

USA International Politics: in search of new approaches

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Summary

The US foreign policy during 2017 reflected the profound changes in the global processes of recent decades. The revision of the foreign policy preferences is partly due to the pre-election promises of President Donald Trump and the intention of his administration to strengthen the position of the American economy. Some cases may be explained by the lack of "easy solutions" allowing to resolve with minimum losses a number of crises that occurred in the previous years. The list of such conflict issues include the nuclear threat from the North Korea, suppression of the "Islamic state", terrorism in the Middle East, the war in Afghanistan, Ukrainian-Russian conflict etc. From the conceptual point of view President Trump's foreign policy reflects the search for a new grand strategy, applicable to the multipolar world of the 21st century. It is likely that the new U.S. grand strategy will be closer to the offshore balancing model than to the traditional power and political preponderance, laid down by the Truman doctrine in the late 1940s.

Keywords: foreign policy, international security, international system, strategy, domination, offshore balancing

The election of D. Trump by the president of the United States is compared with the global political earthquake. During the election campaign, the foreign policy priorities of the new administration were outlined only in general terms. Subsequently, in a message to the US Congress (February 28, 2017), President Trump promised to focus on combating Islamic extremism and the destruction of the "Islamic State" as its material embodiment, restoring the productive potential of the American economy, protecting the borders of unwanted immigrants and reforming NATO. The requirements of the new administration for allies and partners within NATO, the Middle East and the Pacific concerned the "equitable distribution" of military spending and increased engagement of friendly countries in strategic and local military operations. Despite confirming the intention to honor commitments to partners and allies, Trump said he sees his job "to represent the United States, not the whole world" [1].

The content of Trump proclaimed course "America first" consists in a deep review of the guidelines and means of international positioning. After all, financing efforts to maintain the status of a world leader, along with costly military campaigns in remote regions, has become an unreasonable burden for the US economy and financial system. In general, the phenomenon of D. Trump was that he dared to question without question the question of whether the status of global leader in the costs and losses arising from excessive military and political obligations in third countries is worthy. However, the sharpness and eagerness of many steps of the new administration has led to the loss of confidence and the spread of the reputation of the United States as a poorly anticipated partner. According to the head of the Eurasia Group K. Kupchan, "rejecting the Paris Agreement, doubting NATO and destroying the TPP, President Trump chose the path to curtail the world order in which the US was a leader. Under these circumstances, the political leadership of the United States, despite the undeniable power advantages that guarantee the state the role of the hegemon, will be much more difficult to promote their own interests" [2].

The projects proposed by the administration of D. Trump include the establishment of a regional union of the Gulf states and the formation of an energy alliance of the "countries of the Tromeria" located between the Baltic, Black and Adriatic seas (Austria, Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Romania, Hungary, Croatia and the Czech Republic). During the first foreign visit to Saudi Arabia (May 20-21, 2017), where Trump met the leaders of 55 countries of the Islamic world, the creation of an Arab military-political group able to act as a regional analogue of NATO was proposed. Saudi Arabia, OAU, Egypt and Jordan are the main actors of the Arab Nato. The purpose of such an alliance is to fight terrorism and deter Iran. In this case, Saudi Arabia is considered as a desirable regional leader able to ensure the political unification of the countries of the region and the financial support of the new project. However, during the visit of Trump to Riyadh, the American delegation signed a series of deals worth \$ 280 billion, of which \$ 109.7 billion are contract for arms supplies. At the same time, the Saudi leadership has promised to invest \$ 250 billion in the US economy.

The content of the energy dialogue, which became the subject of the Trump meeting with the leaders of the "countries of the Mediterranean Sea" in Warsaw (July 6, 2017), lies in the willingness of the United States to supply energy to the countries of the region in order to reduce their dependence on Russian gas. The main beneficiary of a new energy project is Poland, claiming the role of a regional power hub. In addition, during the visit of Trump to Warsaw, the Ministry of Defense of Poland and the United States signed a protocol on Poland's intentions to buy American missile defense systems Patriot in the most up-to-date equipment. In addition to a major renovation of Polish aviation and its retrofitting with cruise missiles, the strengthening of the Polish missile defense potential should neutralize Russia's Iskander systems located in the Kaliningrad region.

The initial steps of Trump's presidency indicate that, despite the strengths and military and diplomatic capabilities that are significantly higher than in other countries, US leadership is not an automatic status function. Opponents are particularly critical of the Trump administration's demands for equalizing military spending among NATO allies. Note that such a requirement did not become a surprise. For President B. Obama, at least during the last two NATO summits, also demanded that Europeans increase their defense spending to 2% of GDP. However, only Trump dare to reject political correctness and start a frank discussion about the material price of security guarantees.

The German leadership expressed frank irritation over the demands of the US administration to increase military allocations, citing, first, that Germany provided development assistance to underdeveloped countries, as well as the costs of migrants and refugees. However, throwing Trump a rejection of the role of a voluntary guarantor of security in the Western world, the German government is aware of the unpreparedness of European countries to provide a high level of defense capability on their own. Although official figures for the United States finance 45.9% of the NATO joint budget, European defense is largely provided by the US command and is dependent on American weapons. The conditional potential of the European armies is estimated at 1/10 of the military potential of the United States.

The key aspect that defines US status in international engagement remains the question of whether the Trump administration is ready to provide responsible behavior as a participant in the international system. According to R. Haas, this involves a combination of interests

and ideals, support for international assistance and development, mitigating rhetoric in trade and protectionism, and preventing a rapid increase in debt. The general conclusion is that the strategic priority of US foreign policy should be "preservation and adaptation" of the post-war world order, not its destruction, so that the United States and those who are ready to cooperate can better cope with regional and even global challenges. In this sense, the former US failures seem to be the result of exaggerating their own capabilities, and not the need to defend the world order [3].

According to Carnegie Europe's director T. Valashek, US President Trump not only shared his views with Europe on a number of issues like climate change: "He actually sees the (European) continent as a source of America's problems. ... The challenge faced by European governments at this time is to draw a line between issues such as deterrence in Russia, where US assistance remains necessary, such as climate change, where the US is becoming an obstacle. European leaders need to create alternative coalitions and risk their voters in solving transatlantic problems."

Under the influence of sharp debate and the sharpening of the contradictions caused by the victory of D. Trump, his political program is forced to adjust in accordance with the alignment of forces in the power structures, the situation in the country and the mood within a very colorful Republican Party. Despite the rejection of traditional installations and attempts to revise the main postulates of the foreign policy course, the Trump administration should take into account the mood of a political establishment represented by Republicans and Democrats in the US Congress. The Law on the "Opposition to American Opponents by the Law on Sanctions", approved by the Congress in July 2017, consolidated the restrictions imposed on Iran, the Russian Federation and North Korea, which put the subsequent actions of the president and the government under the supervision of the legislature.

Legislating sanctions will mean strengthening the role of Congress in regulating sanction regimes against the most devious "opponents of America." Accordingly, the Congress adopted a separate definition relating to Art. 5 North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 and confirms the principle of collective defense between its members. At the same time, the "sanction act" denied the calculations of the Russian leadership on the distribution of geopolitical spheres of influence in the format of "concert" of large states or a formal conspiracy like "Yalta-2".

At the same time, a major consequence of the adoption of the law was another sharpening of the contradictions between the United States and the EU, because the leadership of Republicans and Democrats demonstrably supported the unilateral approach to international problems. The Congress secured the right of the US president to impose sanctions against European companies involved in joint energy projects with Russian corporations with a significant share of state participation. The same restrictions can apply to trade and investment ties of Europeans with Iran. However, as long as sanctions against Russia do not pose a significant threat to European companies, the prospect of a trade war between the US and the EU remains a conditional threat. Instead, the collapse of the mechanism of regular political consultations between the United States and the leading EU countries is already felt in many areas, including approaches to Ukrainian issues. This, in particular, is also affected by the uncertainty of the goals of the US political leadership on

many issues, except perhaps by revising the effects of globalization, re-industrialization of the American economy, and changing the balance of power.

The specificity of international interaction increasingly reflects the mental features of a multipolar international system, the state of which is difficult to define in clear formulations of the Cold War, cold peace or other similar definitions. The coexistence and interaction of competing subjects do not fit into schemes of abstract friendship or total hostility, and the application of absolute moral criteria does not seem to be able to give an adequate assessment of the real phenomena of international life.

In the superficial review, the process of forming the foreign policy course of the Trump administration looked rather chaotic and inconsistent. However, such estimates are only valid in part. The main contradictions were explained by various preferences of the two groups, surrounded by Trump. J. Kouchner, son-in-law and Senior Advisor to President Trump, represents the first. It is believed that it was he who initiated Middle East projects, which consisted of separating the US and Russia interests in Syria, strengthening ties with Israel, removing ideological contradictions and rapprochement with Turkey, weakening Iran, and restoring Arab-Israeli dialogue.

S. Bennon, the head of the final stage of the election campaign, and by August 2017 – the first assistant to the president, headed the second center of political planning. His foreign policy concept, centered on the Asia-Pacific region, envisaged the use of the North Korean nuclear issue as a deterrent to the “peace” of China, whose leadership was invited to recognize the regional dominance of the United States.

In favor of the fact that Trump partially applied both concepts, demonstrative missile fire on the military base in Syria (April 7, 2017) and a synchronous increase in military activity in the triangle of the United States – Japan – South Korea testified. However, despite a frank demonstration of military force, the state of affairs in Syria and the crisis in the Far East did not approach the solution in the desired direction.

The third branch of foreign policy planning is represented by the regular officials of the administration: Defense Minister J. Mattis, National Security Advisor G. McMaster and head of the White House Office J. Kelly (from February 2017 – Minister of Homeland Security, appointed to a new leadership position July 31, 2017 p.) The influence of the power bloc’s representatives is slowly increasing, which has been reflected in the attitude towards the North Korean problem, the war in Iraq, Syria and the situation in Afghanistan.

Assessing the experience of US foreign policy during 2017, we can state the following trends:

– Trump administration sees the main danger in nuclear preparations of North Korea, which blackmail the US and US allies in the Far East. The range of discrepancies outlines the statements of Trump on the possibility of the destruction of the DPRK and the unequivocal assurances of Secretary of State R. Tillerson that the main requirement of the United States is the denial of the DPRK of nuclear status. In return, the United States will not try to change or overthrow the North Korean regime, they will not seek an accelerated amalgamation of South and North Korea and will not attempt to move US troops north of the 38th parallel [4].

– Politics in the Middle East is marked by a rethinking of real opportunities and the conclusion of new tactical arrangements. In the practical sense, the Trump administration actually refused to attempt to eliminate B. Asad's regime in Syria and increased support for the Iraqi army and the Kurdish militia. Despite the preliminary intentions, the administration is delaying the abolition of the international agreement on the Iranian nuclear program. The general priority of the Middle East policy is to rely on Israel, Saudi Arabia and the Gulf monarchy bloc as a cumulative counterbalance to Iran.

– A new strategy in Afghanistan, proclaimed on August 22, 2017, has witnessed the postponement of plans for the complete withdrawal of US troops. Under Obama's presidency, their numbers have been reduced from 90,000 in 2011 to 8.4 thousand at the beginning of 2017. The new norms provide for an increase in the American contingent to 14-15 thousand troops and the restoration of their participation in combat operations.

– The aggravation of contradictions between the United States and the EU indicates a profound disagreement that can hardly be explained by purely pragmatic interests or value preferences. In relations with European countries, the US political leadership gives a frank advantage to the bilateral format.

– The arrival of D. Trump to power was accompanied by a significant articulation of the Russian factor in the public-political life of the United States in connection with the investigation into the interference of Russian government agencies in the presidential election. Despite the statements made by the representatives of the administration of D. Trump's very sharp assessment of Russia's policy, his entourage did not exclude the possibility of compromise, including the situation in Syria and Ukraine. Under the pressure of Congress, Trump was forced to abandon the intentions of a large-scale "geopolitical conspiracy" with Moscow, but, according to the media, Secretary of State R. Tillerson is looking for ways to cooperate with China in order to resolve the crisis on the Korean Peninsula, as well as with Russia in the context of stabilizing the situation in Syria and Ukraine [5].

In addition to reducing the financial capacity to continue the active interventionist course and limiting development aid allocations, the essential feature of D. Trump's administration policy lies in the fuzzy articulation of foreign policy goals and ways to achieve them. The proclaimed rate of pragmatism does not, in any way, reject the propensity to pursue a "force-oriented" policy and does not deny ambitious plans to modernize the armed forces, which are considered to be the key to the US's leading role in the international system.

Although critics of D. Trump emphasize the lack of a clear concept of foreign policy, adequate to contemporary international realities, this problem appears to be substantially deeper.

The accumulation of public debt of \$ 20 trillion, the growth of the trade deficit, progressive de-industrialization and competitive losses have become the motivational factors and prerequisites for the foreign policy experiments of the administration D. Trump. In general, they are demonstrating the search for a new model of security and foreign policy positioning, such as the expert-developed strategy of offshore balancing in the 1990's, according to which the United States will be able to reduce the foreign military, and sometimes the political presence.

Of course, the policy of the US administration should not be considered a direct embodiment of the offshore balancing model. After all, this concept does not contain ready-made recipes for addressing such issues as the nuclear threat from the DPRK, the Islamic State and terrorism in the Middle East, the war in Afghanistan, or the crisis in Ukrainian-Russian relations. It should also be borne in mind that US government structures, including the White House, the Ministry of Defense, the State Department and the Congress, are subject to unequal approaches to a number of pressing issues, and it is not known how they can overcome internal contradictions in matters of foreign policy.

However, the reluctance of the US political leadership to assume responsibility for overcoming the crisis of European security seems quite obvious. Such a conclusion leads to the inevitability of a substantial revision of the US-EU relations and the new division of roles into NATO. Restricting the role of the United States in European affairs forces the leading EU countries to assume the inherent so far responsibility for ensuring the security of the Euro-Atlantic area and resolving conflicts in the surrounding peripheral zones.

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Moldova in the modern strategy of Russia

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Summary

The main directions of Russia's strategy towards the Republic of Moldova have been analyzed in the article. The ways used by Russia to maintain its control over Transnistria and its sphere of influence in Gagauzia were revealed. An assessment of the prospects of the RF impact on Moldova's domestic and foreign policy has been evaluated.

Keywords: strategy, sphere of influence, Moldova, Transnistria, Gagauzia.

Under the current conditions of confrontation with the collective West, the RF authorities seek to maintain their positions in Eastern Europe, in particular in the Republic of Moldova (RM). The main reason for the current aggravation of relations between the West and the Russian Federation is the "Ukrainian question" – Russia's annexation of the Crimea and its

support for separatism in the Donbass, so the Moldovan strategy vector of Russia largely takes into account the "Ukrainian factor". It is extremely important for Russia to maintain control over Transnistria in order to fulfill its strategic objectives regarding Russia and Moldova. The research of the RF strategy in relation to the RM is a very topical scientific issue. Despite the considerable amount of work done by foreign and domestic scholars, many aspects of Russia's current strategy and tactics with regard to Moldova remain inadequate.

We believe that the essence of the current strategy of the Russian Federation in Eastern Europe is, first of all, in "active defense" against the West (NATO and the EU), which implies not only the provision of sustainable defense throughout the "front of confrontation" but also the achievement of local "victories." It is in Moldova that Russia is likely to seek some success, relying, in particular, on its rather strong positions in Transnistria.

In general, the Russian strategy in the post-Soviet space includes such leading directions: political, economic, cultural-informational and even military. Each of them involves the use of a wide range of tactics. Those who do not comply with international law and lead to the establishment of informal control over other countries, the Kremlin is often used latently. According to the critical assessment, "subversion is a key element of Putin's strategy of weakening an independent statehood and supporting pro-Russian forces in the former Soviet territories" [1, p. 64]. It is also noted that Russia in the post-Soviet space has developed the tactics of the use of economic wars [1, p. 72]. A rather effective tactic for certain countries was, for example, a sharp increase in the price of Russian natural gas. The embargo on imports of certain types of food products (in particular, from Moldova) was repeatedly imposed on the grounds (sometimes just) of its non-compliance with sanitary norms. The real causes of such economic wars were mostly geopolitical – the punishment of certain countries for such a foreign policy that contradicted Russian interests and encouraging them to do some kind of concessions to the Russian Federation.

Among the post-Soviet European countries, Moldova is characterized by its numerous problems, as well as the presence of a "frozen" Transdnestrian conflict. The peculiarity of its development is that "in all its history as an independent state, Moldova practically did not know the effective leadership" [2, p. 34]. Moldova is considered a country that "has not yet achieved national unity and solidarity" [3, p. 102]. The paradox of Moldova is that "one of the most democratic CIS countries remains one of the poorest" [3, p. 112]. Unconventional market economic transformations in the country have led to the enrichment of oligarchic groups, further impoverishment of most of the population and, accordingly, to deepening stratification in society.

Moldova's leading right-wing and centrist political forces, despite the contradiction between them, consider the main vector of the country's development as European integration. Since 2009, the pro-European authorities have made some progress towards integration with the EU. On June 24, 2014, an Association Agreement between Moldova and the EU was signed, which, in addition to the political section, also included the establishment of a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area. As early as September 1, 2014, certain provisions of the Agreement began to operate, and from July 1, 2016, it gained full force. However, the advancement of traditional products of Moldovan exports to the EU markets, despite some achievements, is associated with significant difficulties. And in response to the Association

of Moldova with the EU in the summer of 2014 once again used to apply against it the tactics of economic warfare. As a result, the RM has largely lost its position in the Russian Federation (and the Customs Union), but has not yet received a sufficiently large market in the EU. This led to an increase in Euro-skepticism in Moldova [4, p. 50].

It is worth noting that in Moldova, the authorities are in no hurry with deep reforms and the transformation of the political system in accordance with European norms [4, p. 68]. The anti-oligarchic mass protests in Moldova in 2015-2016 were used by the left (including the pro-Russian) forces, in particular the Party of Socialist Republics of the Republic of Moldova (PSDM), to propagandize the benefits of Eurasian integration. The President of the Republic of Moldova can see an indicator of the disappointment of a large part of the population in the pro-Western direction of development as the election of Socialist I. Dodon on November 13, 2016.

