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"BALANCING" STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP OF POST-SOVIET COUNTRIES

The article makes an attempt to analyze the implementation of the strategic partnership in a number of countries in the post-Soviet space. It analyzes the influence of historical imperatives, in particular, the collapse of the Soviet Union, on the formation and implementation of the partnership through deepening of relations with the USA, China, and EU. It is noted that there is a need to further analyze the establishment of the strategic partnership in its applied and practical dimensions. There is an opinion justifying the fact that the study on the establishment of the strategic partnership needs to be carried out with the account of a number of factors that include the entire complex of development of independent post-Soviet countries. It is proposed to expand further study of the strategic partnership, because of the need to rethink the process of globalization in the general civilizational dimensions.

Key words: strategic partnerships, post-Soviet countries, globalization, USA, EU.

The main directions of the implementation of the strategic partnership are connected with the political and historical conditions, in which the post-Soviet space formed and developed. Therefore, in our opinion, it is possible to single out the regional dimension of the strategic partnership, the essence of which is to support and deepen the interstate interaction at the level of the countries that were part of the Soviet Union, as well as the global dimension, which is realized through deepening of relations with such partners as the USA, China, and EU. Let us notice that this approach to the consideration of the strategic partnership is primarily caused by the challenges to collective security and problems of search for political like-minded people on the international arena.

It should be noted that the principles of the strategic partnership in the post-Soviet countries are studied both by foreign and domestic scientists. The most famous domestic scientists, whose works are devoted to studying the strategic partnership, include the following: S. Vidnianskyi, B. Humeniuk, A. Hutsalo, I. Zhovkva, A. Zlenko, Ye. Kaminskyi, B. Kantseliaruk, A. Kruhlashov, M. Kulynych, V. Lytvyn, Yu. Makar, Ye. Makarenko, H. Perepelytsia, N. Pipchenko, I. Pohorska, M. Ryzhkov, V. Smolii, B. Tarasiuk, S. Feduniak, V. Chalyi, A. Shevchuk, I. Tsependa, etc. The works of the following foreign authors are also quite relevant: Z. Brzezinski, S. Garnett, D. Ding, G. Kissinger, S. Kay, P. Cronin, W. Cooper, H. Milner, D. Mitrani, E. Rostow, M. Sariolghalam, K. Sylvester, R. Skidelsky, H. Snyder, A. Wolfers, D. Feit, O. Holst, K. Holst, J. Chekel, and Yu. Yafe.

It has been found that not only social scientists that reveal the partnership essence in various areas of the humanities, but also the researchers of exact and natural sciences that try to apply the principles of reliability, validity, and accuracy when forecasting political processes in the global space analyze the problems of the strategic partnership formation. It is clear that planning, forecasting, and control of such processes are extremely important for the partnership implementation, but the essence of the strategic partnership concept, used in the post-Soviet space, also requires a detailed understanding. When considering the fact that the process of political transformation of the post-Soviet countries is still in progress, we believe that it is necessary to define doctrinally the approaches to formation of the strategic partnership system at the state level.

There is also a need to emphasize Minsk's attempts to establish relations with Ukraine, which, when taking into account the military aggression, is actively strengthening its own defense capability and developing the military-industrial complex along with the economy stabilization. The analysts suggest that despite some political and economic dependence of Minsk on Moscow, Belarus will establish partnership with Ukraine: "Belarus has chosen the direction for development of its own military equipment as much as possible, including creation of its own missiles, which is supported by Ukrainian specialists".

The Belarusian-Kazakh relations are of a strategic alliance nature, facilitated by exchanges of visits at the highest and high levels, as well as by the meetings of the presidents and prime ministers of Belarus and Kazakhstan within the framework of the CIS, CSTO, and Eurasian integration. The expansion of trade and economic, investment and scientific-technical cooperation, as well as the introduction of mechanisms

for intergovernmental and intersectoral cooperation evidenced the strategic nature of relations between the countries, which allowed the development of a guideline for the development of bilateral trade and economic cooperation for 2009-2016.¹

In the long term, Belarus intends to strengthen and expand the foreign policy arc of its allies and partners in the Asian, Latin American, Middle Eastern, and African regions, deepening the interstate cooperation to the level of strategic partnership². In particular, the Republic of Belarus tries to establish the military partnership with China as evidenced by joint military trainings and cooperation in the field of military technologies. Thus, the PRC can become a promising military partner for Belarus as exemplified by the joint development of the salvo fire system "Polonez".

We can add that the renewal of the Belarusian-Chinese relations took place in July 2013 during the official visit of the President of the Republic of Belarus A. Lukashenko at the invitation of the PRC President Xi Jinping when a joint declaration on the establishment of comprehensive strategic partnership was signed. In general, the existing bilateral agreements cover the issues that are related to the deepening of trade and economic cooperation in order to avoid double taxation, protect investments, expand cooperation in the field of science and technology, art and culture, education, tourism, air communication, health service, strengthen military and technical cooperation, provide legal assistance in civil and criminal cases, etc.³.

