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Founded by Mariupol State University

129a Budivelnykiv Ave., Mariupol, 87500

Tel.: (0629) 53-22-60, e-mail: visnyk.mdu.istoria.politologia@gmail.com

Web-page: www.visnyk-politologia.mdu.in.ua

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HISTORICAL SCIENCE

UDK 94(477.8)''1895/1917''

S. Antonova, J. Tsetsyk

FEATURES OF THE ACTIVITIES OF CITY GOVERNMENT BODIES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURE OF THE CITY OF THE VOLYNIA AT THE BEGINNING OF XX CENTURIES

In the article on the basis of primary sources analyzed features of infrastructure development of cities of Volyn province in the early twentieth century.

It was found that although at the beginning of the 20th century. Electrification of cities played a positive role in their development and contributed to the improvement of urban infrastructure, but it should be noted that their work was not all positive. And this in turn negatively affected the development of urban infrastructure. This situation was conditioned by the difficulty of bringing coal to power plants, unfair compliance with contracts of station owners concluded with the city authorities, which caused dissatisfaction with the inhabitants of cities.

An important direction of the activities of the bodies of municipal self-government in Volyn in the early twentieth century was to improve the improvement of the cities of the region. Although in urban budgets, certain amounts were set for these needs, and as the analysis of the time documents shows, they grew annually, and in a number of settlements, significant work was carried out. But despite the general positive trends, it should be noted that a number of issues related to the improvement of cities were solved quite slowly, causing a complaint about the work of the bodies of municipal self-government.

The priority directions of activity of the bodies of the city self-government of the region in improving the work of the objects that improved the development of cities have been identified. Particular attention is paid to the complexity of the infrastructure development that was observed in Volyn during the First World War.

Key words: *Volyn, bodies of city self-government, improvement.*

UDK 930.2:72(477.62-2)''18''

S. Arabadzhy

APPEARANCE OF MARIUPOL CITY AND ITS LIVEABILITY IN THE XIX CENT. VIEWED BY THE CITY'S VISITORS BASED ON THE MATERIALS OF PERSONAL ORIGIN

The article is devoted to the information capacity of the sources of personal origin which visualize Mariupol living space and its comfortability. The travellers who visited the Azov Sea region and Mariupol in particular captured their emotions and everything they saw in the form of diary records and travel notes. This bulk of sources was conceptually categorized into three groups. The first group consists of the materials that have statistical data concerning the city's housing stock, number of industrial establishments, markets and shops. The second group is comprised of the sources elucidating comfortability of the city and describing emotions that the

authors had while staying in Mariupol. The constituents of the third group are the materials presenting the detailed description of the churches and sacred vessels.

The analysis of the source of personal origin enabled to reach the conclusion that Mariupol was not enough liveable. That fact inconvenienced the population in everyday life. The absence of paving stones on the roads, numerous potholes, lack of carriers were the main inconveniences. The city was provided with clean and tasty water from the well. Despite they constantly fetched water from the stone reservoir and water the livestock the spring was always full. According to the travellers' evidences the residents of Mariupol didn't feel any need for food and non-food goods. There were enough trade institutions in the city that were located in different parts of Mariupol. The disadvantage of their staff's work was inappropriate goods placement, dirt in front of outlets and their unattractive exterior. Pubs and other institutions of retail sale of alcohol that were situated next to the commercial facilities bothered many residents of the city.

The townspeople could spend their free time in the municipal garden and dance club. In the middle of the XIX cent. in Mariupol there was one club that some time later was divided into two: foreign (Greek) and Russian. According to the travellers' evidences there were not enough entertainments venues. The spiritual needs of the population were satisfied with the Christian churches the number of which varied in the course of the XIX cent. In general the sources of personal origin are sufficiently informative, they include descriptions of the city, its streets, trade institutions. They help to visualize the living space of Mariupol townspeople, environment of their everyday life and complement the data of the official materials.

Key words: sources of personal origin, Mariupol, material of expeditions, travellers' notes.

UDK 271.2-737(477.83=14)"15/17": 061.23

I. Lylo

SOME QUESTIONS OF THE PARTICIPATION OF GREEKS IN STAVROPIGIAN BROTHERHOOD IN LVIV IN THE XVI-XVIII c.

The issue of the activity of the Greek immigrants in the Lviv Stavropigian Brotherhood - a non-government institution that for many years was an represent of the interests of the local Orthodox population - was considered.

An analysis of the archives source and published materials made possible to clarify the contradictory points that were introduced in the past in historiography and as a result - led to the loss of interest from the side of the other researchers to the studying history of the Greek communities on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The main purpose of the research was to show how the Greeks were able to realize themselves through the presence in the Orthodox institutions. The Brotherhood was a perfect instrument for them to fulfill the practical tasks of integrating into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. At the same time Brotherhood was as institution for preserving religious and national identity. Like Catholics and Protestants who actively supported people of similar faith in the West during the period of the Reformation, the majority of Greeks who settled in Poland, integrated with the local Orthodox society. In the Early Modern period religion was the factor that united people more than their nationality and culture.

The persecution and bans from the Rome-catholic authorities, made the Greeks and Ukrainians acted as allies in Lviv. Even more, the Greek merchants became an good example as a successful dealers for Ukrainians and in the same time, was good communicators between the

religious centers of the Eastern Mediterranean and the Orthodox communities of the Ukrainian and Belorussian lands of the Poland.

The majority of Greek immigrants were people who immigrated to Poland from lands under Venice control. It was an influential group that was linked by economic and family relations. In Lviv, they operated according to a similar scheme as did they are like that in Moldavia and the territories of the Balkan Peninsula. Before integration into local community Greeks are buying of real estate and created of the trade associations. The next step was to support and build a variety of institutions, book printing (including in local languages). Rich and powerful Greeks attempted to influence and strengthen their positions through Orthodox Church.

Throughout the time of the existence of the Brotherhood of the Greeks merchants provided significant financial support to it. However they did not have of decisive influence for determinative decisions. Their cooperation with the local Orthodox population was mutually beneficial. It's cooperation was built on the basis of religious identification and vision of the future.

Keywords: *Lviv, Greeks, Stavropigian Brotherhood in Lviv, Rzecz Pospolita, Orthodox Church.*

UDK 930.1"1960/1980":316.343-058.14(477)"1946–1965"

D. Nefyodov

**COVERAGE OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY
OF UKRAINIAN SSR POSTWAR WORKING CLASS (1946-1965)
IN SOVIET SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE OF THE SECOND HALF
OF THE 1960S – EARLY 1980S**

The purpose of the article is to analyze the coverage of social and political activity of the Ukrainian SSR postwar working class (1946-1965) in Soviet scientific literature of the second half of the 1960s – early 1980s.

We established that Soviet literature of the second half of the 1960s – early 1980s misdescribed the political life of the Ukrainian SSR. The political system of the Soviet society was characterized in the works of historians and social scientists by such features as “harmonious interaction and clear organization of each level”, “steady expansion of democracy, rights and powers of councils and non-government organizations, enforcement of socialist legality and citizens’ rights”. It was noted that in the conditions of “developed socialism” the political organization of the society “is increasingly becoming national in nature”. “Ideological and political unity of all classes and strata of society” and “smooth unity of the political power and the working class” were peculiar to it.

This research area comparatively with others hasn't been analyzed. The bureaucratic authority more and more sidelined the elected bodies of state and public organizations from participation in state administration. The actual sideline of workers and the working class from the process of policy formulation and implementation took place.

Keywords: *Ukrainian SSR, working class, postwar reconstruction, historiography, social and political life.*

O. Podobied

THE DAILY MOBILITY OF DISPLACED UKRAINIANS OF POST-WAR WEST GERMANY

The author aims to analyze what factors influenced and complicated the daily mobility of displaced Ukrainians of post-war West Germany. We also need to pay attention to the problem of inequality in access to mobility. We can distinguish two types of everyday mobility – physical and virtual-communication displacements.

The absolute majority among the displaced persons were physical displacements. Among the factors that complicated the physical mobility of displaced persons, one should mention the destruction of the transport infrastructure of West Germany during the World War II. Another factor that influenced everyday mobility – the living of displaced Ukrainians in the camp of the DP or outside it. Everyday mobility depended on the remoteness of the work from the place of residence. The movement of Ukrainians over significant distances was carried out mainly with the help of the railway, as well as by truck, bicycle and on foot. The factor that complicated the mobility of Ukrainians between the occupation zones of West Germany is the access system. Civilians had to get a special permit to cross the administrative border, which sometimes had to wait several months.

Not all displaced Ukrainians had equal opportunities to realize physical mobility. Speaking of inequality in access to mobility, first of all we mean individuals who had limited physical health capabilities. They experienced considerable difficulties in their daily movements, and accordingly their access to mobility was limited.

To virtual-communication movements of Ukrainians of post-war West Germany should include telephone conversations and correspondence. The total cost of telephone communication was too expensive for displaced Ukrainians, therefore, as a rule, they did not use it. But such a method of communication, as the correspondence of displaced Ukrainians, especially the intelligentsia, used very actively. In the first post-war months, mail in the destroyed countries of Europe did not work very quickly. Another factor that influenced the correspondence was financial. Displaced persons lacked the means to purchase stamps, paper and ink.

Key words: *Ukrainian displaced persons, Western Germany, everyday mobility, transport, mail.*

UDK 94(477.62-2Map) «1917»

V. Romantsov

UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION. EVENTS OF 1917 IN MARIUPOL

In 2017 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921 is celebrated. It was a transformative event in the history of our state as continuing a centuries-old tradition of state creation after the long-term period of being under the reign of the foreign states it paved the way to the revival of the Ukrainian statehood. III Universal of the Central Council of Ukraine proclaiming creation of the Ukrainian People's Republic and expanding its rule into the territory of Katerynoslavsk province including Mariupol uyezd occupied an important place in its process.

The analysis of the events of the Revolution of 1917 indicates that regardless of the fact that Mariupol was in a distance from the revolutionary center of Ukraine it was influenced by the Ukrainian Revolution. The Ukrainian Revolution events were covered sufficiently fully and positively by the city's newspapers. These articles informed Mariupol democratic community about the tense struggle of the Central Council of Ukraine for broad national and territorial autonomy of Ukraine.

The events of the Revolution of 1917 distinctly indicated that among the Ukrainians who lived in Mariupol the ideas of the national and cultural as well as the state revival were promoted. Functioning of Ukrainian society "Prosvita" at that time was not limited to cultural and educational activity but it also joined the social and political movement within the Ukrainian Revolution. The process of public life democratization taking place in the city facilitated this.

The Ukrainian Revolution as well as the February Revolution in Russia was developed on the democratic basis and due to this was unhindered by the leading public and political circles of Mariupol except for the Bolsheviks. In the course of November 1917 in Mariupol the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic's authority was taking place democratically. The important place in the revolutionary process was taken by the III Universal of the Central Council that proclaimed the establishment of the Ukrainian People's Republic and expanded its authority to the territory of Katerynoslavska province including Mariupol uyezd. But further events showed that the process of the Ukrainian Revolution in Mariupol as in Ukraine in general appeared to be inconclusive.

Examining the issue of the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917 events in Mariupol enables to convey truthful information about that hard decisive period to the contemporary residents of the city in order to overcome conventional historical myths of the Soviet times. It affords the opportunity of analyzing the role of Pryazovye in the history of Ukraine, in its social development and decisively proves that Mariupol is an integral part of Ukraine.

Key words: *Ukrainian Revolution, Universals of the Central Council of Ukraine, Ukrainian People's Republic, authority of UPR, Ukrainian national movement in Mariupol, Mariupol City Council.*

UDK 94(477)"14/17

I. Storozhenko

THE HYPOTHESIS OF THE GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF UKRAINIAN COSSACKS IN THE ASPECT OF PASSIONARY THEORY OF ETHNOGENESIS (the END of XV – MID of XVII century)

Coveraging the Cossack's ethnogenesis problem the author of these lines appeals for the second time. For the first time "Hypothesis of the origin and evolution of the ethnic structures of Ukrainian Cossacks the end of the XV – mid XVII century in the aspect of ethnogenesis" was published by the author in the sixth section of his monograph "Bogdan Khmelnytsky and Zaporizhzhya Sich of the late XVI – mid century XVII. Book second: Genesis, evolution and reforming of the organizational the structure of the Sich" (2007).

The publication of this section had the experimental character and the desire of the author to show the readers in his interpretation simplified contents of Lev Gumilev's passionary theory of ethnogenesis available to students. At the same time, it was supposed to demonstrate the scientific effectiveness of the theory of ethnogenesis to defining the essence of the Ukrainian Cossacks as a phenomenon of Ukraine history. The results showed that our Cossacks in the first

stage of evolution (from the end of XV to mid – XVI) did not arise as the army, but as an ethnic system, as future Cossack subethnos, i.e. as an integral part of the Ukrainian ethnic group and its dominant. As far as it was formed in dangerous conditions of the Large Steppe Border of Ukraine (further – the Big Cordon), so it was forced to arm themselves and eventually turned into the armed forces of the Ukrainian ethnoses. According to the Ukrainian state tradition originally the armed formation appeared, on the base of which the state-administrative elements superposed. In our case, on the penultimate stage of formation of subethnic groups (70-80s of the XVI century.) the Cossack army originated, which formed military ethnic Cossack subethnos (late XVI century), which acquires a military state, in particular, the first Zaporozhian (Bazavluk) Sich (1590-1638.).

Application of L. Gumilev`s theory of ethnogenesis for the study of Ukrainian Cossacks caused by the military scientific elite of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine and understanding support of the author. Upon request the abovementioned section of the Cossack ethnogenesis transformed into a monograph, which was approved for publication by the academic Council of the DNU named after Oles Gonchar, Protocol № 6 dated 27.12.2012. But due to the lack of funds by that time it haven`t been issued. At the same time we note that the publication of this monograph and the consideration in it the origin and development of the Ukrainian Cossacks in the aspect of ethnogenesis would answer a number of questions that until that time there was no answer.

Key words: *ethnic nature of the Ukrainian Cossacks, military-ethnic Cossack subethnos, passionary theory of ethnogenesis of L. Gumilev.*

UDK 279.14(477.8)1918/1939

V. Shevchuk

ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ADVENTIST CHURCH IN GALYCHYNA AND VOLYN DURING THE SECOND POLISH REPUBLIC

This article studies the administrative and territorial establishment of the Adventist Church in Galychyna and Volyn, the territories which during the interwar period belonged to the Second Polish Republic. The article describes the reasons of emergence and development of the Adventist Church. Also, it analyzes the activity of the General Conference and Adventist unions which existed in Galychyna and Volyn during the interwar period.

