

THE PROSPECTS FOR SUSTAINABLE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT UNDER MILITARY-ECONOMIC CYCLICITY

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The relevance of this article is due to the fact that the modern world-system has plunged into a state of extreme instability, the next era of global turbulence has already begun, which in historical retrospect led to the deployment of large-scale wars. Today, when the world-system once again stands on the threshold of the unfolding of crisis-militaristic phases of its cyclical development, taking into account the accumulated nuclear arsenal and, in general, the level of development of military technologies, it is necessary to resolve the aggravated inter-country and inter-civilizational contradictions peacefully in order to preserve the achieved level of civilizational development and to achieve the goals of sustainable development in the future.

The purpose of this article is to explore, in the context of military-economic cyclicity, the prospects for sustainable socio-economic development and to justify the need for comprehensive demilitarization.

Methods: we applied the institutional and cyclical conjuncture methodology, including the logical-historical and dialectical method, as well as general scientific methods of analysis and synthesis, induction and deduction.

The scientific novelty is contained in the following research results: the essence of military-economic cycles is determined, the role of their crisis-militaristic phases in the cyclical dynamics of the capitalist world-system is substantiated; shows the increasing militarization of the economy, the industrialization of war and the economic policies of military Keynesianism; it has been revealed that the cyclical nature of wars is clearly manifested in the deployment of such global cycles of capitalism as Kondratiev cycles, long cycles of world politics, cycles of hegemony; the need for demilitarization of the economy and public consciousness is substantiated to achieve the goals of sustainable socio-economic development.

Keywords: military-economic cycles, crisis-militaristic phases, sustainable development, military Keynesianism, demilitarization

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Introduction

Large-scale wars are an integral component of cyclical societal development. During the course of large-scale wars in historical retrospect, the contradictions of societal development were resolved, but the periods of intensified military operations themselves are a time of turbulence and slowdown of those constructive societal processes that bring sustainable socio-economic development closer. The achievement of the goals of the implementation of the concept of sustainable development, including the elimination of poverty, hunger, good health and well-being, quality

education, decent work and economic growth, reduction of inequality, is now hampered by the aggravation of geopolitical contradictions, and in countries that have become a space of localization of the resolution of these contradictions by military means, in general becomes impossible in the foreseeable future. The achievement of Sustainable Development Goals, including the eradication of poverty and hunger; ensuring good health and well-being, as well as quality education; promoting decent work and economic growth; reducing inequalities, etc. (UN, 2015), contributes to the resolution of deep inter-class, inter-country and inter-civilizational contradictions, the periodic aggravation of which leads to deep systemic crises of the capitalist world-system. In historical retrospect, the way out of such systemic crises occurred in the process of deployment of crisis-militaristic phases of global military-economic cycles, in particular, "macro-resolution" phases of long cycles of world politics, "thirty-year war" phases of hegemony cycles, "territorialism (material expansion)" phases of systemic cycles of capital accumulation, which contradicts the very essence of sustainable development.

Literature Review

The study of the prospects for implementing the concept of sustainable development in conditions of military-economic cyclicity is carried out in this article through the prism of theories of the cyclical nature of global political-economic and military-economic processes.

This study is based on the theory of long cycles of world politics G. Modelski and W. Thompson (Modelski, 1995). The increasing role of the militarization of the economy, the industrialization of war and the economic policy of Keynesianism in the socio-economic development of the modern capitalist world-system is justified based on scientific publications G. Arrighi (Arrighi, 2007; 2010), P. Custers (Custers, 2010), W. McNeill (McNeill, 1982), J. Toporowski (Toporowski, 2023).

The study of the role of crisis-militaristic phases of military-economic cycles in the cyclical dynamics of the world-system, and, consequently, in changing conditions for the realization of Sustainable Development Goals, is based on the theory of long cycles of world politics by G. Modelski and W. Thompson (Modelski, 1995) and the world-system analysis by I. Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 1983). The threats to sustainable development posed by wars are characterized based on the findings of United Nations (UN) (UN, 1988; 2001; 2015), International Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament (ICNND) (ICNND, 2009), Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) (SIPRI, 2022) regarding the destructive potential of weapons of mass destruction.

Results and Discussion

The cyclical nature of capitalist reproduction, the rhythm of which is determined by periodic crises and wars, makes it impossible to achieve absolutely sustainable societal development. That is, realistic goals are the maximum smoothing of its cyclical fluctuations, smoothing out all forms of social inequality, which will lead to a decrease in the severity of inter-class contradictions, and therefore stabilize the capitalist world-system. The cyclical dynamics of the capitalist world-system is formed by the unity of the diversity of socio-economic cycles, with military-economic cycles being one of their most relevant forms.

