

---

# ВОПРОСЫ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ И ФЕДЕРАТИВНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

Научный журнал

Выпуск 6(99). 2023. Том 13

Журнал «Вопросы национальных и федеративных отношений» включен в перечень рецензируемых научных изданий ВАК, в которых должны быть опубликованы основные научные результаты на соискание ученой степени кандидата наук, на соискание ученой степени доктора наук по политическим и историческим наукам

МОСКВА, 2023

# ВОПРОСЫ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ И ФЕДЕРАТИВНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

Научный журнал

**Вячеслав Александрович  
МИХАЙЛОВ** Председатель Совета, д.и.н., профессор,  
зав. кафедрой национальных и федеративных  
отношений РАНХ и ГС при Президенте РФ

## Редакционный Совет

**Рамазан Гаджимурадович  
АБДУЛАТИПОВ** д.ф.н., постоянный представитель Российской Федерации  
при Организации Исламского сотрудничества

**Любовь Федоровна  
БОЛТЕНКОВА** д.ю.н., профессор РАНХ и ГС при Президенте РФ

**Владимир Иванович  
ВАСИЛЕНКО** д.п.н., профессор Российской академии народного хозяйства и  
государственной службы при Президенте РФ

**Владимир Александрович  
ВОЛОХ** д.п.н., профессор Государственного университета управления

**Вадим Витальевич  
ГАЙДУК** д.п.н., руководитель Центра  
политико-правовых исследований АНО «Евразийский научно-  
исследовательский институт проблем права»

**Владимир Юрьевич  
ЗОРИН** д.п.н., руководитель Центра по научному взаимодействию  
с общественными организациями, СМИ и органами  
государственной власти ИЭА РАН

**Раушан Мусахановна  
КАНАПЬЯНОВА** д.п.н., профессор кафедры международного  
культурного сотрудничества МИК

**В. Микаэль  
КАССАЕ НЫГУСИЕ** д.и.н., профессор кафедры теории и истории международных  
отношений Российского  
университета дружбы народов

**Геннадий Яковлевич  
КОЗЛОВ** д.и.н., профессор Рязанского государственного университета  
им. С.А. Есенина

**Игорь Георгиевич  
КОСИКОВ** д.и.н., главный научный сотрудник Института  
этнологии и антропологии РАН

**Николай Павлович  
МЕДВЕДЕВ** д.п.н., профессор Российского университета  
дружбы народов

**Марина Николаевна  
МОСЕЙКИНА** д.и.н., профессор, заведующая кафедрой истории России  
Российского университета дружбы народов

**Александр Данилович  
НАЗАРОВ** д.и.н., профессор, зам. руководителя кафедры  
по научной работе Московского авиационного института

**Дарья Вячеславовна  
ПЕРКОВА** к.п.н., ответственный редактор

**Александр Васильевич  
ПОНЕДЕЛКОВ** д.п.н., профессор, заведующий кафедрой политологии  
и этнополитики Южно-Российского института  
управления – филиала РАНХ и ГС при Президенте РФ

**Дмитрий Егорович  
СЛИЗОВСКИЙ** д.и.н., профессор кафедры истории России Российского  
университета дружбы народов

**Шукран Саидовна  
СУЛЕЙМАНОВА** д.п.н., профессор Российской академии народного хозяйства  
и государственной службы при Президенте РФ

**Жибек Сапарбековна  
СЫЗДЫКОВА** д.и.н., профессор, заведующая кафедрой стран  
Центральной Азии и Кавказа Института стран Азии  
и Африки Московского государственного университета имени  
М. В. Ломоносова, заместитель главного редактора журнала

## Редакционная коллегия

**Главный редактор – СУЛЕЙМАНОВА Ш.С.,**  
д.п.н., профессор РАНХиГС

## Члены ред. коллегии:

Волох В.А. (зам. главного редактора),  
Сыздыкова Ж.С. (зам. главного редактора),  
Перкова Д.В. (ответственный редактор),  
Болтенкова Л.Ф., Слизовский Д.Е.

УЧРЕЖДЕН

ООО «Издательство  
«Наука сегодня»

## ЖУРНАЛ ВКЛЮЧЕН В ПЕРЕЧЕНЬ ВАК РФ

Журнал зарегистрирован  
Федеральной службой по надзору  
в сфере массовых коммуникаций,  
связи и охраны культурного  
наследия

Регистрационный номер  
ПИ № ФС77-47487  
от 25 ноября 2011 г.

Журнал издается ежемесячно

Журнал включен в базу РИНЦ  
(Российский индекс научного  
цитирования)

Включен в каталог  
Ulrich's Periodicals Directory  
Пятилетний импакт-фактор  
журнала: 0, 369

Адрес редакции:  
115598, г. Москва, ул. Загорьевская,  
д. 10, корп. 4, цокольный этаж,  
помещение I, комната 7-1, офис 4  
Тел.: (910) 463-53-42

[www.etnopolitolog.ru](http://www.etnopolitolog.ru)

E-mail: [etnopolitolog@yandex.ru](mailto:etnopolitolog@yandex.ru)

Мнение авторов может  
не совпадать с мнением редакции.  
При перепечатке ссылка  
на журнал обязательна.

