

**V. Burlachenko, A. Trofimenko**

### **MAIN STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

*From the beginning of the XXI century Asian region has increased its international role. First of all, two rapidly developing countries - the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India strengthened their political and economic positions on the world stage. Today relations between these powerful states have a regional and global impact on the development of international relations in general. These states have enormous human, natural, economic, military-strategic potential. They are bound by a number of common interests on the world stage, collaborating within the framework of such international organizations as BRICS, SCO, "Triangle Russia - India - China". Bilateral trade turnover is growing annually at a very fast pace. However, today in the Chinese-Indian relations there are elements of both cooperation and rivalry.*

*The article presents analysis of the development of bilateral relations between India and the PRC for the period since 1950, when diplomatic relations have been established, to the present days. The authors have showed the process of forming a political dialogue between the countries, and distinguished its main factors.*

*The problem issues that arose between the countries in the early 1960's have been identified. The causes, course, and effects of the Indian-Chinese border war have been investigated. Features of the establishment of bilateral relations from conflict to strategic partnership in the XXI century have been considered.*

*On the basis of the analysis, the authors concluded that since the establishment of diplomatic relations, the political dialogue between India and China has developed unevenly, from conflict to strategic partnership. The authors have proposed the following conditional stages of the relationship between Republic of India and the PRC: 1) 1950 – 1954 – establishment of diplomatic relations and strategic partnership; 2) 1955 – 1962 period of gradual cooling of relations; 3) the 1962 – 1980 – border war and the end of the bilateral dialogue; 4) 1981 – 2003 – normalization of cooperation; 5) since 2003 – the transition of relations to the stage of "strategic partnership".*

**Key words:** *the Republic of India, the People's Republic of China (PRC), Bandung Conference, McMahon Line, Border War, Strategic Partnership.*

УДК 324

**M.A. Buchyn**

### **ELECTRONIC VOTING AS AN ELEMENT OF ELECTRONIC DEMOCRACY: PECULIARITIES AND MAIN APPROACHES TO UNDERSTANDING**

*The article deals with electronic voting as a component of electronic democracy. Special features of electronic voting are revealed and the main approaches to its understanding are analyzed. The typology of electronic voting is released and the conditions necessary for its effective functioning are distinguished.*

**Key words:** *electronic voting, electronic democracy, elections, information technologies.*

In the era of rapid development of the information society, the influence of information technologies has spread to all aspects of human life and become an integral part of our vital activity. Political sphere isn't an exception, where information technology is seen as an

instrument for democracy realization, and interpreted as a factor in facilitating and improving communication between citizens and authorities, increasing transparency in the field of governance, and promoting more effective public control over the activities of power structures. The result of the information technology spreading in the political sphere was the origin of such phenomena as electronic democracy and electronic government, and after a while - the use of information technology in the electoral process through the implementation of electronic voting. The chosen research topic is marked to be highly relevant, because, electronic democracy and electronic voting are relatively new phenomena for Ukrainian society, the introduction of which requires theoretical understanding of the role and influence of information technologies during the election process. There is a need for a complex analysis of electronic voting, revealing of its features and basic approaches to its interpretation.

The problem of disclosing the essence and special features of electronic voting was investigated by such foreign scientists as Y. Antonov, M. Chimarov, B. Shakhin and other [1; 2; 9-11]. Among the Ukrainian experts who paid heed to the research of electronic voting, it should be particularly noted such scientists as Y. Mostova, I. Sidenko, Y. Turchyn [4; 7; 8]. In the first place, above mentioned researchers reveal the essence of the electronic voting and distinguish its positive and negative sides. At the same time, the consideration of the essence of electronic voting from the standpoint of various sciences, the question of the typology of electronic voting and the definition of conditions necessary for effective functioning insurance are set aside.

The purpose of the publication is to investigate the essence and peculiarities of electronic voting as an element of electronic democracy.

First of all, it should be stressed that there is no single interpretation of electronic democracy in political science. In our opinion, this phenomenon can be examined from the following positions:

- electronic democracy as a characteristic of society, a kind of democracy in general, its higher stage;
- electronic democracy as a system of relations or communications, which foresees widespread use of information and communication technologies;
- electronic democracy as a mechanism for the democracy realization through information and communication technologies;
- electronic democracy as a set of information and communication tools and technologies;
- electronic democracy as an instrument owned by policy subjects [3].

Taking into the consideration the fact that one of the main attributes and catalysts of democracy is the institution of democratic elections, it becomes obvious that the effective and full functioning of electronic democracy is impossible without the availability of electronic voting. The last option should be considered to be one of the important tools and components of electronic democracy. In this regard, the Russian researcher Y. Antonov definitely states: "We believe that electronic voting is indissolubly linked to electronic democracy and should be reviewed in the general system to the extent that electronic voting ensures the objective identification and fixation of the population's opinion about socially significant issues, and it's hard to imagine electronic democracy without the appropriate electronic means that ensure the will of the population (without the use of electronic voting)" [1, p. 118].

