

Russia and South Ossetia United Civilizational Platform: Socio-Political and Cross-Cultural Interaction

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Abstract. The article is devoted to the topical after the collapse of the USSR problem of regional integration of sovereign countries for the joint solution of geopolitical, socio-economic, general cultural and other tasks. The article analyzes the situation associated with the ambiguity of international legal criteria for the recognition of newly formed states and the inconsistency in the interpretation of the right of peoples to equality and self-determination. The historical justification is given and the legal basis for the entry of the Republic of South Ossetia into the Russian Federation as a new subject is described. It is shown that the reunification of two Ossetias, North and South, which created a new historical reality in the life of the Ossetian ethnic group, became the basis for the decision of the leadership of South Ossetia to join Russia by holding a referendum. The circumstances of the postponement of the referendum for an indefinite period are substantiated. The author concluded that the integration of Russia and South Ossetia will lead mainly to positive consequences for both states.

Keywords: state national policy, integration, Russia, South Ossetia, North Ossetia-Alania, interethnic relations, self-determination

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Introduction

The prospect of the revival of the Great Country - Russia through the creation of a solidary, fully sovereign and multinational world power acutely raises the question of the official status of the future state entity, its international legal recognition if the Russian authorities support the idea of South Ossetia about its entry into the Russian Federation.

According to Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, Russia has “a unique geographical location, a huge resource base, and intellectual potential. All this gives us a real chance to become a strong, influential and prosperous state.”¹ Considering the special geopolitical position of Russia after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the ethnopolitical situation in the country and neighboring countries, the construction of such a state-civilization as “one of the sovereign centers of world development,” the formation of a single civil nation is impossible without making informed management decisions aimed at resolving pressing problems of the state and national politics.

According to the provisions of the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation, updated in 2023, Russia, as the largest player on the world stage, assumes responsibility for maintaining global stability, strengthening peace and international security in the emerging multipolar world. At the same time, it will build its foreign policy on the basis of the principles of political pragmatism and national interests, where, due to historical, geographical, geopolitical, military, ethnic, demographic, economic, cultural, etc. factors require constant attention in the sphere of interethnic and interreligious relations in the post-Soviet space.² The shift of interests from integration into the Western community to strategic national priorities in foreign policy and internal political problems related to strengthening statehood, ensuring the territorial integrity of the country, overcoming the historical disunity of fraternal peoples and establishing interethnic peace and interreligious harmony on Russian soil are turning the annexation of the Caucasian territories into Russia into historical necessity. At the same time, integration with Russia is of great interest to the independent, partially internationally recognized states of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. In the course of centuries of social, political and intercultural interaction between Russia and the Caucasus, a rich cultural and historical experience and potential connections have developed. Political scientist Dmitry Drobnitsky believes that the issue of South Ossetia’s annexation to Russia should not be considered solely from the angle of economic gain, since the political leadership, relying on the will and desire of the people, can be guided by other, deeper motives, for example, based on the priority of human needs: “There is a certain civilizational attraction of peoples and territories to Moscow, which became apparent almost immediately after the collapse of the USSR.”³

The relevance of the study is due to the intensification of integration processes in the post-Soviet space in the last decade, determined by the absence of a language barrier, common historical memory and culture, and in the case of South Ossetia, also a common Christian faith. The study will help to better understand the importance of the allied and strategic partnership between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia, to understand the essence and patterns of integration processes in general.

The author used the results of A.S.Bukhanov’s research on the conflict of principles of self-determination of peoples, the territorial integrity of states and possible ways to

¹ Lavrov: The Russian Federation has everything to become a strong and prosperous state. Available from: <https://ria.ru/20050512/39971579.html>

² Ibid.

³ What will the annexation of South Ossetia give Russia: the opinion of a political scientist. Available from: https://news.rambler.ru/science/48404326/?utm_content=news_media&utm_medium=read_more&utm_source=copylink

resolve it [1]; V.D.Dzidzoeva about supporters and opponents of Ossetian integration [2]; A.A.Zhurtova and A.N.Maksimchik on the historiography of Russian-Caucasian relations in the 16th–19th centuries [3]; R.M.Timosheva on the right of nations to self-determination in the context of modern interethnic conflicts [4]; L.A.Chibirova on the issues of unity and national identity of Ossetians [5]; Yu.A.Chugaenko about the historical root causes of the confrontation between Georgia and South Ossetia [6].

