

INTERNATIONAL LAW AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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PARADIGM FORMATION OF UKRAINE'S STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

This study makes an attempt to characterize the system of origination and formation of Ukraine's strategic partnership. It is noted that the strategic partnership study is a rather complex and multifaceted process that requires consideration of this phenomenon in all aspects of the system of international relations. In particular, the article examines the degree of the strategic partnership formation with the account of the political will of the countries in the system of international relations. It considers the genesis of the strategic partnership formation as a significant process that can provide a high level of overcoming of the conflictogenity in the global environment. The paper also analyzes the stages of implementation of the paradigm of Ukraine's strategic partnership. The author notes that it is expedient to consider the whole range of problems of building effective partnership relations, which certainly change in time depending on the system transformations of international relations.

Keywords: strategic partnership, political process, globalization, transformation, Ukraine.

Statement of scientific problem and its meaning. The study of the formation processes of Ukraine's strategic partnership is quite a complex and differentiated process, which must be coordinated and interrelated with all aspects of the state's foreign policy priorities. The essence of strategic partnership consists in the combination of strategy and tactics for implementation of the political will of the country in the international space, however, in the dimensions of Ukrainian reality, the very formation of the strategic partnership paradigm and its genesis has largely influenced not only the political dimension of the country's life, but also the formation of the ideological component of this process.

Research objective and tasks. The purpose of the scientific research is to study the formation processes of Ukraine's strategic partnership, which has changed under the influence of the neighboring states' policies leading to emergence of political, economic, and cultural problems within the state.

Main materials and grounding of the obtained results. Analyzing the stages of implementation of Ukraine's strategic partnership paradigm, we think it is important to consider the whole range of problems of building effective partnership relations, which certainly change in time depending on the system transformations of international relations. Moreover, the study of strategic partnership through the prism of emergence of regional and global threats will help to clarify the prospects for transition from declarative to practical strategic partnership since the sustainable political, economic, military, and socio-cultural development of Ukraine depends on the effectiveness of its construction. Taking this into account, the paradigm of the strategic partnership of the Ukrainian state can be revealed through clarification of the essence of the foreign policy, economic, energy, military, and cultural dimensions of interaction with various international actors.

Let us note that the foreign policy dimension of Ukraine's strategic partnership manifests itself through the ability to provide and realize a qualitative level of interstate communications due to the usage of official and unofficial levers of influence at the personal level and at the level of intergovernmental and non-governmental international organizations. It is also useful to establish strategic partnership at the state's general political level through intensification of political and public communication, maintaining of ties with the media, strengthening of a constructive dialog with official strategic partners, which, in our opinion, requires a state reconsideration in order to make the transition to effective international cooperation.

The implementation of the economic dimension of Ukraine's strategic partnership is also a significant factor in establishment of communication between partners since the economic, financial, and bank sectors determine the possibilities for deepening intersectoral cooperation. Let us emphasize that

the economic impact exerted on the processes of the state's strategic partnership implementation is considered to be quite significant since this interaction stimulates the development of the social and demographic sphere, which positively influences renewal of the country's image both at the level of the world and internal community.

The energy dimension of Ukraine's strategic partnership manifests itself in the establishment of equal energy relations with the partner countries through the update of domestic legislation, conclusion of new international contracts in the energy sphere, and search for alternative energy sources. An independent energy foreign policy will allow the state to build up renewed strategic ties and form qualitative models of bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Let us add that the study of the strategic partnership military dimension is the main focus in the works of many foreign and domestic scientists since the military and security factor has now a decisive influence on the formation of foreign policy priorities of international actors. Moreover, we can observe the transformation of officially fixed military alliances, which leads to destructive influence exerted on the global political and economic processes. In our opinion, military cooperation can be regarded as an important component for strategic partnership establishment, which can neutralize crisis factors of influence on the international system.

The study of the cultural dimension of Ukraine's strategic partnership also allows deepening international cooperation, as cultural, linguistic, and religious peculiarities influence the structure of the state's political life, and form its ideological component and national idea, which are directly interrelated with the processes of strategic partnership implementation. Thus, the strategic partnership in conditions of geopolitical changes can provide an acceptable level of security in the political, military, and economic spheres, which helps partner countries to develop constructively and reduce the impact of destructive factors.

As the specialists of the Razumkov Center note, Ukraine's relations with individual countries have the level of strategic partnership, which is formalized in the provisions of bilateral agreements. However, the Ukrainian politicum does not always use the strategic partnership tool in a wise manner. In particular, the result of Ukraine's unilateral declarations was the list of strategic partners, in which there were about 20 states¹, with the majority of which strategic relations are declarative in nature.

We believe that the stages of formation of the paradigm of Ukraine's strategic partnership can be considered to be the formation of the idea of neutrality and non-alignment under L. Kravchuk's presidency; observance of the variable multi-vector policy under L. Kuchma's presidency; proclamation of European integration foreign policy priorities under V. Yushchenko's presidency; balancing through improved relations with the Russian Federation under V. Yanukovich's presidency; and establishment of the Euro-integration and Euro-Atlantic foreign policy course under P. Poroshenko's presidency.