Based on the archive documents it is argued that the administrative and territorial establishment of the Adventist Church in the Western Ukraine during the Second Polish Republic was stipulated by the increase in number of the church members. Also, it was shown that the formation of the centralized church management was a crucial moment in the Adventist history in Poland because, on the one hand, it was a sign that the church members perceived the necessity of the church organization, and on the other hand, it was an indicator of their ideological unity, since their purpose was not only to achieve the internal stability but also had a positive tendency of the development of missionary activity. The article also describes five distinctive periods of the establishment and development of the Adventist church during the interwar period.

The article demonstrates that the population of the Galychyna and Volyn was interested in religion and was very tolerant to the spread of the Adventist influence and to the growth of the Adventist organization, although the ideology of the Second Polish Republic made the free

functioning of the church almost impossible and especially the missionary activity was prohibited. As a result of this the outreach in Galychyna and Volyn was prohibited.

The article analyzes the work of the Adventist unions and proves that every Adventist congregation due to some objective reasons was quite independent which made them to organize themselves for the missionary work.

Key words: *Second Polish Republic, administrative and territorial establishment of the Adventist church during the interwar period.*

UDK 32.019.5

J. Bokoch

**TECHNOLOGIES OF INFORMATION INFLUENCE IN CONDITIONS OF
HYBRID CONFLICT**

The article analyzes the current information war as a manifestation technology and component of political communication. The main problem of creating high-quality information products and develop their own information sphere in Ukraine were considered. The essence and importance of strategic communications to create an effective system of information security of the state had been identified.

The realities of Informatization and its influence on the political processes of Ukrainian society are that information sources and media are implemented as means of multidirectional action. On the one hand, information tools are actively used by the authorities for the purpose of propaganda influence, and on the other – information technologies allow citizens to associate freely, realizing their socio-political aspirations, rights and freedoms. Under modern conditions, mass communication is a source of influence on most socio-political processes - as a way of realizing the power interests of the political elite and an integral part of civil society, and acting as independent political actors.

Effective counteraction to hostile information influences requires, first of all, the development of its own information sphere, capable of creating a powerful and high-quality national product. During almost all years of independence in Ukraine there were systemic problems of the development of the information sphere, which are related to the unclear understanding of the role and responsibility of mass media in the society, as well as socio-political and economic factors.

One of the directions of creating an effective state information protection system is the development of strategic communications, which is the result of the process of integration of public opinion research and interested actors. The specificity of strategic communications is that they create messages for different target audiences, but these messages are not contradictory in content. Such communication is not limited to targeting one target group, but also takes into account the impact of the generated message on other audiences. Accordingly, strategic communications serve as the exchange of certain cognitive messages or ideas in support of national strategic goals.

Keywords: *information influence, political communication, information warfare, information products, strategic communication.*

M. Buchyn

**RESTRICTIONS ON THE PRE-ELECTION AGITATION AS A CONDITION OF
DEMOCRACY OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS: EVOLUTION OF LEGAL
REGULATION IN UKRAINE**

The article deals with the restriction of pre-election campaigning as an important condition for elections' democracy. On the basis of the analysis of Ukrainian electoral legislation, the evolution of such forms of restriction of pre-election campaigning is shown: according to time, place, subjects, finances and methods.

Key words: *elections, democracy, pre-election campaigning, restriction of pre-election campaign, legislation, Ukraine.*

One of the conditions for the functioning of democracy, the desire to build which Ukraine has declared, is the existence of an institution of democratic elections. Pre-election agitation is the core of the election process, as it is necessary for the candidates to mobilize all resources during this period to ensure victory in the elections. This leads to the conflict-oriented nature of pre-election campaigning, often creates unequal conditions for conducting an election campaign by various candidates and contributes to the increase in the number of delicts, as evidenced by the electoral practice of Ukraine.

Legislation of the democratic countries allows you to freely agitate through all legal means. At the same time, the principle of freedom of agitation does not exclude the existence of certain restrictions on its implementation, which promote equality in the implementation of electoral rights. This makes chosen research topic relevant, since the consideration of the evolution of legal regulation of constraints on pre-election campaigning in Ukraine will help to better understand the aspects of the pre-election campaign, to see the disadvantages of domestic legislation and promote its improvement.

The problem of pre-election campaigning and legal regulation of its limitation was considered by foreign scholars such as N. Bondar and I. Gambashidze [3; 18]. Among the domestic researchers the issue of pre-election campaigning was studied by O. Barabash, O. Bolshakova, A. Maghera and others [1; 2; 17]. The researchers considered issues of the essence and features of pre-election campaigning, legal aspects of its implementation, restrictions that applied to its conduction. At the same time, the imperfection of electoral legislation regarding the legal regulation of constraints on pre-election campaigning requires more comprehensive researches of this aspect of the electoral context.

The **purpose** of the article is to consider the evolution of legal regulation of constraints on pre-election campaigning in Ukraine.

The restriction of pre-election campaigning can be divided into restrictions by time, by subjects, by methods, place and financing. It is important to consider how the domestic legislation regulates and restricts campaigning for all of these parameters. In Ukrainian legislation, the beginning of campaigning was tied to various events. Already since the 1990 election, agitation could take place after the candidate's registration [4]. Such a procedure for the beginning of campaigning existed, including the 1999 presidential election, and was, in our opinion, not entirely optimal, since it placed candidates in an unequal position and could encourage abuses by the commissions on their timely registration.

Therefore, we consider the bind of the beginning of campaigning in 2002 to a specific date as positive: the law provided the launch of an agitation campaign 50 days before the election [4]. However, it has to be noted that already at the 2006 parliamentary elections the legislator again

decided to return to the bind of the commencement of agitation to the date before the registration procedure. This applies to subsequent editions of election laws, as well as the current electoral legislation [6; 9; 14; 15]. Therefore, we see the expediency of changing the terms of agitation and enshrining in the electoral legislation the binding of the commencement of pre-election agitation to a specific date before the election day.

The final date for campaigning is also important for the elections' democracy. It should be noted that in 1990 the legislator banned campaigning on election day [4]. The same applies to the 1991 and 1994 presidential elections, as well as to the 1994 parliamentary elections. In addition, on the elections in 1994 the veto was imposed on attempts to boycott the election in any form [7]. During the parliamentary elections in 1998, the legislator banned campaigning on the election day, but noted that printed agitation materials posted before the election outside the polling station remained in place [8]. This situation, in our opinion, wasn't optimal. This is due to the low timing limiting of campaigning (election day is a short deadline for calmly consideration of the situation and making informed choices), as well as the printed agitation materials' influence on the electorate on the day of the elections that remained in the voter's field of view.

In the 1999 presidential elections, the legislator forbade campaigning not only on election day, but also on the day before it [9]. Finally, in 2002, the legislator ordered the relevant local authorities to remove all agitation materials starting from the 24 hour of the last Friday preceding the election day [5]. During parliamentary elections in 2006, legislation specifies forbidden actions on the elections day and on the eve of the election day. In addition to the prohibition of agitation, it was prohibited: to hold mass actions (meetings, rallies, campaigns, demonstrations, pickets) on behalf of the subject; distribute agitation materials and public announcements about the candidate's support on conducting the concerts, performances, sports competitions, screenings of films and TV programs or other public events [15]. These provisions were also transposed into electoral legislation which regulated the holding of parliamentary elections in 2012 and 2014 [6]. Similar provisions are also included by current presidential election legislation [16].

This situation indicates the intention of the legislator to create the most favorable conditions for the formation of voters' preferences on the basis of information received without external pressure in a calm atmosphere. In our opinion, one day before the election it's enough for the citizens to analyze the course of the election campaign and make rational expression of will in their interests.

In addition to campaigning, the results of sociological surveys should also be subject to time limits, since they also have a significant impact on the formation of voters' electoral preferences. It should be noted that for a long time in Ukraine the legislator was missing this question from the field of view. Only in the parliamentary elections of 1998 it was noted that in the 15 days before the elections the announcement in the media of the results of sociological surveys, opinion polls and other subjects' ratings forecasts was prohibited [8].

In 2002, the legislator further prohibited publishing of the results of exit polls on election day before the end of voting. However, the norm on the prohibition of promulgation, in addition to the results of sociological surveys, as well as projections was lost [5]. This was a significant disadvantage, as it allowed influence on voters on the eve of the elections using public forecasts of well-known personalities for the results of the expression of will. In the following versions of the law, this nuance was not taken into account, which creates the necessity of its inclusion in the legislation in the future.

At the same time, some changes were made in the current legislation regarding the publication of the results of sociological surveys - they were forbidden to be published during the last two (earlier - fifteen or ten) days before the elections. Also, the legislator regulated the conduction of polls in the polling station on the day of voting: in addition to the prohibition of the promulgation of their results before the end of voting, a demand was made according to

which the methods of conducting such polls should ensure the preservation of the secrecy of voting [6; 13; 16].

It is worth noting that such innovations have different qualitative assessment. On the one hand, time liberalization regarding the promulgation of the results of sociological surveys is, to our minds, somewhat wrong, since the information received by the voter directly on the eve of voting day can disorient him and lead to negative consequences - avoidance of participation in elections or committing the expression of will contrary to his wishes and interests. On the other hand, the legislator's desire to keep the secrecy during the exit polls should be evaluated exclusively positively.

The next is the restriction of agitation by the subjects. At the initial stages of the electoral practice in Ukraine, legislation was characterized by the lack of norms aimed at regulating this type of restriction [4; 7; 10; 12]. Only in 1998, the legislator banned participation in campaigning of officials. A similar ban was also imposed on members of commissions [8]. In 1999, stateless persons were added to the list of subjects who were forbidden to agitate [9]. In 2002, a substantive clarification was made regarding the prohibition on campaigning for members of commissions: the latter was forbidden to agitate only while performing their duties [5].

At the 2006 parliamentary elections, the legislator expanded and detailed the range of persons for who there are restrictions on campaigning. To this list the law enforcement agencies and courts were additionally added. As for foreigners and stateless persons, the legislator clarified the prohibition of campaigning through journalism, as well as participation in concerts, performances, sports competitions, and other public events held in support of candidates [15].

During the parliamentary elections in 2012, the legislator for the first time banned the campaigning of the authors and broadcasters who are candidates for deputies. In addition, the restrictions on the campaigning of the officials and officials of authorities, law enforcement agencies and courts were liberalized: they were forbidden to campaign only during working hours [6]. We see the imperfection of this provision as it contributes to the use of official status and violates the equal conditions for the participation of subjects in agitation. On the eve of the 2014 presidential election, amendments were introduced to the legislation, that fixed, although less detailed, analogical to the current parliamentary legislation list of subjects who are prohibited from campaigning [9; 16]

The above-mentioned clarifications on restricting agitation were a reaction to the disadvantages of Ukraine's electoral practice in the agitation period and were aimed at reaching the widest possible range of people, the campaigning of which violates the principle of freedom of agitation.

For the implementation of the principle of freedom of agitation, the quality of agitation products and agitation actions also plays an important role. Therefore, this principle implies the presence of restrictions on agitation methods. In the parliamentary elections of 1990, the legislator does not attach any value to this problem, and during the presidential election race in 1991, it is limited to the general statement that agitation materials must comply with the requirements of the law and the content has to be agreed with the election commission [4; 10].

During the parliamentary elections in 1994, the legislator made an attempt to prevent agitation with the use of "dirty" technologies, obliging the media a week before the vote refrain from the release of unverified data that compromise a particular candidate. Otherwise, the media was obliged within a week, but not later than the day before the election, to give the candidate the opportunity to refute the compromise [7]. This provision, as we see, was characterized by universality and did not determine the conditions in which compromise requires refutation, nor the characteristics of the process of refutation itself.

At the presidential election in 1994, the legislator specifies the requirements for the content of campaign materials. Such materials, in particular, shouldn't contain secret and false information, calls for violent acts or commercial advertising [12]. During the parliamentary

elections of 1998, the legislator imposed additional restrictions on the methods of conducting campaigning. In particular, anonymous agitation was banned. To this end, the law required that printed agitation materials had to contain information about the organization, institution, persons responsible for their issue, the original data of the institution that issued the print, a total circulation of copies. In addition, candidates were obliged to submit one copy of each type of printed material to the election commission with a personal signature, not later than three days after making [8].

Also, the legislator has banned the inclusion of agitation materials and political advertising in information programs. The latter should have been separated and designated as such. In addition, it was forbidden to interrupt the agitation with commercial advertising or other messages. Finally, the agitation, which was accompanied by the provision of voters free of charge or on preferential terms of goods and securities were prohibited. A positive aspect of the 1998 law was also the anticipation of possible actions by the authorities on condition of violation of the restrictions on campaigning by the methods: "In the case of the distribution of anonymous agitation materials or agitation materials under the pseudonym or materials calling for violent overthrow of the constitutional order, violation of the territorial integrity of the state, to the national, linguistic, racial, religious intolerance the election commissions after receiving such information are obliged to apply to the law enforcement agencies in order to terminate illegally campaigning and taking measures stipulated by the legislation of Ukraine" [8].

From the above we can conclude that in the 1998 elections, the legislator regulated the restriction of campaigning by methods only in print media. Therefore, in 2002, the use of such restrictions for sociological surveys was also positive. Legislation imposed a requirement to the mass media in case of publicizing the results of the public opinion poll, to indicate the organization that conducted the survey, time of its conducting, the number of respondents, the method of gathering information, the exact formulation of questions and the statistical estimation of the possible error [5].

Measures to avoid the anonymity of political advertising in electronic media in 2002 could also be characterized positively: "During the demonstration of political advertising, the full name of its customer must be displayed in the form of a text message, which should occupy not less than fifteen percent of the screen area and be executed with the contrasting color to the background and be perceptible for the viewer" [15].

In the parliamentary elections of 2006, the prohibition of campaigning accompanied by bribe was also detailed. The provision of free of charge goods to voters containing visual representations of the name, symbolism, flag of the candidate of the process provided that the value of such goods does not exceed 3% of the minimum wage, the legislator didn't count as a bribe [15].

