

Kyiv – Brussels. Movement without goals?

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Summary

The article is about the possible scenarios of relations between Ukraine and the European Union, including the most problematic aspects that will influence on future developments. The results may be useful for experts and decision-makers in the policy shaping.

Keywords: Ukraine, the EU, Association Agreement, politics, visa regime.

Almost throughout 2016 there were continued violent discuss further prospects of cooperation between the EU and Ukraine, especially in the context of obtaining visa-free travel through suffering and disappointing news from the Netherlands. Consultation on the possible resolution of the issue of ratification of the Association Agreement between The Hague and Brussels continues. Moreover, the new 2017 will seek answers to questions that left a legacy of last year. Q1. Visa-free. Probably it will. But when?The question of granting Ukraine visa-free regime with the European Union remains open. Ukrainian authorities for his decision was and remains the most desirable because it can provide an opportunity to reach a logical conclusion of many years of negotiations and report on the implementation of the Action Plan on visa liberalization. However, more importantly to Ukrainian citizens were able, for the first time, almost feel concrete benefits for themselves from the process of European integration. At the same time, European officials for this topic is quite complicated. On the one hand, they were given a promise that if Ukraine will fulfill all the conditions for visa-free will. In addition, when such promises were given, the situation within the EU radically different from today's. The crisis of migrants that are still pending makes major adjustments not only to EU policy, but also in the political situation in the Member States. Simply put, European politicians are afraid to take responsibility for any problems that may arise in the future, when the number of migrants, including Ukraine, will increase. To find the optimal solutions were involved in the most serious instrument of European policy – the bureaucracy that slowed down the approval process at the institutional level, the proposal to abolish the visa regime with Ukraine. This same bureaucracy developed innovation which is called "visa suspension mechanism". Tool withdrawal of visa-free regime is intended to serve as a calming pill not only for European officials, but citizens of the member countries are overwhelmingly skeptical accept visa liberalization. The basic idea – the ability to control the internal situation of migration policy and use this instrument as a method of impact on the performance of countries that received visa-free, objectives defined by bilateral agreements and obligations. Within the walls of the EC was more optimistic than in other institutions, and had suggested that the process could be complete by the end of December 2016. However, there is the European Parliament, a little more cautious in their forecasts. They remind us of the possible political consequences of the decision to Ukrainian visa-free in 2017, especially in the context of the elections to be held in key countries like the Netherlands (March), France (April) and Germany (August or September). Q2. Groundless expectations?It is extremely important to understand the ultimate goal in the process. If the goal is clearly defined and is in range, you can build a strategy and tactics to achieve it. Relations between Ukraine and the EU have experienced several stages. With independence, the format of relations governed by the Agreement on

Partnership and Cooperation (1994) – is a framework that reflects key areas for bilateral relations and a hint of strategic objectives. The replacement came to the Association Agreement between Ukraine and the EU, which as of today defines the agenda for cooperation. This ambitious document containing serious commitment, especially for Ukraine, legislative approximation to EU law and the creation of appropriate conditions to deepen mutual trade relations. However, there are some serious risks. For the Agreement to fully take effect, it must ratify all 28-member states. Currently, there are 27 ratifications. Not enough of the Netherlands, whose citizens in their referendum decided to deny Ukraine. Recent statements by the Prime Rytte not add optimism. Euro optimists say, "So what's the problem? Most provisions of the Agreement are today, you should only have the desire to perform and engage in real reforms." But euro pragmatics note that without the completion of all necessary procedures, talking about implementing a full format is not necessary. Another risk has a purely domestic nature. Some asymmetry Agreement may become a serious obstacle to the full implementation of all necessary commitments Ukraine. We should have had earlier admitted that the lack of coherent coordination mechanism at the institutional level, sufficient human capacity and political will for making fundamental decisions implementation process can be retarded. When heated speeches about his achievements are not reflected in actual fact, Brussels officials mood changes. And this sentiment is sometimes much depends. However, the biggest problem that affects determine the dynamics of relationships, concerns the lack of concrete prospects of Ukraine's membership in the European Union. The Association Agreement to such a prospect says no, although centuries. 49 of the Lisbon Treaty declares that "any European state which recognizes and respects the principles set out in Article 1, and undertakes to respect them, may apply for its membership in the Union." You can go even further and suggest that the more Ukraine will emphasize the need to have a clear understanding of the ultimate goal, the cooler the European Community may take these ambitions. In private conversations, some MEPs stress that in the near future plans to expand the EU does not. For them, the situation has another – how to protect it from the formation of the European disintegration processes related Brexit and the growing popularity of right-wing and populist forces. Q 3. What next?It is clear that alternative European integration for Ukraine today does not exist. Obviously, the European Union increasingly focus on its internal problems on the effectiveness of the solution of which will depend on his fate. PostMaidan euphoria subsided somewhat in the corridors of euro institutions. Instead, a period of specific questions to the Ukrainian authorities about the homework done and illustrate real results. In Kiev, the mood also changed slightly. For many, it became clear that promises of some European officials are also sometimes not reflected in real concrete action. The war in eastern Ukraine sometimes does not prevent individual countries and their leaders to slightly change the position in relations with Russia. Indeed, one of the main priorities for the EU economy is. Influential business serious pressure on policymakers at both the national level and at EU level. For corporations primary goal is profit, and the market Russia has always been of interest to them. For its part, the Russian Federation, betting on increased cooperation with political parties, which can come to power in some Member States in the near future, promotes their interests in the EU. Based on the diversity of these factors that directly affect the dynamics of relations between Ukraine and the EU, we can assume that the "candy-bouquet" period has expired and the final phase, as Europeans like to call it, "more-for-more / more-for-more". Support for further positive trend will directly depend on the transformation of Ukraine to European standards.

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Problems and prospects of creating a positive international image of Ukraine

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SUMMARY

In the article the problems and prospects of forming a positive image of Ukraine in the world are studied. During the last years there appeared a lot of NGOs, associations, Internet portals, projects that aim to tell the world about Ukraine. Creating and maintaining a positive image of Ukraine should be done on the basis of public policy. With this aim, Ukraine should use the experience of developed countries. Work on the creation of image programs which are able in an updated form to represent Ukraine as a promising and modern state continues and is gaining new momentum. Keywords: image, character, brand, Ukraine, information space, information warfare. Today Ukraine's image in the international arena is a strategic resource in solving a number of urgent issues. In recent years, Ukraine has attracted the attention of the international community as a country that is fighting for European values and democracy. Transformational changes in Ukraine were discussed, analyzed and highlighted political leaders, academics, journalists and ordinary citizens. However, three years the world's attention to Ukraine greatly weakened because of disappointment in the exercise of her fundamental reforms. The main reasons for the deterioration of the positive image of Ukraine: the slow implementation of reforms in the life, influence of oligarchs on politics, internal disputes and political crises, ineffective measures to combat corruption. It should be noted that in terms of imageology term "image" in the political lexicon used since the mid 90s of XX century in the context of "image politics". Today the term is used not only on policy but also in respect of the state and of government. Diversity and multidimensional interactions of subjects of political relations in the country and abroad caused many factors in their impact on the internal and external image of Ukraine, need study this problem in theoretical and empirical research levels. In turn, similar in meaning "country image" category is the "image of the country." The image of the country in this context serves as the general category, which covers the entire amount perceptions about the country – from the philosophical analysis to applied research. The image of the country in this case is a narrower term, meaning the image, which is trying to influence to change. Brand country requires positive characteristics of the country for profit, on the one hand, brings him to the image, and the other – by delimits the

scope and purpose of the exercise. Image State affects both politically and economically to the participants of the international cooperation. Each state has its image is the brand. This image of the President, the Prime Minister is the subject of information security. Leadership in any important area, even winning the competitions and sporting events may be part of creating a positive image of the country. An important part in the formation of positive image of Ukraine is cultural diplomacy. It is a means of communication foreign exchange to improve the country's image and improve its competitiveness. The possibilities of cultural diplomacy in our country have long been underestimated. Today the strategy of the state policy in this area is missing that prevents the formation of positive image of Ukraine, causing economic losses. Ukraine is not created its own foreign and cultural institutions Ukrainian center. For a long time there were no attempts to even the theoretical development of public cultural diplomacy strategy. In diplomatic establishments Ukraine ineffective existing cultural and information centers whose activities due to lack of funds, experts and effective strategy work did not meet the current challenges in the information and cultural sphere, limited only single representative actions. Therefore, the question remains urgent measures to strengthen the cultural presence of Ukraine in the world, the development of cross-cultural communications and exchanges. The first step in this direction was the creation in 2015 by the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine draft concept of Ukrainian Taras Shevchenko Institute as a center network realization of cultural diplomacy, especially – in Europe. The Institute will have a number of advisory panelists for certain activities. It is supposed to use the institute as a coordination center that organizes their work in accordance with the state strategy of cultural diplomacy. Thus, cultural diplomacy should take a worthy place in the foreign policy of Ukraine as an important component of humanitarian strategy of the state and an important factor of international economic activity [1]. Important role in promoting a positive image of Ukraine occupies the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. Yes, June 2, 2015 at the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine, MFA of the First Forum for Cultural Diplomacy Ukraine. Foreign Ministry initiated holding such an event in order to create a platform for interaction between all stakeholders to promote Ukrainian cultural product in the world and Ukraine's integration into the global cultural space. To the range of issues discussed during the debate included, in particular, issues of cultural diplomacy in Ukraine distributing cultural products in the world, creating Ukrainian Institute partners combine efforts for finding resources for the implementation of the system of cultural diplomacy initiatives. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine completes the creation of the Office of Public Diplomacy. Among the principles of the new administration singled out active cooperation with other governments and the private sector, focusing on project activities to improve the image of Ukraine in the world. Despite the global political transformation and internal events, perception of Europeans Ukraine had greatly changed. According to the study IWP held in May and June 2015, the six largest EU countries (UK, Spain, Italy, Poland and France) among 6,000 people aged 16 to 54 years old, Ukraine and Russia associates nearly one in five. For every tenth – Ukraine is associated with poverty. Now a new and important in this series appeared associative word "war." For years, the question of its own image of Ukraine dealt a residual. Despite the fact that the image of not only depends on the number of tourists visiting the country, but also quoted on the stock exchanges, the cost services of Ukrainian companies Ukrainian wages abroad. Unfortunately, today in Ukraine ascertained unsystematic attempts to form a positive opinion about the country. Factors image of Ukraine can be divided roughly into internal and external. External include: Ukraine's foreign policy, national interests and

priorities, membership in international organizations, the development of relations with strategic partners, investment climate and so on. Among the internal factors singled out: welfare, constitutional rights of every citizen, corruption, crime, the level of shadow economy, social well-being of others. Important psychological aspects of perception of a positive image of Ukraine: the pride of the country; the desire to live in it and protect; fortunately, comfort and projection of its future in the country. Among the external factors: the interest of the country and the desire to come to her; it do business and invest; comfort and safety associated with the Ukraine. To use the full potential of image of our country requires effective public information policy and well-planned branding campaign. The successful combination of internal and external components of the image will adjust the positive image of Ukraine, formed after the military-political conflict and the difficult economic situation, and create a basis for creating an attractive brand. In addition, favorable conditions for this arise now, when much of the international community for the first time Ukraine has identified not only as a home, for example, V. Klitschko and A. Shevchenko, but also as a country which seeks the development of democratic institutions and European values. Internationally, the main task is spread cultural achievements and spiritual values of the country. Ukraine has natural conditions for the internal and external positive image, so you need to make fuller use of modern Ukraine's achievements in science, art, sports and more widely to show not only the unique nature and the climate, but also the diversity of the spiritual world, original palette of rich ethnic culture of the nation [2]. It should also be noted that among those that affect the image of Ukraine in the world can be called as president and his wife first lady. It can not be apolitical, because through it significantly increases the social image of the state. To apply it voluntarily take on the percentage of protocol and external responsibility for internal rating of the president. In international practice adopted do not need the wives of presidents binding protocol functions, but traditionally assigned them a status activity – taking care of social services, humanitarian issues involved in official visits and receptions distinguished guests. The role of the first lady is determined by two components: the first consists of personal abilities, ambitions and willingness to publicity, and the second – the will and desire of the president to make his wife an independent figure and part of their social image. Professional teams that provide reputation first people well understand how much power has a woman which is called the "first lady." They are trying to maximize the image of his wife – provided that it has the personal resources: communication, education, culture, language, taste like. The wife of the president can positively affect the confidence of the country and improve the image of the president. Today, the international image of Ukraine is transitional in nature, that is the image of a country that is in the process of change. According waiting for the results of these changes are very high. Ukraine wants to see a democratic European state with an efficient economy without corruption. The international community continue watching the developments in Ukraine, which demonstrates the consolidation of the Ukrainian people. The democratic changes in the country enabled the development of civil society and strengthen it, but the presence of information campaigns against Ukraine substantially undermine its international image. They contribute to blocking and enabling decisions complicate the activities of foreign experts in Ukraine and others. Escalation, lighting and political scandals, particularly related to the field of anti-corruption operations and painful for many social groups, political reforms, also contribute to the deterioration of the international image of Ukraine. [3] In turn, Ukraine is trying to counter Russia's information campaign aimed at discrediting its image in the world. Although it is also necessary to