The purpose of the study is to comprehensively consider the issue of the readiness of South Ossetia to join the Russian Federation as a full-fledged entity. For this purpose, the state of interstate Russian-South Ossetian cooperation in various fields was determined, the main reasons slowing down integration processes were identified, and the prospects for the development of bilateral relations on mutually beneficial terms were assessed.

Materials and Methods

Research materials: published official documents and regulations (decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation, the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation and the President of the Republic of South Ossetia); documents on Russian-Ossetian relations in the 18th century, collected by M.M.Bliev⁴; statements and interviews of Russian and Ossetian politicians; publications in online publications on the development of Russian-Ossetian relations.

The variety of sources used led to the use of different methods: content analysis, text analysis method, methods of systemic analysis of events, historical retrospective method.

Results

The article summarizes material on Russian-South Ossetian relations. Addressing the topic of implementing the right of nations to self-determination, as prescribed in international law, allows us to reveal the problems that become an obstacle to the annexation of South Ossetia to Russia. A conclusion is made about the need for additional government measures to integrate the historically Russian lands of the Caucasus into the administrative, financial, economic, legal, social and educational systems of the Russian Federation. Let us add that for South Ossetia, Russia remains the main strategic partner, a significant and reliable ally, a guarantor of peace and security in the region, because “when the long-suffering people of Ossetia found themselves in a critical situation, Russia was always nearby, at the right time in the right place” [5:6].

⁴ Bliev M. M. Russian-Ossetian relations in the XVIII century: a collection of documents. In 2 vols. Ordzhonikidze: Ir. V. 2:1764–1784. 1984:39.

Self-determination of South Ossetia within the Context of International Law

After a referendum in January 1992 among the residents of South Ossetia, in which more than 99% of those who took part spoke in favor of the country's sovereignty and annexation to Russia, on May 29, 1992, the Supreme Council of the Republic adopted the Act of Declaration of Independence in South Ossetia⁵. Having chosen the path of historical rapprochement with Russia, the leadership of the Republic of South Ossetia outlined its foreign policy priorities and demonstrated its readiness and desire to defend its national interests.

South Ossetia approached the thirty-year mark with unresolved political and territorial problems: although the republic, not without the help and support of Russia, managed to maintain its territorial integrity, its borders remain diplomatically unrecognized by UN member states and the world community. Due to the persisting territorial contradictions between South Ossetia and Georgia and differences in the positions of the parties on the ethno-political status of South Ossetia, it is still not a full subject of international law [6]. Today, in addition to Russia, which recognized the independence of South Ossetia by Decree of the President of the Russian Federation of August 26, 2008 №1261 "On recognition of the Republic of South Ossetia"⁶, the existence of the republic as an independent and sovereign state was recognized by the Republic of Nicaragua (2008), the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela (2009), the Republic of Nauru (2009), Tuvalu (2011, but withdrew in 2014) and the Syrian Arab Republic (2018), these countries established diplomatic relations with South Ossetia at the embassy level.

Enshrined as a peremptory norm in Article 1, Article 55, Article 73 and Article 75 of the UN Charter⁷ and other international legal documents, for example, in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of December 14, 1960⁸, the principles make it possible to realize the right of nations to equality and self-determination. However, in the context of the West's hostile attitude towards Russia, South Ossetia must realize that it has no chance of a quick procedure for joining Russia as a new full-fledged entity. The lack of a clear definition of the term "state recognition", uniformity of interpretation and official definition of criteria complicate the process of recognition of new state entities by the world community. Thus, depending on the political interests and ambitious aspirations of the leading players in the world political arena, "the priority is either the principle of territorial integrity or the right of nations to self-determination [1:3]. It is with regret that we have to admit that these are the rules of modern geopolitical games. In relation to Russia, we are already accustomed to the manifestation of a policy of "double

⁵ The act of proclamation of independence of South Ossetia. Available from: <https://ria.ru/20170529/1495085320.html>

⁶ Decree of the President of the Russian Federation dated August 26, 2008 No. 1261 "On recognition of the Republic of South Ossetia." Available from: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/27958>.