In our opinion, by investigating electronic voting, this phenomenon should be examined in its broad and narrow sense. According to a broad approach, electronic voting should be interpreted as any form of will expression, using electronic vote counting (often also by filling them with the use of information technology). In this context, we can talk about voting in a variety of public media projects, where readers (viewers) are offered to realize the will and

support a particular social project. It should also include a variety of online audience surveys. By considering electronic voting in a broad interpretation, it should be understood as the expression of the will of voters in the structure of official mechanisms for the formation of power or the formal involvement of citizens in the adoption of power decisions.

Taking into account all aforesaid, it becomes obvious that electronic voting can be considered both as an element of direct democracy, and as an element of representative democracy. In the first case we can talk about electronic referendums, where the citizens directly take political decisions, in other words, they exercise direct sovereignty of people. In the second case, we can talk about electronic elections, in which citizens choose their representatives, in other words, they are involved in the implementation of representative democracy.

In this context, it is important to have a clear definition of electronic voting, as well as the disclosure of the essentiality of some of its tangible issues, for instance, electronic voting. It is worth noting that our above-mentioned position is fully consonant with European electoral law. In particular, in 2004, the "Recommendations of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to member states on the legal, organizational and technical standards of electronic voting" were adopted. The document contains the following definition of electronic voting: it is electronic elections or an electronic referendum, which include the use of electronic means at least during voting process [5].

According to Russian scientist M. Chimarov, who interprets the electronic will a bit more widely, claims that "... the term" electronic voting "means the process of involving technological methods of receiving, votes counting and summarizing the results of voting by electronic means" [9, p. 33].

It is also worth noting the approach that considers electronic voting to be synonym to new voting technologies. In accordance with the "Guidelines for monitoring the use of new voting technologies," the OSCE / ODIHR understands that the concept of electronic voting includes the usage of electronic voting, electronic ballot scanners and Internet voting " [6, p. 9-10]. According to our belief, the value of this approach is represented in the fact that it contains a list of basic means for electronic voting, as well as it is possibility to distinguish the levels of electronic voting.

By exploring the concept of electronic voting, some researchers emphasize its novelty compared to the traditional way of will expression, then foresee the absence of a paper bulletin: "Under the electronic voting ... we understand the voting without the use of a bulletin, which is made of paper, using a set of automation tools [9, p. 33]. Analyzing the above-mentioned interpretation of the electronic voting, we should note its imperfection, because the author actually restricts electronic voting by one of its variants, speaking about remote electronic will expression. At the same time, there is also a stationary electronic voting, which in some cases involves the availability of a paper bulletin, the information of which scans by the electronic device. In this case, electronic technologies are used only at the stage of counting votes, but the act itself expresses the will in its traditional way.

It should be noted that during the process of disclosing the essence of electronic voting, it is impossible to avoid the analysis of such category as "electronic elections". It should be said that in most cases, scientific and political circles are inclined to identify electronic voting and electronic elections. In our opinion, in this case there is a traditional mistake in which the elections are identified to the voting procedure at the polling station. We tend to collate the concept of "elections" with the notion of "electoral process" rather than comparing it to voting as one of the final stages of the election. Within the framework of the proposed approach it becomes obvious that the concept of "electronic elections" is much broader than the concept of "electronic voting". In this case, electoral elections should be understood as the active use

of information and communication technologies in all (or most) stages of the electoral process, including the stages of voting and counting votes.

For the reveal of the essence of electronic voting, its valuable for to explore the works of Russian explorer Y. Antonov. The scientist analyzes and reveals the essence of electronic voting from the standpoint of various sciences, stressing on the multidimensional nature of the concept:

- political science interprets electronic voting as new methods and methods of management;
- social sciences consider electronic voting as the new ways and methods of taking into account public opinion and providing certain social services;
- the technical sciences interpret electronic voting as a system of modern technological solutions that enable them to realize specific tasks in the field of politics;
- technical sciences consider electronic voting as a new sector of development of technical production and activation of economic activity;
- law studies interprets electronic voting as a new sphere of social relations, which is specific, and, therefore, requires a new, adequate legal regulation. In addition to this, according to the researcher's point of view, juridical representatives tend to consider electronic voting to be a new stage in the evolution of traditional democratic procedures [1, p. 120].