consider that in general geopolitical situation in the world and quite difficult situation in Europe, at times, the image of Ukraine affects a number of objective conditions beyond its control. Such, for example, as a referendum in the Netherlands on an association agreement with the EU or migration crisis. To minimize the impact of such events on the image of Ukraine should be developed a clear program and have allocated the necessary financial resources. There should gradually form a positive background information to the eyes of foreign partners. Thus, the term "information warfare" has become commonplace both in the media and in the vocabulary of political parties, under which is often understood "compromising drain" due mainly modern Internet. It is through him uncontrollably spreading compromising materials "cast into" the society and timely information required by print and electronic media reproduce, citing sources on the Internet. Today, because of the lag in information and communication technologies, Ukraine still loses information war in the most developed nations of the world that are most harmful to its international image. Among the problems that make Ukraine vulnerable in the information war are:- global information network that continues to grow rapidly and are out of control;- improving the means and methods of delivery of outreach materials to the audience during the information-psychological operations;- increase in the number of special software and mathematical impact on the resources of information systems; while most of these products with the development of global networks became widely available, leading to an increase in hacker attacks on information systems of the Ministry of Defense and other authorities;- the appearance of new satellite communication systems, specifications are increasingly improved;- the development of research programs aimed at the creation of means of manipulation;- not effectively prepare graduates for professions related to information technology;- low level of communication. Based on the above information policy problems Ukraine must adapt to new conditions. Their essence is that the information war as a permanent social phenomenon at this stage of social development can not be eliminated but can be controlled at a certain level of social danger through state regulation. The situation in the world today in Ukraine demands take appropriate measures against foreign information expansion. In particular, there is a need to: increase the effectiveness of information security policy in the field of defense, which improve the relevant structures; prevent manipulative techniques used to influence the public consciousness; actively develop their own information technology; methods to improve the security of information and telecommunication systems as well as systems and means of information weapons and military equipment, systems, command and control and weapons; train specialists in information warfare. Ukraine is trying to improve its image in the world and oppose the information campaign against it. In this regard it should be noted the creation of the Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine, as well as the alternative to him NGOs and institutions. However, today the state does not have specific positive results in this regard. For instance, the Ministry of Information policy almost no information, what is involved department. And the fact of the establishment of the Ministry is still a debate in the backroom bureaucrats and journalists surprise. According to the World Bank "Doing Business", for ease of doing business in Ukraine took place eightieth: corruption, complex taxation, bureaucratic obstacles that accompany obtaining various documents not promote the growth of the attractiveness of our country to foreign investors. One of the leading institutional changes in strategic communications was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. December 22, 2015 at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine was established the Office of Public Diplomacy. Its key objectives are: development of public relations, public

associations and media in other countries; Values fashion, cultural and information projects of Ukraine abroad and coordinate the activities of other executive bodies in these areas. Measures of public diplomacy at the Foreign Ministry should join and use the synergy of three areas: image program (conferences, round tables, public events, interaction with experts and civil society in general); Cultural Diplomacy (reform of cultural representation Ukraine abroad, the implementation of Ukrainian cultural projects abroad, promotion of best foreign cultural practices); relations with the media (active work with media management system of diplomacy in social networks, blogs MFA management, content production and implementation of online campaigns). In addition, according to the cooperation of the Ministry of Information Policy, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and civil society launched an information project Ukraine: Freedom, Dignity, Creativity ("Ukraine: Freedom, dignity, creativity") and the relevant international campaign My Ukraine is ("My Ukraine – a ... ") to promote the country abroad. As part of the campaign launched a site profile (www.myukrianeis.org) and is planned for publication titled booklet that will be translated into different languages. The project envisages the involvement of everyone who have added his or her interesting fact about Ukraine. However, despite some practical steps towards institutionalizing public diplomacy impact in this area is still quite moderate. We create only isolated cases of foreign institutions to promote the international image and reputation of Ukraine: Ukrainian Cultural and Information Center at the Embassy of France in Ukraine, Ukrainian Institute in Sweden. Minor improvements in the process of improving the international image of Ukraine demonstrated overall brand "Anholt-GfK Nation Brands Index" (NBI)], according to which Ukraine for the year improved their performance by 2 positions (46th to 48th at the place). The biggest change for the better performance of public administration and the perception of the country from the standpoint of international security. "Creating a positive image of Ukraine as a European, democratic, competitive state" [4] defines sustainable development strategy "Ukraine-2020" key objective of the program popularize Ukraine in the world and promote the interests of Ukraine in the global information space. The program clearly outlined the situation and range of problems in the formation of international image. This takes into account indicators of member countries in the areas of exports, governance, culture, population, tourism, immigration and investment. Today Ukraine is associated worldwide with the struggle for freedom and territorial integrity, but also the high level of corruption (142th out of 175 on its corruption perception index Transparency International), the economic crisis and more. The latter affects the interest of investors abroad because no information available about reform in Ukraine and the confidence that the country is gripped by instability. Thus, the main goal of Sustainable Development Strategy "Ukraine 2020" is to develop confidence in Ukraine as well as promoting its political and economic interests. Before executing strategy, the goal is to bring the truth about Ukraine, including information about its investment attractiveness and the success of reforms. The draft State Target Program to promote the interests of Ukraine abroad and branding countries for 2016-2018 years. Remains at the stage of approval by the need to save public funds. In this context there is a need active position of the state, coordination and interaction with civil society. Notable success can be called the development and adoption of 11 October 2016 by the Ministry of Information Policy Concept popularize Ukraine in the world and promote the interests of Ukraine in the global information space. The Concept is to promote Ukraine in national and global information resources, creating a positive image of Ukraine by the illumination objective information about competitive advantages of Ukraine, ensuring inter-institutional level permanent operational activities

and dissemination of global information space objective information about Ukraine. Concept Implementation will be through the implementation of multi-sectoral approach to its implementation, improving information policy and institutional environment. In particular, the provision of effective use of Ukrainian cultural and information centers abroad, as well as strengthening their logistical base for their involvement, in particular, to the manufacture and distribution of foreign language information and image materials on Ukraine. In this context, we note that, for example, in the United States to bolster the country's image are thousands of people spending billions of dollars annually. United Arab Emirates to spend 5% of the budget to create a positive image abroad. That's about \$ 6 billion. Turkey promotes its tourism spending annually for this purpose huge funds. Dedicated finances are not stolen, and lead directly to the task and achieve goals, so each of these countries in this direction has succeeded. US positioned itself as a country with a developed democracy, which guaranteed freedom of speech and protection of investor capital, UAE – a country with a developed tourist infrastructure and business, and rest in Turkey every year more than 30 million people. On average, each tourist spends about \$ 900 per stay. In this context, we note that according to the world ranking US cultural diplomacy are in eighth place, behind seven EU countries. However, with the most favorable international brand, while the US is negative emotions in the world community. Citizens of other countries most critical of US foreign policy action, including military intervention, the imposition of free trade and opposition to environmental standards, but at the same time using American products and goods. This indicates that the negative international image in the political sphere is not an obstacle for effective commercial or cultural policy. Thus, the US has second place on the world tourism volumes, according to the World Tourism Organization, and fourth in terms of exports. National brand, which consists of a number of factors may include the downward trend in one aspect (negative public opinion on foreign policy) are not infused into other areas or even offset them (for example, the popularity of certain goods in the world market), which is especially an example is shown US [5]. Ukraine has several available image resources that it can develop and use in the context of further improving the country's image in the world. Thus, Ukraine has an extremely favorable geopolitical position, which makes European integration in the globalization of the modern world. An important role in promoting a positive image of the Ukrainian diaspora can play. Today Ukrainian public need unity on the territory of Ukraine and beyond in order to advance the interests of Ukrainians worldwide. Ukrainian diaspora in the world has more than 20 million Ukrainian. Ukraine has working-age population, skilled workforce, cultural and educated nation, which has a great scientific and intellectual potential. Everyone knows our scientific achievements in the field of rocket and aircraft building, space research. Ukraine has well-known athletes who were Olympic champions. The image of Ukraine on the basis of national idea can bring our country to a new level of development. Creating and maintaining a positive image of Ukraine should be the basis of public policy. To this end, Ukraine should use the experience of developed countries. You can emphasize the many national specificity and make the development of the country's image. For example, brands such as "American Dream," "great nation" and others were established categories, which are associated countries and their achievements. Ukraine as a great power which could defend their right to become truly free, independent and democratic, able to create their own brand, which will improve its international image. Creating a positive image of Ukraine in the world to attract investment to the economy, create jobs and improve infrastructure. Thus, the image of Ukraine should be based on national ideas, reflecting the national

interests of the country and its priorities in domestic and foreign policy vision of Ukraine in the world. Work on the creation of image programs that are able to submit a renewed Ukraine as a promising and modern state continues gaining new momentum. Thus, the creation of a positive image of Ukraine in the world remains open for Ukraine image potential is not fully used. For its effective involvement requires sound public policy, backed by appropriate funding, coordinated action authorities and public organizations, reliance on intellectual and cultural potential of society – all this must be supported by advertising and media and information technology. An important area of foreign policy of Ukraine should become active promotion to world space information about the potential and prospects of Ukraine about positive changes in society and the benefits of the Ukrainian market.

Diplomacy image of the state, along with public and cultural diplomacy, is one of the main means of creating a positive image of the country abroad and makes good use of its own soft power. Creating a positive international image of Ukraine requires the use of state instruments of public diplomacy via ministries – the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine and the Ministry of Information Policy of Ukraine. References1. Musienko I.V. Cultural Diplomacy Ukraine in the context of European integration and international economic relations [Electron resource] / I.V. Musienko // "Development of Social Sciences, European practices and national perspectives": (m. Lions, 25-26 December 2015 year). – Lviv, 2015. – S.118-121. –

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Safety of Ukraine: constructive nowadays

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Summary

The article exposes new security threats in Europe and worldwide. The attention is paid to Ukraine's national interests to preserve the strategic balance in the current geopolitical environment in the areas of national and international security. It is analysed the question whether such country as Ukraine should be interested in maintenance of Euro Atlantic organization.

Keywords: European security, national interests, international security, Euro Atlantic organization, national independence, Trust Funds, geopolitical priorities. Diplomacy gives us many positive examples of successful conflict resolution, conflict aggression, development

schemes neutralize challenges with various protection mechanisms. The leading school of world-class security that ensures the stability and security of the Euro-Atlantic and European integration space is NATO. The importance of deepening cooperation between Ukraine and NATO in the European regional security and in the fight against Russian aggression was discussed during the talks the Head of State Petro Poroshenko with NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg. Leading global security organization, as confirmed by its head, Ukraine will continue to provide practical and political support to counter the enemy and strengthening security institutions. Members of the Alliance, 28 leading countries in different geographical regions of the world, have confirmed that they are "united in support of Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders and the inherent right of Ukraine to determine its future foreign policy and without outside interference" [1]. Foreign Minister of Ukraine Pavlo Klimkin said that cooperation between Ukraine and NATO is unique coaching and teaching us, NATO is also studying and becoming stronger. Have these considerations constructive basis? The answer is get through the clarification of practical components of filling Ukraine's cooperation with NATO. Clearly, any action in international relations should be based on a legal basis. Thus, the list includes legislative acts of Ukraine on the issue. Among them – the Law on refusal of non-alignment Ukraine (2014), the Military Doctrine of Ukraine in the new edition (2015), National Security Strategy of Ukraine (2015), Presidential Address to the Horse Council of Ukraine 2016. The refrain of all these documents is that accession to NATO – a strategic goal of Ukraine. Appropriate changes to state laws Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine introduced from 2014. In fact, Parliament has returned to the national provisions of 2003, including the Law of Ukraine "On National Security" in 2003, which clearly stated on European and Euro-Atlantic vector of our foreign policy and provided a clear implementation plan branched mentioned problems. The Law of Ukraine "On amendments to some laws of Ukraine concerning the refusal of Ukraine from the implementation of policies of non-alignment" (data Verkhovna Rada, 2015, on 23.12.2014, Number 35 NL. Article 13) consolidated the position that the main problem of our country is the "integration of Ukraine into European political, economic and legal space with the aim of joining the European Union and Euro-Atlantic security space" and "deepening cooperation with NATO in order to achieve the criteria necessary for the entry to the organization" [2]. In the Presidential Decree №555 / 2015 document of 24 September 2015 "On the new edition of the Military Doctrine of Ukraine" dated September 2, 2015 also addresses a number of security problems, but have military, defense component of state activity. Thus, in the third chapter "Military Doctrine of Ukraine" – Objectives and main tasks of military policy – in Article 15 states that the main goal of Ukraine's defense policy is to create conditions for the restoration of the territorial integrity, sovereignty and inviolability of state borders within Ukraine. These conditions should be implemented through (Article 16) "repel armed aggression by Russia against Ukraine; Ukraine's defense capability" at the appropriate level. Provided that the appropriate level can be achieved only through the participation of Ukraine in the implementation of the common security and defense policy of the European Union and improve the system of military security that would meet the criteria for EU membership for Ukraine and NATO. Attached to said position on the need to "reform the Armed Forces of Ukraine in order to achieve operational and technical compatibility with armed forces of NATO; improvement of democratic civil control over the security sector and defense in accordance with the standards of the EU and NATO" and so on. Among the key tasks for restoring sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine (p. 37) is a comprehensive reform of the national security

