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**STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP OF FORMER USSR COUNTRIES
(USING THE EXAMPLE OF RUSSIAN FEDERATION, MOLDOVA, AND
COUNTRIES OF THE CAUCASIAN REGION)**

The article studies the process of strategic partnership establishing of various former USSR countries. It proves the necessity for further analysis of strategic partnership with the account of interaction between the countries. The article deals with strategic partnership and takes into account the political, economic, energy, military, and technical component of the partner countries development. It also indicates the necessity for strategic partnership consideration in global dimensions of interaction between countries and with the account of regional policy. The article makes an attempt to analyze the implementation of strategic partnership on the example of Russian Federation, Moldova, and countries of the Caucasian region with the account of interstate factors of interaction, which is considered to be the author's creative thinking and needs further development and understanding.

Key words: *strategic partnership, interstate interaction, former USSR countries, globalization, integration.*

The interstate interaction within the framework of strategic partnership in the former Soviet republic area takes place in such directions as political, economical, energy, military, technical, which is enforced by corresponding contractual legal framework. Let us note that formation of the former USSR countries strategic partnership takes place under the influence of coincidence of political views of the countries to the global problems of international or local politics and approaches to their settlement, as well as the necessity to extend political and economic cooperation between countries.

A variety of foreign and national researches are dedicated to the investigation of problems of strategic partnership foundations in the countries of the former USSR area. Among scientists of the strategic partnership, we should give prominence to works of such domestic professionals as S. Vidnianskyi, B. Humeniuk, A. Hutsalo, I. Zhovkva, A. Zlenko, Ye. Kaminskyi, B. Kantseliaruk, A. Kruhlashov, M. Kulnych, V. Lytvyn, Yu. Makar, Ye. Makarenko, H. Perepelytsia, I. Pohorska, M. Ryzhkov, V. Smolii, B. Tarasiuk, S. Feduniak, V. Chalyi, O. Shevchuk, etc. The following works of foreign authors are also quite interesting: Z. Brzezinski, Sh. Harnett, D. Dinh, H. Kissinger, Sh. Kei, P. Kronin, U. Cooper, Kh. Milner, D. Mitrani, Ye. Rostow, M. Sariolhkhalam, K. Sylvester, R. Skidelskyi, H. Snaider, A. Wolfers, D. Feit, O. Kholsti, K. Kholsti, J. Checkel, Yu. Yafe. Further studying of the problems of strategic partnership establishment as an international and political phenomenon will form modern conceptual approaches to understanding of the partnership as a form of interstate interaction and justification of importance of the partnership development between countries on global and regional levels.

In this context, we notice that the foreign policy approaches within the confines of the former USSR countries strategic partnership is based on multi-vector and variety of scenarios for introduction of partnership that depends on the formed system of national interests and geopolitical influence of states. We should also notice that most of researchers emphasize that modern civilization goes into a new stage of its rapid development and the main phases of this dynamic movement will be the formation of new challenges for world community that we can observe in the light of today's political events, when there is a search for new forms to establish strategic partnership for consistent and constant development.

In our opinion, we can point out some modern approaches of the former USSR states foreign policy to establishing the system of strategic partners, especially "Russian strategic partnership"; "pro-Russian and/or pro-Chinese strategic partnership" of the Republic of Belarus, Tadjikistan, Kirgizstan, Armenia; "balancing strategic partnership" of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan; "European and Euro-Atlantic partnership" of Georgia and Moldova; "economically advantageous partnership" of Azerbaidjan and "neutral partnership" of Turkmenia.

On the conceptual level, the new approach of the Russian Federation leadership to strategic partnership is determined in the Russian Federation National Security Strategy decree (2015 year) [1] and Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (2016 year) [2], which are about development of equal strategic partnership, formation of strategic stability for Russia on the international stage that are defined as strategic nation priorities of the state. We should note that strategic stability is comprehended by Russian leadership as the way to form favorable conditions for stable development of the country in long term prospects through maintaining adequate level of international and regional security on the basis of unified and fair international legal principles. [3]. To ensure national interests and realize strategic national priorities of the Russian Federation, the foreign policy activities of the state are directed to perform such main tasks as development of bilateral and multilateral relationships of mutually profitable and equal partnership with foreign countries, interstate associations, international organizations and within the confines of meetings on the basis of reference for principles of independence and sovereignty, pragmatism, transparency, multi-vector, conceptual foresight, non-confrontational standing up for national priorities; expansion of international interaction on the non-discriminatory basis, promoting the formation of network alliances [4].