In 2012, a number of provisions were introduced to promote elections' democracy and transparency. The legislator has introduced a requirement that, by publishing the results of public opinion polls, in addition to those mentioned in the previous versions of the laws of information, it is necessary to indicate information about the customer of the survey [6]. Such a norm will enable the voter, in our opinion, to have a clearer idea of the nature and reliability of such a survey.

Another improvement in the 2012 elections was the legal regulation of the promulgation by TV and radio organizations of the results of interactive polls related to the election: "... the participants in the broadcast are not allowed to comment the results of such surveys or otherwise refer to them. During the entire time of promulgation of the results of an interactive poll of the audience, must be accompanied with the text message. "This poll reflects the opinion of this audience only," which should be shown on the screen (for TV programs) in a form acceptable to the viewer, whether to be sounded (for radio programs) with a clear text of a announcer or a presenter of the program immediately before and after the promulgation of the indicated results"

[6]. During the parliamentary elections of 2012, the legislator also banned the dissemination of knowingly false or defamatory data on candidates only if it was established in court [6].

On the eve of the 2014 parliamentary elections, an addendum was added to the law, which prohibited the placement of political advertising in a single block with commercial or social ones. In addition, it was forbidden to use in social or commercial advertising the names or portraits of candidates, as well as the names and symbols of parties that run for parliament [13]. Similar restrictions on campaigning include the current presidential legislation. However, it should be noted that it is somewhat more declarative if to compare with the parliamentary ones. This applies, in particular, to the lack of detailed requirements for social and commercial advertising during the election, as well as bribery-free agitation [9; 16].

The next is the restriction of campaigning by the place of implementation. It was first recorded in 1991 and envisaged the possibility of local authorities to decide to ban the placement of agitation materials on individual buildings, which are architectural monuments, as well as for the purpose of road safety [10]. But the lack of imperative norm made it declarative and difficult to apply.

In parliamentary elections in 1994, the legislator additionally applied restrictions on campaigning in military units. Organization of meetings of candidates with military personnel was relied on the AAU with the obligatory invitation of all candidates. In other cases, visits to military units by candidates, as well as their trustees, agitators and representatives of parties, blocs and movements were prohibited [7]. In the 2002 parliamentary elections, the aforementioned restrictions on campaigning began to apply to the institutions of the criminal-executive system. In addition, the legislator has prohibited campaigning in foreign media operating in Ukraine [5].

In 2006, the following restrictions on campaigning by the place were added: "The placement of political advertisement carriers, as well as the distribution of political advertising through radio broadcasting or other networks for the notification of passengers, in public transport vehicles, metro stations, train stations, ports and airports is prohibited" [15].

In the elections of deputies of 2012, certain changes were made regarding restrictions on campaigning by the place: "Placing of bearers of political advertising on the outside and inside public transport vehicles, including taxis, placing political advertisements in premises and at the buildings of metro stations, bus and railway stations, ports and airports, as well as the distribution of agitation materials, including political advertising, through broadcasting or other information networks and information boards in the premises of stations and underground carriages, bus and train stations, ports and airports, in public transport vehicles is prohibited" [6].

In addition, it was forbidden to place propaganda materials and political advertising not only at buildings and in the premises of government bodies, but also at the houses of enterprises, institutions and organizations of state and communal property [6]. During the 2014 parliamentary elections, the election law was supplemented by a provision prohibiting campaigning during events organized by authorities, state and communal enterprises, institutions and organizations [13]. Such a provision and its positive character in terms of freedom of agitation are evident. However, it would be reasonable to include the aforementioned norms to the current presidential election legislation.

The last type of the restriction of agitation is the restriction by funding. Already, the 1991 law provided for the financing of agitation from two sources: the State Budget and the funds of the candidate's election fund, however, there were no restrictions on the campaigning depending on the funding [10]. However, in the presidential election in 1994, the legislator restricts campaigning by a financial factor: "It is prohibited for a candidate, his trustees and authorized person to receive from anyone and spend his own funds for election campaign outside the personal election fund of a candidate" [12]. Such a rule facilitated the arrangement of agitation,

control over the financial component of the election and created a level playing field for candidates in the election campaign.

However, the law gave citizens the opportunity for volunteering participation in elections through both private work and the use of their own means on a voluntary basis in free from work or service time [12]. Such a general nature of the provision has contributed to the abuse of office and created unequal conditions for campaigning by different candidates. This provision was also retained during the 1999 presidential election [9].

In the 2002 elections, the legislator detailed the restrictions on agitation by the financial factor in the media. According to the regulatory act, airtime or print space was provided to the candidate on the basis of an agreement that was concluded between him and the appropriate television, radio companies or print media. Without the conclusion of such an agreement and the receipt of funds to the account of the relevant media, agitation was prohibited [5]. The expediency of such a norm was obvious, since it didn't allow for free campaigning, having implemented fictitious (or symbolic) payment, or campaigning on much more convenient terms from its opponents.

In 2004, the legislation contained a norm according to which a candidate or a party (bloc) who had nominated him could produce printed agitation materials using their own property [11]. This, in our opinion, created unequal conditions for the campaigning of various candidates and made it difficult to control the observance of the rules of campaigning by the participants of the election race.

In 2006, the legislator enacted an important norm that regulated the financial constraint on the implementation of public agitation measures: financial support of concerts, performances, sports events, demonstration of films, television programs and other events could be carried out by the candidate only at the expense of the election fund [15]. The aforementioned provision was maintained in the current parliamentary legislation and was a reaction to Ukraine's electoral practices, which previously enabled certain actors, through financial support for public events, to create their own support and better conditions for victory.

In addition, the current parliamentary election legislation contains an additional rule aimed at regulating the restriction of campaigning for finances: agitation in the media of all forms of ownership at the expense of the election fund can be made only after payment of print space or airtime from the relevant fund [13]. The expediency of introducing this norm, taking into account domestic electoral practices, seems to be quite feasible. At the same time, it is necessary to state the need to consolidate such norms in the current presidential legislation.

Summing up, it should be noted that most of the problems connected with restrictions on election campaigning are properly regulated in Ukrainian electoral legislation. It allows elections to be held in accordance with international democratic standards. At the same time, certain aspects of legal regulation of constraints on election campaigning require revision and correction to ensure equal conditions for conducting an election campaign. It is also clear that, in addition to legislative regulation, the democracy of pre-election campaigning depends on the level of political consciousness and culture of the participants of the electoral race and their desire to adhere to the existing rules of the game. Given the lack of sufficient respect for Ukrainian legislation by both voters and candidates, the study of the problems of forming a democratic electoral culture of citizens may be a promising direction for further research.

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N. Gavrilova, J. Konstantinova

**THE LATIN AMERICAN VECTOR OF FOREIGN POLICY OF CHINA:
OBJECTIVES, TASKS AND IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISMS**

The Chinese international policy is one of the actual questions for the researchers, because this policy defines development and tendency in the many spheres of the modern system of international relations nowadays.

Under the superintendent of Xi Jinping a strategic course of China on the international scene changes towards openness and the aspiration to take the place of the global player. Moreover, such player is ready to take the responsibility for a modern world order. Also, the domestic policy and its problems within the country are the substantial factor, which have influence on the formation of the Chinese foreign policy.

The cardinal changes of a geopolitical situation on the continent involved the turn of foreign policy of China towards the Latin America. The countries of the Latin-American region needed new economic partners at the period of "Left drift". Therefore, the cooperation with Chinese government became a perspective way of the Latin-American foreign affairs.

The Latin American vector of Beijing is implemented by means of "soft power". Aid programs to development to foreign countries, giving various grants and humanitarian aid, promoting of the Chinese culture and language through representative offices of Institute of Confucius are tools of "soft power". Also traditional diplomacy is widely used and the relations between China and the Latin American countries are characterized by high degree of dynamism.

At the present day the economic power of China became the main factor for its foreign policy. Therefore, the principal directions of the cooperation with other countries are trade development, investments and crediting.

But, negative consequences of cooperation for the Latin-American states develop the more lately. First of all, it is connected with transformation of the region to a raw materials source for the Chinese economy and sales market of cheap goods. Also, there is a problem of policy of the Chinese businessmen who give insufficiently attention to environmental protection and violate the working law of the countries.

However, in spite of the existing problems China has strengthened the impact on the continent today. Moreover, the state extruding the USA, the EU and Russia and became the main extra-regional player.

Today in the framework of such direction of Chinese foreign policy the all complex of tasks set by the leadership of the People's Republic of China at the beginning of his expansion to the region is actually completely realized.

Key words: *China, Latin America, foreign policy, "soft power", cooperation, investments, raw.*

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N. Gavrylova, T. Moskalov

POTENTIAL OF VIDEOGAMES IN POLICY CHANGING OF NATIONAL SECURITY OF STATE

This article provides points of view on different scenarios of possible usage of videogames as useful tools in providing necessary changes for national security of state and in the area of informational security in particular. Article gives the scientific definition of “videogames”, provides brief explanation on modern scientific research of videogames (scientific schools, most prominent researcher, etc.), and describes existing examples videogames usage in modern systems and examples of usage of videogames in national security in particular. For the present day, there is two scientific approaches to videogames research – ludologism (videogames research based on their gameplay analysis) and narrativism (videogames research based on their script analysis). Main ideas of both scientific paths are represented in this article.

Article describes three main implementations of videogames in national security as of this day: counter-terrorism programs, training materials and tools for gathering statistical data. Article draws correlation between changes in modern information-based world and possible usages of videogames in this light.

Article gives example of videogames usage in counter-terrorism programs as tools for training military personnel, gathering of statistical data about players, which allows to recognize potential terrorists among them.

As for usage of videogames as training programs, article gives example of videogames, used as tools for emergency service personnel education in case of event of terroristic attack and natural or man-made disasters.

Usage of videogames as data gathering tool described in this article on example of gathering information about players feedback on different nationalities or social groups based on how often this groups appears as antagonists in videogames. Another example is usage of videogame to gather player feedback on current world problems (war conflict, human right violations e.t.c.)

Article uses mostly examples and works of US authors and researchers as the topic of this article as of right now is underdeveloped and not represented in Ukrainian dimension.

Keywords: *videogames, national security, game rules.*

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N. Gavrylova, M.Chinyakova

MIGRATION CRISIS IN THE EU AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR FRANCE

The article is devoted to the migration crisis in modern Europe, in particular in France. The reasons that caused this problem, the actions of the French authorities to solve it is considered. And also the possible consequences of the migration crisis for the country and the entire French people. The migration crisis has led to an increase in social tension in society, changes in the political Olympus. It has led to the emergence and strengthening of right-wing parties in parliaments of key European powers (for example, “Alternative to Germany”), Islamization of Europe. And this problem has become one of the main reasons for the Brexit. The

consequences of the migration crisis hit all European countries, including France. The country where the problem with migrants was important in the sociopolitical life of society.

France has adopted in its territory the largest number of foreigners in the history of immigration to Europe. In the early 2000s, the French government decided to cut off access channels and cut sharply the total number of migrants in the country. The presence of a million representatives of Muslim migrants led to the fact that France became the country where the processes of Islamization take place very quickly.

The rise of illegal migration faced by France has led to a sharp escalation of the security issue. This has created favorable conditions for terrorists and their activities. With the increase in the number of migrants, terrorist acts have increased in Europe. Numerous terrorist attacks in France shocked the whole of Europe. France became the country in whose territory the largest number of terrorist acts was committed. In recent years, crime has also increased, the streets of many European cities became dangerous during the dark times of the day.

Key words: EU, France, migration crisis, migrants, islamization.

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O. Hilchenko, D. Vierutina

GERMANY'S NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF PREVENTION THE «HARD» SECURITY CHALLENGES

The article analyzes the problem of ensuring the national security of Germany in the context of preventing the «hard» security challenges. Outlined the main challenges of «hard» security for Germany in the White Paper 2016: transnational terrorism; calls in the cyber and information environment; inter-state conflicts; unstable states and weak governance; global arms development and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; uncontrolled and illegal migration. The authors analyzes the threat of inter-state conflicts for the national security of the Federal Republic of Germany and the response to this challenge by combining in its policy the method of diplomatic solution of current conflicts to intensify the participation of the Bundeswehr troops in most of the NATO missions.

Characterized the threat to Germany's security from unstable states through the spread of terrorist organizations from their territory, organized crime, trafficking in human beings and weapons, etc. Shown the components of the rating of fragile states. Characterized Merkel's policy aimed at preventing the emergence of possible threats by unstable states in providing economic assistance to developing countries and regular humanitarian assistance to countries in difficult socio-political and economic situations.

Considered Germany's approaches to fighting international terrorism as a new, «asymmetric» threat. Described practical activities for preventing terrorist attacks in Germany and Europe both after 2001 and after the islamist terrorist attacks in Europe 2014-2015. Determined the peculiarities of migration flows to Europe and Germany, in particular, and their preconditions and reasons. Described Angela Merkel's personal approach to solving the migration crisis and the state's activities on the European arena in search of relevant EU migration policy. Identified priority areas in confronting to threats in the cyber and information space. Determined preconditions for the adoption of the new EU Cybersecurity Strategy. Provided the statistics on cyber-attacks on German state structures during recent years. Determined importance of cybersecurity in European political and economic processes.

Key words: national security policy of the FRG, White book, challenges of «hard» security of the FRG, interstate conflicts, unstable states, terrorism, illegal migration, cyberterrorism.

L. Dorosh, R. Shchukina

**COMMONALITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE FUNCTIONING OF THE
OSCE SPECIAL MISSIONS IN UKRAINE AND GEORGIA:
INSTITUTIONAL AND PROCEDURAL DIMENSIONS**

It is analyzed the commonalities and differences in the functioning of the OSCE mission in Georgia and Ukraine and the effectiveness of the organization in resolving conflicts in the former Soviet Union. It is investigated the OSCE activities in Georgia and Ukraine, mainly its institutional and procedural dimensions. Emphasis is placed on the reforming of the decision-making process; introducing a coercive mechanism, whether economic or political, which could affect the parties to the conflict in order to implement the agreements; equipping of the OSCE missions with new security tools.

Keywords: OSCE, the OSCE Special Monitoring Mission, conflict in Georgia, conflict in the East of Ukraine, international security.

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (further: OSCE) is the major regional international organization in the field of security, which contributes to the resolution of many conflicts. Currently one of the priorities of the organization is the development of democratic institutions and sustainability of the former Soviet Union, including Ukraine. Despite significant activity in conflict resolution, many analysts assert about the low efficiency of such activities in the areas of a conflict. Therefore, in case of finding mechanisms for resolving the conflict in Eastern Ukraine with the direct participation of the OSCE, the studies of the effectiveness of its methods *are actualized* for establishing democratic order and peace in the former Soviet Union countries. To learn this, we can compare the OSCE activities in Georgia and Ukraine, mainly its institutional and procedural dimensions.