to a level acceptable to the European Union and NATO; development of the Armed Forces of Ukraine by Western standards and achieve interoperability with the armed forces of NATO member states" [3]. Its drawing attention to another important document – the "National Security Strategy of Ukraine", which is actually the first time focuses on the international system of collective security and possible membership of Ukraine in NATO. According to the NSDC of Ukraine's membership in NATO – the only reliable external guarantees sovereignty and territorial integrity. The priority for the country at this point in time is to introduce NATO standards, achieving compatibility of our army and intelligence services with the services and facilities relevant NATO, which will ensure future membership of Ukraine in NATO. Let's add that "National Security Strategy of Ukraine" is designed for up to 2020 and its main objectives are:- minimizing threats to national sovereignty and create conditions for the restoration of the territorial integrity of Ukraine within its internationally recognized state border;- restoration of peaceful development of the Ukrainian state;- acquiring a new quality of economic and human development, ensuring the integration of Ukraine into the European Union and its future as a democratic, legal, social state [4]. Currently runs more than 40 import contracts for the supply of the Ukrainian army various means of defense totaling half a billion dollars. Countries that support our country in the struggle against the invaders, gave armored vehicles, unmanned vehicles, surveillance and communication equipment, radars etc. A few weeks ago we received a large shipment of night vision devices and more. This and other states in the annual Presidential Address to the Verkhovna Rada "On the internal and external situation of Ukraine in 2016" [5]. The President stressed that the 3% of GDP on defense – a lot compared to barely 1%, but very little for a country that de facto at war: "We took the unprecedented and ever tight level of cooperation with NATO, which will improve, extend, deepen – up to achieve full membership criteria. Our strategic goal is NATO membership" [5]. The President of Ukraine sent a formal letter to NATO headquarters in Brussels to include Ukraine in the program the advanced features (Enhanced Opportunities Programme). However, one of the possible obstacles to cooperation between Ukraine and the Alliance for the program was the lack of technical agreement on the exchange of classified information. Quite quickly, September 28, 2016, this agreement was signed in Brussels. "This document will bring cooperation in the field of classified information to a whole new level" – said Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Prystayko. Currently, within the framework of advanced features and NATO cooperate Sweden, Finland, Australia, Jordan and Georgia. Main calling program – to achieve compatibility and compliance with NATO standards [6]. According to this agreement, the other outside the National Security Academy plans to open a series of training courses in reforming the security services organized by NATO International Staff. Legal content on strengthening the country's defense tightened approved by the President (21 February 2017) "The concept of improving public awareness of NATO-Ukraine cooperation for the period 2017-2020 years." The concept is aimed at increasing public support state policy in the Euro and the level of confidence of citizens of Ukraine to NATO as a key institution in strengthening international security. The document states that Ukraine will carry out integration into European political, economic and legal space for the purpose of gaining membership in the European Union and will deepen cooperation with NATO in order to achieve the criteria required for membership in this organization. It is a further deepening of cooperation between Ukraine and NATO in the implementation of deep democratic reforms, use of capacity and practical assistance of NATO member states in improving the defense of our country to counter the aggression of the Russian Federation and in

reforming the defense and security sector and defense industry for standards NATO. To legislative foundation were added corresponding state program for the implementation of decisions. According to the President Mr. Poroshenko, from 2017 the program of cooperation with NATO is fully focused on achieving NATO standards, which should be completed by 2020. Priority objectives fixed in the program – full compliance with the Armed Forces Allied forces. It is assumed that the issue of NATO membership be considered national referendum. Almost all steps of internal and external order around European and Euro-Atlantic goals of our state were the result of consensus decision and the result of 28 member countries of NATO, stated in the final declaration of the NATO summit (Warsaw, 8-9 July 2016): “We remain supportive of public policy of the Alliance, which increases the Alliance and contribute to Euro-Atlantic security” [7]. The summit discussed Ukraine’s plans to reform and progress in their implementation, endorsed the comprehensive package of assistance (CRC) and Ukraine exchanged views on the security situation in Ukraine. The Alliance has defined the new status of Ukraine with NATO – the status of advanced partner of the North Atlantic Alliance. This program provides the reforms agreed with NATO in the framework of the Strategic Defense Bulletin – actually an action plan for the coming period, received formal approval of the Alliance. Such a form of cooperation with the five countries that NATO has provided the opportunity to participate in the program advanced features – Australia, Finland, Sweden, Jordan and Georgia. [6] Ukrainian side initiated and their options for participation in the Alliance, including a separate project cooperation in aviation – the use of aircraft “Ruslan” and “Dream” for NATO strategic lift. In addition, there are options for cooperation with the operation of new transport aircrafts “Antonov” AN-178, which carried out a demonstration flight to the International Aerospace Salon in Britain appeared in Paris at the regional exhibition in the United Arab Emirates and the international exhibition in Berlin (Germany). In June 2016 in Brussels, Ukraine’s Defense Ministry and NATO Agency signed an agreement to support the Armed Forces of Ukraine, which provides for an increase in the required position logistics Ukrainian army, which in turn will reduce dependence on Russian military-industrial complex. According to NATO Headquarters, an agreement “between the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and NATO Support Agency and the supply of establishing relations in the sale to support non-system of services in the Armed Forces of Ukraine” [8]. Number of joint programs with NATO and the various measures is around 40. Responsibility for the implementation of programs, development, implementation, and logistics entrusted to the joint working groups such as the Joint Working Group on Defense Reform, Joint Working Group on Economic Security and more. “We believe in whole, free and peaceful Europe. NATO increases support to Ukraine and Georgia and will continue to assist the Republic of Moldova ...”, – the Warsaw Declaration of transatlantic security approved by the Heads of State and Governments of the North Atlantic Council in Warsaw on 8-9 July 2016 [6]. It is clear that the implementation of these ambitious plans require considerable funds. Note that this is also taken care of the United States, June 14, 2016 the upper house of Congress passed a bill S.2943, which determines the Pentagon budget for fiscal year 2017. The text was provided financial support for defense needs Ukraine up to \$ 500 million. However, the US budget include Ukraine in the amount of 350 million dollars. [1]. Note that on the background of a possible grant Ukraine appropriate funds for defense needs by the decision of the Upper House of Congress, the progress achieved in the development of relations with NATO is significant. Among the immediate projects envisaged reform of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, providing armored vehicles, combat engineering kit, increasing multitude of Armed Forces and

increase military salaries. All projects implemented under conditions of reforms in defense, combat corruption, improve accountability of government transparency-making and more. Instead of a conclusion. Changes geopolitical coordinates occurrence of unexpected events and patterns in international relations suggest the deployment of another world that is formed and is close to the post-industrial content. Landslides on the European continent, including Russia's aggressive policy, military actions of the Russian military machine as the Ukrainian and Syrian fronts, paradoxically, handy Alliance. Helped him wake up from "hibernation", forced to change tactics and develop a new strategy. Accelerated the formation of the reinforced rapid reaction forces and their progress deep into Europe: Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Romania New signs of geopolitical changes make efforts to combine the security alliance with the European Union, which appeared on a number of objective and subjective reasons to dangerous limits and in a dangerous situation. Thus, we can say that the war in Europe prompted the West to active protective actions, sanctions, ON, strengthening its presence in the border countries – Poland, the Baltic states, Romania – on the eastern border of the EU. What is the "bottom line" went to Ukraine as a result of these events – events of the war? While the pros cons prevail. Ukraine has not received full protection. Running authorization mechanisms, for which we are deeply grateful to those who introduced and supported sanctions do not provide a synergistic effect, as is point and spray, although bugged aggressor. It has become particularly acute issue of ineffectiveness old protection schemes. For years, discussed the backwardness of the United Nations, non-compliance of the organization of the XXI century challenges; weak mechanisms of regional security, including the OSCE, the aggressor had significant advantages. Impunity and permissiveness generate more revenge; multiply the power of the aggressor, creating new challenges of the global / regional security.

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The end of the Trans-Pacific Partnership?

Sergiy Shergin

Summary

The article presents the review of some issues related to the new US President Donald Trump' initiative to withdraw the US from the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). The recent and eventual transformations in the relations between the main TPP member-states are considered. Also it surveys the reaction of a couple Asian-Pacific countries to this initiative, particularly China. Keywords: Trans-Pacific Partnership, Asia-Pacific region, USA, China, Japan, Australia, Malaysia, Singapore, Mexico, Chile, regional transformations. During the long historical period, the US actively demonstrate their participation in economic and military-political relations in the Asia-Pacific Region (APR). Washington regularly positioned as Asia-Pacific area of "vital American interests." In the era of bipolarity and post bipolar American presidents have initiated the implementation of a number of "Pacific doctrines" which became an important element of the global strategy of the United States. It is a policy actively pursued by "pacific" president B.Obama. But President D. Trump, unlike its predecessor, which contributed actively promote the idea of creating a multilateral trade and economic cooperation in the so-called Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), never identified himself as "Pacific" president. In a video dedicated to 100 days of his reign, D. Trump announced his intention at any cost to withdraw from the US TPP Agreement, which was signed on February 4, 2016 in Auckland (New Zealand). This initiative is the new president has caused considerable resonance on both sides of the Pacific. Prehistory of TPP create a free trade area in the Asia-Pacific region is this: the idea was first proposed in 2003, three countries – New Zealand, Singapore and Chile. Two years before the countries joined the initiators of Brunei, and the 2006 agreement on the establishment of TPP between the two countries came into force. In 2008, President Obama, who said the "need to return the US to Asia", the agreement provided a true strategic value. Finally, after long negotiations with its members (Australia, Brunei, Vietnam, Canada, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru, Singapore, and Chile) text of the document was finalized and signed. Under the agreement, acquired TPP Agreement into force after ratification by all its members, to which was given two years. Functioning TPP involves the reduction of tariff barriers and harmonization in the member states to a common denominator of labor law, environmental law and a number of other regulations. But the main purpose of TPP is a restructuring of the existing model of world trade and output it to a new level. The peculiarity of the Trans-Pacific Partnership is to focus on the formation of institutional homogeneity economies of member countries, identical rules in areas such as government procurement, competition, monopolies and state corporations, intellectual property rights, protection of environment and so on. TPP innovations is to create a mechanism solution of disputes in the "investor-state". "Peace" procedure for settling disputes between an investor and a country receiving investments,

provided consultations and negotiations without any discriminatory measures. It has also been significant progress in the field of investment, financial services and insurance. In its TPP "Joint Declaration of the macroeconomic policies of member countries of the Pacific Partnership" noted the importance of macroeconomic stability for all its members. There are a multilateral dialogue on macroeconomic policies in the special group – Group of TPP Macroeconomic Officials [1]. Analysis of the Agreement on TPP shows that the participants failed to reach a new agreement types highest among existing international trade standards and norms that are not in the World Trade Organization (WTO) [2]. After signing the agreement was a period of its ratification, which was designed for two years currently TPP formally remain five countries – its founding in 2005 and Japan, managed to ratify the Agreement in November 2016 Seven countries have not yet ratified the document, as further TPP existence, as well as the composition of the alliance remain uncertain. During the reign of Barack Obama realization of Trans-Pacific Partnership program became part of a large-scale strategy aimed at strengthening political and economic position of the United States in competition with China for strategic leadership in the Asia Pacific region. It was announced that the goal is to create in the Pacific preferential trade regime of the WTO. At the time, Obama repeatedly said that rejection of the TPP is able to weaken the US position in the region and identify opportunities of global trade rules, formed on American values and interests. Then the realization TPP supported a number of large US companies and medium businesses. However, at the end of the administration of Barack Obama the situation in the business community and the US Congress changed not in favor of Trans-Pacific Partnership. Recently, a number of large American monopolies (Arconic, Corning, International Paper, DowChemical, Dell, Ford, Johnson & Johnson, Lockheed Martin, US Steel, Tesla) due to rising employment problem in the US and the new challenges of globalization review their approaches to the development prospects of the business in the form of a multilateral cooperation in some regions of the world. For the sake of objectivity it should be noted that the target motivate participation in TPP for each Pacific states have significant differences. For the United States – is an attempt to continue the role of the Asia-Pacific leader in the creation of regulatory rules in the field of trade and economic, technological and environmental standards, as well as in the area of monetary and financial services and investments. For China – is an attempt to seize the leadership in the United States in the above areas to establish control over the economic situation within the TPP, which accounts for over 40% of world GDP and less than 30% of world trade. Therefore, the US withdrawal from TPP seems to be the protection of the US market from the onslaught of cheap Asian goods will be a good service China, which under these conditions is to increase exports to not only Asia but also other regions. The question is whether America will help the trade protectionism policy, which President D. Trump intends to extend to Canada and Mexico as members of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which came into force in 1994? Despite the differences motivation to participate in cooperation on a multilateral basis, hypothetically it has positive potential for both the US and China. For example, Beijing will not reject the opportunity through collaboration with members of the TPP accelerate economic reforms. Regarding the position of the administration Barack Obama, then officially it is not denied the opportunity to participate in China TTP for development of new rules on trade liberalization XXI century particularly in the context of the agreements on signing bilateral agreements on investment [3]. However, the US expert community believe that through economic initiatives and policies of liberal trade and investment in the US is not able to provide leadership in the region. Deficiency TPP