In the country, geopolitical polarization of society is actually observed in two camps – supporters of the European (and Euro-Atlantic) integration and supporters of Eurasian integration. The reflection of this is the high-level confrontation between the president and the government headed by the prime minister. The government and the pro-European parliamentary coalition are committed to integration with the EU and partnership with NATO, with support from the West, as well as neighboring Ukraine. And I. Dodon focuses on Eurasian integration and rapprochement with Russia, based on its help. Russia has no direct connection with Moldova, and the economic potential of the latter is not of great interest to Russian capital. For geo-economic interests of the Russian Federation, it is necessary to achieve compromise agreements with EU countries. Therefore, it is likely that Moldova will be given the role of such a geo-economic “platform” for future cooperation between the EEA and the EU.

The leading geopolitical interest for the Russian Federation is the preservation of the neutral status of the Republic of Moldova, which is why it is especially dangerous to intensify its partnership with NATO. In its strategy for Moldova, the Russian authorities seek to maximize the influence of Romania on the situation in the country. It is in the interests of Moscow to prevent a potential association between Bucharest and Chisinau. Also, the Russian Federation is trying to hinder the interaction of Moldova with Ukraine – first of all, in the Transnistrian issue. The European strategy of the Russian Federation, aimed at “hindering NATO’s expansion to the East”, presumably presupposes the preservation of Moldova as a neutral “buffer” country, in the long run its transformation into a pro-Russian “buffer”, and, hypothetically, even on an “ally”.

The cultural and informational direction of the Russian strategy in the post-Soviet space implies active propaganda of the ideas of the “Russian world,” part of which is proclaimed by Moldova. “Russian Centers” were established at universities in Chisinau, Beltsy, Tiraspol, Comrat. Since the Soviet times in Chisinau the “Center of Russian Culture” functions. Close ties with Russia are supported by the social movement “Russian spiritual unity.” The Co-ordination Council of Russian compatriots brings together as many as 41 public organizations. The highest concentration of centers of Russian cultural influence is observed in Transnistria, where networks of Russian mass media are also widespread. In order to strengthen its influence on the Moldovan society, Russia also uses the religious factor. The Chisinau Metropolitanate of the Russian Orthodox Church, in its influence on the religious

life of Moldova, is significantly superior to the Bessarabian Metropolitanate of the Romanian Orthodox Church. Patriarch Kirill and his subordinate structures of the Russian Orthodox Church are actually propagandists of the "Russian world" among the Moldavian Orthodox believers. It is worth noting that all directions of the Russian strategy towards Moldova are mutually intertwined.

In order to secure its geopolitical and geo-economic interests, Russia needs to strengthen its positions in Transnistria and Gagauzia. The Transnistrian Moldavian Republic (TMR) has existed since the early 1990's as a self-proclaimed state. In 2006, in Transnistria, a referendum was held, in which the overwhelming majority (according to the PMR – 97.2%) expressed support for the independence of the Transnistrian region and further accession to the Russian Federation. Officially, Russia's authorities do not recognize the statehood of the PMR. From a geopolitical point of view, Transnistria appears as a "southern outpost of Russia" [5]. It is thanks to him that the Russian Federation has the opportunity to maintain its military presence near the Balkans [5, p. 19], where its political and economic influence is diminishing. This "outpost" in principle can be used as a springboard for the expansion of Russia to the Balkans, as well as to the territory of Ukraine.

During 25 years, Russia de facto slowed down the process of settling the Transnistrian conflict, keeping it in a "frozen" state. Officially, Russia's government states that "it contributes, through the existing multilateral negotiating mechanism, to a comprehensive solution to the Transnistrian problem on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and neutral status of the Republic of Moldova in determining the special status of Transnistria" [6]. The current confrontation between Russia and the West does not contribute to the settlement of the Transnistrian conflict within the framework of the 5 + 2 format (Russia and Ukraine are guarantors, OSCE mediator, EU and US – observers + Moldova and Transnistria – parties to the conflict). In the territory of the Pomeranian Empire, there is the Operational Group of Russian troops, besides the Russian battalion is a part of the Joint Peacekeeping Forces in the Security Zone of the Transnistrian region of the Republic of Moldova. Military forces serve to dominate Russia in the PMR, and also acts as a means of geopolitical pressure on the rest of Moldova. The Parliament and Government of the Republic of Moldova repeatedly demanded the complete withdrawal of Russian troops and weapons from the territory of Transnistria and proposed replacing the military contingent of the peacekeeping forces on the Dniester with a civilian international observer mission with the OSCE mandate.

In the economy of Transnistria, the Russian Federation loses its position on a number of very important indicators, in particular, the share of Russia in the trade turnover of the PMR has significantly decreased [7, p. 7]. At the same time, the share of EU countries has increased. As an alarming indicator in Russia, they also consider the tendency to withdraw from Transnistria of the great Russian business [7, p. 8].

In 2017, a more favorable regime for obtaining citizenship of the Russian Federation for the inhabitants of the PMR was introduced, where almost half of the population (220 thousand out of 475) are Russian citizens. This tactical reception serves Russia's strategy of securing control over the region. In addition, the Russian Federation acquires the basis for the use of military force here, because according to its "Military Doctrine", it has the right to "protect the citizens of Russia outside the Russian Federation from armed attack on them" [8].

The control of the RF over Transnistria serves as a means of its geopolitical influence on neighboring Ukraine. At the same time, tense relations between Russia and Ukraine create an opportunity for Moldova to solve the Transnistria problem in their favor. "Rigid" Transnistrian blockade Ukraine and Moldova can lead to the capitulation of the PMR. In connection with the strengthening of the Ukrainian-Moldovan border cooperation since 2015, especially the creation of common border and customs posts on the Transnistrian border, the Russian side has repeatedly expressed the claim that Ukraine "violates its status as a guarantor country through the isolation of Transnistria" [7, p. 3].

Regarding Gagauzia (an autonomous territorial entity within the Republic of Moldova), the Russian Federation has a fairly flexible policy – supports pro-Russian forces and individual politicians, promotes the development of Russian language and culture, stimulates economic ties, and so on. So, after the introduction in 2014 of restrictions on certain types of products from Moldova, Gagauz producers were given preferences to maintain their exports to Russia. Through the efforts of Russian "agents of influence" in February 2014, a referendum was declared by the authorities of the Republic of Moldova illegal in the territories of the autonomy. According to the results of the referendum, more than 98% of those who took part in it expressed their support for integration into the Customs Union, and more than 96% for the "postponed autonomy", which gives Gagauzia the opportunity to withdraw from Moldova in case of loss of independence. It is significant that in 2015 the head of the Gagauzia occupied the pro-Russian figure, I. Vlah. Pro-Russian public organizations use the complex socio-economic problems of the region and its ethno-cultural mosaic for separatist propaganda – even among Bulgarians. The distribution of the Russian language, which has an official status in the autonomy, along with Moldovan and Gagauz, is encouraged. In general, the RF strategy for Gagauzia involves the implementation of political, economic and cultural measures to preserve the autonomy of its sphere of influence.

Pessimistic assumptions are expressed that "political paralysis and economic stagnation" will continue for a long time in Moldova [2, p. 34]. It is projected that the 2018 parliamentary elections will reflect the geopolitical polarization in society and turn into a rugged arena between pro-European and pro-Eurasian political forces. Obviously, the main rate of the Kremlin is determined by the PSBM. Among the de facto pro-Russian political forces "Our Party" is R. Usatiy. The Communist Party of the Republic of Moldova also supports Eurasian integration. Of course, in 2018, Russian financial and information resources will be aimed at supporting supporters of Eurasian integration. If they have enough seats in parliament, it is theoretically possible to form a coalition that will lead the government to its "own" government.

It is to be expected that the RF government will make efforts to continue the "reload" of relations with Moldova, which began after the election of the President of the Republic of Moldova I. Dodona. Moldova is even invited as an observer to the UNECE, although such status is not foreseen by the constituent documents of the Union. Moscow began to emphasize the possibility of negotiations on the Transnistrian problem in the format of "1 + 2", ie, Russia, Moldova and Transnistria. The authorities of the Russian Federation are promoting interaction between I. Dodon and the PMR President V.Krasnoselsky in finding compromise solutions. The achieved achievements, even insignificant ones, will demonstrate the prospects for a constructive dialogue on both banks of the Dniester, precisely through

Moscow's mediation. And it is even possible to even reintegrate the PMR into the RM – obviously, very beneficial for the first conditions. Russia, of course, does not yield to current positions in Transnistria – on the contrary, it will try to extend its influence to the whole of Moldova. However, Russian expansion, most likely, will cause Moldova's powerful civilian resistance and the strengthening of pro-European forces.

Consequently, the main directions of the Russian Federation's policy towards Moldova are political, economic and cultural-informational. The current Russian strategy towards Moldova is aimed at preserving its neutral status, limiting European integration, and engaging in integration with the UNESCO. Transnistria is important for Russia, first of all, from a geostrategic point of view, and control over it is ensured by the presence of Russian troops and its domination in all spheres of public life. The interests of the current Russian authorities also correspond to preserving the sphere of its political, economic and cultural influence in Gagauzia. In the long run, Russia's strategy towards Moldova is likely to envisage turning it into a pro-Russian geopolitical "buffer" and, at the same time, a geo-economic "platform" for cooperation between Russia (and the entire UNECE) and the EU.

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USA diplomatic school

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Summary

The article is devoted to US diplomacy. Readers will get acquainted with the bases of activity, functions, mechanisms and training schemes, as well as the main tasks of the United States diplomatic service.

Key words: United States diplomatic service, schools of diplomacy, training schemes.

Global stability and a thriving, well-developed economy are vital for the safety and well-being of all Americans. Therefore, the United States works closely with other governments, international organizations and local institutions to achieve their goals, "reads the documents of the US Department of State's Foreign Service Institute. The foundations of American diplomacy include: Peace, Prosperity, Democracy and Development.

US diplomacy is working on the various global challenges that the nation and its citizens face each day. The activities of the diplomatic service cover the area of human rights treaties and trade – to arms control and environmental protection. In addition, diplomats actively work with their foreign counterparts to ensure the freedom and opportunities of their own citizens. Every foreign policy decision of the American president and state secretary is made taking into account the interests and protection of the American people.

The State Department of the United States is entrusted with the realization of national interests. In order to achieve this goal, the department implements the training of diplomats, expands the legal framework of its activities, provides assistance to developing countries, etc. The tasks of the department are set out in the annual financial statements. The 2016 document states that the mission of the Department is to form and support a peaceful, prosperous, just and democratic world and promote stability and progress in favor of the American people and people around the world. This mission is being implemented by the Department through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which invests in common security and development, which ultimately will contribute to the successful development of mankind [1].

The US Department of State implements the president's foreign policy and represents the interests of the United States in other countries and international organizations. The goals of the department can differentiate between different states and peoples and change over time. At the same time, during the years, the main directions of his work are several political tasks, which are divided into five categories:

- Protection of the United States and Americans: from threats of terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, infectious diseases, drug trafficking, crime and environmental degradation. American embassies and consulates abroad also provide protection and assistance to American citizens abroad;
- Promoting democracy: supporting newly created democracies and condemning regimes that deprive their citizens of the right to choose their leaders in free, fair and transparent elections;

- Protecting human rights: promoting respect for human rights, promoting the rule of law, responsibility and the fight against impunity; promoting efforts to reform and strengthen the UN Commission on Human Rights;
- Encouraging economic growth and prosperity: supporting economic development through increased investment and exports, democratization, as well as poverty reduction and disease control through US Agency for International Development programs;
- Facilitating international understanding of American values and policies: engage international audiences through official events and public programs at embassies, as well as people-to-people exchanges to a wide range of fields, including art, culture, education, sports, and science [2].

American diplomats realize US interests through cooperation in security, trade, economic stability, good governance and sustainable development. Diplomatic activities mention both the most successful programs and the failing projects of American diplomacy. Among the successful ones:

- “Peace in Estonia”. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) provides a safe and peaceful existence for this country;
- “Prosperity in Rwanda and Mauritius”. Thanks to multilateral programs such as Power Africa and the Act on Growth and Opportunities in Africa (AGOA), American diplomacy contributes to the economic growth and trade opportunities of these countries, and the development of cooperation between the United States and African countries, Rwanda and Mauritius. American diplomats create political, economic and financial foundations for investing in these countries’ economies, development of trade and entrepreneurship.
- “Democracy in Peru”. American diplomats are working to bring about transparency in government actions that support human rights and equal opportunities. In Peru, American diplomacy offers alternatives for the development and maintenance of rule of law and the strengthening of civil society, also helping the country eradicate drug trafficking.
- “Development in Cambodia”. In this country, US diplomats work with the authorities and the public to meet the needs of citizens for better access to health, education and economic opportunities. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) helps Cambodia increase agricultural productivity, as well as promote healthy eating and environmental conservation, and so on.

At the same time, mention is made of the unsuccessful actions of the diplomatic service. First and foremost is the failure of diplomacy in Iraq and Afghanistan. Former US Defense Secretary Robert Gates, speaking at the Kansas State University (2007), explained the current situation, reduced attention to the training of diplomats and lack of adequate funding. According to him, financing non-military programs remains disproportionately small compared to the country spending on military needs. The budget for the Ministry of Defense, not counting operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, was almost half a trillion dollars. The total amount of applications to the State Department for Foreign Affairs amounted to 36 billion dollars ... There is a need for a sharp increase in the cost of civilian national

security instruments: diplomacy, strategic communications, foreign assistance, civil actions, economic reconstruction and development [3].

Consequently, the failure of diplomacy in Iraq and Afghanistan, R. Gates explained that the imbalance between the role of diplomacy and defense was the result of the diminution of the role of diplomacy, due to the lack of a broad understanding of the importance of diplomacy, and the lack of resources for the State Department and other foreign affairs agencies. In addition, the uncoordinated policy and the uncoordinated reaction of these structures to the rapid changes in international priorities played a negative role.

The lack of resources for diplomacy has led to a significant reduction in professional staff, – underline in the American Academy of Diplomacy. It is worth mentioning that in recent years, the State Department and USAID have begun to recover due to the increase in the number of posts on the initiative of “Diplomacy 3.0” and “Development Leadership Initiative in USAID”. These initiatives were aimed at increasing the composition of the foreign service by 25% by 2014 and the US Agency for International Development by 100% [4]. Thus, it was intended to fill vacant posts of the State Department and USAID, to reduce the dependence on contractors and, finally, to restore the experience of the diplomatic team.

It is clear that an increase in the number of employees in the diplomatic sphere will not solve the problem. The most important thing is to return to the diplomatic service the appropriate professional level with continuing education and training; a service that promptly and professionally responds to a rapidly changing geostrategic environment. The need for this is increasingly exacerbated by changes in the dynamics of international relations, new technologies and relevance of foreign policy leadership, which is becoming more complicated than it was ten years ago. And for American diplomats, the main responsibility is to manage these changes.

Next, what analysts insist, vocational education is needed to increase the overall level of work of the US Foreign Service. In order for it to minimize instability and conflict, and to play a leading role in the post-conflict stabilization after the consequences of the conflict. The very nature of the external service requires early and continuing vocational education and training of those who are already working and those who are newly appointed to the diplomatic service. Full-time education became a necessary task, as traditional means of obtaining the knowledge, skills and know-how of the diplomatic profession, especially field training and the practice of senior diplomats, have lost their effectiveness. The lack of staff over the last 20 years has created gaps in the number of middle-level officials who should provide practical advice and practical knowledge to the younger generation of new diplomats.

Consequently, the education and training of the diplomatic service of the 21st century should be part of a coherent model of professional development in order to provide workers with a clear idea of their vocation: to protect national interests by negotiation whenever possible, and in the event of a post-conflict stabilization when necessary. Like military officers and corporate leaders, the diplomacy service requires far-sighted thinking and strategic action, planning and executing complex operations, implementing policy initiatives and managing them effectively. According to American experts, professional development should include, in addition to continuous practical training, a comprehensive

and clearly defined training program in order to achieve intellectual and operational latitude and the ability to solve urgent problems of the day that affect the national security of the United States.

The origins of problems. "Diplomacy wears military boots." This statement appeared during the deployment of the Iraqi campaign. The State Department and the Foreign Service were not prepared to challenge Iraq and mandate of the Iraqi operation NPSP-44. The service lacked resources, especially experienced diplomats. Recall that the United States has cut spending on post-Cold War diplomacy. In the 1990s, the staffing of the overseas service declined, as newcomers were not hired. The United States Agency for International Development also suffered losses from staff aging and layoffs, as well as a reduction in funding. At the same time, during the same period, the United States opened 23 new embassies in the states that arose after the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia – without additional resources. As a result, the rigor of distribution of finance was observed in diplomatic missions around the world, and America's ability to carry out diplomatic measures and realize the corresponding tasks has deteriorated.

Initial steps for the restoration of the diplomatic service on the initiative of the Department of Diplomatic Activities have been taking place since 2001. With the support of Congress in 2002-2004, more than a thousand volunteers and specialists and about 200 civil servants have been admitted to the US DPS. In addition, the Congress authorized the recruitment of 608 diplomatic security specialists and 561 consular officers, funded by the relevant consular assemblies. However, additional personnel to fill vacancies were quickly absorbed by the unpredictable demands of Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. Despite the mandate of NSPD-44, from 2005 to 2008, state funding did not allow the recruitment of new employees, with the exception of consular posts. As a result, diplomatic structures around the world have been deprived of the professional staff needed for staffing in the most responsible workplaces. By the end of 2008, 17% of the diplomatic service positions in high-level positions, with the exception of Iraq, were vacant, and 34% of middle-level posts were filled by officials who ranked below their positions. By the end of fiscal year 2008, 16% of all US diplomatic services were vacant, including 25% of internal positions [5].

The extensive volunteering at diplomatic posts has led to a sharp drop in the professionalism of the diplomatic service as a whole. The training did not meet the needs, and the skills they received did not meet the standards. Of the 44% of all foreign posts, which according to the criteria of the department require knowledge of the host country, 25% were vacant and those who did not acquire the required competencies filled more than 25%. As a result, employees of the modern foreign service did not have sufficient knowledge, skills, abilities and perspectives necessary for the preparation of career diplomats of the XXI century.

This acute shortage of professionals has considerably aggravated the problem of the burden on current staff diplomats. The implementation of the new recruitment plan for the diplomatic service was initiated by the State Department during the B. Obama presidency. For the implementation of the announced diplomatic triad – smart diplomacy, development and defense – it was proposed to increase the staff of the foreign service from the end of 2008 by 2,700 employees, and as a whole their number is expected to be about 14,600 [5].