⁷ The Charter of the United Nations. Available from: <https://www.un.org/ru/about-us/un-charter/full-text>

⁸ The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted by General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14, 1960. Available from: https://www.un.org/ru/documents/decl_conv/declarations/colonial.shtml

standards", so in the near future we can hardly count on recognition of the legitimacy of the referendum on the issue of South Ossetia joining the Russian Federation, even if it is held. It seems unlikely that the world community will express support for the South Ossetian people and not deny them their legitimate right to self-determination. Within the framework of international law, the approval of the world community could be manifested in the legal consolidation of the results of the referendum in South Ossetia and the recognition of the new borders of the Russian Federation, but there are no illusions about the intentions of the United States and Europe towards Russia. It is clear that the reaction to the annexation of South Ossetia to Russia will be extremely negative. It can be predicted that the results of the referendum will have no force for the world community and the collective West will demand that Russia refrain from further steps towards "occupation" and "annexation" of the territory of a sovereign state, ignoring the legitimate will of the South Ossetian people.

Small and young states such as South Ossetia, due to the constant colossal pressure emanating from the United States and other Western states to act in accordance with the policies of the leading world powers, always find it difficult to defend their independence, freedom and right to self-determination. In this case, the right of peoples to self-determination, declared as the ability of each people to democratically, independently, that is, without outside interference, decide on the form of their state existence (as part of another state or as a separate state), determine their political status in the international arena, and also to build its own trajectory of economic, social and cultural development cannot be fully realized [4].

The Origins of Russian-Ossetian Interaction

We associate the dynamic development of relations in all spheres of life between the two states, firstly, with the very fact of the Russian Federation's acceptance of the emergence of a new independent state on the international stage – South Ossetia. Secondly, Tskhinvali could not help but appreciate the efforts that the Russian side is making so that the state sovereignty of the self-proclaimed South Ossetia after its secession from Georgia is recognized by authoritative organizations and countries influential in international politics. Thirdly, the establishment of regular contacts was facilitated by close diplomatic and cultural-historical ties between Russians and Ossetians, which were established in the middle of the 18th century. The Ossetian embassy in St.Petersburg (1749-1752), which included outstanding public and political figures of Ossetia of the 18th century (Elisey Khetagov, Zurab Elikhanov and others), brilliantly coped with the solution of the historical task - the annexation of Ossetia to the Russian Empire.

After the completion of the victorious Russian-Turkish war (1768-1774) and the conclusion by Russia of the Kuchuk-Kainardzhi peace treaty⁹ with the Ottoman Turkish Empire, in 1774, by decree of the Russian Empress Catherine II, Ossetia of its own free will

⁹ The results of the Russian-Turkish War (1768-1774). Kyuchuk is the Kaynardjian world. The history of Russia. Available from: <https://all-russia-history.ru/treaty-of-kuchuk-kainarji>

became part of the Russian Empire and thus, the previous Russian-Ossetian agreements on the annexation of Ossetia received international legal formalization.

This accession, based on the voluntary expression of the will of Ossetian societies, is an important historical event that led to rapprochement and strong friendship between Russians and Ossetians. The transition to citizenship of the Russian Empire, conversion to the Orthodox faith, and the acquisition of Russian patronage in the person of its sovereign determined the future fate of Ossetia. The collection of documents collected by the outstanding scientist and public figure of North Ossetia-Alania M.M.Bliev states that the Ossetians, as subjects of Russia, were paid a salary, guaranteed external security, protection from attacks by the Kabardian princes, and an end to internecine wars. They were allowed to move to the more fertile Russian-controlled foothill plains and build their fortresses and settlements there. They also received the right to "free passage" through Russian territory and to freedom of border trade. In turn, Ossetia put its mountains at Russia's disposal, that is, it allowed the start of industrial ore mining and the export of valuable metal.¹⁰

Wanting to prove their loyalty to the government, the Ossetians, well-armed and physically trained, served in the ranks of the Russian Imperial Army and took part in its military campaigns, including foreign ones. For his numerous exploits in the Patriotic War (1812), the Russian-Turkish War (1828), the Hungarian campaign (1848), the Crimean Company (1853–1856), the Russian-Turkish War (1877–1878), the Russian-Japanese War (1904–1905), the First World War (1914–1919), Ossetian military formations were repeatedly given award banners. In addition, the Georgian Military Road, known since ancient times, passed through Ossetia, extremely important from a strategic point of view during periods of armed conflicts.