capabilities ensure US leadership in the region and in Washington understand. Thus, the former Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia E. Feigenbaum at the beginning of 2015 wrote that "for all TPP meaning the project in any case can not meet US interests in the region" [4]. It should be noted that the estimates of American experts on the results of participation or nonparticipation US TPP significantly different – some believe that without the US implementation of the TPP is doomed to collapse, others argue that to lead this project can China, so America will be able to return to their own territory large jobs. Some analysts reject the idea that the non-participation of the United States in return TPP American industrial companies jobs. In this case, many experts believe that the US withdrawal from TPP will allow Beijing to seize the regional leadership in Washington. Especially already established such a mechanism as a regional comprehensive economic partnership (RVEP), which includes China, Japan, India, Australia, New Zealand and South Korea. Together with the 10 member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is 16 states. In addition, the region has a forum Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), consisting of 21 of the world economy. These organizations serves as a negotiating platform and coordinator of trade-economic and investment activities within the Asia-Pacific region, although this does not preclude the APEC significant differences between the US and China regarding directions and organizational forms of development. Some American economists argue that the value of TPP for the US is very low, as trade barriers and tariffs in the region remain low and they are incomparable with the effect of exchange currency fluctuations. Indeed, international trade in the US – is 14% of GDP, which is not such a significant amount to explain this structural change in the US economy. Also quite natural in the globalized world is the process of moving jobs to Mexico and China. In any case, the US remains the possibility of diversification of foreign trade – namely, trade with other Asia-Pacific countries. By some estimates US participation in TPP have canceled thousands of import duties imposed by countries whose economies are growing rapidly, Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Due to the TPP would increase US exports to these markets, which would help the United States solve the problem of employment. It can be assumed in the long run refusal of membership TPP push the US and China to conclude a bilateral free trade agreement, which likely will increase employment in the US. At the same time China ready to lead the TPP as well as alternative trading partnership in the region. Now the Chinese leadership makes it clear that the United States could use the output of the TTP to maintain the development of "open and transparent economic agreements in the region." Thus, the President of China Xi Jinping in November 2016 during an official visit to Chile declared the country's readiness to build Asia-Pacific free trade zone with other countries in the region. Nearest allies of US in the Asia-Pacific region are Japan, South Korea and Australia – not happy with the current initiatives of Washington for reformatting the Asia-Pacific cooperation system. Fears of sudden changes in regional trade and economic relations based on the principles of liberalism are justified because they undermine mutual trust and threaten the huge legal basis of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Recently, Japanese Prime Minister said he expects to negotiate with D. Trump on the further development of "free and fair trade." In turn, Australia started negotiations with Japan, New Zealand and Singapore on the possibility of continuing the project without the US Chamber of Commerce in the "12 minus 1". Management Australia does not consider it appropriate to abandon the project, as required to ensure the functioning of the internal market work. Prime Minister of New Zealand expressed hope that this project will continue to exist with other partners. East Asian partners of the United States Singapore and Malaysia believe that,

regardless of the position of the new US Administration to TPP, they will continue contacts with their business partners to strengthen bilateral trade and economic relations, because the US is a major trading partner and investor. From this position act as politicians and businesses in Malaysia, who believe that the US withdrawal from TPP will be an additional incentive for partnership within RVEP. According to local media, Kuala Lumpur hopes that "the US administration can later reconsider its decision on the TPP" [5]. Singapore Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong also hopes that US leaders can change attitudes to US participation in TPP, resulting in stability and prosperity of the region will receive an additional incentive. Most Latin American participants TPP (Mexico, Peru and Chile) did not hide confidence that China supports the joint efforts to continue building a free trade zone uniting their countries of APEC, that with the economies of the Pacific. Leaders and experts expressed such opinion from these countries after the November 2016 APEC summit in the capital of Peru – Lima. In particular, it was noted that the US position in TPP might be occupied by China, making Trans-Pacific Partnership quite viable regional trade alliance. Modern development of relations between Latin America and Asia shows that mutual cooperation in economy, trade and investment is a shared goal and a long-term strategy. Note that many of that Agreement TPP was linked to the lucrative United States preferences. It is understood that other members of the partnership agreed to take on high standards and open their markets in exchange for free access to the largest market in the world – North America. It is obvious that without TPP USA incompetent. According to authoritative experts, amending the text of the agreement will mean its denunciation and the launch of new negotiations could ultimately destroy it. Therefore, it is likely that the agreement in the form of 4 February 2016 did not take effect, and trade and economic partnership that brings together 40% of world GDP and 3.4 billion people in the world can not happen. The future of TPP will depend on many factors geopolitical and economic circumstances that will be formed under the influence of major regional and global actors in a volatile international system. It should be understood that plans for a new regional integration institutions unable to fill the vacuum conceptual alternative models of globalization, which at this stage of experiencing an acute crisis. Eventually future world order will be determined not by technological and institutional innovations, and, most of all, successful ideas and reforms of social and humanitarian dimension. In this respect, the question is whether the 45th US president with his supporters administration and overcome from the standpoint of political realism tendencies and supporters of the neoliberal project of the international community, based on the principles of American globalism? It is known that D. Trump in his speeches and statements trying to counter the global system of international organizations, built on the principles of liberalism (IMF, WTO, World Bank, UN, NATO, EU, NAFTA), economic protectionism, nationalism and primitive mercantilism. Such rhetoric foreign policy the new president undermines the confidence of the international community opportunities to influence the US to ensure stable functioning of international institutions of economic integration and security. Thus, the existence of TPP and similar structures, involving the United States, are derived from solving the main task – to build an effective current socio-economic and security terms of world order. In terms of active view of the White House US international obligations is uncertain prospects of another multilateral international agreement – transatlantic trade and investment partnership (TTIP) with the European Union, which is considered complementary TPP. In Washington on this deal almost did not mention, and the EU consider negotiations frozen. However, member TTIP – Canada is in the process of ratification of the common trade agreement with the EU.

Meanwhile, other US allies are negotiating with China about the possibility of signing bilateral trade agreements within the Asia Pacific region. If we take into account the potential consequences of failure or reformatting part of TPP in the context of Ukraine's interests, it can be argued that their impact on our economy seriously affected. The fact is that the real volume of Ukraine's trade with Asia-Pacific countries is not large, and therefore not critical to the national economy. First, Ukrainian exports (mostly – raw materials) is significantly inferior to imports from the region. Secondly, our trade with East Asian countries not subject to the rules of TPP and other regional institutions, as Ukraine is not a member of any of them. Much more important for Ukraine is that as a result of contradictory transformations between the main "players" in the Asia-Pacific region can radically change the rules and regulations of regional and global trade. However, if the release of US TPP affected China – our main partner in Asia, it could adversely affect bilateral trade and economic relations. Clearly, these are inevitable and ambiguous in its results change should be carefully prepared.

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Withdrawal from TTPA Will Hasten Negotiations on RCEP // The Star. – 2017. – February 1. Regional dimension of security of Ukraine by "ASEAN way": rewarding experience or the potential creation of community safety? Iryna Krupenya Summary Ukrainian crisis requires new and innovative approaches in order to break the enemy's will, not military power. Use the strengths of the aggressor, as it uses the strengths of democracy (rule of law and freedom of speech) against Western democracies, dissolve them inside. The experience of ASEAN and non-traditional method of "ASEAN Way" may be on occasion to return all that through injustice and overwhelming force was stolen. Keywords: ASEAN, "ADDM" (ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM), "Weimar Triangle", "Visegrad Group", Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (GUAM), NATO, BSEC, South East Asia (PSA), CEI. The current security situation of Ukraine in the scientific and expert community called the Ukrainian crisis (event in/round of Ukraine) and requires new approaches in building mechanisms for regional security that take into account the trend of "hybrid warfare" and use multilateral diplomacy to strengthen their own position internationally. Ukrainian crisis experience has shown that well-known classic security model does not work. This situation leads to the conclusion that Ukraine needs to go beyond traditional security "matrix" when we want to survive as a country and state in the current, very turbulent period for our region and for the world. The author of this article does not question no alternative to Euro-

Atlantic integration of Ukraine, while the study of regional security in Southeast Asia (hereinafter – PSA) deems it necessary to consider alternative security model for Ukraine to assess strengths, weaknesses and learn from the experience of the best international practices. For example, the model of regional security formed states of the Association of Southeast Asia (hereinafter – ASEAN) is an effective mechanism to ensure the reliability and sustainability of security in peacetime and at the same time a tool weaken the will, not the military power of the enemy, if the conflict is still started. It is important to identify the potential of regional organizations that can become a reliable platform for Ukraine in the model of regional security. Special attention should be paid to the analysis institute “ASEAN Way” and its impact on the functioning model of regional security. In domestic scientific and analytical centers of regional security model seen recently, and only as a tool for ensuring security of PSA that during the “cold war” united to fight communist ideology in the post-bipolar period to combat terrorism, and at the present stage – to deter the struggle for regional leadership between China and the United States. “National Security Strategy of Ukraine” (hereinafter – Strategy), adopted May 26, 2015, states that “external security guarantees enforced by creating a network of alliance with both individual states and regional organizations and initiatives (through agreements on joint defense or military aid) and international security organization (through participation in collective security arrangements).” At the global level, key in bilateral cooperation is the United States and China, the regional OSCE, Council of Europe, the Black Sea region together with “European allies politics denuclearization and demilitarization of the Black Sea region.” Along with that the Strategy states that “at the subregional level Ukraine will continue to actively use existing formats -“Weimar Triangle”, “Visegrad”, GUAM, CEI, BSEC, etc. – in order to protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state, implementation of economic and energy projects and initiatives”. [1] Among all of the above sub-formats only in Organization for Democracy and Economic Development (hereinafter – GUAM) Ukraine is a founder and member. Besides its headquarters in Kiev. Therefore, the author believes that this subregional organizations in the near future can be seen as a platform, such as the ASEAN during the first decades of existence, to address urgent threats and challenges. Cooperation within GUAM made in political, economic, law enforcement and humanitarian fields [2]. The aggression of Russia against Ukraine put all participating countries (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova) in the same situation – at different times of the territorial integrity of each of them was broken. It is considered as part of their cooperation within the UN (mutual support and joint efforts to protect national interests). Accordingly, GUAM can perform for four the same function as the Visegrad countries-participants – increased political voice in the international arena and draw attention to the problems of the UN with long conflict (zone of instability, destabilization, internally displaced persons). This, in particular, was discussed during the visit of the President of Petro Poroshenko to Azerbaijan (presiding in GUAM in 2016). In addition, increased economic cooperation in four areas – transport, energy, culture and the establishment of an FTA [3, p.75]. Known fact that Ukraine is on the verge of two safety systems – former Soviet Union, which is dominated by Russia and Europe, which today coincides with the EU. Russia announced its rights to the post-Soviet region at the beginning of the 1990s. When in 1993 defined the idea of “near abroad” priority foreign policy of expansion of influence of the newly independent states. It attempts to defend his great-identity and gain recognition worldwide as an international player through peremptory status of a regional leader in the post. In fact, the creation of GUAM in 1997 can be considered the first reaction “near abroad” policy to a new post-Soviet Russia.