In the US diplomatic community, there are some alarming moments: detachment from the citizens of the host countries, as US embassies turn into inaccessible fortresses. It is also quite dangerous for the national interests of the USA to gradually introduce measures aimed at unification of foreign and domestic public services. Another problem is the decline in the level of motivated career growth, which is indirectly due to the quantitative increase in political assignments for diplomatic posts. The above again reduces the bar of professional qualifications of diplomacy. At the same time, American observers are also concerned about the attempts by the State Department to abolish the law on foreign service. In their belief, it is necessary to recognize diplomacy as a profession and to provide support for the needs of the foreign service [5].

Learning process. In the training of professionals in the diplomatic sphere, the American School solves such tasks as the selection of staffing of the diplomatic service, the formation of the corresponding content of diplomatic education, the development and implementation of teaching methodology. As you can see, the diplomatic sphere is defined by American analysts as a multi-dimensional and rather complex activity, since diplomacy performs forecast-analytical, informational-analytical, administrative-management and consular functions. At the same time, practical tasks are assigned to diplomacy: preparation of proposals and recommendations, implementation of practical steps and corresponding programs.

The US State Department of State is mainly accepted by those with higher education – most of them political scientists, masters of international relations, lawyers, economists and historians. Such an approach is justified, since the Institute of Foreign Service releases additional workload – training in general disciplines. The training of US diplomats from the first days is focused on concrete practical activities, that is, a specific specialization.

The essence of the training is to convey the skills and abilities required for further work. Particular attention is paid to methods of training that are close to practical activity. These are professional trainings, role-playing games, "brain attacks," etc. For those who will work directly with the population of foreign countries, as a rule, in the consular service, social and psychological training is being implemented in order to maximize familiarity and approach of the audience to working conditions and stay in countries with opposite ideologies and motivations.

In US diplomatic circles, the question often arises about the content of listeners training: to study everything or specifics in each country. In modern diplomacy, a certain inclination has been made to study the national cultures of the countries of residence, traditions, language, that at this stage the exacerbation of political, economic and ideological cataclysms is justified. However, the narrowing of the outlook of the diplomatic front workers to one country may deprive them of their ability to analyze and predict their thinking about current and future international events.

The Foreign Service Institute (FSI) – State Department (Washington, USA), provides the training of American diplomats: an institution of the federal government of the United States. FSI provides over 800 training courses, including almost 70 foreign languages, teaching over a year more than 170 thousand entrants for the State Department and students from more than 50 other government agencies and military service departments.

Agree, these are significant figures, even for a country like the United States, because a large number of private higher schools, colleges, various centers and other diverse structures are active outside the official school of diplomacy in this area. However, the main task of preparing diplomats is delegated to the state institution of the FSI.

The Institute's programs include the training of specialists from the United States foreign affairs and foreign service agencies, as well as trainings for foreign nationals working in US diplomatic missions. Studying in a variety of courses lasts from a few days to two years and is designed not only to train employees for the successful pursuit of professional tasks in order to strengthen US leadership abroad, as well as to adapt foreign staff to other countries and cultures. The training also helps members of the family of the diplomat prepare for the characteristics of living abroad. It also provides employees and their relatives with important information on such topical topics as readiness for dangerous, crisis situations, behavior during various cataclysms, war, and awareness of cyber security information.

The Foreign Service Institute is called as the "Prime Minister of the Foreign Policy Office" of the United States Government, which is designed to provide the professional training opportunities needed to successfully solve problems in the international arena. The FSI promotes content, regional and linguistic experience, leadership development, personal sustainability and innovative solutions to problems. Consequently, the FSI has the strategic backing of the diplomatic experience of the US Department of State and all government agencies in the field of foreign policy.

The Institute of Foreign Service includes four institutes in the following areas: leadership and management, language courses, professional and regional training, mastering of information technology, which has a transit center and an office of administrative functions. The School of Language Studies (SLS) offers 70 languages and tests in more than 100 languages. Classes can range from 8 to 44 weeks, depending on the complexity of the language and the learning objectives. The Institute's Language Studies Institute also supports a network of language learning schools in Taipei, Yokohama, Seoul and participates in other regional programs in the Middle East, North Africa and Asia, which offers additional 44 weeks of study abroad if mastered in Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Arabic. Programs and courses include self-study, youth classes, and distance learning courses. The FSI is a co-developer of the language proficiency rating used by the US government. The school is actively collaborating with the inter-departmental community of language trainers and testers from the US government and often conducts testing together with foreign language training agencies.

The School of Professional and Regional Studies (SPAS) offers training in specialties such as consular affairs, trade relations management, political and economic affairs, public diplomacy, personnel training and development, office management and orientation programs. Courses also include topics for studying socio-cultural models, politics, economics and international relations of regions of the world and individual countries. SPAS provides special programs in consular, economic and commercial, managerial, political and public diplomacy, as well as programs focused on training new staff for foreign specifics. The SPAS also hosts the Diplomacy Training Center (CSCD), where students take modern diplomatic experience, engaging best practices and lecturers. The CSCD conducts a

comparative analysis that is taken into account in the FSI training and is used to prepare specialists in international affairs in all divisions of the diplomatic service.

The School of Applied Information Technology (SAIT) consists of four workshops: Improving the mastery of a professional program; preparation of technologies used by the State Department of information technology specialists; IRM courses provided by IT managers with broad IT management skills and training.

The Leadership and Management School (LMS) offers compulsory and selective training for executives and managers who move to executive level; round tables and political seminars for senior executives; training in crisis management abroad and at the National Training Center for International Affairs.

The Transition Center (TC) trains employees and their family members to work effectively in the foreign affairs system on all issues as well as after completing their careers. The Transition Center provides: general information and information on all domestic and foreign posts; Conducts seminars and courses on studying life skills of foreign officers and training on security issues; carries out training, counseling and other assistance to employees of the State Department and other agencies involved in US Government services.

Comprehensive TC – The TC's Center for Excellence in Foreign Relations (CEFAR) provides counseling and training to help individuals, family members and colleagues working in a high-stressed and high-risk environment.

The Foreign Service Institute is designed not only to respond promptly to the demands of American practical diplomacy, adjusting its curricula and programs accordingly, but also developing scenarios for the future. Considerable attention is paid to the analysis of the influence of internal political factors on the formation of the foreign policy course of the country, the process of political decision-making, and issues of management in the field of foreign policy. For this purpose, special courses are organized and systematically conducted: from system analysis in the field of international relations; the theory of international relations; the theory and practice of diplomatic negotiations; political analysis; application of electronic technologies in the practical work of the diplomatic department; psychological components of diplomatic activity, etc.

The teaching staff of the institute is provided by leading scientists from relevant fields of university and research centers in the United States. One of the most popular workshops in this training system is a special training seminar (about 30 people) for the leadership of other foreign ministries and departments, consisting of several dozens of special courses on US domestic and foreign policy and military security. Quite meaningful is the American system of advanced training of leading specialists, implemented through the enrollment of diplomatic staff to the state of higher education: the sending of diplomatic staff to research institutes and centers, as well as to study in leading universities in the United States for one year. The FSI has a permanent relationship with Harvard, Princeton, Stanford and other leading American universities.

Diplomatic staff hold on diplomacy (Diplomatic History), diplomatic service principles, diplomatic service (Discover Diplomacy); a number of training programs and trainings at the Fulbright Center and the US Diplomacy Center, and can take advantage of advanced

training or mastering initial knowledge offered to all US citizens by programs: Global Youth Issues, Office of Overseas Schools, Youth Exchange Programs. (Attention is drawn to the American attitude towards the history of US diplomacy, with more than 1,700 interviews with leading US diplomats (mid-twentieth to early twenty-first centuries) on the official website of the Institute, and the diplomatic dictionary specifically developed for this purpose is facilitated by the use of information). For all who want to become civil servants, including diplomats, a competitive selection is conducted. The competitive examination, open to all applicants, may consist of written testing, assessment of the applicant's level of education and experience and / or evaluation of other attributes necessary for successful work in a vacant position.

The American School of Diplomacy adheres to the following rule: if the foreign service is to carry out an appropriate mission, established by law, then it must also be improved.

The Institute for Foreign Service has, at this stage, developed new programs for improving vocational education, but has no resources for the required scale of change. Among the proposed schemes is distance education, which begins with the entry into office and continues during promotions to senior positions. The next option is a six-month practical course after an introductory course combining classes for four days a week at the department plus one day in a structured program at the FSI. At the same time, for the middle level of diplomatic staff to be involved in the training process, it is recommended that the Human Resources Office be involved in ensuring the balance of long-term career development. The most difficult task is to train a superior staffing staff, as it involves career development. The Foreign Service Examination carries out the examination and quality control of the obtained knowledge, which is a necessary component in the realization of the tasks of foreign policy.

As we see, the US diplomatic service is faced with similar problems that arise before the diplomatic service of our state. Possibly, Ukrainian diplomacy will be useful as a positive and negative experience of the US foreign service, which is being implemented on the basis of the implementation of Peace, Prosperity, Democracy and Development.

In conclusion, we will present the main conclusions and proposals of the leading experts of the American diplomatic service:

1. The urgent need and the most important requirement of US diplomacy at the present stage is to provide the diplomatic staff with high-quality professional training. For this purpose it is offered:

- to create and implement a wide system of professional diplomatic education;
- Develop a long-term academic training program in the field of diplomacy (either at the Institute for Foreign Service or through an agreement on cooperation with leading US universities);
- To enter into an official obligation for each employee of the foreign policy department to undergo an annual training course related to his career before he applies for a higher post;
- In order to acquire knowledge, to introduce through the website a special educational resource containing such baskets as: modern diplomats and veterans of the diplomatic

service; functions of the diplomatic corps; acquaintance with the geography of the location of embassies and consulates; problems solved by US diplomats; ways of diplomatic assistance by the United States to the development of a safe, democratic and prosperous world.

2. Reducing costs for the State Department's diplomatic service is unacceptable and poses a serious risk to American security. It is necessary to eliminate the financial imbalance between the defense component of the state and its diplomacy.

3. To return to the diplomatic service an influential status, which consists of two components: 1) in order to increase career mobility, take control of the positions of senior civil servants; 2) introduce a new career development option for civil servants – the Career Policy Program for internal posts, which will include ranking, mobility and increased competitiveness.

4. Business Advice: Develop and implement an integrated monthly training program for representatives of commercial diplomacy, as well as exchange programs with overseas colleagues. This training course will involve officials and local staff from other agencies engaged in commercial diplomacy [6].

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The existence of sense as the representation of the actualization of the individual in the context of library science

Oleksiy Dovgan

Summary

The article describes the features of the place and role of the existence of sense as the representation of the actualization of the individual in the context of library science; analyzed taking into account the specificity of this phenomenon in library practice in the background updating of libraries in the modern world.

Keywords: existence of sense, modern libraries, comprehension, reading, communication, library services.

Human existence is locked in the subjective nature of the individual: in this way, any action in the ontological reality acts as a simulacrum (a "copy" that does not have the original variant in the surrounding world, that is, a semiotic sign not indicated in it). At the same time, the dynamics of such "action" is brought about by the dual nature of the meaning of the very sign itself: on the one hand, it is an element of linguistic consciousness, which is represented by a seemingly direct connection between the name and the subject; on the other hand – as the cultural dynamics of the meaning, laid on the peculiarities of the functioning of the foundations of the system of lasting existence in the human community. It is clear that under such conditions the physical presentation of the action goes to the background, since it is the basis of it that appears as a factor producing repeated repetition of certain human actions, and, consequently, of social processes (the latter is extremely important for the political localization of a certain social phenomenon and the prediction of the consequences of its functioning).

In the library science, as well as political science, understanding of the peculiarities of the personality of a person in a society, in our opinion, is basic: firstly, this is due to the fact that political and library institutes are usually not interpreted autonomously, but as such, who are inextricably linked with society, responding to his inquiries. In this case, the existence of the human psyche can be seen from the standpoint of initially laid reactivity (opposition to social and cultural progress), characteristic for the structure of any society in the form of latent tendencies to the opposite. This is a psychological condition of equilibrium, homeostasis (sustainability of functioning), the aspiration for which is defined by any society. In our opinion, the best nature of such a phenomenon can be observed by considering the human reaction to a painful sensation, which is based on actions that depend on environmental and cultural factors, as well as individual concepts of acceptable behavior, level of demonstration and other factors [1]. In fact, here one can speak of the influence of the mental field on the physical, that is, the condition of the physical manifestation of mental motivatedness and, accordingly, the gradation of the spectrum of personality's reactivity with respect to the material factors of its existence.

The latter leads us to the thought of the flexibility of such reactions, and, consequently, of behavior, of the modern individual, that is, the condition of the latter by certain factors-stimuli that are variables: in turn, representing a deeper problem of the peculiarities of the existence of meaning, and, consequently, of the individual in society: As a result, the question of analyzing this process as a complex interdisciplinary problem. The peculiarity of the latter is the multi-variation of the individual's response to the same stimulus (partly the above) in unequal (variable) conditions: yes, the same pain can be perceived as the desires of the atonement of sins, as the expected rate of success in a gym [1] and like that.

The purpose of the article is to consider the peculiarities of the place and the role of the existence of meaning in society as an expression of the actualization of the individual. The subject is the specificity of taking into account this phenomenon in library practice against the background of updating libraries in modern conditions. In the light of the above-mentioned nature, the problem outlined in our study is not only interdisciplinary (interdisciplinary), but also interdisciplinary (it is the point of intersection of a number of areas of knowledge: sociology, political science, librarianship, psychology, philology, philosophy, etc.), that is, the solution of which leads to co-operation methodologies and tools of different sciences for its (problem) solution. Thus, we consider the fundamental principles of the works of such scholars as P. Abelard, F. Batsevich, M. Yampolsky and others.

Thus, it is extremely important to take into account modern features of perception of meaning for any sphere of public life, since the latter causes an automatic updating of the defined sphere in society. Thus, for today the typical process is characterized by visualization (presentation), that is, information accompaniment to the image, intertextuality (any text acts as a component of a broad cultural context, representing intertext links) and intermediality (intermedial relationships, the essence of which is in that that the products of culture interact with each other), etc. The best-defined tendencies can be illustrated with examples of the structure of a typical post (message) in social networks – at least, it contains an image and audio file or image and text, but it can also be a combination of several elements: video, image, audio.

Note that we are not talking here about non-professional posts of users, for which, however, the outlined tendency persists, but it is precisely about posts in the public (groups) oriented to its promotion (increase in the number of subscribers), since they are characterized by a higher degree of typing.

Naturally, the above-mentioned features affect not only the presentation (representation) of information (meaning), but also the structure of its presentation: the narrative today has become, first of all, in design. Thus, unlike the advertising text (information source – in this case), created by a copywriter, specialist PR and others, for a modern text array, as a source of information, the characteristic absence of the image of a concrete result is characteristic. Thus, the place where you can maintain loyalty to the original idea appears the territory of history (the term I. Oskolkova-Tsentsipera). The latter must be strong enough to “cling” to the environment, that is, causing human brains or emotions to work around [2], resulting in the desired result of us: the purchase of the desired product, the choice of a particular party, etc. In this case, a clear understanding of the needs of the modern personality, in our opinion, is currently necessary not only in areas directly related to marketing activities, that is, those whose services are related to meeting the needs of users (incidentally, in the narrow sense, before they can be attributed to politics, education, librarianship, etc.), but also those that do not have direct representation in them, but are tangent to it. That is why there are numerous methods of measuring the human personality, one of which is psychometry, designed to explore the features of human existence in society on the example of its behavior in a virtual environment.

The psychometry we are talking about, sometimes called psychography, is a scientific attempt to investigate and measure human personality. Interestingly, in modern psychology the standard of such a process was the so-called “ocean method”, the basis of which was

the idea that every feature of character can be investigated with the help of five measurements (openness, integrity, extraversion, benevolence, neuroticism (vulnerability)) Based on these measurements, it is relatively accurate to say who you are dealing with, that this person's desires and fears, finally, how it usually behaves [3].

It is clear that such information is directly related to the degree of actualization by a society of a certain sphere (in our case, the library or political), since these data directly become the key to understanding the needs of users, voters, clients, etc. Thus, the knowledge of the latter enables us to build a correct and successful strategy to update the needs of users in order to better meet the latter, as well as to better structure such services, one of which is the service in modern libraries, as well as understanding the needs and desires of the electorate – in politics.

In our case, it is said that in their work, modern libraries should become not only informational, but also, first of all, communicative centers for their consumers (users). Such a modification of their role, in our opinion, is associated with several factors: firstly, the emergence of alternative sources of information, the main of which is the Internet; secondly – a qualitatively new approach to library marketing; thirdly, the need to rethink the place and role of libraries in society. The latter is connected with the necessity of building a qualitatively new system of interaction between the individual and information that takes into account not only the requirements of time (modern information and psychological peculiarities), but also became the representative of new relations between the government and society.

Indicative in this regard is the activity of the Scientific Library of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine named after Gennady Udovenko at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (website – dipacadem.kiev.ua/biblioteka/), whose work is limited and built up taking into account the above-mentioned features of the existence of meaning, and, consequently, and perception of information data, the specifics of their actualization (demand). In particular, it refers to a series of recent (end 2016 – beginning 2017) book exhibitions-presentations created by this institution:

1. World Information Day (24.11.16): the purpose of this exhibition-presentation is to mark the World Day of Information, popularize the book fund and its effective use in educational and scientific processes.
2. Ukraine – Hungary (05.12.16): created within the framework of the International Scientific and Practical Conference "Ukraine – Hungary: 25 Years of Diplomatic Relations". It was prepared together with the Embassy of the Republic of Hungary and presented materials from the funds of the Scientific Library of the State Duma, library of the Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies named after I.F. Kuras National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Scientific Library of the National Academy of Cultural and Arts Management. The conference participants presented a bibliographic index of the sources of the Scientific Library of the State Duma Department on "Ukraine – Hungary: 25 Years of Diplomatic Relations".
3. Gifts of ambassadors of the State Duma State Administration (January 18, 166): the book fund of the Library of the Academy enriched in 2016 more than 140 copies of a wonderful, relevant and useful in the educational process of literature in thirteen languages (English, Arabic, Greek, Spanish, Latin, German, Portuguese, Russian, Romanian, Hungarian, Uzbek,

Finnish, Japanese). The presented books correspond to the profile of the library's collection: monographs, reference books, analytical reports, research, art albums, popular science publications covering a range of popular and important topics, namely: history, political history of countries; external and internal politics; bilateral relations; economy; national security, civil society; social management, culture; religious studies; fiction, etc. The purpose of this exhibition-presentation is to promote new revenues of the book fund and its effective use.