From historically reliable sources it has been established that, having taken the oath of allegiance to Russia, Ossetia emerged from a protracted crisis, and its population got rid of the centuries-old stagnant state of the economy. Archival documents indicate that the annexation of Ossetia to the Russian Empire contributed to more intensive development in many areas of socio-economic life and had a great influence on the material and spiritual culture of the Ossetian people. Thus, the annexation of Ossetia was perceived by both Russians and Ossetians exclusively as a beneficial event.

Referendum on South Ossetia Joining Russia: Disagreements and Strategic Path of Development

In 2022, after many years of the existence of the Republic of South Ossetia de facto as an independent state, the desire of Tskhinval (the administrative center of South Ossetia) for rapprochement with its sister North Ossetia-Alania within the borders of the Russian Federation intensified even more. Despite the unfavorable geopolitical situation, the main issue became the alliance and integration of the Republic of South Ossetia and the Russian

¹⁰ Bliev M. M. Russian-Ossetian relations in the XVIII century: a collection of documents. In 2 vols. Ordzhonikidze: Ir.1984.

Federation. The course towards the reunification of two branches of one ancient people – the descendants of the Great Alan ethnos, who have lived together for centuries, having a single national culture, a single literary language, similar values and traditions, was taken a long time ago. However, in a situation of a difficult military-political situation due to the special military operation carried out by the Russian army in Ukraine and the unprecedented sanctions war against Russia unleashed by the collective West, the favorable moment has not yet arrived for South Ossetia to join the Russian Federation. This is evidenced by the decree of the head of the republic A.E.Gagloev dated May 30, 2022 "On ways of further integration of the Republic of South Ossetia and the Russian Federation"¹¹, he suspended the decree of his predecessor A.I.Bibilov, dated May 13, 2022, that was shortly before the new presidential elections. By his decree "On calling a referendum of the Republic of South Ossetia"¹² A.I.Bibilov, who was then president of the republic, set a specific date for the referendum - July 17, 2022. In accordance with the decree of the President of the Republic of South Ossetia, the referendum was postponed indefinitely due to the insufficient resolution of some legal aspects of strategic importance significance for both states.

Speaking about the "uncertainty of the legal consequences of the issue," it should be noted that the wording of the question being submitted for discussion requires clarification: "Do you support *the unification of the Republic of South Ossetia and Russia*?" (italics – E.D.). Many politicians and high-level experts agree that a question formulated in this way can generate an ambiguous answer, which leads to different interpretations of the results. Ambiguity, vagueness and contradictory interpretations are unacceptable in international politics. Criticisms were expressed about the need for a strict legal distinction between concepts such as "association", "annexation" and "entry".

In order to exclude a legal incident due to an incorrect formulation of the issue, Tskhinvali agreed that there was no need to rush and proposed holding additional consultations with the Russian side in order to resolve all Russian-Ossetian contradictions and find a compromise before making a final decision on accession. As the head of the South Ossetian Presidential Administration Alan Dzhioev noted, the referendum was planned "without preliminary study and coordination of this issue with the Russian side, which contradicts the agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia on allied integration"¹³. Thus, the leadership of South Ossetia recognizes "the inadmissibility of a unilateral decision of a referendum on issues affecting the legitimate rights and interests of the Russian Federation" and calls on its people to treat its temporary postponement with greater understanding¹⁴.