Experts in international relations also warned that the European security complex is not a guarantee of non-interference into Europe. This is particularly the Baltic states feel that the object of promoting Russian and Russian "hybrid warfare" as well as Sweden and Finland, where possible membership in NATO Russia keeps under close supervision. In addition, Moscow has demonstrated that it is ready to use Kaliningrad and Belarus military presence in the Baltic territories for conversion of A2 / AD NATO area (zone bans and restricted) [3, p.77]. Further institutional development of GUAM will become wise alternative platform for regional security model project for Ukraine, which was on the verge of two security systems, to none of which currently can not join. (The Washington Summit in 1999 was made a list of commitments who must fulfill a candidate member of NATO resolve international disputes by peaceful means, to resolve ethnic, territorial and political conflicts in accordance with OSCE principles, etc.) [4] and /or due to objective reasons, does not want, etc. unite (aggression Code) if the practice is implemented so-called "ASEAN Way". There is the question of what "ASEAN Way"? University Professor of International Relations in USA, Washington A. Acharya in his scientific work "Creating a security community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order" ("Constructing a Security Community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and problem of regional order") noted that there is no official definition of "ASEAN Way". However, this study found that Singapore Foreign Minister S. Jayakumar, speaking at a meeting of the Regional Economic Council (after three decades after the founding of ASEAN) has offered unique principles that are considered an integral part of the "ASEAN Way". He said, "ASEAN Way" was built on the principles of informality, organizational minimalism, inclusive, regular consultations leading to consensus and peaceful settlement of disputes. This period in the early stages of its use emphasized the close interpersonal relations between the leaders of ASEAN countries. The senior intelligence official Gen. Ali Moertopo in Indonesia, who was one of the first who shaped the policies of ASEAN, used the term "ASEAN Way". According to him, in 1974, "ASEAN's success was due to systematic consultations". General described the "ASEAN Way" as "a fact of meeting leaders of representing the interests of ASEAN member countries for seven or more years and therefore know each other through personal connections." He criticized over a personal approach and encouraged to strive for further institutionalization of regionalism in Southeast Asia. Some scientists and politicians considered the "ASEAN Way" as a byproduct of cultural similarities (by-product of cultural similarities) between ASEAN societies. Foreign Minister of Malaysia Mohamad Ghazali Shafie argued that "common cultural heritage", especially "Kampung" (Village), the spirit of "unity" were not only key to the secret negotiations between Malaysia and Indonesia in order to cease the policy of confrontation, but also the foundation of the founding of ASEAN. Philippine scholar Estrella Solidum, one of the first scientists who seriously investigate this term. He argued that the "ASEAN Way" "consists of elements of culture that is consonant with the values of the ASEAN member states." Prime Minister of Malaysia Hussein Onn, explaining the principle of informality ASEAN Summit in 1976 in Bali, said that "ASEAN could absorb national differences because it is a relatively informal organization without rigid procedural rules without complex structural mechanism. The fact is also that the Bangkok Declaration was not called declaration agreement (unlike the Treaty of Rome) as "contract involves a lack of trust." In addition, the word "association" was used to differentiate from ASEAN "organization" and thereby convey a sense of informality. ASEAN's founders believed that such informality is necessary, given the diversity of views and positions, which followed the ASEAN Member States" [5, s.63-65]. In domestic political science school has a number of

studies on this issue. According to the definition of the candidate of political sciences E.I. Barshchevsky, "ASEAN Way" is a lawmaking institution of ASEAN, which includes rules of non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty, soft institutionalism, the rate of informal diplomacy, resolving bilateral disputes without involving ASEAN and non-use of force in resolving any disputes. The rules of "ASEAN Way" was produced and legally enshrined in Bangkok and Kuala Lumpur agreements [6, p.1]. Domestic researcher N.D. Horodnya in her work noted that the principles of informality, consensus on all issues and non-interference of the participating countries in the internal affairs of each other been criticized in the West, but they were only possible in the face of significant differences between the member countries of ASEAN, many domestic and international contradictions in Southeast Asia. "ASEAN Way" was not a typical conflict resolution mechanism – instead of avoiding technology. In addition, although the ASEAN emphasized the economic, social and cultural cooperation, it was primarily a political organization. It was established elites PSA countries because of political circumstances, both internal and external, to coordinate their positions in order to maintain regional peace and not for economic cooperation as the EU. The main function of ASEAN at the time was to create a favorable political situation in the region was impossible without negotiations. In the political success of ASEAN positive impact on the economic development of member countries. Creating the image of ASEAN as an area of stability helped PSA to attract foreign, especially Japanese, investment [7, p.9]. In addition, to the Community ASEAN in different status were joined major extra-regional states – China, Japan, Kazakhstan, Australia, USA, and India. Interestingly format ARF (ASEAN Regional Forum) – a regional forum that, in fact, gathered at one-table leaders of northern and southern parts of Asia. At the forum created by the Council of Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region (Council for Security Cooperation in Asia Pacific), which is an implementation format of track II diplomacy, which brings together researchers and experts from different participating countries in order to develop common security concepts and development. The format of promoting the ideas of "cooperative security", helps to promote the norms of peaceful coexistence in the region and cooperation in different planes. Another type of collaboration designed to build confidence between States and enhance overall responsibility for the region – Defense Ministers 'Meeting (ASEAN Defence Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) as the highest level of consultation and cooperation on security in the organization. The experience of building the ASEAN can be used in the future institutional development GUAM. In particular, it is necessary to pay attention to ASEAN open to partnerships with other organizations and countries to form partnerships or dialogue format "plus" [3, p.79]. So Ukraine can use the experience of the subregion SEA, based on the format of GUAM and the "ASEAN Way" as an innovative approach to the problem. It will use the strengths of (a modernized army and diplomacy) against it as Russia uses the strengths of democracy (rule of law and freedom of speech) against Western democracies, laying them inside. On the one hand, Ukraine due to the Asian method of intensifying negotiations within the subregion, involving representatives of unofficial diplomacy through research institutions and thereby removing the "degree of tension" with Russia, will inform the Western public about the real situation in the Donbass, human rights violations Crimea, suspend further aggression. On the other hand, will ensure respect for state sovereignty and the return of lost territories in a peaceful way. Along with that, using the experience of "ASEAN +" Ukraine could take the initiative for the development of "GUAM +" with the US, China and other major global players as well as to strengthen its position in regional organizations and the UN. References1. The National Security Strategy

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namely, the USSR and the US had an ideological aspect. Particular stress was of an ideological attitude to the Soviet conflicts. If the disintegration of the state (e.g., the colonial empires of the West) was favorable to the Soviet Union, such a territorial process called "national liberation movement". Conversely, ideologically hostile movements were called separatist. Today, foreign analysts argue that globalization makes highly conditional sovereignty and the institution of the nation state. So insist that you need to legally and politically support the right of peoples to self-determination, including secession from states that are so-called failed states. This view expressed by A. Buchanan, G. Gross Əspryel, K. Rupesyne, A. Osipov [1, p.108]. V.A. Tishkov says: "Separatism would not have a global problem, if not serve the instrument of rivalry States and geopolitical tool engineering. Now it is time winners of the Cold War to impose its will on the outside world through regular ethnic self-determination." If separatism in highly developed countries in Europe mainly due to internal factors, then the "third world" post-socialist space and the role of international intervention, that is seeing encouraging separatism in the interests of more powerful countries and multinational agencies. The most striking part of the geopolitical factor in inciting separatism seen in the former Yugoslavia. In 1968-1970's were organized the first separatist speeches: the Autonomous Province of Kosovo and Metohija, supported by Albania, Croatia – supported Ustaše immigrants in Western countries. Then there was a combination of tactics clandestine terrorist activities enthusiastically regional authorities [1, s.118]. Attitude to separatist processes in a particular state now has only geopolitical benefits. External factors can manifest in different ways – hard and soft. Hard has one expression – military intervention, which manifests itself as follows:- provided military assistance in the region;- the introduction of troops or peacekeepers for future settlement of the conflict, but with the interests of the region, claiming the office or to support the central government;- humanitarian intervention, which involves participation in hostilities on the side and / or to assist rebellious region;- direct participation in the war on the side of the region. Soft support is divided into active soft and passive soft. Soft passive support is in existence next state with a population of ethnic kin neighboring country and willing to unite in one state and in the presence of diasporas, financially and politically can support the state. Soft active support could occur as follows: economic (funding combating financing NGOs), technical (arms), humanitarian (networking with ethnically related peoples in culture, science and education funding educational programs, research projects, training, support in the international arena, the central government in condemning the world Organization of the UN, OSCE, construction of a single religion – Orthodox/Catholic churches, Muslim mosques, information ("demonization" center efficient innovation infrastructure power). This support can be carried out during latent, and so the active phase of the conflict [2, s.264]. Let us consider the above aspects. Thus, the humanitarian factor – according to the authors, this is a fundamental factor in the issue of strengthening separatist regions of neighboring states. The problem is that when the neighboring country is going in the near future to stimulate separatist processes in the region, whose population belong to one and the same ethnic group, they can cook it humanitarian and cultural background to enhance the identification component relationships in the region. What areas will be used? First, schools enforced textbooks for language learning, history of a single nation. This trend will strengthen the region's population a sense of ownership of the recipient country fatherland. Thus, through a single language, history, culture, the process will go from country of residence and the transition region in the cultural field country fatherland. Another important factor is the humanitarian belief. This factor can be considered very influential,

because the region will experience rejection from the country of residence and increases the desire reunification with the motherland country, if earlier, the region was part of the country or the majority of the population belong to a single ethnic group. Religion plays a special role in the life of any person, since everyone has the basic individual identity and religion is listed as basic characteristics. Thus, the Orthodox always finds more "his" more Orthodox than Catholic, let alone a Muslim. Also practiced recognizing their fellow citizens of the region, issuing passports to the population of the region and thus guaranteed the possibility of using military force to protect the population in the region in case of conflict with the central government. Information component used or possible conflict before or during the entire active phase of the conflict. This factor plays a major role in the process of interference in internal affairs. If influential áktor international relations for some reason chooses the support region (US-Kosovo), he begins campaign "demonization" of the central government or the people, as happened with the Serbs, justifying the struggle of the region to build democracy and civil society, although this is only geopolitical interest. If it is not profitable, it is the "demonization" of the region (TMR), which receives support from another influential áktor (RF), a rival áktorain the world. There are always states interested in enhancing their global / regional positions by weakening other countries. At the present stage of these include, in particular, the US and Russia. USA as one of the most powerful áktor of international relations has effects on a particular country in order to further consolidate its position in the country or the region where this state. Thus, the most striking example is the collapse of Yugoslavia and, in particular, the separation of Kosovo from Serbia, support for the aspirations of Tibet separate from China, supporting Chechen radicals in their fight against the federal government in the 90-ies. According to V. Tishkov, Chechnya and Kosovo would not have such large-scale tragedies if the international community time to be formulated signals not only in the form of resolutions, denouncing "Russian aggression in Chechnya" and "aggression of Serbia in Kosovo" [3]. According to Professor J. Petras, the US used two key foreign policy principles: direct military intervention and fomenting separatist movements. Washington supports secessionist movements only in those countries that refuse to submit to US domination and oppose the separatists who oppose the US and its allies. Most European and American progressive scholars believe that the US supported the fundamentalists in Bosnia, Kosovo terrorists, causing ethnic cleansing, and that sovereign states have turned to the American base. Obviously, notes Professor J. Petras that US military intervention promotes and encourages separatism as a means of establishing a regional support base. Separatism facilitates puppet regime and works to counter neighboring countries disagree with US policy. In the case of Iraq, Kurdish separatism supported by the United States, preceded by a military campaign in Iraq. Washington lit regime atrocities against human rights for worldwide propaganda campaign [4]. Separatist movements are developing step by step, starting with a call for greater autonomy or decentralization. Then, with US support, offline separatists announce independence and immediately recognized the United States. After independence, this acquisition mode provides its territory by US military bases. Kurdish separatist organizations draw cards Great Kurdistan affecting third southeastern Turkey, northern Iraq, of Iran and Syria. The US military supports Kurdish terrorists terrorizing Iranian villages (in the name of self-determination of the Kurds using US captured and manage northern Iraq and destroy the support of US civilians in regions opposed to US intervention). Americans supported Kurdish separatists have created conflicts with the neighboring Turkish government [4]. On the other hand, the situation with the same Kurds, but Turkey, the United States did not

notice the oppression of the people. And if clearly supports Kurdish separatists in Iraq, in Turkey, a member of NATO, the Kurds do not receive any support from the United States, and therefore in this case the situation of oppression or direct repression of minorities simply not noticed. Thus, Turkey's repression of the Kurds relatively outrage the world over the years and reached its peak in the 90's. – an indicator of this phenomenon is the flight of over a million Kurds from the countryside to the unofficial Kurdish capital D'arbakyur from 1990 to 1994, when the Turkish army destroyed the town in a rural area of Kurdistan. As a result, two million people were left homeless, the number of "mysterious killings" Kurds reached in 1993-1994. 3 200 cases, and is in addition to torture, the destruction of thousands of villages, bombing using napalm [5, p.55]. What is the reason of Russia's position of the separatist processes in the post? First, almost all ethnoseparatits conflicts (except for the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh) aimed at easing the states that are in opposition to Russia. Thus, we see the benefit to the Code, which can be expanded by the addition of new territories. Second, support for separatist conflicts in the former Soviet Union due largely psychological factor. How V.V. Zyunin notes, after the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR geopolitical position of Russia has changed dramatically. In fact, Russia has returned to the limits of XVII-XVIII centuries. From it broke a quarter of the former Soviet Union with almost half the population. It lost much of ports and it has limited access to the Black and Baltic Seas. The country has lost a number of granaries, resort areas become more distant northern states and a number of international transport routes. The border areas have specific fundamental quality in the integration process -barrier and contact, through which they (along with the function of the transition from one to the other economic complex) provide their mutual adaptation. Under the influence of integration processes barrier function boundaries are transferred to the outer limits of integration formations. Cross-border cooperation does not threaten the territorial integrity of the state, it regulates the relations of neighborhood on the local or regional level between territorial associations. Political scientist R. Turovsky highlighted the key role of ethnic communities in the development of cross-border relationships, self-organizing principle inappropriately. In Europe nations divided with a common history and language helped consolidate the social practice of cross-border activity, such as Belgium and Switzerland. The main result of the operation of cross-border cooperation is to resolve ethnic conflicts and promote cooperation between various ethnic groups in multi-border areas [6, s.134]. On the other hand, the cross-border cooperation can lead to separatist conflicts. Thus, taking into account that the cross-border cooperation – is not only cooperation in economy or improvement of border infrastructure, and intercultural and social ties that are amplified within this type of cooperation, the region's population will want to join the country's homeland, with which borders the region. Another potential factor in the development process can be Diaspora separatism if the country where the diaspora lives, bordering country fatherland of the Diaspora. For Diaspora inherent active part in supporting the development and strengthening of the spiritual culture of the people in the cultivation of national traditions, and cultural ties with their historical homeland. Thus, the diaspora may try to assert their rights in case of resistance the central government can claim a violation of their rights and seek homeland countries to provide military aid to them or accept their region part of the state. Therefore, it should be noted that influential áktors of international relations solve their geopolitical problems using ethno confessional or ethnic conflict for ignition separatist/ ethnic conflict aimed at establishing direct or indirect control over this or that country or region. In the transition of the modern world to multipolar system of

international relations such conflicts will arise more and severity of conflicts will increase.

