The role of social media in the 2016 US presidential election

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Summary

Abstract. The role of social media in the 2016 presidential election in the USA has been scrutinized in the article. It has been analyzed in the context of further polarization in America.

The role of media fragmentation in this process has been underlined. The influence of Facebook, Twitter and other social media has been correlated with the Millennials – a new generation of young Americans. They are heavy users of social networks. Thus their knowledge and understanding of the processes of political communication, namely – the 2016 presidential election have been obtained predominantly from social media. The candidates used actively Facebook and Twitter but they differed in their use to connect with the public. The most successful in direct discourse with the electorate was Donald Tramp. A comparative analysis of user attention provided by Pew Research Center helped to find differences between how the public had responded to Donald Tramp, Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders and make conclusions that social media have become a serious tool for political communication during the 2016 presidential election in the USA. Studying the history of political communication in the United States, it should be noted that the eighties of the twentieth century, most of the population of this country was able to choose from three news evening broadcasts on national television channels ABC, CBS and NBC as the main source of national and international news . Each news broadcasts report provided mostly neutral coverage. This feed is more or less homogeneous ideological orientation news content contributed homogenization and mass political consciousness of American citizens. With the arrival of the new features of television (emergence of pay-TV, cable and satellite channels, subscription order individual programs etc.) viewers have more choices. Television media diversity contributed to fragmentation and, at the same time – the polarization of the United States. Viewers who have the financial ability to receive cable, satellite channels, TV on demand, those watching news programs that they like more. This enhances the differentiation of their political affiliation, adherence to some political programs and indifference to others. Since the country dydzhytalnyy exacerbated the gap between rich and poor, this factor also affects the polarization of society. Another very popular option in parts of the American audience – do not watch the evening news broadcasts, transmitted and traditional national television channels, and cable and satellite channels. However this time they visit entertainment. Another popular trend, especially among teenagers and young people – stay in social networks and obtain political information from there. Thus, through traditional and new media polarization of political preferences, so the gap between the right and left growing stachyye such that it is difficult to overcome. This trend is also among youth in social media [1]. That's why among the new political leverage on mass and individual consciousness of citizens is worth noting the increasing role of the impact of global social networks. Analysis of recent research and publications of foreign scientific papers shows that the commitment of young and middle generation of social media is growing rapidly in all the stunning kpayinah world. Comparative analysis features using old and new media in Germany and the US Dzheraldzom J. and M. Schaeffer give reason these researchers question the use of these

areas for the public sphere [2]. The development of social media compared with G. Reynoldom new social revolution [3] that defies global governance. Social media have penetrated all spheres of American society. They were, for example, an instrument of expression of the socio-historical process as collective memory, became a basis of studying the political power of social media such as technology aspects of government, public sphere, political changes in society, maintaining political image and more. For this article were particularly important poll conducted by Pew Research Center, which made it possible to operate verifikovanymy data on the electoral process in the United States in 2016 and to investigate the degree of influence of social media on political preferences of the American population, especially during the last presidential election in the US. Before the elections of the US president views of politicians, journalists and ordinary Americans converged on the fact that these elections will sometimes entertaining, sometimes irritating, but mostly interesting. And all thanks to social media. Getting in microblog Twitter with authentic replicas of presidential candidates in the US are not corrected newsmakers and music video director (whether by noisy "raids" on opponents Hillary Clinton, is unrivaled "trampizmy" Donald Trump or statements Bernie Sanders), became real "highlight" of presidential race. Most Americans converge in one: social media have presidential elections in 2016 so that did not exist until now. Based on data released by Borell Associates, in media policy budget about 9 percent of the cost is put to use dydzhytalnyh social media. This is about US $1 billion [4]. So in February 2016 was clear: whoever the candidates for the presidency is not won, the most social media will be the winner. During the election campaign is traditionally widely used large databases related to the political process in the US, including election campaigns. For example, such companies as DataTrust, actively participated in the electoral cycles from 2014 to 2016 [5], can provide the necessary information to interested organizations with information on 260 million Americans from all fifty states and the District of Columbia. The company TargetSmart is a political leader supplying data and technology necessary for the organization of successful communication with target audiences. Politically focused consultative approach embodied in this company because it uses data users, databases, data integration and consulting solutions for political campaigns. The company operates in the US market political marketing 25 years, using new technologies, which indicates the efficiency of its work [6]. Similar structures are able to monitor events and through other technologies during election campaigns to find people who are called influencers. This personality can influence the thoughts of his surroundings. Remarkably, even in articles and blogs American analysts, written six months before the US presidential election, noted: "To say that Donald Trump won the battle in social media – it's almost nothing to say. It is very likely that he will be the first president, who rewrote the rules of social media" [4].To imagine the enormity of this opportunity, let's consider some of its directions relating to the electoral process. For example, the company has CellBase – the largest and highest quality source of phone numbers of mobile phones, each of which is associated with the corresponding file voters. CellBase has about 125 million phone numbers that enables contact tarhetynhovoyu audience effectively. VoterBase – national voter file that has information about their contacts and voting. This file contains information 191 million voters and 58 million undocumented people that age, which gives the right to vote. InteliBase is invaluable marketing resource that has demographic, financial information and information about lifestyle than 200 million users in the United States. ElectionBase saves the election in the polling districts for the last three election cycles and is the best available database of historical election results, which only exist. ElectionBase – the main

tool for planning and budgeting campaigns and tarhetynhovyy key resource for political professionals. ElectionBase reveals what cost victory, and helps to deeply penetrate the essence of the processes occurring in the electoral field. ContrbutionBase is a national database of campaign donations, including reports on donations to candidates committees, individuals, groups and more. It allows customers to find the targeted donors using the latest and most accurate database of those who have made contributions to political campaigns. Companies have a unique information-oriented technology – ExactTrack, created in order to identify people and find them because of the large or small time intervals, even if they changed their names and addresses. No need to explain that such a database is in demand not only during political campaigns and not just for political purposes. Even the analysis capabilities of two leading companies to collect and analyze data on voters – TargetSmart and DataTrust – gives an idea of the degree of involvement of Information and Communication Complex USA to the preparation and conduct of elections. Generally, campaign 2016 with the US presidential election will be remembered as a campaign of video content. Voters have long tired with traditional political advertising in the media, and stage-managed video clips of presidential candidates. People want authenticity and direct video contact with candidates. As you know, the best platform that can provide this information without the media filter is a YouTube and social networks. Social media were willing to participate in the US presidential election. For example, one of the leaders of Facebook E.Lourens, talking about the benefits of video advertising, provided by candidates for president of his company, said that it is a great resource for communication and mobilization of each voter, candidates needed to win the election. "These voters – all on Facebook, as 200 million Americans use Facebook. Our company has a dedicated team that will meet the candidates and offer support in advertising services provided by Facebook" [7]. Those services are paid so well that each of the social networks get a tasty slice of pie at $ 1 billion.? Twitter – main character presidential campaign of 2016 – helped presidential candidate. He closed the application that allowed users to see the tweets that politicians removed from their blogs. So one could argue that search portals and social media did their best to become candidates that are even more necessary. According to statistics in June 2016 the number of people who use Facebook, rose to 1.13 billion daily, while calling on Twitter 313 million monthly users. Usually they watch news sources and social media. Thus, according to the Pew Research Center, in January 2016 44% of American adults said they get information about the presidential election in 2016 with social media. To please their users, social media like NowThis, Insider, Refinery29 (among many others) make their video news very short – from 30 seconds to 2 minutes. As a result, users watch this video and consider themselves sufficiently informed, even if the information consists of a short text and some quotations policy inflammatory nature. Taken out of context, reduced to sound bytes, these few sentences easy to digest, but they often can not be considered a reliable source of accurate information. However, social media users believe that received full information on the elections. There is another phenomenon generated by the use of social media, which is a free advertising platform for both the products and ideas. On the other hand, news from social networks can easily get to other media materials of journalists, due to the reader or viewer who does not use social media, give false evidence received through various channels of media resources. It should also be noted that the presidential candidates are actively turned to social media not only through free advertising. They are well aware that in 2016 the number of voters who are called Millennials (i.e. young people from 18 to 29 years) constitute 31% of the total number of voters. Clearly, this category

mainly use social media. So there was unbridled pursuit of their voices. Data provided by Pew Research Center for three weeks – between 11 May and 31 May 2016, – the following conclusions. Study 714 389 tweets and Facebook posts to say that Trump, Clinton Sanders almost equally enjoy social networks. But their messages differ both recipients and the degree of interest in them users of social networks. In Facebook Sundance Clinton used the "links" to cover the official passage of the campaign, while Trump – for communications with news media. Using Twitter, Trump did more retweets ordinary Americans, and resorted to it more often than Clinton Sanders. In Clinton every 4th post videos to appear, while Trump – each 10th. Sanders used more videos on Facebook, than on Twitter. Both social media when candidates mentioned their opponents, Clinton and Trump stood in opposition to each other, while did not consider Sanders. This shows that both Clinton and Trump did not consider Sanders as his real opponent – the main thing for them was a victory over his rival, whom they identified themselves to the principal. It should focus on the fact that different responses are users of Facebook and Twitter posts on the presidential candidates. This is evidenced by the category of "attention of users", which includes counting all their responses, including "like", "love", "angry", "sad", "haha" and "wow", that counted for two days to a week since the last post receipt or latest Tweet. Here is a table of data on each of the three candidates, which clearly confirms that Trump got the highest number of responses and evidence in support of users and to Facebook by "shares", "comments", "reactions", and Twitter (for the category "retweet").

Facebook	Twitter
Shares Comments Reactions	Retweets
Candidates	
Donald Trump	8376 5230 76885
Hillary Clinton	1636 1729 12573
Bernie Sanders	6341 1070 31830

Scientists from different fields of science observe quarrels of presidential candidates. They concluded that never before in the history of American politics "abuse," "retweets" or by pressing other buttons social media kept such influence on the course of the election campaign. "Psychological research shows that people really want to find like-minded people who have shared their political beliefs – says professor of communication and director of" Digital social media "USC K. North. – They do not just want to know what happens, but seeking to hear the views of others, to find people who think just like them, to tell them that their opinions are correct. This does not mean that people do not want to change their views, but they feel better when they find the people who support and agree with their opinion". [9] Researcher V. Reynaldo who teaches communications studies at Emerson College in Boston, says: "While social media allow people to be representatives of various political views, they still want to be part of an environment where their political thoughts constantly reinforced." "Social media democratize the process of searching for like-minded people with broad philosophical ideas and also help individuals with very narrow interests quickly and easily connect with other people who share their views – said Reynaldo. – Social Media is the most important platform for the generation of "Millennials." For these people,

in their own words, social media is a source of information most helps them to understand the presidential elections 2016. Social media becoming an active instrument of policy, while the older generation still relies on traditional media" [9]. However, Clinton campaign Trump and extended the power of social media not only to those categories of people who often use them. Because they create content that has a sharp news component (positive or negative), social media began to affect a much larger segment of the US electorate – even US citizens who are not attached to social media daily but feel their impact.At the summit of magazine Fortune "New generation of influential women" held in August 2016 in San Francisco, Executive Director of Public Radio International E. Miller said: "... the United States are now in the election campaign that takes place during the social revolution media. Technologies such Twitter and Snapchat provide candidates to speak directly with voters, opening new opportunities for candidates outsiders, who were previously dependent on the party and traditional media to publicize their message". In her opinion, it is in the development of modern communications. Moreover, the establishment of direct contacts between the candidate and the voter may help minimize power first checking the facts. Now candidates can not check what the media said about their performances, and directly convey their message to the voters – whether it was true or not – is constantly repeating it directly to voters". [10] Another influential person in the world of American media A. Wallace, executive director AlexInc, and media strategist of the corporation, said that the shift to social media prevents certain types of candidates – for example, those that are introverts, "Politics is not for introverts in the era of social media. The trend to victory – in direct, frank, those who communicate directly with voters – candidates type Trump. The potential voters with the candidate wants to talk face-to-face" [10]. Blogger R. Aiyar during the eight months before the election of US President spoke very eloquently: "To say that Donald Trump won the battle with social media will be a serious underestimation of the situation. It could be the first president who rewrote the rules of social media" [4]. Finally. On the night of the US president election majority of Americans followed the counting in states using channels. At the same time, 79% of voters under 35 watched the election results online. Additionally, 41% of the group watching the course of events using social media. In comparison, only 19% of voters aged 65 and older watched online the results of the elections, of which only 7% turned to social media. So we can conclude that the majority of voters used the television for news about the elections together with the parallel review of these results on the internet online. The percentage of voters who watched the news of the election, up to 37% compared to 27% in 2012. According proportion of voters who received information about the election results only on television, declined from 65% to 55%. Only a relatively small portion that followed the election results on the Internet, still doubled compared to the year 2012. In 2016 every 10th who watched the election results, making it online only (11%) [11]. Thus, the presidential race in the United States in 2016 ended of victory for Donald Trump, became further compelling evidence that the role of social media has increased unprecedented way, influencing electoral behavior of American citizens, the traditional mass media of the United States, the democratization of doing political campaign in direct contact with voters and candidates for the role of most presidential candidates use social media.

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US National Security Strategy under the presidency of Barack Obama

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Summary

The article gives a comparative analysis of the US National Security Strategy under the presidency of the Democratic administration of Barack Obama in 2010 and 2015.

The basic differences between the US National Security Strategy of 2010 and 2015 proved that the US national security strategy of 2010 and 2015 aim to maintain and, if possible, even strengthen US global leadership in the contemporary system of international relations. It is shown that the US National Security Strategy of 2010 and 2015 have much in common, and they focus on the application of the policy of "smart" and "soft" power, as well as increasing US influence in the world.Keywords: US National Security Strategy, the Obama administration, security, leadership, smart power, soft power, the newest technology.