Let us note that Ukraine has received a number of external advantages from the permanent state of internal political conflictogenity, because the Ukrainian society managed to realize the imperatives of civil society and was able not only to resist crises, but also to correct the processes of revolutionary changes. This is primarily about domestic political resistance, which became the catalysts of such processes as the Revolution on Granite, the Orange Revolution, and the Revolution of Dignity, which cyclically influenced the Ukrainian civil society formation and transformed Ukraine's foreign policy priorities. Let us add that in the first years of independence, Ukrainian politicum mainly implemented strengthening of relations with the Russian Federation, which led to deepening of internal political instability in Ukraine and uncertainty of the state's foreign policy aspirations. Taking into account the fact that the use of the term "strategic partnership" was an attempt to emphasize the importance of bilateral interaction development, rather than evidence of practical implementation of strategic relations.

Some domestic scientists emphasize that this practice led to misunderstanding among foreign partners of Ukraine and casted some doubt on the consistency of the state's foreign policy course. Moreover, the strategic partners declared by Ukraine remained recorded primarily in official documents², which can be assessed only as a declaration of intent that was not backed by practical tools and did not find mutual support both at the level of political elites and the public of participating states.

The foreign policy practice of Ukraine's cooperation in building of the system of strategic relations with various states is influenced by the peculiarities of cooperation with the United States of America,

¹ Стратегічні партнери України: декларації і реальності (2000). *Національна безпека і оборона*, 12, 80.

² Стратегічні партнери України: декларації і реальності (2000). *Національна безпека і оборона*, 12, 80.

European Union, and Russian Federation. It has been established that the strengthening of Ukraine's politico-economic and energy dependence on the Russian Federation disbalanced the paradigm of strategic partnership. In addition to economic and energy dependence, the Russian Federation also distributed the value system of the "Russian world", which contributed to deepening of the conflict in the Ukrainian society. Thus, the paradigm of strategic partnership has been implemented for a long time with the account of the Russian Federation interests in relation to Ukraine. This was also facilitated by the geopolitical position of the Ukrainian state at the crossroads of two civilizational value and cultural models – Western and post-Byzantine Orthodox world. Thus, defending its own foreign policy interests, the Russian Federation tried to strengthen the influence of the ideology of the "Russian world" not only within the framework of the post-Soviet countries, but also at the level of the Balkans.

It should be noted that foreign policy priorities of the Ukrainian state, as well as the system of strategic relations continue to develop within the framework of Ukraine's interaction with the EU, the USA and the RF, in particular, the EU implements the European Neighborhood Policy, which is designed to contribute to political, economic, and security stabilization in the neighboring countries. Similarly, we can assess the Ukraine's acquisition of its associated membership in the integration formation, however, we should add that for a long time European politicum lacked a clear vision of the Ukraine's role in the foreign policy interests of the association. The USA continue to view Ukraine as a space for spreading of their own political preferences, which also affects the regional positioning of the state and determines its Euro-Atlantic aspirations, and the Russian Federation, while promoting its own national interests, tried to involve Ukraine in Russia's integration projects in the post-Soviet space. Taking into account that Ukrainian foreign policy strategy was constantly transformed, A. Zelenko assumes that it has gone through several stages – neutrality and non-alignment, multi-vector, European and Euro-Atlantic integration, Eurasianism and equal approach¹. Such a change in foreign policy principles of interaction with various international actors determined the conditions for the formation of the Ukraine's strategic partnership paradigm.

Therefore, the principles of neutrality and non-alignment were enshrined in the Declaration on State Sovereignty (1990), which proclaimed the intention "... to become in the future a permanently neutral state that does not participate in military blocs and adheres to three non-nuclear principles: not to take, not to produce? and not to acquire nuclear weapons"². We should add that in the resolution of the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine "On the main directions of Ukraine's foreign policy" (1993) it was revealed that "... every border state is a strategic partner of Ukraine". In addition, the document stated that "... the keynote of bilateral relations with the border states is Ukrainian-Russian relations. For Ukraine, these are relations of the special partnership, since the destiny of the progressive democratic development of both Ukraine and the Russian Federation, stability in Europe and throughout the world are largely depend on their nature. Counteracting any territorial claims or attempts to interfere in its internal affairs, Ukraine will take all measures to transfer relations with Russia into the channel of good-neighborliness, mutual respect and partnership..."³.

At the same time, interaction with the EU member states and NATO was defined by Ukraine as "... the relationship of political and military partnership, mutually beneficial economic cooperation, broad cultural, scientific, and humanitarian ties". The document also identified the need to expand the Ukraine's participation in NATO's governing bodies and the long-term goal of membership in the European Communities through signing of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement "...implementation of which will be the first stage of progress towards associate and subsequently complete membership in the organization"⁴.