Научные статьи, публикуемые  
в журнале подлежат обязательному  
рецензированию.

Ответственный редактор  
*Перкова Д.В.*

Компьютерная верстка  
*Загуменов А.П.*

Подписано в печать 26.06.2023.

Формат 60×84/8. Объем 60.

Печать офсетная.

Тираж – 1000 экз.

(1-й завод – 500).

Заказ №

Отпечатано в типографии  
ООО «Белый ветер»

115054, г. Москва, ул. Шипок, 28

Тел.: (495) 651-84-56

ISSN 2226-8596 (print)

12 выпусков в год и

2 выпуска в год переводной (англ.) версии

Языки: русский, английский

<http://etnopolitolog>

Входит в перечень рецензируемых научных изданий ВАК РФ

Включен в каталог периодических изданий Ульрих (Ulrich's Periodicals Directory: <http://www.ulrichsweb.com>)

Материалы журнала размещаются на платформе РИНЦ Российской электронной библиотеки, Electronic Journals Library Cyberleninka

Подписной индекс издания в каталоге агентства Роспечать 70114

### Цели и тематика

Журнал ВОПРОСЫ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ И ФЕДЕРАТИВНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ – периодическое международное рецензируемое научное издание в области политических исследований. Журнал является международным как по составу редакционного совета и редколлегии, так и по авторам и тематике публикаций.

Научный журнал издается с 2011 года в издательстве «Наука сегодня». С 2018 года издается переводная (англ.) версия журнала. С момента своего создания, журнал ориентировался на высокие научные и этические стандарты и сегодня является одним из ведущих политологических журналов России.

Цель журнала – способствовать научному обмену и сотрудничеству между российскими и зарубежными политологами.

Журнал предназначен для публикации результатов фундаментальных и прикладных научных исследований. Тематическая направленность журнала отражается в следующих постоянных рубриках: «Отечественная история, этнология и этнография», «История международных отношений и мировой политики», «История и философия политики», «Политические институты, процессы и технологии», «Политическая культура, этнополитика и идеологии», «Политические проблемы международных отношений и глобализации».

Формат публикаций: научные статьи, обзорные научные материалы, материалы круглых столов, научные рецензии, научные сообщения, посвященные исследовательским проблемам в сфере политики и политологии.

В своей деятельности редакционный совет и редколлегия журнала руководствуется принципами, определяемыми ВАК России для научных журналов, в том числе: наличие института рецензирования для экспертной оценки качества научных статей; информационная открытость издания; наличие и соблюдение правил и этических стандартов представления рукописей авторами.

Целевой аудиторией журнала являются российские и зарубежные специалисты-политологи, а также аспиранты и магистры, обучающиеся по направлениям политология, государственное и муниципальное управление и международные отношения.

Журнал строго придерживается международных стандартов публикационной этики, обозначенных в документе *COPE (Committee on Publication Ethics)* <http://publicationethics.org>

Полные сведения о журнале и его редакционной политике, требования о подготовке и публикации статей, архив (выпуски с 2011 года) и дополнительная информация размещена на сайте: <http://etnopolitolog.ru>

Электронный адрес: [etnopolitolog@yandex.ru](mailto:etnopolitolog@yandex.ru)

---

ISSN 2226-8596 (print)

12 issues a year plus

2 issues a year of the translated (eng.) version

Languages: Russian and English

<http://etnopolitolog>

Included in the list of peer-reviewed scientific publications of the Higher Attestation Commission of the Russian Federation

Included in the Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

Materials of the journal are placed on the RSCI platform of the Russian scientific electronic library – Electronic Journals Library Cyberleninka

Subscription index of the journal in the Rospechat Agency catalogue is: 70114

### Objectives and themes

Academic journal “Issues of National and Federative Relations” is an international peer-reviewed scientific periodical in the field of political studies. The journal has an international character because of the composition of its Editorial Board, its editors, its contributing authors and topics of its publications.

The scientific journal is published since 2011 at the “Publishing House “Science Today”. Translated (eng.) version of the journal is published since 2018. Since its inception, the journal was guided by high scientific and ethical standards and today it is one of the leading political science journals in Russia.

The purpose of the journal is to promote scientific exchange and cooperation between Russian and foreign political scientists.

The journal is intended for the publication of the results of fundamental and applied scientific research. Thematic focus of the journal is reflected in the following permanent headings: “Domestic history, ethnology and ethnography”, “History of international relations and world politics”, “History and philosophy of politics”, “Political institutions, processes and technologies”, “Political culture, ethnopolitics and ideologies”, “Political problems of international relations and globalization.”

Format of publications: scientific articles, reviews, scientific materials, materials of round tables, scientific reviews, scientific reports devoted to research problems in the field of politics and political science.

