

*given the degree of institutionalization of lobbying in the state. Thus, divided on professional lobbyists (legal), unprofessional (illegal) and "internal", i.e. representatives of authorities that are dealing with personal issues at the Institute that they represent.*

*Fifth, given the multi-faceted nature of the subject matter of the investigated phenomenon, presents author's classification of lobbying. Namely: by the nature of activity of subjects of lobbying (professional, Amateur); territorial specificities (Central, regional, local); the degree of legitimation (institutionalized, illegal); goals (political, economic, cultural, social, legal, etc); on the orientation to the object of lobbying (governmental, parliamentary, judicial); by group membership of the subjects of lobbying (politicized representatives of political associations, business structures, oligarch groups; social – representatives of non-governmental organizations, trade unions; financial and industrial corporations, industrial infrastructure); for the ways and methods of impact (direct, indirect and internal); time of the action (planned, spontaneous, permanent)*

*Sixthly, made the goal and objectives of the study: the systematic theoretical approaches to the concept of lobbying as a socio-political phenomenon; the state of scientific approaches to the interpretation of lobbying as a socio-political phenomenon; on the basis of systematisation of scientific research the author's definition and classification of lobbying.*

**Keywords:** *lobbying, lobbying, influence groups, interest groups, the object of lobbying, the subject of lobbying, lobbying methods*

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### **BRICS: THE HISTORY OF FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS**

*The present article deals with such a new form of international cooperation as BRICS. Nowadays lots of experts and sciences analyze this structure that is in the process of institutionalization. BRICS consists of such states as Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The authors emphasize that above-mentioned countries don't have political, economical, civilization similarities, but they united to overcome the consequences of the 2008 financial crises and decided to present their view of further global development. It is underlined that these countries try to oppose the domination of the Western model of the world development and it is possible that lots of countries will support BRICS model of global cooperation. It is necessary to underline that in 2015 at BRICS summit the states-members of this organization launched their own Bank of development that can really influence the global transformation of the financial system. Besides in 2016 these countries got the right to influence the IMF policy. It allows us the authors to say that we observe radical changes not only in financial system but also in the world order that is becoming multipolar. There are two different viewpoints concerning the development of BRICS, some experts believe that it would collapse in some years and it is an objective of the Western world. Another experts and scientists believe that this organization will develop and would really oppose the dominance of the western countries that have already led the financial system into the deadlock.*

**Key words:** *BRICS, foreign affairs, globalization, financial crisis, summit.*

The situation in the contemporary world in the XXI century is developing very dynamically. The architecture of the modern system of international relations is in the process of transformation, which is extremely dramatic, generating both global economic and political crises. In the context of further globalizing of the growth of interdependence of states,

transformation processes require reform of the mechanisms of global governance, the search for new forms of interaction to neutralize and fight against global threats. According to many scholars belonging to different scientific schools, the current processes mean the change of epochs [15, с.3]. The process of formation of a new world order takes place, the main feature of which is the transition to a multipolar world. Under these circumstances, states seek to find such tools that would allow the most effective influence on the formation of a multipolar world. In the context of globalization it is possible only on the basis of integration and internationalization. The evidence if it is the increase of the number of major regional associations in the end of XX - beginning of XXI century, i.e. European Union in Europe, Mercosur, CELAC in Latin America, SCO in Asia, EAEU in Eurasia. The majority of these regional structures is created without the participation of the Western countries. Some researchers believe that the creation of such structures is directed against Western domination in the modern world. These structures also include BRICS [2, с. 36].

The problem of BRICS attracts more attention of politicians, researchers, experts. But as the analysis of the literature shows there are different, and at the same time diametrically different concepts and approaches to the analysis of this very complex phenomenon of the modern system of international relations. Historiography of BRICS has hundreds of articles and monographs. The problem of the BRICS is actively analyzed by the researchers of the member states, the most intensively this problem is analyzed in Russia, Brazil and China. Among the works devoted to the analysis of the history of creation, activities, trends and prospects of BRICS should be noted works by such experts as V.Davidov, V.Lukov, B.Heyfets, Xin Li, A.Ratner, V.A. Braga, A.Marchenko, S. Filatov.