Noting the complex nature of the concept of Y. Antonov, we would like to supplement it with my own considerations regarding the interpretation of electronic voting. In particular, from the standpoint of the electorate, electronic voting is a convenient method of will expression, which requires less efforts and provides time savings; from the standpoint of electoral commission members, electronic voting is a fast automated vote counting process; from the standpoint of power structures, electronic voting is a new way of expression of will that contains a number of threats and requires a balanced approach and information-propaganda campaign of electronic voting ideas among the population; from the point of view of economic expediency, electronic voting is an economic project characterized by high economic costs at the implementation stage, but is a mean of significant cost savings in the future; from the standpoint of political participation, electronic voting is a new type of electoral participation that is an effective mean of combating with absenteeism and is an an effective mechanism for activating citizen participation in elections; from the point of view of the accuracy and efficiency of counting votes, electronic voting is a way of counting votes that, by eliminating the "human factor", helps to reduce inaccuracies in the counting of votes; from the standpoint of information security, electronic voting is the use of information systems and technologies that can be vulnerable to internal and external factors and requires the development of an information security system; from the point of view of the development of society, electronic voting is an element of the information society, a new step towards its strengthening and effective development; From the point of view of ecology, electronic voting is a type of will expression that positively effects on the level of development of the environment, because it does not require the use of wood for bulletin paper production; from the standpoint of democracy, electronic voting is a tool that, in the case of significance and the provision of effective information protection, will contribute to the consolidation of democracy, and will ensure a high level of observance of democratic election principles.

Electronic voting is an integrative notion that includes many different ways to accomplishment the will. In particular, according to the nature of the ballot, electronic voting can be stationary (requiring the presence of a voter in the polling station for the act of will expression) and remote (allowing the voter to vote outside the polling station).

By the type of information system through which the act of expression of will is carried out, electronic voting may be the following: Internet voting, sms voting, voting by the use of electronic system of direct voice, voting using an electronic system of optical scanning of bulletin.

By the scale of the use of information technologies, electronic voting can be complete and partial. During the full electronic voting, information technologies are used both at the stage of voting and at the stage of their counting and determination of voting results. The use of incomplete electronic voting provides the use of information technologies only at the stage of counting votes.

By the form of democracy, electronic voting can be used during referendums and elections. By the level of reliability of information systems and technologies, electronic voting can be reliable and unreliable. By scale parameter, electronic voting can be national, regional and local. The legal consequences of electronic voting are valid and invalid.

Taking into consideration the fact that electronic voting is a new type of will expression, its effectiveness and the possibility of implementation depend on a number of premises. Among the main prerequisites for the effective functioning of electronic voting, we can note the following:

1. High level of public confidence in information technologies in general, and particularly in the electronic voting. Researchers state that: "It is also important to emphasize the fact that the development of electronic voting systems is closely linked to the trust of voters before the election and in general to a democratic electoral system" [2, p. 67]. Of course, citizens' trust in electronic voting is formed for a long time and was the result of personal experience and a large-scale information campaign by the authorities.

2. High level of development of information systems and information technologies. Only in a high-tech society, where the availability of advanced information technology becomes a daily routine, effective implementation and functioning of electronic voting will be possible. In this context, it is important to have access to the Internet to all citizens of the country (in the case of remote electronic voting).

3. High level of computer literacy of citizens. This factor is extremely important for several reasons. First of all, only a computer literate person will trust information technology and will not be afraid of its use during the election. Secondly, a person who does not have the skills to use modern devices and technologies can't correctly execute the act of will expression or will be forced to seek out third-party assistance, which creates favorable conditions for violations and falsifications. Thirdly, citizens who are well-guided in the principles of the functioning of information technology, have the opportunity to effectively monitor the functioning of power, the process of electronic voting, counting votes, etc.

4. Developed legal and regulatory framework on the basis of which the legal regulation of the procedure of electronic voting takes place. The system of legislation in each country should use the foreign experience of regulation of electronic voting, while taking into account national peculiarities.

5. Availability of an effective and convenient information system on the basis of which electronic voting will be carried out. Russian scientist Y. Antonov rightly notes: "We think that the electronic voting system should ensure not only the convenience for election commissions and their employees and correspond to modern tendencies, but also be convenient and accessible to voters both in election day and before it ... Otherwise, the electronic voting system is only a system of effective counting of votes, which uses a special voting system" [2, p. 67-68].

6. High level of security of the information system on the basis of which electronic voting takes place. We should evaluate the problems and prospects of implementing electronic voting not from the standpoint of technological progress, and not even from the

point of view of convenience, economy, efficiency of counting votes, etc. In the first place, the nature of the impact of electronic voting on the level of development of democracy in the country is important. The most important parameter by which we can evaluate the effectiveness of electronic voting (as well as any other policy information tools) is ensuring compliance with democratic election standards and the ability to ensure that votes are correctly taken into account. An average voter is primarily interested in allowing him/her to commit an act of will expression, and the result was adequately reflected in defining the winners.