The Editorial Board and the editors of the journal in their activities are guided by the principles defined by VAK of Russia for scientific journals, including: presence of the institute of peer review for the expert quality assessment of scientific articles; information openness of the publications; availability and compliance with the rules and ethical standards for the submission of manuscripts by the authors.

The target audience of the journal is Russian and foreign specialists-political scientists, as well as graduate students and masters in the fields of political science, state and municipal management and international relations.

The journal strictly adheres to the international publishing standards and publication ethics identified in the *COPE (Committee on Publication Ethics)* document. <http://publicationethics.org>.

Full details of the journal and its editorial policy, requirements to the preparation and publication of articles, archive (issues since 2011) and additional information are available on the website: <http://etnopolitolog.ru>

E-mail address: [etnopolitolog@yandex.ru](mailto:etnopolitolog@yandex.ru)

# СОДЕРЖАНИЕ

---

## ОТЕЧЕСТВЕННАЯ ИСТОРИЯ, ЭТНОЛОГИЯ И ЭТНОГРАФИЯ

### **Упоров И.В.**

Начало диссидентства в советском государстве  
и «самиздат» инакомыслящих ..... 2374

### **Бородин М.П., Зуев А.В.**

Историография системы электросвязи профессиональной  
пожарной команды столицы Российской империи ..... 2382

### **Пай С.С.**

Решение проблемы сиротства, беженства, беспризорности  
и безнадзорности детей на юге Дальнего Востока России  
в 1900-1922 годы ..... 2390

### **Тошева М.С., Тошева Н.А., Серпуховитина Т.Ю., Логвинова А.Н.**

Легковые автомобили и их применение  
в российской армии (1900-1945 гг.) ..... 2402

### **Занозин Н.В.**

Обеспечение жильем населения Горьковской области  
в первые послевоенные годы (1945-1953 гг.) ..... 2418

### **Закомалдин М.М.**

Научная, преподавательская и просветительская  
деятельность  
А.В. Маклецова в русском послереволюционном зарубежье ..... 2427

### **Симон Александр.**

Истоки евразийства в русской общественной мысли  
XIX – XX вв. .... 2434

### **Лантинг Т.Н.**

Информационная деятельность работников библиотек  
в блокадном Ленинграде ..... 2444

### **Ведьманов О.Н.**

Производственное состояние Ульяновского областного  
объединения «Ульяновскпромшерсть» в 1980-е годы ..... 2456

### **Зимица В.В., Читаев Н.Е., Любимов А.А.**

Причины Крестьянского восстания 1921 года  
в селе Клепиковском Ишимского уезда ..... 2464

## ИСТОРИЯ И ТЕОРИЯ ПОЛИТИКИ

### **Болтенкова Л.Ф.**

Регулирование вопросов пола в контексте религии  
(в нескольких статьях). Статья третья ..... 2471

---

**Керимов О.Ю.**

Концепция государства-цивилизации как теоретическая  
основа модели российской политической модернизации ..... 2487

**Чжан Цзысюань**

Политический национализм и мультикультурализм  
в современном нациестроительстве ..... 2498

**ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИЕ ИНСТИТУТЫ, ПРОЦЕССЫ И ТЕХНОЛОГИИ**

**Буртный К.П., Хасанов Т.С.**

Патриотическое сознание и ценностные ориентации  
современной молодежи Кыргызстана ..... 2509

**Губачев М.Н.**

Проблемы формирования  
гражданского общества в России ..... 2521

**Петров Д.Ю.**

Информационная парадигма современного медиа  
пространства Остроух Е.И. Практика шефской помощи  
как эффективный механизм интеграции присоединённых  
территорий (на примере Крыма и Донбасса) ..... 2537

**Чень Сыли**

Символы женской власти и влияния: исследование  
от Анны Стюарт до Хиллари Клинтон ..... 2546

**Го Фэнли**

Особенность противодействия информационным операциям  
со стороны Российской Федерации ..... 2554

**Годик М.А.**

Реализация Стратегии государственной национальной  
политики Российской Федерации на период до 2025 года:  
подходы, процессы, практики ..... 2561

**Лю Ци**

Развитие и влияние интернет-идеологии  
в контексте глобальных социальных процессов ..... 2574

**Цун Сяомэн**

Основные тенденции и перспективы развития  
политического режима в современной России ..... 2581

---

## ГОСУДАРСТВЕННОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ И ОТРАСЛЕВЫЕ ПОЛИТИКИ

**Архангельский В.Н., Рязанцев С.В., Смирнов А.В.**

Рождаемость в реальных поколениях женщин  
в Тюменской области (по данным переписи населения 2020 г.) ..... 2591

**Степовая Д.А.**

Влияние утечки персональных данных на планирование  
информационно-психологических операций ..... 2611

## ТЕОРИЯ И ИСТОРИЯ МЕЖДУНАРОДНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ И ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ

**Абдулхаиров А.З., Сенченко Н.А., Умерова С.Д.**

Морские коммуникации через Черное море  
между Крымским ханством и Османской империей  
в XVII-XVIII веках ..... 2617

**Бредихин А.В.**

Культурное сотрудничество на пути  
интеграции Монголии в ШОС ..... 2633

**Топал Н.М.**

К вопросу героизации украинских националистов ..... 2640

**Габбасова К.Р.**

Мусульмане в республиканском Китае в первой половине  
XX в. (1912-1948 гг.) ..... 2647

**Данилов А.**

The Aspects of the Formation of the Greek Vector  
of the US Foreign Policy/Аспекты формирования  
греческого вектора внешней политики США ..... 2658

**Дуан Жоцзюнь**

Участие Китая в освоении Арктики: ситуация вокруг  
Арктического региона и международные вопросы ..... 2668

**Налбандян К.С.**

Организация тюркских государств как инструмент усиления  
международного влияния Турции ..... 2676

**Савушкин Д.С.**

Франция: европейское лидерство или предтеча падения? ..... 2689

**Сантуш Родригеш Питра Диаш Душ**

Миграционный кризис как фактор формирования  
террористической угрозы в Анголе ..... 2698

---

**Хуан Минто**

Этнические немцы Казахстана: язык и идентичность ..... 2706

**Цай Ян**

Важность и проблемы участия молодежи в политической  
деятельности: мировые тенденции и китайская практика ..... 2718

**Чжао Янь**

Государственная политика в сфере строительства  
«безотходных городов» в Китайской Народной Республике ..... 2728

**Чжу Сюй**

Пограничный конфликт 2020 года и отношения  
между Китаем и Индией ..... 2736

**СТУДЕНЧЕСКАЯ НАУКА****Литвиненко Д.В., Волжанин Д.А., Дубков Н.С.**

Проектное управление в государственном секторе:  
теория и практика..... 2746

**Кайсаров А.А., Чужиков Н.А.**

Формирование русской нации:  
роль Манифеста 17 октября 1905 года..... 2756

**Костина А.Д., Ильинская К.Р., Пахмутов Н.Д.**

Почасовая форма оплаты труда: выгоды внедрения  
и потенциальные угрозы ..... 2764

**Котова Е.А., Моисеенко О.А.**

Русская православная церковь как политический субъект  
и ее взаимодействие с политическими институтами  
в современной России ..... 2771

**Кузюра Ю.С., Рычкова А.Л.**

Анализ влияния фактора пандемии коронавируса  
на транспортную систему Республики Корея ..... 2782

**Баранова Ю.В., Леонова А.А.**

Анализ практической реализации китайской концепции  
«Сообщества единой судьбы человечества» ..... 2787

**Локтионова Д.В., Стахно Е.В.**

IT-специалисты на Российском рынке труда:  
высокий спрос, перенасыщение и миграция ..... 2798

**Пак О.А.**

Истоки формирования русофобии  
в среде английской политической элиты ..... 2804

---

***Полищук Д.И., Мандрица А.В.***

Проблемы кадрового рекрутинга в функционировании  
института государственной гражданской службы в РФ..... 2816

**НАУЧНЫЕ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ**

***Сапарбекова Д.***

Большое Евразийское партнерство: новые парадигмы  
и смыслы развития макрорегиона ..... 2822

**НАШИ АВТОРЫ** ..... 2825

**ТРЕБОВАНИЯ К ОФОРМЛЕНИЮ РУКОПИСЕЙ** ..... 2836



**А. ДАНИЛОВ**

аспирант Российского университета  
дружбы народов, Россия, г. Москва

## **АСПЕКТЫ ФОРМИРОВАНИЯ ГРЕЧЕСКОГО ВЕКТОРА ВНЕШНЕЙ ПОЛИТИКИ США**

*В статье автор освещает период участия США в гражданской войне в Греции с целью поддержки прозападных сил и установления контроля над регионом Южных Балкан.*

*После окончания Второй мировой войны новая международная архитектура требовала более активного участия США в различных регионах мира, чтобы противостоять растущему коммунистическому влиянию во всем мире и особенно сильным позициям коммунистических сил в Европе. Таким образом, в послевоенной системе международных отношений Соединенные Штаты Америки выстроили стратегию доминирования в мировой политике, стремясь контролировать ключевые регионы мира, в том числе Балканы и Восточное Средиземноморье. Эта стратегия в американских национальных императивах сохранилась до наших дней.*

*На примере Греции, изначально находившейся в зоне влияния Великобритании, можно проследить эволюцию внешней политики США в Европе, направленную на усиление геополитической роли Вашингтона на континенте и американское влияние в конкретных странах. С крушением колониальной системы после Второй мировой войны, потерей Великобританией былого могущества и влияния мы наблюдаем переход США к стратегии мирового господства. Это хорошо видно на примере Греции, которая была одной из первых европейских стран, в которой американское руководство стремилось усилить свое военное и экономическое присутствие, направленное на усиление господства США.*