So, if one speaks specifically about a library business, then its reformation, rethinking is produced, first of all, by the fact that information resources of libraries are beginning to be regarded as specific goods, services and the like, which are positioned in the context of demand for it. The latter allows us to speak about the gradation of modernization of modern libraries, namely, on its (actualization) increase through the strengthening of communication with society: so, considering its own services and products as goods, the library, like other service facilities, seeks to improve demand for them, becoming more in demand by the human community. In the long run, such a trend should lead to radical innovation in the development of libraries, which will allow reforming the library sphere by increasing its social determinism, which, consequently, will increase the interconnection with society by understanding its needs, that is, it will become the spokesperson for the latter, materializing them in their activities.

At the same time, we consider the consideration of such a property as important: both culture as a whole, and subculture within a single society, called M. Douglas, riskiness. So, in the opinion of the scientist, there are high- and low- and low-crop cultures: in the first case it is a question of the division of individuals, groups, objects of any type in the categories that are brought into conformity with each other; in the second – about the blurring of the boundaries between the designated categories [4]. The latter, of course, leads to chaos, differentiation of the meaning of the latter. The foregoing proves that for a modern society the syncretism of high-grade and low-yielding types of cultures is characteristic. The latter is connected with the hyperbolic dislocation of modern society, which produces the differentiation of the needs of individuals and, as a consequence, the subjectivity of constructing the semantic chains of the latter.

In fact, for representatives of high-yielding culture, the rooting of a social order is characteristic in a certain order of the natural order, which does not prevent its representatives from reconciling with certain forms of correctness, which have no biological basis and are not based on anything other than a convention (contract). At the same time, they are characterized by the above-mentioned reactivity, which manifests itself in the dissolution of the boundaries of the outlined convention, the displacement of categories and things that previously had a clear distinction, regardless of gender and belonging to social groups [5], etc. For librarianship, the element of high-quality culture is manifested in the rootedness and sustainability of the functioning of library institutions, as well as the dogmatic nature of their work and inability, often-to-do, in changing their "policies" towards people who are their users, to which they actually have been adapted. In this sense, library activity appears beyond the bounds of a specific professional, based on the level of socially relevant (meaningful), organically interacting with the information policy of the country. Thus, in our opinion, the library sector needs to increase the share of low-yielding culture in

its structure as it will ensure the flexibility and relevance of its activities in the modern information society.

Just as the pain threshold, in particular the perception of pain, depends on many factors (previous life experience, including "pain history", sociocultural factors, family traditions, the level of human motivatedness at a particular time, the presence of concomitant emotional or mental disorders (depression or anxiety disorder), sleep disturbance, general tiredness of a person, level of perceived stress, and also hormonal level) [1], as well as the reform of the library business, first of all, is related to geopolitics Second situation in general and specific policies of a given region in particular. Thus, for the Ukrainian society, a number of factors are characteristic, among them the weak regulatory framework in the field of information (copyright); low level of material and technical provision of the sphere; aging of staff, as well as weak computer and information literacy, lack of funding, etc.

Thus, the existence of sense in society is an expression of actualization of the person through the mechanism of transferring its feelings, impressions, previous experience, etc. to a specific cultural action, acting as a material expression of its (personality) social expectations and desires. In the context of library business, such a mechanism produces a rethinking of the role and place of modern libraries in society, resulting in the following results:

- 1) the reformation of the features of the cultural, social, educational, etc. of the library service component through the modernization of its ethical and communicative component (understanding of the library activity as a specific information product, increasing the communication of the produced information products with the demands of the society, in which the library functions, etc.);
- 2) shifting the focus of library activity: converting library institutions from information to information and communication centers, by enhancing the communicative culture of library specialists;
- 3) focusing on the quality and auditability of the knowledge base, working with users in the direction of coordination, orienting the latter in the information environment without isolation exclusively in their funds (strengthening the analytical and informational work of libraries, conducting analysis of the reliability of the information provided on certain resources, orientation of users in proven sources of information, etc.).

The prospect of the above-mentioned study is the further development of features of the existence of meaning in the modern information society in order to obtain interdisciplinary data that will help to strengthen the connection of individual spheres with the individual, by establishing an open and productive link with it and ensuring the harmonious existence of the human community.

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Ukrainian-Indonesian diplomatic relations through the prism of archival affairs

Anton Galushka-Adaikin

Summary

The article examines history, structure and activities of the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia. The main emphasis has made on bilateral relations between Ukraine and Indonesia after the collapse of the Soviet Union and gaining independence by Ukraine. Most of attention paid to the diplomatic field, where the appropriate archival agencies within the foreign policy institutions play an important role. The article deals of diplomatic relations from 1991 till nowadays.

Keywords: archive, relationships, visit, Indonesia, parliament, president, Ukraine.

The comprehensive study of the archival activity of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia is extremely important not only in terms of understanding the functioning of the relevant structure within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, but also to cover the evolution of bilateral relations between Ukraine and Indonesia.

On August 17, 1945 in Jakarta, the country's first President, Sukarno, proclaimed the independence of the Republic of Indonesia. However, this fact was not first recognized worldly. The liberation struggle entered into the historiography called "the period of the Revolution", which lasted until 1950, began on 19 August. The first Indonesian government was declared on 19 August, which was the birthday of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first head of foreign policy was Ahmad Subargyo, who, obviously, became the first archivist of the ministry. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the newly-proclaimed state was located in the private house of Subargyo, where he hosted international delegations and signed the first treaties, notes, memoranda, etc. [1].

After recognizing Indonesia as an equal participant in international relations, the country has been actively engaging in international activities. One of the main achievements of the country's foreign policy at this stage is the holding of the Conference of Asian and African countries in Bandung in 1955. In general, Indonesia played an important role in the process of non-alignment. The regime of "managed democracy", introduced by Sukarno in the late 1950's, was aimed at rapprochement with the communist bloc countries, but the attempt to revolt that took place from September 30 to October 1, 1965, led to not only change of the

country's leadership, but also changes in foreign policy vectors. Suharto, the second president of the country, chose the "pro-west" direction and directed his efforts to strengthen his own power by establishing a "new order" regime. The 1998 World Economic Crisis has led to Indonesia's internal economic collapse, which has resulted in numerous demonstrations against Suharto and the regime. In May 1998, he was forced to resign from the post of president, the country began the period of "reformation", whose main goal was the gradual democratization of society and the reform of all major sectors of socio-political life. With the election of the sixth President, Susilo Bambang Yudoyono, the period of "post-reform", which continues to this day, began.

With regard to the history of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia during these periods, it should be noted that for a long time the archives were not adequately addressed in the ministry. Until 2006, the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia represented a storage facility for materials that were stored without complying with the relevant requirements. All national-level documents deposited with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia were sent for processing and storage to the State Archives of the Republic of Indonesia. In 2006, the Ministry and the State Archive approved a joint memorandum, the contents of which was aimed at streamlining the MFA archive [2]. The archival team has been restoring and streamlining the archives for a period of 8 months from 1945 until 2003. It is from this event that a chronology of the current archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia can be kept.

However, work aimed at organizing ministerial archives did not end there. Several groups were sent to Indonesia's foreign missions. The archives of the embassies in the Netherlands, the former metropolis, and Timor Leste, the former province, were considered as the most important archives for ordering. It was through these archivist groups that important diplomatic documents were found in Yangon (Myanmar) and Karachi (Pakistan) [3]. Today, the cooperation between the MFA archive and the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia is the basis for the productive functioning of these two institutions. The main task facing archivists of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia is the complete transfer of archives to electronic form.

The structure of the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia as a whole meets world standards and does not have any particular features. Regular diplomats who have the respective ranks hold leading positions, and other employees are civil servants with a corresponding rank rank. In some ways, the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the structure are a minicopy of the State Archives of the country [4]. The main feature is the presence of regional departments, which, of course, is due to the specifics of the ministry. Of course, materials that are stored and processed in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are extremely important for Ukrainian scientific thought and, in general, for the development of bilateral relations between Ukraine and Indonesia. It is thanks to these materials and the fruitful work of archivists that the historic development of relations between Ukraine and Indonesia can be faithfully reproduced.

On August 24, 1991, Ukraine gained a long-awaited independence. The USSR went back to the past, and the Union of Independent States came to replace it. Indonesia recognized the sovereignty of Ukraine on December 28, 1991 – 27 days after the All-Ukrainian referendum. Obviously, the transience of the events that caused the fall of the Soviet ears was somewhat

unpredictable for Suharto and his subordinates. Two years before this event, when Suharto, the second president of Indonesia, visited the USSR, nothing was foretold of the end of the communist giant. The regime of the "new order" itself turned into a stage that resembled the times of Brezhnev's "stagnation". The collapse of the USSR should have become a warning to Suharto that the authoritarian leadership style should be reformed in order to avoid shocks of revolutions, coups, riots, etc., which is an unconditional result of the undemocratic path of state development.

The process of recognizing Ukraine by Indonesia as a sovereign participant in international relations was obviously influenced by the fact that Indonesian diplomacy was somewhat unprepared for the fall of the USSR, and therefore the reaction to recognition was a little delayed. Secondly, Ukraine was not very well known as a component of the Soviet Union, which the Indonesian people have always associated with Moscow. Unfortunately, not all modern Indonesian diplomats remember the times of the Ukrainian diplomat Manuilsky who led the Ukrainian delegation to the UN for the first time raised the question of recognizing the independence of the Republic of Indonesia.

So, on December 28, 1991, the Republic of Indonesia officially recognized the sovereignty of Ukraine. Diplomatic relations were established on June 11, 1992. However, the process of establishing diplomatic relations has two stages: legal and factual. The legal path is the signing of bilateral agreements on mutual recognition, while the practical way is the exchange of full embassies. The term "full embassy" means a diplomatic mission headed by an extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador. Unlike the Ukrainian partner of the bilateral intergovernmental relations, the Indonesian side did not delay the opening of a full-fledged diplomatic mission, and in 1996 the first ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia to Ukraine arrived in Ukraine. For a long time, the Ukrainian state foreign policy has neglected the opportunity to bring Ukrainian-Indonesian relations to a new high-quality level by sending the ambassador to Indonesia. First of all, the economic component of Ukrainian statehood suffered from this. The unaccounted number of intergovernmental contracts at various levels was not signed due to the lack of full diplomatic relations between the countries due to Ukraine's short-sighted foreign policy. Only in the beginning of 2010, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary arrived in Jakarta, not Ambassador.

The first real rapprochement between the countries took place in 1996. During April 10-13, the second President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma visited Indonesia on a state visit. During this visit a "Joint Declaration on the Principles of Relations and Cooperation between Indonesia and Ukraine" was signed. This important document was aimed at deepening relations between countries at all levels and in all sectors – first of all, in economic and political matters. This meeting is interesting given the figures of the presidents. Suharto, the then Indonesian president, has already lost touch with reality, his regime has been tirelessly agonizing, although this process was not so noticeable as similar processes during the recent years of the collapse of the USSR. The Suharto regime helped the ephemeral stability of the economy, which has not yet faced the global economic crisis. President Kuchma, as a representative of the "old guard" of the Soviet "businessmen", tried to create a guiding system in Ukraine, which at all stages would be fully accountable to him. The implementation of such a policy in Ukraine is a very difficult task for a policy that seeks to introduce "modern" authoritarianism, an authoritarian state with all the features of a democratic country – albeit fictitious. Ukraine is a European state that differs from the

Central Asian countries, former partners of the Soviet Union, where authoritarian traditions are woven into a national mentality. Thus, this visit was intended not only to improve relations between the two states, but also was a kind of training for Leonid Kuchma on centralization of power in the presidential hands. Although Kuchma's visit did not bring tangible progress to relations between the countries, Kuchma's visit was generally positive, since it was the first contact at the highest level in the independent history of the two states.

In the same year, the Minister of Defense and Security came to Ukraine, testifying to the Indonesian side's interest in cooperating in the military field. The Ukrainian defense industry attracted Indonesian soldiers with its high quality and low market price. However, the efforts of the Indonesian side to improve the trade balance were offset by weak diplomatic support from the Ukrainian side. At the same time, the Russian Federation has been actively working to establish close relations with Indonesia, understanding the importance of Indonesia as the main strategic partner in Southeast Asia.

The world economic crisis in 1998 only accelerated what was supposed to happen, namely the fall of the regime of the "new order". Of course, the changes that took place in Indonesia could not but affect the foreign policy of the state. Indonesia was more open to world society in the process of its reform; however, the Ukrainian-Indonesian relations remained at the initial level, although postponitory governments of Indonesia tried to bring their relations with Ukraine out of stagnation.

The relations between Indonesia and Ukraine somewhat revived at the end of the "zero" years of the XXI century. According to statistics for 2009, trade balance between Indonesia and Ukraine amounted to USD 773.62 million, of which exports from Indonesia amounted to USD 354 68 million, and imports to Indonesia – USD 418.97 million. In 2010, the trade balance between the two countries slightly exceeded 1 billion US dollars. According to this statistics, Ukraine ranks 32nd as the importing country of Indonesian goods without taking into account oil and gas products and 19th place as the country exporting goods to Indonesia also without gas, oil and products of their processing. The main products of Indonesian exports to Ukraine for 2009-2010 were palm oil and its products, rubber and other natural rubber, spices, coffee, tea, paper, electronic equipment, clothing, etc. Imports to Indonesia consisted mainly of metal products, dairy products and fertilizers [5].

The second meeting of the presidents of the two countries took place on March 27, 2012 during the discussion at the highest level in Seoul on nuclear safety issues. The nuclear issue once again became the pivot point in international relations after the Japanese nuclear power plant Fukushima-1. The idea of building a nuclear power plant in Indonesia has long been on the agenda, but proper fears about the nuclear threat to the environment do not allow this project to be realized. Presidents discussed the possibility of cooperation in the field of safe use of a peaceful atom.

Another big event of bilateral intergovernmental relations was the visit of the delegation of the upper house of the Indonesian Parliament led by the chairman of the parliament in Kyiv in September 2013. The main issues discussed at numerous meetings were issues of inter-parliamentary cooperation, trade, etc. Election for the post of President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo in 2014 did not change the vectors of foreign policy of Indonesia.

Ukraine has continued to be seen as a potential serious partner both politically and economically.

At the beginning of August 2016 an important event in the history of bilateral relations took place: President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko arrived in Indonesia on a state visit. During the visit, a number of intergovernmental agreements were signed in the fields of defense, agriculture, diplomatic education and visa issues [6]. Today, in our opinion, in order to improve the quality of the overall state of relations between the two countries, the Ukrainian side should pay more attention to joint educational programs, create an appropriate legal basis for the further positive development of relations. We have grounds to state that the level of intergovernmental communication between Ukraine and Indonesia does not correspond to the significance of these countries in the world political arena. It is precisely for the further convergence of Ukraine and Indonesia that measures are needed to bring the relations between the two countries to a qualitatively higher level. And these events should begin with the foreign policy institutions, including their archival activity.

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United Slovenia (1848 – 1941): national idea trapped in international relations

Kateryna Malshyna, Voladyslav Volomuev

Summary

The article deals with the origin of the Slovenian national political program of United Slovenia, its aim issues and determined stages of development. Its impact on Slovenian politics in terms of interethnic and international relations during the 2nd half of XIX – 1st half of XX cent. is analyzed.

Keywords: Slovenia, United Slovenia, national political idea.

Part I.

In the midst of the March Revolution of 1848, which forced the Austrian emperor Ferdinand I to accept the constitution, during the "Spring of Nations," many people of the Austrian Empire saw the possibility of national consolidation. The Austrian Empire was then administratively divided according to the feudal law. The Czech Republic and Slovenia were directly subordinated to Austria. But the Czech Republic, as a kingdom, only gave its crown to the hands of the Habsburgs in the XVI century. and according to its holistic autonomous position with regard to Austria had its own traditional internal division, and the Slovene lands were divided into administrative units – the provinces of Primorje, Kraina, Styria, and Carinthia on the internal borders of Austria. These provinces were partly Slovenian, partly polyethnic, with the Slovene peasantry and the German bourgeoisie.

United Slovenia became the main requirement of the political programs of the Slovenes in 1848, when they demanded the united Slovenia, combined in the empire, and the equality of the Slovene language with other languages in public affairs, and also strongly opposed the inclusion of the Hapsburg Empire in the united Germany . The first lost Slovenian territory was Venetian Slovenia, which Austria had to give to Italy under the treaty of 1868. Since then, the Slovenes have lost not only a large part of their people and their lands, but also confidence in their own forces to protect the people's integrity and identity, and the idea of the United Slovenia, especially after the congress in Ljubljana in 1870, went back to the background, giving way to the idea of Yugoslavism (at that time – in the form of austerity or triallism). In the turbulent events of the end of the First World War and post-war talks in Paris and Rapallo, the Slovenians lost almost 40% of their population in Primorje and Carinthia through the influence of domestic and international factors – and in the process of creating the Versailles-Washington system of world order the problem of reuniting the cut Slovenia on the intra-political problem of the Austro-Hungarian Empire transformed into an international problem.

The study of the origin and historical fate of the idea of reunification of the disjointed Slovenian lands began in Slovenian historiography from the end of the First World War. I must say that at that time the main question was the liberation of all the former Habsburg Slavs from foreign oppression, which for a large number of Slovenes had already been a sufficient achievement. During the short transitional phase – the existence of the State of the Commonwealth of Independent States (October-November 1918) – the Slovenes had complete autonomy with the broadest powers that they never had before and could never reach until the collapse of the Second Yugoslavia. It was during this period of great freedom that the problems of the Slovenian state separation with Italy and Austria were solved in the overwhelming majority of all state affairs, that is, again the question of United Slovenia began, and the intense struggle, both military and diplomatic, began to reach this goal.