Let us notice that the formation of Russian Federation strategic partners is performed on multi- and bilateral level, in particular multilateral strategic interaction on the international level is realized through reinforcement of cooperation of Russian Federation within United Nations Organization and Group of Twenty. In such a case, multilateral strategic interaction on the regional level occurs due to cooperation with participating countries of Commonwealth of Independent States, Collective Security Treaty Organization, Eurasian Economic Union, Allied state, and also the Republic of Abkhazia and Republic of South Ossetia (author – self-proclaimed republics that de jure are part of Georgia) in order to stand against regional challenges and imminences of military-political and military-strategic natures, as well as to enhance economic competitive ability of member countries. [5].

Multilateral strategic interaction of the Russian Federation on the trans-regional level that is realized due to profound cooperation with Brazil, India, China, and Republic of South Africa in terms of BRICS and RIC, increasing cooperation with Shanghai Cooperation Organization and member countries of the Asian-Pacific economic cooperation can be marked separately. The aim of such cooperation for Russian political elite is to form the mechanisms for provision of regional stability and safety, improvement of the efficiency of politic and economic cooperation with countries of the region, and scale-up of humanitarian interaction [6]. Russia also aims to make long-term dialogue partnership with South-East Asia (ASEAN) Association countries and bring it out to level of strategic partnership, the purpose of which is to continue extension of cooperation in such forms as East Asia Summit, ASEAN Regional Forum on Security, Ministerial Meeting of member countries of ASEAN with dialogue partners. The Russian Federation plans to extend bilateral relationships with countries of Middle East and North Africa in terms of Russian-Arabic Cooperation Meeting and continue strategic dialogue with Council Arab Countries of Persian Gulf [7].

We should add that in the national security strategies of the Russian Federation in 2015, three countries were named as special partners, which include the Chinese National Republic, with which they develop relationships of all-encompassing partnership and strategic cooperation that is the key factor to support global and regional stability; Republic of India, with which Russian

Federation develop privileged strategic partnership; USA, with which RF tries to form full value partnership on the basis of concurring interests in economic and security areas [8]. Generally, the most important ways of the Russian Federation strategic partnership, which are noticed by the researchers of the strategy, remain improvement of the foreseen by international agreements mechanisms for control of armaments, solution of the problems, linked with deproliferation of the mass destruction weapons, broadening cooperation in the sphere of anti-terrorism effort and control of regional conflicts.

Besides, the Russian Federation foreign policy conception in 2016 still names some countries, with which it is planned to develop strategic cooperation, in particular with the Republic of Belarus in terms of Allied state for extension of integration processes; with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam for consistent extension of all-encompassing strategic partnership; with the Republic of Indonesia, Kingdom of Thailand, Republic of Singapore, and Malaysia for extension of multilateral cooperation [9].

In such a way, the essence of the Russian Federation strategic partnership consists in development of multi- and bilateral international relationships that encompass the key spheres of cooperation, have stable and long-term character, and take into account mutual interests. The Russian Federation on the practical level signed bilateral agreements about strategic partnership with countries of Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa. In particular, let us emphasize the in-force declarations about strategic partnership with Spain (2009 year) and Serbia (2013 year) among European countries [10], in which the following strategic partnership provisions are recorded: political coordination of bilateral, multilateral and international issues, which are of shared interests; bilateral trade-economic interaction; cooperation in the sphere of defense on the basis of agreements between Ministry of Defense and collaboration with armed forces; scientific and technical cooperation on the bilateral and multilateral level; cooperation in humanitarian field; struggle against terrorism, organized crime, illegal drug dispensing, spread of weapons of mass destruction; cooperation with the aim to make a dialogue and understanding between cultures and civilizations.