Conflicts in South Ossetia and Eastern part of Ukraine remains unresolved. Given the fact that the OSCE missions were involved in the settlement of both conflicts, the organization's activities are often criticized. Therefore, it is important to comprehensively examine the role of the OSCE in resolving both conflicts, namely the legal framework, the work of institutions and operational activities on the ground. Taking into account such various criteria as the development of a peaceful settlement program, the response of the OSCE bodies to crises, the operational activities of specific missions in both countries will help us to find which gaps exist in the structure and functioning of the organization. Such comparative approach was not used before, and OSCE activities in both conflicts were often viewed separately, without comparison. However, the experience of the closed OSCE mission in Georgia may be useful in developing a crisis management plan in Ukraine. Consequently, comparisons of conflict resolution methods in Georgia and Ukraine are very relevant and will allow to identify shortcomings, emphasize the achievements of the work of both OSCE Missions and develop recommendations for resolving such conflicts in the future.

The article *aims* to identify commonalities and differences in the functioning of the OSCE mission in Georgia and Ukraine and to analyze the effectiveness of the organization in resolving conflicts in the former Soviet Union.

The *source base of research* includes works on peacekeeping and conflict resolution, in particular, the issues concerning OSCE effectiveness in crisis resolution, as well as its cooperation with other international structures [12]. In this context, it is worth mentioning the work of J. Alsyte, in which the author describes the main achievements of the organization in

resolving "frozen conflicts" in the former Soviet Union and criticizes OSCE for insufficient legislative power and the lack of enforcement mechanism [9].

Conducting the research, we used analytical materials on the OSCE's work in resolving conflicts in Georgia and Ukraine. The issues of the Ukrainian conflict and OSCE missions in Ukraine were investigated by D. Sammut and J. Durso, paying great attention to the effectiveness of the mission in the Donbas region and the future development of the OSCE as an organization aimed at maintaining stability in the region [18]. Another researcher A. Bloed analyzes the activities of the OSCE in Ukraine and emphasizes the unique role of the conflict resolution mission [10]. T. Potier [16], M. Konig [11], M.-J. Rie [17] and S. Stöber [20] in their studies discuss the causes of conflicts in Georgia, shortcomings in the work of the OSCE in resolving the conflict in this country. All authors argue that Russia has had a significant influence on the development of the conflict and its destabilizing role in the post-Soviet region, which hinders OSCE missions in the effective management of conflicts.

To compare the legal regulation of the OSCE in conflict management in both countries there is another group of documents signed by the parties regarding the arrangements for conflict resolution. In the case of the conflict in Ukraine it was important to review the "Protocol on the results of consultations of the Trilateral Contact Group with respect to the joint steps aimed at the implementation of the Peace Plan of the President of Ukraine, P. Poroshenko, and the initiatives of the President of Russia, V. Putin" [6] and "Package of Measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements" [4]. Both documents are the results of the difficult negotiation process and contain requirements in order to end the war on the Donbass.

The review of bibliography and research sources of the OSCE's work on conflict resolution in the territory of Georgia and Ukraine shows that, in spite of the number of studies devoted to conflicts management and organization work, there are practically no scientific works in which the methodology of work is thoroughly analyzed and compared to conflict resolution in Donbass and South Ossetia. All in all, these researchers have raised the following issues in their works such as the main features of the activities of the regional organization, mechanisms for conflict management, principles of the OSCE and its role in the system of regional organizations, the effectiveness of the OSCE missions. These and other issues were the subject of interest for many researchers, including scientists from Western Europe, Ukraine, the USA, Russia, Canada and other countries. We also should note the relatively small number of scientific publications have been devoted to the OSCE Mission to Ukraine and the conflict in the Donbass, which could provide an objective assessment of the peaceful regulation and the OSCE work, and that could help to formulate specific recommendations and suggestions for improving the activity of the OSCE in resolving the Ukrainian crisis and similar conflicts.

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe has extensive experience in resolving conflicts in the post-Soviet region. Nowadays there are two lasting conflicts on the territory of Georgia - in South Ossetia and Abkhazia. With similar consequences, however, with other preconditions in 2014, a conflict began in Ukraine, during which the so-called Luhansk and Donetsk national republics were created. The crisis, which began with the change of the political course of the country and the intervention of external forces – Russia, lasts for more than three years.

Defining commonalities and differences in the OSCE conflict resolution in Georgia and Ukraine we consider the best to analyze legal, institutional and organizational frameworks as well as operational activities of the OSCE in Ukraine and Georgia.

The main normative documents of the OSCE, which regulate the creation, continuation or cancellation of missions, are the Permanent Council decisions. In accordance with the decision made on December 13, 1992, at the meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials, the establishment of the mission, which was to promote negotiations between the conflicting parties in Georgia, were aimed at achieving peaceful political settlement of the conflict in this country

[21, p. 78]. At the Plenary meeting of the OSCE in 1999, the Permanent Council agreed to extend the mandate of the OSCE Mission to Georgiaby adding a Border Observation Operation in order to report on the situation on the border between Georgia and the Chechen Republic of Russian Federation [15]. The next expansion took place in 2001, respectively to which mission observed the situation also on the border with Ingushetia [13], and in 2002 – with Dagestan [14].

In 2008, due to the aggravation of the conflict, the Permanent Council on its plenary meeting decided to increase the number of military personnel observers to 100 people for a period up to six months, of which 20 should be immediately directed to South Ossetia [21, p. 80]. The mandate of the mission ended on December 31, 2008, as a result of Russia's blocking of proposals regarding the extension of observer activities [9, p.81-99]. However, the OSCE Military Observers continued to work in the South Ossetia until June 30, 2009, in accordance with a decision approved by Permanent Council in February 2009 [21, p.78].

The OSCE's presence in Ukraine is much older than in Georgia. The Project Coordinator in Ukraine was appointed in 1999 by the decision of the OSCE Permanent Council. With the beginning of the conflict in the Eastern Ukraine new OSCE Special Monitoring Mission (SMM) was launched on March 21, 2014. This Mission was repeatedly extended by the decision of the Permanent Council due to the constant military tensions in the conflict zone.

The main OSCE normative documents on the resolution of the crisis are agreements developed by its members. For example, in Georgia, basic regulatory documents and policy decisions on conflict regulation were taken by the Expert Group initiated by the OSCE. The first meetings of this group were organized in 1997 for the purpose of concluding the future document with the principles and commitments for conflict resolution. At the fourth meeting in Baden (Austria) in 2000, the first version of the Baden Document “On Fundamentals of political-legal relations between the parties in the Georgian-Ossetian conflict” was developed and presented by the Georgian and South-Ossetian delegations [11, c. 245-246]. However, the work of the OSCE was strongly criticized by the Georgian politicians, in particular, the opposition that treats the Ossetian people as “unwanted violators” on the historical territory of Georgia [16, c. 134-135]. In 2003, the authorities of South Ossetia disassociated the Baden document [3]. We can conclude that the parties have reached the agreements on paper, but they were not implemented in real life. It was the failure of the mechanism proposed by the international community, namely absence of obligations and guarantees of those agreements.

A similar situation has also arisen in resolving the conflict in Ukraine. Talks were conducted in the Minsk format and with the participation of the parties to the conflict (representatives of Ukraine, Russia, unrecognized Luhansk and Donetsk national republics and the OSCE). The first agreement on a temporary armistice was reached on September 1, 2014, after the escalation of the conflict in Eastern Ukraine. The OSCE Representative Ambassador Heidi Tagliavini, former President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma, Russian Ambassador to Ukraine Mikhail Zurabov took part in preparation and signing of the Minsk Protocol. The signatures were also put up by representatives of self-proclaimed republics Alexander Zakharchenko and Igor Plotnytsky. This protocol provided for: cease-fire; decentralization of power in Ukraine and adoption of the Law on the special status of Donetsk and Luhansk regions; holding early local elections; the withdrawal of illegal armed groups, military equipment, fighters and mercenaries from the territory of Ukraine, etc. The OSCE was entrusted with observing compliance with the terms of the treaty, in particular with regard to the cease-fire regime in the conflict zone and monitoring at the Ukrainian-Russian state border [6]. However, many of these provisions were not implemented by the parties to the conflict, and the OSCE constantly recorded cases of cease-fire violations near the delimitation line from both sides. The elections were impossible to organize on the territory where illegal armed formations are still present.

Due to the escalation of the conflict, there was a summit in the Normandy format with the leaders of Germany, France, Ukraine, and Russia. The participants developed a set of measures

to implement the Minsk agreements (Minsk II), which included specific conditions on disarmament, hostage release and elections. In particular, the OSCE mission had to monitor the removal of heavy weapons from demarcation line and elections with the help of the OSCE Office for Democratic institutions and human rights [4]. However, this agreement was partially fulfilled and did not solve the problem of control over the part of the Ukrainian-Russian border, which is uncontrolled by Ukraine. After the signing of the Agreement, the OSCE SMM has recorded ceasefire violations in Luhansk, Donetsk, Debaltsevo and Raygorodtsi [5]. According to the SMM reports, the ceasefire violations continue to this day.

All in all, the documents signed between the parties to the conflict with the assistance of the OSCE, the Minsk Agreements, and Baden document, are quite similar due to its format. The point is that all parties to the conflict took part in signing both documents, and they were developed with the support and initiative of the OSCE. However, there are some differences. In the development of Minsk agreements, there were involved many important actors of international relations, such as France and Germany (Normandy format), which significantly enhanced the credibility and importance of these agreements. In addition, this had a significant impact on the implementation of decisions taken by Russia and Ukraine, as the negotiations conducted at the highest level with the participation of the presidents of both countries. We can talk about the greater involvement of the international community in resolving the conflict in Ukraine, rather than in the case of Georgia.

It is known that the OSCE usually works with the field operations. In 2014, the Special Monitoring was directed to Ukraine to monitor and report on the situation in the east of Ukraine, as well as promoting dialogue between the parties to the conflict [2]. According to the Permanent Council decision, observers stayed in Kherson, Odessa, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Kharkov, Donetsk, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernivtsi, and Lugansk. Initially, the mission consisted of 100 civilian observers; however, it has been significantly expanded [21, p. 27]. As for May 3, 2017, the mission consists of 656 observers from 44 States OSCE Members. The vast majority of observers are concentrated in the Luhansk and Donetsk regions. The largest number of observers are citizens of the United States (61 persons), The United Kingdom (49 people), Russian Federation (37 people) and Poland (35 people) [2].

In Georgia, the OSCE mission began to operate in 1992, with the onset of the conflict in Ossetia. The mission contributed to the peace talks during the Georgian-Ossetian war, and also supported the peaceful resolution of Georgian-Abkhaz conflict under the auspices of the UN. Consequently, its mandate included several directions of work in accordance with the region. As for the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict, the OSCE has a limited mandate in this area, and its activities were aimed at maintaining links with the UN operation in Abkhazia, in order to regularly report on the situation in the region. On the whole territory of Georgia, the mission had to promote the dissemination of the principles of human rights and freedoms in development of democratic institutions and processes, including the development of a new constitution and the implementation of the law on citizenship, as well as coordinate the work of the OSCE with other international organizations - the UN, the EU, the Council of Europe [21, p. 79].

When Abkhazia and South Ossetia proclaimed their independence, Russia began to demand the launching of two separate missions in Georgia and South Ossetia. It was unacceptable to the international community and especially to Georgia [19]. Subsequently, in 2009 the mission completely ceased its work. In the following years, there were some attempts to create the new mission in Georgia, but all ended only with regular OSCE staff visits to Georgia. They helped the EU mission, which monitored the situation near the demarcation line from the Georgian side. The knowledge of the former staff of the OSCE mission based on their experience in the South Ossetia proved to be very helpful for a new EU mission [20, c. 219].

Thus, the organizational component of the mission in Georgia was much weaker than in Ukraine for several reasons. Firstly, the mission did not have enough observers who could

respond promptly to the aggravation of the conflict. Secondly, one mission in Georgia had to perform approximately the same set of functions that two missions in Ukraine performed. In our opinion, dividing obligations for observing compliance with agreements and work with the community (multidimensional approach to security) is extremely important for better coordination of the mission's work. Thirdly, the presence of other observers –Peacekeeping forces could have a negative impact on the effectiveness of the OSCE mission in Georgia. Although some authors believe that such peacekeeping forces contributed to the work of the mission and such formation meets the basic principles of the OSCE [12, p. 54].

In general, the OSCE organizational activity in both countries can be assessed as ineffective. The missions were appointed with the onset of conflicts and activities of the OSCE were conducted with the multidimensional approach, also countries had an opportunity to increase the number of observers. But also there are some difficulties in the organizational work of mission. In some cases, it was unable to prolong the work of mission due to the consensus approach in the OSCE decision-making process.

The OSCE mission in Ukraine insists on the objectivity of its activities, as well on the fact that the parties have to agree on themselves and stop the military actions. Moreover, the observers are invited to check on the compliance of those arrangements. Activities of missions are reflected in daily, operational, thematic and weekly reports [7]. The rhetoric of reports is neutral, that is why observers write only what they saw with their own eyes or what they were able to find out with the help of special devices. In particular, they write about where and what happened. Mission has the opportunity to observe the situation on both sides of the front line. Observers often describe shelling in a certain area, however, they never say it was from the opposite side and do not blame any party. In the reports, there are specified the directions from which they were firing, and the type of weapons. Such an approach results in criticism from both sides of the conflict, especially in the cases where a significant number of victims are. At the end of the reports, there are data on the humanitarian situation in the region. In addition, reports often mention the obstruction of the OSCE's access to a site where a shelling or other critical situation has occurred, which is also a violation of the terms of the agreement [8].

Military incidents in Georgia took place quite often, especially at the time of the biggest outbreak of the conflict in August 2008. It was difficult to achieve proper security controls in view of the fact that there were a small number of the OSCE military observers and they were unarmed. Besides, the OSCE with the UN was essentially forced out by a large number of armed peacekeeping forces created by Russia, Abkhazia and South Ossetia [17]. In its operational activities, the OSCE mission in Georgia has repeatedly faced problems regarding peacekeeping forces. In particular, with the fact that they could not for objective reasons distinguish members of the peacekeeping forces of Georgia and South Ossetia from other security forces. The problem was that the two parties did not comply with the arrangements for the number of participants who should participate in these groups [20, p. 214].