Comparative Analysis of National Security Strategy (NSS) in 2010 and 2015 indicates that the US will not abandon the policy of world leadership, and even with new approaches and available resources, with the possibility of strengthening. In February 2015, US President Barack Obama presented Congress a new NSS, which was the second and last official and binding document that reflects the strategic vision of the democratic administration of Barack Obama contemporary world order, place and role of the US in it. This document is the first fast adaptation strategies of Barack Obama in 2010 to international conditions

change than the new strategic vision. US NSC 2015 fully built on the concept, formulated in 2010, the key points which have not undergone significant changes.The main objective of NSS USA in 2010 and in 2015 was the "renewal and return to the US global leadership." NSS United States in 2010 was aimed at laying the foundations of American power and global influence. It is based on the idea of "smart power," which was presented by the administration of Barack Obama in 2009 It is assumed that power and influence in the world begin to update the country. This is how Obama formulated the basic social priorities of his presidency: a strong economy, affordable education and health, energy security and innovation. In the US NSS in 2015 the idea of inner strength as the basis of the global impact of fully preserved. Thus the phrase "smart power" in the text is missing, as well as any of its variations that occurred in the previous document. This strategy is no conceptual part, all sections devoted to specific aspects of implementing the concept in 2010 The main idea of the document remains unchanged – the US global leadership. However, unlike Strategy 2010, which include the planned strategy of leadership, leadership is the strategy that is being implemented. It American leadership is presented as the foundation of global stability and security. This strategy did not answer the question whether or not the United States be a global leader, it is a vision of leadership as it is implemented and how it will be implemented in the future. [1] The leadership strategy implementation is fully moved from Concept 2010 – all the components of "smart power": a strong military, a strong economy, skillful diplomacy, universal values of the efficacy said US personal example. The new strategy also provides guidance to countries through joint action partnerships, coalitions and international organizations. US still reserves the right to unilateral use of force, but only in the event of imminent danger to national security. List of the major threats in general remained: nuclear weapons, climate change and pandemics. Place of terrorism, who in 2010 was the main threat, took a broader concept – extremism. The threat of the spread and use of nuclear weapons are still in first place [1]. Messages from President Barack Obama to the US Congress 2012-2015 indicate that the US as a global power and will continue to play a decisive role in world politics and provide conceptual and applied political and security strategies of the United States, affecting foreign policy is an integral part of the geopolitical interests of America. Solving the pressing problems inherited from the administration of George. W. Bush, Obama has offered a broad review of US strategic priorities, including restoring economic strength of the country, moral and innovative capacity. US should form a new international order and system of global institutions that reflect the reality of the XXI century in which "America's greatness is not guaranteed," Obama said in the "National Security Strategy" 2010 strategy in particular are four "national constant interests", "inextricably linked" to each other: security, prosperity, values and international order. NSS USA 2010 contains all the basic "program" the idea that the 44th US president voiced yet to nominate a candidate for the presidency of the Democratic Party in elections in 2008, first in his book "The Audacity of Hope," and then the article-manifesto "Update American leadership "in the magazine" Foreign Affairs ". US NSC 2010 positioned as a radical break with the legacy of the team George. W. Bush, who guided the unipolar vision of the world and unilateral approaches, distorting, according to Barack Obama, the idea of means of American interests, which led to a series of strategic errors, which caused a substantial, almost irreparable damage to American leadership in the international arena. Overall, the NSS United States in 2010 and 2015 Democratic administration of Barack Obama is very different from the NSC US under President George Republican administration. Bush and suggests carrying major effort to restore the capacity of "moral leadership the US," the

formation of pro-American world public opinion. SNB United States Barack Obama recognizes the value of partnership. It gives more importance to civil as opposed to military dimension and underlines the importance the national dialogue and the need to strengthen international institutions. The strategy also highlights the political aspirations of the USA to support the formation of an international order that can solve the problems of international security for the sake of US global leadership. Given the above, changes in the forms and methods of implementation of US leadership had an impact on imbalances that destabilize the international political system. The main differences between the US NSS 2015 and NSS 2010 is the use of neo-liberal principles to achieve US global leadership. US foreign policy is based on the model of global multipolarity, support liberal democratic reforms in other countries, enhance international organizations, increasing political role of developing countries, and focus on human rights. The strategy does not provide for preventive use of force without hard evidence and agreement of international organizations and does not contain a threat "Islamic extremism." The biggest external threat is considered weapons of mass destruction – especially nuclear. No country in the Strategy mentioned as a potential threat, and only with a terrorist organization Al Qaeda. However, the strategy does not endorse the doctrine of "world domination" USA. However, states that international security, reinforced by American leadership will ensure international peace, security and cooperation face of global challenges. Obama, defending the updated US foreign policy priorities of criticism from so-called interventsionistiv and isolationists, made in West Poyntskiy Military Academy May 28, 2014 on the next release of students, stressing "American exceptionalism" and the demand for its leadership in the international arena. US willing to use military force, if necessary – unilaterally if this would require fundamental interests of the country or be necessary to ensure the security of US citizens and allies. National Security Strategy of the United States in 2015 further emphasizes the leadership the United States than the last. In support of this in the preface to her, Obama said that "America must be a leader is an undeniable truth" [2, c.1]. Moreover, the content analysis found that the word "lead" and "leadership" mentioned in the NSS USA 2015 is almost the same as in the NSC US in 2010 (94 against 96), while almost half the amount of [3]. Continuity in relation to the US National Security Strategy in 2010 and appears in maintaining emphasis on multilateral approaches, as well as awareness of the limited possibilities of American leadership. While at the same time emphasizes that in an interdependent world, global problems can not be solved without the United States. According to the famous American scientist S. Chesterman, NSS United States in 2010 and 2015 by the presidential administration Barack Obama can best be described as the concept of "leadership from behind" ("leadership from behind"), the US first tested in Libya. Its essence is that the US is not removed from the solution of global problems, but their intervention is carried out on a limited scale and mainly for the purpose of mobilization of the international community to combat this or that threat. In this case we can talk about how the use of force (Libya) and acceptance of non-coercive measures like sanctions against Russia or Iran. NSS US in 2010 characterized the "strategic restraint." It was due to the realization of internal vulnerabilities US weakened the simultaneous conduct of two great wars and the economic and financial crisis of 2008-2009. The document openly mentioned the need to "live on the funds" and "reduce the budget deficit", which contrasted sharply with detached from fiscal reality doctrinal documents of the time of administration of George. W. Bush. The awareness of the vulnerability entailed and the statement of the need to cooperate with the "rising centers of power XXI century", especially in Asia. NSS United States in 2015, despite the above-

designated optimism also aware of "limits" of American leadership and the importance of financial and economic and technological component in its support. Difficult choice between many factors inside and priorities of US foreign policy just makes the desire to "avoid the surge of effort" that inevitably occurs when the USA "makes decisions based on fear." From this it is concluded that the need for so-called "strategic patience" [4, p. 2], which is key to the concept of "strategic deterrence". President Obama made in 2016 with the seventh and last report on the state of affairs in the US Congress. He outlined his vision for the United States in the near future. Obama, in particular, identified four challenges for the future: equal opportunities for all in a changing economy; creating technology to secure the future of mankind; formation of such US security doctrine that would not transformed the country into a world policeman; production of "politics of hope", designed to "awaken the better, not worse" in people. Being a leader, according to Barack Obama, then "help the poor and weaker" in solving global problems. In general, in both papers 2010 and 2015 the administration of Barack Obama moved the idea of "national renewal" for the "restoration of American global leadership." Leadership involves military power, economic competitiveness, moral authority, active participation in international political processes and so on. Thus, in the area of NATO security designed to realize "saving strategic initiatives." NATO plays an important role in keeping US involvement in Europe and in a wider context – multilateral globalization. NATO is the only institution that makes the acting US cooperative framework and deter them from carrying out unilateral actions. NATO enlargement, like EU enlargement or the WTO, apply to the historically peripheral region so that they are integrated in the economic, strategic, social and political terms in the zone "stability and democracy." Impact of NATO extends far beyond the range of countries, potential candidates through the "Partnership for Peace", which reaches from Central Asia, through the Mediterranean Dialogue – North Africa and the Middle East. Despite the priority use of force by States as an effective means to ensure its own security, a growing cultural communication, globalization and economic interdependence of the world leads to military resources supplement non-military factors of political action in the US generalized notion of "soft power." Harvard political scientist J. formulated. Hiring provisions on the effectiveness of "soft power" foreign policy powers is particularly important, as evidenced by Barack Obama administration policy. This is the phrase "soft power" is a collective symbol that reflects a purely American political outlook and approach to the understanding of the US non-military components of the foreign power state. US intends to continue to follow the principles of "smart power," which, according to J.Naya should combine instruments as rigid and soft power. Today the strategy of "soft power" is an important part of foreign and security policy. Given the status of the US as a global power that in the future will play a significant role in world politics, it can be argued that the use of "soft / reasonable force" in international relations affect the transformation of the mechanisms of international cooperation in the visible future. The policy of "soft power", according to Ukrainian researcher Alexander Lutsenko, "the strategy is implemented through the American hegemony and" soft "impact of the new character, aimed at domination of American values and US leadership in international relations, that is, to support basic principles of American foreign and domestic policies global and national community. " The strategy of "soft power" the US provides the full range of diplomatic, economic, cultural, innovative and information-psychological potential. However, in the opinion of the majority of foreign experts, the US is considered the most promising create an effective balance between "soft" and "hard" forces that use innovation strategy "smart power" as an ideological factor of international influence

[5]. An important element of the US National Security Strategy in 2010 and 2015 is "information confrontation", which is understood as a form of struggle parties representing the use of special (political, economic, diplomatic, military and other) methods, ways and means of influencing the news environment opposite side, and the protection of personal information field. Information confrontation is implemented through information operations. It involves the use of forces and means of information fighting for the preparation and use of US armed forces and includes activities top political and military leadership, government and military administration, the media, the relevant components of information confrontation aimed at training and the use of US forces, a favorable information environment and creating conditions for performing their tasks. The emergence and dynamic development of the global information networks, based on electronic technologies that represent different kinds of telecommunication channels, collection, compilation, exchange and dissemination of information allowed to use their potential for solving various kinds of government objectives. Managed formation of a global information space based on the most advanced technologies in the interests of the United States. At the same time increase US dependence on information and information systems and related their vulnerability began to create a wide range of threats to national security. Given these threats have evolved defensive aspects of information confrontation. By the beginning of the XXI century. in the US there were more than forty specially created organizations that were involved in the confrontation of information. A significant breakthrough science in the development of promising new technologies enabled the US information superiority over the enemy in armed conflicts. When information began to understand the advantage of the ability to collect, process and distribute the continuous flow of complete and reliable information, while making it difficult or prohibiting similar actions of the enemy. The concept of information superiority contributed to the "revolution in military affairs." Under it, American designers began to realize the practical implementation of advances in technology. New technologies have led to the expansion of local conflicts – from the traditional "battlefield" to computer networks, electronic databases television screens. National Security Strategy of the United States in 2015 commits the United States to protect and defend their national interests at the expense of a strong and sustainable leadership. It sets out principles and priorities for the use of American power and influence in the world. Nominated model of American leadership based on economic and technological benefits and values of the American people. It confirmed the US commitment to its allies and declared its readiness to contain and defeat potential adversaries. The strategy refers to the role of American leadership within the established rules of international law in the manner that works best when the powers and authority vested citizens of the state responsible and effective regional and international organizations. US has enormous potential beyond the capacity of all other countries, allowing them to adapt and recover from setbacks and difficulties. A key element of US power is unity and confidence that the American leadership will remain "intact" [4]. However, the National Security Strategy of the United States in 2010 and 2015 exposed more and criticism. It is reported that attempts to unilaterally solve global military, economic, ideological and political problems have led "surge" of US forces and the loss of their dominant role in the globalization process. In the integration component, in the context of globalization became clearly manifest disintegration vector – regionalization of world economy and politics. There is a potential threat to US leadership in the global economy. Urgent is the need to create a new NSS US. American political scientists have proposed a new vision of global leadership strategy: to announce peace

"without polar" and having control of key resource and a strategic perspective regions of the planet, in fact regain leverage global governance. The main goal is declared the spread of freedom and liberal democracy. In support of this disappearance is noted with a "defensive strategy of the USA 2008" one of the premier after the 1991 thesis that the United States in the near future will have global competition. The historical experience of the US in the previous stages of globalization have a major impact on the formation of the overall strategy of the state. It is believed that in the 1990s. In the US there was no "grand strategy" largely criticized President Clinton. But in those years the US had to use globalization as a tool to promote its interests. This process is reflected in the evolution of national security strategy from 1994 to 2000: involvement of expansion of global leadership and "American century." "Globalization of the American" was the actual strategy of the United States in those years. The events of September 11, 2001 were legitimate cause abrupt changes in US National Security Strategy. Global economic processes were in the shadow of the military component of US foreign policy. This is reflected in the birth of the doctrine of global domination George. W. Bush based on dramatic militarization of public awareness, international relations, technological progress, space and cyberspace. The American strategy of preventive action in 2002 dramatically intensified global arms race, refreshed after the Balkan interventions of the US and its allies. Huge resources were not involved to solve problems caused by the last stage of globalization, and to solve problems that often impede them. US – the world leader in introducing new technologies in the military sphere, holding the world championship in the process – including through conceptual consolidate this position in the National Security Strategy. An example of the US shows that the success of the state in globalization is not defined by any one part of the process – the economy, trade, control of financial, information management and natural resources management of demographic processes or opportunities to use military force in different regions. United States, like other world leaders facing a choice: either another global strategy based on their own interests and values or national strategy as part of the globalization strategy (globalization strategy) aimed at solving global problems. The processes of contemporary globalization gained momentum, and they can provide a new form and content of the consensus or by the main actors of world politics, or, again, because of the global cataclysm.

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Russia's participation in European regional organizations.Opportunities for Ukraine

Olena Snigyr

Summary

The article is devoted to the analysis of participation of Russian Federation in the European international organizations (OSCE, CE, CBSS, BSEC), its goals and the efficiency of use of multilateral platforms for the Russian international agenda.