English-language historiography of the BRICS is also sufficiently numerous. Among Western scholars who study this problem it is necessary to note the works by J.O'Neill, B.Jones, Yan Zhonghua, Dorothy-Grace Guerrero.

We have done a thorough analysis of the literature connected with the activities of BRICS, its trends and the impact of the global political process and the prospects of its further development and we can say that it has controversial character. All this testifies about the actuality of this problem, the necessity for systematization and evaluation of existing approaches to the role of BRICS in the modern world. The purpose of this article is to study the essence and the role of the BRICS in the modern system of international relations.

A peculiar feature of this organization is that it at first appeared in theory, and then only in practice. The term –BRIC” was introduced in 2001 by a leading economist of Goldman Sachs Bank Jim O'Neill. He combined four large countries with growing markets into BRIC, characterized by high rates of economic development and its significant export orientation [21].

The term –BRIC” became widely known in 2003 with the appearance of the analytical report of Goldman Sachs, which said that by 2040 the BRIC states will catch up, and by 2050 will surpass US, Japan, Germany, France and Italy as for GDP rates [21].

Efforts on the approximation of the BRIC countries have been taken by Russia in 2006, when the BRIC states' foreign affairs ministers meeting was held at the UN session.

Almost all researchers emphasize the specifics of the formation of this structure. BRIC states do not have a geographical, civilizational, cultural, historical, religious unity. They have different political and economic models, they don't have a long time experience of cooperation, there are serious internal contradictions, that is, actually, there are no reasons that, as a rule, provide the basis for the association. Its creation is considered as a reaction at first to the collapse of the bipolar and then to an unipolar model of development [6, p.33].

They are united by a mutual desire to transform economic growth into political influence. The key factor became the commonness of political interests and global world ambitions at the crucial stage of the world development. They would like to play a greater role in the decision-

making process that is important to them and many other countries. First of all it concerns IMF, WTO, UN and other international organizations [3].

BRICS could be considered as a response of developing countries to the crisis which contemporary world system faces with, caused by the desire of Western countries and, first of all, the United States to dictate and dominate [9, p.25].

Analyzing the features of BRICS formation it is also necessary to figure out its stages. First of all its basis was made by the close cooperation between Russia and China on the basis of common geopolitical interests. Then RIC appeared, when India joined Russian-China rapprochement. BRIC was formed due to the Brazil joining, and then BRICS appeared when South Africa decided to join this formation. Some experts tend to say that the existence and experience got within the RIC, has become an important factor in the formation of BRICS.

Since its creation and till the present time there is a debate among experts about the evaluation of the essence of this structure character that is due to several factors. Firstly, as mentioned above, by the causes of the specific nature of this structure, and secondly BRICS is developing dynamically, acquires new qualitative traits and the tendency to structuralization. In 2009, after the first summit in Yekaterinburg, where it was officially announced about the appearance of this association, Moscow State Institute of International Affairs held a broad discussion about the nature of such a significant new structure, its potential and prospects. A wide range of participants among whom were scientists, diplomats, political analysts and experts showed different approach even among Russian political elite. Materials of these discussions have been published in "Foreign Affairs" journal.

During this discussion, BRIC was considered as an effective tool of multilateral diplomacy, as a platform for dialogue, a kind of negotiation platform [2, p. 7].

Some participants were skeptical about the prospects of this structure. The well-known Russian scientist I.V.Zagladin believed that hope to create a strong alliance of BRIC countries is elusive due to several reasons: contradictions within these countries, their economy is not complementary, as well as the fact that India, China and Brazil have important economic ties with the West, especially the United States.

Some researchers have tendency to consider BRIC as an expression of network multi-direction diplomacy [14, p.107]. Today, when BRIC countries have been transformed into BRICS and has already successfully exists for more than 6 years, the debate over the nature of this structure does not stop. BRICS is regarded as a coalition of major powers, which were not a part of the traditional centers of the world system up till now, but due to the uneven development, the globalization processes have embarked on the path of rise in the global hierarchy on its upper floors [5, p.96]. Supporters of this approach believe that the phenomenon of BRICS it is not only the result of world development, but also a tool that with skillful usage can help to minimize the risks of transition to polycentric mode of international relations [5, p.97].