In Ukraine, the OSCE is the only international organization that monitors the situation in the conflict area. Moreover, the SMM conducts regular meetings with the civilians, organizes roundtables with the authorities and citizens. The mission ensures the delivery of humanitarian aid, as well as the access of repair teams to places along the front line. After the accident with the Malaysia Airplane in the Donetsk region, SMM was the first international observer to arrive at the scene. They also provided access to the accident for international experts [7].

All in all, we can find a lot in common in the activities of both missions. In particular, the organization's approach to crisis management is similar. In Georgia as well as in Ukraine, the OSCE activity can be broadly divided into observation and dialogue activities, and the development of democracy. A wide range of issues that covers the activities of the organization in the territories of these countries proves a multidimensional approach to the solution of the

crisis. This should include working with the society, conducting trainings, communicating with local authorities, organizing negotiations, etc.

Analyzing observation activities of the OSCE, in particular in Ukraine, they were often hampered by various factors: the obstruction of access to certain places where a military incident occurred; unpreparedness of the equipment at the disposal of the mission to the conditions of combat operations; insufficient number of observers, or their absence in places of probable aggravation of the conflict. In Georgia, the main problem was that there was an insufficient number of observers, and apart of them there were other peacekeeping forces, which did not always contribute to the work of the mission.

To sum up, it should be noted that the effectiveness of the work of the OSCE in resolving conflicts in Georgia and Ukraine is generally debatable. It is said that by analyzing the normative and legal documents on these conflicts, the specific institutional and operational activities of the OSCE in these countries, we can indicate the partially shared positive and negative points that characterize the OSCE's activities.

Therefore, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe remains the main structure in resolving conflicts on the territory of both states. In case of Ukraine, it is generally the only international organization that provides information on compliance with the parties' agreements. International representatives from the UN worked on the territory of Georgia and observers from the EU continue their work till now [1], but the presence of such representatives did not affect the outcome of the conflict, and it is still considered to be frozen.

Among the achievements of the OSCE missions, it is necessary to highlight its neutral status in the system of international organizations related to security measures. This position allows involving a large number of participants in the negotiations. In the case of Georgia and Ukraine, the OSCE has become a platform for negotiating with Russia as one of the parties to the conflict and without the consent of which it is impossible to reach any decision. Hence, the other achievement of the organization was the involvement of the parties to the conflict to negotiate and reduce the intensity of hostilities. In its activities, the OSCE follows a multifunctional community-based approach that includes a humanitarian approach to work with the public and monitoring human rights. Observers cover in their reports only those events that they saw with their own eyes and try to be objective.

Challenges in the work of the OSCE include the difficult decision-making process, in accordance with the OSCE principle, the participating countries need to reach a consensus. One of the problems of the organization is the lack of a mechanism of coercion in implementing agreements, which leads to their violations. The OSCE missions are often criticized for not being present at the site of armed incidents. Some peculiarities in the work of unarmed observers are their inability to patrol at night when the greatest violations occur. Of course, such measures are taken for the sake of security, but at the same time, they jeopardize the objectivity of the information provided.

As a result of our work, we can propose such recommendations for the improvement of the OSCE's activities in the settlement of conflicts. First, the organization should reform the decision-making process, especially when the parties to the conflict are involved in making important decisions. The point is that the principle of absolute consensus may not be possible in the case when the conflict party places its hostile interests on the first-place ignoring interests of all international community, as well as its principles and commitments. Secondly, within the framework of the OSCE, it is important to introduce a coercive mechanism, whether economic or political, which could affect the parties to the conflict in order to implement the agreements. Thirdly, OSCE missions should be equipped with new security tools to eliminate the risks for international observers and better monitoring in the conflict zone.

Thus, an analysis of the OSCE's work in resolving conflicts on the territory of Georgia and Ukraine has shown that the organization responds promptly to the emergence of conflicts and

uses the developed methods for their solution. At the same time, the activities of this organization in Ukraine and Georgia confirm the need to reform the structures and mechanisms for preventing and resolving conflicts. Such reform is especially necessary and urgent in the light of the resolution of the Ukrainian conflict and the effective resolution and prevention of regional and international crises.

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M. Edielieva

PROVISION OF THE INFORMATIONAL SECURITY IN THE CONTEXT OF REALIZATION OF GOVERNMENTAL INFORMATIONAL POLITICS

In the XXI century humanity has received a rapid development of the scientific-technologic potential thanks to the fast spread of information and involving of the modern informational technologies (IT) in the everyday life of the society. It is revealed that IT development leads to the principally new branch of humanity development that can lead to the drastic changes in many spheres of the society including political and economic. The author has defined that in the modern society there's a request for information as a new strategic resource that opens new opportunities for the developing countries in the economic as well as in the political sector. It is also established that with the development of the informational society increases the risk of

informational threats, appears the need of the informational security provision of the country, society and an individual. In the period of modernization of the political system of the country by the government it is important to define the main branches of the governmental and informational politics in the sphere of informational security provision.

The goal of this article is analysis of the problematic questions in the sphere of informational security and search of the directions for the improvement of the informational politics of the government.

With the increase of request of the population for information government should calculate the requests and problems, rapidly carry out the modernization of in the strategic regions of the governmental sector. Thus in the modern society with carrying out of the modernization appears the need to review the existing economic, political and socio-cultural concepts of the development and inform the society about these changes.

This way government has a task of liquidate the following threats that derange informational safety; decreased attention to the questions of the informational safety; incomplete law base; out of date technologies of web protections; absence of the qualified human resources in the sphere of informational security; information protection; economic, social and political instability in the country etc.

Key words: *informational politics, informational security, cybersecurity, hackers.*

UDK 323.1(4)

O. Ivasechko, M. Zdorovega

THE CRISIS OF MULTICULTURALISM IN EUROPE: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

The article considers peculiarities of the development of modern Western European states in the context of growing critics of multiculturalism, mechanisms and problems of its implementing at the national level by leading European countries. In recent years multiculturalism has increasingly become a challenge and a threat to the national identity of the EU. The complexity of implementation a multicultural society ideology in European realities lies in necessity to develop a common European identity, that isn't acceptable for all EU residents. It has been determined stages of development, models and main directions of the multicultural policy in the world.

The sequence of implementation of the multicultural policy in leading European countries is pointed out. It has been observed, that the crisis of multiculturalism has increased as a result of violation of the principles of civil integration that, in its turn, destroys cultural traditions of developed states. The author highlights an attitude of Europeans regarding the expediency of multicultural policy. It was found that multiculturalism in Europe became the basis for actualization of other social and political issues, in particular, immigration, identity, political frustration, decline of the working class etc.

The author suggests that the crisis of multiculturalism is largely caused by an excessive influx of migrants into Europe; they do not want to assimilate and reside in Europe according to their rules, rejecting culture of the host country. Among consequences of the crisis of multiculturalism in Europe the author singles out weakening of social cohesion, crisis of national identity and reduction of public confidence. The author draws conclusions, that multiculturalism policy in the EU has a lot of negative effects, the most significant of which are fragmentation of society, alienation of ethnic minorities and disapproval of EU citizens. In

conclusion recommendations for European states for preventing an escalation of the crisis of multiculturalism are singled out.

Keywords: *multiculturalism, civic identity, migration, culture, European Union.*

UDK 329(437.6)“2016”

A. Klyuchkovych

**DESTRUCTIVE TRENDS IN PARTY SYSTEM DEVELOPMENT IN SLOVAKIA
AFTER THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IN 2016**

The article is devoted to the transformation of the party system in modern Slovakia. The current party system of the Slovak Republic, defined its main features, problems and trends with regard of parliamentary elections 2016 was investigated.

It is established that the Slovak party system has undergone significant changes compared to previous years. The party system is a dynamic integrity, the composition of which varies from election to elections. The author comes to the conclusion, that the results of the parliamentary elections in 2016 are led to the reorganization of the party system in the Slovak Republic, with a change in structure and political influence of its subjects.

According to the results of the parliamentary elections in 2016, the «structural core» of the Slovak party system was broken up. A characteristic feature of the Slovak party system is its dynamic and constant updating of its composition. As a result of the elections to the National Council of the Slovak Republic in March 2016, the number of political parties in parliament has increased. The Slovak party system mainly consists of small parties, which have some difficulties to form a coalition. The party system is characterized by ideological asymmetry and fragmentation of the right spectrum.

The growth of populism is a destructive trend in parties' election campaigns. The influence of anti-system, populist and right-wing extremist parties is increasing in the party system of the Slovak Republic. The reasons for the success of populist and right-extremist political forces are analyzed.

Fragmentation, deconcentration and destabilization are characterized for the modern party system of the Slovak Republic. It is concluded that destructive tendencies in party political development create a threat to the stability of the parliamentary and governmental system of the Slovak Republic.

Key words: *Slovak Republic, party system, political parties, parliamentary election.*

UDK 323.1

O. Kozachuk

INSTRUMENTALISM AS THEORETICAL APPROACH IN INTERETHNIC INTERACTION'S RESEARCH

We use instrumentalism as an approach according to which ethnicity, related phenomena and processes are seen as an instrument of actors used in the struggle for power, status, etc. Among instrumentalists, we would highlight the American scientist, a professor at Stanford University D. Laitin, who relies precisely on the rational choice theory in his research. D. Laitin draws attention to the fact that individuals live and act simultaneously in different groups, performing in each of them different with social roles. Therefore there are many identities in each person at the same time - family, gender, class, religious, ethnic. A person, depending on the situation, chooses the identity that is more in line with the needs of the moment or the life goal. T. Yudina believes that in instrumentalism the influence of applied sociological and psychological research is strongly felt. Proponents of instrumentalism see ethnicity as a means, an instrument for achieving a more comfortable state, thinking of categories of benefit, which. According to T. Yudina, it is possible to designate this interpretation of ethnicity as a utilitarian one. Ethnic mobilization is also explained by the need to change social stratification (the desire to rise to the highest levels of society), in the division of the market, which requires participation in the government.

According to the instrumentalist approach, ethnic or national identity is a means of political manipulation of their own elites, or as they are also called ethnic entrepreneurs, that is, a group of people who make use of political capital to emphasize and exploit intergroup differences and contradictions. Ethnicity is mostly political myths that are created and used by elites of ethnic groups in their struggle for power, and ethnicity is seen as an instrument in the struggle for political power, strengthening status, increasing welfare, social control, for political mobilization, etc.

In our study, we stand in the position that instrumentalism does not pay particular attention to the essence of ethnicity, the peculiarities and the nature of its formation. Instead, we support the view that the role of interpretations of the formation of ethnicities for the creation of ethnopolitical myths, capable of mobilizing individuals for political participation and political struggle and accelerating the process of politicization of ethnicity is one of the main scientific problems of supporters of the approach.

Key words: *instrumentalism, ethnopolitical processes, national issue, interethnic interaction, ethnic mobilization.*

O. Koppel, O. Parkhomchuk

DESECULARIZATION IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The article examines the nature and dynamics of the role of religion in international relations within the context of desecularization as megatrend of world politics. Desecularization in international relations appears as an historical phenomenon bringing religion in the theory and practice of international relations. Religion neither left politics and public life and now is reintegrated into international relations. Also in this research, characteristics are given to the narratives of desecularization in international relations.

It also highlights the nature and dynamics of the religious factor as the multilayer system phenomenon considered as three dimensions – space, time and content. The influence of religious factor on the international relations is studied. In particular, it outlines its basic functions.

Defined are levels of dependence of religious factor on the character of international systems within frames of its historical development type, structural characteristics and their system cross relations, specific features at the definite stage of international system evolution.

The activity of some religions as actors of world politics is considered. It also highlights the role of the religious systems which appears on the world scene in the form of transnational communications between states, separate groups, communities and political movements. These connections are established ‘over’ the state lines, creating an additional transnational system of interconnections.

The article explore how a religion factor is shaping US foreign religious policy and practice, specific aspects of contemporary US foreign policy, the new US religion bureaucracy in the Department of State.

Special attention is drawn to the politization of Islam and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, to the role of radical Islamism.

As a result, some recommendations are provided in order to improve the efficiency of Ukraine’s activity concerning the regulation of the inter-state conflict with Russia.

Key words: *desecularization, religious discourse, religious factor, international relations, world politics.*

UDK 321:35.072.22

I. Kushnarov

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF «POLITICAL CORRUPTION»

Neo-institutionalism is identified as the most appropriate methodology for studying political corruption. Accordingly, political corruption is characterized by the author through the prism of political institutions, in particular - informal ones. The erroneousness of identification of informal institutions exclusively with destructive influence on the state, in consideration of the presence of different types of it (constructive, destructive) is emphasized. Political corruption is determined to be an example of destructive informal institutions. They are established on the particular norms and regulations, defending priority of separate (local) interests and values over general. An inference is drawn that political corruption stays as a denial of universalism (if basing on T. Parson's dichotomy “universalism- particularism”).

It is substantiated that political corruption may be described as:

- the manifestation of shadow informal politics; that is latent politics (hidden, non-public, nontransparent part of the political process);*
- the seditious mechanism, that impinges on the stability of any institutional system;*
- the threat to the national security of the state, which stipulates informal institutionalization, further degradation of state institutions;*
- practice directed on narrowing public space, complicating elites' circulation and creation of monopoly situation on the political market;*
- stable type of rent-oriented opportunistic behavior of political actors, directed at the realization of own interests and acquiring of material benefits from participation in the political process;*
- the complex of informal norms, which present in a structured fashion and stipulate actions of political actors and contradict collective ideals, goals, expressed in formal institutions. This is informal institution which supersedes formal democratically legitimized institutions, partly seizing them or fulfilling their environment, thus that is a process of substitution of formal institutions with informal institutionalization;*
- type of political practices in the nonpublic field of communication closed from publicity;*
- the system of social rules, usually non-written, which are created and implemented outside officially allowed channels. Mechanism of political corruption basing on both legal norms, enabling abuse and having legal gaps, and bigger on informal rules.*

Author's vision of political corruption is presented. It is determined as a destructive type of informal institution of seditious particular character, which stipulates the unjustified use of power resources in extra-social interests, privatization of public resources under conditions of the weakness of formal and constructive informal institutions.