*В годы холодной войны США неоднократно применяли испытанные средства и методы в Греции, чтобы влиять на правительства других стран. Успешно реализовавшие свои планы в Греции США после распада биполярной системы активно использовали этот опыт по отношению к странам Восточной Европы, поставив их в большую зависимость от собственных геополитических целей.*

**Ключевые слова:** США, Греция, внешняя политика, греческое направление внешней политики США, международные отношения.

**A. DANILOV**

*Post-graduate student of RUDN University,  
Moscow, Russia*

## **THE ASPECTS OF THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK VECTOR OF THE US FOREIGN POLICY**

*In the article the author covers the period of the US involvement in the Greek civil war in order to support pro-Western forces and gain control over the South Balkan region.*

*After the end of the World War II the new international architecture required greater US involvement into different regions of the world in order to resist the growing communist influence all over the world and particularly against strong positions of communist forces in Europe. Thus in the post-war system of international relations, the United States of America built a strategy of dominance in world politics, trying to control the key regions of the world, including the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. This strategy in American national imperatives has been preserved to this day.*

*On the example of Greece which was originally in the zone of influence of Great Britain we can trace the evolution of the US foreign policy in Europe, aimed at strengthening the geopolitical role of Washington on the continent and American influence in concrete countries. With the collapse of the colonial system after the Second World War the loss of Great Britain of its former power and influence we observe the transition of the United States to a strategy of world domination. This can be clearly seen in the case of Greece which was one of the first European countries in which the American leadership sought to strengthen its military and economic presence aimed at strengthening US dominance.*

*During the Cold War the United States repeatedly used the means and methods tested in Greece to influence the governments of other countries. Successfully implemented their plans in Greece the United States after the collapse of the bipolar system actively used this experience in relation to the Eastern European countries, making them highly dependent on their own geopolitical goals.*

**Key words:** *USA, Greece, foreign policy, Greek direction of US foreign policy, international relations.*

The new system of international relations that took shape as a result of the adoption of the agreements and treaties of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences

was characterized by a division into capitalist and socialist blocs. Further determination of the place of Greece within the framework of the existing world order influenced the balance of power in the region. The Greek political establishment was predominantly fragmented into veterans of the Greek People's Liberation Army (ELAS) and politicians who supported the UK's desire to return the monarchy to the country.

It should be noted that the plan for the restoration of the monarchy was only a tool for Britain to stop the spread of communist ideas in the Balkans and consolidate Greece in the orbit of the Western countries. In order to achieve this goal London in October 4, 1944, ensured the entry of its armed forces into Greece as part of supposedly allied obligations in the fight against the Nazi regime in Europe. Thus it seems logical that W. Churchill tried to make Greece the center of opposition to the growth of communist sentiment in the Balkans.

British actions created serious problems for the growth of socialist influence in the region. However the influence of communist ideology in post-war Greece remained strong. The growing polarization of public opinion in the country was accompanied by the demands of a significant part of the Greek society for the development of relations with the USSR following the example of other Balkan countries meanwhile the "left" forces widely represented in society were not going to lose their influence in the country. The first armed clashes between the national communist forces on the one hand and the Greek government, some parts of the army, gendarmerie and police on the other hand took place in Athens in December 1944 and known in history under the name "Dekimbriana". The socialists and pro-communist forces demonstrated their readiness for armed struggle against the influence of Western countries and the Greek government demonstrated their determination to defend the capitalist ideology. As a consequence, a full-fledged civil war broke out in Greece in 1946 between the communists and the Western-backed Greek government. The official power was opposed by the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) under the command of M. Vafiadis which became the successor to ELAS liquidated as a result of the Varkiza Agreement of 1945 [26]. The armed forces of the DAG had practical combat experience acquired during the fights against the German and Italian occupations during the Second World War and posed a real threat to government forces.

The confrontation between the pro-communist and pro-capitalist forces in Greece was assessed by the US political leadership through the prism of American exceptionalism which has become an indispensable built-in element of the philosophy of the US behavior in the world [11]. In the post-war period the United States of America possessed the strongest financial and military potential among the capitalist countries which was used to strengthen its geopolitical influence in the framework of the "European Reconstruction Program" and creation of a global network of military bases and alliances [8]. Obviously the White House was worried about even the hypothetical possibility of Greece joining the camp

of the socialist countries and negatively perceived the outbreak of the civil war. US Ambassador to Greece L. McVeigh informed Washington that "the Soviet Union wants to establish complete control over Greece" [1]. In this regard it was obvious that if Washington allowed the expansion of Moscow's influence in the Balkans then the United States would lose influence on them with the prospect of the spread of communism in Italy and France where the positions of its supporters were noticeably strengthened during resistance to the Germanic occupation. The United States as well as Britain wanted to make Greece an outpost of Western forces in the region but in the context of their national aspirations.