Concerning the cooperation with the USA, they were viewed as "... a country whose policies significantly influence the development of international events." It was separately noted that geo-strategic and geo-economic interests of Ukraine require the maintenance of close relations with India, China, Egypt

¹ Зленко, А. (2007). Формування та реалізація концептуальних засад зовнішньої політики України. *Kiїв. Україна дипломатична*, 8, 608–623.

² Декларація про державний суверенітет України 1990 р. (Верховна Рада України). <<http://zakon2.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/55-12>> (2017, August, 15)

³ Постанова про основні напрями зовнішньої політики України 1993 (Верховна Рада України). <<http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/3360-12/conv>> (2017, August, 10)

⁴ Постанова про основні напрями зовнішньої політики України 1993 (Верховна Рада України). <<http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/3360-12/conv>> (2017, August, 10)

and Israel¹. Thus, the Russian Federation became one of the first countries with which Ukrainian politicum declared the relationship of strategic partnership. While the cooperation with the EU and NATO, as well as the USA, was considered at the level of political and military partnership, moreover, cooperation with several Asian-African states with which Ukraine could develop economic and military relations was highlighted.

It was determined that at the initial stage of the formation of Ukraine's foreign policy practice, in the conditions of neutrality and non-alignment, the paradigm of strategic partnership was formed through the interaction with the Russian Federation as the strategic partner, and the EU, the USA, and NATO as promising partners with which it is necessary to deepen the intersectoral interaction. The perspectives of expanding of economic partnership with other states in the world were also considered. However, the lack of institutionally envisaged mechanism for the cooperation of Ukraine with international actors that were declared as strategic partners was the result of this interaction.

The Ukraine's multi-vector policy, which developed in the second part of the 90s of the 20th century, was based on the determination of certain international environment of the state, which would correspond to the national economic interests of the country, and would be determined as the main foreign policy priority². Scientists also add that the multi-vectorality was justified by historical realities that practically excluded Ukraine's orientation toward a single strategic foreign policy direction, assigning it the role of the link among Western and Eastern partners³. So, during this period Ukraine's strategic partnership was multidirectional and depended on regional political conjuncture.

In the early 2000s Ukrainian politicum abandoned the multi-vector policy and defined the European and Euro-Atlantic direction as the main foreign policy priority, however, the strategic partnership with the RF was enshrined in the law on the fundamentals of national security (2003). In particular, it was recognized at the state level that maintenance of neutrality is unpromising for Ukraine, given that it was intended to develop a strategy for joining NATO. In the Law of Ukraine "On the Fundamentals of National Security of Ukraine" adopted in 2003, among the foreign policy directions was emphasized "... the full participation of Ukraine in the European and regional collective security systems, acquisition of membership in the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, while maintaining good-neighborly relations and strategic partnership with the Russian Federation, other CIS countries, as well as with other states"⁴. Consequently, the essence of the strategic partnership of Ukraine in the early 2000s is revealed through the prolongation of balancing between European/Euro-Atlantic aspirations and Russian vector. Scientists also note that political and economic concessions to Ukraine led to the asymmetry in Ukrainian-Russian relations and to the shift in their development from the level of partnership to dependency relations. Ukraine appeared to be under the influence of Russia, as an object of political, economic, cultural and information expanse⁵.

In our scientific research we address the issues of establishing and implementation of strategic partnership, because the formation of the whole partnership of state-building conception of modern Ukraine depends on the formation of the partnership strategies. It is clear that formation and modernization of partnership strategies is constantly changing, therefore, it requires further detailed and comprehensive analysis.

So we will continue considering the formation of partnership concepts, taking into account all factors that influence the genesis of modern Ukraine.

¹ *Постанова про основні напрями зовнішньої політики України 1993* (Верховна Рада України).

<<http://zakon3.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/3360-12/conv>> (2017, August, 10)

² Зленко, А. (2007). *Формування та реалізація концептуальних засад зовнішньої політики України*. Київ: *Україна дипломатична*, 8, 608–623.

³ Микола Алексієвець, Ярослав Секо. *Зовнішня політика України: від багатовекторності до безальтернативності. Україна–Європа–Світ: міжнародний збірник наукових праць: 25-й річниці Незалежності України присвячено*. <<http://dspace.tnpu.edu.ua>>.

⁴ *Закон про основи національної безпеки України 2003* (Верховна Рада України).

<<http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/964-15/ed20060114/conv>> (2017, September, 10)

⁵ Микола Алексієвець, Ярослав Секо. *Зовнішня політика України: від багатовекторності до безальтернативності. Україна–Європа–Світ: міжнародний збірник наукових праць присвячено: 25-й річниці Незалежності України*. <<http://dspace.tnpu.edu.ua:8080/jspui/bitstream/123456789/6936/1/Aleksiyevets.pdf>> (2017, September, 10)

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6. *Zakon pro osnovy natsionalnoi bezpeky Ukrainy 2003* [The Law on the Fundamentals of the National Security of Ukraine 2003]. (The Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine). <<http://zakon4.rada.gov.ua/laws/show/964-15/ed20060114/conv>> (2017, September, 10) [in Ukrainian].