Military-economic cycles should be understood as a form of socio-economic cyclicity, which is generated by the struggle for resources that allow societal units or complex societal

organisms - winners in the struggle for economic and military-political leadership - to dominate in the long term and develop successfully for some time. Each historical form of political-economic system of domination, which was established as a result of war, contained in itself the preconditions of the next war - deep socio-economic, political, civilizational contradictions. The stability of the capitalist world-system as a whole and its components - core, semi-periphery and periphery - depend primarily on the stability of geopolitical processes. The formation of the world geopolitical system occurs in the process of unfolding global cycles, with military-economic cycles playing the leading role. The greatest influence on the development of the global geopolitical system is exerted by the Kondratiev cycles, long cycles of world politics by G. Modelski and W. Thompson, cycles of hegemony by I. Wallerstein, long military cycles by J. Goldstein, and system cycles of capital accumulation by J. Arrighi.

Crises play a cycle-forming role in the unfolding of the above-mentioned cycles, and crisis-militaristic phases are an integral component of these cycles. It should be taken into account that crisis is not only manifested in economic collapse; crisis is a complex phenomenon and is generated by the aggravation of contradictions of societal development, primarily institutional. It is the imperfection of societal institutions that is most responsible for the outgrowth of the crisis into the crisis-militarist phase, when inter-class, inter-country and inter-civilizational contradictions are resolved militarily.

The crisis-militaristic phase of the military-economic cycle should be understood as a phase of manifestation of extreme aggravation of contradictions in the system of interactions of certain competing societal organisms, which leads to a military-political conflict, the outcome of which determines the balance of power in a particular regional or global geopolitical system and creates the basis for overcoming the systemic crisis, that is, an all-encompassing, multidimensional crisis, and this is precisely the kind that has gripped the modern world-system. The rhythm of the global political process is set by periodic large-scale wars, upon completion of which regional geopolitical systems and the global geopolitical system as a whole are reformatted, regional and global hegemony of the victorious countries in the military-political confrontation is established.

The theory of long cycles of world politics by G. Modelski and W. Thompson conceptualizes the cyclical process of certain states acquiring the status of a world leader. In particular, according to the model of long cycles of "accumulation of experience", which explains the process of "rise" of a world power, each such 120-year cycle consists of four phases: 1 - "agenda setting," 2 - "coalition building," 3 - "macro-decision," and 4 - "execution." The "macro-decision" phase is characterized by a global confrontation, at the end of which a global leader emerges; it lasts approximately 30 years (Modelski, 1995).

According to I. Wallerstein, in the historical process of development of capitalism, three independent cases of hegemony were formed. In the historical retrospective of capitalism development, these were the United Provinces (Holland), the United Kingdom (Great Britain) and the United States of America. In each case, hegemony was achieved through the Thirty Years of World War, a land war that involved (not necessarily constantly) almost all the major military powers of the era in large-scale conflicts that were extremely devastating to the land and population. These were the Thirty Years' War of 1618-1648; cycle of the Napoleonic wars 1792-1815; Euro-Asian Wars 1914-1945 (Wallerstein, 1983).

In the works of G. Arrighi, the historical process of the origin and evolution of capitalism is presented as a cyclical process formed by systemic cycles of capital accumulation, consisting of two phases (epochs): 1) the phase of material expansion, when money capital "sets in motion" a growing

mass of commodities, including commodified labour and natural resources; 2) the phase of financial expansion, when the growing mass of money capital is "freed" from its commodity form and accumulation is carried out through financial transactions. In historical retrospect, three systemic cycles of accumulation were fully unfolded: the Genoese cycle of the XV – early XVII centuries; the Dutch cycle of the late XVI - third quarter of the XVIII centuries; the British cycle of the second half of the XVIII - early XX centuries. Today, the financial expansion phase of the American cycle, which began in the late XIX century, is still unfolding. It is clear from the works of G. Arrighi that wars and military economy played one of the key roles in the cyclical process of gaining hegemony (Arrighi, 2010).

The successful development of European capitalism and the leading role of Western civilisation in the capitalist world-system was largely due to the industrialisation of war, which gave a powerful new impetus to the self-evolving cycle through which European militarism supported economic and political expansion and was itself supported by it (Arrighi, 2007).