Among Asian countries, Russia continues to increase all-encompassing, equal, trust-based partnership and strategic interaction with the People's Republic of China, because concordance of the principal approaches of two countries to solving key international issues is considered by Russian politicum as important part of regional and global stability [11]. The reasons of increasing strategic partnership between PRC and RF were intermission of the RF progressive advance to liberalization of politic movement, growing animosity with Western governments, deploying of "hybrid war" in Ukraine, and annexation of Crimea. In view of this, Russian researcher A. Pertsev notices that the strategic partnership relations with China are one of the important priority of the RF foreign policy and they are characterized by increasing development dynamics, significant raising of mutual trust and support level, active broadening of cooperation in key spheres [12]. Western researcher J. Mankoff calls Russian-Chinese relationships to be not strategic, but tactical, due to the fact that Russia and China are on opposite ends to present international-politic conjuncture, particularly, China is an export-oriented country and Russia is a raw material country that tends to segregate from changes [13].

The Chinese approach to Russia as for strategic partnership is based on ideological component and provides for further development of strategic relationships, particularly, both China and Russia popularize national culture, languages, tourism, and exchange of youth that strengthens cooperation mainly in boundary regions and big cities [14]. It can also be noticed that Beijing demonstrates cautious strategy of arrangement strategic partnership with Moscow, trying to distance itself and identify the position of its own culture as part of Chinese community and cultural space that are not connected with modern Russia. We should add that the main international-legal acts in the sphere of arrangement of strategic partnership became Treaty of Friendship Neighbourliness and Cooperation between Russian Federation and People's Republic

of China (2001 year) and some common statements as for making more profound Russian-Chinese relationships all-encompassing equal trust-based partnership and strategic cooperation [14]. Generally, both states have intention to renew the level of strategic cooperation, regarding this as a priority for their foreign policy.

One of the important tasks in the sphere of strategic partnership between RF and Vietnam became the increasing in the trade-economic, scientific-technical, and investment cooperation on the basis of all-encompassing usage of potential and experience of cooperation, accumulated for the last decade. In general, the declared principles of bilateral strategic partnership in 2001 [15] can be considered as generally universal ones that reflect more ideological than practical politic-economic fulfillment of such cooperation.

We note that Russian leadership protects further increasing of privileged strategic partnership with the Republic of India, formed on the concordance of the foreign policy priorities and reinforcement cooperation as for actual international problems [16]. In the declaration about strategic partnership between the Russian Federation and the Republic of India in 2000, [17] it is stated that the countries on the international level will interact closely in terms of UNO and as for reinforcement of international peace and safety; on the regional level, they will follow non-participation status in any military-politic alliances, associations or armed conflicts, directed against other side, as well as in any agreements or contracts, which encroach on independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity or interests of national defense; on the trade-economic level, they will intensify economic, scientific-technical, and cultural cooperation; on the defense level, they will contribute to reinforcement of military and military-technical cooperation on the long-term basis.

The terms of reference for development of strategic partnership between RF and countries of Latin America and Africa are documented in certain declarations, signed with Argentine Republic (2008), Republic of Ecuador (2009), Federative Republic of Brazil (2010) [18],[19],[20], People's Democratic Republic of Algeria (2001), and South Africa Republic (2013) [21],[22]. Furthermore, the documents reflect such ways of partnership as reinforcement of the politic dialogue, extension of politic interaction in terms of international and regional meetings, increase in bilateral institutional cooperation, spread of trade-economic and investment cooperation, as well as development of scientific-technical and law enforcement cooperation.

We should mark separately the cooperation of RF on the post-Soviet area with non-recognized regions, for instance, the Republic of Abkhazia, with which the agreement on development of alliance and strategic partnership aiming to pursue coordinated foreign policy was signed; creation of overall defense and safety area; formation of common social and economic space, creation of conditions for full participation in the integration processes on the former USSR area that are realized by Russian Federation initiative [23]. Thus, Russian politicum tries to reinforce its own standing on the former Soviet area notwithstanding the available international-legal regulations and responsibilities. Let us specially focus on the fact that RF has stopped all strategic partnership projects with Western countries after deployment of "hybrid war" against Ukraine. It should also be mentioned that the strategy for developing its own concept and ideology of "Russia's space" began many years ago, therefore, we assume that yet in 2000s, as is evidenced by the work published by K. Hill and N. Beckly "Russia withdrew from the Agreement on common armed forces in Europe against the background of increasing subtraction in the relationships with NATO", in which the conditions of temporary interruption of RF participation in the agreement, signed in 1990 by 16 NATO member-countries and 6 participating countries of the Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, were analyzed and disturbance of the present system of European security, formed after the Cold War, was emphasized on. So, the initial conditions of Moscow geopolitic interests are actions for changing the vector of ideological development that led to changes in contractual legal framework, in which the regulations of RF strategic partnership with different foreign actors are outlined.