Key words: *political corruption, methodology of political research, neo-institutionalism, informal political institutions.*

UDK 328.122(477)

Ye. Levenets

FEATURES OF INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PARLIAMENTARY COALITIONS IN UKRAINE

Yevgeniia Levenets. Features of institutionalization of parliamentary coalitions in Ukraine. Factors that influence the formation of the parliamentary coalition in Ukraine were analyzed. Forming of coalitions and blocks is a necessary condition for group interests realization in politics regardless the type of the party system or form of state rule. At the same time, the features of their forming and activity substantially differ in permanent democracies and countries of young democracy. Among them - the existence of neopatrimonial (hybrid) political regime, the substitution of formal institutions to informal, insufficient level of "institutionalization of authority". Therefore, unstable of parliamentary coalitions in Ukraine is a logical consequence of the devaluation of the role of parliament as a political institution.

It is conditioned by the specific of present political institutes. One of major results of social and political protest 2013-2014, well-known as Revolution of Dignity, was a return to the semi-president form of state rule, that was throw-away as a result of original "creeping putsch" in 2010, when by the decision of Constitutional Court of Ukraine Constitutional reform was canceled in 2004. Such form of state rule assists bringing in of considerably wider circle of political actors to the acceptance of political decisions. And, consequently, hypothetically assists

destruction of the monopoly of financially-industrial groups formed for years independence on political power and makes political actors to the conclusion of political compromises and coalition formation. However, in Ukraine through maintenance of formed by the same financially-industrial groups of the electoral system (majority-proportional), without regard to expansion of constituent functions of parliament and input of principles of competitive selection to the executive bodies, influence of civil society did not change substantially. Parliamentary coalitions, as well as before, are the agents of influence mostly of financially-industrial groups that traditionally mostly ganged orientation in support power or occupied opposition position in expectant of pre-schedule elections. But organizations of civil society, without regard to the increase of their quantity and quality changes due to wide volunteer motion, however mostly used as facilities of race for power (in Ukrainian realities it means a fight for financial resources). Other, after the influence on weak liberal-democratic institutes - more dangerous form of constitutional limitation is a taking "root" of informal, mostly clientela structures of elite groups inward formal institutes of executive, legislative and judicial power. Wide distribution of corruption becomes the consequence of it in a state machine. As a result of such addiction of informal principles in formal rules, constitutionally legitimized institutes or limited in behalf on strategies of maximization of profit of individuals or elite cartels, or fully lose force.

Therefore instability of parliamentary coalitions in Ukraine is a complex problem that is conditioned, firstly, by the insufficient level of power institutionalization; secondly, by the present election formula that limits to possibility of electoral influence on quality composition of party lists; thirdly, by maintenance of all the same majority constituent in the electoral system, that promotes a parliamentary corruption and parliamentary changeability; fourthly, unformed of the integral system of separation of powers.

Depth of problem and specific of the formed clan-oligarchic model, to overcome that only not enough by expansion of political competition, still keeps the problem of emasculation of new political institutes specific extremely criminogenic political practices. Influence of "blackout factors" (foremost "sclerotic" influence of large political and economic groups, hegemony of populism and others like that) is still kept in the state. The like prevailing in future not only does impossible valuable and responsible coalition formation in parliament but also threatens converting of constitutional norms into scenery, undermines basis of potential public agreement, neutralizes the prospects of establishment of effective democratic rule in a country.

Key words: *parliamentary coalition, formal and informal political institutions hybrid (neopatrimonial) political regime.*

UDK 327.8

N. Lepska

THE GENESE OF THE REFLEXION OF «POWER» CATEGORY IN GEOPOLITICS

The problem of the genesis of the category «power» (strength) as one of the fundamental in geopolitics is actualized in the article. From the moment of its scientific formation, geopolitics focused on the study of super complex polysubject relations, in which a certain model of the world's power organization was built, where some are taking the leading place in the forefront of world processes, while others are facing their periphery.

Now geopolitics is experiencing an active phase of its positioning among other political sciences. This is confirmed, for example, by the absence until now of a clear operationalization of key categories of geopolitics. Among other relevant, in our opinion, is the need for a more

thorough reflection of the category of «power» in the geopolitical dimension. «Power» has become the focus of intellectual search primarily for Western researchers on many aspects of world politics. However, the very origins of the geopolitical reflection of the category of «power» have been studied extremely fragmentarily. Moreover, there is a certain inattention in the modern theory of geopolitics to the fundamental ancient sources of the theoretical and methodological analysis of the world's power architecture. This significantly limits the research field of the geopolitical processes of our time.

Thus, the article reveals that the perception of the subject organization of the world through the optics of power (strength) demarcation was justified in the era of antiquity, such as the dichotomy of «Land» and «Sea». It emphasizes the substantial dualism of the world processes during the long history of human civilization. The article draws attention to the geopolitical arguments of such ancient authors as «The Old Oligarch» and Thucydides. They understood the power precisely in the aspect of its military resource. Emphasized the obvious advantages of states with naval orientation: special mobility, agility, the possibility of avoiding direct encounters with the enemy, commercial and military pragmatism. These conclusions were further embodied in the modern reflection of sea power. Ancient authors substantiate the geopolitical success of Athens precisely by the presence of sea power in it. Sea power allowed them to legitimately pursue an expansionist policy with respect to other Greek policies. By the way, ancient authors noted that the naval power will be effective only if its legitimate use and unreasonable expansion. Otherwise, this will lead to the phenomenon of «gybrys», that is, the destruction of the state.

Since ancient authors have slightly idealized the Sea Power, this has led to a certain underestimation or fragmentary exploration of the Land Power. Therefore, it is not surprising that the category of «power» in the geopolitical context was reflected by ancient authors with a slightly one-sided and holistic understanding it did not receive. However, the deep argument of the Sea Power greatly expands the possibilities of further theoretical, methodological and heuristic studies of the phenomenon of «power».

Keywords: *geopolitics, power, «sea power», «land power», geopolitical laws, geopolitical space.*

UDK 323.2(438)

V. Lesnyak

POLITICAL AND LEGAL MECHANISMS FOR THE FORMATION OF INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE CIVIL DIALOGUE IN CONTEMPORARY POLAND

The article analyzes political and legal mechanisms for the formation of institutional structure of the civil dialogue, the conditions for its provision in Poland. Due to the analysis of scientific literature, legislation, normative regulations it was completed basic research tasks. Contemporary conditions for the development of civil society in Poland are identified, the institutional bases of civil dialogue are determined. Special attention is paid to the principles of partnership between the power institutions and civil society organizations in Poland. During investigation activity we came to the conclusion that the basic legal instrument of collaboration and financial and non-financial cooperation forms between the state administration and non-governmental organizations is the Act of Law on Public Benefit and Volunteer Work. These mechanisms define interaction practice and legal framework for subsidies in the whole range of performance from public activities to the civil society organizations. During the process of

analysis are generalized the positive elements of Polish experience in creation of mechanisms of cooperation between civil society organizations and power institutions. The article discusses the principles of the constitutional, legal and political institutionalization of civil dialogue in Poland. National, regional and local Public Benefit Works Councils form the institutional structure of civil dialogue in Poland, unite government institutions and civil society, discuss platforms for consultation, create programs of cooperation between the public administration and civil society institutions, create strategies for the development of civil dialogue. The term "civil dialogue" is regarded as the most important institution of participatory democracy and democracy consolidation, which ensures stabilization of democratic procedures in contemporary society. The author believes that high level of democratic consolidation in society can be developed only in opened and organized expert community civil dialogue with authorities. The task of introducing a civil dialogue system of state-management relations is necessary for stabilize social relation and important element of democracy consolidation in contemporary Ukraine.

Key words: *civil dialogue, institutional structure, Public Benefit Works Council, programs of cooperation, Poland.*

UDK 327(450)(045)

V. Lysak, A. Yudina

FOREIGN POLICY OF ITALIAN REPUBLIC IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MIGRATION CRISIS

In the present article on the basis of a comprehensive analysis of literature and sources the foreign policy of Italian Republic in the context of European migration crisis is exploring. The modern European migration crisis is considered as a humanitarian catastrophe which caused by the massive illegal influx of migrants to European countries, in particular Italian Republic. In general, all illegal migrants, which are heading to European countries, are considered natives from the Middle East and Africa. The present research explains in detail the main reason on the European migration crisis beginning. The modern European migration problem is caused by political, economic and socio-cultural instability in these regions, in particular in such countries as Syria, Egypt, Libya, Palestine, Israel, Iraq and others. Moreover, in the present research the Italian government regulatory framework of its foreign policy activity is analyzed. These official documents are also connected with changes of the foreign policy course of Italian Republic. There are two general routes of the modern migration flows through Italian Republic which extend from the North African countries through Mediterranean Sea to Italian territory. All of them stretch across Italy and end in the other European countries, in particular Germany. Two general routes of migration flows through Italian Republic are highlighted in the present research in detail. Thanks to the analysis of official regulatory-documents of the foreign policy of Italian Republics the migration crisis faster settlement model in Italian Republic was pointed out. The official regulatory-documents also demonstrated the cooperation government of Italian Republic with the government of the European Union about the given problem. Due to analysis of such cooperation, the course of the political, economic and socio-cultural development of the Italian Republic as a European country was also highlighted in the present research. There is an expression of the migration crisis influence on the political, economic, socio-cultural aspects of life of the Italian Republic in the article.

Key words: *migration crisis, migrants, refugees, foreign and domestic policies of Italian Republic, «Italy's Economic Development Strategy», Italian reforms.*

UDK 329.1/.6(437.3)''1993/2017''

N. Maradyk, M. Cirner

**DESTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE PARTY SYSTEM TRANSFORMATION IN
THE CHECK REPUBLIC (1993-2017)**

The following article deals with the process of formation and development of the multiparty system of the Check Republic. The author investigates the main political tendencies of the Check society's political life. Political parties' participating in the election process and the results of the parliamentary elections have been analysed. It can be stated that political pluralism principals have been established in the Check Republic, promoting a transition from the single-party system to the multiparty system. Choosing an effective model of legal regulation of the political parties has assisted in party system establishment. Check legislators have managed to set such rules which ensured clear mechanism of separating the activities of political parties from big business groups, contribute to preventing excessive political system fragmentation and strengthening the most influential political subjects. Concerning the type of the voting system, its effectiveness for the party system should be mentioned at present. Despite that initially, there have been such rules in the electoral law that complied with international election process standards of organising and conducting democratic elections, there are several drawbacks in it. It concerns, first of all, the formula of transferring electors' votes into deputy's seats. Such a situation stimulates the Check political elite to the discussion regarding the search for optimal election system model.

Based on material studied and personal research, the author has reached a conclusion that the functional party system of the western European type has been established in the Check Republic. The process of multiparty development in the country is nearly finished. It does not exclude the possibility of new parties' appearing in the political arena, but they need time in order to gain prestige in the society. The Civic Democratic Party and the Check Social Democratic party have been the biggest political parties for a long time which have been the key rivals at the elections. However, they were not powerful enough to form the two-party system in the Check Republic as they could not form the government without the support of other subjects of political life. This statement is proved with empirical data received by calculating several indices. Indicators of these indices show that the Czech Republic has established a system of moderate pluralism, because, despite the country has a large number of political parties only some of them are represented in parliament and the government. The absence of the non-system opposition and strongly marked populist political parties is a positive factor.

Key words: party system, transformation, political party, multiparty system, Czech Republic.

UDK 327.83(100)

O. Matvieieva

TRANSNATIONALIZATION OF THE WORLD POLITICAL PROCESS UNDER CONDITIONS OF POSTGLOBALIZATION

The problems and prospects of activity and interaction of relatively new transnational actors in world politics are explored. The influence of transnational actors on the transformation of the modern international system and the formation of a new world order is proved. Transnationalism, being developed within the framework of the neoliberal paradigm of the science of international relations, attracts the attention of an increasing number of researchers and, therefore, has the prospects of further development as a scientific direction. From the point of view of transnationalism, taking into account the weakening of the position of the nation-state institution and its strengthening by the number of non-state actors whose number is constantly increasing, at the current stage of development of the international system, a transnational order is formed.

The transformation of the political model of the world lies in the fact that transnational interaction of other non-state actors is added to the intergovernmental interaction. Information and communication technologies help to increase the number of modern transnational actors, their effectiveness and influence on the institute of national states. The relationship between traditional and new members of the international system is far from unambiguous. However, the cooperation of states and new transnational actors is growing dynamically. As a result, not only multilateral diplomacy is developing, the purpose of which is to involve more than two states in solving any problem, but also multilevel diplomacy. Within it, issues are solved on the basis of interaction between different state and non-state actors. It should be noted that sometimes non-state actors become even more flexible and less bureaucratic structures than states.

Key words: *transnational actors, transnationalism, transnationalization, transgovernmentalism, post-globalization, multi-territorialization, transmigration, sovereignty, nation-state, national borders.*

UDK 351:324(477)

N. Nikolaienko

CONTENT OF ADMINISTRATIVE RESOURCE AS AN UNDEMOCRATIC PHENOMENON OF THE MODERN POLITICAL PROCESS IN UKRAINE

The content of administrative resource as an undemocratic phenomenon of the modern political process in Ukraine is analyzed. It is noted that the main mean of using administrative resource is the executive and local self-government bodies, which influence both the composition of election commissions of all levels and their decisions. After analyzing the essence of the administrative methods of influence, the author developed her own classification base of this phenomenon. The main sources of the emergence and application of administrative resource in the Ukrainian electoral practice are identified. A low level of the political and legal culture of the society, the lack of respect for the norms and principles established by the Constitution, the preservation of the old team of party-nomenclature workers, the creation of political parties by administrative means and their removal from political dialogue and elaboration concepts of state development were the sources of the administrative resource as a non-democratic

phenomenon of the modern political process in Ukraine. The evolutionary development of the country on the path to democratic transformation & the improvement of political culture of the society should gradually remove this phenomenon out of political scene. It has been established that administrative resource is a serious threat to the development of a democratic state because of rejecting its basic principle of fair and transparent elections. The legislation of Ukraine provides for various measures of legal regulation of the electoral rights abuse committed by certain categories of individuals. In this connection, it is uphold the stand of complexity and adequacy of such regulation that has legislative and legal characteristics. It is stated that the existence of administrative resource is a completely objective and logical process in the political history of Ukraine.