There is considered the level of correspondence of the goals of Russia with the basic goals of the given international organizations and influence of the military conflict between Russia and Ukraine on the policy within the organizations. There are conclusions and recommendations for the Ukrainian authorities at the end of the article.Keywords: international organizations, foreign policy of Russian Federation, OSCE, CE, CBSS, BSEC.
Russian membership in international organizations is one of the priorities of its foreign policy. In Europe, the Russian Federation is a member of many organizations and initiatives, due also to the EU strategy, which included the maximum involvement of different formats of cooperation. Features of Russian policy on participation in international European regional organizations can be seen in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the Council of Europe (CE), the Council of Baltic Sea States (CBSS), the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). These four organizations to fully reflect the peculiarities associations in Europe – at the end, geographically, in terms of influence on international politics and the level of influence. Russian aggression against Ukraine showed features of Russian participation in them, exacerbated the problem aspects of the organizations themselves. In this context, it is important for Ukraine to understand and know the possibilities of opportunities for Ukrainian influence on this sphere of Russian foreign policy. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) The OSCE is the largest organization in Europe (including 57 countries in Europe, North America and Central Asia, has 11 partner states), the main areas of focus: preventing conflicts in the region, settlement of crises, conflicts, etc disaster. Today, the OSCE has mostly monitoring missions in conflict zones, monitoring elections and monitoring human rights in member states. OSCE, given the political influence, broad geographical representation and instruments of activity, is a priority of diplomatic activity of Russia. In 2 recent Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation 2008 and 2013 determine the main goal of Russian foreign policy in the European direction remains the same – "create a truly open, democratic system-wide collective security" [1], which is realized through the "transfer to legally compulsory form of political declarations of unity security regardless of membership in any military-political alliances" [2]. In fact, the purpose of – influence the decisions of the European countries and the EU, particularly in the political and security segment. Russia sought to acquire these rights through the signing of new legally binding international agreements, in particular through the reform of the OSCE with the provision of this legal personality. In January 2004 Russia proposed to create a single pan-European security space based OSCE, and in 2008 launched the initiative to create a legally binding Treaty on European Security. In response to the Russian initiative, Greece, at that time headed the OSCE launched "Corfu Process" to promote dialogue on Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian security and the prospect of the adoption of the charter of the OSCE [3]. The need to improve the work of the OSCE was perceived by all Member States, which resulted in general approval "Corfu Process". However, EU

Member States and NATO did not see the need for reformatting foundations and mechanisms of European security so as TES proposed project. Both ideas some time actively discussed, but now, given the recognition of European states of involvement of the conflict in eastern Ukraine, the credibility of Russia as a member of the common security space, significantly decreased and its position in the context of reforming the OSCE weakened, and the idea of TES general disappeared from the international agenda. Both the issue and empower the OSCE to provide the organization remains relevant international legal personality [4]. OSCE Parliamentary Assembly has repeatedly fixed the gross violation by Russia of international law, humanitarian law and international treaties. The fundamental principles of the OSCE (enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act of 1975) affected Russia back in the 2008 occupation of parts of Georgia and annexation of Crimea in 2014, however, because no legal consequences of such a breach did not include Russia and further extended its activities in the organization. Despite on the internal contradictions and crises in the OSCE organization is an important mechanism for monitoring and providing information from the conflict zone, including the area of hostilities in the Donbass. Today it is the only international organization with the opportunity to inform the international community about the developments in Eastern Ukraine. However, the presence of representatives of Russia in the settlement process and monitoring the Donbas is a risk factor. Theoretically, it is possible to eliminate Russia as the aggressor State from OSCE activities in the territory of Ukraine and decisions on the settlement of the conflict in Donbas. OSCE has the legal instrument – a principle "consensus minus one" [5], which was adopted by the Prague meeting of the OSCE Ministerial Council in 1992 and was used once in respect of the former Yugoslavia. But such a decision is unlikely given the impact of the principle of consensus in the OSCE and, in general, political and diplomatic situation around Russian aggression against Ukraine. As a result of aggression against Ukraine significantly decreased "moral" influence of the OSCE. However, Russia retains the required level of instrumental impact on the organization. Using the principle of consensus decision to allow Russia to OSCE only decisions that do not prevent its objectives. Council of Europe (CE)Russia wants to establish itself in Europe as the center of decision-making. Because Russia does not have enough influence to achieve this within the established international order, the Kremlin has chosen a strategy of its destruction. The success of this long-term project to reformat the European order is possible only if the loyalty European countries. The necessary preconditions such loyalty is the perception of Russia as not easy partner. Taking into consideration the inherent collectivism of European policy, convenient tool for Russia is lobbying her right collective decisions on European multilateral venues. Important European organization, which affects the formation of common approaches in European policy, is the Council of Europe. (Council of Europe – a purely European organization, which does not practice distribution of membership on other continents (with the exception of Turkey). Today, the Council of Europe includes 47 states. The task CE – coordination of the laws of participating countries to ensure the standards of liberal democracy laid down in the European Convention of human rights (1950) and the Convention for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms (1953). The main statutory bodies of the Council of Europe – Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly. Advisory bodies – the Venice Commission and the Congress of local and regional authorities of Europe. At Council Europe also has a European court of human rights). After joining the Council of Europe, Russia ratified the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities,

the European Charter of Local Government and acceded to the Convention on prevention of torture and inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment. However, for the entire period of membership in the Council of Europe, the situation of human rights in Russia does not get better and it remained one of the 10 countries in which working PACE monitoring mission [6]. Russia has repeatedly criticized by the Council of Europe for not fulfilling their obligations. Despite all the criticism of Russia retained all opportunities to influence decisions of the organization and suffered only short-term sanctions by PACE. This is confirmed by all the stages of the history of difficult relations with the Council of Europe:- In 1999 was adopted PACE resolution on the conflict in Chechnya, which condemned the human rights situation in the region, and in 2000 was made two recommendations, which stated that if Russia does not fulfill the requirements of PACE to end the conflict and human rights in Chechnya continued its membership in the Council of Europe should be revised. Then the Russian delegation was deprived of the right to vote, and the Russians in protest left the session and did not arrive to the next. In 2001 restored PACE delegation of rights.- In 2009 the PACE passed a resolution of the Georgian-adjusted, which condemned the Russian recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia. The Assembly did not support the insistence of some members of parliament to deprive Russia of voting rights and only limited demand to cancel recognition of independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia.- In 2012 PACE raised the issue of increasing the level of monitoring. Previously Moscow uneasily perceived monitored by PACE and insisted on its suspension. In 2012 PACE was represented by a large survey report on Russia. A few days before the session became aware of a number of delegations request to increase the level of monitoring that provoked a strong reaction from the Kremlin – State Duma Speaker Sergei Naryshkin has refused to go to the PACE session.- In January 2014 PACE adopted a resolution on "Magnitsky case", which stated that if the neglect Russia international requirements on this matter states CE Assembly recommend to apply targeted sanctions against individuals involved in it. Russian aggression against Ukraine and annexation of Crimea caused the greatest deterioration in relations between the Council of Europe and Russia. In April 2014 PACE deprive the Russian delegation of voting rights before the end of the year, participation in the governing bodies of the PACE and the right to observe the elections. Meanwhile, the Russians could participate in plenary sessions and in committees. The Russian delegation in protest left the Assembly. Re PACE deprived Russia of voting rights in January 2015 in the 2016 Moscow official said that the current session and will miss the return of the delegation sees possible only if all powers of recovery and create the necessary conditions for dialogue. Thus Russia has confirmed he did not intend to break relations with the Council of Europe as a whole. CE, in turn, declares a possible deprivation of membership, but did not dare to take this step, arguing that the loss of the final instrument of pressure on the Russian government and the loss of Russian citizens to apply to the ECHR for protection. Another important argument for the preservation of Russian membership of the Council of Europe is that Russia is one of the six largest payers to the budget of the Council of Europe. The total contribution in 2016 amounted to about 442.2 million euros. The contribution of the Russian Federation – 32.8 million euros. In fact, as the history of relations between the Council of Europe and Russia shows, the possibility of exposure to Moscow last limited to: 1) removal of the impact on European politics (what, in fact, is the removal of the Russian delegation to participate in the meetings and the impact on texts of resolutions to be taken into account by all European governments); 2) deprivation of membership in the Council of Europe, which would mean de facto recognition of the state, opposed the European space

of shared values. This formality may significantly affect the system of international relations in Europe, because in fact mean recognition of the failure of European states' policies maximum involvement of Russia." That is why the Kremlin is seeking to maintain formal cooperation with the Council of Europe. Russian authorities needed first to preserve the perception of the EU countries as a difficult, but the partner with whom you can negotiate. The decision of the Russian delegation about his absence at meetings of PACE is a common tactic in Russian relations with the Council of Europe, but today such a demarche allows PACE to decide on profitable Ukraine amended. Lack of Russians in session meetings, the committees of PACE and the sidelines significantly reduces the possibility of pro-Russian lobby, which is including the deputies – representatives of other European countries [7]. Institutions of Council of Europe is now certain levers of pressure on Russia. Using the tools of the Council of Europe, human rights activists collect evidence base and create the necessary legal framework for use of his country against the aggressor in international courts. [8] However, the conditions for successful lobbying of their own position, the same institutions of Europe are Russia's levers of pressure on European governments and tools of influence on European policy. The Council of Baltic Sea States (CBSS) and the Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) Russia's activity in small European regional organizations can be considered an example of cooperation within the Baltic and Black Seas. Council of the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization have much in common: the union based on a common economic interest, similar geographical features, the desire of participants to preserve the environment of the region and so on. Composition organizations such as – members are coastal states, some of which are part of the EU and NATO. Russia – the only country that participates in the CBSS and BSEC. Both these organizations indirectly, Russia is a partner of the EU, which largely affect its activities within the CBSS and BSEC. For cooperation with Russia in the Baltic region, the EU adopted a strategy of "Northern Dimension", and in the Black Sea region – "Black Sea Synergy". After the Russian aggression in Ukraine, the EU has made changes in both their strategies and cooperation with Russia sanctions. Thus, in the Black Sea collapsed all projects related to the Crimea, other than those aimed at supporting civil society and human contact. [9] Also, the European Council in July 2014 called on the Commission to review the program of cooperation with Russia in order to take a decision on the possible suspension of bilateral and regional cooperation programs between the EU and Russia. EU finally abandoned the coordination of its Baltic policy with Russia, on which the Russia insisted since the adoption of the EU Strategy for the Baltic Sea in 2009, leaving framework document for relations with Russia strategy "Northern Dimension", the updated edition of which stipulates that cooperation with Russia will be conducted within the "relevant conclusions of the European Council," and includes a detailed list of areas of cooperation between the EU and Russia. The main role in involving Russia in the Baltic region assigned and given to the Council of the Baltic Sea. Comparing Baltic and Black Sea regional cooperation, it can be argued that the CBSS is much more functional and efficient organization, compared to the BSEC. Importantly this is due to the consolidation of most of the Baltic region within the framework of the EU and the low impact of the policies of these countries [10], in contrast to the powerful position of Russia in the BSEC. For a better understanding of the activities of a CBSS and BSEC appropriate to consider these two organizations separately. CBSS is among the most ambitious structures of regional cooperation in the Baltic Sea region. In the Baltic region partners of Russia are: the Council of Ministers of the Nordic countries, the Commission for the Protection of Environment of the Baltic Sea (HELCOM), the Council of

the Barents / Euro Arctic region, the Arctic Council, the Parliamentary Conference of the Baltic Sea, the Organization of sub regional cooperation, the Union of Baltic Cities, Baltic forum of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, Baltic university program. CBSS has 12 members (11 countries + European Commission) and 10 observers (There is of 1992 members – Germany, Denmark, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Finland, Sweden, Estonia, Iceland and the European Commission. Observers – Belarus, England Spain, Italy, Netherlands, Romania, Slovakia, the USA, Ukraine and France). The organization has a strong institutional framework that provides for regular consultations at a high political level. (Supreme body CBSS – session of Ministers of Foreign Affairs (every 2 years). The sessions alternate with ministerial meetings of Heads of Government of the Baltic Sea. Presidency of lasting 1 year, the turn goes on a rotating basis. Russia was heading in 2013). First, CBSS had two priorities: 1). provide a common basis for the development of regional cooperation between partners who share a common legal framework and willing to pool resources (Germany, the EU and the Nordic countries); 2) engage Russia in cooperation through numerous institutional relationships – for example, between the cities and the participation of numerous regional projects. Russia's interests in regional cooperation in the Baltic region as a whole and within the CBSS, in particular, were in the plane of attracting financial resources for economic, infrastructural and educational projects – the CBSS is mostly considered Russia as a platform for diplomatic dialogue. The concept of sustainable development in the region, including the development of trade and economic cooperation and joint action on environmental protection, the development of energy and transport networks, support of democratic institutions, promoting humanitarian contacts – did not find understanding in Moscow. Differences in the definition of priority areas for regional cooperation show the difference in approach between Russia and its other partners in the CBSS. This is evidenced by a policy document presidency of Russia in the CBSS in 2013. [11] There is no mention of such important regional position as environmental protection and energy efficiency, and the four Russian priorities – two relating to regional cooperation in the areas of modernization and entrepreneurship, and two generally not liable CBSS is combating extremism and promoting visa-free regime. Russia's interests we can notice in the projects that it lobbied during the presidency: the agreement between Vnesheconombank and German state bank KfW common program of lending to small and medium businesses in the north-western regions of Russia (with a fund of $ 110 million); work was carried out to create a tourism cluster at the border between the Kaliningrad region and Lithuania; launched the project "Baltic Artek" and EuroFaculties development project in the Pskov State University. Instead, the project SEBA (Partnership for the modernization of the South East Baltic Sea), which is aimed at cooperation to accelerate the development of the Kaliningrad region and adjacent regions, showed unsatisfactory results due to the difference of approaches to the principles of its implementation – the Russians were ready to get finance European partners for implementation infrastructure projects, but the last disbursement conditioned reform of the legal framework and state institutions responsible for creating a favorable investment climate in the region and combating corruption and abuse of power. [12] In some areas the priorities of the Baltic states of opposite strategy: it is primarily on programs to diversify energy supply and energy efficiency and the introduction of new energy saving technologies. Instead participatory Russia promoting bilateral project with Germany – "Nord Stream". An example of the differences in the vision of strategic development is also the perception of Internet network Russian fields as the struggle for influence in need of state control and regulation, in

contrast to the European approach, which involves the availability of online networks as an important component of human rights. However, even in priority areas for themselves, Russia could use all opportunities of cooperation through the traditional barriers – protectionism, lack of legal guarantees, corruption and so on. This prevented full use of RF institutional mechanisms CBSS and led to prefer bilateral cooperation. To be continued...

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Hungarian way to European integration

Dmytro Tkach

Summary

The way, made by Hungary, to gain its membership in the European Union is analyzed in the article. It is noted, that despite the differences in vision of internal political development of the country, all Hungarian governments consistently carried out a policy of European integration of Hungary.