W. McNeill, referring to the century and a half before the Industrial Revolution, believed that Europe had entered a self-evolving cycle in which its military structures supported economic and political expansion at the expense of other peoples and states and the military structures themselves were supported by this expansion (McNeill, 1982). However, the two world wars in the first half of the XX caused significant damage to the European economy, changed the role of Europe in the geopolitical system, subordinating its political and economic development to the new hegemon of the capitalist world; the unfolding of the above-mentioned self-evolving cycle was slowed down, the expansion of Western civilisation took a hybrid form. Since the second half of the XX, the aggravation of geopolitical contradictions has led to the unleashing of local-global conflicts. The local-global conflicts taking place today initiate a new self-evolving cycle of militarisation on a global scale.

As part of the economic policy of military Keynesianism, the government has been spending heavily on the military to stimulate economic growth, as well as using a variety of measures to encourage other countries to buy weapons from domestic manufacturers (Custers, 2010). The war in Ukraine has been the reason for the increased supply of military equipment, ammunition and military related products to Ukraine by Western countries. Western governments committed themselves to increasing defense spending. It has become necessary to invest in new capacities of the military-industrial complex. Arms manufacturers are demanding that the government guarantee the profitability of their investments. It is the alliance between industry and the state that lies at the heart of military Keynesianism. At the same time, intensified sanctions policies disrupt international free trade, interfere with international payments, and accelerate food and energy price inflation (Toporowski, 2023).

In historical retrospect, all wars have had a devastating impact on the environment during the course of military and economic cycles, but it was in the XX century, with the advent of weapons of mass destruction, that wars became a threat to the existence of humanity and the global ecosystem as a whole. Cyclicity is inherent in societal development, so wars, as an inevitable component of it, have an ecologically destructive impact on the environment with cyclical frequency, which is increasing and becoming more dangerous due to scientific and technological progress. The urgency of the problem of the ecological consequences of wars has been recognized at the international level, in particular since 2001, according to UN General Assembly Resolution 56/4, November 6 is the International Day for the Prevention of Environmental Exploitation in War and Armed Conflict (UN, 2001).

Nuclear weapons became the most deadly weapon of mass destruction in the XX century. According to the UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar, "All that nuclear war would lead to is the extreme manifestation of the greatest harm that the human race can inflict on itself" (UN, 1988).

ICNND assesses nuclear weapons as capable of completely destroying life on the planet, and modern nuclear arsenals as capable of doing so many times over. The addition of new members to the nuclear club of states, as well as the growth of systemic vulnerabilities, calls into question the possibility of avoiding the exchange of nuclear strikes indefinitely (ICNND, 2009).

The geopolitical practice of channeling global contradictions into local armed conflicts allowed avoiding the use of the most destructive weapons after 1945, in other words, after the end of the "macro-solution" phase of the fifth long cycle of world politics of the capitalist era. The military localization of global contradictions in the XX century saved humanity from a planetary catastrophe, but its continuation in the XXI century is extremely dangerous.

The main conclusion of the report prepared by SIPRI and published in June 2022 is that a new round of nuclear arms race awaits the world in the next decade. All nine nuclear-weapon states - Russia, the United States, China, France, Great Britain, Pakistan, India, Israel and North Korea - are beginning to actively modernize their arsenal. SIPRI experts state that the risk of a nuclear weapon launch is now higher than ever since the end of the Cold War (SIPRI, 2022).

Further aggravation of geopolitical contradictions today can lead to an increase in the scale of existing military and political conflicts and the emergence of new ones, which increases the threat of a nuclear conflict, so the prospects for human development today are determined by the effectiveness of societal institutions formed in the process of civilizational development. The current deep crisis of capitalism, primarily institutional, with economic and military-political derivatives, indicates that the world-system needs to move to the sixth Kondratiev cycle, which is possible only on the basis of large-scale innovation, including military innovation, and the "macro-solution" phase of the current long cycle of world politics is about to unfold. The technical and technological basis of these cyclical processes is the fourth industrial revolution, which significantly increases the destructive power of military technologies and gives rise to new forms of warfare. Further civilizational development and the formation of a global political and economic system based on the principles of humanism and environmental protection are possible only if the institutional practices of international relations provide non-military ways to resolve inter-civilizational and geopolitical contradictions, primarily to curb the use of weapons of mass destruction.

During the crisis-militaristic phases of global military-economic cycles, the geopolitical system of global capitalism is plunged into the strongest instability, at the same time it is tested for strength. After the completion of each crisis-militaristic stage in the cyclical development of the capitalist world-system, it temporarily stabilizes. This is due to the fact that the new leader of the global geopolitical system, or the old leader, who has retained his dominance due to the transformation of the geopolitical strategy, sets technical, technological, socio-economic, military-political, environmental and cultural development guidelines for the whole world. In the global capitalist system, it is the sustainability of the development of the hegemonic state, its values that determines the sustainability of all other states, national economies, and thus the economic basis for achieving the goals of sustainable development.