But this rather glorious period in its history was not considered by Slovenian historiography until Slovenia gained its independence in 1990. There were several reasons for this. First, among the Slovenian politicians, from the end of 1918 to the spring of 1945, only political Catholicism, the Slovene Christian Socialists, and the opponents of the Communist-internationalists, who came to power in the Second Yugoslavia, were in positions of nationalism, when, especially after the terrible manifestations of the national-socialism during the Second World War, any manifestation of healthy nationalism was eradicated as such. Secondly, the period was very short, all the attempts of Slovenian politicians to seize the opportunity – autonomy gained – for the reunification of Slovenia did not become the

property of the public; documents of the National Government in Ljubljana (October 1918 – July 1920) were buried in the archives and were extracted from them only in the 1990's.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the work of B. Balkovtza appeared, where the role of the State of the CPS in the Slovene state-building was first observed, and already in the 2000's this idea was picked up by the public through the experiments of Y. Perovshik. Several contemporary Slovenian historians, including such a well-known name as B. Grafenauer, deal with the problem of the Slovenian borders, which is also an integral part of the reunification of Slovenia. But they all more focus their attention on the northern, Austrian section of the border, cut through the living Slovenian nation, separating from its overwhelming majority the historical cradle of the Slovenian people – Carinthia. The north-western segment, a border with Italy, is also a historical trauma in the memory of the Slovenes, but modern Slovenian specialists are now paying more attention to the influence of Italian fascism and socioeconomic and political processes in the Slovenian Primorje.

With regard to the historiography of the period of the First Yugoslavia, there were works that covered only the process of joining the State of the Commonwealth of Independent States with the Kingdom of Montenegro and the Kingdom of Serbia. At that time, the prominent Slovenian historian and geographer Anton Melik (1890 – 1966), professor at the University of Ljubljana, founder of the Slovenian school of geomorphology, the founder of the Geographical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of Slovenia, carried out the study of the new borders of the Kingdom of the Soviet Union. During the Paris Conference hearings, he wrote "The History of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," in which he substantiated the legitimacy of the previously unbundled ethnically Slavic territories into a new state. As he writes: "We, Slovenes, have border disputes on the three sides, with Italians, Germans and Hungarians. Since we do not own the means by which tough, difficult conflicts are resolved, we stood up to Western European victorious democracy so that it judged and gave us what we have "natural law".

The problem was also taken care of by Slovenian geographer, geopolitician and historian Silvo Kranjec (1892 – 1976). He was a soldier from 1916 to 1918, and for him the problems of the South Slavic history and the struggle for independence were also a personal matter. He is the author of the "Survey of the History of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" (Ljubljana, 1925), in which all significant historical events are arranged in chronological order; on the occasion of the Xth Anniversary of the Common Power (1928), also published in the Purpose the history of the Kingdom of the Holy See, entitled "How We Are United", where the Slovenes played a special role in the process of convergence of the Yugoslavian peoples and the struggle for a unified state. S. Kranjets focused on the process of association. The spirit of time on the author influenced only in detail – for example, he did not separate the views of the Green server from the South Slavic, he did not give a precise historical place to Sarajevo murder or radical national movement.

Then came the second book – "In the Fight for Yugoslavia" (1928-1929), authored by Ivan Lyakh, a politician who was constantly in the center of a radical national movement. The work is written in a patriotic spirit, contains a lot of romantic material, which, due to the desire to show the process of association as dramatically as possible, is not always critically considered. If Kranets restricted the subject to the union only, Lyah tried to apply as a whole

a struggle for Yugoslavism. At the same time, he relied heavily on Serbian sources and on events for which there were still not enough open sources to describe.

It should be noted that at that time the Slovenes were perceived by the Austrian Empire as a "non-historical" nation [1], which never had its state, political and national traditions, therefore, had no right to any thoughts on its own nationalization and state-building. The Slovenian lands for the Austrians, starting from the tenth century, had their own living space for the millennia and connected them with the Adriatic: the province was called the Austrian Primorje and Trieste was called the Austrian port, the province of Carinthia always had a strategic position for Vienna, because it served a kind of bridge to the Adriatic Sea. German colonization of the cities led to the combination of ethnic and social stratification – the German-Jewish city and the Slovenian rural district, which was especially characteristic of Carinthia and northern Styria.

The predecessor of the idea of United Slovenia is the notion of Slovenia – the name for the lands where Slovenes lived, that is, for unity, which before did not have its own territorial, geographical, historical name. The term was used among enlightened Slovenes from a long time ago, but it became publicly known on September 4, 1844, when in the newspaper "News" in his poem "Slovenia" he used Slovenian lawyer and poet Jovan Kosezi.

The Slovenes first publicly called for the unification of all Slovenes and broad autonomy in the March Revolution of 1848, "Slovenia", if understood as a Slovenian national-political idea, according to the opinion of the Slovenian historian S. Grande, from the very beginning gained wide popular support and has never been a reflection of the narrow circle of the Slovenian intelligentsia.

The birthday of United Slovenia may be Wednesday, March 29, 1848, when the Celtic (Klagenfurt) congregation chaplain and folk worshiper Matiya Mayyar-Zilsky in the newspaper "News" in the article "Glory to God in the cherries" noted that "such a great time yet there was not, since the sun shone, "that we are all the peoples of the empire (Slavs, Germans, Italians, Hungarians), brethren, that we all need each other." Major thought of Mayyar was: "Every person lives in his country at home, as he thinks fit: a German – in German, an Italian – in Italian, an Hungarian in Hungarian," and therefore, Slovenes – in Slovenian. The most important Slovenian striving was: "We will be free to find us in Slovenia, when we want and as we want, in a small school or office, to introduce our Slovenian language." In these simple words, the whole program of the United Republic of Slovenia and the reorganization of the Habsburg empire into an alliance of equal peoples.

On the same day, Viennese Slovenes made an appeal to the Krayin provincial assembly. In Vienna in early April, the editor of "News" Janez Blewies laid Slovenian demands to the Archduke Johann Habsburg, who ruled Slovenes in Maribor for 15 years. In 1848, many formulations of the program were made – more precise and decisive. Mayyar himself rewrote it six times [2], with the other most notable being the petition of grace Slovenes and the program of the Viennese society "Slovenia" of April 20, 1848, which at that time was led by a well-known linguist Franco Miklosic. The grave Slovenes expressed the essence of the program most expressly: "Overcoming the historical division of the country into a province, merging our Slovenian land in language boundaries into a single country and, thus, concentrating all of us into a single nation." [3] In support of the geographer, Peter

Kozler prepared a brochure on the boundaries of Slovenia and a map of Slovenian lands with drawn ethnic boundaries. This was the first geographical survey of Slovenia as a holistic unity and the first map of Slovenia as such. Extreme was a fully Slovenian region, at the same time, Styria, Carinthia and Primorye. Only about a third of the Slovenians had about a third of the population, and only 6% lived outside the territory – Hungarian and Venetian Slovenes.

S. Grande emphasizes that information about Slovenians and Slovenes has been counted for at least several centuries, but only in March 1848 has created an opportunity for the Slovenes to speak aloud for themselves and reveal their goals and desires. The main evidence that the Slovenian national program has matured before the March events, the author sees that in a few days of discrepancies, but without close interconnections, the program appeared in large settlements with the same language – in Celovets (Klagenfurt), Graz and Vienna, that is, in areas with mixed populations, but in Ljubljana, central Slovenia, was unknown. Three key points of the program (creation of Slovenia, recognition of Slovenian language and protest against inclusion in Germany) were signed in the form of petitions. There have been 51 petitions on United Slovenia from various Slovenian regions, which the researcher has been seeking since 1972, and finally found in the House, Court and State Archives in Vienna (Reichsrat Foundation 1848/49, Faisal 117, 5013 R.T.).

In the autumn of 1866, Luca Svetec explained how to achieve United Slovenia. The first step would be to petition the emperor. Cesar would convene patriotic Slovenian leaders who would have developed a new electoral system that is closest to universal suffrage. After the emperor's approval, representatives of all Slovenes would be chosen – and they would express their opinion on the future of the Slovenian system. According to V. Melik, the idea of L. Svetec's was fantastic and impossible. In 1866, Italy received Venetian Slovenia – Friuli, and, thus, the first part of the Slovenes moved to a foreign country. This first painful loss actively influenced the political consciousness of the Slovenes: two months later they achieved the greatest political success – they organized the elections and won the rural curia in Kraina, Gorizia and Lower Styria. Valentin Zarnik noticed: "... only now we dare to say that the Slovenian people actually exist in the world ... and we are not just an ethnographic term" [4]. The elections on January 26, 1867 showed that the majority of the population supported the Slovenian party and its national program.

If the idea of United Slovenia during the revolution seemed plausible, in stable conditions of the constitutional parliamentary life it already became unrealistic. Against this were the Germans, as well as the Czechs and Poles, which relied on the historical, feudal boundaries of the provinces. According to V. Melik, the Slovenes lacked allies, while external fraternal support was very necessary: "We have long relied on Slavs, Slavic ideas and Slavic reciprocity, and in the context of the Slavs, there is always more on Yugoslavism" [5]. In 1870, a meeting between Slovenian and Croatian politicians took place, first in the city of Sisak in Croatia, then in Ljubljana. With a doubling of power, the idea of the Yugoslavia rose in 1908 during the Bosnian crisis, and then dominated the public for about 80 years.

The idea of uniting all the Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian lands of the Habsburg Empire was most clearly manifested at the meetings of the provincial provincial assembly on January 15-16, 1909, as well as in the May Declaration of the Reichsrat on May 30, 1917. An even more powerful declarative movement that, as once the camp, connected all the

Slovenes followed this. On August 16, the National Council in Ljubljana was established, which took over the management of all the Slovene lands; on October 29, 1918, the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with a center in Zagreb was set up; on October 31 – the National Government in Ljubljana, which carried out the entire state power, that is, state power within its authority, as well as powers of the National Chamber, according to Y. Perovsheka, who writes: "It must be emphasized that this confirmed the position of the Slovenian people as a sovereign state and the institution of national self-determination in international life." [6] Thus, it was the first real form of the program of the United Slovenia.

With the creation of the SCS, it was already clear that at one time it would be combined with the Kingdom of Serbia – the only way to unite was unclear. On November 23, in central Zagreb, the Central National Victory began its session: most of it favored a monarchy and an immediate merger. The First Pest Act of the Association did not include the position of the National Victim regarding the rules for the adoption of the new constitution, when this was to be qualified for a two-thirds majority, and thus this association was a peculiar deception. The Vydovdanska constitution was adopted in 2 years by the "overwhelming majority" in 13 votes, out of 40 Slovenian deputies voted for it only 12.

After the First World War, thus, on the one hand, the end of the German leadership, the chairing of the German language, and the risk of Germanization came to the end in Slovenia within the framework of the Kingdom of the Soviet Union. Slovenian language became the only one for schools and official documents and began to be freely distributed and developed. But, on the other hand, the first Slovenian government and autonomy came to an end by the efforts of the central government in Belgrade in July 1919, and before that, the initial independence in the military command of the Slovene language, which still existed until February 1919, came to an end.

The failure of the United Republic of Slovenia program at the national level was accompanied by further losses of the Slovene territory and population – already on a very large scale at the international level. The collapse of Austria-Hungary brought the state of cut-off of Slovenia. In the 1920's Unfortunate Slovenian, Primorye received Italy with the most progressive and enterprising entrepreneurial part of the Slovenes for the Rapalla Agreement; Carinthia was lost through the plebiscite and moved to Austria. United Slovenia was not. Not a single piece of their Slovenian land, the Slovenes did not own themselves.

This has happened due to a number of external causes and factors of influence.

To be continued...

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Scientific and technical cooperation between Ukraine and China

Sergiy Vasyliev

Summary

Scientific and Technical Cooperation (STC) is collaboration between countries in the area of science, technology, research and development. STC is a significant part of international economic relations. The foreign policy of Ukraine is to ensure support of its science, culture and education and save intellectual potential as well as full value development of free cultural and humanitarian exchange with the countries of the world including China. STC of Ukraine is directed to increasing of economic growth rate, branch structure improvement, improving of state management effectiveness.

Key words: science, technology, modernization, economy, structure, cooperation.

Modernization of civilization has undergone several stages of development, gradually acquiring new features and trends that bring socio-political, scientific, technical, and managerial achievements. Today's stage of modernization is called post-industrial or post-modernist. Its basis is the priority role of science as a core, around which new technologies are created, economic and social progress of society takes place [1].

The experience of modernizing countries such as China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, the new industrialized countries of East Asia shows that there is no purely market economy in real life. There are only different variants of a combination of methods of state control over the economy and relative market freedom. To attain the level of modern development, these countries initially underwent a stage of mobilization economy with effective state control over currency and financial flows, price regulation, protectionist trade and monetary policy, and direct and indirect state subsidies [2].

A key role in the modernization and development of the economy based on the new technological structure is played by a sharp increase in innovation activity. In the modern economy, the share of scientific and technological progress accounts for 90% of the total contribution of all factors of growth [3]. Given the critical importance and high uncertainty of the results of scientific research, the state must assume the functions of the intellectual-information center of regulation and strategic planning of the economy, supporting the relevant scientific and technological environment, which includes a developed base of fundamental knowledge and research, applied research institutes and research and development, a system for stimulating the development and dissemination of new technologies. R & D funding is steadily increasing throughout the world, with a share of GDP of 4% [3], which is many times higher than the Ukrainian economy.

In China in the 40's of the XX century in fact, there was no higher education institution. A number of prominent Chinese scientists graduated from American universities and provided a powerful impetus to national science. The return of scientists contributed to the tumultuous policy of Beijing, aimed at the reverse "flow of brain." In particular, repatriates have created an informal "Club Los-Alamos". The club members have founded and led hundreds of leading Chinese science centers, including Tsinghua University, the University of Science and Technology in China, the Harbin Institute of Technology, Fudan University, etc. [4].

Today, China holds leading positions in the scientific and technological field. According to the World Bank, in 2014, domestic research and development spending in China amounted to 2.05% of GDP [5]. In early 2016, the Harvard Institute of World Economy stated that China had moved from copying to an innovative country. The country reoriented domestic technology parks for foreign investment in development, advanced training and stimulating inventions. In 2015, there were 1,600 scientific and technical enterprises incubators in China, more than 1,000 investment state institutions with a fund of over 350 billion yuan, specializing in investing in inventions. In 2016, the State Council of the People's Republic of China announced a program to promote the transformation of science and technology achievements into productive forces, which reflected the crucial role of science for the market [4].

From 2010, China ranks first in the world in terms of patents received. The Chinese Intellectual Property Office has shown that in 2014, out of 928,000 inventions, 663,000 have market value, and 485,000 have been made by specialized research centers. In 2000-2007, the number of engineering and technical staff in China doubled. It is projected that in 2024, scientists and researchers in China will be more than the United States, the EU and Japan combined. As early as 2013, according to UNESCO, China came out on the first place in the world by the number of scientific and technical workers. The number of scientists from the total number of people employed in the production in the EU is 22%, in China – 19%, in the USA – 17%, in the Russian Federation – 6% [5]. A quarter of the world's high-tech exports, worth over \$ 2.5 trillion, are owned by China. In 2014, China achieved parity with the United States with a share of value added in high-tech manufacturing, where the US – 29%, and China – 27%, with ten years its share increased 10 times. It is projected that by 2020, China will outpace the US for investment in research and development, accumulate an analytical mass of knowledge and results of scientific experiments that will contribute to a scientific and technological breakthrough [5].

Today, China demonstrates the high efficiency of investment in education, is one of the first places in the world in terms of education, and the United States – only in the eighth to tenth [5]. The country's leadership believes that the level of education for the future of China is the most important factor of competitiveness.

Important for China is international cooperation in the field of military-industrial complex. Chinese science has emerged and developed as an applied industry of defense industries. According to the Stockholm Institute for Research on the Problems of the World [6], for defense expenditures (\$ 215 billion), China ranks second in the world. In the first place are the USA (611 billion dollars), in the third – Russia (69.2 billion dollars).

China uses the experience and expertise of Ukraine in the shipbuilding and aviation industries. Thus, its first aircraft carrier "Liaoning" (formerly the Varyag cruiser) was purchased by China in 1998, which was not built in Ukraine. The ship was completely reconstructed and began its military service in 2012. In April 2017, China was first launched into water own aircraft carrier, whose construction was started in 2013 on the basis of previous engineering decisions. The final introduction of a new aircraft carrier to the ranks of the fleet is planned after 2020. In August 2016 an agreement was concluded between the State Enterprise "Antonov" and the Chinese company "China Airspace". The parties expressed their intentions on long-term cooperation [4], which envisages the construction of the second modernized copy of the AN-225 "Mriya" aircraft at the Antonov state enterprise, and subsequently the creation of a joint production of An-225 in China under the license of the State Enterprise "Antonov". An-225 "Mriya" with a maximum carrying weight of 640 tons is the most powerful airplane in the world. During many years of independence, the institutes of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine took an active part in the development of technology parks in China, research and development, and the mastery of Chinese methods of research and advanced technologies by Chinese experts. The development of the DSAU organizations (in particular, CB Pivdenne and the Pivdennonomash plant) contributed to the development of China's modern rocket and space industry.

China supports and finances the creation of technology parks for certain types of scientific activities by Ukrainian research institutes on its territory. For example, it is a Ukrainian-Chinese Center for welding and related technologies in Harbin, an agreement on the creation of which was signed between the Institute of Electric Welding. E. Paton of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine and the Harbin Institute of Welding. At the end of October 2016, the delegation of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine visited the People's Republic of China and participated in several important events that culminated in the signing of bilateral Ukrainian-Chinese agreements in the field of scientific and technical cooperation. In particular, the agreement concluded through the close cooperation of the Institute of Metal Physics named after G.V. Kurdyumov and the Institute of Radio Astronomy of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine with the University of Jilin, provides for the foundation of the International Science Center for the Development of Fundamental and Applied Research and Modern Technologies, funded by the Chinese side, on the basis of the above-mentioned university. The institution will receive the most up-to-date scientific equipment for research in the fields of materials science, solid state physics, radio electronics, low temperatures, magnetism, etc. A scientific council, created on a parity basis [7], will manage the work of the center. It is also promising directions of joint work in the field of IT-technologies. The Chinese market is taking a leading position with the United States in the consumption of IT services.

Ukrainian scholars are comfortable working in China, which finances applied science and fosters the research and development of technologies that will be used later for the development of the Chinese state. Domestic scientists have little opportunity to use the full potential of their achievements in Ukraine due to outdated infrastructure, lack of financing, lack of demand for high-tech products, lack of understanding by the Ukrainian authorities of the importance of NTPs.

In bilateral relations, Ukraine is a donor of raw materials and production of the fourth technological process to China. In today's realities, relations with China should be a priority for Ukraine, as it is a huge market for high-tech goods and high quality agricultural products. New prospects of cooperation will be opened if Ukraine can develop modern fundamental and applied science, especially the fifth and sixth technological processes. Ukraine has the potential to sell IT services to China, and can also use its good geo-economic situation, becoming a transit country for Chinese goods to the EU and a place of investment for Chinese business and tourism.