 It is emphasized, that namely the efforts of leading political parties of the country ensured success in this field. Drawing parallels with the present of Ukraine, the author shows how Hungarian experience on the way to the EU can be used by Ukraine.Keywords: Hungary, gaining membership in the European Union, the Hungarian governments, the EU, Hungarian experience for Ukraine. In 1999, Hungary became a member of NATO, which greatly accelerated the negotiations on accession to the EU. Hungarians initially transformations were convinced that European integration is the main direction of development. The integration of Hungary into the European Union consisted of four stages. In the first (1986-1990) Hungarians launched a dialogue with the EU and declared his desire to eventually become a full member of the European community. In the second (1991-1994) with the EU are actively working on the drafting and signing the European Association Agreement. At this stage falls as the definition and adoption of EU accession criteria by which assessed the readiness of candidate country to join the community. In the third phase (1994-1997), Hungary has submitted an application to take it to the EU. However, on the one hand, EU experts started the monitoring of the political, social and economic reforms taking place in the country, the Copenhagen criteria, on the other – the Hungarian Government, Parliament sought as soon as possible to implement the requirements of future membership community. Fourth stage (1997-2004) characterized by active negotiations between Hungary and the EU, whose main task was to develop practical mechanisms for accession to the European Union. The first phase began during the socialist era, when 1986 started negotiations at the expert level in Hungary and the EU. Their goal was originally only conclude trade agreements, but influenced by political and economic changes taking place at the time, the EU Council of Ministers meeting on 25 July 1988 has significantly expanded mandate for concluding the negotiations. In August 1988 established diplomatic relations between Hungary and the EU [1, p. 69]. The European Union is guided primarily by political considerations, wanted to first new type of agreement was signed with Hungary that topped reforms in the socialist bloc. This political move encouraged Hungary to strengthen the pace of change. As a result in September 26, 1988 with this government was signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation. The EU gave Hungary on reciprocal conditions MFN trade in accordance with the rules of the GATT. At the Paris Summit in July 1989 leading developed countries asked the European Commission to coordinate the program of economic aid to Hungary and Poland. This program was called PHARE (program of assistance in the economic restructuring of Poland and Hungary). Later it was extended to other post-Soviet countries. The main purpose of the assistance was facilitate the process of economic and political changes in countries in transition. The main areas of assistance programs was the development of the individual "strategy accession" of distinguishing priorities, specific actions and deadlines for their implementation, including in the field of market economy, democratic rule of law, social and regional policy, policies in key sectors of the economy (energy, transport, agriculture economy etc.), improving governance, fighting crime. As part of the PHARE program during the 1990-1994 biennium. Hungary has been allocated almost 516 million crowns. All requirements for EU funding programs help Hungary contained in the framework agreement between the EU Commission and Hungary

signed on 3 September 1990 [2, p.14]. Summing up the first phase of integration of Hungary into the EU, it should be noted that this was one of the most difficult periods in moving the country closer to the Union. Hungarians were under the watchful eye of the USSR, their contacts with Brussels camouflaged regarded as drift toward capitalism with relevant demarche from Moscow. Hungarian diplomats had no experience of negotiations with the EU, because their first steps along the way reminded one goal game. Do not contributed to European aspirations of the Hungarian and international situation late 80s. Although Hungarian politicians and anticipated collapse of the Soviet Union, but to predict what will replace him, no one dared. In August 1990, the European Council approved the proposal of the UK making the EU the European association agreements with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. And in December 1991 Hungary was among the first in the region signed the agreement, which entered into force on 1 February 1994 after ratification by the parliaments of EU member states and the National Assembly of Hungary [3]. Thus began the second stage of relations between the EU and Hungary are as associate member. This "European (associate) agreement" covering areas of national and Union competence and consisted of a preamble, ten chapters and applications. Although the implementation of the European Agreement had more than two years, but its trade and economic sections already entered into force March 1, 1992 under the special transitional agreement. As the agreement was preferential in nature, it also aimed at creating a free trade area between the EU and Hungary. The date of commencement of free trade (except for agricultural products) in turnover treaty defined the December 31, 2000 The idea of free trade is carried out asymmetrically, that the EU allows exemptions from the beginning, and Hungary provides benefits in return later. Association Agreement recorded the primacy of EU rules on competition regulation. Hungary undertook to adjust its laws in accordance with EU legislation. Gradual approximation of legislative base – one of the main conditions of Hungary's integration into the EU. Implementation of the Association Agreement supervised by specially created Association Council, which is annually held at ministerial level. According to the European agreement, Hungary started cooperation with the EU on a range of issues, including adapting its legislation to the integration of the EU, expanding ties in different fields of economy and foreign policy and culture. In early 1992 the European Commission submitted a heads of government of EU member states report: "Europe and expanding problem," commissioned by the European Council. It contained proposals for the organization, conditions and methods of implementing the Maastricht Strategy, it stressed the need to further deepen European integration, and new members were encouraged to exercise at the same time strengthening the Union. October 5, 1992 in Luxembourg, the first official meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the associated countries and all member states of the Union. In its statement, the parties agreed that European (associate) transactions facilitate integration of CEE. In accordance with the request of the European Council in Lisbon, the Commission in December 1992 prepared an analytical report "Towards the early establishment of the Association of Central and Eastern Europe", which became the subject of discussion at a meeting of European Union in Edinburgh in December 1992 discussion during the summit the integration of CEE countries to the EU contributed to the success of the summit in Copenhagen (21-22 June 1993). A characteristic feature of the second phase of Hungary's joining the EU was a significant improvement in the international situation in Hungary. Rid the dictates of Moscow, Budapest actively started negotiations with the EU. However, Hungarian diplomats under the influence of the "most important task" rapid entry into the Union agreed to almost all the requirements of the

European Union. The essential problem was the lack of clear criteria and membership aspirants for EU membership [4, p.3]. It is making the summit in Copenhagen a new stage of preparation of Hungary's EU membership. Based on the Commission's report, adopted at a summit in Lisbon and Edinburgh, the highest forum of the European Union clearly outlined a new framework for relations with the associated states. The most important statement was made in the communiqué of the EU, where the first officially recognized right CEE associated countries for EU membership if certain conditions that are called Copenhagen criteria for membership. Since that moment, the integration of CEE countries to the EU becoming a common purpose not only the associated countries, but the European Union as it was recorded in the texts of the Europe agreements. Thus, in Copenhagen stepped qualitative change in relation to the EU accession countries of CEE into the EU, and it was caused by those democratic and market transformations that have taken place in these countries. March 7, 1994 in Brussels opened a meeting of the Association of the EU, which on April 1 were asked to aspirant countries (including Hungary) give official statements to accept their EU membership. Since then, the European Union's relations with Hungary entered the third stage – immediate preparation for accession.The Hungarian government authorized the National Assembly, at the meeting where this subject was adopted unanimously, March 31, 1994 submitted a formal application requesting the adoption of Hungary to the EU. Since the signing of the European association agreement Hungary always led legislation to European standards. Government adopted in 1995 the Programme of legal harmonization concerning areas of law listed in the European association agreement. Activities to harmonize received a new scale after the European Council in Essen 9-10 December 1994 approved the strategy-associated countries during the preparation for their accession to the EU. At the same Summit decided to develop a "White Paper on the single market." The document approves the June 1995 EU summit in Cannes, called "Preparing the associated integration of Central and Eastern Europe into the internal market of the European Union." It contains a list of all legal acts necessary for integration into the EU single market, as well as recommendations on the procedure for their adoption. An application for a larger bulk of the book covers 23 sectors of the economy and social life of the movement of capital and consumer protection. This document provides a general list of the most important laws, which must be adapted national legislation of a candidate, the procedure for their adoption to ensure the participation of the applicants in the single market of the Union. It is recommended to create the administrative and technical structure to these laws came into effect and effectively implemented. Lists the lines and forms of support, committed the EU to CEE approximation of the laws of the legal system of the EU. Implementation of the main provisions of the "White Paper" significantly influenced the process of adaptation of national legal systems of most CEE countries to the Union law [5]. This conclusion holds for Hungary. In December 1995 based on the "White Paper" was developed by the Hungarian strategy to harmonize regulation of the internal market – the so-called Hungarian "White Paper". It includes strategic objectives related to the implementation of the recommendations of the "White Book" of the EU and the timing of their implementation. According to her, at the end of 1997 the Hungarian law was mainly brought accordance with the rules and laws of the EU. [6, s.153]. To prepare a draft decision on the readiness to join the Union Commission for the first time in its activities developed and adopted in April 1996 a detailed list of identical content issues (over 150 pages and nearly 1 000 questions) on which candidate countries for membership had to answer . In July 1996, the Commission received from Hungary completed forms with answers to

questions. In terms of the document consists of twenty-three chapters, which cover almost all spheres of Hungarian society. Incidentally, in 1997 published a book "Hungary in the 90's (answers Hungarian government on the issue of the European Union)" [7], which presents a shortened version of the responses that give the same picture of the changes that have occurred in the country in the post-socialist period. That is what completes the third stage of integration to the EU, in which Hungarians significantly intensified its dialogue with the EU. The dilemma or may not be an EU member Hungary transformed into question when exactly Hungarians become full members of the European Community. 15 July 1997 the European Commission adopted the document "Agenda-2000", which is one of the fundamental policy documents on further development of the integration process and EU enlargement. It outlines the political approaches of the EU institutions to cooperate with the candidate countries. "Agenda – 2000" was a programmatic document. He defined the objectives of the European Union to expand in 2000-2006. Its development was carried out under the so-called packet approach, and the components were the Commission's proposals on the central issues of European integration – the main activities of EU enlargement and adoption of the budget [8, p. 114]. 16 July 1997 the European Commission announced its opinion on CEE countries that wish to join the EU. The materials of the Commission underlined that Hungary consolidated functioning of political institutions, made the separation and determine the competence of branches between which established effective cooperation and thus created the basis for the effective functioning of the political system of society, provided free elections at all levels, which occur without significant violations changing power democratically through elections to the National Assembly, the opposition in turn can influence the political process in the country through parliament and other forms of expression, fundamental human rights in general provided, the media not controlled by the state. The European Commission drew attention to the Hungarians that the functioning of their judicial system needs to be improved as the fight against corruption. As for the policy in the minority, it is generally appreciating the positive achievements of Hungary for their support, the Commission drew attention to the problems Hungarian Roma minority, which, although they are resolved, but slowly. The fourth stage of the Hungarian European integration began April 4, 1998, when Hungary formally launched accession talks with the EU. September 8, 1998 Hungary submitted an EU conformity assessment requirement of Hungarian legislation Community volume of eleven sections. At the same time Hungary was the first candidate countries requested to provide her status transition in such areas as telecommunications, intellectual property protection in the pharmaceutical industry, consumer protection. November 24, 1998 the EU Commission approved the report on Hungary, which analyzed the processes of economic and political development with a focus on the implementation of the criteria for membership. The Commission stressed the importance of achieving decisive progress in adapting and creating the conditions for the application of the acquis communautaire in all countries applying for EU membership. Hungary has made substantial progress towards democratic transformation of society and come close to meeting the political criteria for membership. It was noted that in Hungary functioning market economy. December 13, 2000 in Copenhagen, Hungary completed its negotiations on accession and in accordance with decisions of the summit received an official invitation for full membership in the EU. Of great importance for the further entry of Hungary into the EU summit in Nice was 7-9 December 2000, which adopted an agreement that defines the basic principles of reforming the European Union in connection with the forthcoming extension. However, the ratification

process was complicated contract Nice than expected. In addition, in Nice was announced enlargement in 2004, but did not say what countries enter the EU. It was a decision to allow the candidate countries to participate in elections to the European Parliament in 2004, but not clarified who specifically. Necessary changes were laid out in the Declaration on the future of the EU, adopted at the EU summit in the city Laeken (Belgium) in December 2001 after the Belgian Presidency of the EU. After examining the reports on each of the candidate countries was adopted a list of states that may be taken by the EU in 2004, namely Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Slovenia. At the same time the EU has sufficiently strict monitoring of the implementation by Hungary of its obligations under the European (associate) agreement. 12-13 December 2002 Copenhagen summit the European Council made a decision to join the EU in May 2004 all ten of these states. This formally end talks between Hungary and the EU on full membership in the Union. December 17, 2002 the Hungarian Parliament adopted the decision to change the constitution in connection with accession to the EU. In February 2003, the Commission adopted a final positive opinion on the readiness of countries applicants for admission. April 12, 2003 in Hungary held a national referendum. Most participants (83%) were in favor of accession to the European Union. However, the turnout only 45% of voters. The most active supporters of the EU were residents of the Hungarian capital, more than half of them took part in the vote. April 16, 2003 in Athens at the EU summit, Prime Minister of Hungary Mr. Meddyeshi signed the instruments of accession to the EU. During 2003-2004 all 15 EU Member States ratified in their parliaments agreement on EU enlargement. First May 2004 in Dublin ceremony of admission of new member states to the EU, which was attended by the delegation of Hungary. In June and July 2004 Hungary took part in the elections to the European Parliament as a full member of the European Union. Thus, the fourth stage of Hungary's joining the EU was also not easy for Hungarian diplomats and government officials. It was during this period is difficult and hard work to correct mistakes made during negotiations in previous years. But in any case Hungarians lead the dialogue with the European Union in the twentieth century has as full members of the European Community. Regarding coordination of preparation for integration, the Hungarian general characteristic of corporate responsibility and government interagency principle. Problems are solved at one ministry can not be relied on Interdepartmental Commission for European Integration, which included representatives of ministries and other top state authorities. The Commission was called to coordinate the study of government decisions and determine the tasks related to the implementation of the European agreement. Preparing driving directions from the Hungarian side of accession negotiations was a major task 27 interagency working groups established under the Interagency Commission. An extensive system of institutions involved in the problem of integration to the EU, made it possible to effectively correct policy of Hungary in accordance with the requirements of the European Commission.It should note the development policy of the European community in Hungary gives grounds to say that the transformation of the international organizations located in Europe, and their expansion to the East was much more complex and long-lasting than expected late 80s of XX century. The burden of problems that determined the scale of the process, unresolved conflicts, not a high level of economic development of the aspirant and the need for serious reform of the institutional structure of the EU is a source of hesitation and inconsistency in the development and implementation of strategy of relations with Hungary and other countries applicants. Experience integrating Hungary into the European Union some extent useful for Ukraine, also declared a major foreign policy priority for the

EU membership. First of all, about the political and economic support future membership, something worked all governments and parliaments of the new Hungary. Without understanding this simple truth is useless to count on Ukraine's European integration in the near future. Thus, the implementation of the European course at this stage depends entirely on the willingness of Ukrainian legislative and executive authorities and society to political and economic reform of Ukraine in accordance with EU requirements. On the way to accession to the European structure Hungarians actively using its geopolitical position as a country that has borders with EU member, because of close political communication and economic contacts. It is extremely important for Ukraine in the Hungarian experience is fruitful cooperation between all branches of government concerning European integration. The difference between them in Hungary were only about tactics – strategy for joining the EU supported all government officials, parliamentarians and politicians. Creating appropriate integration mechanisms at the government, the National Assembly provided a practical process of implementing the relevant country requirements for future membership. Official Budapest from the first years of independence, paid great attention to creating a consensus in society on a full return to Europe. On the one hand, it took care of a positive image of their country in the West, on the other – constantly and purposefully working on the approval of the Hungarian public opinion that the membership of Hungary in the EU is no alternative and this is the only opportunity to get out of the systemic crisis in which the country got as a result of the failed socialist experiment.

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Generations and revolutions of the modern world

Tetyana Orlova

Summary

The article reviews general tendencies of modern world development from the demographic angle. Revealing the core sense of postmodernist processes (deconstruction, disruption of traditional grounds of social existence), – emphasized is one of its aspects, namely, the formation of the new social category (youth).