The Belorussian leadership notes that the development of the relations of the comprehensive strategic partnership of the Republic of Belarus with the People's Republic of China meets the long-term interests of the state and the strengthening of its international positions. Therefore, the further directions of the cooperation with China will include mutual integration of industries and enterprises; introduction of information and communication technologies; formation of joint research and scientific-practical centers; system interregional cooperation; establishment of the regional sinology center in the Republic of Belarus. In this respect, the development of conditions for the joint development of trade, investment, financial and innovation spheres, creation and implementation of joint projects and enterprises will be the target areas of the cooperation with China. We shall add that the Belarusian-Chinese intergovernmental committee on cooperation will be the coordinating body, as well as branch commissions established with it⁴.

Let us note that the strategic partnership between Belarus and Venezuela is strengthened as a result of the agreements reached at the highest level on the joint implementation of cooperation projects in trade and economic, scientific and technical, and other spheres, in particular, in July 2013 during the visit of the President of Venezuela, N. Maduro developed a guideline for the development of the cooperation between Belarus and Venezuela. The result of the Belarusian-Venezuelan cooperation was opening in Venezuela of the representative offices of RUE PD "Belorusnafta", JSC "Belgorkhimprom", CJSC "Belzarubizhstroj", the introduction of joint enterprises for the petroleum production "Petrolero BeloVenesolana", conduction of seismic exploration by the joint company "Sismica BeloVenesolana" and others. The Belarusian-Venezuelan joint high-level commission, intergovernmental Belarusian-Venezuelan joint commissions on trade and economic cooperation and cooperation in the field of science and technology were established and fully operate⁵.

Deepening of the interstate trade and economic cooperation with Brazil meets the strategic interests of Belarus, in particular, in March 2010, the first official visit of the President of the Republic of Belarus A. Lukashenko to Brazil took place, which facilitated the exchange of a number of visits of the business circles delegations and development of Brazil as one of Belarus' leading trade partners in the Latin American region. It should be noted that the strategic cooperation of Belarus and Cuba in the economic sphere is also developing, which was facilitated by the working visit of the delegation of the Cuban

¹ Двусторонние политические отношения. *Посольство Республики Беларусь в Казахстане* kazakhstan.mfa.gov.by. <http://kazakhstan.mfa.gov.by/ru/bilateral_relations/political/> (2017, May, 05)

² Приоритетные направления внешней политики Республики Беларусь. *Министерство иностранных дел Республики Беларусь* mfa.gov.by. <http://mfa.gov.by/foreign_policy/priorities/> (2017, May, 07)

³ О политических отношениях Беларуси и Китая. *Посольство Республики Беларусь в Китайской Народной Республике* china.mfa.gov.by. <http://china.mfa.gov.by/ru/bilateral_relations/> (2017, May, 05)

⁴ Директива Президента Республики Беларусь «О развитии двусторонних отношений Республики Беларусь с Китайской Народной Республикой». (31 августа 2015 г. № 5. КонсультантПлюс. Беларусь. ТехнологияПроф. Минск) <http://www.pravo.by/upload/docs/op/P01500005_1441141200.pdf> (2017, May, 05)

⁵ Беларусь и страны Америки. *Министерство иностранных дел Республики Беларусь* mfa.gov.by. <<http://mfa.gov.by/bilateral/america/>> (2017, May, 05)

business circles, headed by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade and Foreign Investments, and official visit of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba in 2011, during which the prospects of the Belorussian-Cuban cooperation were discussed¹.

It is stated in the foreign policy concept of the Republic of Tajikistan (2015) that the main long-term foreign policy objective of the state is to protect the country's strategic interests on the international arena. In particular, for Tajikistan, the expansion and strengthening of the strategic partnership with the Russian Federation is of particular importance and it is considered by the country's leadership as an important factor in ensuring regional peace and stability. At present, it is possible to note the confirmation of bilateral readiness to implement the actions, aimed at activation of cooperation in the fields of trade and economy, transport and communications, electrical power engineering, as well as in the agro-industrial complex. The foreign political cooperation of the states is also directed at the activation of the integration processes in the region because of the full disclosure of the potential of the free trade zone of the Commonwealth of Independent States. At the same time, the importance of the conducted forums and conferences on interregional cooperation, as well as the work of the Business Council on bilateral cooperation, created in 2016, were emphasized².

Strengthening of the relations of good-neighborliness, friendship, and mutually beneficial strategic partnership with the People's Republic of China is one of the most important tasks of Tajikistan's foreign policy in the Asian direction, which contributes to the progressive expansion of interaction in the political, security, military-technical, trade-economic, and cultural spheres³. Let us separately note the strategic partnership with the Italian Republic in the sphere of security, efforts in combating organized crime and illegal drug trade, since it is Italy that has become one of the main donors for establishment of the Drug Control Agency under the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, which allowed carrying out of special training for the members of the Tactical Assault Group and Analytical Center in Italy⁴.

Therefore, the government of the Republic of Tajikistan defined the following three strategic goals for further sustainable development of the country: ensuring energy independence, removing the country from the communication gap, and ensuring food security. Let us consider that the foreign policy initiatives of the leadership of Tajikistan includes the assistance in solution of the political and economic problems of Afghanistan, development of regional cooperation, rational use of water resources, cooperation in the field of energy and anti-terrorism effort, as well as the start of new dialog formats of the Persian-speaking countries at the level of Tajikistan-Afghanistan-Iran and "Dushanbe Four" (Tajikistan-Russia-Afghanistan-Pakistan)⁵.