It was found that the RF strategic partnership in the legal terrain is based on the signed agreements, declarations or petitions and the Russian leadership in the international-politic area tries to develop relationships with economically and politically powerful states and regional organizations of Asia, Latin America, and Africa with the aim to carry forward its own national interests in conditions of applying sanctions against RF that led to reorientation of the state foreign policy in the eastern direction.

The formation of the "pro-Russian and/or pro-Chinese strategic partnership" of the Republic of Belarus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tadjikistan, Kirgizstan, and Armenia took place due to geographic location of the countries near RF and/or China, as well as under the influence of political-energy interests of the USA in the regions that determined modern nature of strategic partnership of the mentioned countries of the former USSR area.

The main regulations and tasks of foreign policy of the Republic of Belarus are formalized in law "On approval of the main ways for domestic and foreign policy of the Republic of Belarus" dated November 14, 2005, with amendments in 2015, which states the necessity to provide state security and defense of national interests from any foreign challenges and dangers, establishing favorable conditions for constant economic development of the country and increase in wellness of population [24]. Among the strategic partners, the Belorussian leadership points out the Russian Federation, People's Republic of China, Kazakhstan, Venezuela, Brazil, and Cuba.

It should be noticed that the Republic of Belarus is interested in realization of potential of strategic partnership in the relationships with Russian Federation both on the bilateral level and in the terms of common state and other intergrational structures on the former USSR area, which is determined by geographic, geopolitic, and historic factors, as well as by complementarity of countries' economics and tight cooperational relations between enterprises of two countries [25]. The legal basis for the Belorussian and Russian integration is the Agreement on Creation of the Common State, signed on December 8, 1999, according to which the countries coordinate their actions on the international stage in accordance with the program of coordinated actions in the sphere of foreign policy, safety, and security, anti-terrorism activities, crime prevention, etc. We should add that, within the framework of the agreement, there was signed a lot of bilateral documents in the sphere of military and military-technical cooperation, which allowed developing of regional force grouping of the Republic of Belarus and Russian Federation and performing cooperation between systems of anti-aircraft defense of both countries [26].

However, it should also be noticed that Belarus, represented by A. Lukashenko, tries also to preserve certain level of independence and guarantee its own integrity, manipulating between the RF and EU interests, because we can see a partial decrease in interaction on the level of bilateral partnership after the sanctions were imposed against RF. Correspondingly, Minsk has lost financial assistance of Moscow, thus loosing the guarantees in the sphere of financial safety that had negative influence on the economic and politic situation in Belarus. Such an important factor of confidence dropping between RB and RF is aspiration of Moscow to dominate and perform intervention into foreign and domestic policity of Belarus that is threatening for incumbent president A. Lukashenko. In such a case, aggravation of the Ukrainian-Russian relationships led to emergence of the idea among Belorussian government elites in relation to deployment of such a scenario against RB, the evidence of which can be the claims of the Belorussian leadership in relation to formation of a powerful national army.

In this context we should add that after deployment of the Russian military operation against Ukraine, the presence of NATO forces in the Baltic Region started increasing and this made the Belorussian leadership to take actions for neutralization of military threats by preventing the Russian military bases from formation on the state territory, which can be engaged into a military conflict according to such a scenario. So, despite the Russian attempts to interfere into the Belorussian politics, Minsk carries out traditionally very flexible foreign policy, which is directed at strengthening of national interests of RB on the international stage. It should also be mentioned

about the formation of the new type of politic elites in Belorussian society, which do not identify themselves as big Slavic community, search for their own self-identity, and reinforce the development of new Belorussian idea. Correspondingly, such transformations will induce governing Belorussian elites to obtain their own independence and gradual exit from the Russian political influence. It was specified that the Belorussian foreign policy is based on the strategy of balancing between Western countries and RF, which leads to partial removal of Belarus from Russia, aspiration of Russia to manipulate Belorussian political processes and maintain the appropriate level of the internal economic stability.