BRICS is a reflection of the new methods of multilateral diplomacy that are looked for in the world. BRICS is one of the new formats of interstate relations, the basis of which is a coincidence of interests on a wide range of international problems. It can be considered to be an analogous of the G8 as other researchers think [17, p.72].

A significant part of experts and politicians tend to view BRICS as a possible instrument of global governance, the need for which at this stage is extremely high because the regulatory system created after World War II is completely inadequate to the realities of the XXI century [17, p.74].

Such a different range of opinions and assessments of BRICS is explained by the fact that this organization is in the process of its transformation. And if its formation stage could be considered as a form of negotiation platform, today we see how gradually the process of its

structuring within which mechanisms of interaction are created on a wide range of problems that are important for the BRICS states and world community.

Mixed opinions on BRICS are expressed also by foreign researchers. Bruce Jones believes that BRICS was created as a challenge to the West in the context of leadership and world order. Today BRICS slowed its development - Russia because of sanctions, Brazil shows a negative growth and social unrest, India is developing better and has a dynamic new prime minister. According to official figures, China is growing, but the growth is not enough serious. South Africa is in this club for political reasons, because it does not correspond to the economic performance of other members. Secondly, strategic tensions within BRICS show themselves most. After the financial crisis friction overlapped by the purpose to recover after the crisis and the common ambition to gain more influence in the governance of the global economy. But solid growth in China has brought down this dynamics [23].

Yan Zhonghua notes that the opening of the Bank of development can lead to serious changes, including a shift to a multipolar monetary system, as Domenico Lombardy thinks, an expert on the global economy of the Canadian think tank. Total disappointment of the IMF and the World Bank activity led to the creation of the bank of BRICS. This prompted the countries to try to destroy the political power of the West and try to provide political leverage of their growing economies. Today, with the creation of the bank is changing the situation when the BRICS members used to play a minor role in the global economy and today their economies can create something new, combining their interests [24].

Also there is such an opinion that the growth of BRICS is a history of regional economic forces that are becoming important global political actors. We stand on the threshold of a new era that could challenge the Breton-Woods financial system.

BRICS is an interesting case of political life, which imitates the economic one [20]. Dorothy Grace Guerro believes that China is seen as the main rival of the West within the framework of BRICS, it offers a better model of cooperation with other developing countries, but at the same time it can become subimperialistic force that will continue more intensive practice of exploitation and extraction of natural resources from poor countries to improve their performance. In fact, China has insisted on the inclusion of South Africa in 2010, which served as a good geographical representation and the further strengthening of the multipolar and non-Western character of BRICS. China is now the most powerful economic actor and the most influential in its economic and financial component, as the largest holder of foreign currency reserves, 54% of \$3.2 trillion of foreign reserves. China is now actively investing in Central and Eastern Europe. However, it's not necessary to think that China will also control the world as the US used to do, since the US is still the most powerful economic and military power. The emergence of the BRICS does not mean that they are looking for ways to take on US hegemony. Probably the multipolar world means that a new mix of the leading countries will determine the global political economy, together with the United States [22].

Since the very first day of its creation, BRICS clearly formulated and presented to the international community its own approach and look at the processes taking place in the world. BRICS leaders have clearly identified the actual agenda of contemporary world development. It is, first of all, the reform of global economic and financial system with the purpose to increase the representation in international financial institutions of non-Western countries and make their activities more transparent and democratic. They are also eager to strengthen the role of the UN and the UN Security Council in international affairs, as well as the maximum usage of the complementary nature of the economies of BRICS members, modernization of social and economic life of their countries.

Problems mentioned above, as the experience of BRICS showed, used to be constantly in the focus of the activities of this structure. They were present as the subject of extensive

discussion at the summits of BRICS states leaders, and the specific initiatives undertaken by BRICS and aimed at solving these problems.

Although more than six years have already passed since the formation of this structure, debate is still going on concerning its prospects. Some experts have predicted its rapid collapse due to dramatic differences in the economies of BRICS members. Especially these predictions were plentiful during the 2008 crisis. Their opponents, on the contrary predicted that the effects of the crisis in the global economy will strengthen this structure and have identified a number of fundamental common interests that the 2008 crisis even more clearly outlined that is, first of all, the necessity to modernize the international financial system, its diversification, conversion it in a transparent and democratic [17, p. 76].