To sum up, we want to emphasize such aspects: taking into account social progress and the rapid development of technologies, the introduction of electronic voting is a matter of time. However, its implementation should be consistent and accompanied by reliable information protection systems. This is especially true in the context of recent electoral practices of foreign countries that have shown that the development of information and communication technologies is a beneficial field for abuses and manipulations. Ukraine is only at the reflection stage on the feasibility, problems and prospects of implementing electronic voting. This necessitates a detailed study of all the advantages, problems and threats of the implementation of electronic voting in Ukraine, which could be a promising direction for our further research.

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### **ЕЛЕКТРОННЕ ГОЛОСУВАННЯ ЯК ЕЛЕМЕНТ ЕЛЕКТРОННОЇ ДЕМОКРАТІЇ: ОСОБЛИВОСТІ ТА ОСНОВНІ ПІДХОДИ ДО РОЗУМІННЯ**

*У статті розглядається електронне голосування як складова електронної демократії. Розкрито особливості електронного голосування та проаналізовано основні підходи до його розуміння. Автор розкриває різні трактування демократії з позицій різних наук, а також з огляду на мету, результати, засоби, з допомогою яких здійснюється електронне волевиявлення. Проаналізовано співвідношення між такими поняттями, як «електронне голосування» та «електронна демократія» і «електронні вибори».*

*Здійснено комплексну типологію електронного голосування за такими критеріями, як: характер подачі голосів (стаціонарне та дистанційне електронне голосування); тип інформаційної системи, з допомогою якої здійснюється акт волевиявлення (Інтернет-голосування, смс-голосування, голосування з допомогою електронної системи прямої подачі голосів, голосування з допомогою електронної*

*системи оптичного сканування бюлетеня); масштаб використання інформаційних технологій (повне та часткове електронне голосування); форма демократії (електронне голосування на референдумах і на виборах); рівень надійності інформаційних систем та технологій (надійне і ненадійне електронне голосування); масштаб здійснення голосування (загальнодержавне, регіональне та місцеве електронне голосування); правові наслідки (дійсне і недійсне електронне голосування).*

*Виокремлено умови, необхідні для ефективного функціонування електронного голосування: наявність високого рівня довіри громадян до інформаційних технологій загалом, і до електронного голосування, зокрема; високий рівень розвитку інформаційних систем та інформаційних технологій; високий рівень комп'ютерної грамотності громадян; розвинена нормативно-правова база, на основі якої відбувається правове регулювання процедури електронного голосування; наявність ефективної та зручної інформаційної системи, на основі якої здійснюватиметься електронне голосування; високий рівень захищеності інформаційної системи, на основі якої відбувається електронне голосування.*

**Ключові слова:** електронне голосування, електронна демократія, вибори, інформаційні технології.

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Г.О. Бушуєв

### ПРОБЛЕМА ТЛУМАЧЕННЯ ПОНЯТТЯ «НЕДЕРЖАВНИЙ АНАЛІТИЧНИЙ ЦЕНТР» В УКРАЇНСЬКІЙ ТА ІНОЗЕМНІЙ НАУЦІ

*У статті досліджуються теоретичні підходи до визначення поняття «недержавний аналітичний центр» в сучасній політичній науці. Розглядаються підходи американських, британських, польських, німецьких, французьких та українських науковців до тлумачення аналітичних центрів, критерії визначення даних організацій. На основі співставлення різних підходів національних політологічних шкіл зроблена спроба узагальнення поняття «недержавний аналітичний центр».*

**Ключові слова:** недержавний аналітичний центр, мозковий центр, дефініція, політичний аналіз.

Демократичні трансформації, що беруть свій початок від набуття Україною незалежності та отримали новий поштовх під час Революції Гідності поставили перед країною низку внутрішньополітичних та зовнішньополітичних викликів. У контексті розвитку громадянського суспільства до вирішення нагальних проблем державної політики все активніше долучаються експерти, що не входять до урядових інституцій, які займаються розробкою законопроектів, підзаконних актів та державних стратегій. Одним з чинників участі недержавних експертів в процесі розбудови державної політики країни стало створення в Україні недержавних аналітичних центрів (think-tanks).

Ці організації орієнтовані на наукові дослідження тієї чи іншої проблеми, надання консультацій і поширення інформації серед осіб, що приймають рішення, а також серед широкої громадськості. Неурядові аналітичні центри в Україні перебувають на стадії становлення, але вже сам факт їх існування є важливим чинником плюралізації процесів формування та прийняття внутрішньо- та зовнішньополітичних рішень в державі [1; с. 388].