Key words: *administrative resource, political process, political technology, electoral practice, nomenklatura.*

UDK 314.15-026.48(477.6)"1861/1900"

N. Pashyna, M. Bulyk

**IMPACT OF THE INDUSTRIAL MIGRATIONS TO THE POST-REFORM
DONBAS ON THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE TERRITORY AND ITS REGIONAL
IDENTITY (1861 - 1900 pp.)**

The article shows that founding of the iron and metallurgical base in the South of the Russian Empire was the significant factor in the formation of the modern Donbas ethnic structure and had a great impact on the polyethnicity of the whole Southern-East of Ukraine.

The aim the article is to analyse the impact of the industrial migrations to the post-reform Donbas on the ethnic structure of the region (1861-1900) as of the substantial historical factor of regional identity specification formation.

The article demonstrates that social and economic conditions of Donbas development such as founding of the iron and metallurgical complex on the capitalist basis, the government protectionist policy, attraction of foreign capital, the high rate of industrial concentration and its poor technical equipment formed the necessary background for migration to this region. The development by the government and miners from the South of Russia of the special projects requiring much workforce as well as creating relatively better social conditions and securities for the workers as compared to other regions of the Russian Empire played the significant part in the process of the industrial migrations to Donbas.

During 40 post-reform years the total number of Donbas workers increased by a factor of 30. The main territories of the migrants' origin as opposed to agricultural migrations where Left-Bank Ukraine came first were the Central Russia provinces, in particular Kursk, Oryol, Tula, Voronezh and others. The most Ukrainian migrants came from Kharkiv, Chernihiv, Poltava and Kyiv provinces although their quantity was much less than the Russian provinces migrants' number.

Besides Russian and Ukrainian villagers the Tartars, the Byelorussians, the Poles and representatives of other nationalities came to Donbas. This fact caused ethnic inhomogeneity of Donbas workers and influenced the dynamics of the region ethnic structure increasing the number of Russians and representatives of other ethnic groups in the region.

The main social and cultural distinctive features formed in the post-reform period due to development of the territory's natural recourses and agricultural migrations to the region kept their significance in their further development and became the basis for Donbas regional identity peculiarities formation.

Key words: industrial migrations, post-reform Donbas, ethnic structure of the region.

UDK 327-027.511-042.2

O. Surnina-Dalekorey

THE IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN COMPARATIVE STUDIES

In the article the problem of relationship between globalization and comparative political analysis is examined. The author emphasizes that inversion of post-classical picture of the world, appearance of unconventional subjects of politics - transnational corporations, non-governmental organizations, counter-globalisation movement and other transnational players - called for the use of fundamentally new methodological facilities and instruments of comparative research. One of the actual topics of modern comparative political science became research of the impact of globalization on the political systems, cultural traditions and processes in the different countries of the world.

Summarizing, that within the framework of traditional comparative analysis, the state is perceived as a key intra-political actor, the author, in detail examines how globalization affects domestic political structures and processes. As a result, the author concludes that the main current challenges, which stand before the state, are contained in a global set of economic, technological, environmental and cultural structures, on a background of significant competition with the growing influence of supranational authorities and transnational corporations.

Understanding this, according to the author, should affect the logic of comparative political analysis, which focuses mainly on research of political systems of modern states and their structural components. The specificity of the modern world process, the strengthening of global interdependence, and also elimination of the traditional limits between domestic and international politics, has deepened the interest in comparative political analysis, and the comparative political science itself faced the problem of globalization.

The nature of contemporary global socio-political processes actualized the issue of expanding the thematic and substantive scope of comparative political science, including new classes of objects that go beyond the traditional "state-centered" paradigm. In favor of what is evidenced by the fact that the comparative study of global transformations has become the subject of large-scale international projects of recent years. Consequently, the author concludes, there are every reason to believe that such studies will be continued.

Key words : *comparative analysis, globalization, political system, state, transnational corporations.*

UDK 316.648:316.35

J. Tverdokhlib

TARGET AUDIENCE ANALYSIS IN THE PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS PROCESS

The phase of the target audience identifying is the most important step in the psychological information planning process. The efficiency of psychological operation depends on well-aimed and timely determination of the target audience. The article contains a definition of the terms «target audience», «analysis of the target audience». The basic criteria for the selection of the target audience in the psychological operations process are described in this article. How to identify and refine target audience? How to determine effectiveness? How to identify conditions and vulnerabilities of the target audience? How to develop PsyOp arguments? The answers to these questions can be found in the article.

Key words: target audience (TA), psychological impact, psychological operations (PsyOps), analysis of the target audience (TAA), the primary target audience, the secondary target audience, PsyOps objectives, supporting PsyOps objectives, potential target audience, the current behavior of the audience, desired behavior of the audience.

UDK 327.82(4)(045)

M. Trofymenko

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The author analyzes the peculiarities of public diplomacy development in Central and Eastern Europe region, which has been under the influence of the Soviet Union. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, 29 countries of the region, the offspring of 8 communist countries were concerned with the issues of positioning themselves as democratic countries with sound policy and promising, dynamically developing market economies. Main challenges of public diplomacy in the countries with economies in transition are as follows:

- *To distance the country from old economic or political system which had existed before the transition. Eastern Europe and communism became synonymic and interchangeable notions during the Cold War. That is why many economies in transition positioned themselves as countries of Central Europe. Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had to make much efforts to shake off the burden of association with the Soviet Union and Slovenia, Croatia and Montenegro voluntarily distanced themselves from Yugoslavia and even from the Balkans. Estonia positioned itself at international stage as the only post-communist country of Eastern Europe.*

- *To position the country as a reliable and suitable candidate for a new system eager for changes. The aim is to demonstrate that the country is a reliable and predictable partner in international relations.*

- *To change negative or wrong stereotypes or to reinforce positive stereotypes related to the country and its people.*

- *Countries with economies in transition rely on moral, financial and political support from more developed countries such as Western Europe countries. The challenge for public diplomacy is to demonstrate that the countries with economies in transition are worth the assistance from the developed countries.*

- *To position the country as a center of the region or as a leader of the region.*

• *Public diplomacy may also contribute to national identity (re)defining and (re)building, as identity is being changed too during the process of transition.*

The article states that the countries of Central and Eastern Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall aimed their efforts at liberating themselves from the communist past and dynamic integration into the European Union and NATO; to align their positions within the framework of the European Union, NATO and other international organizations, these countries establish very effective regional platforms and associations such as Visegrád Group etc.; the countries of the region have experienced the process of institutionalization of public diplomacy, there were established offices and departments within the frame of ministries and administrations etc.; the countries of the region dynamically develop national brands by attracting tourists to their countries, raising foreign investments, promoting their culture, history, etc.; based on the experience of foreign countries, the countries of the region establish their national institutions, centers for the spread of language, history and culture. However, as the above mentioned organizations are financed solely from the state budget and taking into account the lack of the sources in it, the countries of the region had to establish their centers and institutes only in the countries which are of a great importance for them. The author also notes that the countries of the region dynamically develop their national brands attracting tourists, raising foreign investments, promoting their culture, history etc.; Central and Eastern Europe countries use the participation of their representatives in international competitions, hold international sporting events to attract the attention to the countries and use these events to develop their public diplomacy.

Key words: *public diplomacy, Central and Eastern Europe, Visegrád Group, Berlin Wall, Cold War, identity, positioning, branding.*

UDK 327.8(100)

M. Fesenko

PHENOMENON OF POSTGLOBALIZATION IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL ORDER FORMATION

The problems and prospects of a new international order formation in terms of the transformation of the international system are viewed. It is necessary to begin the process of developing a new model of a world governing that would take into consideration the conditions of the global world of the XXI century. Postglobalization phenomenon is associated with long-term trends of world political and economic development crises. Crisis development was accelerated because of the collapse of the bipolar international system and intensification of globalization. Obviously, handling crisis development is possible to be achieved, provided the acquisition of the new international system a balance that would correspond properly to the character of global transformations. The problems and prospects of preserving US leadership in the post-bipolar international system are viewed. Post-bipolar international system is characterized by complexity, dynamism and unpredictability. This indicates that it will be increasingly difficult for the United States to control contemporary multi-level processes and rely on the support of the allies.

Key words: *postglobalization, postglobalizm, globalization, neoliberal model, international order, world order, transformation, international system, crisis, economy.*

Topicality of the research theme is stipulated for constant expansion of the crisis of globalization trends, one of which reflects its objective, and the other is a product of globalism as

a policy and ideology of “Anglo-Saxon global center”. In this regard, it should be noted that under the term “globalism” we understand the interconnected system of ideological, political, economic, military and other measures aimed at strengthening global economic activity in a particular social and economic, political, ideological and religious doctrine. The last decade of the XXth century was marked as a triumph of the USA, which after the collapse of the USSR were not just the only superpower, but also a determining factor in a new world order formation.

First of all it should be stated, that global dominance of the United States was relied on the willingness of the ruling circles of the biggest part of the country to carry out neoliberal economic policies, which included the privatization of the public sector, the elimination of the welfare state, lower wages in the name of “competitiveness”, opening borders to foreign goods and capital, cancelation of any limits on financial speculation. The world economic order *a priori* anticipated US hegemony in the military, political, technological, socio-cultural and informational dimension. Almost all the countries of the Euro-Atlantic community had to focus on their modernization and development on the USA and especially for that to adapt their government agencies and public institutions, which had been formed in the course of their own history, under American standards of domestic and foreign policy. However the process had its temporal and spatial (geopolitical) restrictions.

The scale of change that embraced the world in the late XXth century. set before the Western and non-Western civilization priority questions of public and state development associated with the phenomenon of globalization. Introducing a set of unification processes, the establishment of universal structures, connections and relations, globalization manifested itself in the transition of dominance in politics and economics to supranational institutions (UN, NATO, the G-7 group, “Washington consensus” structure) and transnational corporations, and in the cultural sphere to the global expansion of uniform standards of popular culture and individualized lifestyles replacing traditional culture [1, c. 62].

Being the driving force of globalization, the United States initially tried to control the scope and the results of its actions based on civilizational and geopolitical specifics of individual regions. Prior to the tragic events of September 11, 2001 the United States almost single-handedly acted as a bearer of globalization that gave them possibility to control the formation of a new international order based on *Pax Americana*. Creation of an interstate coalition to fight terrorism was intended to rally around the US the countries of Euro-Atlantic community, for more active promotion of common values and interests in the global periphery. However, the devastating effects of the use of “hard power” in Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya had the opposite effect that inhibited the effect of globalization as a process of transforming the world into a single structural and functional system. Accordingly, under the influence of regional leaders – China, India, Brazil the process of restructuring the global space with the emergence of regional “centers of growth”, which also had antiglobalization effect, has been accelerated.

Finally, the eternal enemy of American globalization – Russian Federation has assumed the role of a global space reformer. The current policy in the Middle East and in the respect of Ukraine revealed its inherent expansionary potential, which activated the action of conflict processes and became a one more challenge to international security. In addition, Russia’s attempts to build a Eurasian economic space could not but contradict to the geostrategic plans of the US and the European Union as competitors in the fight for resource allocation of the planet. On the other hand, access to the arena of global competition industrialized and export orientated China with its geopolitical strategies significantly influenced the configuration value of global and regional centers of power. Under the influence of these circumstances, the process of global transformation also changed its content and direction. As a result westernization faced with East Asian vector of globalization – Chinese one on format and scope. Thus, the collision of these vectors of global development has become a catalyst of postglobalization transformations in which the United States would not perform the primary role.

For a more complete understanding phenomenon of the US globalism formation and the causes of its crisis, leading to the American globalism and globalization crisis, based on Western norms and principles, it is necessary to consider briefly the background and conditions of international political leadership of the USA, Euro-Atlantic civilization and spread of the neoliberal model of globalization. The above mentioned is grounded by the fact that the transition in the XVI century of global leadership to the UK and spreading of its influence in North America, which determined the creation of the United States, as pointed out by the British historian A. Toynbee “prepared crystallization of two-pronged Anglo-Saxon global center” [2, c. 56].

The first period, according to the Russian scientist V. Pavlenko, a phenomenon of postglobalization is limited within XVI^h - the beginning of XIX^h centuries and determined by transition of dominance in Europe from continental countries to the island nation state – Great Britain, that was manifested in shaping management practices of European balance of forces and creation of the world’s largest colonial empire.

The second period, which lasted until the early 1920-s is associated with the evolution and destruction of the Vienna international system, as well as crystallization of political ideologies, especially liberalism and Marxism. A special place in this system is given to the formation of “global center”, which appearance helped to integrate legal-institutional framework within the Versailles-Washington system and the crystallization of latent structures that contributed to the expansion of its influence on a significant part of the continental European West. The basic latent Institute became association of leading British and American financial and industrial groups, which was formed on the basis of the Boer War (1899-1902). Prior to this period belongs the creation of the League of Nations – the first international supranational body which aimed to institutionalize governance of global political processes [3, c. 5].

The third period (1917-1991) is associated with competition of three, and after 1945 the two centers of global influence, as well as with the functioning of the League of Nations and the United Nations, which replaced the latter. The legal British-American dominance in Western civilization, which provided during the First and Second World Wars and during the “cold war” its step-by-step integration, contributed to the creation of new centers of latent impact on the formation of the post-war international order. The beginning of this process was laid in the late 1920-s. with the formation of the system of the institutes of international relations, led by the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. Created on this basis in the US the Council on Foreign Relations in the process of integration of the West was supplemented by Bilderberg club and the Trilateral Commission, which brings together political and business elite in North America, Western Europe and Japan. Between the two world wars some attempts failed to restructure the “global center” as a purely European, having compensated by this the non-participation of the United States in the League of Nations [3, c. 6; 4]

The current stage of evolution of the theory and practice of global governance is related to the further expansion of latent network of global governance structures, apparently intended to answer the questions about the content of the world order that is getting formed. In this respect J. Attali, Zb. Brzezinski, G. Soros and other ideologists of globalization has repeatedly pointed to the need to replace democracy by elite domination, formation of supranational power by rallying and education of elite club of the leading states. Developing this line, managerial influence on political processes is often considered in the context of contrasting concepts of effective governance and democracy. Namely this stipulates for establishment of “G-5” (with its subsequent expansion to the G-7 and G-8), and it also promotes attempts to reorganize the United Nations or its replacement by brand new international organization [3].