As practice has shown the second point of view turned out to be more accurate. BRICS phenomenon continues to develop successfully. Today seven summits have already been held which consistently demonstrate the desire of participants to more active interaction not only within BRICS, but to general strengthening of it as a global actor, which has its own look and approach for the development of the modern world order. Analysis of the documents adopted at BRICS summits, as well as its initiatives implemented in world politics and the nature of cooperation within BRICS convince about the growth dynamics as the cooperation within the structure and its ever-increasing role in the modern world. First of all it is connected with the fact that BRICS focuses today global issues which are relevant for the majority of the population of our planet. The leaders of BRICS countries are looking for the answers to the challenges that face not only the participating countries but also the whole mankind. From summit to summit the rate of interaction between the members of the BRICS was growing, the field of cooperation was expanding, there was a search for the mechanisms, allowing on the one hand to increase the effectiveness of cooperation between each other, and on the other to coordinate more deeply their cooperation in the international arena, to take on itself the functions of the global actor.

So, at the first summit in June 2009 a communiqué was released in which it was said about the necessity to change the global economic system in such a way that emerging and developing economies would have greater representation in international financial institutions [12].

The final summit document clearly states about the interfacing of interests, interest in further coordination and cooperation in the process of formation of a multipolar world. At the summit it was agreed that not only the meeting of ministers of foreign affairs will be held constantly, but also the meetings of finance ministers, central bank governors.

In April 2010, Brazil hosted the second summit of the BRIC. In a joint statement, the leaders of BRIC expressed their interest in strengthening the coordination of action to protect their interests within the process of transition to a new world financial and economic system and creating a new world order [11].

During the second summit a memorandum was signed on cooperation in the sphere of financing of projects related to the development of high technologies and energy saving. The third BRICS summit in China adopted the memorandum on cooperation of state financial development institutions, as well as agreement on mutual crediting in local currencies and strengthening antidollar trend [14, p. 108].

According to the experts it had geopolitical importance and to some extent has become a sensation for the world community. This was due not only to South Africa joining BRIC and its transformation into BRICS, but to the fact that BRICS states declared their agreed position on the key issues of the world economy and politics. BRICS countries adopted a statement on Libya, in which they sharply criticized the actions of Western countries in this state.

The most important step was the adoption of the memorandum of cooperation between the state institutions of development (de facto agreement on mutual crediting in national currencies).

In fact, this decision of the summit was estimated by the experts as the strengthening of the "antidollar trend" and as a claim that the role of currencies of developing countries in the global system should be increased.

The fourth BRICS summit became the most important one in the process of structuralization of this organization when Fortolez Declaration was adopted, which said about creation of the Bank of BRICS, and a treaty to establish a pool of \$100 billion was signed. The summit also adopted a memorandum which stated the position of unity and mutual understanding on cooperation in international institutions of crediting, exporting and insurance [16]. The outcome of the summit, its decision showed that the activity of BRICS goes to a new level. Creation of a single financial institution became an evidence of BRICS states desire to more profound cooperation.

At the sixth summit of BRICS, which took place in July 2015 in Ufa, the heads of states adopted a declaration, which gave an analysis of contemporary world events and clearly articulated their assessment and approaches to them. The declaration clearly defined activities of BRICS aimed at ensuring economic growth, maintaining financial stability and accelerating structural reforms. An important step towards solving this problem must become economic partnership strategy of BRICS adopted at the summit [18].

The adoption of this document has become another important step in the development of integration processes within BRICS, it has become a key reference point for the expansion of cooperation between the countries. During the years of its existence, BRICS has got a significant experience of interaction and mutual cooperation. Various mechanisms that allow to develop sufficiently effective cooperation in all spheres were organized. Among them it is necessary to point out the annual summit, the leaders informal meeting of the states' leaders that take place at G20 summits, such a latest meeting was held in November 2015 in Antalya, where the statement was made about the necessity to strengthen the fight against international terrorism; meeting of high representatives of national security, regular meetings of foreign affairs ministers, ministers of finance, economy, trade, health, education, science, technology, agriculture, social security. An expert group on trade and economy was formed, the working group on international security, agriculture, health, science and technology was also formed. Cooperation takes place within the meetings of the antimonopoly authorities, representatives of the financial and tax authorities. Regular meetings are held on the fight against drugs, corruption [4, p. 55].