The numerous revolutions of XX – early XXI cc. can also be regarded as signs of deconstruction. Beside the transformations taking place at the political arena, there are crucial changes in the social sphere, particularly, "the revolution of growing demands" and "the silent revolution". All of them influence both the domestic policies of states and the international situation.Key words: postmodernism, deconstruction, generation, sociosphere, revolution, poverty, migration, social lift. The history of the modern world, originating from Discovery, can be seen as a history of the changes established views on life. For example, postmodernism is a special type of outlook that focuses on the formation of the living space where the main value is freedom in all. Postmodern consciousness focused on the denial of the norms and traditions. In modern socio humanities have thought about end era of postmodernism. But even if it is (something not all agree), the development of humanity can find a lot of its "fingerprint." First, it is the fundamental changes break the prevailing tradition and authority. In traditional society was not isolated single contingent of "youth" with its specific characteristics and needs. Youth as a new social category has entered the historical arena, beginning with the 1950-1960's. In the late 1950's. In the United States talking about beatniks – predecessors of hippies and punks future. In the 1960s there was a massive hippie movement – hundreds of thousands of direct participants and millions of sympathizers. In 1968 in France – student riots in 1970 in Germany – the terror of the young rebels of the "Red Brigades" and so on. In the middle of the last century leading Western countries enter a period of economic growth plus the so-called "baby boom" – an increase in the birth rate after the Second World War. The parents wanted to give their children the best, what were deprived in the war years. Increasing welfare of the older generation did early involvement unnecessary generation growing up the labor process. Complications production life require longer training. The period of receiving education increased initially to 10-12 years, and then – to 18-20. That time lag was formed – the gap between the period of childhood and indeed adulthood. This young generation eager to get out of life as much as possible and as quickly as possible, so as adults. The desire to "adulthood" and pleasures that are associated with it, was one of the impulses of the sexual revolution that began in the West on the verge of 1960-1970's., – just when grown postwar generation that rebelled against the dull social, political and sexual orthodoxy of their parents. In those years, sex without limits is the same attribute freedom as jeans and rock and roll. Rebellious youth raises his credo: "Who among the same sleeps, sits in the establishment." At the same time developed a cult of youth, increased nostalgia and envy older people who felt that the war had stolen them their own youth. It was just one aspect of an extremely complex social revolution, which then developed into a gender revolution, and then in the family. Currently these very important social transformations specific language is not coming, but only one of the consequences of gender revolution: the growing role of women in all spheres of life, including international. Who is the most influential political leader of Europe? In the middle of the last century among the important factors that determine the course began life anew in developed countries, and then in the less developed, added a so-called " growing demands " (or "revolution of rising expectations") concept which was formulated by the American sociologist D. Lerner [1,2]. Traditional society based on the principles of social realism – the temperate wills biographical design that could be practically implemented. That is expected that the new generation has not just repeat the criteria and standards of living "parents". This social realism is largely explained by the agrarian state of society in social and economic terms, and quality of peasant dominant culture that lined up on the basis of "Ethics sustenance" (horror of hunger – a constant factor in the existence of the

peasant world). The Industrial Revolution, among other things, has led to fundamental economic and social transformations. The emergence of industrial society was the result of the first mass production, and the society of mass consumption. This occurred primarily in developed Western countries where the standard of living for the majority of the population is constantly growing. In the late 1980s – early 1990s. through new media and communications information about the way of life in these countries spread world. The mass of people began to demand Western standards of consumption and consider them no intolerable violation of "human rights." The notion of "relative poverty", i.e. poverty compared to standard of living someone else who lives better. The slogan of the person who felt the suffering of unfulfilled claims was: "Such life is not possible!" Among the reasons that led to the collapse of the world socialist system and the Soviet system, it can be said to almost bloodless anti-communist revolution, and this can be put. Incidentally, in itself a revolution as such is a manifestation of postmodernism, because it breaks that existed before. A similar situation was in the Middle East in the XXI century and "rising claims" of young people have become a major driving force behind the "Arab spring" 2010-2011. When covered revolt Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, Mauritania, Jordan, Iraq, Bahrain Sudan, Lebanon, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, Syria and other countries. Historians have recorded that time, from which it all started: December 17, 2010 26-year-old unemployed university graduate Mohamed Bouazizi burned himself in front of the Tunisian city of Sidi administration. The act of desperation was a response to the fact that before the police due to lack of license to sell seized the young man tent, where he sold vegetables and fruit. Attempts to complain about the government ended what it thrown out of the municipality. The young man committed suicide (suicide bomber on Muslim beliefs, unless Shahid, goes to hell). Over the next two weeks, six young Tunisians committed acts of self-immolation in protest against hard life. In Tunisia and then in other countries rose a wave of mass protests. Committed suicide young men, mostly with university diplomas. For most of them did not find work appropriate to their level of education worthy of their expectations of earnings. "Social lift" for them were closed. Currently, we must bear in mind particular way of life in Muslim society, when the man required full financial support of the family, beginning from repurchase of the bride, her numerous relatives, placing a long marriage, housing and lifelong holding the wife and minor children. Frustration and sexual dissatisfaction – factors highly significant. The effects of the "Arab Spring" are multifaceted, from burning civil war in Syria, which has gained broad international resonance to powerful flows of migrants, which can not handle European Union. Clearly, the reasons are not only of the "revolution of rising claims" – intertwined many different factors. Similarly, young people performed a major driving force of the revolution not only in the "Arab Spring". Given the relatively short life expectancy in the past, it appears that young people have always been the main driving force of revolutionary movements. The following year – a century of revolution in 1917 in Russia, where according to the 1897 census 44.9% of the population were under 20 years old. According to the census of 1926 in the Soviet Union under the age of 20 years were 48.7% of the population under 25 years – 58%. The Bolsheviks were later called "political teens" but the effects of their activities on the international stage were grand. In the recent past of Ukraine we can recall the revolution on granite, which launched the Kiev students in October 1990, part of the struggle for an independent state. A striking example is the revolution of dignity, which began beating protestors young people November 30, 2013 moved the young generation "growing claims" to power, the desire to "live in Europe," Yanukovych regime neglected. The same situation inability to self-designate as sociologists

as "social elevator closed." Rhetorical question: "Do they opened now? Why do the vast majority of young people Ukraine aspires to go abroad? Who will? Who will build a strong state, respected in the world?". The older generation (though this category of our fellow citizens moving to many children who are settled in foreign countries, but they are a minority) in Ukraine, as in most developed countries (caught?), there is a "silent revolution" or "quiet revolution" [3, 4]. This is the intergenerational shift caused by the rapid aging of the population in different countries or demographic aging, which is defined as an increase in the proportion of elderly in total population. In economically developed countries in Europe affected the process in the last third of the nineteenth century. And fully manifested in the second half of the twentieth. At the present time there the number of elderly people exceeded the number of children and birth rates fell below the population replacement. The growth of the population caused by mass immigration, challenge perspectives of the European civilization circle, which seeks to return Ukraine. We have a historic barrier in demographic terms specified crossed at the end of the last century. The process of demographic aging affects the economic situation, the social sphere. But it can influence on the political sphere. This is most clearly manifested during the voting for the elderly, unlike young people – the most disciplined electorate. As examples we can mention "favorite grandmothers" of Kyiv mayor Leonid Chernovetskyi, who willingly gave their votes for the infamous "buckwheat" and rosy promises, as well as members of the Crimean referendum – most of them elderly, with expectations of great pensions and expectations "die in Russia". Since the middle of last century, mankind began to seriously think about the aging process. From 1948, UN includes these issues to their agenda. In 1982 representatives of the international community gathered at the first World Assembly on Aging in Vienna. October 16, 1992 the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration of aging. In April 2002, Madrid hosted the Second World Assembly on aging. In its final document – the Political Declaration and the International Plan of Action on aging – defined concept of productive, active aging, which has become central to the development of approaches to prevent the crisis of an aging society. In other words: the human resource that should be used, because without awareness utility demand a person sick and die more quickly. At the current stage of development of the modern world is not an essential element of life of any state is the social sphere. Positive characteristics sociosphere countries is the key power positions, including in the international arena. Ukraine to improve social policy is urgently needed and the condition of the respect of the international community, which can be not only in making the European Union the desire of other countries to develop cooperation, but in return temporarily occupied Ukrainian territory. Because in modern international politics plays an important role so-called "soft power", including the power of positive examples authority.

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Kingdom of Morocco: history of modernization

Pavlo Ignatiev

Summary

The article deals with picularities of Maroccan modernization in such fields as generation of "green" energy, agriculture and tourism under the rule of King Muhhamed VI.

The relations of Morocco with the United States of America, France and Spain as well as with the monarchies of the Gulf are examined.Keywords: Morocco, France, the USA, modernization, tourism, Green revolution, infrastructure, phospates. "Arab Spring" that began in the region of North Africa in 2011, did not become a factor of political instability in only two of its countries – Algeria and Morocco. And if the first one is actively used petrodollars and significant reserves that helped preserve subsidies and social benefits for the general public, the other on the path of economic modernization and is now considered one of the most advanced on the continent. Study Moroccan experience can be useful for other countries in Africa that have not managed to join the process of globalization and suffer from "Dutch disease" because of dependence on one or two export commodities. The purpose of the article is to identify the characteristics of modernization reforms in the Kingdom of Morocco after the "Arab Spring". Morocco is a large country in North Africa, which occupies a strategic position at the crossroads between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean and has a coastline in the Mediterranean and Atlantic. Due to the cold Canary Current is indicated favorable conditions for catching oceanic biomass, among which dominated sardines and mackerel. It is the only state actor continent that has a land border with EU member because it adjacent to the Spanish city enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. In addition, Morocco and Europe separated only 14.3 km Strait of Gibraltar. However, the country is de facto in the regional geopolitical environment, as its border with Algeria length of 1559 km closed since 1994, and the international status of Western Sahara, which was partially occupied by Moroccan troops in 1975, is still uncertain. The situation worsens that since 1984 Morocco boycotting the activities of the African Union because of disagreements between him and the rest of the members in relation to the question of Western Sahara. Under such conditions forced Kingdom overcome regional isolation and focus on the European Union and the United States as the main partners in the security and economic spheres. There on the area 446 thousand sq. km lives of 35 million people, who know several languages, because using local dialect of Arabic called "daridzha" and distributed among the tribes also Berber. Due to economic relations with neighboring Spain and colonial heritage in cities is quite a large percentage of people from among the middle class, who have Spanish or French. Kingdom of Morocco's independence from France was proclaimed in 1956 and, in contrast to neighboring Algeria and Egypt, this country has never been popular nationalist forces that fought against colonialism. Now it is a stable constitutional monarchy with a multiparty system where power belongs to the moderate Islamists. In 2011 under the influence of events "Arab spring" young King Mohammed VI, who took the throne after the death of his father Hassan II in 1999 allowed limited liberalization of political life, such as free parliamentary elections and the appointment of leader of the party winning the post of prime ' Minister. As a result, in the same year to power a Justice and Development Party led by Abdeliloyu Benkiranom, which has become

popular due to promises to fight corruption and increase the minimum wage. In the elections of 2016, this political party won 125 of 395 parliamentary seats, despite the fact that it has been criticized for serious shortcomings in the management [1]. Thus, Morocco has joined Turkey as the only country in the Greater Middle East, where the parliamentary race again victorious Islamists.The country has a number of tourism advantages. Atlantic Ocean near the coast remains cold throughout the year thanks to the Canary Current, which attracts tourists to Morocco in spring and summer when the rest of the territories of North Africa hot weather. Morocco has four "imperial" capital – Fes, Marrakech, Meknes and Rabat. In the old quarters of operating Souk – traditional Arab markets. 150,000th Fez is the most especially among the imperial capitals. It is Morocco current cultural center and home to the famous fez worn by men in the Ottoman Empire. The city, founded in the ninth century, has medieval medina, is best preserved in North Africa. Fez called "the city of 400 mosques and narrow lanes." It has 9400 old streets, so the average foreigner must rely on the services of a guide, not to get lost in their maze. Narrow street crossings are impossible to travel by car, so locals are used to transport goods pack animals. In the city limits there are large vats of tannin filled with dyes of different colors needed in the manufacture of leather products on medieval recipes. It was in Fez is the oldest university in the Arab East Al-Karaouine, which was opened in 859. In 1981, UNESCO added the first in Morocco is a town in the list of world heritage under its protection. Casablanca known for the largest mosque in Africa, named after the former King Hassan II. It was opened for pilgrims in 1993 and holds 80 thousand. Man in court and 25 thousand. Indoors. Its minaret is the highest in the world, because rises to 210 meters, and she made valuable local materials – with the exception of glass and marble imported from Italy. Foreign tourists also prefer the "red" Marrakech. Its center is the market square Jama al-Fna, where performances take place Bedouins, acrobats, magicians and various dance groups from all regions of the country. The city is located near the Atlas Mountains and is considered the "gateway" to them. 70 km from Marakkesha in the mountains is a famous resort Ukaymeden, the highest ski center in Africa, as one of its trails begins at an altitude of 3200 m. In 2001, King Mohammed VI announced the launch of the International Film Festival in Marrakech, out of this time is held for four days every year in late autumn or early winter. In 2015 the country's tourism industry has provided services 10.2 million tourists this indicator stood first among 54 state actors in Africa, ahead of major competitors – Egypt and South Africa. Among the foreigners, 3.3 million tourists arrived from France, 2.1 million – from Spain and 615 thousand. People – from Germany. Total earnings from services for citizens of other countries amounted to 5.4 billion euros, thus, the value of tourism to the economy is not inferior to developed car industry. At the end of 2015 in Morocco was 230 thousand hotel rooms and 950 travel agencies [2]. The political elite sees development opportunities in the field of modernization of passenger and ferry port on the Mediterranean Sea, establishing flight 'budget' airlines from the EU, the West African Excursions passengers using the airport name of Mohammed V in Casablanca on flights to Europe. Atlas Mountains are rich in copper and silver ores, but the hallmark of the country is still phosphates, since their depths lies 75 percent of the world's deposits. Today, three leading of these minerals are the USA, China and Morocco. In 1920 the country was set "Office Cherifien Group", headquartered in Casablanca, which eventually evolved into the largest African exporter of phosphorus and phosphate-based fertilizers. One of the strategic objectives of the state of phosphate companies are building factories in the major agricultural countries in Africa and Asia (India, Nigeria and Ethiopia) that will work on Moroccan material and will produce fertilizer to meet the needs of tens of millions of

farmers. Recently, EU members ponder to reduce imports of saturated harmful cadmium phosphate from Morocco, but the fear of rising unemployment in the country, which could lead to a large number of Moroccan immigrants in Southern Europe, as 19 percent of its exports are phosphates, so the industry is an important employer. As for other countries in North Africa for Morocco is typical offensive Sahara desert to the coast and the problem of drinking water. Due to water scarcity now only 15 percent of the land area may provide irrigation. Farmers find fertile western region and the rest of agriculture is limited. The problem is that 40 percent of the workforce employed in this sector of the economy, but it is not effective enough for its contribution to the formation of GDP does not exceed 15 percent. The main export crops are tomatoes and citrus shipped to Europe during the winter season. However, the country has to import large quantities of milk, meat, cereals, durum, oats and corn. Exports of agricultural products last year brought in 2.4 billion dollars, while imports impoverished Morocco 4.2 billion [3]. In 2008, King Mohammed VI launched the program "Green Morocco". It included investment in the restoration of oases in the desert by planting millions of seedlings of palm trees that stop the advance of sand; an increase in the area under olive and argan trees; to reduce acreage under wheat, which requires a lot of water and takes the lion's share of productive land; to help small farmers to supply pesticides and phosphate fertilizers, as well as promote sales of their products in cities; in building dams and reservoirs to store rainwater. Interestingly, Morocco and Chile are the two countries that actively use the grid in the desert for settling them wet with fog, but this unusual practice has not yet acquired a significant spread in the world. The need for phosphate exports, clothing and agricultural products actualized the need for modernization of ports. "Port Gate" Casablanca as the oldest port operation since 1906, is the main "window to the world" for phosphates country, while port Muhammediya in the region of Casablanca – Settat – specializes in servicing tankers and is the largest in Morocco refinery. It is located 23 km from Casablanca, and was built back in 1913. In recent years, industrialization of Morocco has generated demand for modernization of port infrastructure on the Mediterranean coast, which should make the free economic zone in the port zone attractive to Western producers that will produce products with high added value for its further export to Europe. Port "Tanger-Med" started in 2007 in the region, located 40 km east of the old port terminal in the city of the same name. Today it has in its territory four free economic zones where investors enjoy tax holidays. This infrastructure facility is located at a strategic crossroads between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, and therefore is the main supplier of the automotive and textile industries in Morocco European and West African markets. "Tanger-Med" has two terminals that are able to serve 3 million standard containers, but after the upgrade, due to enter into force two terminals in the second stage of the port, this figure should rise to 8 million units. In addition, the Company limits its use in railway capacity and storage of petroleum products. Morocco actively pursuing "green revolution", because the main problem of the region is the subsidies for fuel and food against the background of the lack of domestic energy resources. However, the Kingdom intends to abandon the energy of Algeria, which is its main geopolitical rival. In addition, the Western Sahara, much of which is controlled by the Moroccan forces, too expensive to exploit phosphate deposits located far from sources of power generation. Therefore, immediately after ascending the throne, King Mohammed VI has invited representatives of European companies in the region to create a proper energy infrastructure, thus supposedly from a legitimate control of Morocco over Western Sahara. Also for rural areas of the country characterized by recurrent drought, forcing local residents