¹¹ Decree of the President of the Republic of South Ossetia "On ways of further integration of the Republic of South Ossetia and the Russian Federation" dated 30.05.2022. Official website of the President of the Republic of South Ossetia. Available from: <https://presidentruo.org/ukaz-o-putyax-dalnejshej-integracii-respubliki-yuzhnaya-osetiya-i-rossijskoj-federacii/>

¹² Decree of the President of the Republic of South Ossetia "On the appointment of a referendum of the Republic of South Osseti" dated 05.13.2022. Official website of the President of the Republic of South Ossetia. Available from: <https://presidentruo.org/ukaz-o-naznachanii-referenduma-respubliki-yuzhnaya-osetiya-2/>

¹³ Kulikov A. "A completely new entity": Russia did not want to unite with South Ossetia. Available from: <https://www.pravda.ru/politics/1720604-referendum/>

¹⁴ The official website of the President of the Republic of South Ossetia. Available from: <https://presidentruo.org/ukaz-o-putyax-dalnejshej-integracii-respubliki-yuzhnaya-osetiya-i-rossijskoj-federacii/>

Considering the uncertainty of the legal consequences of the issue put to the referendum, President Gagloev's decision is perceived by everyone as wise. We share the point of view of the first deputy chairman of the State Duma Committee on Affairs of the Commonwealth of Independent States, Eurasian integration and relations with compatriots Konstantin Zatulin about the untimeliness of the referendum and the high risks of possible negative consequences of its holding. The aggravation of relations with Georgia in the event of a referendum is clearly not part of Russia's plans. He emphasized that the current Georgian government is not pro-Russian, it has given shelter to those who left Russia. But Georgia "is important to us in the context of what is happening in the Caucasus between Armenia and Azerbaijan. All this taken together must be assessed," Zatulin noted¹⁵. Guided by Russian-Ossetian national interests, A.E.Gagloev made a "Solomon decision", because now neither Russia nor South Ossetia are ready to put an end to this national issue.

The Unification of the Two Ossetias under the Auspices of Russia as a Priority Goal

The famous Caucasus scholar V.D.Dzidzoev pays great attention to the development of Russian-Caucasian relations and Ossetian integration. He considers the continuing division of the Ossetian people into northern and southern Ossetians a historical injustice that cannot be tolerated under any circumstances. On the contrary, it needs to be corrected as soon as possible. Well versed in the problems of interethnic relations in the Caucasus, understanding the nature of ethno-political and interstate conflicts, V.D.Dzidzoev always supported the course of unifying the Ossetian people:

Analyzing the issue of uniting Ossetia into a single whole, of course, with the Russian Federation, it is necessary to emphasize that many Ossetians, especially in South Ossetia, who experienced the horrors of genocide, oppression and abuse by sovereign Georgia, for the most part dream of the reunification of the two Ossetias. Archival documents and other competent sources indicate that in South Ossetia the absolute majority of Ossetians have always strived for unity with North Ossetia [2:29].

In his Telegram channel, former President of South Ossetia Anatoly Bibilov defined the entry of the state into Russia, which Ossetians call their historical homeland, as a strategic goal for South Ossetia. He firmly stated his intention to unite South Ossetia with the neighboring Caucasian republic of North Ossetia-Alania into a single entity. He explains his position by the fact that for the reunification of the two fraternal Orthodox peoples of the Caucasus within Russia, the preserved common ethno-confessional core and a single cultural-genetic code are of great importance. According to A.Bibilov, in the event of the

¹⁵ The State Duma explained the untimeliness of the referendum on South Ossetia's entry into the Russian Federation. Available from: <https://i-sng.ru/publikacii/v-gd-poyasnili-nesvoevremennost-refe/>

unification of two Ossetias within the Russian Federation, such a single entity may receive the name Ossetia-Alania in order to especially emphasize the connections with its ancestors and traditions¹⁶.

Before the outbreak of the military conflict in Ukraine, the Russian Federation quite actively supported the idea of South Ossetia joining Russia, taking into account the desire of the historically and geographically divided Ossetian people to unite.

Another reason for the Russian side's interest in annexing South Ossetia, according to A.A.Zhurtova and A.N.Maksimchik, is the geopolitical and socio-economic consequences of the collapse of the USSR. After the collapse of a single state, the establishment of new territorial borders, the loss of large-scale Soviet identity,

Russia is rapidly trying to find its civilizational identity. This happens by rethinking and studying the imperial experience of the past. Turning to it is associated with solving practical problems of strengthening the federal foundations of the state structure, allows us to enrich the variability of the mechanisms of governance of a multinational state, and contributes to a better understanding of current events [3:236].