The State Department based on the memorandum [16] of G. Howard the adviser to the department for Greece, Turkey and Iran determined the main directions of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the Balkans which according to his opinion consisted in consolidating the forces of the USSR, Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria in order to overthrow the Greek government, to cut off Greek Macedonia from Greece and include it in the Yugoslav Federation in order to provide Bulgaria and the USSR the access to the Aegean Sea by annexing western Thrace. This would provide the USSR with a more advantageous strategic position from the Aegean to influence the Turkish straits.

The rapid development of events required the Americans to take decisive action. The civil war in Greece became a trigger for disagreements among the American political and military leadership regarding the use of their main instruments of foreign policy influence which were international economic and military assistance [6]. The White House and the State Department insisted on a revision of the country's foreign policy towards Greece and the active involvement of the United States in the confrontation in this country. Congressmen conceptually held the opposite point of view but were divided along party lines. "Republican congressmen were in favor of federal budget cuts and pursued a strategy of isolationism in US foreign policy. Democrats remained true to the wartime principles of "Big Three" cooperation within the United Nations" [18]. The military leadership in its turn considered it expedient to initially strengthen

the defense capabilities of the Western European countries even to the detriment of American influence in the Balkans. In their opinion the funds and forces allocated for Greece could reduce the military potential of the Western European allies in the United States. Given the uncertainty of the outcome of the military confrontation in Greece the loss of a large amount of money and military equipment would be a serious decrease in the position of the United States in the region.

An important event that determined the US foreign policy in the Greek direction was the dispatch in 1947 of a US special economic mission headed by the economist Paul R. Porter. In his memoirs US President G. Truman mentioned that the mission was to identify problem areas and present ways to improve the economic situation in Greece with the assistance of "formal legal council." Thus

the mission's first protocol task was to analyze the Greek economy during the civil war. The US Secretary of State J. Byrnes and the US Ambassador to Greece L. McVeigh they insisted that the mission's experts would have advisory powers in managing economic assistance within the framework of loans provided by the US Export-Import Bank (Eximbank) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) [3]. The second official task of the mission was defined as preparing recommendations for the US leadership on specific sectors of the Greek economy where financial assistance would subsequently be directed indicating the amount of assistance needed [3]. This task also was set for the US Ambassador to Greece who was informed by the US Deputy Secretary of State

D. Acheson that “the program of assistance in connection with the critical economic situation in Greece has been prepared but Congressional discussions and the necessary appropriations will take at least two or three months” [15]. It should be noted that for the future Secretary of State D. Acheson (after J. Marshall) it was the Greek crisis that changed his views on the USSR and made him one of the architects of the Cold War.

P. Porter later noted that the secret task of the mission was to put pressure on the Greek government to obtain consent to the implementation of a certain economic policy [3] the contours of which were still being formed. At the same time new approaches to the implementation of the US foreign policy in Europe in general and in the Balkans in particular were being developed.

The results of the mission were already received and evaluated by the new US Secretary of State J. Marshall who took office on January 21, 1947. In a report to Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs W.L. Clayton dated February 17, 1947, P. Porter firstly noted the social tension in society, highlighting the “dangerous psychological state of the people” their sense of “helplessness” and “dependence on the United States” [24]. Secondly, he conducted an analysis of the country's economy, indicating that “the situation in Greece [...] is very discouraging but not hopeless. Obviously there are the makings of financial collapse and I do not need to point out the political consequences that follow from this. Inflation is prevented by energetic measures on the part of the Greek government and significant financial assistance from foreign sources” [9]. Thirdly he noted that “we have been working with the government ministries in Athens to try to get a detailed picture of their program for the coming year but have encountered the usual Greek difficulties and frustrations in obtaining reliable information. However we have made some progress on government reorganization, budget information, trade balances and related issues” [9].

The Deputy Secretary of State D. Acheson also sent an analytical note to his leader in which he indicated that “if Greece will not be immediately supported it seems quite likely that the existing Greek government will be overthrown and the extreme left will come to power [...] which ultimately may lead to the loss of the

entire Near and Middle East and North Africa.” The diplomat advised “to submit to Congress on an urgent basis a special law on a direct loan

to Greece as well as to decide on “assistance to Greece in the field of military equipment” [17]. As the author pointed out earlier D. Acheson has already lobbied through the US ambassador to Greece the issue of granting loans through Eximbank and IBRD.

At the same time another report was published by the head of the UN Security Council Commission in the Balkans M. Ethridge [25] which pointed out the difficult situation in Greece due to ongoing conflict noting that economic difficulties and military confrontation within the country pose a threat to the current Greek government and led to a coup d'état which would affect the European countries with strong positions of the “left” forces (Italy, France) and would change the balance of power in the Middle East.

Finally the coordinated position of international structures and the American foreign policy department confirmed the joint message of M. Ethridge (UN), P. Porter and L. McVeigh (USA) to the Secretary of State J. Marshall stating that “the approaching fall of the official government in Greece is becoming the highest degree probable” [23].

The US administration has also deployed a media resource in support of the Greek government. Thus the New York Times newspaper called P. Porter's mission “the most important step for the United States to provide Greece with large-scale economic assistance” [19] and called for preventing “left” forces from coming into power.