to go to the cities in search of work. Only the presence of solar cells on the pumps that pump out water from great depths, allows farmers to abandon expensive diesel fuel and continue to live in their own land. That is why the emergence of alternative power sources will contribute to the industrialization of rural areas and even help solve the problem of water. Morocco has good conditions for launching projects in green energy, as the number of sunny days is more than 300, and the Atlantic coast is blown by strong winds. In 2013, King Mohammed VI inaugurated the construction of the first stage of the world's largest solar power plant called "Noor" (in Arabic "Light") in Ouarzazate on the territory of the Sahara. It will have 500 thousand. Solar panels on an area of 450 hectares. It is planned that the country will build three more similar objects with more power, which together with "Noor" produce more than 500 megawatts to power 2 million homes. Overall, in 2030 Morocco must provide 52 percent of its needs through electricity from renewable sources, and in the future could become a power exporter to southern Europe through submarine cables under the Strait of Gibraltar. Morocco also has nine major energy facilities that use wind energy. In 2014 on the south coast of the Atlantic was open farm windmills "Tarfaya" estimate of 1.4 billion dollars. Corporation "Siemens" delivered the 131 turbines to her that now generate 300 megawatts power. However, such a facility is located next to the city Akfennir has 117 wind turbines providing 200 megawatts through their electricity [19]. Maintenance of these farms will require investment in building infrastructure for the supply of spare parts. Therefore, "Siemens" decided to open the first factory in Africa to the manufacturing wind turbine propellers – 35 km from Tangier. In 2017, it plans to invest 109 million dollars in this venture, hoping that its products are supplied to five wind farms, infrastructure which is under construction and will be useful already commissioning objects. According to the government, 30 percent of the mosques in the country or 15 000 establishments must obtain alternative sources of supply for the next 5 years. It is, above all, the installation of solar panels on the roof and on the water heater, as well as connecting lean LED-lamps to illuminate the area of religious buildings in the evening. It is also a gradual transition of all state institutions to the power using renewable energy sources, taking into account the experience of the energy upgrading mosques. Morocco, which for decades suffered due to high gasoline prices, plans to significantly increase the share of electric cars in the car park, as the technology of their production is presented here with their factories corporation "Renault-Nissan", which accounts for half the volume of sales of such products in the world thanks to the popular model "Nissan LEAF ". In 2030 the country expects to use the already 700 thousand. "Green" cars and thus significantly reduce harmful emissions into the atmosphere. Modernization felt in the field of mass communications. Unlike most Arab neighbors royalty does not restrict internet access for public and so has the opportunity to "let out steam" in the election. Each Moroccan has mobile phone, and 10 million people constantly use "World Wide Web". Morocco is the oldest US ally in Africa. If Algeria since independence from France became an active member of the Non-Aligned Movement and repeatedly purchased Soviet weapons in large quantities, and Egypt official Washington bowed to peace with the State of Israel considerable financial assistance only in 1979, that Morocco has consistently focussed on the United States. In particular, in 1777 this kingdom was the first country in the world to recognize the independence of the United States. In 1943 in Casablanca met Winston Churchill and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, during which it was agreed on the organization of the Normandy landings. In the days of the Cold War with the King of Morocco tolerant attitude to the Jewish minority and did not take active part in the Arab-Israeli wars, which increased the strategic importance of the country

for official Washington. In 1990-1991 6 thousand Moroccan military were in Saudi Arabia as a part of a multinational coalition that was to protect the country from a potential attack troops of Saddam Hussein. After the attacks of "9/11" in 2001 the Kingdom actively supported the US global campaign against terrorism. For this reason, and given the friendly relations of the two countries in the past, in 2004 President George. W. Bush had made granting official status to Rabat, the main non-NATO ally of the United States and concluding with him an agreement on free trade. As a result, Morocco became the first state actor on the continent, which liberalized trade relations with the sole superpower and one of three countries (along with Egypt and Tunisia) are considered the leading US military partners. US says Morocco, where the visible signs of gradual transformation regime to democracy and reform active in progressive young king, a role model for the region of North Africa. In addition, the value of the kingdom increased due to the revolution in Egypt in 2011, by which Americans lost their traditional ally Hosni Mubarak, as well as the de facto collapse of Libya into several parts following the removal from power of Gaddafi family and growing influence in the region "Islamic State." In 2012 parties initiate a strategic dialogue on the Middle East issues, and in 2016 the US conducted military exercises in Agadir "African Lion", which was attended by US Marines. They are designed to establish cooperation between the parties simulate humanitarian and peacekeeping operations in Africa of the ocean coast, and also give the Pentagon experience of maneuvers in the region with climatic conditions similar to the Middle East. It is also important to emphasize that the Moroccan forces used American equipment, including aircraft, which simplifies the interaction between the parties. The status of the main non-NATO ally provides for the arms that are no longer used in the United States and partner countries for technical innovations MIC. In 2013 the American company signed with the Kingdom of the contract for sale of 222 tanks M1A1 "Abrams" worth more than $ 1 billion. Now, along with Egypt, Morocco was one of the two African countries, operating the main armored "Abrams", although the Moroccan model is not up to date. At the same time, its regional rival Algeria has received more than 300 T-90 tanks from Russia. In addition, the Kingdom commissioned in 2009 and three years later received 24 F-16 C / D Block 52 to counter Algeria with his Russian aircraft. In addition to its aircraft fleet were only old French aircraft F-1 "Mirage" and the American F-5 [28]. The European Union is interested in developing relations with Morocco. First, it serves the Kingdom "gateway" to the South African immigrants to Europe as it has a common border with the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. Secondly, it is the closest European state actor, in waters where available significant stocks of oceanic biomass. Third, due to the strategic location and low minimum wage (about 1000 dirhams or 100 US dollars) to open factories are profitable European corporations. Finally, Brussels concerned about distribution of hashish, for which raw materials are grown by local farmers in the Rif mountains. Based on these reasons, Member States are ready to contribute fully to the development and stability of the kingdom of its economy. In 2000 came into force, the Association Agreement between Morocco and the EU. King believes the main European market for sales of textiles and cars, which collect in Western corporations. Like Israel, the kingdom exports citrus fruits and vegetables to the EU Member States in the winter, employing the difference in temperatures. In 2015 trade between Morocco and the EU was estimated at 30.6 billion euros and were the largest members of its collective trade partners [4]. Moreover, overseas (mainly in the EU) lived 5 million Moroccans who in the same year transferred home to about 6.4 billion dollars. This indicator Morocco found itself in third place in the region of North Africa and the Middle East after Egypt and Lebanon as recipient of remittances [31].

One of the main partners of Morocco is the former metropolis France. In this country there are 1.3 million Moroccans, while 80 thousand. French in Morocco mainly employed as farmers who care for the vineyards and olive trees. The main merit of French corporations deemed transform the kingdom into one of the three largest car manufacturers in Africa, along with Egypt and South Africa. In 2005 the company "Renault" acquired the plant in Casablanca, there is now producing 62 thousand. Cars. In 2011 she opened a production of small cars at Tangier capacity of 229 thousand. Units per year. In 2016 this company was the largest in North Africa. In turn, in 2019 the corporation "Peugeout-Citroen" decided to build a plant near the port city of Kenitra 40 km north of Rabat. It will issue 90 thousand. Cars and engines for them. Exports of cars and spare parts brought into the country in 2015 5.3 billion dollars, and now they are the main export categories by value. With the emergence of dynamic car industry in the kingdom began to rise and production of metal, and there were tens of thousands of professionals with engineering specialties. "Arab Spring" has made Egypt as a regional rival uninteresting for car manufacturers, and Morocco has managed to position itself as a place where profitably sell products in North and West Africa, the Middle East and Southern Europe due to its favorable location and efficient ports in Tangier . The government allows for 5 years did not pay corporate tax automakers, opening plants in the country and prolongs the term "tax holidays" if they mostly export their products. In addition, suppliers of components in the kingdom can provide them not only Moroccan plants, but produce them for other markets in North and West Africa. Morocco is the first African example of a manufacturing industry of spare parts for aircraft in the region, which has never been traditions of aviation. Free zone "Aeropol" 30 km from Casablanca near its international airport today unites 100 companies, providing a profit of $ 1 billion a year. Owners productions bring with them trainers to train local labor, because it is much cheaper than in Europe. South-west city of Toulouse, located at the crossroads between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, can get aviation components from Casablanca region for several days, so expect the growth of interest from corporations located there "Airbus" aircraft building capacity to the kingdom. In addition, one of the oldest partners of Morocco is "Boeing", the board is interested in turning the country focus on manufacturing and supply of spare parts members of the African airline market. In 2012 Spain became the leading trade partner of Morocco, ahead of France, and now the Spanish market accounted for 40 percent of exports to the EU kingdom. In this country inhabited by 800 thousand Moroccans, a significant percentage are involved in agriculture in seasonal jobs. Important to King Mohammed VI is the Middle East region. Like Jordan, Morocco – one of two Arab monarchies outside the Gulf have experienced the "Arab spring" and have kept the old political system. That is why it is of interest from the conservative oil-monarchical states as possible ideological and military ally. In 2011 the region agreed to establish a working group which would examine the implications of the accession of Morocco and Jordan to the ranks of Gulf Cooperation states. They also formulated a five-year plan to help both monarchies that were to ensure their stability and protect the ruling family of popular uprisings [5]. In 2012 four countries in the region – Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Kuwait and the UAE pledged to allocate Morocco $ 5 billion (or 1.25 billion each) prior to 2017 the country annually fact gets 1 billion from the Persian Gulf, and a most aid package extended to Jordan. [40] Jointly fund "Wessal Capital", consisting of a small part of the funds of sovereign wealth funds of Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, is working on the restoration of the old city of Casablanca, and with its combination of road from cruise terminal that is being built along with the necessary infrastructure – an aquarium and hotels.

This fund was established in 2010 and has a capital of 2.5 billion euros, as is the largest in Africa. His work is in developing the tourism potential of Morocco through investments monarchies of the Persian Gulf. Now the partners act in concert in the international arena. Since 2012, Morocco, Jordan and the Gulf monarchy hold meetings of Foreign Ministers. Their members support the Moroccan position on the issue of Western Sahara autonomy instead of independence proclamation, regional initiatives against Iran and insist on the impossibility rebels – hutia – manage Yemen. Thus, despite the threat of the "Arab Spring", King Mohammed VI managed to find a way out of the situation by the division of powers in favor of moderate Islamists, who generally supported its program of radical modernization of the economy. Political stability, the government strategy of creating free economic zones near the modern port and advertising Morocco as advanced countries in the field of "green" energy provides this state actors need to appeal to international investors, despite problems such as low efficiency of agriculture, offensive sands of the Sahara the coast and the lack of commercial deposits of energy. Today, the Kingdom ranks first on the African continent among 54 countries for radical economic reforms and proves that within Africa can be cured of "Dutch disease", if there is political will.

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The religious factor in international relations

Alla Kyrydon

Summary

The religious factor became the center of social and political attention in modern terms post-bipolar world. There is an influence of the religious factor in the world politics. In particular, the article discusses the likelihood and possible consequences of converting religion in significant factor in world politics and investigates the importance of the religious factor in modern global political processes.Key words: religious factor, international relations, globalization, world politics.

Part 1.

In today's world, there is intense religious revival, to which it is reasonable to pay attention to academics, including Ukrainian (V. Yelenskyy, O. Sagan, Y. Kochubey and others). Thus,

among the series of events of the last quarter of the twentieth century which triumphantly returned to religion in the public arena and radically changed the perception of researchers, there are attack Islam, a new wave of evangelical awakening Catholic exaltation that gripped the whole world – from Latin America to the Philippines, and still incomprehensible to the end of new explosion of religion. Although among specialists in international affairs there is no common position on the explanation of "religious renaissance" in modern world politics, but most agree on the fact that this phenomenon should be seen as a response to traditional societies to the challenges of globalization, which ignores the specificity of the spiritual culture of people. At the end of XX – beginning of XXI century is increasingly seen massive return to traditional ethnic and religious values to the religious and civilizational unity of certain groups in the world as a kind of a new universe. The aim of scientific research is a theoretical analysis of the main trends in the evolution of the religious factor in international relations post-bipolar period. During the religious factor in international relations understand the interaction of religious values together with specific historical, political, economic, socio-cultural practices societies. It should be noted that the set of "confused lace our time" [1] does not allow any simplify the analysis of the role of the religious factor as a meaningful aspect of every religion can be defined only in considering it as a complex system, having its own structure. This system operates largely as separate components, its integrity, which, depending on the social and historical circumstances distinguishes certain components and characteristics. Thus, the religious factor appears as a complex hierarchical system [2]. Religion, nationalism and ethnicity, belonging to the category of concepts that have "closed" on the definition and content of which there is no consensus among researchers. These phenomena are rather symbolic and complex multi-system, effective in designing and modifying identities. [3, p. 6]. Nowadays religion is increasingly acts not in the form of blind faith or fanaticism, but as a kind of moral (or moral and ethical) regulator, means of social consolidation, the determining factor of identity formation of macro and more. Rightly recalled that talking about powerful potential of religion, Emile Durkheim pointed out: "… religion – it is an ideological mechanism that ensures socialization of individuals and society through integrity Sacralization basic designs." Instead, an American anthropologist and sociologist Clifford James Ґirts in the book "Interpretation of Cultures" examines religion (from the Latin. "Religare", which means "to bind, join, unite") as a cultural system and, therefore, defines it as system of symbols designed to create strong, lasting through and moods and motivations by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and environment concepts such an aura of reality that these moods and motivations seem to be the only real [4]. Religion is an integral part of the modern world, as has three units of social functions. First, religious institutions spiritual exercise for the faithful that shows itself in communication "man – God" in religious education, citizenship and more. Second, religious organizations involved in religious and secular special education, compassion and charity. Third, representatives of churches actively participate in social activities, promote normalization of political, economic and cultural processes of international and intergovernmental relations, solving global problems of civilization.The researchers analyzed the role of the religious factor in international relations as a complex system that appears in three dimensions: semantic, time and space [5]. The content dimension is the interpretation of the religious factor as a hierarchical system consisting of subsystems species – specific religions and religious movements, trends, sects, each of which takes place in structure. Time measurement allows analyzing the impact of the religious factor in world political processes in historical dynamics, identifying