The economic growth that took place in Ukraine during the pre-crisis period (before the beginning of the global economic crisis in 2008) was not accompanied by economic and scientific and technological development and modernization. This was, firstly, an increase in the extraction and export of commodities, and secondly, growth in the traditional industrial sectors (mainly in the metallurgy and chemical industry), using largely obsolete energy-intensive, high-tech technologies and exporting to the world market predominantly semi-finished products. In this case, the quantitative growth of production did not lead to the emergence of a new quality economy. Moreover, today there are observed processes of socio-economic degradation of Ukraine, an increase in its scientific and technological lag both from developed Western countries and from new industrialized countries, the growing shortage of skilled labor as a result of migration outflows for earnings abroad, as well as the destruction of the system of professional and technical education.

Deindustrialization and degradation of the scientific and technical sphere are continuing in Ukraine. According to the share of R & D expenditures in GDP (0.66% in 2014 according to the World Bank), Ukraine was at the level of third world countries. Ukraine's share in the world market of high-tech products is less than 0.1% [5]. Today in Ukraine there is a critical situation with the development of scientific research and the implementation of technological modernization of production associated with the transition to a new technological structure. The reasons for the unfavorable situation are the chronic under-financing of the development of science, the destruction of the cooperation of science and production, the aging of scientific personnel, "brain drain". To a large extent, this was the result of privatization, which led to the destruction of the sectoral sector of applied science. The state of Ukrainian science is one of the key factors of national security. The experience of China shows that science should play an important role in the defense of the country and its economy should be a closed circle of innovation: analysis of problems, trends and opportunities; targeting and planning; fundamental research and training of specialists; applied developments; research and development works, creation of technologies; export of goods to the market and sales; the further investment of funds received as a result of this activity into all of the mentioned elements of the cycle. An important role in this should play large high-tech companies that create reliable, effective technology, carry out research and development, produce products and bring them to the world market. The main consumer of technology is the industry. The big high-tech companies did not appear in Ukraine during the reforms. In addition, after the collapse of the manufacturing industry, the country is tied to western components. To change the situation, a systemic work of the state and the scientific and engineering community is needed in creating a developed network of engineering companies, design and design organizations.

When considering whether it is possible today in Ukraine to use the mobilization methods used by China in creating the foundations for an efficient modern economy, it should be emphasized that this requires the revision and correction of the entire complex of economic ties and "liberalized" obligations that Ukraine voluntarily assumed responsibility for the European Union, the IMF, the World Bank, the EBRD, the Council of Europe, and the WTO. A contemporary "elite" of Ukraine's refusal from a large part of the privileges and colossal incomes that it now receives is due to the existence of a peripheral, comprador-liberal socio-economic model with its economic inefficiency and deep social inequality. A truly democratic, socially oriented state is possible only if political democracy is complemented by a fair distribution of national income, high social mobility, as well as the ability of the broader circles of society to influence the nature and direction of the distribution of national income, on political and socio-economic processes that occur in the country, in particular due to the growing role of public organizations, trade unions, the creation of industrial councils at enterprises. As political democracy is impossible without political pluralism, and socio-economic democracy is impossible without economic pluralism, that is, a mixed economy in which different sectors (state, state-private, private, corporate and cooperative) would balance each other, creating a balance of interests and harmony coexistence of different layers of the population.

Without the joint systemic work of the state, business and civil society to implement the course on sovereign development on the advanced technological basis, it is impossible to ensure the sustainability of the internal social and economic order. Preserving the dependent position of the economy from the western core of the world financial and economic system leads to prolongation and deepening of the crisis.

The experience of China shows that he achieved the current level of development through the planned management of economic development; currency-financial control over the activities of commercial banks, the use of foreign currency in the country, loans, interest rates, investment in industry and pricing; control over foreign trade, which is expressed in the subsidy by the state of export and strict regulation of imports. China, as one of the world's leaders in scientific and technological progress, has scientific strategies, puts large-scale tasks to scientists and puts enormous funds in science and defense.

The level of national science largely determines the fundamental foundations of economic and military security of the state and provides an opportunity to overcome the current financial and economic crisis. Only the reliance on a powerful science and technology complex can be the most realistic way for Ukraine to take a worthy place among the economically developed countries, to promote the adoption of a socially oriented, structural and innovative model of development in the country. With the preservation of the current state and trends in the transformation of the scientific and technical complex, Ukraine will not be able to reach the level of developed countries.

Consequently, world experience shows that more and more states are increasing their scientific and technological capacity, introducing technological innovations, engaging in various alliances and international corporations, offering high-tech products at competitive prices. Without a joint systemic work of the state, business and civil society, implementation of the course on sovereign development on the advanced technological basis can not ensure the sustainability of the internal social and economic order in Ukraine. Preserving the

dependent position of the economy from the western core of the world financial and economic system leads to prolongation and deepening of the crisis. A steady improvement of the economic situation in Ukraine is impossible without changing the current raw material model of the country's integration into the world economy.

Using the experience and financial resources of China, Ukraine needs to increase its scientific and technical level by introducing new technologies in cooperation with multinational corporations and other technology owners, creating domestic technology parks and exporting enterprises. The shipbuilding and aerospace industry, the agro-industrial sector, as well as joint research in the areas of materials science, solid-state physics, radio electronics, low temperatures, magnetism, etc. are promising directions in bilateral scientific-technical cooperation. It is also promising directions of joint work in the field of IT-technologies, because the Chinese market occupies a leading place in the world for the consumption of IT services.

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Francesco Guicciardini: diplomat, politician, humanist

(to the institutional origins of European foreign policy traditions)

Vyacheslav Tsivatyy

Summary

The basic directions of political, diplomatic and literary working of the famous contemporary of the Renaissance – Francesco Guicciardini, because his practical experience and literary and poetic heritage had not lost their relevance to this day, and his name and work closely to bind Italy and Ukraine through the centuries and millennia of European history is analyzed at the article.

Keywords: diplomacy, history of diplomacy, institutionalization, the Renaissance, Francesco Guicciardini, Italy, Ukraine.

Guicciardini Francesco (1483-1540) – an Italian statesman, politician, diplomat, humanist, historian and author of political treatises [1] – was born in Florence on March 6, 1483 in the family of the wealthy Florentine citizen Piero Guicciardini . He studied at Ferrara and Padua Universities. He is a contemporary and friend of Niccolò Machiavelli. The younger and more influential Guicciardini made a political career as the messenger of Florence in Spain under Queen Ferdinand II during the period from 1511 to 1514, the viceroy of the Papal region from 1516 to 1534, the Papal Army General, the counselor of Pope Clement VII, and an influential citizen. Florence after the fall of the republic (1530).

Guicciardini was a skilled administrator, foretaste warlord – his brilliant mind and the ability to foresee the events allowed him to warn those whom he served about the possible dangers and threats to avoid serious troubles. His most famous work is "History of Italy" ("Storia d'Italia", 1537-1540, published in 1561-1564), which gives a wide panorama of Italy in 1492-1534. For this work is characterized by an elevated style, the statement is supported by documents. The insight of the judgments is different, and "Notes of the political and civil" ("Ricordi politici e civili", 1525 – 1529, published in 1576).

"History of Italy" – the first work of this type and the first example of modern historical writing [2]. Guicciardini traced the political fate of the country or rather countries in detail in it, since Italy at that time was still divided into many small and medium republics, principalities and duchies, from 1492 to 1540, that is, the period when it became an arena for international conflicts called the Italian Wars , witnessed by F. Guicciardini himself. He tried to understand the causes of the political and military defeats of the Italian states. "The History of Italy" was published a quarter century after its completion (1561-1564) and brought Guicciardini the glory of the best historian of Italy and Europe. Machiavelli and Guicciardini became the peak of the Renaissance historiography and political analytics in Italy, which did not receive new impulses of development during the Late Renaissance, although the standards and traditions established by them in European historiography were used almost until the seventeenth century. [3, p. 1-65].

In the "History of Florence" Francesco Guicciardini described the events of the Chompi uprising in 1378 and by 1509, when this work was written, that is, two years before the Spanish embassy [4]. Guicciardini critically analyzed the evolution of the political system of Florence – from the Polish democracy to the tyranny of the Medici, concluding that the optimal form of government for Florence would be oligarchy, that is, "the power of the best", while taking as an example the ideal state of the Venetian republic and its constitution. Political preferences did not prevent him, however, from clearly seeing and assessing the state of affairs in the state of affairs and the sidelines of the Florentine Republic, the change in the structure of power, and the struggle of various political groups

for power. But at the same time, unlike Machiavelli, his friend, whom he, however, has often criticized, Guicciardini does not justify authoritarian power under any circumstances. He remained faithful to the ideas and principles of the republic, albeit with an aristocratic color. In particular, he speaks his thoughts on this topic in the dialogue on the management of Florence.

Until the second half of the nineteenth century, Francesco Guicciardini was known primarily as a historian, but since 1857, previously unknown works have been published in the family archives of Florence. Political, mainly in content, they forced to talk about the author as an outstanding publicist [5].

Francesco Guicciardini is one of the greatest political thinkers of the late Renaissance. Continuing the tradition of humanists, he believed in the ability of a person properly, that is, according to reason and nature, to arrange his political life. "Three things I would like to see before my death," he wrote, "is a well-established republic (the Florentine Republic is speaking) in our city; Italy, liberated from all barbarians; and the world devoid of tyranny of priests." His political, political, diplomatic and legal views are set forth in such works as "The History of Florence", "Dialogues on the management of Florence", and others. Guicciardini is a constitutional project for Florence, which, continuing to characterize both for the Renaissance and for the antiquity of tradition, is based on a mixed form of government. "Undoubtedly, the rule, blended from three forms – the monarchy, the aristocracy and democracy – is better and more stable than the rule of one of these three forms, especially when mixed with each form is taken well and rejected by the bad", – emphasized the thinker.

An important place in the politico-diplomatic, political and legal worldview of Guicciardini is the problem of freedom and justice. He noted that "the foundation of freedom should be the people's rule." In developing rationalist ideas about freedom, justice, equality, and laws, he stressed that "... the government must adhere to all justice and equality, because only in this way a sense of security, welfare and a basis for the preservation of popular government can be created in society". To a certain extent, it can be argued that for a thinker it is more important to ensure the rights and interests of a particular person than to ensure universal national law. He notes: "The fruit of freedom and its purpose is not that everyone should rule the state, for only one who can and deserves it can be the ruler, but that he must observe good laws and regulations." For thinker, freedom is closely intertwined with justice. "Freedom in the republic is a servant of justice," wrote Guicciardini, "because it is established not for another purpose, but for the protection of one person from the encroachment of another. That is why the ancient peoples believed that free rule was not superior and better than the others, and preferred the administration, in which better protection of laws and justice was provided." That is, the main thing is not the form of government, as such, but the ability to organize state governance on the basis of laws and justice.

Considerable attention in his writings thinker also provides the very act of well thought out laws. If one or another phenomenon is not regulated by law, the thinker believes, because "it is impossible to cover the general rule of all individual cases", it must be submitted to the judge who, having understood all the circumstances of the case, makes a decision, guided by "the voice of his conscience." However, in such cases, the judge should not violate the principles of the law. An important element of the rule of law is the system of effective

punishment. At the same time, he emphasizes that the matter is not so much in the cruelty of punishment as in the same approach to the same offenses and in that no offense should remain unpunished.

Compared to N. Machiavelli, the influence of F. Guicciardini on the further development of European legal and political thought is much smaller [6, S. 52-53]. This is due to a number of factors. First, none of the work of the thinker was published in his life. Second, speaking for the confederated system of Italy, he did not find supporters, moreover, was strongly criticized by the leaders of the national liberation struggle of the Italian people in later periods. However, it should be noted that, nevertheless, in the writings of the thinker raised and developed a number of problems that only much later found proper attention in European legal and political thought, which, in fact, also deduces Guicciardini among the largest representatives of the political and legal thought of medieval Europe.

Guicciardini was moved by selfish motives, interests of the family and Florence, but, nevertheless, he created the project of the future structure of Italy before its unification.

Guicciardini died in Santa Margherita near Florence on May 23, 1540. Francesco Guicciardini and Niccolò Machiavelli at the beginning of the XVI century became the most prominent representatives of the Florentine school of diplomacy. [7].

Finally, linking his fate with Florence, Francesco Guicciardini completely immersed in diplomatic activity and mastering the virtuosity of the Florentine diplomatic school. He successfully combined diplomacy with literary creativity. In the diplomatic work of Francesco Guicciardini, the then practice and the best diplomatic toolkit for the Florentine school of diplomats, embodied by Francesco Guicciardini himself, was embodied. In the days of its diplomatic activity – the Middle Ages and Early Modern times – in Europe, the foundations of national models of diplomatic services of the states of this region are formed.

The diplomatic tools and techniques of the Italian – especially the Florentine and Venetian – diplomacy have had a significant impact on diplomacy, the model of diplomacy, the bodies of external relations that were formed at that time in Europe, the diplomacy of the states – Spain, England, France, Sweden and Austria. Francesco Guicciardini is characterized by a deep analysis of human and socio-political relations for the ethical, historical, and policy-diplomatic concepts. At the same time, the author reveals the most mysterious causes of actions committed by people and in public, in private, and in diplomatic affairs. This reveals the psychology of the works of F. Guicciardini, which is typical of the historians of the early modern times.

F. Guicciardini as a diplomat and a historian ahead of his time. He embraced the humanistic system of values, but in historical and political ideals, he retained the originality of thoughts: not republicanism, but oligarchism; not the power of the people, but the power of the best; not monarchism for Italy, but federalism. He represents a new type of outstanding personality – pragmatic, practical, really perceiving people with their merits and disadvantages. Some of the provisions of the Guicciardini concept – the state as a developing system, its best structure and achievement of the public good, the origins of the formation of the national character and psychology of people, the possible ways of the unification of Italy – bring it closer to the level of knowledge and predictability, characteristic for the then political-diplomatic model of intellectual Europe [8].

Consequently, Francesco Guicciardini's works today have a sharp flavor of socio-political, political and diplomatic topology, to such an extent that reading them now seems like you read an article in some modern, solid scientific analytical publication. Francesco Guicciardini's politico-legal, political and diplomatic heritage was a worthy continuation in the following centuries.

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History and Historians: features of the institutional dialogue and cooperation of the professional community (problems of the methodology of historical science)

Vyacheslav Tsivatyy

Review on: Uvarov P. Yu. Between the "Hedgehogs" and the "Foxes". Notes About the Historians. – M.: New Literary Review, 2015. – 280 p. ISBN 978-5-4448-0225-0

"Fox knows a lot, hedgehog knows one thing but important", – this statement of Archiloh, ancient Greek lyricist and first poet of Ancient Greece, Sir Isaiah Berlin successfully applied for the classification of writers and philosophers. Such a comparison has become popular in the vocabulary of historians of science and management theorists. For "workaholics" and "creativity" can be divided, probably, any professional community; however, it seems that such labels are especially applicable to historians. But how closely interrelated are these groups? How are their characteristics implemented in the professional activities of historians?

The author of the peer-reviewed publication presents his thoughts on the stated topic, sets agenda questions on the methodology of contemporary historical science and invites readers to constructive and productive dialogue. The author of this edition is Uvarov Pavlo Yuriyovych, Corresponding Member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor, Head of the Division of European Medieval and Early New Age Institute of World History. The reviewed scientific publication is compiled from articles devoted to the historic community in Europe, mainly France. Key attention is paid to medievalists and mediums. The book analyzes the behavioral strategies of historians, in particular – on the example of the medievalists, their research practices, relations with Marxism and other political trends, and so on. Much attention prof. Uvarov gives the rules of the corporation of historians, its features, and also writes about the problems of the formation of the historical community in the European space as institutions in general and, in particular, as regional and national institutions – France, Italy, Ukraine, Russia, Spain, etc. The content of the articles can be divided into several thematic blocks – the Soviet stage of domestic mediaetics, French historical science, social studies, the fate of the corporation. The book analyzes the medieval research practices, relationships with different ideologies and political parties, that is, they are contemplating those events that go back into the past, but have shaped the image of Soviet and modern (post-Soviet) mediaism, which institutionalized the characteristic scientific style of Soviet and modern (post-Soviet) mediaetics.

The author's reflections on the vicissitudes of social history in the national historiographic schools and, especially, in French historiography – are very interesting. The path taken by the French historical science to many modern scholars in the post-Soviet space still needs to be overcome in a much shorter time, mastering the world experience of the 20th century, responding to the current challenges, trends in world historical science, and overcoming and understanding the Marxist and non-Marxist heritage. French experience is the more valuable that France is a "great historiographic state" (p. 129-130), and French science also has a linguistic barrier in front of the prevailing English-language science. French science shows us one of the examples of national historiography that deserves careful analysis and implementation of its practical achievements and others.

As the author rightly accentuates, and P. Uvarov is the initiator of the discussion, historical science is constantly in the institutional search. Its purpose is to find new directions in the methodological development of historical tradition. In the socio-humanitarian mainstream of Ukraine, memory studios as a direction of social and humanitarian research on memory meanings emerged at the beginning of the 21st century. Scientists – representatives of various branches of science and correspondingly various research institutions and higher educational institutions of Ukraine have joined the process of formation and development of a new direction of historical science. Today it became necessary to reconcile the operation with the categorical apparatus of memory studies, to systematize the existing developments of scientists, to determine the subject field of research.

New methodological approaches in modern world and national historical science produce new trends in its development, the process of institutionalization of memory studies in Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, in Europe as a whole, and the process of isolating and developing collective memory research as an independent area of humanitarian knowledge. In general, the deepening and improvement of memorial studies as a necessary condition for their

institutionalization opens a new space for understanding key historical events, figures, places that for a long time have influenced the formation of collective memory and continue to carry out their mission in spite of all socio-political transformations. At the same time, memory studios need to outline the subject field of research (subject definition), the horizons of knowledge and the "contact zones" of interdisciplinary discourse.

Given that memory studios are an interdisciplinary field / convenient area for interdisciplinary research in anthropology, philosophy, history, sociology, political theory, theory of literature, law, etc., a paradigm common to the social sciences is formed. On the other hand, each discipline is characterized by its own, different from other, way of incorporating the concepts into a research tradition, its way of conceptualization. Therefore, a clear understanding of the subject of research is required. Although the formation of memory studies requires further discussion on the possibility of categorical synthesis to achieve a methodological compromise, there are grounds to state the emergence of a new direction of socio-humanitarianism – memory studies. The problem is also actualized in view of the current state of humanitarian knowledge, which is determined by the emergence and evolution of new research paradigms, the blurring of the limits of traditional disciplines, the active development of interdisciplinary studies, and wide thematic and methodological diversity.