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The origins of special education of Ukrainian diplomats: 1918-1923 Iryna Matyash Summary

The main forms and principles of the activity of the first educational institutions in the field of personnel training for Ukrainian foreign missions during 1918-1923 are considered. On the basis of the archival information, the composition of the teaching staff, quantitative and qualitative parameters of the students is clarified. A personal contribution to the formation of the foundations of special education for diplomats of Ukrainian statesmen of the UNR was investigated. It was suggested that the traditions of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine were laid in 1918-1920.

Key words: educational institutions in the field of personnel training for the diplomatic service, Consular courses, Middle East Institute, Kiev Institute of International Relations.

The origins of the formation of special education diplomats in Ukraine closely related to the turbulent years of Ukrainian revolution of 1917-1921 is the period of the state of Ukraine when the Ukrainian diplomatic service as born of state institution. Some aspects of special schools for training in diplomacy reflected in historiography. [1] Young Diplomacy Ukrainian People's Republic of skilled professionals needed for the respective subdivisions of foreign ministry and for consular offices. Thus, already from the first days of the General Secretariat of International Affairs, reorganized in December 1917 of the General Secretariat of International Affairs, first raised the question of launching targeted training of future consuls. The urgent need for a consular predetermined need state protection of Ukrainian citizens were abroad and organizing barter young independent state with other countries. The establishment of diplomatic and consular relations included Article IV of the peace treaty between the UPR, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, signed on 29 January (9 February) 1918 in Brest. First, Foreign Ministry despite the urgent need not have the possibility to organize theoretical training of applicants for consular posts. To prevent the initiation of special education of the newly created consular services were objective reasons (lack of qualified teachers competent in the field of consular relations and material resources) due to the novelty of the problem and the reasons of force majeure, independent of the will of performers (offensive Bolsheviks in Kyiv and because of this temporary relocation of the government to Zhytomyr). This possibility emerged after the return of the Central Rada in Kyiv in March 1918 in cooperation with the General Secretariat of trade and industry UPR and the Ukrainian Scientific Society of economists UPR Foreign Ministry made the first steps towards the educational institution in the field of consular service. To implement the idea of launching special training future consuls important was the fact that in February 1918 the general secretary of bargaining and industry was appointed scientist, Director of Industry General Secretariat of the UPR, member of the Finance Committee of the Small Council faction UPSR Central Rada Ivan

Feschchenko-Chopivsky. Scientist combined state and public activity of scientific work, working at the time on behalf of the Chairman of the Central Council Hrushevsky of work "Natural resources Ukraine" and "agricultural industries", which later formed the basis of the first economic Ukrainian publications: "Economic essays and natural resources and big industry" and "Economic Geography of Ukraine." Initiative to launch training consuls belonged prof. Michael Tugan-Baranowski, who came to Kyiv from St. Petersburg in the summer of 1917 and several months (August-November) led the General Secretariat of Finance. However, he is actively engaged in scientific and social activities, actively participated in the creation of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UAS) and the organization of its socio-economic department, went to the first main body of the UAS (he was elected an academician of the specialty "theoretical savings"); initiated the establishment of research institutes and universities in economics and demography. Headed by him Ukrainian Scientific Society of Economists provide intellectual resources to start consular education. In March 1918 at UNTE founded the first school in this area in the form of Consular courses. To study adopted persons who have legal or economic education and perfectly mastered the Ukrainian language and any foreign. Due to the lack of textbooks for training specialists in this field it was planned to establish UNTE, professional scientific journal – "Bulletin of the Ukrainian Society of economists" to "give the audience an opportunity to enjoy all that the modern scientific point gained from the scope of economics and political economy and thus fill a great need in scientific textbooks" [2]. The main components of the curriculum are courses in economics, law, management, and foreign languages. The team of teachers made known experts in economics, statistics, law, linguistics – professors and senior lecturers of the University of Kiev and the Kiev Commercial Institute, employees and other relevant foreign agencies, foreign consuls in Kiev. International law had taught professor Otto Eyhelman, saving bargain – at that time rector of the Kiev Commercial Institute, and before that – the dean of its economic department and one of the founders of Kiev in the early 1900s., economists Society, author of the textbook "Statistics. Guide for lectures", "Political Economy", "Principles of Economics Insurance" Professor Constantine Voblyy. Ukraine's economic policy, economic geography savings bank Ukraine and industries agreed to teach respected scholar and economist Sergei Ostapenko. Teachers of economic geography Right-Bank Ukraine approved Andriy Yaroshenko, Statistics and Economics teacher CCI. Teach savings vehicle prepared respected scientist in finance professor, dean of the Faculty of Economics CCI Peter Kovanko. Renowned scientist and economist, Professor Leonid Yasnopolskyy author of scientific papers on finance and credit, banking, economic history and economic geography, sociology and social statistics, planned as a teacher of the course "currency money." Ukrainian language course for consuls wrote docent of Kiev University – Ivan Ogienko. The future head of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church in Canada Metropolitan Hilarion from 1915 worked as assistant professor Department Ukrainian language and literature University of St. Vladimir, he taught at the Kiev Commercial Institute, with the creation of the Ukrainian National University in the summer of 1917 there was reading the history of the Ukrainian language. Educate international issues of sanitation was assistant professor and head office hygiene CCI – Chepurkivskyy Ovsentiy Korczak, an outstanding scientist in epidemiology, health statistics and social hygiene, former Assistant Professor and Professor of Hygiene of the University of Kiev, the future minister of public health UPR, academic and Secretary of the Presidium UAS. Secretary General of Land Affairs UPR cooperater and scholar-economist Boris Martos planned as tutor of "cooperative policy". Given the lack of

experienced professionals from the consular office to prepare future Ukrainian consul in this area invited the Spanish consul in Kiev Stelio Vasyliadi. Thus, the faculty created for training of consular staff formed the most authoritative experts. A certain problem created is that courses were set up at the public institution that had no right to issue students to complete the training of government issued identification. Courses held without exams by reviewing documents and interviewing Ukrainian. The results of the interviews the candidates were divided into three groups: true, free, candidates for the audience. The category of free audience comprised employees of various ministries that needed specialists in the field of external relations. List of candidates for the consular courses gives reason to question the established opinion about the lack of educated personnel for diplomatic work at the dawn of activity Foreign Ministry. Among the 99 students of a new set of 63 people it is intended to prepare for consular work. They had two or three languages except Russian and Ukrainian, received higher education in Ukrainian and foreign universities and wanted to work in foreign institutions. For example, Benjamin Virevskyy graduated from Odessa University with a degree candidate rights, knew German, French; Vladimir Rozumovych was a student at the Kiev Academy, fluent in German, Polish, Russian; Ivan Sparys graduated from three high schools (including the Department of Oriental Languages), spoke fluently Turkish, Modern Greek and French; Fedir Dietrich graduated from high school at the commercial department in St. Petersburg, spoke German, English, a bit – French [2]. Sufficient possibilities to select candidates for future consuls confirmed numerous statements of applicants for positions in the departments of Foreign Affairs. Among those who submitted these applications under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of ads set to state employees can distinguish five categories: 1) Institute for Noble Maidens graduate with knowledge of French, English and German and possession printing skills; 2) graduates legal, historical, philological and historical-philological faculty of foreign universities with knowledge of 3-7 foreign languages ; 3) civil servants or the military who lost their jobs, with experience in the field of foreign relations and knowledge of foreign languages; 4) representatives of noble families who knew the language and had questions of etiquette because of their education; 5) persons who have completed accounting courses [2]. Having professional knowledge of the consular courses, students are able to make professional foundation not only consular and diplomatic services. Training courses on Consular began April 20, 1918, but it was not finished during the Central Rada UNR. However, with the advent of Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky Consular courses have reopened in Ukrainian State. Quality of staff testified listeners prospects staffing Ukrainian consular offices. All students had two or three foreign languages, received higher education in Ukrainian and foreign universities have skills in accounting and record keeping. After the lectures, students take the exam before a special commission composed of representatives of the Foreign Ministry, Ministry of bargaining and industry Consular courses led by Foreign Ministry adviser Ivan Kraskovsky. Among the first graduates Consular rate was Victor Sadovsky – the future senior clerk, and later head of the consular department of foreign affairs of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Head of Political Department of Foreign Affairs, one of the first employees of the Ministry from 1917 Nadia Surovtseva and others. Soon began to put into practice the idea of establishing a special university – Economic and Administrative Institute at UNTE. The Institute had five departments: foreign policy, administration, finance, economics and statistics, cooperative. Preference for admission were lawyers and economists, though, unlike the consular courses taken and people without higher education have appropriate experience. Consular department was in the Middle East Institute (first – Institute of Oriental

Languages), founded in July 1918 as institute to study the Middle East, the Balkans and Asia Minor in the field of economic, political and ethnographic. Its concept is based on a vision of Ukrainian consular services and the study of foreign experience consulates. The task of the Institute was to prepare economic actors and political and administrative spheres in the Middle East, including diplomatic agents, consuls, government and private commercial agents, commercial correspondent organizers of trade and industrial organizations and others. Considering the profile of training, establishing the two offices, consular and commercial. Became the first director of the Institute Dr. Peter Bogaevsky law, which is soon replaced Eugene Stashevskyi. Men and women who had certificates of completion Lazarev Institute of Oriental Languages and other university admission or special Ministry of Education studied there. A separate category of the audience were people who had no higher education, but the pay rate or listen to some lectures. These students upon completion of the course receive a certificate and the "official" students – Diploma listened with a list of courses. For graduation, in addition to visiting lectures, had to undergo "training and practical tour" to the Middle East under the guidance of instructors or independent travel with detailed report [2]. The course envisaged 2 years (4 semesters). Teachers and students who attended the full course, had the right to wear the badge of the Institute. The organization of training courses based primarily on the practice of Germany, which had consuls education reform and established a central idea of professional training this profile: language, history of government and economic situation of the country in which the student is prepared to work as consul. In the consular department studied special courses (Consular Statute and its practical application), secondary (foreign language) and general: international law and the history of international relations, the general course of jurisprudence (Fundamentals of Law), a course of jurisprudence (conferences private and public law) comparative study of law Middle Eastern states joining the political economy, the history of the economic system of modern times, the world economy, the current economic system states of the Middle East, economic policy and thorium trade agreements, tariffs and customs policy, the overall rate of economic geography, economic geography of the Middle East, the history of modern Turkey and its socio-political system, ethnography of the Middle East, descriptive merchandising, general accounting. In the speech segment were bound Turkish, Serbian or Bulgarian (optional) language, and one of the following languages: German, English or French. The positive benefit of the institute was the composition of the teaching staff. Arab and Turkish language teaching Theophilus Qesm, Persian – Mustafa Jaffar, history – Atangel Krymsky [3]. Planned future to teach Romanian, Greek and Albanian languages. The Institute began its activity almost simultaneously with the completion of training of students of the first set Consular courses but graduate students in a form created in school failed. With the advent of the Bolsheviks institute while functioning as the Institute for Foreign Relations (soon renamed the Kyiv Higher College of Foreign Relations) comprising two branches (consular and foreign trade), headed by Professor Ilya Babati, which was fired in 1922. Institute of Foreign Relations in Kiev started work as the supreme scientific institution intended to prepare "workers in the field of international relations between Ukraine and foreign countries" [4]. His concept of first year based on the experience of the Consular Academy in Vienna, Oriental faculty of St. Petersburg University, Lazarev Institute and relied on the practical experience of the Middle East Institute in Kiev. Foreign Relations Institute in Kyiv subordinate department of the Higher School of USSR NCB [4] and received public funding. The organization, management and operation of the institution reorganized assumed part concerned agencies, including