genetic traits religions trace level of influence on the state of religious concepts and processes of international political space in certain historical periods. It is well known that historically the influence of religion on international relations changed. Especially noticeable and immediate it was in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages. However, since the XVIII century the role of religious values in political life is significantly reduced due to the rise of scientific knowledge, which helped to promote attractive alternative conception of the universe. In the twentieth century. based confrontation between the two superpowers was formally charged competition between communism and capitalism. After the collapse of the Soviet Union religion was again taken into service in competition between countries, resulting in a growing number of so-called local "conflicts of identity." Swedish experts M. Sollenberh and P. Vallentyn noted that among the 94 conflicts that accrue in the world during 1989-1994. Only four can be considered interstate [6, p. 190]. According to experts in international affairs in 1999, only 2 out of 27 conflicts were not "conflict of values". Regarding the time dimension of research scientists conducted primarily in the context of the interaction between global and regional territorial religious systems. Global religious systems formed by three world religions – Christianity, Islam, Buddhism. Each is self-sufficient ideological system, developing the internal logic is clearly structured geographically and organizationally, has a very clear hierarchy of elements [5]. Within the global religious system of territorial regional stand. They are defined within parts of the world, forming a religious area – forms of territorial organization of the religious life of the followers of regional religions that have supra-ethnic nature and cover a large area of the continent. In Christianity, they include Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy. Catholicism prevails in Latin America, where concentrated more than half of the Catholic world; More than one-third of Catholics account for Europe; one tenth – in Asia and Africa. Protestantism is widespread in North America, which accounts for 2/5 of the total number of Protestants in the world. In Australia, Protestants make up two thirds of the population in Europe – one-third, concentrating mainly in the north. Orthodoxy spread among the nations of Southeast and Eastern Europe, CIS and North-Eastern Africa (Egypt, Ethiopia). Within Shiite Islam stands that spread in Iran, Iraq, in the south of the Arabian Peninsula. In addition, the modern international political science divides the world on religious macro-regions. There are twenty of macro-regions. The nature of interfaith relations in their range has its own specificity [8, p. 94-99]. In many countries, the return to religion in politics is associated primarily with the search for national identity. That religious identity has become a strong foundation for many peoples of Asia and Africa, which are involved in the process of modernization (along with territorial – relationship with the land of ancestors – and linguistic identity). This modernization North and South confrontation turns into a confrontation between the Judeo-Christian world and the world of Islam [21, p. 51, 64-65]. American sociologists of religion on this issue aptly observes that "globalization breaks down barriers between politics and culture, but it also give impulse movements for identity and self-determination". The return of religion clearly demonstrated that, despite the relatively recent forecasts, the Earth beginning of XXI very few people who would not identify themselves with any nation or any religion. Events in different parts of the world challenge the paradigm of modernization, claiming that the modernization, social differentiation, personalization, integration processes in the economy and politics undermine the position of religion and lead to the decline of nationalism. If anyone predicted rising nationalisms development, it should be civil, largely secular, not ethnocentric, religious oriented nationalisms [8, pp. 266-267]. However, as Yelenskyy says,

everything that happened in the late twentieth century. Iran, Eastern Europe, Israel, USA, Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia, indicating a parallel rise of nationalism and religion and forced closer and, most importantly, consider the relationship of nationalism and religion. This reflects both the strong resistance to processes of globalization and modernization products and that modernization does not necessarily have to recruit Western forms. It also means that the connection of religion with nation building is much more numerous and diverse than previously thought [9, p. 81]. Symptoms of present, characteristic for the post-bipolar world "return of religion" [10] there are numerous examples of conversion to new religious movements and movements as Christian (conversion to Pentecostalism and Jehovah's Witnesses movement in post-Soviet and Latin American countries) and Islamic (the appearance of movements as "Islamic state", etc.) and other origin. At the same time there is migration of the religious traditions of their regions classical spread – for example, increasingly growing number of Muslims in Europe, while for centuries the Islamic factor here was negligible. On the other hand, Christianity migrated from Europe to Africa, Asia and Latin America. Nowadays, at least two processes of various kinds are developing: On the one hand – a strengthening of (distribution) atheism and agnosticism socially stable and economically developed countries. Thus, according to research World Values Service, for the period from 1990 to 2000 reduced the number of those who argued that faith is important to them:UK .... 16 to 14%;Spain .... from 18.6 to 15.7%;France .... from 9.6 to 8.5%. Or another example: in 1994, 95% of Americans said they believe in God, but in 2005 they remained 82%. In general, at the beginning of the second decade of the XXI century the world's 1.1 billion were atheists. World religions accept the challenge atheistic minded modern world in different ways to adapt to the conditions created.On the other hand – the rise of religiosity in the Islamic world and in countries in crisis and unstable social situation. For example, in Mexico, after the crisis of the 1990s increased the number of those for whom faith is extremely important – from 44% in 1990 to 82.5% in 2000. Among the main reasons for the growth of religiosity:decisive or influential events in the country or the world;increase in the level of economic and social inequality;falling living standards;too rapid changes associated with the high pace of globalization;the transformation of values in Western culture and more. At the same time, it is interesting that the demarcation lines between religions are change. In particular, Orthodox world is not monolithic cultural point of view, not to mention the lack of political consensus [9, p. 181]. Countries "Orthodox civilization" actually belong to three ranges of civilization – Western, Eastern and Arabic. [11] Considering the expression "return of religion" in Central and Eastern Europe, in any degree participated quasi-atheistic experiment B. Yelenskyy notes that the fall of the communist regimes there was not without religion (although it is clear that different countries this had attended various forms) and could not be accompanied by the rise of religious (again, in different countries, it had a different duration). However, differences in the development of the religious situation in these countries were much more substantial than might be expected given the long dominance in these countries politically and ideologically kindred regimes [9, p. 176]. In particular, all these countries shared was that all post-communist society began to play (on another level with new accents) the types of religious culture that existed here previously and were varying extent destroyed in establishing communist regime. This repressive political component was not the only factor in the destruction of religious cultures – a very serious role is played modernization, which carried out a kind of "socialist" way and to which different religious cultures proved different immunity. Common to Central and Eastern Europe was also the desire to break with that part of his past that

was associated with the humiliation of national and religious feelings of believers and religious oppression. Thus, on the ruins of totalitarian regimes, most post-communist states have declared a fundamental principle of their attitude to religion and churches are the values that prevailed in the democratic world: freedom of conscience and religion, the right to practice any religion or not profess any, and to freely express (alone or jointly with others). However, between declared principles and reality there are substantial differences. Coming out of totalitarianism, escaping from ancient state formations, post-communist societies of Central, Eastern and Southern Europe briefly went together and quickly went each their way. Even the former East Germany, which joined Germany and entirely, though not without problems, the West adopted legislation largely demonstrates otherwise than in West Germany, trends in the religious situation. Thus, characterizing the first decade after the fall of the Berlin Wall, V. Yelenskyy distinguishes three main types of religious and social development of post-communist Europe. The first type can be called Balkan, although it belonged and post-communist Caucasian republics – it is typical for the largest group of mostly Orthodox culture. One of its main features – a special privilege for the historic church (or, as in Albania, for the three main denominations); in some countries (Bulgaria, Armenia, Georgia, Macedonia) that the Church specifically mentioned in the Constitution. For this type have been (or still is) characterized also actual or even legal restrictions on religious minorities. The state's role in regulating issues related to the functioning of religious communities in these countries is very large [9, p. 178]. Immediately after the fall of communism, the Orthodox Church as the Church most performed here as a center of formation of a new – or rather, adjusted identity and become eligible for a special role in preserving the "serbskosti", "rumunskosti", "hruzynskosti", "bolharskosti" and so on and further developing nations. Moreover, this type of socio-religious relations are not confined to post-communist countries of Orthodox culture. Let us not forget also that the current confessional configuration in some countries this type created by the ethnic cleansing (Serbia, Croatia), many of these countries have gone through civil and interstate conflicts (for example, countries of the former Yugoslavia and the Caucasus), during and after which there have been gross violations of human rights. On the other hand, in the first decade of the XXI century some countries began to gradually move away or even radically broke with the restriction of the rights of religious minorities and incitement to religious chauvinism and intolerance that have characterized this type of socio-religious relations. This applies primarily to Croatia that in this period, not only geographically, but in fact more and more integrated into the Central European space. This also applies to Bulgaria and Romania, which since 2004 – Member States and therefore must comply with European standards in the field of freedom of conscience. But joining the EU is a serious test for the Orthodox Churches of these countries, for which a united Europe suddenly faced many new challenges, including not least to the problem of sexuality. The second type of religious and social relations that emerged in Central and Eastern Europe immediately after the fall of communist regimes can be defined as Central European. The system of relations between the state and the Church is quite similar to that which exists in Western countries [9, p. 182]. The third type of religious, social and church-state relations can be defined as the post-Soviet. This type is typical for countries such as Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine. He has:- Legal separation of church and state and the lack of any – direct or indirect – the official funding of religious organizations by the central government;- Consolidation of the legal equality of religious organizations before the law;- Relatively liberal legislation on freedom of conscience, which was adopted in the wake of romantic exaltation during the

collapse of the USSR, but was later revised and in many ways was much more severe;- Low efficiency of the legislative, executive and judicial powers, lack of legal basis, the trend towards the restoration of authoritarian methods of leadership of the country and the slow transformation of society, which, of course, affects the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms [9, p. 184]. One of the characteristics of the modern world is the fact that religion is impact of many conflicts. The situation in XXI century kept in force this trend. Specifically examples are events 2011-2012 ("Arab Spring") and the following years in the Middle East. Particularly acute is the situation now in Syria including activities caused proclaimed October 12, 2006 Islamic State of Iraq – military and political formations, whose representatives tried to create a new Islamic state among the Sunni north-eastern Syria and north-western Iraq. April 8, 2013 the organization was renamed the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant and extended its military and terrorist activities in Syria. June 29, 2014, she took the name "Islamic State" and declared itself a worldwide caliphate. Another example – "hybrid war" that from 2014 the Russian Federation to Ukraine is using, in particular, religious potential "Russian World". In the context of civilizational analysis S. Huntington researchers reasonably argue that there is a "clash of Russian reactionary, imperialist, post-colonial and post-communist psevdo civilizations of a free, democratic, prosperous and civilized world" [12]. Thus the Russian Orthodox Church serving as an instrument of civilization and cultural expansion outside the territory of Russia. In view of the above, it seems important observations A. Sagan: "Taking into account the religious factor is important not only in the analysis / the research of international relations, but also a basic aspect in the formation of the system of international security" [13]. Among the other trends we note the following:desecularisation processes and tensions between religion and secular culture;changing local and global religious and cultural landscape and the impact of these changes on spatial, temporal, dynamic parameters religious conflicts;the impact of migration of all sizes to change religious identities;processes of integration and disintegration of religious communities and social conflicts. The main trends of contemporary religious speakers also include the following:- Intensification of the missionary activity of traditional religions, the awareness of the importance of religious education (especially young people), familiarity with the teachings of Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism;- Some erosion, fragmentation of classical religious systems synthetic forms. For example, the interaction of culture of Africa and the emergence of afroortodox and afroislam;- Religious fundamentalism that preaches persistent rejection of modernity, criticism of social life, freed from the power of religion, and oppose the Western model of development and proclaiming traditional values. For example, the fundamentalist movement in India, Afghanistan, etc .;- Theology of liberation (liberation theology), which has spread in the developing world since the late 1960s. In this region, characterized by political instability, dependence on American capital, population growth and poverty, the Catholic Church is both conservative force and spokesman for the common people; – Ecumenical movement aimed at achieving mutual understanding, consolidation, compare positions of major churches and denominations of the important problems of modern life;- Interest in the esoteric, mystical, occult theories and practices. In particular, the large-scale synthesis of cultural and spiritual establish dominance in the world claiming theosophy, anthroposophy, etc .;- The last third of the XX century actively began to multiply new religious movements, totalitarian sects, destructive cults, mystic, satanic and neo-heathen community;- An increase of personal religiosity (it is the existence of a sort of "scissors" betweenreligion and the need of person in spiritual and emotional experience on the other

hand, and the rapid decline of Church attendance and participation in religious activities institutionl) and the like.