Thus the results of the US economic mission to Greece, the recommendations of senior US officials, the report of the UN Security Council commission in the Balkans and the media support for Greece influenced Washington to decide to move away from the policy of isolationism towards Athens.

It is very important to note that Britain which traditionally had a strong influence on the Greek political and military establishment was not able to counteract the “left” forces in the country thus the US government “ceased to be a predominantly interested spectator and turned into a main participant” [13].

It is noteworthy that in the same month when P. Porter's report was prepared at the State Department with the results of the mission to Greece British Ambassador to the United States A.C. Kerr the 1st Baron Inverchapel informed Undersecretary of State D. Acheson that due to economic difficulties London was not able to continue to provide assistance to Athens and Ankara according to its earlier obligations [18]. The content of the British Ambassador's note was that Britain would stop providing aid to Greece and Turkey in six weeks [1]. The author fully shares the views of American politicians regarding the actions of Britain. In particular J. Marshall in a conversation with the US Secretary of the Navy J. Forrestal on February 24, 1947 noted that the British notes “are tantamount to Britain's renunciation of its presence in the Middle East and are

obviously aimed at turning to the United States as its successor". His words are confirmed by the well-known American diplomat J. Jones who emphasized that the notes were regarded as evidence that Great Britain "transferred to the United States the leadership of the world with all its difficulties and glory" [4].

The policy document that marked the succession of the United States in pursuing a Euro-Atlantic foreign policy in the eastern Mediterranean was the speech of March 12, 1947 by the US President G. Truman before the joint session of Congress on US foreign policy and the situation around Greece and Turkey [20] known as the Truman Doctrine. In his speech the head of USA pointed the growing threat of communism and the need to take decisive action to counter the spread of its influence in the world. For this according to him it was necessary to intensify the country's foreign policy in various regions of the world primarily in the Eastern Mediterranean region and the Balkans. It is characteristic that in his speech the president never mentioned the Soviet Union, and the word "communist" was once used in relation to the Greek partisans [18].

The basis of Truman's message was the need for political and ideological support from various countries of the world. At the same time there was a process of the US economic expansion in Europe and the Middle East mainly in the oil industry. The United States sought to strengthen its position in the energy markets which was the reason for the focus on economic factors in the President's speech [18].

Truman's speech resonated with congressmen as many believed that "the doctrine would create a precedent for interference in the internal affairs of other states and could lead to war with the USSR, as well as significantly weaken the UN" [5]. The doctrine was also criticized by well-known revisionist scholars L. Wittner and W. Williams who believed that from the moment the Truman Doctrine was proclaimed an active imperial US policy in the world actually began driven primarily by economic factors including the conquest of new markets, the displacement of competitors and the promotion of capitalist principles. However historian and international affairs scholar Louis J. Halle who at the time was a member of the policy planning section of the US State Department didn't see any hidden imperial ambitions in the Truman Doctrine. According to his opinion the main task of the H. Truman administration was to "get approval from Congress for the allocation of funds for Greece and Turkey. To see how the doctrine influenced the course of history in the future those responsible for this decision would be surprised and delighted" [12]. However, according to the author the presidential administration still counted on the economic and geopolitical expansionism of the Eastern Mediterranean region. It is enough to recall the above-mentioned recommendations of D. Acheson to P. Porter regarding the involvement of Eximbank and IBRD in lending the Greek government.

In contrast to congressmen and revisionist academics the American executives primarily the State Department took a different view. The Deputy Secretary

of State D. Acheson argued: “If Greece had applied to the UN or any other organizations related to it, the necessary time would have been lost and the end result [...] could have been different” [22]. The author supports the diplomat's opinion with two factors. First it is most likely that the USSR would have vetoed the offer of economic assistance from the United States to the UN Security Council. Secondly there was no absolute guarantee in the support of the US project in the UN General Assembly.

Obviously, the proclamation of the Truman Doctrine became the starting point for the formation of a new political reality in the United States and led to the subsequent transformation of the conceptual basis of the Monroe Doctrine. According to the American historian and political scientist D. Burstin the Truman Doctrine “as the starting point of American foreign policy could be compared with the statement of President Monroe a hundred years ago and with the speeches of the President Wilson before the First World War and in some way combined the tasks set by them. The Monroe Doctrine – about the inadmissibility of foreign interference in the internal affairs of the peoples of the New World - was now to be extended to the whole world; Americans were ready to use their power and wealth to save the world for democracy” [7]. Political and economic interests of the USA demanded the strengthening of influence in Europe and in the Middle East. The Truman Doctrine marked a change in the US foreign policy on the world stage. D. Acheson emphasized the fundamental change in the post-war course of the United States pointing out that the issue of providing assistance to Greece and Turkey was considered “quickly, efficiently and decisively” because of its real significance [10].

