Tamim, and also network of Turk cultural and economic diplomacy entities, as like as Yunus Emre Institute, business associations and different NGOs.

Since 2014 extremists have used capacity potential of their networks and sponsored public persons (politicians, scholars etc.) to initialize themselves as influencers and key players of sociopolitical space of Ukraine. Among mentioned above extremist cohorts were not only leaders of Islamists and Russian Orthodox Church (Sirotyuk 2015), thus, in order to prevent further spreading of extremism and activation of their cells in Ukrainian territory, it will be needed to make some changes in current national legislation. In particular, it is necessary to oblige public organizations and religious communities to prepare annual statistical and financial reports and introduce more complex procedure of legal and religious examination for their statutes and founding documents. Also, foreigners to register public or religious organization in Ukraine, should to pass complex mechanisms and procedures to prevent penetration and legalization on Ukrainian territory new cells of extremist or separatist organizations.

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**Григор'єв Д. В.**  
здобувач вищої освіти  
**Іваненко Т. Я.**  
к. е. н., доцент

**Миколаївський національний аграрний університет  
м. Миколаїв, Україна**

## **ЛОГІСТИКА ЯК ІНСТРУМЕНТ ЗНИЖЕННЯ РИЗИКІВ ТА ВПЛИВУ ГІБРИДНИХ ЗАГРОЗ НА СПІЛЬНОТИ ТА ЕКОНОМІКУ**

У сучасному глобалізованому світі, де гібридні загрози стають неодмінною складовою соціально-економічної реальності, розгляд логістики як ключового інструменту для зниження ризиків та впливу гібридних загроз є невід'ємною частиною стратегічного управління та стабільності. За словами Анікіна Б. логістика визначається як «наука про планування, організацію, управління, контроль і регулювання переміщення матеріальних та інформаційних потоків у просторі і в часі від їхнього первинного джерела до кінцевого споживача»[1, с. 367]. Запровадження ефективних логістичних практик стає стратегічною необхідністю для справляння з викликами, що виникають внаслідок гібридних загроз.

Однією з ключових складових ефективної логістики є гнучкість системи постачання, що визначається здатністю швидко реагувати на непередбачені зміни в середовищі. Як підкреслює Портер М. «гнучкість логістики уможлиблює безперешкодний потік матеріалів, який підтримує виробництво й постачання високоякісної продукції. Її базовими складовими є гнучкість постачання, купівлі, дистрибуції й управління попитом»[2]. Логістика, яка базується на відкритих системах, інноваційних технологіях та швидкій реакції на зміни в умовах, виступає як ефективний щит від негативних впливів гібридних загроз.

Необхідно також відзначити, що логістика не тільки забезпечує захист від гібридних загроз, але й сприяє сталому розвитку та розвитку економіки. Інтеграція логістичних стратегій, спрямованих на зниження ризиків, дозволяє підприємствам і регіонам зберігати конкурентні переваги, забезпечуючи ефективність та стійкість у змінливих умовах глобального середовища.