The foreign policy initiatives of the Republic of Moldova aim at promoting a consistent and balanced foreign policy in order to ensure European course and strengthen the relationships with international partners; implementing political association and economic integration with the European Union and deepening of bilateral relations with the countries that are its members; receiving the status of candidate country for entering the European Union; deepening strategic partnership with Romania in relation to European integration of Moldova; strengthening multilateral strategic relations of good neighbourliness with Ukraine, focusing on European integration; promoting strategic dialogue with the USA [27], [28].

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В.І. Остап'як

СТРАТЕГІЧНЕ ПАРТНЕРСТВО ПОСТРАДЯНСЬКИХ КРАЇН (НА ПРИКЛАДІ РФ, МОЛДОВИ ТА КРАЇН КАВКАЗЬКОГО РЕГІОНУ)

Досліджується процес налагодження стратегічного партнерства низки пострадянських країн. Доводиться необхідність подальшого аналізу стратегічного партнерства з врахуванням факторів міждержавної взаємодії. Розглядається стратегічне партнерство, з урахуванням політичної, економічної, енергетичної, військово-технічної складової розвитку держав партнерів. Зазначено про потребу розгляду стратегічного партнерства в глобальних вимірах міждержавної взаємодії та з урахуванням регіональної політики. У статті здійснено спробу проаналізувати реалізацію стратегічного партнерства на прикладі РФ, Молдови, та країн Кавказького регіону з

врахуванням міждержавних чинників взаємодії, що беззаперечно є неординарним авторським підходом та потребує подальшого розвитку та осмислення.

Звертається увагу на те, що міждержавна взаємодія у рамках стратегічного партнерства на пострадянському просторі відбувається у таких сферах, як політична, економічна, енергетична та військово-технічна і підкріплено відповідною договірно-правовою базою. Зауважено, що формування стратегічного партнерства пострадянських держав відбувається під впливом збігу політичних поглядів країн на глобальні проблеми міжнародної або регіональної політики та підходів щодо їх вирішення, а також необхідності поглиблювати політико-економічну співпрацю між країнами. Подальше дослідження проблем налагодження стратегічного партнерства як міжнародно-політичного явища дозволить на думку автора сформулювати сучасні концептуальні підходи до сприйняття партнерства як форми міждержавної взаємодії та обґрунтування доцільності розвитку партнерства між країнами на глобальному та регіональному рівнях.

У цьому контексті звертається увагу на те, що зовнішньополітичні підходи у рамках стратегічного партнерства країн пострадянського простору ґрунтуються на багатовекторності та різноманітності сценаріїв впровадження партнерства, що безпосередньо залежить від сформованої системи національних інтересів, а також геополітичного впливу держав. Зазначається, що більшість дослідників наголошують на тому, що сучасна цивілізація входить у новий етап свого стрімкого розвитку, і основними фазами цього динамічного руху буде формування нових викликів для світового співтовариства, що можемо спостерігати в світлі сучасних політичних подій, коли відбувається пошук нових форм налагодження стратегічного партнерства для забезпечення стабільного і сталого розвитку.

Ключові слова: *стратегічне партнерство, міждержавна взаємодія, пострадянські країни, глобалізація, інтеграція.*

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В.І. Парлюк

ПРЕЗИДЕНТСЬКІ ВИБОРИ 2016 Р. ЯК ПОКАЗНИК ТРАНСФОРМАЦІЇ ПАРТІЙНОЇ СИСТЕМИ АВСТРІЇ

У статті висвітлено особливості президентських виборів 2016 р. в Австрії як показника трансформації партійної системи країни. В хронологічному порядку описані і виділені основні виборчі процедури. Аналізуються дії та програмні положення, вжиті в ході кампаній кандидатами у президенти; наведені статистичні дані.

Ключові слова: *партійна система, політична система, політичні партії, президентські вибори.*

Сьогодні Європейський Союз, як вважають дослідники, знаходиться в стані глибокої системної кризи як унікальний інтеграційний проект і модель ефективної регіональної інтеграції [1].

Недавні приток мігрантів до Європи з Африки, Близького Сходу і Південної Азії поставив перед європейськими партіями та політиками найбільшу проблему після економічної кризи в єврозоні; підняв питання про безпеку, суверенітет і інтеграцію, які можуть мати довгостроковий соціальний, економічний і політичний вплив на ЄС. Криза виділила дві основні проблеми для ЄС і держав-членів: по-перше, вона поставила під сумнів ідею безмежної Європи, підриваючи довгострокові зобов'язання держав-членів по