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Military and political goals of Ukraine and non-military means to achieve them in the XXI century: new tools of military diplomacy

Vyacheslav Tsivatyy, Ivan Ablazov

Summary

The article deals with military and political goals of Ukraine and non-military means for their achievement in terms of polycentric world order of the XXI century. Attention is focused on the features of the new tools of military diplomacy in terms of geopolitical realities and prospects of Ukraine.Keywords: foreign policy, diplomacy, military diplomacy, institutionalization, military doctrine, military and political goals, Ukraine. Problems of effective functioning of national security system today highly relevant for most countries. New security challenges generated by changes in foreign, political and diplomatic environment, requiring scientific and methodological support, development and implementation of relevant government policies and its political and diplomatic instruments that could ensure the security of society and state from military threats. Such policies are called national security policy. It is determined by the activity of the state and its institutions to prevent and neutralize threats to Ukraine's national interests in security. These activities are carried out through relevant doctrines, strategies, concepts and programs in various fields of national security in accordance with the law. Activities of States in the military

sphere of national security called the military policy. State military policy is part of the overall public policy directly related to the creation of military organization, its preparation and use for political purposes. The military organization of the state is a combination of public authorities, military units formed under the laws of Ukraine, which is under democratic civilian control of the society and directly aimed at protecting the national interests of Ukraine from external and internal threats. [1] Military doctrine is the basis for the preparation and adoption of military-political, military and diplomatic, military-strategic, military-economic and military-technical solutions, develop appropriate concepts and applications. Actually military doctrine is the ideological backbone of the entire military-political and military-diplomatic activities of the state (military policy) as one of the areas of general policy, political parties, public organizations and institutions. It concerns the interests of society and all government agencies. Political goals embodies the new political interests. In this context, the interest is a synthesis of objective need for the use of military force to ensure that the authorities in a certain area or certain areas of life. In the area of defense policy such interest is defined as a military-political interest. Such interests generally have national significance and belonging to priority national interests. These interests enshrined in Article 6 of the Law of Ukraine "On National Security of Ukraine" (as amended on 08.07.2015 g.) [1, p. 6]. Military and political goals is a set of beliefs and intentions, expressing the needs and interests of the military and political activities. Most distinguished two types of goals – long-term ideal (goals), which is sometimes referred to as strategic and short-term, specific (objectives), called operational. The first group – this is the ideal, the best possible system states ("Crystal objective") is mostly uncertain time interval and not always easy to operationalize. And the second – describes specific, achievable in the foreseeable future status. This group targets is the basis of short- and medium-term strategic planning. Conflicts occur not only between short-term and long-term goals, but also among the objectives vital and ordinary, between goals and means to achieve them. Therefore, any political decision – always a compromise, and the task diplomat or politician – to agree on the desirability of a possible opportunity desired. In other words, the state never reaches all targets and no implements national interests and values - it is impossible. This is one reason why politics can be seen as a set of actions to achieve the maximum possible in the particular political situation or to achieve the maximum possible the entire range desired. For this policy or diplomat often have to sacrifice some goals and interests for the sake of others – important. This requires clear priorities, i.e. a clear hierarchy of national interests, goals for their importance and priority. These priorities continue to become the basis for developing appropriate strategies at various levels. The formation of military and political goals affects many factors. Their interaction has a specific character for each state and changing over time. Each state has its own military-political and military-diplomatic objectives and identifies them in different environments of military-political situation. For the valuation of an effective strategy of military security should be as fully and objectively assess the totality of internal and external factors affecting its creation and implementation. Today Ukraine defines its national interests and priorities, is looking for ways to protect them, determine their place and role in the region and polycentric world at large. Solving these problems is impossible without permanent identification and analysis of factors affecting national security [2]. The main components of the national security of Ukraine belongs to military security. In this area, our country has achieved significant positive results. At the same time the historical experience (from Antiquity and the Middle Ages to the Present) shows that for military security must constantly monitor and assess the

military and political situation in the world, the region, particular state, to identify threats and new challenges that arise and to take adequate timely measures for their neutralization. Non-military means have great importance in solving geopolitical, regional, national, military, political, diplomatic, military and other problems. Their priority now is caused by the use of such interrelated factors: 1) the need to fill a gap in the theoretical development and function essentially non-military security tools, to determine their relationship with military means; 2) need a combination of military and non-military means in the settlement of regional and other conflicts. Scientists around discussed the conceptual foundations of substantiate enhance the role of non-military means in strengthening peace and security and to develop concrete ways, means, methods and forms of application. It should be noted that the domestic scientific research directly from our research subject is detected, while many experts in national security leading countries have long paid attention to this issue (R. Niko, J. Nyzynh, David Mitrani, R. Keoeyn, J. Knight, B. Busey, David Fisher, A. Kapto). The purpose of this article is to attempt to determine the areas of application of non-military means to achieve military-political and military-diplomatic purposes of the state. Modern war is a complex socio-political phenomenon that is part of the overall political and political-diplomatic process that consists of a set of interconnected periods characterized by a certain geopolitical scale (global, regional, local), and use a wide range of means to achieve them or other political purposes. The starting point (zero phase) is the political process of peaceful cooperation, which is the most favorable period in the development of society in which social contradictions are resolved exclusively non-military means, made positive life support person and functioning of political and other non-military means in this period excludes the use of violence. In this case, the peaceful achievement of political goals – for example, such as the redistribution of zones of geopolitical influence and resources, the right of control, clarify boundaries and so on. So is leaks peaceful political and political-diplomatic process in countries, regions and the whole world. But not always and not all policy objectives can be achieved through "soft" non-military means. [3] There may come a time when there is a need to continue the policy by other means. This is the reason for the transition peaceful cooperation in a new condition – with the naked confrontation when politics and diplomacy begins to be other, rigid non-military means. Military vehicles at this stage of the political process can only act as a factor of a hypothetical threat (show of force) or have short-term and limited use (retaliation). Active non-military use of hard drugs in combination with "soft" non-traditional (primarily with information) means the flow is the main feature of the lower phase of the war in the modern world. Naked violence, deformation of the normal life of a person and achieve a political goal by forced changes in the state of society constitute the essential features of this period of political and political-diplomatic process. Solving social and political contradictions in this case provides an opportunity to move to a new level of social development, while using deformation of the normal life of a person but without the use of military means. Failure or inability of politicians to solve conflicts without the use of military facilities leads to a transition process to a higher political phase, which is the actual war, since it is used armed violence is armed confrontation between the sides and the destruction of the normal life of a person – in this case military means acting in conjunction with the rigid traditional means, with the former playing the role of dominant power. This period ends after achieving military-political and military-diplomatic purposes, and is accompanied by the beginning of the period or the peaceful transition to a lower phase of the war in which military policy and diplomacy goes others, those that do not destroy the normal functioning of a person military means.

Changes in the nature of the confrontation in conflicts between states occurred and are occurring in areas expanding their spatial scale, changing relationships of time and the emergence of new forms and methods of action at sites of confrontation caused by the creation and emergence of new means of combating both military and non-military. Today most dynamically developing information or information-psychological tools, technologies and forms of confrontation. The current trend shift forms and methods of warfare in the information sector has led to the isolation of specific forms – informational confrontation. In a future war can not achieve its goals without constant implementation of information intervention as early aggression, and in wartime period [4]. Types of tools of confrontation and dynamics of their use depends on the quality of the course and development of the conflict between the warring parties. On stage appearance and aggravation of conflict rivals in the course of their interests is used, usually non-military means and their corresponding forms of confrontation. At the beginning of each of them seeking to influence the consciousness and subconscious of people and their behavior to undermine morale and sustainability of troops and the population of the enemy and at the same time to ensure a high morale and sustainability of its forces and population, seeking at this overpersuade commitment to the world community. This form of fighting known as moral and psychological confrontation or psychological warfare. At the international level applied and other non-military means confrontation, which the main actors are the official political bodies of state power and control of their political institutions. These tools include direct and diplomacy, which is a combination of non-military tools, techniques and methods of achieving the goals and objectives of foreign policy, to protect its rights and interests. The notion of "diplomacy" link art of negotiation with a view to preventing and resolving international conflicts, compromise and agreed solutions. With political diplomacy highest state authorities implement foreign policy and protect national interests. Military diplomacy is a specific branch of classical diplomacy [5]. Political and diplomatic confrontation in terms of increasing the role of law in international relations factors are increasingly in importance. The legal basis for the application of the principles of modern international order – the sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs. Closely related to diplomacy legal protection of national interests, which are based on and using diplomacy as well as bodies of information and psychological support, is a set of legal norms and principles governing relations between States and other subjects of international relations. The rules and principles of international law enshrined in the UN Charter, which forbids states to use force or threat of force, and requires them to any solution of international disputes by peaceful means. International law allowed only just war in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense against aggression. There is the International Court of Justice, whose main task is to solve disputes between states. International law governs the behavior of combatants in both the international and internal armed conflicts. By effective non-military means to achieve military-political and military-diplomatic purposes include the state economic means. The economic confrontation, as opposed to political-diplomatic and legal confrontation species that possess an arsenal of mostly peaceful means combines the totality of economic and military measures aimed at achieving economic advantage over rivals. It includes, on the one hand, rapid mobilization and development of its economy and its protection from the effects of the warring parties, on the other – measures of weakening and undermining the economy competitor. In time of peace or in time of conflict hybrid often used various economic sanctions. For example, the impact on the opponent termination of supply of raw materials, energy and other

material resources, and to address the UN – block major routes of supply from other countries. During the military conflict opponent wealth and means of production can be destroyed in order to undermine its economic potential and opportunities to conduct an armed confrontation. The content and sequence the implementation of various forms and methods of confrontation between opposing sides may be different. Non-military security tools – is essentially all that has state except for purely military, and international factors that can rely on to effectively counter military threats.First, it is a set of political, diplomatic, political, diplomatic, economic, scientific, spiritual and cultural, informational and humanitarian capabilities of the state necessary for its integration into the world community, the development of comprehensive relations that strengthen confidence, reduce military opposition, construct barriers to power politics. Secondly, these include peacekeeping elements of international political and politico-diplomatic system, relevant global organizations and movements, political, legal and ethical, world public opinion that direct the development of military-political and military-diplomatic relations between states in the channel to prevent wars and armed conflicts. Thirdly, an international authority and position of the state in the world community, its spiritual and moral image. There are about 200 species of non-military means to achieve military-political and military-diplomatic purposes of the state. Average arsenal of influence of politics and diplomacy on non-military and military reflects the nature of the historical process, a split operation states, societies and peoples in the course of resolving conflicting tasks related to peace or war. Non-military means is a set of social institutions (organizations), legal norms, religious values, information and technical systems for general purpose, used by the state in the internal and external relations to strengthen military security. They help attract additional forces in particular – the acquisition of allies and friends, mitigation and elimination of military threats and dangers (contracts, agreements, memoranda, transform enemies into neutrals, etc.), reducing opportunities aggressors (isolation, creating a negative image in public opinion, exposing plans, etc.). They act as substitute assistant and even (under certain conditions) military force. Each type of non-military means has diverse political, diplomatic and political and diplomatic tools. They are designed to perform specific functions and are divided into two groups for membership: a) those that are in the possession of the state; b) those held by the collective blog – international bodies and institutions (international institutions).The obligation to serve military security for these facilities seems clear and understandable, but mostly seen sided – only in positive terms. Diplomacy, including – Military and diplomacy, understood as the art of negotiating for prevention and resolution of international conflicts, consolidating peace, protection of the state. Trade as one of economic means is not only mutually beneficial exchange of goods, services, technology and spiritual values, but also creates invisible "barrier" for the wars and armed conflicts as common interests, needs, and actions will partner for peace, prevent dangerous complications in international relations and international relations. But non-military means can be used actively and preparation, unleashing wars and armed conflicts to undermine and weaken the military power, the destruction of war and the armed forces of a State. The ability to serve different, including opposite goals – a property all the means used by politicians, diplomats and countries. Real power non-military means, as of any other measured effects to which they can lead. At the end of XX – beginning of XXI century are equal in their effectiveness to the military, if not exceeded. Non-military means was possible to achieve these goals, previously achieved only by wars. Of course, we can not underestimate, but do not exaggerate the opportunities and non-military means as using

military means to fairly easy to kill. Non-military means are unable to directly confront the military and in need of protection. On the other hand, military power is ineffective regarding economic, informational, ideological, intelligence and secret subversion against the state and military power. In view of this fact, to achieve military-political and military-diplomatic purposes require complex use of military and non-military means. Neither they nor the other can not be divorced from each other to ensure peace and prevent war, to repel aggression. They compensate for disadvantages like each other and combine their positive qualities, creating the desired effect with advantages over the enemy, or some enemy country. Based on the possibilities of non-military means to achieve military-political and military-diplomatic purposes States should articulate their goals and objectives in the Military Doctrine [6]. It is important not only to give a detailed statement of the objectives of non-military means, but also specify their possible use in conjunction with military means. The increasing role of non-military means to achieve military-political and military-diplomatic purposes of the state due to a number of reasons. First, the revolution in the technical basis of these products as well as improving methods and forms of application. For example, the ability of the media to overcome any obstacles, borders and distances, the presence of the world's more than 3 billion receivers, 2 billion TVs, creating the Internet and so on. N. Provide the ability to reach every person on the planet to have influence on it, turn it to his supporter, or at least – by a neutral person. Regarding military clashes, they have now stronger wins in the information confrontation. Examples of military conflicts end of XX century and early XXI century clearly demonstrate. Second, the increasing interdependence of all welfare states from entry level to the system of world relations and the level of activity of international relations. Weakens the role of states in controlling the economic, informational and spiritual processes. The era when one state to another isolated from the outside world and control all information flow, passed. For radio, television and the Internet now there are no borders. Thirdly, the threat of total self-destruction in large-scale armed clashes forced the superpowers to focus primarily on non-military means. In order to operate effectively non-military means in favor of state security, appropriate state mechanism. This is evidenced by the experience of leading countries. One of the promising ways to achieve the objectives of military policy is to improve analytical capabilities and relationships at the state level, the modernization of military intelligence at the strategic and tactical levels, reduction of military intelligence and counterintelligence military in line with NATO standards. Enhancing the role of non-military means of individual countries depends on a number of objective and subjective factors. The objective factors are developed economy, high level of technological development, a strong defensive ability. Without an efficient economy and powerful army can not be a strong foreign policy, diplomacy developed economic ties and material leverage over the policies of other states, a sufficient amount of new information technologies, etc. But these objective factors will not work without an effective and active politics, ideology attractive, high art military diplomacy and the use of non-military means in favor of safety. Unfortunately, all these positions Ukraine as a young country, still very weak – she must learn to optimally use non-military means to solve their problems. A characteristic feature of modern war is a direct implementation in practice of conceptual views of the military and political leadership of countries through coherent system of executive bodies and mechanisms. It is assumed that impressive effect achieved by systematic focus on the object of confrontation all components of state power – political, economic, military, legal, diplomatic, ideological, scientific, and other information. In Ukraine's military policy is focused on the implementation of the principle of defense

sufficiency in terms of reduction of armed forces. However, due to its geopolitical position, it is the object of attention on the part of developed countries seeking effective implementation of its geopolitical and other interests. These circumstances necessitate finding ways to ensure non-forcible military security of Ukraine and priority development of forms and methods which, while not forcing the military source voltage supplied to current conditions in the high level of military security and improving the quality parameters of weapons and military equipment. One of these areas is certainly the use of non-military means and military-diplomatic instruments. The current military conflict management has significant set of tools (military and diplomatic tools) that can successfully resolve conflicts between opponents, including: joint programs for the military of countries in conflict; control of the arms race and disarmament agreements; application procedures for crisis management; the use of peacekeeping forces; measures to maintain peace and so on. The process of conflict resolution may involve both state and non-state actors (áktory).Relevant for today is an expression of the famous French diplomat, politician and historian beginning of XVI century Philippe de Comino to resolve conflict, issues through diplomacy, not in the fields of military battles: "You must beware of battles and not rely on the vicissitudes unless these battles be avoided." The same stands positions and his contemporaries – Italian diplomat and politician Niccolo Machiavelli. His views are reflected in the "History of Florence". In this work he proclaims and justifies the view that displays between domestic and foreign policy between the state of the country, its diplomacy and war, there is a direct relationship of that war – this time political life continued in other forms of certain policies. This idea, which today is quite trivial, in the XVI century was completely new. It seems that by the conflict the world has come to the point, where the time for convening a new international institution – a new pan-European Congress of Vienna, which has determined the rules of the political-diplomatic and military-political game. It appears that this Conference Diplomacy has become a new priority in the shape of the world's diplomatic toolkit called by polycentric resolve conflicts in the world of the XXI century. In the last 10-15 years, a few studies on the scope of non-military means to achieve military-political and military-diplomatic purposes of the state. It should summarize the domestic and international experience, as well as identify new range of non-military means in political realities of today that will enable rational solve urgent task in achieving military-political and military-diplomatic purposes.

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