NKZS and Vneshtorg [4]. As a result of the information campaign this month filed a petition of 920 people, including 77 students of the Middle East Institute and the 157 graduates of other schools. The results of the colloquium on the 1st year visa faculty joined 238 people in Anglo-Saxon series and 125 – in the Middle East; 2nd year – 49 people in Anglo-Saxon and 22 – in the Middle East; for 3rd year – to 24 – in the Anglo-Saxon and Middle East [4]. Among the students of the Faculty of consular 487 people had education of 7 classes, 7 people completed the technical, 30 – were taught in school. Indicative was and statistics by nationality: the first year in his first year of studying Ukrainian 12, 85 Russians, two Poles and 100 Jews (and the women were two times more than men – 101 and 45 [2]); the second – 20 Ukrainian, 70 Russian, 120 Jews, 1 Pole; third – 15 Ukrainian, 34 Russian, 39 Jews. [2] Most of the students had age of 20-21 years, but there were eighteen and older than 30 years (for 3-8 people per year). Classes at the institute began on August 2 at the premises of the Pedagogical Museum (st. Vladimir, 57) and held daily in the evening, from 18th to 22th. Most students learned the job from work, sometimes in parallel with studies in other universities [4]. For normal security training are sorely lacking auditorium and classrooms fund for support units of the Institute, as well as textbooks for students. No fewer complications arose during the lecture note taking because of the lack of paper, stationery and stenographic devices. However, attendance at lectures all courses was 90-95%. Consular department first had two cycles of specialization (Anglo-Saxon, Middle Eastern), then – try3 (Anglo-Saxon, Germanic, Middle East). The institute taught Italian, German, Bulgarian, Arabic, French, English, Swedish and Serbian languages. Practically oriented courses Institution NKZS and consular correspondence taught authorized NKZS SSR in Kiev V.D. Torgovets. 1921-1922 academic year ended with changes in the institution and the change in status of the institution at the college. During the first years of KIZZ by NCB SSR was shown on the deviation from the main tasks and duplication institute of foreign languages. June 7, 1922 Rector of the Institute Illya Babat was removed from the leadership of the appointment to the post loyal to the Soviet regime Gregory Khymenko [2]. He soon changed his specialist in historical materialism and the history of the Communist Party Nikolai Kantorov. Changes have been made to the curriculum and 1922-1923 years. They consisted of the introduction of new disciplines ("General Geography of antropography", "Foreign Policy in the XIX century", "History of the cycles", "New trends in literature and art of the cycles"), including those that meet the objectives of indoctrination higher education (" Historical materialism", "History of socialism", "History of internationalism", "History of the Communist Party"), as well as to strengthen the practical component (the expansion rate of the international making him the right of Assad private law amendments exchange rate competition law of civil procedure, and of course consular rights – the right course embassy and an increase in the number of hours to 4) [2]. It opened as the third – Germanic – a cycle in which were Germanic and Scandinavian divisions. In the Middle East were Turkish, Arabic, Bulgarian and Serbian units [2]. Soon Ukrholovprofos'u on demand, a gradual replacement of specialized professors' "lecturers Marxist": first, the main courses later with "minor"- such as "social and political order of the selected cycle", "Ethnography of the selected cycle" etc. [2]. In order to achieve the "purity of the teaching staff" in terms of Soviet ideology for improper social origin [1] and "lack of pedagogical skills for college and harmful activity" fired former rector of the Institute of Foreign Relations prof. Illya Babat, "by hostility to Marxism" – prof. Kostya Voblyy, "for old age" – prof. Alexei Gulyaev, "for obvious counter-revolutionary beliefs" – prof. Peter Kovanka and Boris Lychkova, "for belonging to the clergy" – prof. Nicolas Gross, "for a negative attitude to the Soviet school practice" – prof.

Zilina, Slozkina, Petrova [2]. Indicative feature a new style of teaching was as political instructor in the administration of the Institute. Thus began the destruction of the newly established system of training of consular staff. Activity of college in preparation of consular staff was adjusted due to developments in the foreign ministry. With the creation of the Soviet Union, the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs of Soviet Ukraine ceased to exist. In summer 1923, the college received guidance "reference center" reorganize the Technical school in foreign and domestic trade. The decision KVTZZ Committee approved July 11, 1923. Further college was changed for training in foreign trade, and training of diplomatic and consular service in Ukraine for a long time was stopped. Soviet leaders were destroyed institutions and traditions of training diplomatic and consular service, formed in the era of the UPR and the Ukrainian State. References 1. L.F. Gaydukov Traditions of Ukraine in the training of diplomatic personnel, dialogue with history. 1918-1922. – Scientific Bulletin of the Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine. Ed.1: Foreign policy and diplomacy / Pod Society. Ed. B.I. Gumenyuk, L.S. Tupchiyenka, V.G. Tsivaty. – K., 1998. – P. 68-69; D.V. Vyedyenyeyev The diplomatic service of the Ukrainian State 1917-1923 biennium. – K., 2007. – S.194; Irene Matias. Ukrainian consular service.: 1917-1923 years as a public institution, establishment, operation, personnel. – K., 2016. – P. 102-118; 277 – 293. 2. Central State Archive of higher authorities and government of Ukraine, f. 3766, op. 1 conjugation. 46 ff. 22.; conjugation. 24 ark.48; conjugation. 18, pp. 21; f. 2201, op.1, spr.341, pp. 7 BC.; f. 4 op.1, spr.68, pp. 60; f.160, op. 2 conjugation. 1503, pp. 52 BC.; f. 166 op.2, conjugation. 1503, pp. 9, pp. 48, pp. 56; f. 166, op. 2 conjugation. 1503, ark.103. I.F. Chernikov The Middle East Institute // Encyclopedia of History of Ukraine: 1. T. AB / Redkol.: V.A.Smoliy (Chairman) and others. NAS of Ukraine, Institute of History of Ukraine. – K.: Prospect "scientific opinion", 2003. – S. 301. 4. State Archives m. Kyiv, f. 744 op.3, conjugation. 14 ark.7; op. 1 conjugation. 432, pp. 25; op. 3 spr.14, pp. 7, called ark.12.; f. 744 op.1, spr.432, pp. 6; f. 166, op. 2 conjugation. 1503, pp. 32. Tandems, somersaults and gambits of interstate dialogue (Republic of the Gambia in political, diplomatic and institutional dimension of contemporary polycentric world) Vyacheslav Tsivaty Summary The political and diplomatic orientations of Gambia and its regional status in the conditions of polycentric world order of the XXI century are at the article. Attention is focused on the features of the new tools of diplomacy in the conditions of geopolitical realities and prospects in Africa and the world at large. Its analyzed in historical, political and politico-diplomatic course of Gambia today that since the achievement of independence was based on the principles of positive neutrality, non-alignment to blocks, support national liberation movements, was aimed at the development of bilateral relations with all countries on the basis of full and real equality in the intergovernmental dialogue, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. Its diplomacy was different of active, perseverance, dedication, held effective positions on important regional and international issues. Keywords: foreign policy, diplomacy, institutionalization, military regimes, military coups, political development, Dawda (Kairaba) Jawara (Djawara), Yahya (Abdul-Azziz Jemus Junkung Diliu) Jammeh, Adama Barrow, Africa, Gambia. Foreign Policy, Diplomacy and Diplomatic Service of the Gambia today did not arise with the proclamation of independence, but much earlier – during the anti-colonial struggle Gambian people. Since independence (18 September 1965) policies Gambia based on the principles of positive neutrality, non-alignment to blocks, support national liberation movements was aimed at the development of bilateral relations with all countries on the basis of full and real equality, respect for sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. February 18, 1965 Gambia from Senegal signed

agreements on cooperation in the field of defense and security and the common foreign policy. July 17, 1965 established diplomatic relations between the Gambia and the USSR. September 21, 1965 Gambia was admitted to the UN. Gambia as part of the African Union, the Non-Aligned Movement, Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), the Organization of the Gambia River Basin, international organizations and other ACP countries [1; 4]. In early 2017, the smallest country in Africa – Gambia – found itself on the brink of military conflict due to the failure of authoritarian President Yahya Jammeh over power after losing elections. The defeat in the presidential elections in Gambia Yahya Jammeh, who ruled the country for the past 22 years, became the main sensation African political life in 2016. In contrast to the success of the elections in the United States Donald Trump, this event is not to say that it denied all forecasts of experts, because in this case even no example, no one did – seemed so absurd on the eve of the vote the idea seriously evaluate the odds fairly marginal gambit opposition winning the fight against the eccentric and notorious master of the presidential palace, the government of the country which seemed absolutely unshakable. Over the years of his rule Jammeh made his re-election process for regular formal ritual of pre predictable result. At the time of the announcement of preliminary results of the elections outside the country's new president Adam Barrow was little known, except that he is an entrepreneur in real estate, and more recently worked part time security guard in a London supermarket, and was a candidate of the opposition coalition, and who voluntarily left to unite its ranks the position of treasurer of the United democratic party (EIR). Equally surprising and caused further reaction of President Jammeh, who in the same evening admitted defeat and congratulated his opponent on winning call live on national television. However, a week later, December 9, 2016 policy Gambian governor returned to the usual political and diplomatic channel. Yahya Jammeh suddenly changed his mind, saying the refusal to recognize the legitimacy winning Barrow. For this, he used the occasion – because there has been some adjustment of the final results, it announced its intention to hold a second vote. After converting vote gap between opponents dropped from 9% to 3.7%, but the result still remained in favor of Barrow. According voted 43.3% of voters, according to Jammu – 39.6%. Jammeh has demanded cancellation of results and re-elections, and January 17, 2017 announced state of emergency. According to Jammeh, this step "will prevent a vacuum of power" during adjudication appeal to the president earlier announced results of elections held on December 1, 2016. December 13, 2016 his staff challenged the election results in the Supreme Court of the Gambia, which, however, could not come to the case because of understaffing among its members. In his turn, Barrow denounced the maneuvers of Jammeh and promised them contrary, January 19, 2017 take office in accordance with the schedule. The reaction of the international community was concerned Jammeh, who for two decades his radical political and diplomatic experiments have mastered all the necessary basic algorithms protect against attacks in London, Moscow and Brussels. But he unexpectedly encountered a situation which obviously was not ready. The game – and not on his side – in political tandem firmly joined the African Union and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS / The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)) – Regional Union of West Africa. Block has its own collective forces ECOMOG. Headquartered in Abuja (Nigeria). Regular armed forces of Senegal has about 20 thousand people for a military operation mobilized about 7,000 people. With the Senegal troops planned to send Gambia and Nigeria, which are allocated to the operation several of its aircraft and at least one warship. Gambian armed forces is estimated at 2.5 thousand. Simmering regional conflict

caused concern among members of the regional association of ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) and the UN Security Council. As a result, at least five West African countries – Senegal, Nigeria, Togo, Ghana and Mali – have expressed readiness to provide contingents of its armed forces for resolving the situation in Gambia. That principled position of the sub-regional organizations (ECOWAS), which brings together 15 nations into a single political tandem and Gambia too, was a decisive factor in the collapse of political and diplomatic Jammeh regime. Initiative in the operation of his removal from power took over Senegal and Nigeria, thus expressing a kind of symbolic consensus of English and Francophone ECOWAS factions. Thus both countries, of course, had their own reasons to seek regime change in Gambia. Political and diplomatic situation in Gambia early 2017 has all the prerequisites of political and institutional crises (in regional and historical context). Gambia really can create for this country a lot of inconvenience, especially political and diplomatic nature. However, close and dangerous proximity of the two states in the case of mutual political will and may well be the key to their successful symbiosis, which attempt – however, not entirely successful – was already made in 1981 by creating .: Senegambia Confederation. Although economic contradictions and political elites have ambitions in 1989 led to its collapse to clear that integration in one form or another – the only possible future of the two countries. As head of Senegal in 2012, President Maki Salle made his first foreign visit to the rank of head of state is to Banjul, but later all his attempts to reach the “discharge” political and diplomatic pressure led quickly to opposite results. In addition to the traditional accusations of smuggling and re-export of goods through Gambia and Senegalese forests that are voiced by the government Dzhavara Dowd (1965-1994), The predecessor of Jammu in Dakar accumulated a number of other political and economic claims to the problem of a neighbor – support from militants in Casamance to drug trafficking and regular freight tariff blackmail that Jammeh used to pressure Senegal. On top of that, Jammeh was also blamed government Maki Sala in support of the opposition to his regime. However, as shown by the action of Senegal during the current political and diplomatic crisis, Jammu feared both their northern and southern neighbor is not in vain. Solidarity, which Jammeh was given to “torment” by Senegal leaders of other countries, gives reason to say that the desire to respect even basic procedures of electoral democracy gradually gained in West Africa generally accepted character and even fundamental rules. Jammeh, who in the political and diplomatic world famous for its regular hunt for ‘witches’, both in the figurative and in the literal sense of the word, very generally quite a decent reputation ECOWAS, causing thereby the appearance of the leaders are part of the community of resistant desire to get rid of him at the first opportunity. Anyway, more than a month long shuttle diplomacy presidents of Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Mauritania attending Banjul and still hoped to convince Jammeh go into political retirement in the good, has not reached the goal. For both sides the conflict became a kind of decisive moment, difficult to say what would things could have gone if Jammeh regime itself did not collapse from within. The first signal was an appeal to the president 12 heads of diplomatic missions abroad Gambia, calling him not to interfere with the democratic change of power and hand over to Barrow. In protest against the Jammeh in the first half of January 2017 his resignation announced Vice President and five government ministers in t. H. Foreign Minister left the country Nene Makduell-Gay. Forces demonstrated their loyalty to the president, but when January 19, 2017 came to armed intervention on its territory, the army Gambia Senegalese parts not provided any resistance, and even part of it over to the grouping ECOWAS. The previous political Jammeh regime in terms of Africa researchers