Dialogue format, representing various structures of the civil society has proved its effectiveness [18]. The Ufa declaration stressed the importance of such forms as the interbank cooperation mechanism, the business council, business forum, the council of expert centers of BRICS. A roadmap of trade-economic and investment cooperation between BRICS states for the period until 2020 is being worked out. Various forums, seminars, conferences on different range of problems faced by BRICS states are constantly held. It must be stressed that mutual cooperation is developing both at the national and sectoral level.

Thus, we see that BRICS is a structure that is in the process of its development. Having started its birth as a form of dialogue, it has quite fast and consistently transformed in terms of its structurization and institutionalization. The necessity for the further deepening of cooperation within its framework and strengthening of coordination in the international arena can be considered as a priority direction in all documents adopted by BRICS.

Overcoming the difficulties of mutual cooperation, its participants demonstrate the consistent strive for consensus, search for a compromise, filling in BRICS interaction with

specific contents. This, in its turn, allows influencing effectively the formation of a new world order.

The role of BRICS in the modern world, its possible impact on the formation of a new world order is caused by objective factors: its resource potential, its economic, political power, the presence of the powerful levers of influence on the modern political process.

BRICS states have 42% of the world's population, 26% of the global territory, 26% of world GDP, 40% of world wheat production, 25% of the world reserves of oil and gas, a great amount of uranium [1, p.114].

Countries show more dynamic development than Western countries, they occupy five seats in the UN Security Council, two of them belong to Russia and China on permanent basis, having the right of veto. All of them, except South Africa, are members of G20. BRICS countries are represented in APEC, and in some other international organizations. Brazil is a recognized leader in Latin America, that protects the interests of this region in the global community. Russia, China and India are the world's leading actors that have one of the biggest and modern military potential, are members of the nuclear club [9, p.29].

Another feature of BRICS, which allows us to consider it as a major factor of modern development, influencing the formation of new rules of global governance is that it brings together and structures a constructive dialogue of several major world civilizations - Chinese, Indian, African, Orthodox, Latin American. This civilizational dialogue structure can, on the one hand, act as a factor of mutual enrichment of cultures, on the other can be a powerful soft power of deterrence and countering cultural expansion, i.e. the process of Westernization.

In international relations, BRICS countries contribute to the formation of a polycentric world order, opposed to unipolar political system, politics of power pressure and infringement of the sovereignty of other states, support strict adherence to universally recognized principles and norms of international law, the UN Charter, UN Security Council decisions, improving the structure and increasing the effectiveness and representativeness of Security Council in the process of ensuring a just world order, global security [9, p.34].

It was clearly demonstrated in the positions of BRICS states in their opinions on the Ukrainian crisis, events in Libya and the Maghreb. Thus, the BRICS states opposed the attempts of some Western countries that are G20 members to prevent Russia from participating in the November 2014 summit. BRICS members in spite of the pressure haven't joined the Western sanctions against Russia and arrived at the summit of the BRICS in Ufa in July 2015. This consolidated position became a manifestation of the BRICS as a representative of non-Western world in G20, where the BRICS states constantly propose various initiatives, alternative to the proposals of collective "North."

Under the influence and due to the position of BRICS the process of reforming IMF was initiated. So, in 2009 G-20 leaders agreed that since January 2011 at least 5% quota in the capital of the IMF will be redistributed for the sake of developing countries, and not less than 3% in the capital of the World Bank. The necessity to accelerate the reform of the IMF was again emphasized by the BRICS states at the summit in Antalya in November 2015 [14, p.74].