The peculiarities of formation of the strategic partnership relations of the Kyrgyz Republic are reflected in the concept of foreign policy (2007) and National Sustainable Development Strategy of the Kyrgyz Republic for the period from 2013 to 2017, in which it was noted that the country's foreign policy is based on stable and friendly relations with neighboring states and leading countries of the world, as well as international organizations. For this purpose, in the near future, the republic's leadership plans to restart relations with Kazakhstan, China, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan and move to a new level of strategic cooperation with the Russian Federation. In addition, the new forms of effective political and economic interaction with the United States, European Union, as well as with the countries of South-East Asia and Arab region, will be searched for⁶. The signing of the Joint Declaration with the People's Republic of China on deepening of the relations of the strategic partnership (2014), which will be based on the expansion of the trade-and-economic, scientific-and-technical cooperation, support of the

¹ Беларусь и страны Америки. *Министерство иностранных дел Республики Беларусь mfa.gov.by*. <<http://mfa.gov.by/bilateral/america/>> (2017, May, 05)

² Совместное заявление Президента Республики Таджикистан Эмомали Рахмона и Президента Российской Федерации Владимира Путина по итогам официального визита. *Пресс служба Президента Таджикистана*. <<http://www.president.tj/ru/node/14643>> (2017, May, 06)

³ Отношения Таджикистана с Китаем. *Министерство иностранных дел Республики Таджикистан mfa.tj*. <<http://mfa.tj/index.php?l=ru&cat=91&art=21>> (2017, May, 06)

⁴ Отношения Таджикистана с Италией. *Министерство иностранных дел Республики Таджикистан mfa.tj*. <<http://mfa.tj/index.php?l=ru&cat=92&art=188>> (2017, May, 06)

⁵ Три стратегические цели. *Министерства иностранных дел Республики Таджикистан mfa.tj*. <<http://www.mfa.tj/?l=ru&cat=96&art=221>> (2017, May, 06)

⁶ Указ Президента Кыргызской Республики от 10 января 2007 года № 2. *Концепция внешней политики Кыргызской Республики* <<http://cbd.minjust.gov.kg/act/view/ru-ru/4569?cl=ru-ru>> (2017, May, 07)

initiatives concerning the joint building of the economic belt of the Great Silk Road, and development of the guideline for improving the bilateral cooperation became the continuation of the political initiatives of Kyrgyzstan¹.

Let us note that the essence of the foreign policy guidelines of the Republic of Armenia is reduced to strengthening of the external security of the state, providing of favorable conditions for the involvement into the international and regional processes, strengthening of the bilateral and multilateral relations with friendly and partner countries, as well as with international organizations. Among the partner countries, the leadership of the state singles out the deepening and expansion of the allied interaction and strategic relations with Russia, strengthening of friendly partnership with the USA, deepening of good-neighborly and mutually beneficial relations with Georgia and Iran, as well as the settlement of the Armenian-Turkish relations without preconditions. One of the foreign policy priorities of Armenia is also the course towards European integration, based on common values and commitments, adopted in the framework of cooperation with the regional structures and organizations².

Conclusions. The strategic partnership influences the formation of the foundations of the foreign policy of the post-Soviet countries, which developed their own approach to implementation of strategic partnership with the account not only of the geopolitical peculiarities, but also of the activities of the leading international actors. In the future, when analyzing the establishment and formation of the strategic partnership, it is worth paying attention not only to how the countries of the post-Soviet space transform, but also how the strategy for the partnership implementation is formed in the foreign policy of each country. Let us emphasize the continued need for studying of the efforts for establishment of the strategic partnership between the Russian Federation, China, and the Republic of Belarus, however, there is also a need to continue studying of the foundations of the strategic partnership between other countries of the post-Soviet space, in particular, it is interesting to consider in more detail the foreign policy imperatives of such countries as Ukraine and the Baltic region countries since, despite their historical similarity, they have many differences that resulted in original national partnership strategies.

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¹ Совместная декларация Кыргызской Республики и Китайской Народной Республики о дальнейшем углублении отношений стратегического партнерства. *Официальный сайт Президента Кыргызской Республики 18 мая 2014 года* www.president.kg. <http://www.president.kg/ru/news/3933_sovmestnaya_deklaratsiya_kyrgyzskoy_respubliki_i_kitajskoj_narodnoj_respubliki_o_dalneyshem_uglublennii_otnosheniy_strategicheskogo_partnerstva/> (2017, May, 07)

² Приложение к Постановлению Правительства Республики Армения № 1060-А от 18 октября 2016 года. *Правительство Республики Армения* www.gov.am. <<http://www.gov.am/files/docs/2032.pdf>> (2017, May, 07); *Внешняя политика. Министерство иностранных дел Республики Армения* www.mfa.am. <<http://www.mfa.am/ru/foreign-policy/>> (2017, May, 12)

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