called – “dictatorship of development.” Indeed, for all its scandalous extravagance, Jammeh regime Mavi their achievements. The combination of these factors and factors do not allow the board to call it completely useless and unsuccessful. First, it advances social policy: opening of the State University (1999); Free initial (1998) and then average (2015) school education (before the last election president also promised that in 2018 citizens will be free to study at the university); development of a national health care; the right to free medical services to pregnant women and children under five; ban on female truncated (2015) and early marriage (in 2016, according to UNICEF, nearly half of Gambian women entered marriage before age 18). In late 2014 the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) confirmed Gambia achieve victory over hunger – a mandated UN Millennium Development Goals. Against this background “of the dictator,” as proudly called himself Jammeh, continued to be the center of attention due to its resonance and foreign political and diplomatic somersault. West pretended not to notice the whims of a dictator until then, until he accused the former metropolis in the neocolonial dictatorship. The fact that London has become increasingly saving on “helping” small African country. At the same time, the Persian Gulf monarchy, inspired by the success in spreading its influence in Africa during the “Arab spring”, promised much larger bonuses. In 2013, Jammeh demonstratively left the Commonwealth. In March 2014 the English language the status of state suddenly changed Arabic. In December 2015 Gambia Jammeh declared an Islamic republic, while pledging to respect the rights of other religious communities. According to unconfirmed reports, he began negotiations to intensify cooperation with China, including military sphere. Informed sources reported interest of Beijing in renting of Chytabonh islands, Daranka and Lamin. This chain of actions and rumors may become final verdict cloudless long political rule Jammeh. Return Jammeh to recognition of policies single China and frank political and diplomatic advances from the Gulf states could not save his political regime. Western States immediately and unanimously recognized Barrow won the election. January 19, 2017 after the inauguration of Barrow, held at the Embassy of the Gambia in Senegal, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted a resolution that gave the green light to the start of military operations by grouping ECOWAS, and that same evening went to the territory of Gambia. Barrow after the inauguration urged the international community to support it in opposition to Dzhambi. Barrow had to spend the inauguration outside the country for security reasons. Postpone the ceremony was not possible because the Constitution requires countries swearing that day. After the ceremony, Senegalese troops entered the Gambia to ensure the transfer of power. Gambia on all sides by land area is surrounded by Senegal. On the same day the UN Security Council unanimously supported the plans of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on the transfer of power in Gambia, although stressed that a political solution should be a priority. The representative of Senegal army said that troops are now in the Gambia, ready for combat if necessary. “This is war, if we encounter any resistance, we will fight. If there are people who are fighting for the former president, we will fight them,” – said Colonel Abdou Ndiayye. A few hours after the operation became clear that the Jammeh regime is doomed, and its elimination should be completed before the end of the week. Arriving on the latest talks the presidents of Mauritania and Guinea still convinced Jammeh to stop senseless resistance and use one of the proposals on asylum. Jammeh left the country the evening of January 21, 2017, after announcing his political appearance in Equatorial Guinea. By his own admission the new president Adam Barrow, he is much more interested in business than in politics and diplomacy, and not going to permanently occupy the presidential palace. Western media actively conducting the idea

that Barrow can play the role of a "Gambian Mandela" with the difference that, unlike the latter, it is not for mass national liberation movement, and situational united coalition of small and still quite weak parties. That emphasis is not on the national liberation and national reconciliation. By the way, if the plans of a new president still does not change, it seems, soon enough to begin the disintegration of the coalition and realignment of political and diplomatic strength for new political battles. First and largely determines the political battle – elections to the National Assembly are scheduled for April 2017. Another important issue – the fate of future relations Gambia and Senegal in the changing political and diplomatic context. Most politically active citizens Gambia welcomed the introduction of the Senegalese army units to their state by taking it not as aggression, but rather as "an act of African solidarity." However, active support provided during the crisis Senegal power actually cleared the path to power Barrow Adam and generates various kinds of speculation about a possible direct or indirect dependence on the new president of the Dakar, which is a threat to the economic, institutional and political sovereignty Gambia. In this regard it is useful to recall that earlier Senegalese troops already introduced into the territory of the Gambia in 1981 to suppress anti-government insurgency, organized by left-wing radicals. The political consequences of military assistance provided by the Government Dzhavara then became rapid rapprochement between the two states and the Senegambia Confederation (political territorial association) [2]. Today, the situation is somewhat like the situation in 1981. Legally elected president in Barrow, however, forced to seek support from the neighboring states, which army actually stabilize the political situation in the Gambia and, of course, provide its power. Although, shortly after the resignation of Jammu, the General Staff of the Gambia Barrow found their new commander, perhaps, his confidence in the Senegalese army is incomparably greater than to the power structures and institutions of his own country. At the official request of the new president of ECOWAS troops stay in Gambia continued for another six coming months – to complete stabilization of the political situation. The desire to protect themselves from possible trouble from the National Intelligence Service, who served on the board Jammeh function of the secret police, explains the interest in the new president's foreign forces that act is the main guarantor of peace and stability in the country. Being in a difficult financial situation, which significantly increased the empty state treasury after the theft, fugitive ex-president of 11 million dollars. USA, Barrow announced the return of the Commonwealth of The Gambia (up to 1946 – British Commonwealth), as well as other controversial anti-Western cancellation initiatives Jammu. He hopes that London, Moscow, Brussels and the EU response can help young African democracy, but rely exclusively on the willingness of the British to finance the construction of the "new Gambia" is not worth, given its own domestic problems associated with the future release of the European Union. The position of the leading countries in the world due to the crisis of 2016-2017 in the Gambia is close to the position of the African Union, countries which supported the resolution 2337 of the Security Council on the political situation in the Gambia. However, their fundamental position was a priority above all political means-unlocking crisis. There were also special state of mind than stressed, in this case, their neutrality. Jammeh went into exile. And what remained for Gambia citizens today? Less than one week Gambia has consistently experienced a state of emergency, coup escape abroad most of the previous government and 2.5% of the population refuse national armed forces to defend the regime deployment of other states oath abroad and the newly elected president three days the period of dual power and uncertainty. What awaits the country in the future after a hard week's transfer of power. The most important thing that

happens in Gambia decentralization of power – is the main course content category “A New Gambia”. If before the people of Gambia Yahya Jammeh was almost everything: the Pater, and the president and head of government and head of the ruling party, the government’s new leader will be much smaller. Thus the political and diplomatic Barrow rate will affect both obligations to partners “Coalition 2016” and, not least, to the foreign partners who brought him to power: Senegal, Britain, Nigeria and ECOWAS others. Inside coalition Barrow support 6 parties: Democratic Organization for Independence and Socialism Party national reconciliation congress Gambia for morality, Party National Convention, the People’s Progressive Party, the Party for Democracy and Progress in Gambia. Each of these forces seeking dividends for supporting Barrow within the all-inclusive government. In addition, in April 2017 Gambia waiting for elections to the National Assembly as well as the fight for the votes of the electorate among the members of the “Coalition 2016” significantly worsen. Barrow promises to create a truth commission that will investigate the crimes of the previous regime as part of public policy called “New Start” which pursue the goal of protection of democratic gains in the country. [3] Regarding liabilities of Barrow to foreign áktors, everything is easier. External forces have become guarantors of his power and demand for that satisfaction. ECOWAS stabilization operation involving 7,000 personnel of political action is not cheap, and its cost is yet to be determined. Barrow until stay in the territory of Gambia ECOWAS forces, will continue to be “younger brother” of Senegal and neighboring leader Mackey Salle teach its democracy and good governance. As for London, Barrow has promised to make the UK trade partner number one Gambian and return the country under the British crown in the ranks of the Commonwealth. In addition, Gambia now ratify the Statute of the International Criminal Court. In general, it is quite complex sensitive and complicated political and diplomatic tasks in the near future to Gambia. Finally, we must pay tribute to ECOWAS leaders, who were able to offset through armed intervention to keep the country from sliding back to a state of internal civil conflict, with or without spilling a drop of human blood – a striking example of successful peacekeeping and quality (preventive) diplomacy. Consequently, ECOWAS can safely nominate a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize in 2017 [3]. Especially remembering the sad experience of the bloody conflict Rwanda, Central African Republic, South Sudan, where the international community avoid of their solution, which caused catastrophic victim. ECOWAS could prevent it therefore time to recognize the global opportunity for African States to resolve their own conflicts. Today we can state in Gambia presence of special political model – a model of external control African countries. Foreign footprint in Gambia Gambit real and very likely in the future development of political and diplomatic events. Arguments: First, the “winner” of elections A. Barrow, although formally a citizen of Gambia, but much of his life in the UK, including just before the election. Second, the West is interested in shifting Y. Jammeh of Gambia through the exit from the participants of the International Criminal Court (ICC). We have noted that the owners of ISS will avenge to those countries that dare to tear this institution and conduct independent policy and diplomacy. Therefore, Jammeh punishment is not only one of the Gambia. For example, Namibia also announced the release of the ISS. Thirdly, the tandem bunch of “Western protege – the International Criminal Court” seen in geopolitical games are not the first. Before that, the most striking example of this combination was the case of former President of the Republic of Cote d’Ivoire Laurent Ġbarbo. And now Ivorian scenario used in the Gambia. In early March, a delegation of Economic Union of West African States (ECOWAS), which consists of four heads of states, visited Gambia. The organization has repeatedly carried out military invasion of an African

state in order to “restore constitutional order”. The same can happen in the Gambia. However, in this case the situation could significantly be complicated. The gap between the winner and the president was only 4%, the country is split into two parts. Supporters of the president is not less than the opposition supporters, foreign intervention could lead to bloodshed, and the population that supports Y. Jammeh, will have every reason to consider ECOWAS intervention as aggression. Gambia case has its own characteristics. First, a recognition Y. Jammeh his political defeat, and before the announcement of official results. Secondly, this disability Gambian Supreme Court, which lacks several judges. Incidentally, the Chief Justice of the Gambia is Nigerian, which introduces another element of “external influence” to Gambia chess game. In addition, the ECOWAS mission in the Gambia led Nigeria President M. Bukhari, an active promoter of the International Criminal Court. Thus, the political and diplomatic situation in the Gambia (Gambia history, politics and diplomacy) can draw some general conclusions. First, the elections in different countries increasingly declare themselves “independent electoral commission.” Increasingly, you can see how external control by certain countries is carried out through these bodies (institutions). Secondly, it became clear that the West seeks not simply to displace Y. Jammeh, but do it deliberately to prevent the new states of Africa from the International Criminal Court. Thirdly, the effects of political and diplomatic crisis in the Gambia can be local war that will cover the neighboring country of Gambia African continent. This can happen because of long-standing conflict and violation of the relevant contracts. We can assume that the local political-diplomatic conflict in the Gambia has all the signs of escalating conflict in its regional level. Perhaps even the assumption of restoring political tandem Senegal and Gambia (Senegambia) in the near future as a form of predictive solution to this conflict. Gambia in March 2017 stands at a crossroads or last on the threshold of a new international political life in a polycentric world of the XXI century. Political and diplomatic choice of Gambia is still to come ...References1. Belokrenitsky V.Ya. East in the world political processes. Asia and Africa in the history of international relations and modern world politics / V.Ya. Belokrenitsky. – Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 2010. – 319p.2. Shklyazh I.M. Africa: History and Modernity / I.M. Shklyazh, D.A. Veselkov, Yu.P. Khilimov, A.V. Hmil. – Nikolaev, 2005. – 204 p.3. Center for Research in Africa (Ukraine): platform of Ukrainian orientalists. – Access african.com.ua [03.03.2017].4. Donald R. Wright: The world and a very small place in Africa: a history of globalization in Niimi, the Gambia. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004. – 320p.