As a result on April 22, 1947 the Greek-Turkish program was approved by the Senate. On May 9 the plan was approved by the House of Representatives. “The program ended on June 30, 1948. Out of a total amount of \$400 million Greece received \$300 million. Half of the total fund (150 million) was supposed to be used to supply the Greek armed forces, and the rest to finance projects for economic reconstruction and restoration” [14]. At the same time the Truman Doctrine officially gave the United States access to strategic oil fields in the Middle East the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf which became a zone of Washington's vital interests.

Summing up the analysis of the Truman Doctrine in US foreign policy in the Greek issue we can quote the American political commentator and journalist W. Lippman who very accurately revealed the ideological reason for the strengthening of the US presence in the Eastern Mediterranean: “We chose Turkey and Greece not because they especially needed aid and not because they are brilliant examples of democracy but because they are strategic gates leading to the Black Sea to the heart of the Soviet Union” [21]. His opinion can be supported by the thought of the American writer R. Fraser that “The Truman Doctrine marked the actual beginning of the Cold War”, because “for the first time, the contradictions



between West and East were reliably connected with ideology” which became the defining characteristic of this conflict [21].

### REFERENCES:

1. *Acheson D.* Present at the Creation: My Years at the State Department. N.Y.: Norton, 1969.
2. *Acheson D.* Present at the Creation: My Years at the State Department. N.Y.: Norton, 1969.
3. *Amen M.M.* American Foreign Policy in Greece 1944-1949: Economic, Military and Institutional Aspects. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1978.
4. *Anikin A.S., Beletsky V.N., Bogush E.V., Gromyko A.A. and others.* History of diplomacy. T. 5: Book. 1: The period after the end of World War II until the early 1960s. M.: Politizdat, 1974.
5. *Bailey T.A.* A Diplomatic History of American People. New Jersey, 1980.
6. *Beletskaya M.Yu.* The US Foreign Economic Assistance System: From Truman to Trump // USA & Canada: Economics, Politics, Culture. 2020. № 50 (12).
7. *Burstin D.* Americans: democratic experience: in 3 vols. T. 3 / per. from English. M.: Progress, 1993.
8. *Davydov A.A.* Fundamentals of the Strategic Planning of the US Foreign Policy // The USA & Canada: Economics, Politics, Culture. 2022. No. 6.
9. Foreign Relations of The United States, 1947 // The Near East and Africa. 1947 Vol. V // <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1947v05/d15>.
10. *Frazier R.* Anglo-American relations with Greece. The coming of the cold war. London, 1991.
11. *Garbuzov V.N.* Lights and Shadows of the American Exceptionalism // The USA & Canada: Economics, Politics, Culture. 2020. № 50 (11).
12. *Halle L.J.* The Cold War as History. N.Y.: Harper & Row, 1975.
13. *Kalinin A.A., Yungblud V.Yu.* Greece in the American-British Relations in 1939-1945 / Vyat. State. Humanite. Univ. Kirov: Publishing house of VyatGGU, 2009.
14. *Kalinin A.A.* At the forefront of the Cold War: the USA, the USSR and the civil war in Greece (1944-1949) // Kirov: Nauch. Publishing House of Vyatka State University, 2018.
15. *Kuniholm B.R.* The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey, and Greece. Princeton, 1980.
16. Memorandum by Mr. Harry N. Howard of the Division of Research for Near Eastern and Africa. "Incidents on the Northern Greek Frontiers", December 9, 1946 // FRUS. 1946. Vol. VII.
17. Memorandum by the Under Secretary of State (Acheson) to the Secretary of State, February 21, 1947.

18. *Pivovarova V.S.* Greece in the US Foreign Policy: 1945-1953: dis. ... cand. hist. Sciences: 07.00.03. Krasnodar, 2012.
19. Porter will Head Mission to Greece // *The New York Times*, December 12, 1946.
20. President Truman's Message to Congress; March 12, 1947; Document 171; 80th Congress, 1st Session; Records of the United States House of Representatives; Record Group 233; National Archives.
21. *Shemenkov K.A.* Greece: the problems of modern history. M., 1987.
22. Statement by Acting Secretary Acheson, May 4, 1947 // Department of State Bulletin Supplement: Aid to Greece and Turkey, May 4, 1947. Subject File, J.M. Jones Papers.
23. The Ambassador in Greece (MacVeagh) to the Secretary of State, February 20, 1947 // *The Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS)*. 1948 Vol. V.
24. The Chief of the American Economic Mission to Greece (Porter) to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (Clayton), February 17, 1947 // *FRUS*. 1947. Vol. V.
25. United Nations Commission for the Investigation of Greek Frontier Incidents (1947), Fonds AG-047 // <https://search.archives.un.org/downloads/united-nations-commission-for-investigation-of-greek-frontier-incidents-1947.pdf>.
26. Varkiza Agreement // *Brasos Vesh. M.: Soviet Encyclopedia*, 1971. (Great Soviet Encyclopedia: [in 30 volumes] / editor-in-chief A.M. Prokhorov; 1969-1978, vol. 4).