Let's touch on one more urgent question of today's historical debate. The interview method is a long-familiar but not very common scientific method among historians' research tools. The book has an interesting interview with prof. Lyudmila Rashidivna Hut (Adygei State University) with the author of the book reviewed prof. P. Uvarov (P. 165-204). This is a sample of the methodology of interviewing and presenting the results to the reader. The method of interview is currently undergoing a methodological update in the XXI century.

In his study prof. P. Uvarov puts many problematic issues in contemporary historical science. For the most part, "... historians have abandoned their critical function," notes P. Uvarov (p. 173), and it is difficult to disagree with him. Home weakness, so-called. "Achilles heel" of historical science – "the weakness of institutional foundations" (P. 134).

Much attention of P. Uvarov gives the rules of the existence of the corporation (historical corporation), its features. This is a competitive environment, and the presence of wise teachers and receptive students, and the special relationship between members of the historical corporation – the relationship of equal (p. 171). This is the problem of research approaches used by students, and the preservation or rethinking of the traditions of the study (shown on the example of A. Gurevich's relations with his teachers). In the essay on O.I. Varyash author raises the discussion problem of generations in medievalism, which arose in the 1970's. (P. 67). It should be said that the problem of generations is relevant, of course, and now. Analyzing the development and formation of the model of the historical community, the author concludes that corporations in historical national schools, unfortunately, have not yet formed. The typical title of a single essay devoted to corporation – "We're losing it!" (P. 205-218).

Of course, historians have both the experience of self-organization and the undeniable achievements, and I think in the future the situation will improve, although not immediately. At the moment, important steps have been taken on the Ukrainian historical platform,

important public initiatives have been implemented (for example, the Scientific Society for the History of Diplomacy and International Relations at the end of 2016, the chairman of the Society, Prof. I. B. Matyash), various institutions – associations, academies, societies and associations. From the three social functions of the historian, according to Gerard Noyearl (p. 208) – science, memory, and power (understood as the self-organization of the scientific community) – our historical community, for the most part, serves as a science of memory and power, then here the situation leaves much to be desired.

In a globalized space it is extremely necessary to preserve the historical community. It is difficult, and it is not necessary to be removed from external for scientific reasons, but it is necessary to make political and personal beliefs for brackets, while remaining faithful to its scientific principles, professionalism and research integrity. It is necessary, above all, to be an excellent researcher and teacher, not a politician and a “fiery revolutionary / reactionary”. Now the historic community in its institutional majority does not have its leaders, it is very heterogeneous and disunited.

But such works as “Between “hedgehogs” and “foxes”, allow to comprehend the ways of development not only of medieval (as it was taken by the author of a peer-reviewed work for the object and subject of research), but also the historical community as a whole, to define tasks priorities, make one more small step – on the way to the corporation and the global historical communication space ...

It is worth noting the light style of most articles of the peer-reviewed publication. This ease is possible. It is difficult to write capaciously, informatively and excitingly (especially when it comes to colleagues and teachers, where critics find themselves in the most neutral text). Prof. P.Uvarov is the gift of the masterful narrator. He can create a few strokes of the image of the era, man, and in passing, to intrigue questions that are of interest to all historians.

I hope that having read the controversial questions posed by the author, you are welcome to join their professional discussion. This is a peer-reviewed book – a push for further reflection!

Diplomats in Chekist's leather coats

(activity of authorized NKZS in Odessa in the 1920s)

Oleksandr Trygub

Summary

The article reveals the activities, structure and tasks of the Commissioner of People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (NKZS) of the Ukrainian SSR in Odessa. Particular attention is drawn to the peculiarities a cooperation of Commissioner with foreign relief organizations (American Relief Administration (ARA), Joint, Mission of F. Nansen and others) in the first half of the 1920's. The further reorganization of the institute of Commissioner of NKZS and a complete levelling of their role in the international relations of the Ukrainian SSR are shown.

Keywords: Commissioner of NKZS, Odessa, international relief organizations, foreign policy service, special services.

The formation and development of the diplomatic service of the Ukrainian state is one of the most demanded and at the same time undiscovered aspect of national history. International relations and diplomatic bodies are studied at different periods: Kievan Rus, Cossack, state education from 1917 to 1919, Ukrainian SSR-USSR and modernity. Instead, many questions remain not only poorly understood, but also "white spots" at both the national and regional level. Among such gaps are the activities of foreign consuls on the Ukrainian lands during the reign of the Russian Empire, the regions in international relations from 1917 to 1920, the work of the NCCs in the first half of the 1920s, and others like that. This is what prompted the author to refer to the history of the Institute of authorized representatives of the NKZS of the Ukrainian SSR in Odessa.

The beginning of the formation of the diplomatic institute of authorized representatives on the ground is laid by the decision of the VUTSVK of April 28, 1921, on the approval of the provision "On authorized NKZS in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, in cities – Kiev and Odessa" [1]. According to this resolution, the commissioned NCCs of the Ukrainian SSR were appointed and dismissed with her by the order of the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs. When they were organized management, whose employees were hired and released by order of the Commissioner.

The responsibilities of managing the commissioned NKZS in Odessa were: 1) to issue foreign passports and a permit to leave Ukraine; 2) to prevent entry into or departure from the SSR of unreliable persons; 3) to solve border issues that arose in the USSR in relations with neighboring countries; 4) to exercise control over the implementation at the local level of the obligations entrusted to the USSR by an international agreement; 5) oversee the observance by local government of the Ukrainian SSR of current legislation on foreigners, to accept foreign delegations and foreign representatives in the city.

To the area of activity of the authorized NKZS in Odessa was Odesa, Mykolaiv, part (Bratslavsky, Vinnitsa, Haysinsky, Zhmerinsky, Kamianets, Mohylivsky, Olunonsky, Ushitsky and Yampolsky districts) of the Podolsk province. The Office of the authorized NCC in Odessa, as a regional representation on the territory of Ukraine, was subordinated to the central office of the NKZS of the Ukrainian SSR. The representative office actively cooperated with local state and party institutions and organizations. Estimates and state management were held at the cost of the state and the Commissariat. The authorized staff of the authorized NKZS included: authorized, his assistant, secretary, clerk, consultant, translators, typist, forwarder, couriers, employees for orders, accountant and registrar. The structural subdivisions were: secretariat, visa department, information and logistics departments.

All inbound correspondence was received by the secretariat, and its employees distributed it among the departments, as well as carried out current correspondence with institutions and organizations, received and distributed foreign newspapers, received visitors. The duties of the staff of the visa department were to register citizens of foreign states who wished to enter or leave the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, to collect sensitive information about them, to grant permission to enter the prison for the prisoners of war and refugees. Chekists' tasks were dealt with by an information department whose competence included: informing the government about the life of foreign countries (in particular, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria, Turkey, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia), to purchase information publications abroad, to

create crossing points, to forward illegal press and agents, to create a border intelligence intelligence network, to inform the government of the USSR (the department issued daily political reports, as well as secret information agencies) [1].

The staff of the department, in view of these functions, consisted of "a very limited number of emergency commissioners" who run specialist work among foreigners and developed coercive operations. One such operation was the equipment of the "Tamara" ship, which left on a foreign shore with secret agents and dangerous cargo on board. Having stood a 16-day storm with broken steel, it went to the Bulgarian port, where it was not enough to take to Odessa the delegation of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Trade [2]. The first commissioner in Odessa was a former employee of the Odessa Cheka Joseph Emanavilovich Gorenjuk nicknamed "Yuzhny". According to the Ukrainian researcher I. Matiash, his pseudo "Yuzhny" received during the German-Austrian and Anglo-French interventionists (1918-1919) in the Odessa region in an underground counterintelligence of the Odessa Regional Committee, which he headed with Boris Yuzefovich (Severnym), and later – in Odessa "emergency". He had a reputation as a shabby and rough person, prone to sadism (only in the summer of 1919 the Odessa NK destroyed about 2 thousand people – the "enemies" of Soviet power), so the appointment to this person's diplomatic post surprised many people [2].

At the end of 1921, a new direction of work of the commissioners – ward and cooperation with foreign assistance organizations – was outlined. In November 1921, ambassadors of the American Aid Administration (ARA) Frank Alfred Golder and Lincoln Hutchinson arrived in Kharkiv (according to the Soviet press – Gudchinson) who intended to visit the regions most affected by starvation – Odesa and Zaporizhzhya provinces. Already December 9, 1921 from Moscow to Odessa arrived APA mission headed by John G. Heines, who previously worked as the head of the ARA mission in Austria. Together with Khaynes, his closest collaborators arrived, who worked before this on the Volga region [4].

Contact of representatives of ARA with the Soviet authorities and management took place exclusively through the authorized NKZS in Odesa "Southern", which maintained a close connection with the Odessa GubNK. So when J. Heines arrived in Odessa and came to the speaker's office, he immediately sent him to an authorized NCCS [4]. In his secret memorandum dated December 27, 1921, "Yuzhny" noted that the activities of the APA representatives were monitored closely by the employees and agents of the management of the commissioned NCCP – and even, "in order to keep an eye on all correspondence, the APA representative was invited to use our hardware for telegraph communication and our couriers to connect with Kharkov and Moscow." That is, in fact, the commissioner performed the chekist role of the correspondent correspondent. The above-mentioned document contained a resolution: "It's completely secret! Approve Comrade's line of conduct. Southern, what to report to him. 31 / XII" [4].

The commissioner held the cautious tactic in the future. Thus, in a memorandum to the Odessa Executive Committee in February 1922, he noted that it severely restricted the access of representatives of the ARA to information on the state of the economy and infrastructure of the region: "... I sought, in cases where the circumstances were not allowed to completely avoid giving information, to provide the latter is unofficial. Prof. Gatchinson, who asked for statistical data on the crop area and crop yields in the cultures of the Odessa

lions and the need for medicines and uniforms, were given in round figures without any signatures ... As for the information about the state of our port, which was interested in J. Heines, he I was sent by my local Foreign Trade to the head of the transport department, with whom he visited the port and received the necessary information from him "[4]. That is, the chekist line of conduct continued to be a priority and was associated with the APA's spy activity.

Starting from January 10, 1922 (the conclusion of the agreement of the Ukrainian SSR with the ARA), dozens of European and American charity organizations wished to help the hungry Ukraine, therefore on February 15 the VUTSVK adopted a resolution "On the work of foreign organizations to help the hungry". The general supervision over the implementation of the treaties of the republic's government with foreign organizations is entrusted to the Central Committee for the assistance of the hungry at the VUTSVK. To help these organizations and their communication with state and public organizations, the Ukrainian SSR approved the organization of an authorized representative office of the Ukrainian SSR with foreign organizations for the assistance of the hungry Ukraine. An authorized representative was appointed to the head of the economic management department of Kostyantyn Artamonov, and his deputy was a former commander of the international brigade of the Red Crescent of the Kyiv region, Julian Baskowicz, who embarked on fulfillment of their obligations on February 22, 1922 [5].

In parallel, on February 15, 1922, in connection with the decision of the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR on the representation of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR in foreign organizations, the Russian representation was renamed into "The Powers of Representations of the Governments of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian SSR at all foreign organizations to assist the hungry". Using this decision, the authorized representative of the RSFSR government at overseas organizations, Alexander Eiduk (a member of the VNK college, who became famous for his personal involvement in numerous executions), sent his representative Studenikin to Odessa, who began work in early March 1922 without the consent of the Ukrainian leadership [4]

In connection with the registration of the office of the authorized officer for work with foreign organizations, the VUTSVK on March 28, 1922, adopted a resolution "On authorized NKZS on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR", which introduced certain changes to the work of authorized NCCs on the ground. The scope of their activities was: a) Relations with all official representatives of foreign countries, located in the area of the Commissioner; b) monitoring the implementation by local bodies of treaties concluded by the workers 'and peasants' power with foreign powers; c) relations with local authorities in matters affecting foreign nationals; d) awareness of the People's Commissariat on the issues that fall within the competence of the latter; e) execution of all kinds of orders of the NKZS. In the area of activity of the authorized communication of local authorities with consular and other missions of foreign powers conducted exclusively through the authorized NCC [6].

As we see, relations with any foreign organizations are absent in the ruling, but there is a note: "Exceptions to this pact may be established by the NKZS" [6]. Apparently, the note and explains the fact that, despite this resolution, the commissioned NKZS of the Ukrainian SSR in Odessa continued to maintain contact with foreign organizations, as evidenced by the memos to the NKZS on work with foreign organizations of the authorized NKZS in Odesa

Mykola Lyubchenko (famous Ukrainian writer and a journalist, worked as an authorized person in February-July 1922) [7] and active correspondence with the ARA during August-September 1922 authorized S. Kozyura [4] (incidentally, the representative office of the NKZS in Odessa was located at: Pushkinskaya, 29) , relying on the fact that "none of the institutions, organizations or persons should directly address foreign missions, institutions or foreigners on matters within the competence of the NKZS, in addition to the Commissioner of the NKZS in Odesa" [4].

The desire of Moscow to control the southern "sea gate" of the country and the gradual restriction of state sovereignty of Ukraine led to the decision of October 18, 1922, the Central Committee of the CP (b) in the decision "On the curtailment of the apparatus of the NKZS", which commissioned the deputy heads of the NCCU of the Ukrainian SSR V. Yakovlev to begin negotiations with the NKZS RSFRR on the unification of the relevant commissariats [8].

March 23, 1923, the Central Committee of the Communist Party (b) U, in a speech by H. Rakovsky, decided to request the Politburo of the Central Committee of the RCP (b) to reconsider the issue of the merging of the NKZS, but at a meeting with the responsible employees of the national Soviet republics and autonomous regions in Moscow from 9 to 12 June 1923 H. Rakovsky and M. Skrypnyk were defeated. Already in August, the consulates and diplomatic services of the Ukrainian SSR were merged with the apparatus of the Union NKRS, the apparatus of the republican NKRS finally ceased to exist in accordance with the decision of the VUTSVK of September 20, 1923: 1) the NKRS of the Ukrainian SSR to reorganize into the administration of the authorized NKZS of the USSR in the Ukrainian SSR; 2) the diplomatic and consular missions of the Ukrainian SSR abroad were liquidated by joining them with the missions of the RSFSR to the USSR mission on August 5 of this year; and 3) authorized by the NKRS of the Ukrainian SSR in Odessa and Kyiv to be referred to as agents of the commissioner of the NKRS of the USSR under the Ukrainian SSR [9]. Alexander Shlichter was headed by the authorized USSR NCC in Ukraine (under the government of the Ukrainian SSR). To ensure the same interests of the Ukrainian SSR, her representative was transferred to the board of the NKZS of the USSR.

To carry out the consular functions in the Southern region were placed on the "Commissioner of the Commissioner of the NKZS in Odessa", subordinated to the commissioner of the NKZS of the USSR under the RNK of the Ukrainian SSR. The Commissioner acted in accordance with the orders of the NKRS of the USSR, as well as instructions of the SNK of the Ukrainian SSR. In some cases, Soviet Ukraine, having agreed with the government of the USSR, could act in international relations individually through its direct representatives. The Commissioner informed the Government of the USSR on the activities of the NCC of the USSR, issuing a ballot, a permit to use which was provided by the NKZS of the USSR. In the political affairs of the Commissioner's office, the Ukrainian SSR government was to be informed about Ukrainian emigration and change "directions". The relationship between the authorized and Ukrainian advisers of the foreign missions of the USSR should have taken place, in accordance with the decision of the Collegium of the NKZS of the USSR of October 24, 1923, under the control of the courtiers.

In the state of the agency of the agency commissioned by the NKZS in Odessa were: the assistant (agent) – 1 (position); secretary – 1; officer for orders – 1; accountant – 1; typist – 1.

Freelance in the agency of the authorized NCC in Odessa worked: driver – 1; Courier – 1; cleaner – 1; janitor – 1 [9]. Since 1929, only the issuance of diplomatic and official passports, their permission, the search for the necessary documents of citizens and their certification, etc., belonged to the duties of the authorized NKZS of the USSR under the government of the Ukrainian SSR and its agents in Kyiv and Odessa. According to the assertion of the totalitarian regime, according to research by I. Strelnikova, the institution of commissioners served as an organizational and political means for the strengthening and development of federal ties [10]. With the development of totalitarianism in the USSR in the 1930s, the activity of a diplomatic agent in Odessa was virtually nullified.

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Public opinion to ultimate 1890 (from the history of anglo-portugual colonial confrontation in Africa)

Vyacheslav Dolid

Summary

The article is devoted to one of the episodes of the colonial distribution of Africa in the late nineteenth century – the British ultimatum to Portugal of 1890. The focus is on the reaction of British and Portuguese society to diplomatic complications between the two countries. It was established the relationship between this event and the fall of the Portuguese monarchy in 1910.

Keywords: Britain, Portugal, colonialism, ultimatum 1890, public opinion.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the problem of the colonial distribution of South Africa has increasingly adversely affected Anglo-Portuguese relations. Both countries had their own large-scale projects related to the future structure of these lands. For England, the most important African project was the idea of creating a continuous strip of possessions from the Cape colony to Egypt, for Portugal – from Angola to Mozambique.

The claims of Lisbon to sovereignty over a large corridor linking the coastal areas of Angola and Mozambique with a continuous strip of Portuguese possessions were mapped materially into the famous "pink map", which became a means of generating a massive picture of its own empire. On the map the pink color was marked by the territories on which Portugal intended to present its "historical rights". Although this, according to the well-known expression of American historian Charles E. Nowell, "was faster to accept the desired for real, rather than solid possessions" [1, p. 136], the map quickly captured the imagination of people, becoming a kind of national symbol that embodied the patriotic myth, based on the idea of the revival of the lost imperial greatness. By pushing the "pink map", the Portuguese government tried to regain its status as a colonial state that was finally lost after the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, but the Portuguese axis "west-east" and the British axis "south-north" could not co-exist. Given the representativeness of historiography, we will not go into detail on the causes, course, and nature of the Anglo-Portuguese conflict. The purpose of the proposed study is seen in the comparative analysis of the reaction of British and Portuguese society to the ultimatum of 1890.