Consolidated position was taken by the BRICS on such a pressing problem as the fight against international terrorism. In November 2015 at the informal summit in Antalya BRICS states adopted a statement in which the importance of uniting of international community in combating this threat was pointed out and Russia's actions in Syria in its struggle against the ISIS was completely supported. Though earlier the President of Brazil condemned Russia's actions in Syria, calling them military intervention, which enabled a number of experts to debate about the viability of this structure [10]. The presence of significant differences, crisis events that these countries are experiencing today, mostly present in Brazil and Russia, and according to some experts there is doubt about the possibility of further consolidation and

transition to the format of multilateral financial and economic, technological and scientific cooperation and cooperation in the security sphere .

So in the scenario of the world development for the period up to 2025, presented in the report of the National Intelligence Council of the USA, one of the sections is called "Split in the BRICS" [19].

The presence of certain disagreements within BRICS is quite natural, considering how different its members are. At the same time they are united in the fact that the modern world requires fundamental changes and they are ready to form and promote new philosophy of the world order, the harmonization of international economic, political and inter-civilizational relations into international relations.

Activities of BRICS during six years convincingly shows that it has the potential, which allows it to be transformed in the future and become both economically integrational association and international organization with the elements of global governance. But today we can say that without being institutionalized, the BRICS has already become a significant factor in world politics and an important stronghold of multipolarity and a number of some countries want to join this organization.

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### **БРІКС: ІСТОРІЯ СТВОРЕННЯ ТА ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ РОЗВИТКУ**

*Проблема БРІКС привертає все більше уваги як політиків, дослідників, представників експертного співтовариства. Але як показує аналіз літератури в ній є різні, часом діаметрально протилежні концепції та підходи до аналізу цього вельми складного феномену сучасної системи міжнародних відносин. Історіографія БРІКС налічує вже сотні статей і монографій. Проблемою БРІКС активно займаються дослідники країн-учасниць, серед них особливо інтенсивно ця проблема аналізується в Росії, Бразилії, Китаї.*

*Пройдений нами аналіз літератури показує, що цілий ряд аспектів, пов'язаних з діяльністю БРІКС, тенденціями її розвитку та впливу на світовий політичний процес, а також перспективи її подальшого розвитку носять яскраво виражений дискусійний характер. Все це свідчить про актуальність даної проблеми, необхідності систематизації існуючих підходів і оцінок до ролі БРІКС в сучасному світі.*

*Особливістю цієї структури є те, що вона спочатку з'явилася в теорії, а потім тільки на практиці. Термін «БРІК» (BRIC) ввів в 2001 році провідний економіст банку Goldman Sachs Джим О'Нілл. Д.О'Нілл об'єднав в групу БРІК чотири найбільші країни з ринками, що виділяються високими темпами розвитку економіки та її значною орієнтацією на експорт. Широку популярність термін «БРІК» придбав в 2003 році з появою аналітичної доповіді Goldman Sachs, в якому говорилося, що до 2040 року країни групи наздоженуть, а до 2050 року перевершать за сумарним ВВП США, Японію, ФРН, Францію та Італію.*

*Підкреслено, що у країн БРІКС немає географічної, цивілізаційної, культурної, історичної, релігійної спільності. У них різні політичні та економічні моделі, немає довгого тимчасового досвіду взаємодії, існують серйозні внутрішні протиріччя, тобто фактично відсутні причини, які, як правило, створюють основу для об'єднання. В даному випадку як вважають експерти, в основі об'єднання лежали причини геополітичного характеру. Її створення розглядають як реакцію на крах спочатку біполярної, а потім і однополюсної моделі розвитку.*

*Доведено, що БРІКС - це відповідь країн на кризу, яку переживає сьогодні світова система, обумовлена прагненням до диктату і домінуванню зі сторони західних країн і, в першу чергу, США. Автори вважають, що БРІКС - це відображення нових методів багатосторонньої дипломатії, пошуки яких сьогодні йдуть у світі. БРІКС - це один з нових форматів міждержавного спілкування, основою якого виступає збіг інтересів з широкого кола міжнародних проблем. Її можна вважати аналогом великої вісімки.*

*Доведено, що БРІКС – це можливий інструмент глобального регулювання, потреба в якому на даному етапі розвитку надзвичайно велика, тому що система регулювання, створена після Другої світової війни зовсім неадекватна реаліям ХХІ століття.*

**Ключові слова:** БРІКС, міжнародні відносини, глобалізація, фінансова криза, самміт.