In the context of our study it should be noted that the term “postglobalization” was introduced into scientific circulation in 1993, when a Canadian scientist R. Cox used his position of neomarksizm ideas for the development of international political economy, analyzing the

complex effects of globalization [5, p. 259-289]. In 1996 his compatriot E. Heleiner dedicated his article to the financial aspects of postglobalization [6]. In 1995 an Australian sociologist M. Waters showed differences in the epochs of globalization and postglobalization, understanding by the latest release of material social relations from material reference, which is possible, for example, in virtual cyberspace, that is with communication through computer networks [7].

This position was criticized by Russian researcher D. Ivanov, who said that the idea of M. Waters to adapt with the help of new term the theory of globalization to the new conditions is uncertain, because “the transition from interactions in real space to interaction in virtual space can equally be interpreted as hyperglobalization – expansion of social processes in new forms of space and as deglobalization – reduction of space of real social processes [8]. Taking into consideration the fact that during this period in the role of theoretically related term to globalization was glocalization (language neoplasm derived from the phrase «global» and «localization»), interesting is remark of the Western scientist W. Marling concerning the loss of meaning of some categories. The scientist noted in particular that “modernization and globalization continue, but on the cultural horizon appears postglobalism” [9].

Taking it all into account it should be added that globalization is a term the use of which was initiated by the World Bank in the 1990’s is still a little known to the science of international relations. It was analyzed, especially in the socio-cultural aspect and, according to R. Robertson, represented both a global and local trends in their unity, which complement each other, although in specific situations capable of collision [10, c. 164]. However, postglobalism in the late 1990’s begins to be studied as the principle of the future world order [11].

Next splash of attention of researchers to the problem of postglobalism and postglobalization problems is associated with the development of the global crisis. In 2008 the use of the term “postglobalism” to refer to changing geo-economic realities of the world was offered by the members of the Public Forum “Dialogue of Civilizations”. This approach, reflects the shift from a unipolar to a multipolar world order model was crystallized in studies of U. Khan, E. Jones, D. Held and E. McGrew and other scientists.

In this context it should be noted that the current methodology of postglobalization as the process, that is based on the model of “postglobalism” has not yet been formed, only several theoretical and conceptual frameworks can be identified within it. As its base they call ideology that is alternative to the neoliberal paradigm and traditions of transnational democracy. In general, the beginning of postglobalization era is associated with the events of 2001 – the “dotcom” crisis (Internet companies, Eng. Dot com) or terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Three key trends can be distinguished within postglobalization that has been intensified under the influence of the global crisis:

- 1) increasing poverty in developed countries as a consequence of latent deindustrialization (the “new poverty”);
- 2) psychological and technological, but not political willingness of third world countries to promote separate economic development;
- 3) exaggerated financial markets over increased social obligations and huge global corporations that are obstacles to overcome poverty at the expense of a new wave of industrialization [12; 13].

So, the most important characteristic of postglobalization – the consequences of transferring production from developed countries to the countries of the global periphery. The analysis shows that the global crisis has hit hardest in employment in the countries with the highest share of services in the economy, where the financial sector has evolved from a sector that serves the sphere of circulation, the sector that provides the main vector of development of the national economy.

During the crisis spreading negative trends transmission occurred in two main channels: by reducing the inflow or outflow of investment from developed countries to developing countries,

and a reduction in aggregate demand in developed countries. Thus, the effect of the second channel in turn led to a reduction in exports of developing countries, into the developed ones and the reduction of income of migrant workers involved in production in developed countries. The economic downturn, bankruptcy, compression of financial markets and restrictive access to credit were to increase unemployment and, consequently, in falling of the living standards in developed countries of Europe and America. Many countries have resorted large-scale spending of their financial reserves to stimulate demand and economic activity, directing funds to invest in infrastructure, energy and environmental projects. At the same time the states began to introduce austerity budget measures, which led to cuts in social spending. As a result, for rapid and complete withdrawal from the global crisis were unable neither G-8 no G-20 or G-2 (US-China) [14].

However, the effects of the crisis, of its second “wave” and the impact of recession in developed countries were different. Despite pessimistic forecasts, the US economy managed to recover to pre-crisis levels in the middle of 2010, and from the second half of 2011 economy growth accelerated rapidly [15]. Economic growth accelerated in the United States against the backdrop of increasing consumer spending and expenditure of the federal government, as well as improvements in the housing market. Unlike the US, Eurozone was characterized as the economy that gradually slipped into a protracted recession, which continued until the II quarter of 2013. However, against the background of a prolonged recession in developed countries and “serious slowdown” of growth in developing countries, the IMF forecasts economic growth of BRICS countries in 2017 were: Brazil – 4.0% and 4.1%; Russia – by 3.8%; India – 6.0% and 6.9%; China – 8.2% and 8.5%; South Africa – 3.0% and 4.1% [13, p. 93, 94].

Obviously, the most important factor of the emergence of the postglobalization phenomenon is the crisis of neoliberal globalization under the direction of Euro-Atlantic civilization, led by the United States. So we can state the growth of tension and conflict among actors of the international system against the background of increasing importance of international organizations in resolving geopolitical and economic disputes. Postglobalization favors local conflicts come out on the international level, which is why they become the object of attention and regulation by different actors. Among them one can single out peacekeeping and monitoring missions of international organizations, international advisory forums, authorized representatives of foreign countries, NGOs and others.

In the above context, it is worth mentioning that the internationalization of the Ukrainian political crisis has demonstrated which mechanisms international organizations and leading states (EU, US, Japan) use to change the vector of Russian foreign policy. However, the current economic sanctions against Russia show low efficiency in the issue of changing strategies by Russia’s governmental structures. Russia’s policy towards Ukraine is not changing, despite the restrictions imposed by international organizations and foreign states on the Russian financial institutions and commercial enterprises. The inability of international institutions and the leading countries to influence on the situation is one of the signs of the crisis of neoliberal model of globalization and the emergence of postglobalization and postglobalizm phenomenon of the USA against the background of growth of alternative centers of power.

Therefore, the totality of these factors allowed to describe the state of the current socio-economic structure of the world as postglobalization, in other words a long period of economic stagnation generated by the global financial crisis of 2008-2010., which later grew into a socio-political phase that escalated military-political conflicts in Ukraine, Syria and Iraq. This fact affects the policies of each nation state to varying degrees. For example, tensions between the US and Russia is growing with the expansion of the NATO alliance to the eastern borders of Europe, placing military bases of NATO in Central Asia and the Middle East. When in November 2010 after talks at NATO session in Lisbon then-President Dmitry Medvedev announced the ten years “trial period” in relations with the West before the “decisive

rapprochement”, the Ukrainian crisis of 2014 and subsequent events on the South East of Ukraine ruled out any possibility of movement of the West and Russia in the same direction [16; 17].

We have to admit that the war for influence continues and goes on latent level, which uses the hidden mechanisms and tactics of warfare, including information war. Growing threat of new military clashes and practice of foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the nation state, along with the socio-political and economic crisis, gives grounds to speak of a global systemic crisis, to resolve which is impossible without mutual concessions of sides and finding common vision of problems of international importance and looking for constructive solutions that can be implemented practically [17].

In the frameworks of postglobalization problem study, the important source for the authors of this paper became the collective monograph, presented by the international initiative “Postglobalization” – “Sundown of the US empire, crisis and conflict”. The scientific work makes it possible to analyze the assessment of the situation in the world by famous scientists, publicists and public figures from various countries – USA, UK, France and Germany. The authors reveal the causes of the global crisis. In their view, the events of recent years are the evidence of the United States hegemony crisis which is unsuccessfully trying to maintain its dominance due to the escalation of military conflicts. A number of prominent scientists worked over the monograph, including Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin, Susan George Walden Bello and John Rees and William Robinson, Jeffrey Sommers and George Derluhyan, Paul George and William Enhdal.

I. Wallerstein, one of the greatest contemporary American thinkers convinced that the US lost its credibility not only as an economic and political leader of the international system, but also as the dominant military power. Professor J. Sommers believes that the “age” of the United States ended because of internal contradictions in the US economy. “At the same time, the US still remains the largest economy in the world: they are armed and dangerous”. The leader of the antiwar movement of Great Britain J. Reese warns: “We are dealing not only with a superpower that is getting old. We found ourselves out face to face with the wounded beast” [18].

It should be also noted that the weakening of the US hegemony and economic crisis release the energy of contradictions and conflicts, which break out, often get destructive and catastrophic form. Unsuccessful attempts of the superpower that is declining to intervene in the process only reinforce its further decline. Bet on the principles of free market economic policies aimed at protecting the interests of multinational corporations and, above all, financial capital, trying to solve all the problems at the level of conspiracy of elites, excluding the real needs of society reinforce global crisis of the neoliberal model of globalization. In turn, this leads to new outbreaks of conflict, violence, wars and revolutions. Resolving contradictions requires constructive and meaningful actions based on a sober and rational understanding of the nature of the interests that oppose each other, logic of the process and dynamics of development. In practice, the crisis often creates a “catastrophic consciousness” irrational emotional reaction to events. Moreover not only among ordinary citizens, but also among intellectuals [19, p.11].

As an attempt to analyze the crisis of neoliberal model of globalization in March 2013 in Tunis at the World Social Forum was created the initiative “Postglobalization”, with a discussion of pressing issues on the international level. The idea was immediately supported by experts and organizations from different countries such as Amsterdam Transnational Institute and the Moscow Institute of Globalization and Social Movements. The project joined researchers and activists from the United States, Britain, Canada, France, Poland, Brazil, South Africa, Italy, India, China and many other countries.

Thus, we can talk about actually implementation of global initiatives. Of course, opinions of “Postglobalization” experts differ considerably. But it is therefore necessary to conduct debates, discussions, during which it is needed not only to diagnose a sick system and discuss

key ideas of anti-crisis policy, but also to formulate some ideas about the contours of the future of after-the-crisis-world. Globalization in the form in which it was implemented as part of the neoliberal project and under the auspices of Washington, has collapsed, bringing the world to the crisis in which it is now, but that does not mean that it is just possible to go back. The term “postglobalization” attained approval by the participants of the discussion precisely because it reflects the duality of perspective, which is historically opening itself before the mankind [19, c. 12-13].

On the one hand, it is necessary to overcome structural and systemic contradictions generated by the course “Washington consensus”, but on the other –to base on a higher level of global integration achieved during the post-bipolar era. Less than in a year as part of the initiative “Postglobalization” several conferences and seminars in Moscow, Kiev, Tbilisi, Berlin were held. A series of public lectures, discussions, prepared and published articles and reports of the leading experts from around the world were organized.

The culmination of the first phase of the initiative was “countersummit” in St. Petersburg 3-4 September 2013, which became an alternative meeting of the leaders of the “G-20”. If the official “G-20”, which represents the ruling circles of the most important economically countries of the world, discussed the questions how to get out of the crisis, when it is possible without changing anything, the alternative discussion was focused on the search for realistic scenarios of socio-economic change. Critics of the contemporary social system often limit themselves by attractive declarations, common words and moral condemnation. Utopian dreams of universal happiness could become the necessary stage of awakening the collective imagination and creative thinking. These dreams help to overcome the narrow horizon of pragmatism and believe that the world is in principle possible to change for the better. But practical changes begin only when to the change of dreams comes the concrete rational thinking. In this sense, the task of “Postglobalization” initiative was not only to criticize and analyze the situation of the hegemony crisis, but also to help overcome declarative-utopian thinking in the environment of critical scholars and politicians [19, c. 12-13].

In the end, it should be stated that the crisis of the neoliberal model of globalization contributed to the emergence of the phenomenon of so-called postglobalization and attracted the attention of scientists and politicians to the questions of study and use of successful social modernization in the countries of the global periphery. The crisis has revealed the shortcomings of the current economic system built on technological and monetarist principles of the Western civilization. All this demonstrates the need for alternative ways of socio-economic development and new world order models.

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T. Shlemkevich

FACTORS OF INFORMATION COMMUNICATIONS IN POLITICAL SPACE OF UKRAINE

The article analyzes the role of communicative technology through the prism of the interaction of power and society. The influence of information networks and mass media on the world political market is also considered, the main factors of information and communication interaction in the political space of Ukraine are distinguished in the conditions of formation of modern information and communication infrastructure and counteraction to external information aggression. The author outlines the main factors influencing the process of information communications of the present, in particular: Internet, existing social networks, mass media and society itself. Also, it turns out that the present is determined by the prevailing position of information communications in the process of interaction between government and society, defending geopolitical interests, positioning states on the world political chessboard. Political institutions and citizens exist within the global information space, forming in the course of interaction a specific information market, sensitive to any political, economic or social fluctuations.

Key words: *political communications, political space, information, communication.*

V. Popazohlo

**THE ROLE OF INFORMAL DESTRUCTIVE POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS IN
BELARUS AND RUSSIA: SEARCH FOR SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES**

The article compares the informal political institutions of destructive kind in Belarus and Russia. It examines the common and distinctive characteristics of informal institutionalization in these countries.

The subversive informal political institutions in Belarus and Russia demonstrate the following common characteristics: 1) generally, the role of subversive informal political institutions is crucial in the politics of both countries; the destructive formal and informal political institutions not only are not in opposition to one other, but complement each other; 2) neo-authoritarianism contributes to the development of informal practices in both countries; 3) clanism exists in the management system, there are developed patron-client networks; 4) informal client relationships dominate over the elements of civil society; 5) the informal institutionalization manifests itself in the informal selection of candidates for offices; the elites are recruited on the basis of clientelism; 6) the replacement of formal institutions with informal practices leads to the erosion of state institutions in both countries, weakens their resilience to various risks for the political system.

At the same time there are some differences in the manifestation of informal institutionalization in the politics of Belarus and Russia, in particular: 1) in Belarus the right of one person to be re-elected as the head of state for unlimited number of times is enshrined in the Constitution. In contrast, in Russia the informal institution of the heir presidential power is formed. We cannot rule out the scenario that the institution of the heir would demonstrate itself in Belarus at some point and the power would be transferred to a direct successor of A. Lukashenko; 2) the oligarchy has not been formed in Belarus to the strict control of the head of state (the large capital owners are dependent on the official government, especially on A. Lukashenko). In contrast, the Russian oligarchy has an influence on making important political decisions: in fact, there has been an oligarchic "seizure of power" by the rent-oriented economic players associated with the neo-patrimonial Russian bureaucracy; 3) in Belarus the destructive political institution of corruption is less pronounced in comparison to Russia, but both countries belong to the group of highly corrupt states.

Keywords: *informal political institutions, Belarus, Russia, neo-authoritarianism, neo-patrimonialism, nepotism, corruption.*