In historical retrospect, it was the countries that achieved hegemonic status that, during the period of their dominance, determined the institutional practices of public life for the long term. This

ensured relative stability of societal development on a global scale, although conditions were unequal for different countries and were determined by their geopolitical status.

According to G. Modelski, in the structure of global politics of the XXI century, the competition of the leading countries for global leadership will be important (Modelski, 1995), so that in one form or another, cyclical military-economic processes will continue, and achieving a consolidation phase, if possible, will take a very long time.

When assessing the prospects for sustainable socio-economic development in the XXI century, it should be taken into account that the cyclical global political process, according to G. Modelski, in historical retrospect is represented by such "eras of the global system" of 450-500 years each: 1) the Eurasian transit, which began around 930, and 2) the Western European era (from about 1420), 3) the post-Western European era (approximately since 1850) - should, according to G. Modelski, be considered as phases of the global system evolution: from 930 to 1420 (Eurasian transit) - the phase of preconditions; from 1420 to 1850 (Western European era) - the formation of the global core; from 1850 to 2300 (post-Western European era) - the formation of global organisation, after which, probably, there will be a phase of consolidation. Each five-hundred-year era of the global system development is a separate period of global politics, consisting of four long 120-year cycles, the unfolding of which forms the global political process (Modelski, 1995). That is, periodic plunging into the chaos of crisis-militaristic phases, in essence world wars, will face mankind until at least 2300.

In such conditions, the sustainability of socio-economic development can ensure the observance of the law of techno-humanitarian balance by all actors of geopolitics – "the higher the power of production and combat technologies, the more advanced means of cultural regulation are necessary for the preservation of society" (Nazaretyan, 2006).

According to the logic and chronology of the deployment of the most relevant forms of global military-economic cycles in 2020-2050s there will be a sharp increase in the amplitude of cyclical fluctuations of the world-system, which is due to the coordinated deployment of their crisis-militaristic phases, namely:

- "intermediate war" that stimulates the economy at the beginning of the upswing phase of the 6th Kondratiev cycle;
- the "macro-resolution" phase of the modern long cycle of world politics;
- the "thirty-year world war" phase of the modern hegemony cycle;
- the phase of territorialism (material expansion) of the new systemic cycle of capital accumulation.

The current extremely unstable state of the capitalist world-system indicates that in the cyclical process of its development a period of "thirty-year war" is beginning, after which a new world order should be established, and thus societal development will temporarily become more stable. Whether the goals of sustainable development will remain its guidelines depends on what path of further civilizational development will be chosen. In modern conditions the most likely scenarios of further civilizational development are: 1) a way out of the global economic and geopolitical crisis due to the militarization of the economy, in particular the application of the tools of military Keynesianism by the leading actors of geopolitics, which is similar to overcoming the Great Depression, and the emergence of a new form of capitalism (information-network); 2) the transition from capitalism to global neo-feudalism; 3) the formation of a hybrid form of global society, consisting of elements of capitalism, totalitarianism and feudalism.

Conclusions

Today, it is necessary to consolidate the actors of geopolitics to achieve the goals of sustainable development, which will stabilize the global political-economic system, resolve its most antagonistic contradictions, and smooth out cyclical fluctuations, primarily the crisis-militaristic phases of military-economic cycles. In modern conditions, in order to avoid large-scale human casualties, economic and environmental damage from warfare, threateningly increasing with scientific and technological progress, one of the guidelines for sustainable development should be the transformation of crisis-militaristic phases of global military-economic cycles into non-militaristic phases of cyclical geopolitical processes. Successful achievement of Sustainable Development Goals is possible only if the capitalist economy and public consciousness are demilitarized.

The way out of the current global economic and geopolitical crisis due to the militarization of the economy, in particular - the application of the tools of military Keynesianism by the leading actors of geopolitics creates serious threats to the existence of human civilization at the current level of development of military technologies. To realize such a way of overcoming the crisis of the world-system, modern international institutions are not efficient enough, and global elites are not responsible enough to fulfill their institutional functions. If, nevertheless, during the next crisis-militarist stage of the cyclical development of the capitalist world-system (according to the leading theories of global cyclicity, in 2020-2050s) it will be possible to observe the law of techno-humanitarian balance, then an upward wave of socio-economic dynamics will create prerequisites for achieving the goals of sustainable growth.

If there is a transition from capitalism to global neo-feudalism or to a hybrid form of global society consisting of elements of capitalism, totalitarianism and feudalism, then inter-class, inter-country and inter-civilizational inequalities will increase, which will negate the interim goals already achieved today in the implementation of the concept of sustainable development.

Conflict of interest

The author states no conflict of interest.

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