Since the key to understanding further internal conflicts lies in the field of international relations, it is worthwhile to dashed out the features of the Anglo-Portuguese relations of the late nineteenth century. In the 1880's, Portuguese colonial delusions were mostly latent, and the confrontation was mostly conducted at the diplomatic level. However, at the end of the decade, alarming news about the activation of Portuguese expeditionary forces in disputed territories began to emerge in London. Bilateral relations are sharply aggravated. The culmination came on Jan. 11, 1890, when British Prime Minister Robert Solsbery sent an ultimatum to Lisbon with a categorical demand to withdraw Portuguese troops from the territory of the tribes of Macololo and Mashon and the Shire-Nyas (Malawi) tribe, where the interests of the two countries were in conflict. The ultimatum contained a warning that, in the event of failure to comply with these requirements, London would break the diplomatic relations and apply force, for which the British ship *Ensantress* arrived there [2, p. 1].

The ultimatum has caused a lot of excitement in Lisbon. The Portuguese Government was aware of its precarious situation not only in the area of disputed territory, but also in the international arena. In a fierce colonial struggle, only with the help of Britain, Portugal could keep its relatively small but important possessions, both in Africa and abroad (on the west coast of India, in South China (Macao) and on the Timor island). Therefore, Lisbon has not found any reasonable alternative, except for completing this ultimatum. The State Council approved the following response from the government: "Faced with the threat of the inevitable breakdown of relations with Great Britain and all the consequences that may be caused, the Government of His Majesty decided to give in to the demands ... His Majesty's Government will consider the controversial issue finally settled in the case of mediation or arbitration and direct Governor-General of Mozambique orders that the United Kingdom demanded "[3, p. 212]. The answer to Lisbon provoked internal turmoil in the country, triggering a powerful wave of anti-British nationalist sentiment.

As you know, nationalism has been a powerful political force since the early 1880's. In fact, every state in Europe turned into a national one. Given the synchronicity of world history, Portugal was no exception, where nationalism ceases to be the doctrinal core of several liberal intellectuals who struggled with absolutism at the beginning of the century, turning into a true ideological cement of an entire "imaginary community". Several decades of relative political stability and the slow but steady industrialization of the country have had a significant impact on the consciousness of the Portuguese. The growth of national consciousness took place simultaneously with the emergence of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie and the urban proletariat. What Benedict Anderson calls "printed capitalism" has played a decisive role in the formation of a nation, when, due to the market boom, the widespread distribution of printed literature in national languages took place.

The nation building project was walking side by side with the construction of the empire. An important postulate of the national idea was the concept of the awakening of the motherland as an imperial state, seeking compensation for the past humiliation and the return of the long lost prestige represented by the former symbols and modern heroes. The interests of the restored empire were to be defended by influential institutions – such as the Lisbon Community of Geography, and, according to nationalists, antimonarchists and federalists, the Portuguese Republican Party, whose political events were soon advanced to the forefront of protest and agitation.

As soon as the news about the ultimatum became public domain, the Portuguese estimates of Anglo-Portuguese relations began to radically radicalize. Thus, in those days, the daily Portuguese newspaper "O Século" urged compatriots to consolidate and resist the British navy allegedly sailing from Gibraltar to bomb Lisbon. On the first cover of the publication was proposed to subjugate British ships, "the fleet of ruthless and cruel John Bull", patriotic artillery shelling. The article emphasized the support of this proposal by France, Spain and Italy [4, p. 1].

In our opinion, it is unlikely that Portugal in this conflict could receive support from the big powers. The fact is that the alignment at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 with a new principle of delineation of African territories conditioned subalternization of Portugal in a "European concert". The criterion for the division since then was not the historical rights to geographical discoveries, which insisted on Lisbon, but an effective occupation that met the

expansionist interests of the major colonial predators. The importance of the Portuguese factor was reduced as shagreen skin. The Portuguese Minister of the Navy and the Overseas Territories Antonio Enes makes indicative considerations. Here's what he wrote in his diary on the eve of the ultimatum: "England is about to settle in the middle of our possessions. Of course, if we sit with our hands, it will push us to the sea. Counting on European protection, in particular on Germany, is a complete absurdity. She does not even move her finger for us" [5, p. 411].

The ultimatum caused strong anti-British sentiment throughout Portugal. Supporting the Portuguese claims in Africa, the Lisbon press warmed up the anti-British reaction. Journalists, poets, writers, students, and the general public have protested against "gross violation of international law." At the conferences, street demonstrations, political rallies, countless poems, articles, brochures and cartoons, the English were portrayed as an insidious nation of pirates and mercenary traders, capable of the most evil and hideous acts against their longtime ally.

The social reaction was characterized not only by the harsh anti-British, but also by anti-monarchical outbursts. The policy of the monarchy was seen as an act of national betrayal. The King and the entire dynasty of Braganza were entrusted with cowards, routed trade in the holy Motherland for their own mercantile interests. One of the direct participants in those events noted their potential revolutionary nature. In the presence of a single political center, which would throw a decisive challenge to the existing government, the monarchy could completely collapse [6, p. 96-104].

However, the "people's movement", as it was called republican newspapers, represented a discrete continuum of protest performances of a wide variety of social, political and economic groups. In spite of the scale and turbulence, he, by and large, remained politically harmless. The protest was confined to calls for armed resistance, a nationwide collection of donations for the purchase of a warship, a boycott of British imports and sales of British products, and the harassment of British subjects, which, in particular, were a rejection of the latest in theaters and hotels. There were even suggestions to clear the Portuguese language from British borrowing and to ban the teaching of English in Portuguese schools [7, p. 385]. In short, everything that seemed English was persecuted and publicly defamed.

In this context, the article "Non-translation policy: a case study of Anglo-Portuguese relations" is of interest. [8] Her author is long known and well known in certain scientific circles. This is a professor of comparative literature at the University of Lisbon Joao Ferreira Duarte. Having systematized all the translations of Shakespeare published in Portugal from 1874 to 1900, he traced a certain pattern: all of them were published in the 1880's – a period for which the scientist proposed to use the definition of "the age of Shakespeare." At the same time, Duarte noticed a pronounced lack of translations inherent in the last decade of the nineteenth century. In addition to the libretto of Giuseppe Verdi's opera Falstaff, several sonnets and two plays, also devoted to the figure of Falstaff, no new translations or new editions of works popular in the previous decade, at that time did not appear. To denote the revealed trend, the scientist introduced the concept of "ideological embargo". The case described above is a telling example of what witnesses and participants in those events took the ultimatum as a strong blow to national dignity. Great Britain was associated with the threat to the integrity of the Portuguese colonial empire.

Of particular interest is the repertoire of performances made during the 1890's by the Lisbon Opera House. It is a question of the fact that Shakespeare's classic scenes adapted for the opera, in contrast to the printed publications, have not lost their popularity among the target audience during the post-revolutionary period. While the latter were suffering from an ideological embargo, Shakespeare's opera remained on the rise. Of particular interest was Hamlet, Ambroise Tom and Capuletti and Montecchio Vincenzo Bellini, Giuseppe Verdi's great Falstaff and Othello had great success. All the plays were kept in the repertoire for many years, and "Othello" in general today we could describe as a true cash hit [8, p. 105].

This state of affairs is explained by the place of the opera on the Portuguese market of culture and art, or, according to the definition of the famous French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, "the market of symbolic products". The fact that since its inception, the opera was intended for cultural consumption by the social and political elite, in particular the court of the king, the aristocracy and foreign diplomats, functioned as a "sign of distinction". During the British Occupation of the Iberian War, the Lisbon Opera House was considered the only place where entertainment, dignified tastes and the status of occupation forces were offered. In this context, it is perhaps not surprising that Shakespeare was in the epicenter of the struggle for power of two political groups: dynastic conservatives and republican nationalists. He was a source of irritation for the anti-British camp and at the same time brought pleasure to the "faithful", responsible for supposedly shameful capitulation of the country in the face of competing imperialism. In view of this, the protest route, which was followed by the crowd that gathered on the streets of Lisbon, was rather significant. As reported in the press, on the night of January 12, an angry crowd stormed the opera house with the demand to cancel the show. It was an act of overthrowing a cultural symbol embodying British values [8, p. 106].

In the United Kingdom, we also closely monitored the processes taking place in the international arena. The British press not only informed the readers about events that took place outside the Foggy Albion, but also influenced the formation of public opinion. From articles published in British newspapers on the eve of the ultimatum, one can understand how legitimate the British position was. In fact, the conflict was described as the logical conclusion of a long dispute, deprived of "raison d'être" (reasonable grounds for existence). On December 21, 1889, on the pages of the next issue of the liberal weekly *The Spectator*, an editorial entitled "The Dispute with Portugal" was posted, which, among other things, stated: "At first glance, it is absolutely clear that Portugal can neither colonize nor civilize such a large territory, and this is the first requirement of the European Conference, which has divided the territory of Niger and the Congo" [9, p. 872]. Similar mood was passed by most other editions regardless of their ideological and political orientation. The Conservative "*Saturday Review*" has defined the English position on this issue: "Although all international law is rather controversial, there is probably less controversy around points than the procedural steps needed to assess the legality of claims from other countries. However, without them, they can not do without an investigation and taking measures, at least, to stop some attempts to steal other people's possessions. In any case, there is not enough evidence presented in support of the Portuguese position" [10].

The political and diplomatic abilities of the prime minister were not overlooked either. During the crisis, January 15, 1890, the liberal "*The Guardian*" noted: "Lord Salisbury could

not claim less. This is a modest, moderate requirement. The Portuguese have to leave the country in which they have done so much evil and return to the limits of their own recognized borders. He showed that he knows how to use two complementary qualities at the right moment – long patience and a rigid solution “[10]. In general, the position of the liberal press confirms the fact that the expansionist and colonial policies pursued by the conservative government were not hostile to the foreign policy concept of the liberals. The key to foreign policy has always been the principle of bipartism – a common policy of the government and opposition in the international arena.

A similar position was taken by the “Scots Observer”, which reflects, as a rule, the views of the Conservatives. The reviewers of this periodical noted: “The incredible and categorical actions of Lord Salisbury at the end of last week are easy to explain. The Portuguese complain about their excessive tyranny, but they forget to mention the causes of the conflict, because our good allies themselves have called for these troubles” [10]. In addition, the British press almost immediately held parallels between riots and actions of Republicans. So, on February 19, 1890, “The Guardian” wrote: “No Englishman, despite his foresight, could not predict the storm that had arisen in Portugal over the Lake Nyas. This could have been triggered by three causes: the provocative nature of the southern peoples; self-flagellation of the Portuguese for long neglect of the remarkable colonial abilities; and, finally, the intrigues of the Republicans” [10].]

The Portuguese issue with a certain periodicity became the subject of active discussion in the British political and diplomatic circles. The factor that intensified the elite was the agreement on limiting the borders between Portuguese and British possessions in Africa, signed on August 20, 1890, but never so approved by the Cortes. On December 31, British Ambassador to Lisbon, George Glenn Petre, in a private letter to Salisbury, wrote in a private letter about the signing of the treaty: “Instead of the relative moderation of the general atmosphere (with the exception of, of course, Republicans who continue to entertain with lies and brutality), senseless chauvinism and hysterical patriotism came that, having made the object of ridicule all over the country and frightened the previous government, crowned with the stupidity of the refusal of the August treaty. Within the boundaries of the current borders, the current government has the freedom to act, since the extreme need for friendly agreement with us is beyond doubt in any of the parties” [10].

At the same time, the ambassador emphasized the hazy nature of the monarchy’s existence: “I fully agree with the statement of Your Majesty that the danger to the monarchy will prompt other states to order the word for Portugal ... of course, there was a moment when the Republican leader had the opportunity to overthrow the monarchy, but the Brazilian revolution approached it much closer than our dispute, and this opportunity has already been lost” [10].

Events in Porto forced him to abandon the categoricalness of his previous judgments. Recall that January 31, 1891 in Porto detachments of the Municipal Guard suppressed a military republican coup, which became the first protest against the monarchy. The protesters protested against the weakness of the crown, the government’s decisions and demanded the return of the lost status of a great power. In those days, in a private letter to the head of the government cabinet, Petr wrote: “The incident in the port is extremely serious, although the uprising was suppressed vigorously and dynamically. At the moment, everything is calm

and, most likely, it will be so soon. However, these events left a sense of danger and pointed to vulnerable places" [10].

In the British colonial circles, the August treaty also did not find unequivocal support. In this difficult situation, no one other than the prime minister of the Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes, spoke to the forefront. Continuing to live on plans for building a trans-African empire from Cape Town to Cairo, he reacted acutely to the possibility of ratification. On September 23, 1890, Roods sent a fierce letter to the State Department secretary to the Foreign Office of Philippe Curry, one of whose parts fully characterizes the position of the South African colonial administration: "I took the liberty to teleport you immediately to the Portuguese treaty in the hope that it is not too late, in order to correct the damage done. Now that the Portuguese cabinet has resigned, I hope that you will stop the process of ratifying this vile agreement, within which we will not only receive nothing, but we will have colossal losses" [10].

And he continued: "You gave half of Barotse, which was just officially handed over to us ... you gave all the Ghazaland. Today, I have a trustee along with the king and I expect the news of his acceptance of our flag every day ... You gave Manika. Today, my people are doing this too. They will not tolerate more, they will not continue to rule the hemisphere, and I hope you will draw Lord Salisbury's attention to this fact" [10]

Rhodes included in his arsenal a number of arguments relating to the "brutal management of Portuguese nationals subjected to the natives." In this regard, he stressed: "It is the nations of this sort that you have without good reason given half of Africa, and I can only record in the protocol your deep conviction that you will provide us with trouble in the future when this agreement will take place" [10]. Resume of Rhodes was as follows: "Finally, I can only add that if you value my activity at least a bit, you will ignore the Anglo-Portuguese agreement. I see nothing but troubles in the future if they are supported, and I do not think that I require too much from your department when I ask to take into account my arguments" [10]. As the August contract was rejected, all participants of the event agreed that under these circumstances it is impossible to achieve *modus vivendi* in the Anglo-Portuguese negotiations.

In the end, signed on June 11, 1891, a bilateral treaty fixed the borders of the Portuguese South African possessions: the western border of Mozambique determined a line at a distance of 600 miles east of the eastern border of Angola, which was determined only approximately [11, p. 254]. The Portuguese did not immediately digest the image they had inflicted on them. Anglo-Portuguese relations took a lot of time to at least calm down. Luis Pinto de Soveral made a significant contribution to the process of reconciliation and reconstruction of bilateral relations. In the late 1890's Portugal is experiencing a difficult economic and financial crisis. In 1897, after appointing an extraordinary envoy and plenipotentiary minister to the St. John's Court, Soveral began working on the possibility of obtaining a British loan, but on the road to these plans became Germany. On August 30, 1898, an Anglo-German agreement on the distribution of Portuguese colonies was signed, under which, when Portugal needed financial assistance, Britain and Germany agreed to jointly lend to it. It was agreed that the loan would be provided only for the provision of customs and other proceeds from its colonies: the British loan – income from the southern

part of Mozambique from the Zambezi River and northern Angola, and the German – from the rest of these colonies and the Portuguese part of Timor [12, p. 71-72].

It should be emphasized that the treaty was London's only tactical move to force Germany to abandon possible support for France in North-East Africa, as happened during the Congolese crisis of 1894, when London tried to get Leopold II corridor to the Sudan. In addition, for its eventual part in the Portuguese colonies, the German government promised to cease the support of the Boer republics. Of course, the ruling circles of England could not accept the prospect of a colonial strengthening of Germany. So, when on July 13, the Portuguese government began negotiations with France, Lisbon received full British support. The Anglo-Boer War also contributed to overcoming the conflict-related heritage. As a result, as early as October 14, 1899, the rapprochement between the two countries was enshrined in the Windsor Protocol, which confirmed the previous agreement on the alliance, first concluded in the seventeenth century. Under this treaty, Portugal received British guarantees for the inviolability of its territories both in Europe and abroad. At the same time, Lisbon has agreed to stop delivering weapons through Laurence-Marchez to the Transvaal and officially declare neutrality in the Anglo-Boer conflict [12, p. 93-95]. Soveral made a titanic effort working on the rapprochement of both countries. He has always found ways to achieve his goals. Ambassador skillfully used the close interweaving of Anglo-Portuguese royal ties. For a better understanding of his diplomacy, it must be stressed that the King of Portugal, Carlos I and Queen Victoria, were relatives. The Prince Consort Albert was the cousin of Ferdinand Saxe-Coburg-Gothic, married to Queen Mary II, the grandmother of King Carlos I.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Soveral contributed to the exchange of royal visits. In April 1903, King Edward VII visited Portugal. In November-December 1904, King Carlos made a counter-visit to the United Kingdom. In January 1905, Lisbon was visited by members of the royal house – the Duke and Duchess of the Konnautsky, and in April with Quebec Alexander arrived in Portugal to visit Portugal, which became the next step in the strengthening of friendly ties between the two countries. King Manuel II, who replaced his father Carlos I, who was killed in February 1908 on the Portuguese throne, met with Edward VII in November 1909, during which he was awarded the Order of the Garter – the highest Knight Order of the Great Britain. On May 20, 1910, he arrived in London for the second time in order to hold the British monarch on the last path. On October 5, 1910, after the fall of the monarchy, Manuel II had to leave Portugal. Shelter king found in England. The exile never returned to his homeland.

The prediction of Petre, voiced to the Prime Minister in the aforementioned private letter of December 31, 1890, was not destined to come true: "In my personal conviction, the security of the throne is not threatened by night, but unfortunately, he does not have the authority which I would like to wish "[10]. Indeed, given the inability to offer a new "contract" to various segments of the Portuguese population, the king and the monarchy have lost any value in the eyes of the subjects and, accordingly, the ability to mobilize resources for self-defense. Proponents of the republic, without a positive program, were strong in the destructive part, criticizing the monarchy, for which a powerful wave of republican patriotic propaganda put all responsibility for colonial and international defeats. Therefore, it is hard not to notice the direct historical line, which extends from the events of 1890 to the murder of the king (1908) and the overthrow of the monarchy (1910).

Summing up, we note: firstly, the realization of the imperial ambitions of Portugal, in particular its attempts to extend its sovereignty on the territory between Angola and Mozambique, has raised the degree of tension between Lisbon and London; and secondly, the British ultimatum raged in the country a powerful wave of indignation: on the one hand, the anti-British mood was widely spread; on the other hand, it greatly undermined the authority of the royal power, charged with national betrayal; Thirdly, the bitterness of defeat in imperial contests and the humiliation caused by it caused resentment reactions that ultimately led to the overthrow of the monarchy (1910).

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