Taking into account the real historical experience of Russian-Ossetian interaction, thanks to painstaking joint work to bring the two countries closer together, Russia has managed to achieve significant success. As a result of Russian-Ossetian interstate consultations between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia, a number of strategically important regulatory documents were signed, including:

- 1) Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia dated September 17, 2008¹⁷;
- 2) Agreement on assistance to the Republic of South Ossetia in socio-economic development dated August 26, 2009¹⁸;
- 3) Treaty on Alliance and Integration of March 18, 2015 (ratified by Federal Law of June 29, 2015 № 164-FZ, entered into force on July 30, 2015)¹⁹;
- 4) Agreement on promoting the implementation of the State Program for Socio-Economic Development of the Republic of South Ossetia for 2022-2025 (Order of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 1558-r dated June 15, 2022)²⁰;

¹⁶ Shustrova M. The goal of the divided people: South Ossetia wants to unite with the North as part of Russia. Available from: <https://www.gazeta.ru/politics/2022/03/31/14685469.shtml>

¹⁷ The Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia (Moscow, September 17, 2008). Available from: <https://base.garant.ru/2567313/>.

¹⁸ Agreement between the Government of the Russian Federation and the Government of the Republic of South Ossetia on Assistance to the Republic of South Ossetia in socio-economic Development (Moscow, August 26, 2009) (as amended). Available from: <https://base.garant.ru/2568474/>

¹⁹ Agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia on Alliance and Integration (Moscow, March 18, 2015). Website of the Government of the Russian Federation. Available from: <https://base.garant.ru/70900874/>

²⁰ Decree of the Government of the Russian Federation No. 1558-r dated 06/15/2022. Website of the Government of the Russian Federation. Available from: <http://government.ru/docs/all/141572/>

It is also important to note that in September 2021, in Tskhinvali, Russian President V.V.Putin signed a federal law ratifying an agreement with South Ossetia on dual citizenship²¹.

According to this law, citizens have the right not to renounce their first citizenship (Russian or South Ossetian) and can count on receiving Russian citizenship under a simplified scheme.

To summarize, we can say: all the above documents are designed to ensure:

transition to a new level of interstate relations, alliance and strategic partnership, considering that strengthening allied relations based on deep historical and spiritual ties meets the national interests of both states²².

This is one of the key provisions of the above-mentioned Treaty of Alliance and Integration.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we note that both the annexation of the Caucasian lands to the Russian Empire, which began in the 16th century and ended in the second half of the 19th century, and today's entry of the Republic of South Ossetia into the Russian Federation is a long, complex and contradictory procedure. We believe that this process should not be artificially accelerated, because rash decisions on the Ossetian issue could negatively affect the results of the negotiation processes. So that in the future the "centuries-old dream" of the South Ossetian people will come true – to unite with North Ossetia and become part of the Russian Federation²³, – it takes time, additional financial resources and enormous multilateral efforts of the political leadership, diplomats, and the expert community (lawyers, historians, political scientists, military, economists) to stabilize the entire Caucasian region, settle legal formalities and overcome existing contradictions. To resolve this issue peacefully, it is advisable for Russia and South Ossetia to enlist the support of the international community. This is the most difficult task to accomplish, since neither the United States nor European countries will ever be interested in a strong Russian state. But there is no doubt that sooner or later it will be possible to eliminate all legal ambiguities, a referendum will be held and,

²¹ Federal Law № 138-FZ dated 05/28/2022 "On Ratification of the Agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia on the Settlement of Issues of dual Citizenship". Website of the President of the Russian Federation. Available from: <http://www.kremlin.ru/acts/bank/47875>

²² Agreement between the Russian Federation and the Republic of South Ossetia on Alliance and Integration (Moscow, March 18, 2015). Website of the President of the Russian Federation. Available from: <http://www.kremlin.ru/supplement/4819>

²³ The Message of the President of South Ossetia Anatoly Bibilov: The Republic of South Ossetia will be part of its historical homeland – Russia. Available from: <https://er.ru/activity/news/obrashenie-prezidenta-yuzhnoj-osetii-anatoliya-bibilova-respublika-yuzhnaya-osetiya-budet-v-sostave-svoej-istoricheskoy-rodiny-rossii> (accessed 01.06.1023).

taking into account the will of the South Ossetian people, South Ossetia will become part of the great multinational Russia.

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